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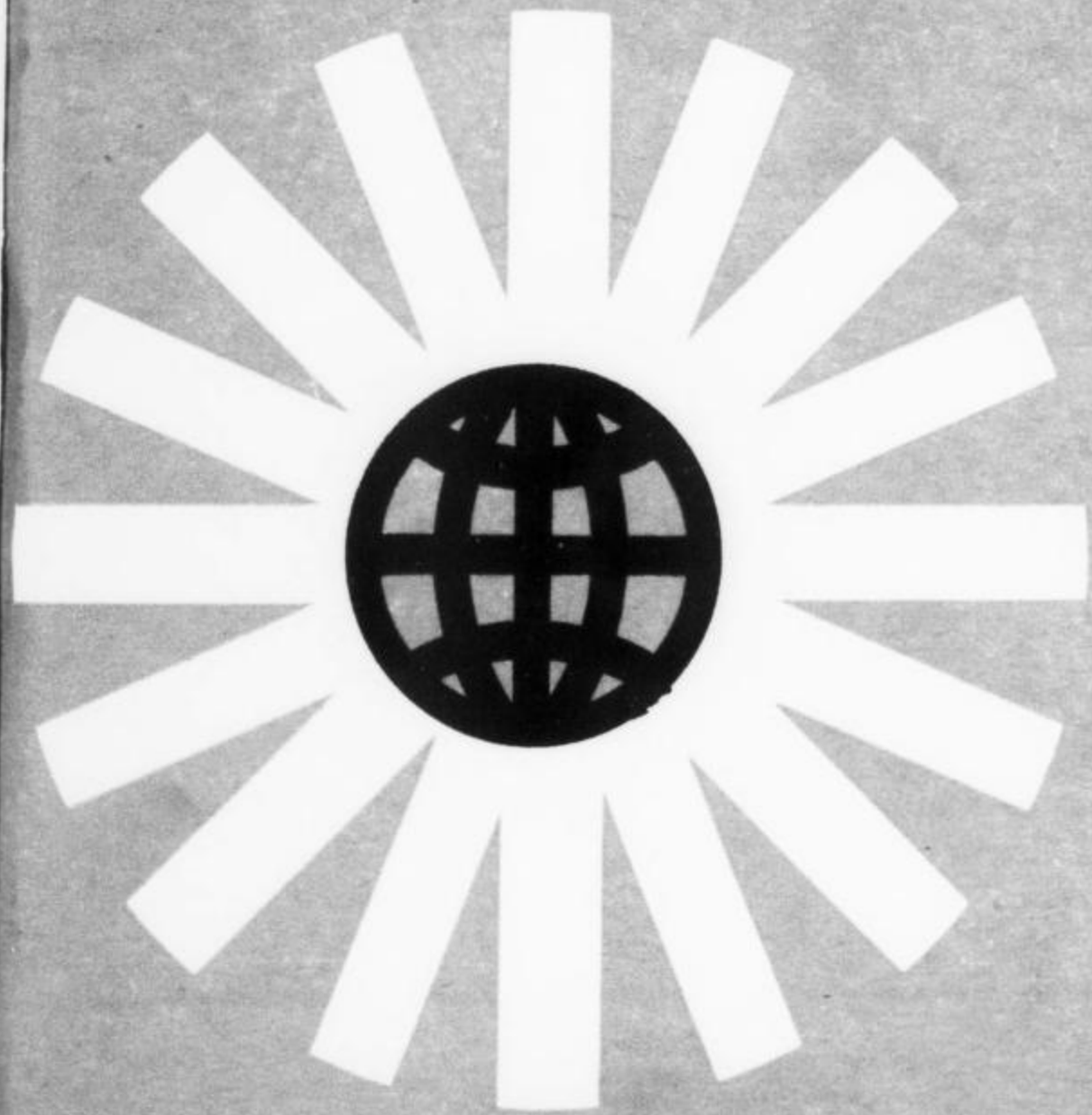

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contents

SYRIAN COMMUNISTS SUPPORT THE BUDAPEST MEETING 5

COMMUNIQUE
SUPG — West Berlin 7

TALKS BETWEEN PP OF PANAMA AND CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA 7

THE BUDAPEST MEETING
Z. Komoscin (Hungary) 8

RESOLUTION ON LEFT UNITY IN ACTION FOR AN ALTERNATIVE POLICY
30th Congress of CP of Great Britain 14

RESOLUTION
18th Congress of CP of Belgium 21

SPEECH BY K. JESPERSEN
At national conference of CP of Denmark 25

RESOLUTION OF NATIONAL CONFERENCE
Rumanian CP 31

PLENARY MEETING OF CC RUMANIAN CP 34

8th SESSION OF GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
Rumanian People's Republic 34

PLENARY MEETING OF CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA 35

ECONOMIC TASKS AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING, 1968-70 37

INTENSIFYING MOBILIZATION WORK
CC of Party of Working People of Vietnam 42

STATEMENT
EC of CP of Spain 52

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SYRIAN COMMUNISTS SUPPORT THE BUDAPEST MEETING*

Syrian Communists' support of the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, to be convened in Budapest in February 1968, is stated in documents of the enlarged plenary meeting of the CC held in Damascus at the end of December.

These documents include the resolution "On Meetings and Talks Between Representatives of the Leaderships of the Syrian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" and the joint communique on these talks expressing the unanimous agreement to continue activities and efforts aimed at strengthening the fraternal bonds between the Syrian Communist Party and the CPSU, cementing Arab-Soviet friendship, which is the main force in the struggle to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression, defending the motherland against any Zionist-imperialist aggression, consolidating national independence, and promoting advance along the road of social progress.

The meeting also adopted a resolution on the activities of the SCP delegation at the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The resolution on the consultative meeting says:

The enlarged plenary meeting of the CC SCP, held in Damascus at the end of December 1967, familiarized itself with the November 1967 appeal of the eighteen Communist and Workers' parties for convening a consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties in Budapest in February 1968. The meeting declares its unanimous support of this appeal and hails this first step towards the convocation of a new international conference of the Communist and Worker's parties to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement and rally all socialist and democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, for the national and social liberation of the peoples, for world peace.

The plenary meeting considers that the present situation demands that such a new international conference be convened.

On the one hand, the peoples, the cause of progress, have scored great victories. The socialist camp continues to strengthen its positions and build up its might. Its principal force, the Soviet Union, has achieved remarkable successes in different fields. The same is true of other socialist countries. Many Communist parties in capitalist countries have won new positions; the international working-

*Al-Akhbar, December 31, 1967.

class movement has continued to grow; the wave of the national-liberation movement enriched with new social content is rising ever higher. The progressive experience of a number of newly-free countries has been deepened.

On the other hand, wold imperialism has been launching counter-attacks in a number of regions of the world, employing the large material forces it still disposes of and taking advantage of the breaches in the united anti-imperialist front.

U.S. imperialism continues its dirty war of aggression against the valiant people of Vietnam. Israel, egged on and supported by the United States and also by Britain and West Germany, has committed a perfidious criminal aggression against Arab countries and obdurately refuses to withdraw from the territories it occupied as a result of this aggression. In Indonesia, reaction is constantly attacking Communists, seeking their physical destruction. A reactionary coup took place in Ghana and a military-fascist putsch in Greece. Great support is enjoyed by the neo-nazis in West Germany.

All this, together with the fact that more than seven years have passed since the last international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1960, makes the forthcoming meeting an imperatively needed and urgent measure for the elaboration of common positions in the struggle to foil the imperialist counter-offensive, to make further advances and win new victories for the cause of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

The plenary meeting is convinced that the consultative meeting can achieve the aims that have been set before it. It considers that there are no grounds for any party to stay away from it, and that such meetings and conferences are designed solely to solve problems of rallying the ranks of the Communist movement and strengthening the united world front in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. They fully rule out the likelihood of investigation into the internal situation in any party and the possibility of excommunicating any party from the ranks of the Communist movement. In addition, at such meetings the complete and absolute equality of all parties, big and small, is ensured, and every party has an opportunity to play its role and make its contribution in different spheres and at different levels.

COMMUNIQUE*

OF THE EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING OF THE PARTY EXECUTIVE, SUPG-WEST BERLIN, DECEMBER 1967

(EXTRACT)

The Party Executive of the SUPG-West Berlin is in favor of calling a consultative meeting in Budapest in February 1968 to collectively exchange views about convening a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The Executive has resolved to send a delegation to the meeting.

*Information Bulletin of the Party Executive of the SUPG-West Berlin, No. 48.

TALKS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA AND THE CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

According to a CTK report of December 25, 1967, the People's Party of Panama (PPP) and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regard the convening of the Budapest consultative meeting as a significant step toward preparing for a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

A delegation composed of V. Hugo, Chairman of the PPP, and R. Sousa Batista, General Secretary, stopped in Prague en route from Moscow, where it had taken part in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

During its stay in the CSSR the representatives of the PPP had an interview with V. Koucky, Secretary of the CC CPC, and O. Kaderka, head of department at the CC CPC.

In a long friendly interview, the two parties registered complete unity of views on the main international political issues and the problems of the world Communist movement.

THE BUDAPEST MEETING*

ZOLTAN KOMOSCIN
Member of the Political Bureau,
Secretary of the CC, HSWP

There is evidence of both positive changes and serious difficulties in the world Communist movement and the international situation generally. The forces of socialism, national independence and peace are growing and advancing all over the globe. This historical social progress is necessarily accompanied on all continents by an increase in the prestige and influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the Communist parties.

The greatest of the difficulties we witness along with the achievements of the Communist parties is that the world Communist movement has for long lacked unity. The harm caused by the lack of Communist unity is recognized by all progressive forces. As for the imperialists, it heartens them, and this explains why the forces of imperialist exploitation and oppression have become more aggressive in late years, even though the international situation as a whole is favorable to socialism, to the forces fighting for national independence, peace and progress. In the international policy of the imperialists, military coups and even military aggression—as in the case of Vietnam—have come to the fore.

Historical experience and the balance of forces tell us that the gains of the imperialists are temporary and of local significance. Throughout the world the imperialists are confronted by tremendous forces fighting courageously to curb the aggressors and stop aggression. It is all the more important, therefore, for the main anti-imperialist force—the Communist and Workers' parties—to strive on all continents for the restoration and strengthening of the unity of our international movement.

Every brother party can do much to contribute to the unity and fighting efficiency of the movement. The Communist and Workers' parties serve their countries and the common cause of world progress primarily by pursuing a correct and sound policy in their countries and on the world scene. Each party, whether big or small, whether holding power or not, contributes to the success of our entire movement by the successes it attains within the framework of its own nation. This is one of the principal factors in strengthening and promoting our movement. However, the brother parties also have common tasks corresponding to their common interests. These

*Népszabadság, December 24, 1967.

two aspects interact in the sense that *the autonomous activity of each party increases the strength of the entire movement, and conversely, the joint, concerted efforts of the parties create more favorable conditions for the success of the struggle which each party carries on in its country.*

In the present situation, it is only too clear how greatly each party and the world Communist movement as a whole would benefit if the ideological and political contradiction existing between the Communist Party of China and the overwhelming majority of the brother parties were eliminated. The removal of this contradiction could lead to a new unity vastly strengthening the international working-class movement. Events familiar to all show, however, that this contradiction—the biggest obstacle to unity—cannot be overcome in a short time.

All this is not to say that there is nothing to be done and that we must doom ourselves to a stance of endless and passive expectation. Before complete unity on ideological, political, strategic and tactical issues becomes possible, the brother parties can and do seek unity of action on the more important and pressing issues. The situation in the world Communist movement demands that we discard the slogan "All or nothing" and do not rely on time alone. We must study the best methods of furthering our common cause. Among them are increasingly frequent bilateral and multilateral meetings and exchanges of views between brother parties.

It would be wrong to regard such meetings as no more than a forced and temporary device born of the present negative state of affairs and of disunity. It is certain that the parties will subsequently find ways and means of maintaining ever more frequent contacts. Bilateral and multilateral meetings enable us to make a mutual and thorough study of the experience of the parties, and furthermore, the autonomy and independence of each party finds expression at them. Social progress on every continent, and particularly in every country, shows, along with common features (or within them), numerous peculiarities and various complex conditions departing from the general standard. In each particular country it is primarily the Communists that must take into account and analyze both identical and differing social phenomena and problems. This means that each party must not only display theoretical freshness and flexibility in applying Marxism-Leninism but must evolve methods of work and forms of contact with brother parties and with progressive forces. In this respect, the future will probably put much greater demands to us and bring still more numerous changes.

Increasingly frequent bilateral and multilateral meetings benefit the entire Communist movement. This is why our Party has in the last year held useful bilateral exchanges of views with roughly 50 parties. Our Party was represented at the Karlovy Vary conference

of the European Communist and Workers' parties of last April. In July 1966 our Party and government delegation took part in the Bucharest conference; later, in June 1967, it attended the Moscow conference and in July took part in the Budapest conference. We also approve of those bilateral or multilateral meetings which our Party did not attend. Among them were the conference of West European Communist and Workers' parties in May 1966 and the conference of Latin American parties held earlier.

Recognizing the method of bilateral and multilateral meetings of the parties as a matter of principle and actually applying it along with most of the parties, *we declare for an international conference of the brother parties.* For, just as it would be wrong to ignore the positive role of bilateral and multilateral meetings, so it would be incorrect to oppose them to big international conferences. Both are needed, and one cannot replace the other. However, our entirely positive attitude does not prevent us from seeing the debate on the world conference in its proper light and hence from considering it natural.

The controversy over whether the Communist and Workers' parties should hold a conference encompassing the entire movement or at least the majority of the parties reflects the fact that every party approaches the big problems of the present international situation, the world Communist movement, outstanding problems and its own position in its own way. This is why we must not disregard any argument suggested by the awareness of common interests and objectives and by a sense of responsibility, irrespective of the stand which this or that party may eventually take on the world conference.

Our point of view is as follows: *the Central Committee of our Party supports any initiative and any exchange of views making for better mutual understanding and closer unity.* We are convinced that a world conference would contribute to both. We want—as do, we trust, most of the brother parties—a world meeting that would help achieve better mutual understanding and closer unity between all the parties, including those that may not find it possible to take part in joint efforts.

The discussions that have been going on suggest that we must get rid of a twofold fetishism as regards the idea of a world conference.

One kind of fetishism is that some Communists, acting on their own or under the impact of bourgeois propaganda, and dramatizing the situation beyond measure, try to guess what will happen if it comes to a world meeting and this or that party fails to attend. They wonder what the world will say in that case. To be sure, we must under no circumstances forget the actual difficulties that are likely to crop up, but this prospect should not paralyze us. Our

actions will be correct only if we do all in our power for our common cause, taking into realistic account every problem as we do so, steering clear of action for action's sake and eschewing all considerations of prestige.

The other kind of fetishism occurs when the world conference is regarded as a historic turn. In reality, historic turns are a result of social struggles. The Communist movement is a motor of class struggle and historical development on a world scale both when bilateral or multilateral exchanges of views or international meetings are held and when they are not.

The idea of a world meeting of the parties should be assessed in terms of present-day international reality. We must accustom our movement, ourselves, our progressive allies and even our adversaries to the fact that from time to time, in addition to other methods we resort, if necessary, to such means as a world meeting puts in our hands.

The success of the world conference of the parties will largely depend on the goal we set ourselves, the problems we try to solve through the conference, and the way in which we prepare for it and carry it out. Those brother parties which have declared for the conference have said unanimously that our aim is to foster unity. This is precisely the objective determining the theme of the conference and the methods of preparing for and holding it.

In the present situation, a world conference can contribute to unity best of all if the exchange of views as it bears on the theme which is of the utmost importance to all the Communist and Workers' parties, namely, *our tasks in the anti-imperialist struggle today.* The brother parties almost always turn to this problem in the course of internal, bilateral or multilateral exchanges. In acknowledging the significance of these exchanges for the fight against imperialism, we must stress that as far as the fundamental issue is concerned, they cannot be a substitute for collective experience and wisdom embracing all continents. The question to answer is: *can the Communists arrive, through comradely exchanges of views, collective estimations and collective conclusions, at a more profound analysis of the situation and a better definition of their aims and tasks, and act more efficiently as a result? It is our firm conviction that the Communist and Workers' parties of various continents can do that and that in this respect nothing can replace a world conference.*

The world conference can do a really valuable job if it seeks and finds solutions to the burning problems of the national liberation movement and the struggle for peace. In the final analysis, this task is closely bound up with the fight against imperialism. We also believe that *the world conference could reveal new opportunities for joint action by all anti-imperialist forces and show the way*

to rallying, uniting and consolidating all the forces fighting against imperialism, for peace.

The effort to call a big international conference entered a new stage with the publication of the 18 parties' communique on November 25 last. It will be recalled that they proposed holding a consultative meeting to discuss the question of convening a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. They trust that the meeting may take place in Budapest in February 1968. The Central Committee of our Party will do its best to fulfil the honorable internationalist task assigned to it.

The preparations for the Budapest meeting are under way. As a first step our CC *sent invitations to the central committees of all the brother parties which attended the Moscow conference of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1960.*

It is clear to anyone that the consultative meeting is not identical with a big world conference. Its consultative character indicates that the meeting will not discuss the theme of the big conference, for its task is precisely to formulate that theme collectively. At the meeting in Budapest in February 1968, its participants will *exchange views,* first of all, *on the issue of calling a big world meeting of the parties.* What the brother parties have so far done through bilateral exchanges they will do *collectively* in Budapest in February. Each delegation will state, freely and on a democratic basis, the point of view of its party on all the questions relating to the world conference, and possibly also on other problems whose discussion it may consider necessary at that juncture.

Our Party sees democratic and collective participation of all the parties concerned in preparing for and holding the consultative meeting and the world conference as the primary condition for the success of both. It is necessary to ensure, at both the Budapest meeting and the subsequent big conference, that the comradely exchange of views proceeds in accordance with the jointly approved agenda and that there is no interference in the internal affairs of any party. We must see to it that no labels are attached to any party, that the brother parties are not broken up into categories and that no party is condemned or excluded from our international movement. Concerning the decisions or documents that may be jointly adopted by the consultative meeting, but above all by the world conference, we are of the opinion that they cannot be binding —unlike the decisions of the leading bodies of this or that party which are binding for the membership of that party—and that they should be treated as *guiding principles which the leading committee of each party will apply with due regard to its particular position.* The bilateral exchanges we have had with brother parties during the past year have convinced us that the attitude of the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties to the stan-

dards of inter-party contacts—the methods of preparing for and carrying out international meetings and conferences—is the same as our Party's.

The 18 parties' appeal to hold the consultative meeting brought a keen response that in the vast majority of cases was favorable. To date it has won the support of some 30 parties, which are willing to attend the Budapest meeting. We would like all the invited brother parties to send their spokesmen to the February meeting. Each brother party, needless to say, will decide for itself whether it wants to take part in this or that stage of the preparations for the international conference or in the conference itself. We, for our part, will do all we can to provide the best facilities for all the participants in the Budapest meeting. We are ready to hold bilateral talks with any brother party before February—either on the preparations for the meeting or on our idea of how it should be held.

The Budapest consultative meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties can successfully accomplish its task through democratic and collective efforts, that is, contribute to better mutual understanding and closer unity, and to preparations for the big international conference in a form satisfying all the brother parties. If this happens, it is certain to benefit the world Communist movement and the forces fighting all over the world for national independence, freedom and peace.

RESOLUTION ON LEFT UNITY IN ACTION FOR AN ALTERNATIVE POLICY

THIRTIETH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

A new stage in the political situation is opening up in Britain. The Labor Government's decision on devaluation and the accompanying measures show more clearly than ever before its determination to defend Britain's imperialist interests, both at home and abroad, and to place the whole burden of sacrifice on the working people. This policy is bringing ever wider sections of the labor movement and the people generally into conflict with the Government.

The task facing the left is to transform this dissatisfaction and opposition into support for an alternative democratic, anti-imperialist policy. It is now urgent to build a still more powerful movement of protest, capable of challenging right-wing domination in the labor movement and in Parliament, and forcing the present leaders to carry out changes in policy or make way for those who will. The way the struggle develops will determine the possibilities of Government changes to the left. This will mean beginning to make inroads into the power and privilege of monopoly capitalism, and will open the way for Britain to take the socialist path.

Congress urges all on the left to make new efforts to reach understanding on united action for agreed policies, and so help to develop the broadest possible movement to secure the necessary changes in policy.

Agreement on policy is realizable. For some time there has been a growing consensus of opinion on what the alternative policy to that of the Government should be.

The main points are:

Rising wages as part of a policy of economic expansion; rejection of the incomes policy; extension of nationalization and action against the monopolies.

No support for British entry into the Common Market.

Opposition to American policy in Vietnam; the end of British nuclear strategy and 'East of Suez' policy; an end to white supremacy in Rhodesia; a 50 per cent cut in military expenditure.

Extension of the social services and rejection of means tests.

Protest against Government policy and support for any or all of these demands is expressed in different ways.

The TUC and important trade unions are now on record against

the incomes policy. This could become the majority view of the whole working class movement, including the Labor Party, and would reflect the real feelings of trade union members and other workers who are demanding higher wages to meet increases in the cost of living, and are opposing unemployment and anti-trade union legislation. United committees of trade unionists have come into being in many localities, as well as nationally, and are promoting activity against unemployment in defense of trade unionism and trade union democracy. These deserve the fullest support.

Many people who previously voted Labor have shown their opposition by refusing to support the Government's policies in local and Parliamentary by-elections.

Throughout the cooperative movement there has been growing criticism of the many government measures which have led to increased prices. Every support should be given to the action of progressive cooperators on these consumer questions, especially on the fight against the selective employment tax.

During the past period, inside and outside Parliament, an increasing number of Labor and Cooperative MPs have acted and declared in favor of one or more of the above demands. A significant number of those who refused to support the Government's application to join the Common Market voted against the Government, thus reflecting the views of a growing number of the British people. Action by MPs to secure changes in policy is needed now more than ever. The labor movement and the MPs would be greatly strengthened if the work inside Parliament was more closely linked with the struggle outside.

Demand for British dissociation from American aggression in Vietnam is widespread. It now includes the TUC and the Labor Party Conference, as well as many people far beyond the labor movement. There have been a variety of activities up and down the country, all demanding a change in the British Government's policy. This protest movement is in accord with the feelings of a large and increasing section of people.

The need now is to give this opposition a still greater organized form of expression; to ensure that resolutions passed are acted on; to find and initiate new kinds of activity that will make it easier for more people to take part in the protest against the U.S. war.

A number of peace and anti-imperialist organizations have played an important and positive role during the past period, especially on Vietnam. We fully support their activities, believing that the more closely they cooperate with one another, the greater will be the results of their work.

Congress calls upon the whole Party to increase its campaigning against the U.S. war in Vietnam.

New organizations and progressive individuals have worked toge-

ther against the growth of race and color prejudice, and for speedy and effective legislation against discrimination and incitement to race hatred.

Tenants too are in action in many parts of the country against rent increases. The campaign for full comprehensive education continues. Old age pensioners' representatives and others urge an immediate further increase in pensions, and there is resistance to cuts in social services.

All struggles for the retention and extension of democratic rights should receive the united backing of the left, as ruling circles develop an increasingly anti-democratic trend.

An important feature of the last few years has been the growth of united work among the youth and among women on peace and a variety of other questions.

But if Government policy on all these matters is to be effectively challenged the movement of protest must be built into a far more powerful and united opposition, with still wider trade union and industrial participation.

Already there is unity in action of the left forces, including Communists and the Communist Party, on many of these issues in many places. There has also been a limited advance in discussing and reaching agreement on aspects of policy. What is needed now is that this unity and the discussion of problems facing the left should be further developed; that the various bodies come together at local and district level to extend the present activity and promote new action on those questions on which there is agreement.

Out of this can grow a mass movement strong enough to demand political and economic changes. But these will only come about if the balance of forces in the labor movement is altered so that the left forces grow and the right wing is weakened.

This is not a simple straightforward development. There are times when those on the left hesitate and vacillate. Nevertheless history shows that neither the Communist Party nor the Labor left alone can secure the defeat of the right wing in the British labor movement. The closest unity of all left forces, including the Communists, is essential for this task.

A united left can challenge the right-wing grip on the movement and ensure that the mass movement and the left forces involved get the required leadership. It is therefore imperative that new attempts be made now to develop such unity, especially as the right wing, faced with the growing challenge from the left, is making a sharper fight to stem the new developments.

Congress declares that the Communist Party will spare no effort in working eo achieve unity on any or all of the main demands put forward. We will enter into discussion and consider any proposal that will help to reach the aim of a united left movement, continuing

meanwhile to make our maximum contribution to the activity of the left forces in every political and industrial struggle, as well as initiating our own independent campaigns.

Others on the left should consider in this setting how to finish with anti-Communism in the labor movement, so that the bans and proscriptions that hinder activity and limit democratic rights are removed. We welcome and appreciate recent devlopments in this regard, confident that the new approach made by some of the men and women on the left to Communists and the Communist Party will be taken up by others. This is important, for anti-Communism remains a potent weapon in the armory of the right wing. They use it to prevent the most powerful challenge being made to their policies. On our part we recognize the need to overcome in our attitude all sectarianism and Communist exclusiveness that hinder left unity. The struggle for progressive policies and for socialism embraces far more people than the members of the Communist Party.

An important development in the recent period has been the growing dialogue between Christians and Communists in which we are both seeking common ground. On our part we will do everything to develop this exchange into useful social and political activity, as well as discussing ideological questions.

In the conduct of political campaigning by the left and in the ideological battle for a socialist approach and policies, a daily newspaper is indispensable.

This is the case for the *Morning Star*, emphasized by the extending monopoly control of the press and the death of the *Sunday Citizen*. The *Morning Star* must increasingly become the voice of the left with both Communists and non-Communists reading it and helping to widen its influence and circulation. It would be fatal if the labor movement took the paper for granted. To maintain such an independent working class newspaper requires a substantial and powerful effort, both politically and financially.

Communist Party branches have a particular responsibility in this regard. Congress expresses concern that the circulation since the production of the six-page paper still falls far short of what is needed to meet the extra costs and the needs of the situation. It expresses its confidence that the efforts made to improve the paper's effectiveness as a campaigner for left policies and as an all-round newspaper for the labor and progressive movement will be continued.

We must strive to reach a position where all our members read the paper daily and every branch sells the paper daily and at weekends. We must argue more strongly for the only daily paper which supports the aspirations of trade unionists and progressive people. We need to place the paper at the heart of everything we do. Such

an approach will not only assist the ieft. It will lay the basis for a further increase in membership of the Communist Party, a crucial question for the immediate scope and power of the left movement and essential to its final victory.

Congress therefore calls on the E.C. to lead a campaign throughout the Party to increase the circulation.

It is not possible to defeat the entrenched power of the right wing in the labor movement, challenging effectively the Government's policies and open up the way for fundamental change without a strong, well organized party of the left, consistently fighting for a socialist policy and helping to organize the people in struggle. Events are showing more clearly than ever how true this is. Such is the Communist Party, the only political party in Britain putting forward an immediate policy, having a clear theoretical socialist basis, nationally organized with branches in factories and residential areas. Success in the next stage of the struggle is bound up with the need to build the Communist Party and the YCL, especially from among the many who agree with much of our policy, but are not yet in our ranks.

At our last Congress we noted that, as a result of a combination of factors, including illusions about the results that would come from the return of a Labor Government, our membership had declined slightly during 1964 and 1965. This continued in the first nine months of 1966; but increased recruitment in the latter part of the year made it possible to reverse this trend, and at the close of the card issue campaign in February we recorded a bigger membership compared with the end of October. The winning of new members since the close of the card issue campaign has been at a slightly higher rate than in the same period of 1966, though still on a completely insufficiently wide and consistent scale.

Because it is so urgent to build a far more powerful Communist Party we must from this Congress fight with determination to secure a marked advance in our membership. We ask all those who are concerned with socialist advance to help us realize this aim.

The public campaigning of the Party is vital for this, with every branch doing its utmost to initiate activity on questions affecting the people in the locality, distributing leaflets, sell literature and hold public meetings, as well as campaign for the *Morning Star*. Thus every branch can contribute to the battle of ideas, help combat capitalist and right wing ideology and spread the ideas of socialism and Marxism.

All leading committees must concern themselves with Party branches and their development, giving the greatest possible help to enable them to work in this way. Particular attention and help should be given to weaker, smaller branches to help them develop. We also need to direct more of our public work to new areas and

factories where we have no organization, in order to establish many more Party branches, particularly factory branches. Since our last Congress and following on the factory branch conference of June 1966, some progress has been made in setting up new factory branches and assisting existing ones. But we still do not give sufficient emphasis to this aspect of our work. This is a weakness that must be rectified.

The achievement of Communist Parliamentary and local authority representation is vital for the future development of our Party, and would be of enormous assistance to the left and the whole movement. It is an extremely hard and difficult task requiring consistent planned effort on an extending scale. It demands more campaigning on issues of concern to the people, giving more service to a larger number of electors, drawing many more of them into action, making our policy more widely known, particularly our program the *British Road to Socialism.* Industrial branches, campaigning in the factories and playing a part in the Party's electoral work, will help lay the basis for advance. The extension of our contests can give more and more people the opportunity to learn and understand that there is a real alternative to the present Government policy.

We have achieved the breakthrough in local councils in some places. Similar victories can be won elsewhere in the near future. We need now to prepare for the next series of local elections, seeing our contesting them as a culmination of widespread activity developed from this Congress, and as preparation for the next General Election. A consistent effort must be maintained by the Party to secure its rightful share of radio and television time, both nationally and locally.

One of the most positive features of the British political situation is the militant radical position of important sections of the youth. Among others there is disillusion and dissatisfaction. These conditions make possible not only a major increase in the membership and influence of the YCL. They present possibilities for winning many young people to join our Party.

It is essential that we firmly grasp these opportunities. Although the joint campaign with the YCL in 1966-67 was not as fully successful as we had planned, it achieved a number of important advances. The estimation made then still hold true. What is required is that throughout the Party much more attention is given to the problem of youth, and much more help to building the YCL.

The past year has also witnessed a powerful movement for progressive demands among students. Many opportunities have opened up for strengthening our existing student branches and setting up new ones.

It is clear that we must direct more of our campaigning and

an approach will not only assist the left. It will lay the basis for a further increase in membership of the Communist Party, a crucial question for the immediate scope and power of the left movement and essential to its final victory.

Congress therefore calls on the E.C. to lead a campaign throughout the Party to increase the circulation.

It is not possible to defeat the entrenched power of the right wing in the labor movement, challenging effectively the Government's policies and open up the way for fundamental change without a strong, well organized party of the left, consistently fighting for a socialist policy and helping to organize the people in struggle. Events are showing more clearly than ever how true this is. Such is the Communist Party, the only political party in Britain putting forward an immediate policy, having a clear theoretical socialist basis, nationally organized with branches in factories and residential areas. Success in the next stage of the struggle is bound up with the need to build the Communist Party and the YCL, especially from among the many who agree with much of our policy, but are not yet in our ranks.

At our last Congress we noted that, as a result of a combination of factors, including illusions about the results that would come from the return of a Labor Government, our membership had declined slightly during 1964 and 1965. This continued in the first nine months of 1966; but increased recruitment in the latter part of the year made it possible to reverse this trend, and at the close of the card issue campaign in February we recorded a bigger membership compared with the end of October. The winning of new members since the close of the card issue campaign has been at a slightly higher rate than in the same period of 1966, though still on a completely insufficiently wide and consistent scale.

Because it is so urgent to build a far more powerful Communist Party we must from this Congress fight with determination to secure a marked advance in our membership. We ask all those who are concerned with socialist advance to help us realize this aim.

The public campaigning of the Party is vital for this, with every branch doing its utmost to initiate activity on questions affecting the people in the locality, distributing leaflets, sell literature and hold public meetings, as well as campaign for the *Morning Star*. Thus every branch can contribute to the battle of ideas, help combat capitalist and right wing ideology and spread the ideas of socialism and Marxism.

All leading committees must concern themselves with Party branches and their development, giving the greatest possible help to enable them to work in this way. Particular attention and help should be given to weaker, smaller branches to help them develop. We also need to direct more of our public work to new areas and

factories where we have no organization, in order to establish many more Party branches, particularly factory branches. Since our last Congress and following on the factory branch conference of June 1966, some progress has been made in setting up new factory branches and assisting existing ones. But we still do not give sufficient emphasis to this aspect of our work. This is a weakness that must be rectified.

The achievement of Communist Parliamentary and local authority representation is vital for the future development of our Party, and would be of enormous assistance to the left and the whole movement. It is an extremely hard and difficult task requiring consistent planned effort on an extending scale. It demands more campaigning on issues of concern to the people, giving more service to a larger number of electors, drawing many more of them into action, making our policy more widely known, particularly our program the *British Road to Socialism*. Industrial branches, campaigning in the factories and playing a part in the Party's electoral work, will help lay the basis for advance. The extension of our contests can give more and more people the opportunity to learn and understand that there is a real alternative to the present Government policy.

We have achieved the breakthrough in local councils in some places. Similar victories can be won elsewhere in the near future. We need now to prepare for the next series of local elections, seeing our contesting them as a culmination of widespread activity developed from this Congress, and as preparation for the next General Election. A consistent effort must be maintained by the Party to secure its rightful share of radio and television time, both nationally and locally.

One of the most positive features of the British political situation is the militant radical position of important sections of the youth. Among others there is disillusion and dissatisfaction. These conditions make possible not only a major increase in the membership and influence of the YCL. They present possibilities for winning many young people to join our Party.

It is essential that we firmly grasp these opportunities. Although the joint campaign with the YCL in 1966-67 was not as fully successful as we had planned, it achieved a number of important advances. The estimation made then still hold true. What is required is that throughout the Party much more attention is given to the problem of youth, and much more help to building the YCL.

The past year has also witnessed a powerful movement for progressive demands among students. Many opportunities have opened up for strengthening our existing student branches and setting up new ones.

It is clear that we must direct more of our campaigning and

policy towards young people, striving to win them for our views and activities.

Further growth in the size and influence of the Party depends not only on winning new members, but on involving many more of our present members increasingly in the work of the Party. Many more can and must be won to take part in the life of the branches, to read and sell, discuss and contribute to *Comment*, *Marxism Today* and our other literature, and help distribute the material we produce. That some of our branches do not function effectively in an organized political sense is evident from the fact that many of our members are not involved in this way, and that the level of dues payment is unsatisfactory. Steps should be taken at all levels to improve our Party branch organization, bring more members into branch life, extend Marxist study and discussion of Party policy. We need a Party which is increasingly trained and educated, we must try to ensure that the public work of the branch and the training and development of our members go on side by side.

Above all our branches should continually strive, in every campaign, to work in unity with local Labor parties, trade union branches, cooperatives and other organizations and individuals with whom we have policies in common, win allies and increase membership and the circulation of the *Morning Star*.

An essential part of our contribution to the building of unity in action must be the explanation of the basis and role of reformism in government and in the labor movement. We must improve our propaganda for socialism, and our criticism of capitalism and the institutions, ideologies and conventions which help to maintain it. We must find ways of explaining the connection between the day to day issues and the struggle for socialism. The battle of ideas is more important today than ever.

The new political situation that confronts us presents great opportunities to the left, including the Communists. These opportunities must be grasped. Bold, audacious political action for an alternative socialist policy will win a response from millions of British people and open the way to political victories over the right wing and monopoly forces.

This Congress appeals to all on the left for a determined united effort in this direction.

RESOLUTION*

OF THE 18th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

(December 1967)

Our country has entered a new period of political crisis. The steadily growing cost of living, mounting unemployment, recourse to emergency powers, and the discord within the government of the Social Christian Party (SCP) and Party of Freedom and Progress (PFP) show that the government cannot cope with the big problems of today, particularly those of developing the economy, safeguarding employment and meeting social needs.

The PFP has reacted to the resultant political disarray and the growing isolation of the Vanden Boeynants government in the public eye by putting forward its own candidate for the leadership of an even more reactionary and authoritarian government.

This is a new sign of the grave difficulties besetting the big bourgeoisie. Whether it accepts the PFP's man or prefers to use him as a threat to obtain the traditional ministerial collaboration of the Socialist Party, nothing will be changed in the fact that the labor movement is up against a new problem. The workers need to develop democratic political action. The democratic front requires a clear program and an orientation based on resistance to the monopolies and on greater democracy and greater rights for labor. The working-class and democratic movement should be a candidate for power.

The experience of several forms of government in recent years has confirmed again and again the ruinous character of the policies of the big bourgeoisie, which can no longer pursue, as it did so often in the past, a policy of reforms that could appease the working people for a while.

The reforms which the labor and democratic movement is demanding call into question the power positions of the big bourgeoisie in every sphere. This is why our Congress in December 1966 stressed that the big bourgeoisie was in a blind alley. And it also explains why the struggles of the working class are becoming more decisive as they go on: they hold out the promise to solve all the present difficulties of the country.

The government has tried to deal with the economic and social problems by assuming emergency powers, but the situation has gone from bad to worse. It has used its authority only against the

*Le Drapeau Rouge, December 22, 1967.

masses who are crushed by an anti-democratic tax system. It has enabled big finance to dominate the economic and political life of the country.

More and more U.S. capital and foreign investments have been penetrating into our economy.

The budget deficit for 1968 is being covered by increasing the public debt. Nothing is being done to stop the tax frauds of the bankers and big industrialists or to establish democratic control over public investments made in their favor. More and more enterprises are being closed without previous reconversion, and unemployment shows an upward trend. Anarchy in production and interregional imbalance have become more serious.

Social and cultural facilities are increasingly falling short of the exigencies and possibilities of modern society.

Despite the deconcentration and decentralization measures announced by the government, the reform of the institutions is still blocked.

In foreign policy, the primary concern of the government is, now as in the past, to back Washington whereas the latter's war in Vietnam is increasing the isolation of the U.S. and, on the other hand, to keep Belgium in NATO whereas the problem is to organize European security along new lines.

This policy does not go unanswered. The workers' struggles are taking new forms as they grow in scope. The occupation of factories threatened with a shutdown speaks of something more than the militancy of the workers. It also reveals that the working class is making greater demands with regard to employment and the organization of control. On the other hand, there is greater insistence on preserving trade union autonomy and on maintaining and consolidating the common front. More, there is a quest going on in the working-class movement for new political solutions, in spite of the persistence of outdated sectarian or opportunist practices.

However, this political consciousness does not yet manifest itself clearly enough. Thus, the appeal launched by the Metalworkers' Federation of Liege to the Walloon working people has so far aroused neither the debate nor the response it deserves—either in the organizations of the General Federation of Labor and the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, in the Socialist Party, or among the Christian Democrats.

Most Christian Democrats are taking the government's foul play lying down. They continue to support the reactionary foreign policy of the SCP and PFP. Their stance on parliamentary matters is out of keeping with the exigencies implicit in the program of the Christian trade unions. As a result, their political activity tends to leave the initiative to the monopolies .

On the other hand, the Socialist Party confines its action to tradi-

tional opposition. Its program is as vague and ambiguous as ever. It contributes nothing to the elabooration of a plan for renovation and action which the entire labor and democratic Left need. It apparently underrates the gravity of the intrigues and authoritarian plans of the Right-wing parties. The Flemish Socialists have not yet shed their unitary illusions, even though some of them lean toward the federalist idea. Yet at the Klemskerke congress of Flemish federations the unitary trend, which likewise advocates neo-capitalist integration, seems to have suffered its first political setback. Nevertheless the congress did not declare for a program likely to further labor and democratic unity in Flanders. The ideas formulated at Klemskerke ignore the urgency of supporting and developing immediate action by the working people, whereas this is indispensable if the economic downtrend is to be checked and further progress assured.

The Walloon Socialists, for their part, have approved a basic program recognizing the communities. They want a regional assembly of Wallonia. But pending a further order they refuse to hold a meeting of Walloon parliamentarians before long to discuss immediately the program and ways of implementing it.

The ideas put forward at the Verviers congress under the stress of economic realities and the organized working-class movement contain no commitment to promote the necessary action to check the economic downtrend.

As far as the active forces of the Walloon labor Left are concerned, it is primarily their own resolve to create a vast Walloon unity that will guarantee that the hopes set on the Verviers congress are not dashed. To begin with, there should be concrete action by labor to defend employment and win the right of control over economic orientation and management. In this respect, the important demonstration planned by the Walloon regional organizations of the General Federation of Labor could become the first large-scale mass action uniting on a broad trade union basis the Socialist, Communist and Christian-Democratic forces.

The majority of the leaders of the Brussels federation of the Socialist Party have just presented the draft of "supracommunal" statutes for the Brussels area. There is little difference between this draft and the undemocratic solutions advanced by the PFP.

As regards the fight for peace, the big demonstrations of last spring did not result in new reverses for the political circles linked with the rulers of America. It is regrettable that the Socialist Party has not yet taken a stand on the main problems of our country's membership in NATO and of European security.

Belgium needs new solutions. What makes the situation difficult is that, for the working class, it is not a question of exchanging views on remote structural reforms, electoral propaganda programs

or ineffective government combinations. It is necessary to take the first, if only modest, steps toward limiting monopoly power.

But these options fit into the perspective of extended democracy. Every correct solution of current problems opens the way to the struggle for socialism.

The Communist Party of Belgium has on several occasions worked out proposals invariably synthesizing program elements prompted by workers' meetings and struggles, by the trade unions and, above all, by the General Federation of Labor.

Our Party specifies that for the immediate future it sets itself essentially four objectives putting together the working people's preoccupations in every field:

1. *Fighting for the non-renewal of NATO membership,* for a broad political debate on this issue, for European security, for the abolition of military blocs. Fighting against the U.S. imperialists' acts of aggression, and stepping up the campaign for the immediate cessation of U.S. bombings of North Vietnam.

2. *Action in defense of employment and the standard of living,* against shutdowns, for the application of the system of controlled management of the enterprises, for the elaboration of development and investment plans, for the founding in Flanders and Wallonia of state-owned companies empowered to take the initiative of setting up new industries. Stopping in 1968 all dismissals and shutdowns, and calling a national conference on employment at an early date. Higher wages.

3. *Using the state budget as a weapon against the big companies and banks,* for a social, tax and financial policy meeting the interests of the country. A reduction of military spending.

4. *Democratizing public life by forming federalist organizations* and by introducing *workers' control* at all levels in the nationalized and the private sectors. Recourse to referendums on the people's initiative.

* * *

As they carry on their work the Communists are well aware of the political impasse in which the leading circles of the bourgeoisie find themselves. They want their organizations to be equal to the exigencies of the situation, and are taking measures accordingly.

On the other hand, they cannot be content to put on record the positive signs of an indisputable swing in public opinion to the left, in favor of the labor movement. They insist on drawing from them an immediate logical and practical conclusion by drafting a common program and by working to carry it out. They are working to set up a democratic political front and demand a place in it for themselves, so that resistance to the attacks of the bourgeoisie may be more powerful and that the way may thus be paved for the formation of the democratic government which the country needs.

SPEECH*

By KNUD JESPERSEN, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK, AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE PARTY IN NOVEMBER 1967

Every member of the Social-Democratic Party and Socialist People's Party is faced with a crucial choice: either to break with the old power and use a new power for consistent struggle for the interests of the working people, or to continue the permitted management of capitalist society.

Big business has launched a general offensive against the Danish working people under the slogan of "structural rationalization" in the course of which some enterprises are "reorganized" and others closed down as not bringing maximum profits.

But the government and the SPP refrain from taking effective measures and limit themselves to stating complacently that "there is no reason for panic."

The cause of the growing unemployment should be sought in the capitalist system with its unchallenged domination over production.

This development has aggravated the contradictions and created a crisis situation in the parties that constitute the labor majority in the Folketing. The Social-Democratic Party is losing members. The demand is growing for a new policy also in the international arena, for freedom from U.S. tutelage and leadership, for effective measures against land profiteering and for industrial democracy.

Many Social Democrats in the trade union movement resist the policy of accommodation to the existing situation which is pursued especially actively during collective bargaining. Witness the open rebellion of the Left forces at the last congress of the CPP, where the Party chairman found himself in an obvious minority. True to tradition, Axel Larsen refused to submit to the majority and change his policy. Now the Larsen group is expected to convene a new congress under the *threat,* or *promise,* that Larsen will resign if he does not have his way.

We do not want to prophesy, but we see what situation is shaping up when all sorts of false charges are made against the dissident. It is regrettable that internal contradictions are growing and creating uncertainty for the majority, but it was this majority itself that let the genie out of the bottle. No one can share with impunity in a policy diametrically opposed to election promises. This is an

*Abridged from **Land og Folk,** November 19-20, 1967.

inevitable consequence of a lack of principles, but at the same time it is a positive phenomenon showing that there are forces which want to check the further drift to the right.

As for the allegations that the Communists are infiltrating the SPP or that attempts are being made abroad to destroy that party, they are utterly unfounded. Even the SPP board has condemned Larsen's attempt to galvanize anti-communism.

Let us not try to predict the outcome of the SPP congress. But no matter who wins, this should not endanger the majority or necessitate the new general election which the bourgeoisie craves. The government wields an indisputable majority in the Folketing, whether split or united. What is clear to many today is that the SPP has not become a party capable of steering Denmark along a new course. For this a party of an entirely new type is needed, a party founded on scientific socialism, class struggle, freedom of opinion for its members, and organized struggle for a policy in the interests of the workers and with a clear-cut socialist aim.

The Communist Party is the only party in the country which acts on the principles of scientific socialism. It materialized from the striving of the working class to combine the struggle for its vital interests with a socialist perspective. This has been and will continue to be the basis of our actions. The need for such a party is felt more strongly than ever. The working class and all those who want a renovation of Danish policy need a party which does not act in its own interest alone.

However, as elsewhere in the world, the Danish working class has indisputable interests whose defense is a prime necessity. We have been often criticized as not being sufficiently modern, as belonging to the bygone times "when there was class struggle in Denmark." We did not go along with our critics, we did not become a party of the indirect tax and did not lend a hand in managing capitalist Denmark. We have always felt the hatred of the class enemy, having spurned his advice to take the inglorious road of careerism and reformism.

Our Party has invariably been on the side of the working class in the struggle for its big and minor demands. When winning any of its limited demands the working class has always been with us —despite the reformist leaders—and against the existing state of things. We have always been and will remain in the ranks of fighters against the enemies of the working class, and will never side with these enemies.

Today, as before, there are two principal trends in the working-class movement. One of them is revolutionary and communist. The other upholds reformism and the current line of managing capitalist society. The possibility of choice between these trends is due to the existence of the Communist Party.

To be sure, there is a struggle of opinions around new issues in Denmark, but there is a common desire to perceive and utilize changes in the reality in keeping with the principles of scientific socialism. If we were not such a party, we would be unworthy of the name of Communist.

Although our basis and objective are correct, there are things calling for self-criticism.

Communists are ordinary people with their merits and demerits. We are united by the struggle for socialist development and by the striving to contribute daily to the cause of the working class. But we have failed to adapt ourselves fully to the new situation resulting from the emergence of a working-class majority and to shift this majority to the left by organizing movements and actions. Probably we have not been outspoken enough in our criticism of the government policy and not persistent enough in advancing our own independent policy.

The reasons are many. Our shortcomings are not of a fundamental nature. They stem from the weaknesses and wounds that plagued us over a long time after we had parted ways with those who wanted to liquidate the Party.

One of the aims of this conference is to find ways of overcoming these difficulties, strengthening the Party and ensuring further advance. We have no doubts as to the degree to which we shall succeed, especially after the splendid fund-raising campaign for *Land og Folk* and the securing of more than 20,000 signatures of voters. It is clear to all these people that the Danish working-class movement needs a stronger, better and bolder Communist Party.

We have demonstrated our desire for unity of action by our entire practical work. This desire is not due to tactical considerations; it is decisive if results are to be achieved. Those who have doubts should examine the facts and find out where and when genuine progress was secured without or against Communists.

We have been acting upon the thesis that only through joint actions can the working class and the Left forces carry through their policy. We shall continue good cooperation in this spirit at enterprises, in trade unions, among young people and in big movements for peace and national freedom.

We shall carry it on to rouse the people against NATO and Denmark's participation in the Common Market. This does not mean that we shall renounce our program. On the contrary, far be it from us to conceal what we stand for, what policy we advocate, and on what we disagree with others.

The Communists do not demand that their present or future allies—personalities notwithstanding—recognize us as the best or accept our program as a whole. But we shall not allow our cooperation to be based on wholesale or partial discrimination against us.

Equality in cooperation, common discussions and common struggle —such is the only basis for joint action. The organizational division of the working class shows that there exist fundamental political differences, but nevertheless unity of action can be achieved. The most important thing for us is to establish cooperation around a policy of deep-going reforms, and not to gain glory for the results to be achieved.

COMMUNISTS WILL NOMINATE CANDIDATES IN THE NEXT ELECTION

The forces now comprising the parliamentary majority have campaigned against an independent Communist action in the next election on the plea that we shall split the votes and thus help the bourgeoisie towards power. This attitude is a natural sequel to the current policy of concessions. We intend to nominate our own candidates and contest the election as an independent party. By so doing we strengthen the influence of the working class as a whole and become an alternative for many discontented voters. If we did not nominate our candidates thousands of voters would stay away from the polls or succumb to the influence of bourgeois propaganda. This would make it possible for the bourgeoisie to seize power. Our entry into the election will show that there are forces which want a labor policy against big business, for socialism. This will strengthen the entire working-class movement.

The success of the SPP has not changed or noticeably influenced Social-Democratic policy. It has had no favorable effect even on the chairman of the party.

Let it be absolutely clear that the Communists nominate candidates in order to intensify the struggle against all Right forces, against militarism and capitalism, in order to launch an independent offensive of the working class. The years since 1960 have shown that what we want does not depend on parliamentary seats. But they would be useful in the current struggle. The most important thing for us is to unite the Left, isolate the Right and initiate a real program of struggle for the interests of the working class.

The time is more than ripe to utilize the strength of the working class in behalf of a consistent working-class policy. This policy cannot wait till the next elections. It should be worked out now, among ordinary people, and pursued by the joint efforts of the working class and mass movements.

This policy facilitates the struggle of the working class for its immediate demands and can increase the strength of the movements for peace, national freedom and solidarity with all fighters against the forces of war.

The question that confronts us most directly is one of eliminating

capitalism and the consequences the accommodation policy has had for ordinary people. The right to work is an elementary vital demand. Now that the capitalists have begun reducing employment and strenthening supervisory organs, effective interference into this process is needed.

There is urgent need for legislation that would fully compensate for loss of employment. Emergency assistance should be given to those who have been unemployed for more than four weeks. Tax exemption for all the registered unemployed should be a matter of course. Since the high rent cannot be paid out of the unemployment benefits, the parliamentary majority should see to it—as an emergency measure— that all unemployed get their share from the housing insurance system.

These transitionary measures should be expedited to ensure the subsistence of the 30,000 families of unemployed breadwinners. The government should act as promptly as it did when it interfered into legitimate strikes and banned them. But above all we want that there should be no unemployment.

We urge the "cooperation committee" of the parliamentary majority to work out and submit a plan for the restoration and maintenance of full employment. We think the following measures should be taken:

The public sector should be expanded through building such necessary projects as the bridge across the Great Belt, the underground railway in Copenhagen, the new airport in Saltholm, and others.

Development of the unemployment areas which have been neglected — also by the present government — should be promoted through immediate construction of industrial enterprises in the most afflicted areas. The central task of our Party in such areas is to advance concrete demands for development and take an active part in the struggle for employment.

At present, when employment suffers from restricted consumption, the unsuccessful policy of the majority should be promptly changed.

The indirect surtax should be abolished and foodstuffs, cultural services and medicines should be fully freed from tax as a step towards greater employment.

It is also necessary to establish control over investments which can prove that the employers make investments in order to conceal part of their huge profits and not in the interests of production development.

Denmark should not look for the solution of its marketing problems in the Common Market alone. Instead, she should expand—without political conditions—trade with the socialist world.

The proposals of the Communist Party should be regarded as an

outline of a labor policy providing for the positive development of the economic and democratic interests of the population, with a clear socialist perspective.

In the campaign for these great aims we should demonstrate our purposefulness, to show to every one that the Communist Party is ready to cooperate with all those who want a free Denmark, social progress and a renovation of Danish policy.

They can deride us, scoff at our efforts, hate us or try to divert us from our path. We intend to remain loyal to the working class and the people, to the socialist goal for which we are fighting. Linked with everything that is new in our country and outside it, we know that the future belongs to socialism. If we comprehend the demands of the time, realize our connection with the interests of the masses of working people, stimulate their action and overcome difficulties success will be assured.

Today it is necessary to go to the Danish people, to listen and learn—but also to show the way. What we advocate, that on which we orient the entire Party is a clear-cut and consistent labor policy with a socialist Denmark as its objective.

RESOLUTION*

OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE RUMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Between December 6 and 8, 1967, the National Conference of the Rumanian Communist Party discussed the measures on the perfecting of the management and planning of the national economy and on the improvement of Rumania's administrative-territorial organization.

The Conference noted that in the period that has elapsed since the Ninth Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party, big successes were obtained in all domains of social activity in our homeland which are the outcome of the enthusiastic, heroic work of the entire people, of the consistent implementation by the broad mass of the people of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party, which, united and strong, ably and consistently directs the destinies of socialist Rumania. The Conference expresses its full adherence to the work carried on by the Central Committee in the conduct of socialist construction, to the measures adopted in the course of these years.

The National Conference of the Rumanian Communist Party fully approves the report delivered by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, the principles and measures contained in this report, which are a synthetization of the experience in the direction of the construction of socialism in Rumania, a creative materialization of the directives of the Ninth Congress.

The Conference endorses the Directives on the perfecting of the management and planning of the national economy, conducive to the enhancement of the role of the economic-financial factors in the entire economy, to the liquidation of the phenomena of excessive centralism, to the widening of autonomy, to the increase of the powers and competence of the production units in planning, the organization and running of economic activity, to the better use of the internal resources of the enterprises and of all the branches of the national economy, to the development of the creative initiative of the working people's collectives.

The National Conference approves the principles of improvement of Rumania's administrative-territorial organization and of the development of rural localities, on the account of which the enhancement will be ensured of the role and attributions of the towns

*Information Bulletin of the CC RCP, No. 15, 1967.

and communes—basic units of the entire economic, political and social-cultural activities of the citizens—the counties will be created, efficiency of the local bodies' activity will increase and their initiative will rise, the central leadership will be more closely linked to the basic echelons of state administration. This will constitute the favorable setting for the rational distribution of the productive forces on the country's territory, for the harmonious economic and social-cultural development of all areas, will contribute to the faster penetration of the elements of modern civilization to the countryside, to the acceleration of the process of gradual coming closer of village life to town life—one of the main prerequisites of building communist society.

The Conference approves the measures for the bettering of the methods of organization and conduct of socialist life, for improving the work of the Party and state bodies, for eliminating duplications and overlappings in their activities, in compliance with the growing leading role of the Party in society, the measures with regard to intensified participation of the mass organizations in the running of state affairs, to the steady growth and strengthening of our socialist democracy.

The National Conference considers that all these measures fully conform to the present stage of economic and social development of our country, to the requirements of the rapid advance along the road of completing socialist construction, of the progress and prosperity of Rumania, of raising the living standards of the mass of the people—the basic aim of the entire policy of the Rumanian Communist Party. Their putting into effect will determine a further and powerful increase in the country's productive forces, in the development of the technico-material base of the socialist society, will contribute to the perfecting of the social relations of production, to the increase of the economic efficiency, to an even greater encouragement of creative initiative and the participation of the mass of the people in running the state affairs.

The National Conference empowers the Central Committee to take all the requisite economic, political and social measures for the carrying out of the decisions adopted, for the perfecting of the Party and state apparatus, of the entire machinery of our system, for raising the development of the socialist society in our homeland to a higher level. Furthermore the Conference entrusts the Central Committee with the mandate of applying in Party work the measures emanating from the administrative-territorial reorganization, and the necessary changes in the Party rules are to be submitted to the future Congress.

The National Conference assesses highly the international activity carried on by the Party and state leadership, and Rumania's foreign policy which has been focused on the friendship, alliance and co-

operation with all the socialist countries, on the striving for the steady strengthening of the forces and cohesion of the world socialist system, of the solidarity of the international Communist and working-class movement, of the unity of the entire anti-imperialist front. The National Conference considers that the efforts made by our country for the development of all-round collaboration and cooperation with all states, irrespective of their social system, is a contribution to international detente, to the cause of democracy and social progress. The Conference assesses as a high duty of our Party and state to manifest themselves, in the future too, as active factors in the struggle for the triumph of the ideas of socialism, for the strengthening of the revolutionary and progressive forces, for the cause of freedom and national independence of the peoples against the aggressive actions of imperialism and reaction, for international understanding and cooperation, for peace and security in the world.

Confident as it is that the measures endorsed open up wide prospects of creative work, of successes and satisfaction for the entire people, the National Conference of the Rumanian Communist Party calls upon the broad mass of workers, peasants and intellectuals, all the laboring folk, regardless of nationality, to put their entire energy and working capacity, talent and knowledge at the service of the implementation of this inspiring program of economic and social construction, on which depend the raising of our homeland to ever higher summits of civilization and well-being, the steady flowering of our nation—the Socialist Republic of Rumania—and the increase of her contribution to the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

SCINTEIA, December 9, 1967

PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE*

OF THE RUMANIAN CP

A Plentary Meeting of the CC of the RCP was held on December 8, 1967.

The Plenary Meeting examined problems related to the session of the Grand National Assembly due on December 9, and adopted corresponding measures.

The Plenary Meeting elected Comrade Chivu Stoica as Secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Upon agreeing to recommend the election of Alexandru Draghici as Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Plenary Meeting decided to release him from the office of secretary of the CC of the RCP.

*Scinteia, December 9, 1967.

EIGHTH SESSION OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

RUMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

The proceedings of the eighth session of the fifth legislative of the Grand National Assembly started on December 9, 1967.

In its morning session the Grand National Assembly elected unanimously, by secret ballot, the State Council and the Council of Ministers.

PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On January 5, 1968, the CTK news agency published the following report:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, meeting in plenary session from January 3-5, 1968, continued the discussion begun at its December meeting. In line with the conclusions of the 13th Congress and the theses "The Position and Role of the Party at the Present Stage in the Development of Our Socialist Society" approved at the October meeting, the CC discussed fundamental issues of the leading role of the Party and of raising the activity and effectiveness of Party work.

The CC stressed that rallying the whole Czechoslovak people to ensure the further progress of a highly developed socialist society should constitute the chief content of the present policy of the Party. The plenary meeting culminated in complete unity of views on all main problems of putting the conclusions of the 13th Party Congress into practice.

The CC proceeded in a democratic, businesslike and critical manner, and fully realizing its responsibility, to concretely implement in its ranks the conclusions of the October meeting. It assessed the present situation in the Party and pointed to shortcomings in the methods and style of work in the inner leadership of the Party and in the specific application of the principle of democratic centralism and inner-party democracy.

A broad discussion of these issues was held, in which the overwhelming majority of the full and alternate members of the CC CPC took part.

On the basis of the general concept of our policy, which is directed toward creating a profoundly democratic and developed socialist society, in keeping with the process of democratization begun in the sphere of state policy, in the interest of division of labor and new relations between the highest Party and government bodies, and with a view to emphasizing the importance of the Presidency as a symbol of working-class and socialist authority in this state, the CC resolved to separate the posts of President of the Republic and First Secretary of the CC CPC.

For these reasons, the plenary meeting of the CC CPC resolved, in compliance with Comrade Antonin Novotny's own request, to relieve him as President of the CSSR of the office of First Secretary of the CC CPC.

Comrade Antonin Novotny, until now First Secretary of the CC CPC, has been at the head of the Party over a number of years. Associated with his name are important successes achieved in these years by the Party, both in our country and in the world Communist movement. The CC CPC thinks highly of the meritorious and devoted work which Comrade Novotny has carried out in this complicated and exacting period at the head of the CC CPC for the good of the Party and the republic, and thanks him for it.

The CC then unanimously elected Comrade Alexander Dubcek, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC and First Secretary of the CC CPS, to be First Secretary of the CC CPC. Thereby continuity of Party leadership will be maintained and long years' experience in Party work appreciated.

Upon his election Comrade Dubcek made a brief speech. He stressed the importance of the fundamental Leninist principles of the policy of our Party, its unity and its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, on which its activity has been based ever since it was founded, of the socialist principles of internationalism, and the promotion of socialism, which are the foundation of the integral Czechoslovak state of Czechs and Slovaks and the basis of the stability and international security of our country, an inseparable part of the socialist world system closely linked with the Soviet Union.

The CC resolved additionally to elect to the Presidium Comrades Jan Piller, Deputy Minister of Heavy Industry; Joseph Spacek, First Secretary, South Moravia Regional Committee of the CPC; Emil Rigo, Chairman of the CPS Committee at the East Slovakia Iron Works in Kosice; and Josef Boruvka, Chairman of the united agricultural cooperative in Dolany.

In place of deceased comrades, the CC elected new full members from among its alternate members: Comrades Oldrich Rakosnik, Chairman of the CPC Committee at the Kladno Steel Works, and Miroslav Capka, First Secretary, District Committee of the CPC in Olomouc.

The CC put on record that the government and the Presidium of the Slovak National Council will, on the basis of an analysis, present to the Central Committee of the Party concrete proposals for improving their activity with due regard, first of all, to the new system of management, on the basis of the debate and the proposals made at the December and January meetings of the CC CPC.

All the measures of the CC are aimed at strengthening our Party and our republic, and their sole purpose is to promote the unity of the Party and its leadership, strictly to adhere to the Leninist standards of Party work, raise the efficiency of the Party and in this way to implement in full the conclusions of the 13th Congress and provide prerequisites for proper preparations for the 14th Congress of the Party.

The CC expects that all the Communists and Party bodies will proceed, consistently and with a sense of responsibility, to direct and active realization of the conclusions adopted. Attention should be concentrated above all on accomplishing the economic tasks in industry, agriculture and the other branches of the national economy arising from the decisions of the December meeting of the CC CPC and the plan for 1968. This should be fostered by the election meetings of the CPC organizations and the Party conferences, by the preparations for, and the course of, the elections to the National Assembly, the Slovak National Council and the national committees, and by the celebration of the 20th anniversary of February and the 50th anniversary of the founding of our republic.

The CC CPC concluded its meeting in a spirit of complete unity and cohesion corresponding to the revolutionary traditions of the CPC and to the great tasks of today.

The meeting ended with singing the Internationale.

ECONOMIC TASKS AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING, 1968-70

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In developing the new system of management, we have taken only the first important steps. Nor have we provided all the prerequisites of a radical qualitative change in the national economy. Nevertheless, the results achieved to date show that the system of management is operating in the direction set. Trends of the past still make themselves felt and there arise new problems which account for the inadequacy of the measures against inefficiency and for certain risks necessitating temporary adjustments and interventions, and thoughtful promotion of the instruments of management.

The favorable trend of production is characterized by increases amounting to 6.1 per cent in industry, 3.5 per cent in agriculture and 7.3 per cent in construction.

The greatest output of grain in the postwar period was achieved due to the highest per hectare yields in the history of our agriculture. Progress in crop farming made for a higher output of animal products.

*Text released by the CTK, December 22, 1967.

We owe these results to something more than favorable climatic conditions. They are also due to systematic intensification of agriculture and to increased material incentives.

In 1968 the growth rate of social production will rise to 5 per cent at the least and that of the national income, to roughly 6 per cent or 7 per cent.

Capital construction will increase by approximately 2 per cent in volume. Furthermore, we have succeeded in stopping the unfavorable increase in new projects.

In line with long-range plans for the structural reorganization of the economy, construction in the light and food industries, transport and the non-productive sphere has been intensified. The results achieved in housing are inadequate and delay solution of the problem—a phenomenon to which we cannot be reconciled.

The incomes of the population will go up by a total of roughly 10,000 or 11,000 million korunas. Average monthly wages will rise by almost 5 per cent and the cost of living by some 1.5 per cent, which means that real wages will grow by approximately 3.5 per cent, or by almost 75 korunas a month per employee. Employment in the socialist sector, excepting the agricultural cooperatives, will grow by 90,000 to 100,000.

The food market has been further stabilized and its supply improved. Nevertheless, the demand for manufactured consumer goods and for services is not yet being met in full.

We must continue our effort to consolidate our foreign economic relations, in which we must overcome the stagnation in imports from certain socialist countries and attain a volume of export of goods and services to the capitalist countries ensuring that the necessary increase in imports is gained under a normal balance of payments.

The non-productive sphere, in which the fundadmental task is to build 460,000 flats, must be considerably strengthened through a a policy of restricting the excessive demand for investments in capital construction.

To bring about a more rapid growth of the national income than was envisaged by the fourth five-year plan and to extend the sources of a higher standard of living, we must do everything for their effective growth, primarily through scientific and technological progress.

To effect structural changes in production, it is essential to adjust prices in a way creating more favorable economic conditions for the development of the industries which are of fundamental importance in meeting the demand on the home market and in increasing effective exports.

We must gradually bring wholesale prices closer to those on the

world market, limit budget subsidies for prices and in this way help to make production and investment more effective.

Under the pressure of world prices we must enable effective production units to develop at a fast rate, and must gradually reduce and abolish the ineffective ones.

To enhance the active role of wages, we will continue to accelerate the growth of the working people's incomes as we differentiate labor remuneration still further. From 1968 to 1970, average pay is expected to grow by roughly 3.8 per cent a year in the national economy as a whole and by 2.7 per cent to 2.9 per cent in industry.

The Central Committee of the Party re-emphasizes the need to devote special attention to the development of the retail prices of goods and services. It expects the relevant government and economic agencies to guarantee in practice effective regulation and control of price trends and to draw drastic conclusions with regard to enterprises, organization and key executives violating price regulations.

The overall increase in the cost of living should not go beyond the limits set by the CC CPC in May.

In 1968, state allowances for children are to be raised, especially in the case of big families.

Paid maternity leaves are to be extended to 26 weeks, and we must explore further possibilities of extending government aid to mothers bringing up their children upon expiration of the paid leave. In 1969, all basic pensions will be raised and the maximum limit abolished on pensions to citizens who continue at work after becoming eligible for pensioning .

Working time will be further reduced, to 42.5 hours a week, and the enterprises working in several shifts will be granted favorable working hours. The work week will last five days.

In the period 1966-70 the growth rate of the national income will rise by no less than 31 per cent or 32 per cent (against 22 per cent to 24 per cent under the fourth five-year plan).

With a view to restoring the balance on the home market, we must further structural changes in a number of industries. As these changes are effected there should take place a further reduction of the overall consumption of fuel and power and an increase in the share of liquid fuels and gas.

The chemical industry will gain in importance. Engineering will retain a substantial share in industrial production.

To develop the economy at a steady pace, it is essential to systematically build up a basis for more extensive cooperation with the socialist countries on a qualitatively higher level. Imports from the capitalist countries should be conditioned by the availability of means of payment in these countries. We must launch a long-term

effort to extend the scope of up-to-date relations with the economies of the socialist and capitalist countries.

In view of the present slackened rate of capital construction in heavy industry, we must make further investments in the processing industries and must build up fixed assets making it possible to promote the non-productive sphere and improve the standard of living.

Creating conditions for more rapid and dynamic economic progress in keeping with the needs of an integrated economy will also enable us to increase the rate of economic growth in Slovakia. This object will also be furthered by adjusting the levers of regional management, which makes for more harmonious development of the productive forces in the less developed areas of the republic. To draw up plans for 1969 and 1970, we must re-explore the situation and decide on appropriate economic-policy measures for Slovakia.

With a view to reaching the required harmony between the interests of society and those of collective bodies or of individuals in the course of economic development, we must at every level of management and in every enterprise establish criteria of social conduct by specifying the tasks in improving quality, raising the technical standard of production and cutting public expenditures for production, as well as by specifying the conditions of labor remuneration, etc., and must continuously control the actual fulfilment of these tasks.

In view of these exacting demands, put above all to executives, the Party must extend its work among people and afford greater opportunities to those who are competent enough to meet these demands. Leading positions should be entrusted chiefly to persons having a realistic sense of all that is new and progressive.

Government officials and economic executives must show political discernment not only in directing the spheres entrusted to them but, above all, in giving thoughtful guidance to working people's collectives and in enlisting their effort to carry out the decisions and the economic policy of the Party.

Party committees and organizations should not try to substitute themselves for economic or government agencies but should concentrate on decisive political and economic problems arising from the concept of development and from its translation into reality. However, neither should they underrate the need to influence important current decisions. The Central Committee will continue creatively to carry forward the ideas of the 13th Congress of the CPC on economic policy.

One of the principal requirements is to combat a number of conservative, outdated views holding up elimination of shortcomings in our economy and hampering its consolidation. We must take a more resolute stand, first of all, against attempts to put personal

or particular interests above those of society as a whole, against enterprises abusing their monopoly position to unwarrantedly raise the price of their output, against increased budgetary spending and against scattering capital investments.

INTENSIFYING MOBILIZATION WORK AMONG THE WORKING CLASS AND THE ACTIVITY OF TRADE UNIONS IN THE NEW CONDITIONS*

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF WORKING PEOPLE IN VIETNAM

The decision of the Central Committee characterizes the situation in the country and the tasks in mobilizing the workers and stepping up trade union activities at the present stage.

In the past two years of the struggle against the destructive war waged by U.S. imperialism the factory and office workers of North Vietnam have been tirelessly developing patriotic traditions, combining them with the traditions of class struggle, enhancing their revolutionary heroism, displaying courage and a creative attitude toward work, constantly overcoming numerous difficulties in production and everyday life in order to carry out the tasks facing the country, and performing with honor the role of revolutionary vanguard. Their ranks have been growing fast both numerically and qualitatively.

The decision of the Central Committee, having spotlighted shortcomings in the work to mobilize the workers and in the activities of the trade unions, and having pointed out their causes, which are due to the fact that some Party committees and some of the leading functionaries of the state apparatus and mass organizations, the trade unions included, do not always adhere to the class position and viewpoint of the masses outlined by the Party, stresses the following:

Although at present U.S. imperialism is suffering resounding defeats in both parts of our country, it has not abandoned its insidious plans to conquer our country. Because of its obstinacy and and bellicosity, the war will go on growing in acuteness and fierceness. Our people will have to exert tremendous efforts, overcome numerous difficulties and make great sacrifices to secure complete victory in the struggle against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation. The working class of our country, which plays the role of vanguard and shoulders great responsibility and is the leading force of the revolution, must exert ever greater efforts in order

*Abridged from **Nhan Dan**, December 13, 1967.

to rise still higher in all respects and fulfil its historical mission with regard to our nation, its lofty duty of the common revolutionary cause of the working class of the whole world. The working class should persistently develop its leading role in the national-democratic and socialist revolution, in the present sacred Resistance to the U.S. aggression aimed at liberating the South, safeguarding the North and ensuring the unification of the country, and actively contribute to the joint struggle of the working class and all oppressed peoples against U.S.-headed imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The working class of the North is faced with a great political task: to be active in the front ranks of the fighters for the implementation of the line of the Party and the government for building and developing the economy in the new conditions, heroically defend the North, and play an active role in turning the North into a reliable rear of the revolution throughout the country.

In order to carry out this task, the factory and office workers of the North should be the spearhead in carrying out the three revolutions designed to ensure the successful implementation of the state plan in all conditions: They must exchange their vanguard role both in the army and among the people, resolutely fight against the destructive war waged by the aggressor, and set examples of thriftiness, integrity, devotion and simplicity and modesty in the everyday material and cultural life. The factory and office workers should do everything to help the South, to join efforts with the working people and all fellow-countrymen in the South with a view to completing the national-democratic revolution throughout the country.

Our Party is the vanguard of the working class, and Marxism-Leninism is its ideological and political foundation. Its duty is to rear, educate and harden the working class, to see to it that the working class grows in all respects and is capable of fulfilling its historical mission. In other words, the Party must show concern for improving mobilization work among the working class. In conditions of the war of Resistance against the aggression of U.S. imperialism, for national salvation, this task of the Party assumes increasingly topical importance.

The whole of our Party must realize perfectly that the building of socialism calls for socialist industrialization, and that the latter requires fostering a numerous working class strong in all respects. The working class is the principal political force, the chief social basis of socialist society in North Vietnam. All major victories of our people are inseparable from the growth and consolidation of the ranks of the working class, from leadership provided by our Party, which adheres to the line of the working class. Therefore not only Party committees at enterprises, in offices, etc.,

but all cadres, all Party members irrespective of posts occupied by them should display maximum concern and activity in the Party's work to mobilize the working class.

Our Party should resolutely *rely on trade union organizations,* form strong trade union organizations as the basis for the establishment of Party cells and committees, *improve guidance of trade union activities,* and see to it that trade unions at all levels perform their role to the full. Through the trade unions, the Party must rally, organize and educate the masses in order to pursue its policy among them, strengthen its links with the working masses and turn them into a reliable mainstay of state power, into a basis for strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, a backbone for rallying the entire nation.

Under the leadership of the Party, the trade unions should unite, educate and organize workers and mobilize them for accomplishing the three revolutions: the revolution in production relations, the technological revolution and the revolution in the spheres of ideology and culture. The trade unions should take an increasingly active part in drawing up and fulfilling economic plans and plans for production and distribution, in establishing economic and technical indices. They should redouble their efforts to make the working class the collective master in managing the economy and the state and play an active role in carrying out production tasks, in safeguarding production, in the war and in normalizing the life of the workers and office employees. . . .

All organs of power should continue to rely on the working class in the political, economic and social respects, serve the working class in every way, and respect the role of the trade unions, which represent the factory and office workers in economic management and state administration. All factory managers should *resolutely implement the system of democratic management* while continuing to strengthen discipline. Above all they should show genuine respect for the right of the workers and office employees to be the masters of their enterprises and offices and the right of the trade unions to take part in management, and create *conditions for the factory and office workers to develop consciously and constantly the sense of being the collective master.* On this basis it is necessary to strengthen unity between the management and the trade unions in order to ensure the implementation, under the guidance of the Party, of state plans.

All functionaries, all Party members should deeply realize the role and place of the working class in the new situation, do everything to improve its ideological education, enhance its revolutionary enthusiasm and class consciousness, improve the work of mobilizing the working class and intensify the work of the trade unions so as to ensure victory in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, for

the salvation of the country, and in carrying out socialist industrialization in our country.

At the present stage the Party's work to mobilize the working class and intensify trade union activity should be geared to the realization of the following three tasks:

1. *Intensification of production,* enhancement of labor productivity and quality, achievement of maximum economy, implementation of the state plan under all circumstances.

2. Defense of production, heroic and victorious struggle against the aggressor.

3. Enhancement of the material and cultural level, political vigilance, technical and professional skills, and morale; improvement of the style of work to create a working-class contingent increasingly strong in all respects.

The CC decision sets and explains the following concrete tasks:

1. *To intensify production, develop the national economy and defend it against the aggressor, continue the establishment of the material and technical foundations of socialism in North Vietnam.*

The position of the working class—the carrier of progressive methods of production—and its decisive role in the technological revolution create conditions for continuous enhancement of labor productivity. This is a concrete expression of the advantages of socialism and a vivid manifestation of the leading role, the role of revolutionary vanguard which the working class performs in the fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation and in the building of socialism. Therefore, *intensification of production and at the same time continuous enhancement of labor productivity* is the principal, permanent concrete economic and political task of the working class.

It is necessary to educate and mobilize the workers and office employees, seeing to it that they deeply grasp their role and place in the realization of this task, to rouse their revolutionary enthusiasm and develop their creative abilities, to organize and mobilize the working class for *mastering science and technology,* for the successful fulfilment of the state plan under any circumstances, for meeting all requirements of the front and of the transport, for the development of production and the local industry, which is to cater to agriculture and to the everyday needs of the people.

It is necessary to educate, mobilize and organize the factory and office workers for implementing a strict *economy regime,* for enhancing the sense of responsibility in safeguarding state and collective property, for resolutely combating *corruption and wastefulness.*

It is necessary that the factory and office workers should become *real masters in their factories and institutions,* and that the system of democratic management should be implemented effectively. The

Party should rely on the trade unions in the exercise by the factory and office workers of their right to share in management. It should resolutely cut short all attempts to restrict their right to be the collective master by references to wartime conditions. In wartime conditions production is subject to constant change. Hence the need to pay still greater attention to ensuring the workers' participation in adjusting production to the new conditions.

2. *Make ever greater contributions to the strengthening of the armed forces, fight resolutely against the destructive war waged by the U.S. imperialists.*

It is necessary to popularize among the workers and office employees the Party's thesis on people's war and nationwide defense, to ensure that they deeply realize the need both to intensify production and to fight against the destructive war waged by the enemy.

To encourage heroism and resourcefulness in the defense of production facilities, in ensuring the needs of the war and in participation in the war itself. To strengthen the workers' and office employees' self-defense detachments, increase their fighting capacity, improve their cooperation with the regular troops.

Constantly to enhance revolutionary vigilance, actively resist the enemy's psychological warfare, be on the lookout for spies and wreckers. Tirelessly strengthen the people's anti-aircraft defense system, clearly define the responsibilities of every unit, and every person, and concrete measures of active resistance to the enemy's insidious plans in any conditions, measures to ensure the safety of citizens and the production of machines and equipment at enterprises.

3. *Promote emulation in the fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation.*

The emulation of factory and office workers in the fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is today a form of production and class struggle. It should develop into a powerful revolutionary movement. All factory and office workers should conscientiously participate in it.

In guilding the movement the Party should rely on the trade unions and the Working Youth League, and through them constantly mobilize the masses.

The aims of the emulation are to enhance labor productivity and the effectiveness of production, intensify the struggle against the aggression, and fully carry out the state plan under all circumstances. For this, concrete slogans of action should be advanced in every branch, at every enterprise and office in accordance with the obtaining situation, in order to concentrate the efforts of the masses on the principal problems of production, defense of production facilities, and the struggle against the aggressor.

It is necessary to promote the initiative of the masses and widely utilize and popularize the rationalization proposals of the workers. In wartime conditions production has to cope with ever new difficulties, which makes it necessary to cultivate the spirit of reliance on one's own forces and promote the initiative of the masses in order to reach all targets of the state plan, achieve self-sufficiency and find substitutes for critical raw and other materials.

The class consciousness of the workers, their sense of being the collective master of their country is the basis of this movement. Therefore mobilization of the masses for participation in managing production should become the cornerstone of the work to draw factory and office workers into this movement, so that they should manifest their sense of being the master in construction in highly effective performance, in the enhancement of the scientific and technical level, in strict observance of labor discipline and safety rules.

4. *Show concern for the life and health of the workers and office employees.*

Improvement of the standard of living of the working people should be the basis of production development. It is an objective law of the socialist economy. However, we should adhere to a correct class position: in order to ensure normal production and the pursuit of the war over a long period, it is necessary to show constant concern for the life and health of the factory and office workers. In the present-day conditions, this means above all strict implementation of relevant regulations, revision of everything that does not correspond to the present situation, correct solution of problems of distribution, and orientation of the masses on rationally organizing their life .. .

Serious attention should be paid to collecting the suggestions of the masses with a view to revising certain regulations and changing the organiztaion of labor and distribution of consumer goods in accordance with the new situation. In the first place it is necessary to revise legislation related to workers employed on arduous, unhealthy or dangerous jobs as well as to women workers. The legislation covering the employees of centrally-managed enterprises should be extended to the factory and office workers employed at local state enterprises. It is also necessary to study the question of utilizing the social security funds for meeting the vital requirements of the workers in the new conditions, to unify the social security funds placed at the dispasal of the trade unions.

To improve the diet, housing and working conditions, disease-prevention work and medical services, especially at evacuation centers and mobile enterprises and institutions servicing war needs. To improve the organization of the evacuation of workers' families, increase assistance to families with many children, pay more atten-

tion to children's establishments and generally show more concern for children, especially orphans whose parents lost their lives at the front or at their work places. In localities subjected to enemy air raids promptly to normalize the life of the workers and office employees and members of their families.

5. *Intensify educational work among the workers and office employees, enhance the role of the working class as the revolutionary vanguard.*

Educational work among factory and office workers is important not only as a means of ensuring that the latter have a sufficient level and are capable of performing the tasks stemming from the new conditions. It is decisive for building up the ranks of the working class and the Party itself.

The aims of educational work among factory and office workers are as follows: to deepen the realization by the working class of its rights and interests in close conjunction with the growth of their patriotism, love for socialism, firm determination and selflessness in the struggle for independence, freedom and socialism; to instil in the working class absolute confidence in the revolutionary line of the Party, to ensure that the workers perform well any work entrusted to them; to educate the new worker who has a high political, ideological and cultural level, is competent in his trade, and possesses the traits and revolutionary morality of the working class.

Instilling a high degree of realization by the workers and office employees of their rights and interests consists primarily in deepening their sense of being the collective master of the country, in developing their revolutionary traditions, in enhancing their role and their sense of duty at the present stage of the revolution. It is necessary to closely connect the inculcation of patriotism and love for socialism with deepening the realization by the working class of its rights and interests, to see to it that the workers and office employees are fully aware that their struggle for independence, freedom and socialism is their life, that the struggle for victory over U.S. imperialism, for national salvation and for the building of socialism is fulfilment by the Vietnamese working class of its historical mission and duty to the entire nation, to the revolutionary movement of the working class of the whole world.

The education of the workers and office employees in the spirit of devotion to the line of the Party and the tasks set by it should be closely associated with the concrete tasks of the given branch, enterprise and institution, of every worker. It is necessary to ensure, on the basis of the deep realization by the working class of its rights and interests, that the factory and office workers fully understand the line of the Party and the tasks set by it. In other words, the political line of the Party must become an expression of the will and aspirations of the working class.

The enhancement of the cultural, scientific and technical level of the factory and office workers and of their competence as regards management of enterprises creates conditions for enhancing their role as masters of enterprises and is an important factor for accelerating the technological revolution. . . .

The workers of all propaganda and agitation departments and in all branches of literature and the arts, especially those working in Party and trade union periodicals, should go to the masses, to the enterprises in order to study well the life of the workers, effectively mobilize them, inspire the movement of the working class, persistently propagandize the role, place and tasks of the working class in the struggle against the U.S. aggression and for national salvation, in the building of socialism. We should see to it that the progressive revolutionary ideology of the working class, i.e., the ideology of the Party, becomes dominant among the factory and office workers and all other strata of society. It is necessary to create more works of literature and art showing the role, place and historical mission of the working class. At the same time we should resolutely combat all attempts to belittle the role and place of the working class in the revolution.

6. *Improve the education of young people, women and intellectuals.*

Our *youth* constitutes part of the working class and is a very important force in production and in the war. It is necessary to pay most serious attention to the education of young people, deepen their awareness of the rights and place of the working class, raise their professional level and develop their role as a shock force in production and in the war.

Women, too, comprise a fairly big detachment of the working class and office employees. Their participation in production and in the war is constantly growing. They have great possibilities for this. It is necessary to strengthen their confidence in their forces, raise their professional and technical level, actively help them overcome the growing difficulties in everyday life, especially in housekeeping and in rearing their children, so that they may fully develop their abilities in production and in the war. Special attention should be paid to correct utilization of their labor in keeping with their physical abilities.

The intelligentsia plays an important role in research work, in the utilization of the achievements of science and technology. It is necessary to educate the intelligentsia in all respects, above all to intensify its ideological and political education in order to turn it into an entirely new intelligentsia, that of the working class. Our intellectuals should be helped in every way to develop their abilities and place them at the service of the war against the U.S. aggressors

and for national salvation, at the service of the socialist industrialization of the country.

The decision of the Central Committee sets the following tasks as regards the organizational consolidation of the trade unions and intensification of their activities:

The trade unions should persistently develop their functions in the mobilization, organization and all-round education of factory and office workers, serving as an instrument of building the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and rallying the entire nation; as a base for the growth of the Party and for the training of cadres for the Party and the state; a defender of the material and spiritual interests of factory and office workers; the connecting link between the Party and the worker masses; an organization which mobilizes the factory and office workers for effective work and for participation in management of enterprises, represents the factory and office workers in managing the economy and the state, and closely cooperates with state organs in the elaboration and implementation of policy and various state ordinances and instructions. Such is the basis on which the trade unions should be turned into a school of economic management and state administration, a school of socialism and communism, a mainstay of revolutionary power. . . .

The primary trade union organizations should first and foremost occupy themselves with mobilizing the factory and office workers for participation in management of their enterprises. . . .

Work among the masses should be the basic principle of trade union activity. The primary organizations should draw ever broader masses of factory and office workers into active participation in trade union work. Youth organizations should be utilized as a shock force in the work of the primary organizations among the masses.

A pressing task is to train and educate trade union cadres for catering to the needs of the developing mass movement and of the expanding activities of the Party and the state. New local cadres should be trained as a reserve for higher organs.

Capable trade union cadres are needed in transport, in the power, engineering, coal-mining and other important branches, as well as in the branches working for the defense of the country. Special attention should be paid to the establishment and consolidation of trade union organizations at local industry enterprises, in the producers' cooperatives and in the domestic industries, in order to step up mobilization work among the masses. This is important not only for the development of the local industry, but also for strengthening the alliance of the workers and peasants.

Finally, the CC decision calls for improving Party guidance of mobilization work and trade union activity. This is the *decisive condition* for the successful implementation by the working class

of its tasks in the struggle against the U.S. aggression and for national salvation and in the socialist industrialization of the country. At the same time, it is *decisive* for the further consolidation, through the trade union organizations, of the Party's links with the masses of factory and office workers. . . . The entire Party should adhere firmly to the positions of the working class and embody this concretely in the recognition and correct appraisal of the role, place and historical mission of the working class in the revolution, embody it in the intensification of Party guidance of mobilization work and trade union activity.

The Party committees at all levels should keep abreast of the development of the working-class movement in the provinces, in branches of industry, at enterprises and in offices, and constantly direct the work of trade union organizations. They should know well all decisions and directives of the higher organs regarding the work of the trade unions, and direct the activities of the respective trade union committees towards unfailing implementation of these decisions and directives. It is intolerable that mobilization work among factory and office workers is sometimes regarded as a concern of trade union organizations alone and is wholly left to them.

The Party committees at all levels should dispatch competent Party functionaries for consolidating trade union committees at the respective levels and thus raise the effectiveness of their work. They should create all conditions for the unimpeded performance by the trade union committees of their functions.

The Party committees at the district level and higher on should coordinate the work of the trade unions and the youth and women's organizations. Thus mobilization work among factory and office workers will assume a coordinated, planned character.

Every Party member should be fully aware that it is his duty to be the best representative of the working class, that he is a member of a Party organization which is a headquarters of the working class, and is therefore responsible for the formation of such mass organizations as trade unions. Every Party member at an enterprise or in an institution should also be a trade union member, take an active part in the work of his trade union organization, carry out in an exemplary way the tasks set by this organization, and thus strengthen the links between Party members and the masses, educate and mobilize the masses for the implementation of the policy of the Party, and enhance the leading role of the Party with respect to the trade unions.

STATEMENT*

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

The country is experiencing a national crisis which has been aggravated by the events that have taken place since November 19, 1967. The devaluation of the peseta and the accompanying "austerity" plan have brutally revealed the essence of the problems facing Spain, abruptly dispelling the myth about the "Spanish miracle," about development which has allegedly ensured our "upswing" and brought the country closer to Europe. The devaluation has confirmed the failure of the economic policy favoring finance capital, a policy which, having left archaic structures and the new spheres of monopoly domination intact, has resulted in the squandering of the means obtained as a result of the sacrifices which the devaluation and the stabilization plan of 1959 imposed upon the people. The practitioners of this policy have failed to take advantage of the exceptionally favorable conditions that shaped up in recent years. We are again confronted with the old problems which have now been aggravated because the rest of the world has continued to make headway.

There is nothing that can detract from the responsibility which rests with the existing regime. The gap between the real situation in the country and the notion of it entertained by those in power is growing daily. The insolvency and inconsistency of the government, the split in it, the contradictions within the government system itself—all this deprives the national economy of leadership and perspective. Boastful reports have been published on the results of the first development plan which, everybody knows, has failed and been buried. Directives for the second plan are adopted, and hardly a week passes before the bottomless gulf between the basic provisions of these directives and reality becomes apparent.

Like a succession of avalanches, measures are being adopted aimed at sharply lowering the living standard of the masses—workers and peasants, office employees and those industrialists and tradesmen from the middle classes who do not belong to the monopoly groups. Banking capital alone, owing to the "dearer" money and, consequently, higher profits, will benefit from this misery plan.

The nationwide character of the crisis is determined above all by the fact that it is not just individuals who have failed, not even the government, but the regime as a whole. The country is fully aware

*Abridged from **Mundo Obrero**, December 1967.

that this cannot go on any longer; harsh facts show that the present political institutions, paralyzed and tumbling down, are powerless in face of the demands of the moment and cannot cope with the situation.

The "ultras" of the regime are so frank and crude in the pursuit of their aims that some people in the government circles are beginning to realize the need for changes; these people, whom we call evolutionists, are spurned and rejected by the system itself.

In the course of 1967 the contrast between the regime, which is squirming in convulsions and adopting ever more rigid positions, and the mounting struggle of the masses, became increasingly apparent. As a result, the evolutionists, whose weight cannot be ignored in Spain, found themselves under double pressure from the system itself, which rejects them, and from the movement of the masses, which influences the evolutionists and propels them towards the opposition.

Thus there have begun to appear points of the convergence of views of the democratic opposition and the evolutionist circles which we regard as a feasible hypothesis.

This convergence of views has been manifested also in the attention they have shown for the mass movement and above all the workers' commissions. Certain facts and certain articles have even become an objective contribution to the intensification of their activities. Witness the demonstrations that culminated in the October 27 events in Madrid.

If we examine the international situation in the context of internal political development in Spain, the facts will show us that the existing regime remains an unsurmountable obstacle on the way to a Spain capable of playing a role worthy of it. It also prevents Spain from defending its vital interests and safeguarding its future.

As the beginning of the talks with the Common Market has shown, under the present regime the country has neither the weight nor the possibilities necessary for difficult talks of vast importance to Spain.

It has become obvious that there can be no question now of an extension of diplomatic and commercial relations with the socialist countries necessary for laying a solid foundation of national independence.

Despite the attempts of the regime, Spain has not played even the minimum role in the diplomatic talks in connection with the conflict in the Middle East. It was left on the roadside, ignored, discounted.

This degradation of the regime, its inability to solve the problems facing Spain both on the international and internal plane, is clearly making itself felt at a moment when the movement of the masses is again gaining momentum.

Today, when the regime is coming under increasing pressure as a result of mass action, when the abyss between it and the country is deepening, the need is greater than ever to work out a political alternative to the Franco dictatorship. In conditions of the ever more active participation of Catholic forces in the popular struggle against the regime, the forces opposed to the dictatorship adhere to more radical positions which in some instances have a democratic, progressive, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly character. In this connection it is necessary to stress the importance of Ruiz Jimenez' editorial in a recent issue of *Quadernos para el Dialogo*—the so-called Palamos manifesto — where programmatic solutions are outlined which on a number of basic points coincide with or approximate to the positions of the Communist Party of Spain stated in Santiago Carrillo's books "After Franco—What?" and "A New Look at Present-day Problems."

This similarity of views is all the more important since it concerns not only the struggle against the dictatorship but also the problems of building genuine democracy in Spain. Thus there appear possibilities of future cooperation between Communists and broad Catholic strata, along with the other socialist and democratic sectors, in the struggle for political and economic democracy.

But this programmatic approximation is important also from the standpoint of concrete burning problems of today, for this facilitates the vital mutual understanding in the matter of the political alternative.

In this connection attention should be paid to another important factor called into being by the repercussions which the national crisis precipitated by the regime has had among the Right circles. We insist that the heavy defeat the regime has suffered in the elections of deputies to the Cortes is the result of the convergence of certain positions of the labor and democratic forces, on the one hand, and some evolutionist circles, on the other.

Subsequent facts bear out this trend in even more striking relief: the evolutionist circles of the big bourgeoisie, removed into the background by the present rigid regime, are compelled to leave its "bosom" and adopt a posture of opposition to Franco's government and his camarilla of "ultras" and Falange bureaucrats.

Things being as they are, the Communist Party has decided to elaborate an alternative, basing itself on the striving for accord and mutual understanding between all forces wishing to put an end to the dictatorship and establish a normal democratic system in Spain.

As the conditions are ripening under which the need for political change becomes imperative, the inevitable and urgent need arises of initiating a dialogue between the forces of democratic opposition and the forces which are becoming convinced that no evolution

capable of settling the problems of Spain can be expected from the regime. This dialogue is to bring about the elaboration of a political alternative. The Communist Party again proposes to meet at a "round table." At the same time it reaffirms its determination to use all suitable methods (bilateral or multilateral meetings) which would make possible progress along this road.

Regardless of the urgent economic and social measures which are to be envisaged to improve the lot of the working people and solve the more painful of Spain's problems, the Communist Party considers that any agreement on the political alternative should be based on the following three points:

1) restoration of political freedoms, without any discrimination;
2) general amnesty for political prisoners and exiles;
3) election of a Constituent Cortes to decide upon the future regime in Spain.

The Communist Party is ready to cooperate with the future provisional government inasmuch as it will effectively implement these three points, and it will not insist on its participation in the government.

Stressing that the implementation of these points is an indispensable condition for offering a genuine alternative to the country, the Communist Party is, naturally, resolutely, opposed to any intention to impose upon the country, without a preliminary consultation with the people and against their will, continuity of the reactionary regime camouflaged by a "monarchic solution." Such an attempt would be an encroachment on the sovereignty of the Spanish people. The people alone can decide — through the Constituent Cortes — what regime should be established.

The above-mentioned three points enable the monarchists and those who, like us, are supporters of the Republic, to cooperate today in the struggle to destroy the dictatorship — on the condition that both the former and the latter pledge themselves to accept the will of the people tomorrow. Therefore these three points, which have the broad support of Spanish public opinion, can become the groundwork of concrete agreement between all forces opposed to the dictatorship, no matter how different their views of the future may be.

Such is the road making it possible to offer to Spain a genuine political alternative to the regime. The Communist Party is already working with might and main to make this alternative a reality, acting flexibly and boldly, guided by a firm determination to reach an agreement which would enable the Spanish people to put an end, as quickly and painlessly as possible, to the present intolerable situation.

In this crucial moment for Spain, when vital problems of today and tomorrow become the order of the day, the Communist Party

appeals to the working class and the peasants, to the students, intellectuals and professionals, to all popular forces:

Through the action and struggle of the masses, through their organization, let us march forward to a general political strike, to a national strike!

Let us intensify the struggle of the working class and the masses, which under all circumstances are, and will be, the chief weapon for doing away with the dictatorship and the guarantee that Spain will become a free and democratic country!

Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Spain

December 1967.

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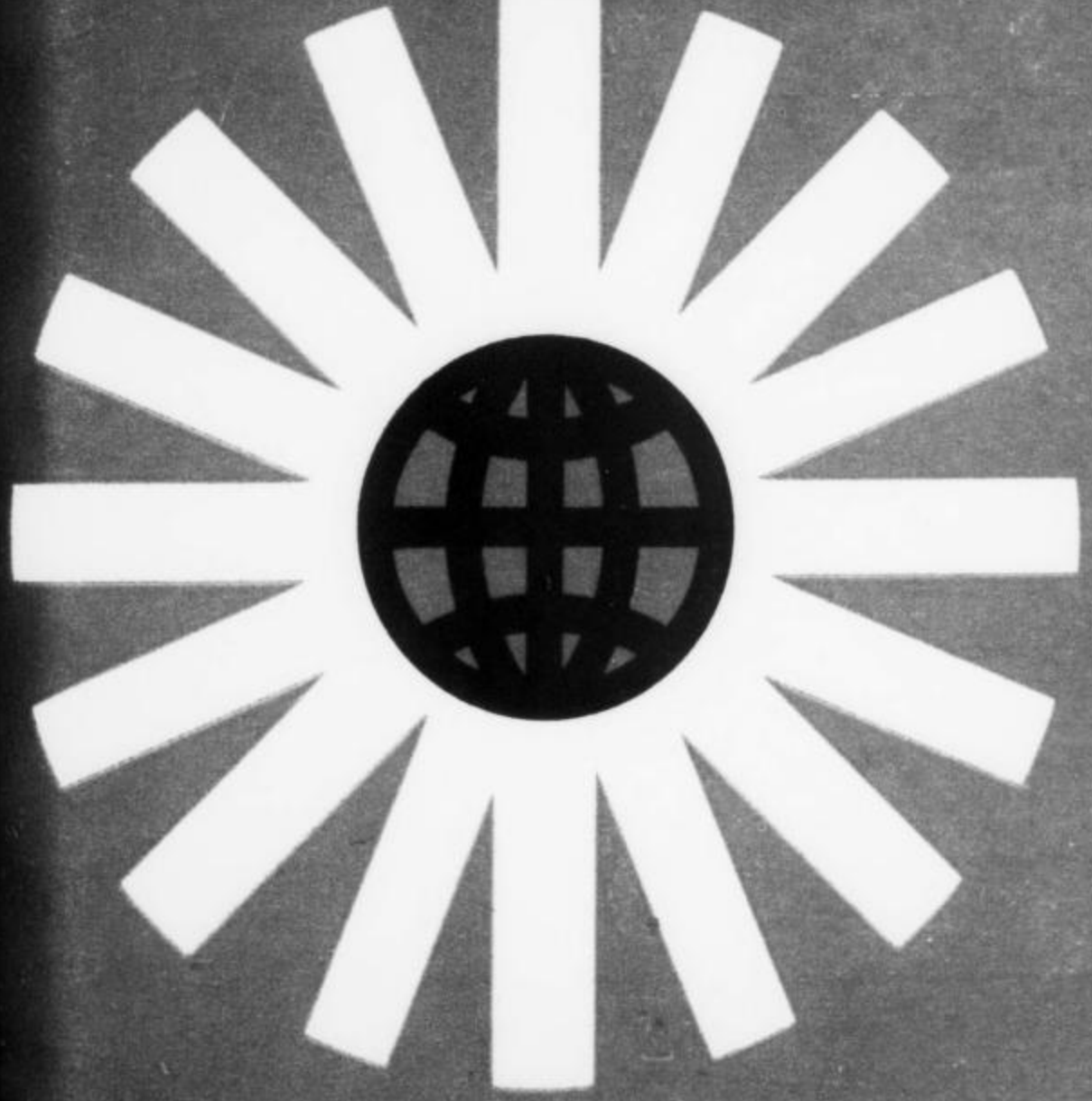

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In this Issue

OPEN LETTER TO ISRAELI PEACE MOVEMENT
—Gus H

REPLY TO COMRA MONTANA
—CP of Colom

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information bulletin — 2 (114)

Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic, French, German, Greek and Spanish

contents

ON THE BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING 5

REPLY TO COMRADE MONTANA
CEC, CP of Colombia 15

OPEN LETTER TO THE ISRAELI PEACE MOVEMENT
Gus Hall 38

COMMUNIQUE ON 3rd NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF IRAQI CP 42

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IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has received a letter from the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party which has also been sent to all other participants in the 1960 Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, containing an invitation to take part in the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which is to be opened in Budapest on February 26 this year.

The CC CPSU is convinced that a collective discussion of topical problems of the struggle against imperialism, for the vital interests of the working class and all working people, for peace and the national liberation of the peoples will help rally the Communist and Workers' parties and ensure the unity of action of all revolutionary and progressive forces. The CPSU attaches great importance to the Consultative Meeting, at which the fraternal parties, acting in an atmosphere of full equality and comradely exchange of opinions, will determine questions connected with the preparation of a new world Communist forum. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which consistently advocates the preparation and holding of a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, will do everything within its power for the success of the Consultative Meeting.

The CC CPSU has sent a letter to the CC HSWP informing it that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union accepts with gratitude the ivitation from the Hungarian comrades.

*Pravda, January 10, 1968.

FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING*

MAX REIMANN

The intensification of the aggressive policy of imperialism, especially the imperialism of the United States and West Germany, calls imperatively for joint action by all anti-imperialist forces and above

*From the article "The Victorious March of the Great October" in **Wissen und Tat** No. 1-12, 1968.

all the international Communist movement, against the common enemy—imperialism. The participation of the delegations of Communist and revolutionary democratic parties and a number of Socialist parties from almost all countries of the world in the October festivities in Moscow was a powerful manifestation of proletarian internationalism and of the striving for the unity and solidarity of the Communist movement and the cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces.

The convening, in Budapest next February, of the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties is a significant step towards stronger international unity in the fight for common aims. The Communist Party of Germany belongs to the initiators of this meeting, to which all the fraternal parties have been invited and which will help prepare a new international conference.

Our Party stands for the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. In this unity we see an earnest of success in the fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, a guarantee of the victory of every fraternal party in its own country. Therefore we, like the majority of the fraternal parties, favor an early convocation of a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, and we will do our utmost for this conference to contribute to the all-round consolidation of our movement.

THE BCP WILL TAKE THE MOST ACTIVE PART IN PREPARING THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE*

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party received a letter from the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which was sent to all the participants in the November Conference of 1960, inviting the BCP to take part in the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties opening in Budapest on February 26 this year. In its reply to the letter the CC BCP states that it accepts the invitation with gratitude and that it will send a delegation.

Ours is one of the parties which have long been campaigning for an international conference and working to create favorable conditions for its convocation. The BCP stated at its Ninth Congress that conditions are more and more ripening for holding a new inter-

*Rabotnichesko Delo, January 13, 1968.

national conference. Together with other seventeen parties, it signed the communique on convening the Consultative Meeting.

The BCP is convinced that the new international conference will play an important role in further strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement and will thus add to the effectiveness of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

"As before," the letter of the CC BCP says, "we will do our best to ensure the success of the Consultative Meeting, and we are ready to take the most active part in the preparation of the conference at all stages and in all forms."

FOR THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND ALL ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES*

The Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party has approved the Political Bureau's proposal on the participation of our Party in the Budapest Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, to be held as proposed by a number of fraternal parties to study the question of convening an international conference of Communist parties.

The CC hailed the idea of organizing the meeting and the conference, which in the present situation are of tremendous importance for the cause of the unity of the world Communist movement, for the world national-liberation movement. After unanimously approving the proposal of the Political Bureau on the participation of our Party in this meeting, the CC made the following statement on this question:

The Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party has studied the appeal of the 18 fraternal Communist parties proposing to convene a consultative meeting in February 1968 to exchange views on matters pertaining to the convocation of an international conference of Communist parties.

In keeping with the general line of the Jordanian Communist Party regarding the necessity and importance of the unity of the world Communist movement, the CC JCP declares its support of the meeting and the conference, which will be instrumental in elaborating general propositions of principle on the common cardinal problems of the Communist movement. Consolidation of the

*Al Takaddum, No. 1, 1968.

world Communist movement plays the decisive and basic role in the development of events both in separate countries and on a world Communist movement plays the decisive and basic role in progressive and national forces fighting against imperialism and capitalism, for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism. Undeniably, the events and phenomena that have taken place in the world in recent years demonstrate more convincingly than ever before the necessity and importance of holding the proposed Consultative Meeting and a new international conference.

WHAT SHOULD A WORLD MEETING OF COMMUNISTS AIM FOR?*

JACK WODDIS
MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE,
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CP OF GREAT BRITAIN

The present international situation makes timely the forthcoming consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, due to open in Budapest at the end of February.

This meeting will be for the purpose of exchanging views on the convening of an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

At Budapest, delegates will be able to consider when and where to hold the meeting, how to prepare it, what should be its main character and purpose, and what items should be placed on its agenda.

The events of the past two years show only too clearly that imperialism is striving desperately to undo the gains made by the people in the first two decades after 1945.

And it would be foolish to ignore the very real setbacks of the last few years, such as the reactionary military coups in Brazil, Ghana, Indonesia, Greece, Sierra Leone and several other countries.

The U.S. threatens to extend its brutal war against the people of Vietnam to the neighboring countries. Tension continues in the Middle East.

Recent NATO decisions and the policy pursued by the West German Government are a menace to security in Europe. Japan, fast becoming the second most powerful industrial country in the capitalist world, poses a new threat in Asia.

*Morning Star, January 17, 1968.

But, while being fully aware of the difficulties experienced in the struggle against imperialism, it is important to keep a sense of proportion. The crisis facing the imperialists is more apparent every day.

The U.S. Government is becoming increasingly isolated. At the last U.N. General Assembly, representatives of 44 states, including even NATO members, and countries such as Canada, France, Holland, Denmark and Sweden, called for an end to the bombing of Vietnam.

Even Willy Brandt, West German Foreign Minister, has recently made the same demand.

Only Wilson, Brown and Co. refuse to budge—but their whole military and political strategy, too, is crumbling.

Every imperialist power is facing acute economic and financial problems—and these are bringing in their wake ever greater internal political strains, and rifts between the capitalist states themselves.

The aggressive actions and maneuvers of imperialism stem from its crisis. They are acts of desperation.

While the world movement for peace, independence and social advance has suffered partial setbacks, these have been within a general framework of an overall advance, of the strengthening of the Socialist states, the advance of national liberation, and successes for peace and democracy.

These advances are finding their reflection, too, in the growth of Left unity in such countries as France, Finland, Japan, Chile, and in Britain as well.

The imperialists, on the other hand, have had a few temporary successes, but these have been within a framework of their world-wide decline and deepening crisis.

It is this which gives hope that a further strengthening of united action by the people on a world scale can thwart the aims of the imperialists, and so open up new perspectives for advance.

These matters will surely be in the minds of the delegates when they assemble next month in Budapest to discuss how to prepare the international meeting.

The utmost unity of all who are opposed to imperialism and war is required if the aggressors are to be halted and thrown back.

There is no doubt that the disruptive activities of Mao Tse-tung and his supporters—activities which have created difficulties for national-liberation movements in particular—have encouraged the imperialists in their counter-offensive. This is especially so as regards the U.S. attack on Vietnam.

Our 30th Communist Party Congress warmly welcomed the proposal for an international meeting, and emphasized that international united action against imperialist aggression is absolutely imperative.

But, to facilitate the unity of all anti-imperialist forces on a world scale, the concerted action of the international Communist movement itself is needed.

In the view of the executive committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, which met last weekend, the Budapest consultative meeting should agree to confine the agenda of the international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties to the question of international united action against imperialism.

It should refrain from extending the agenda to matters of more general scope, embracing the main theoretical and ideological questions confronting the different parties.

It is the matters of greatest urgency, and the question on which the parties can most readily reach agreement, which should be the basis of the meeting.

Several Communist Parties have expressed such views in recent months, including powerful parties in the capitalist world as those of France, Italy and Japan.

Waldeck Rochet, general secretary of the Communist Party of France, addressing its central committee on October 18, declared:

"There is no place for wishing to draw up an agenda like that of 1960, that is to say, to adopt a general and universal document like the Declaration of 1960 . . . To reach a positive result, it is necessary, in fact, to be able to limit ourselves to the major task of the moment, the united struggle against imperialism."

An article in a recent issue of *Kommunist*, the theoretical journal of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, similarly stressed that the meeting "should be concentrated on the positive tasks of the Communist movement . . . Its purpose must be unity in the cause of the supreme interests of the working class—the struggle against imperialism and the threat of war and the defense of the interests of the working people."

A number of other Communist Parties have expressed such views.

The most satisfactory way to ensure the maximum representation at the international meeting and the utmost unity of purpose would clearly be to concentrate on the major task of the moment, the struggle against imperialist aggression.

Wider questions, such as the problems of building socialism and communism, the forms of transition to socialism in capitalist countries, or the paths to social advance in the developing countries, would not be appropriate for discussion at such an international meeting.

To stop imperialist aggression and prevent world war is not a matter for the private discussion of Communists. It concerns every man and woman, in every country. Thus the international meet-

ing could be an important public event and have a big impact on world opinion.

It could consider what forms of popular action are needed to block the path of the imperialists—action which can involve ever wider sections of the people. This is what makes this international meeting so important.

Communist Parties are working to act in unity with all progressive and anti-imperialist forces. They will therefore wish to consider important initiatives, which can unite not only Communists but all who are prepared to act for peace.

There are broad campaigns against the U.S. war in Vietnam in every country. How can these be united and strengthened on a world scale so that 1968 sees an end to the American aggression?

How can national actions be reinforced at the international level so that 1969 sees the end of NATO? The perspective held out by the Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist Parties last pear—for an end to military blocs, the acceptance of the post-1945 frontiers, recognition of two German States, a system of peace and security in Europe—could become a reality through the united efforts of the people.

For the people of Britain, the international meeting can have a special significance.

The British Government still clings to NATO, still proceeds with its Polaris program, still backs the U.S. war in Vietnam, still refuses to denounce the fascist junta in Greece, and still refuses to act in unison with other countries to halt the expansionist activities of the Vorster apartheid regime in Southern Africa.

In each country it is becoming more and more clear that the questions of working-class advance and national liberation are very much intertwined.

The British people are learning with a vengeance, that a policy based on maintaining huge armies and gigantic arms programs to defend British imperialist interests is diametrically opposed to the people's interests.

A policy of peace and opposition to imperialism is the best way to "Back Britain."

That is why the Communist Party of Great Britain will do everything to ensure that the international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is successful.

FROM THE STATEMENT* OF THE TUDEH PARTY OF IRAN RE: THE CONVENING OF THE BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING

The leadership of the Tudeh Party of Iran has repeatedly reaffirmed, in documents, in the Party press and in official statements by Party leaders, the need for a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties to strengthen the world Communist movement and to work out a common line in the struggle against imperialism, for common aims.

The Tudeh Party of Iran considers that all efforts in the matter of preparing and holding the conference should proceed from the need to achieve the positive aims of the international Communist movement, to consolidate the alliance of all progressive and democratic forces and to support their anti-imperialist struggle. Our Party agrees with the view expressed on many occasions by the majority of fraternal parties and which our Party supported, that the objective of the conference is not to interfere in the affairs of any one party and still less so to read any one party out of the ranks of the international Communist movement.

The chief aim and the chief motto of the conference should be: consolidation of the world Communist movement in the interest of effective struggle against imperialism, in defense of the vital interests of the working class, all working people and the national-liberation movement.

We are firmly convinced that the Consultative Meeting of fraternal parties in Budapest fully conforms to the interests of all revolutionary, progressive forces fighting for freedom and independence and of all anti-imperialist forces.

Mordom, organ of the CC of the Tudeh Party, December 1967.

CC FCP ON THE PREPARATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE*

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party approves Raymond Guyot's report on the preparation of the international conference of Communist and Workers' parties, and resolves to take part in the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties to be opened in Budapest on February 26, 1968.

The French Communist Party, which declared for holding the international conference of Communist and Workers' parties back at its 18th Congress, will participate in the Budapest Consultative Meeting, firmly resolved to work for strengthening the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties fighting against imperialism, for peace and the independence of the peoples, for democracy and socialism.

The FCP holds that the Consultative Meeting will provide an opportunity for all parties to compare, in an atmosphere of equality and fraternity, their views on all questions pertaining to the preparation for the international conference of Communist and Workers' parties, on collective approval of the agenda, methods of work. and forms of stating the conclusions of the conference.

The FCP is convinced that the international conference can become a major stage in strengthening the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties, in carrying out joint actions, based on a free and independent expression of views by every party and on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and in building a broad united front of the anti-imperialist struggle of all revolutionary and progressive forces.

The Central Committee instructs the Political Bureau to undertake, in this spirit, all the necessary steps which will contribute to the success of the forum.

Plessis-Robinson, January 17, 1968.

*L'Humanité, January 18, 1968.

INVITATION ACCEPTED*

According to reports from San Jose, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica has accepted the invitation to take part in the Budapest Consultative Meeting. Its Political Commission has decided to send a delegation to the Hungarian capital.

El Siglo, organ of the Communist Party of Chile, writes in an article reaffirming the Party's support of the Consultative Meeting in Budapest: "The Communist Party of Chile has always consistently defended the unity of the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism." The CPC took part in the historical conferences of 1957 and 1960 in Moscow and in the Conference of the Latin American Communist Parties. It has actively resisted attempts to split the Communist movement.

*Neues Deutschland, January 14, 1968.

SEVENTY PARTIES SUPPORT THE BUDAPEST MEETING*

As of now, about seventy fraternal parties have declared for the Budapest Consultative Meeting, to be convened in February. Reporting this in its January issue, *Partelet*, organ of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, adds that at the time of the 1957 Conference in Moscow there were 33 million Communists in the world. At present the world Communist movement unites 55 million people.

The Communist parties of Ecuador and Uruguay have decided to take part in the Budapest Consultative Meeting.

*Neues Deutschland, January 17, 1968.

REPLY* TO COMRADE MONTANA

1. CONCEPTS ALIEN TO THE PROLETARIAT

It is well known that Comrade Diego Montana Cuellar has submitted to the Central Executive Committee of our Party a document of eight points (theses) entitled "Strategic and Tactical Problems of the Colombian Revolution and How to Solve Them." Supplemented by the author with a ninth thesis not presented to the Party leadership, the document was published and circulated outside the Party while being studied by the latter. The big press seized upon this fact. *El Siglo* and *El Tiempo* tried with much ado to make anti-Communist capital out of Montana's views.

The theses bear on a number of problems under discussion among revolutionaries in Latin America, including Colombia. The author's point of view is the same as that of some groups of the petty bourgeoisie who for some time have voiced markedly "Leftist" views couched in high-sounding verbiage. These people misrepresent the policy of the Communist Party or attack it directly, advocating a revolutionary line contrary to the one adopted by the Communists at their congresses.

In this sense, the theses are familiar—we have studied and considered them on various occasions, and have already answered them, both theoretically and practically. It is fair to say that in combating these concepts our present policy line has become enriched through ideological struggles and through the experience and reality of the popular movement.

The reason why such views are advocated so persistently is, first of all, that developments in the world and on the continent have attracted into the revolutionary camp certain segments of the middle strata which bring into the movement, not only their ardent desire for change, but ideas and concepts which are alien to the proletariat but which they make out to be the last word in Marxism.

It is deplorable that a comrade like Montana, who has long held prominent positions in our Party, should be trying to formulate his theses sometimes as what would seem to be deductions from the decisions of our 10th Congress and sometimes as insulting charges against the Party and its policies, using language that has nothing to do with a discussion between Communists.

*This reply of the CEC of the Communist Party of Colombia to Diego Montana Cuéllar's theses appeared in a special supplement ot **Voz Proletaria** on November 30, 1967.

The fact is that Montana, whose theses question the entire orientation of our Party, took part in evolving it and was free at the time to comment on and judge it at his discretion.

It is a characteristic of Montana's document that he also tries to formulate in an aggressive tone theses advanced by reckless, plainly anti-Party groups and to do so in the name of Marxism, as a Party leader, challenging the national leadership to a discussion.

Without going here into his conduct, which, to say the least, lacks revolutionary sincerity and honesty, we must, however, deal with certain views stated in the document.

2. DOES A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION EXIST IN COLOMBIA?

One of the main points of the theses reads: "In Colombia a revolutionary situation has knocked on our door four times, and today we are living through its clearest and most definite form. . . ." To arrive at this conclusion, Montana presents a picturesque account of political developments in Colombia since 1945, listing in monstrous distortion real and alleged Communist mistakes.

According to this account, the first stage began with the end of "the era of orderly, austere, morally exacting capitalism" (*sic*), when Gaitan was assassinated and "people's revolutionary organs were set up in most municipal districts and provincial capitals." The second stage came after April 1948 and was due to "repressive violence." The third stage "began when the veil covering the false promises" of Rojas Pinilla fell. It follows that "a general rising was organized, except that it was led by civilian elements of the big bourgeoisie," and "a general strike begun by the employers ended the dictatorship." Lastly, the fourth, that is, the present stage, began with the triumph of the Cuban revoluion, when "Latin America moved thereby into a revolutionary situation."

Montana believes that the evolution of the nation's political life since 1945 fully bears out Lenin's concept of the revolutionary situation. To prove this, he quotes from a well-known passage in Lenin's book on "Leftism."

According to the Leninist definition, a revolutionary situation is objectively the most favorable moment for the immediate fight for power, the time when the people can overthrow the ruling classes. It is a juncture at which all the contradictions of capitalist society become exacerbated owing to a number of objective factors, including the aggravation of "the misery and hardships of the oppressed classes" beyond the ordinary measure, particularly violent clashes with the ruling classes, etc. Thus it is a very concrete situation which develops in a country and which the revolutionary party must use to change the political regime.

When we say that the exploited no longer want to live in the old way we must be sure to infer this from reality and not from our interpretation of the sentiment of the masses. And when we say that the "upper classes" can no longer live in the old way we must have in mind a deep crisis of power which the ruling classes cannot overcome easily, either through partial modifications or by using "poultices." In other words, these are real, objective situations expressing themselves in active discontent on the part of the masses. This is why in 1915 Lenin described one of the "symptoms of a revolutionary situation" as follows: "(3) . . . as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in 'peace time' but in turbulent times are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the *'upper classes' themselves* into independent historical action" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 214.) Professor Montana must have forgotten to quote in the same passage what Lenin says elsewhere, namely: "It follows that, for a revolution to take place, it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking, and politically active workers) should fully realize that revolution is necessary, and that they should be prepared to die for it; second, that the ruling classes should be going through a governmental crisis, which draws even the most backward masses into politics (symptomatic of any genuine revolution is a rapid, tenfold and even hundredfold increase in the size of the working and oppressed masses—hitherto apathetic—who are capable of waging the political struggle), weakens the government, and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to rapidly overthrow it." (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 85.)

Any active revolutionary will see that we in our country have not yet arrived at such a situation. The protest, the class hatred and the mobilization of the Colombian people have so far manifested themselves in only partial actions or actions not independent enough to make seizure of power the order of the day.

Thus Montana is speaking of instances of political crises which could not develop into revolutionary situations. The insurgent action in April 1948 did not go beyond the bounds of the traditional two-party system. A few relative changes in the ruling team of the oligarchy proved enough for the action to head downwards despite the Communists' desperate efforts to impart to it a revolutionary character. This is also true of the situation in June 1953 and May 1957, when modifications of secondary importance in the state machinery enabled the bourgeoisie to stay at the helm.

An analysis of the external factors, which Montana does not consider decisive, reveals that they have a powerful impact on

the situation in Colombia but are not enough to force revolutionary solutions.

The victory of the Cuban revolution meant a qualitative change in political conditions on the continent. This was due to the lessons which the Latin American peoples learned from it for their struggles, to the example it set and the hopes it aroused among the masses by showing a feasible way to those who want radical change in their countries, and also to the fact that it made Cuba a catalyst of the possibilities of victory of the revolutionary movement in our countries.

But, of course, this is the general context in which the actual conditions of each Latin American nation should be considered. Needless to say, the new situation has a very strong effect on these national conditions. This means that the Communists must assimilate these changes and step up their effort if they are to become the vanguard of the people and take advantage of a favorable political situation.

Our program says as much by pointing out that the Cuban revolution "initiated the emancipation of the Latin American peoples and made it an urgent necessity to carry forward the revolution in our countries."

Some revolutionary forces, having estimated these changes, came to the conclusion that there exists a continental, or what may be called a global, revolutionary situation. However, the Uruguayan Communists, who subscribe to this view, sound a clear warning against the tendency to confuse this general situation with the actual conditions in each country. "A very important lesson of Leninism," they stress, "is not to stretch general truths and strategic theses to cover particular situations." Applying this proposition to the conditions in Uruguay—where revolutionary action by the masses has lately assumed a vast scale, as we know—Rodney Arismendi specifies that "no one can claim that now (1967) as in the past (1964) there exists a revolutionary situation in our country." (*Estudios*, No. 43, p. 70).

3. WAYS OF THE REVOLUTION

A one-sided concept of the forms of revolutionary struggle in Colombia is another important point of Montana's theses. For all the contradictions and woolliness of the document, it is entirely designed to prove that the "national liberation war" which "is developing in the countryside and will gradually involve the towns" is the only and exclusive form of the Colombian revolution. It therefore asserts that the Communist Party "attributes to the guerrilla struggle a purely tactical character," that it denies "the decisive influence" which "the continental revolutionary situation" exerts

on our country (although elsewhere, speaking of the revolutionary situation, it maintains, on the contrary, that "the internal factors are decisive"), that our Party regards the higher form of struggle as "a means of struggle that can be used alternately or in conjunction with other legal means," and so on.

To back these conclusions, Comrade Montana also draws on the documents of our 10th Congress, which, however, he defames. Yet the Party program adopted by that congress says: "As our revolution goes on all forms of mass struggle will be combined . . . the armed struggle is daily becoming an indispensable factor in the Colombian revolution."

This merely confirms the well-known Party thesis that to combine various forms of mass struggle is "the very essence of our tactics" and that at the same time we anticipate that "the armed struggle of the people will become the principal form." But Montana calls this "ambiguous propositions disguising reformist tendencies and illusions about peaceful changes" (*sic*).

This, Professor Montana, is the right combination of a strategic concept (we all agree that there is a long and strenuous struggle ahead) with the use of tactical means assuring the triumph of this concept.

The contention that we put every economic action on a par with the highest form of struggle is nowhere near the truth. The political resolution of the congress specifies that the highest form of struggle is "a decisive factor in the people's taking power" and that its emergence at present "is a qualitative change." ("For a Patriotic Front", pp. 64 and 65.)

The point is that we take into account two factors which utopians and the latest discoverers of the armed struggle overlook.

First of all, speaking of ensuring the viability of a strategic concept that would serve as a guide to revolutionary action over a reasonably long period, and not of drowning this concept in sonorous phrases and pontifical declarations, we must take into account "the actual regional and general conditions," the changing situation, the policy of the ruling classes, the forms of their offensive. This depends on "the circumstances, the stage, and the activity of the reactionary forces," according to the same passage in our program.

To overlook this means showing political blindness, narrow-mindedness and a lack of flexibility in popular struggles. No one would imagine that the armed struggle is equally intense under all circumstances. Therefore, while the revolutionary process certainly "is irreversible," as recent discoveries by sage professors show (this is a world wide phenomenon, for we are at the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale), this is not to say that we should fight with our eyes shut, disregarding

the actual conditions and eschewing a scientific analysis of each stage of the struggle.

Secondly, the theses of the Party have been prompted by the experience of its struggle, which indicates that we must promote different forms of struggle to ensure that the highest form of struggle becomes the most important road of the revolution. Otherwise the higher forms of action would fail to win the support of the entire popular movement. Experience has shown that this movement is not a spontaneous process but requires continuous, selfless daily activity by the revolutionaries if they are to help by every means to strike at the enemy and foster solidarity.

Thirdly, we hold that always and in any conditions we must bear in mind the position and action of the masses, whatever the form of struggle they use and the revolutionary course they follow. It is therefore necessary, as the CEC says in its letter to Sr. Lleras in connection with the March arrests, to explain in any situation that armed struggle is a historical necessity to our people, who cannot renounce their objectives under any circumstances.

This is not to say, some assert, that the Party believes "it can operate only where democratic freedoms are lacking" and that "it will have no *raison d'être* when sufficient democratic liberty has been established under the present system." Such a view would run counter to the dialectics of the struggle since, according to it, the ruling classes can grant freedoms at will and the popular movement need not take into account the temper of the masses in formulating its positions in a given situation. For, in the final analysis, it is the masses with their interests and hopes that can alter the situation.

The task is not bombastically to declare war on the bourgeoisie every hour. What is needed is to explain the revolutionary processes and their trends to the masses, to win the masses through persuasion and show them why guerrilla action is entirely warranted.

Students of modern revolutionary experience should master the splendid example of the Vietnamese movement. This movement has worked out a correct combination of forms of struggle, both political and military, and always proceeds from the fact that the war imposed on the people of Vietnam by the foreign invaders and their Saigon puppets, who resorted to violence and terror and broke the agreements that had ended the fighting in 1954. We do not think anyone can teach lessons in revolution to this heroic people or blame them for breaking off their armed fight for certain period while preparing and developing their mass organizations and self-defense units and explaining to the masses the meaning of the sacred struggle they are now waging. Only the most hardheaded dogmatists would venture to protest over the fact that the National

Liberation Front of South Vietnam has proposed terms for ending the fighting.

Precisely because the masses, particularly the peasants, have to be united against military violence and reactionary terror, the Colombian guerrilla movement has put forward its well-known slogans—to stop the armed aggression, and military occupation, punish the advocates of genocide, etc.

4. PECULIARITIES OF THE SITUATION IN COLOMBIA

Montana claims pontifically that "in Colombia the problem is not so much to have a theoretical knowledge of the revolutionary science contained in Marxism-Leninism as to apply it in practice when studying the actual historical conditions of national reality." But he makes no effort to understand the peculiarities of the situation in Colombia or to assimilate the creative character of our orientation which departs from the general pattern to express our own reality.

The pattern developed by Montana sounds quite dogmatic because he is trying to force Colombian reality into the Leninist concept of the revolutionary situation, so as to draw easy political conclusions.

Although a revolutionary situation is still lacking in our country, this has not prevented the Communists from putting themselves in the van of a higher form of struggle. Had we applied a dogmatic, non-creative criterion, we would have come to the conclusion that "we must wait till a revolutionary situation matures completely before we launch armed struggle," as some people affirm.

Besides, unlike some we maintain that there is no Chinese Wall between objective and subjective conditions and that they are closely interlinked factors in the revolutionary struggle. To the purely scholastic claim that all the objective factors are there and that we have "only" to add the subjective ones we answer that the guerrilla movement "helps to provide some of the subjective factors which are needed for the Colombian revolution to emerge victorious from a revolutionary situation. ("For a Patriotic Front," p. 65.)

While we hold that there exists no revolutionary situation in Colombia, Comrade Vieira said in his report to the Ninth Congress that "we think events in our country are leading up to a state of affairs similar to that defined by Lenin." Our entire orientation is promoted by precisely this proposition, which introduces a dynamic element into the analysis of national reality and foresees a definite development of it. Advancing in this direction, we affirm, in the political resolution of the 10th Congress, that "as the class conflict goes deeper and the national liberation movement progresses in the face of repression and growing intervention by U.S. imperialism,

the armed struggle of the people will become the principal form of struggle, a decisive factor in the people's taking power. In fact, guerrilla operations in the areas being attacked in accordance with the U.S. militarists' plans has become the principal form of struggle of the peasantry."

Furthermore, the dogmatic concepts of some and the creative character of the orientation of our Party differ in that while the theses claim that the only way is peasant guerrilla warfare, the documents of the Party speak of the armed struggle in general, because in Colombian conditions it may well be that in the future, too, when it comes to a decisive confrontation, the urban masses will join in and contribute to the insurrection against the oligarchy and imperialism. This perspective invites the conclusion that we must promote self-defense in the towns among the working class and the urban middle strata.

After making all these confusing statements, Montana emphatically declares for what was once called by some the "Chinese" way. He says that "the model of the Soviet revolution of 1917, based essentially on a rising of the urban proletariat, is invalid." Behind this learned dictum is the real ideological background of the author's dogmatic and one-sided concepts. On the one hand, there is the bald conclusion that does not take a dialectical view of the process of armed struggle in Colombia nor of the experience of political crises which, in Montana's own words, determine the revolutionary situations and show us—as did those in April 1948, June 1953 and May 1957—the importance of struggle in the towns in all the necessary forms. On the other hand, tremendous disdain (stemming from this stance and expressed more clearly elsewhere in the document) for the working class, its revolutionary role and the perspectives of its struggle. Lastly, the poison of anti-Sovietism, which is behind these pseudo-theoretical allegations and which puts the author in the same position as those who, like him, advance certain seemingly internationalist but in reality isolationist theses. According to this concept, revolutions like the Chinese, Vietnamese or Cuban have nothing in common with the October Socialist Revolution.

Yet Fidel Castro pointed out more than once that the Cuban revolution is a direct descendant of the revolution which Lenin and the Bolsheviks accomplished 50 years ago. "This revolution," said the Cuban Prime Minister, "was possible only because much earlier, in 1917, the Russian revolution took place. But for the existence of the Soviet Union, the socialist revolution in Cuba would have been impossible."

5. SELF-DEFENSE

To support his theses, Montana repeats well-known criticisms of

self-defense current at home and abroad. Self-defense is said to be a passive and negative concept and movement that has demobilized the forces of the agrarian movement and prevented the development and victory of the armed struggle in our country.

Speaking generally, these accusations show that the author does not know what self-defense is and distorts its meaning, which was not a passive concept till 1964, contrary to the theses. Quite the reverse—self-defense came into being as a movement and an organization uniting the peasants, chiefly against reactionary violence, and making it possible to counter the latter in orderly fashion and provide conditions for going over to the higher form of struggle. It is an armed organization of the masses designed to support their struggles, guarantee the existence of their political organizations and prevent their destruction by the enemy. Besides, according to the Party program, self-defense "is a process of politicalization and organization of the masses bringing them to the conviction that the armed struggle is necessary as the higher form of mass struggle, which paves the way for non-peaceful revolutionary solutions." In this sense, self-defense is a formative and educational stage preceding the use of higher forms of struggle at a definite moment. In the historical conditions of the political struggle in Colombia, it is in effect a school for training revolutionary fighters and units.

It must be said in so many words that without self-defense the three stages of the armed struggle—a struggle "so tenacious and so rich in experience," which is praised so demagogically—would have been impossible in our conditions. For guerrilla action does not come from nowhere, nor is it the overnight result of a decision taken by a political group. In the final analysis, it is a higher form of mass action and can exist and develop only if it is precisely that and is closely linked with the political life and the demands of the masses.

A great deal has been said in Colombia about revolutionary struggle. There have been numerous attempts that at one time seemed important and decisive but miscarried because the above conditions, absolutely indispensable in our country and possibly unlike those in other countries, were ignored. One has only to mention the important Vichada guerrilla unit which ceased to exist although the enemy had not defeated it on a single occasion but had achieved an important political victory. Curiously enough, many ultra-"Left" political groups emerged in Colombia under this, already somewhat faded, banner. And it is instructive that they disappeared almost as quickly as they were formed or are drifting along, having no prospects. This lot befell the defunct United Armed Revolutionary Front. Nor has the Movement of Workers, Students and Peasants, which for nine years has repeated these theses, fared much better. Its theoreticians, too, began by attacking

self-defense from idealistic positions, and it has never advanced beyond small and disconnected skeletal groups.

The concept and organization of self-defense, far from being wrong, are the most correct and apt policy of the Colombian revolutionary movement in the historical conditions in which it is developing in our country. Self-defense made it possible to maintain the revolutionary movement in various sectors over a long time, train thousands of peasant fighters, arm popular organizations, carry on armed struggle and form guerrilla units in the countryside. A popular movement which at certain stages drew large sections of the people into the struggle rather than reducing them to passivity — despite erroneous assertions to the contrary — self-defense imparted continuity to the agrarian movement by fusing economic action with the revolutionary action of the peasantry.

In the superficial manner peculiar to him, Montana says that self-defense was bad until 1964 but not afterwards. That is a demagogical position which Montana is trying to reconcile with both Régis Debray's theses and the armed struggle in Colombia. In reality, it confirms the French journalist's views, which are an insult and an affront to Communist guerrillas. What is not understood is that self-defense was a necessary condition for the struggle in Marquetalia in 1964, in southern Tolima from 1950 to 1953 and in eastern Tolima and Sumapaz between 1954 and 1957. It has never been regarded as an end in itself but as part of a process and a connecting link with the higher form of struggle.

That is why the document's contention that the decision on self-defense was adopted by the 8th Congress of the CP is entirely wrong. Montana, distorting historical truth, asserts this in an attempt to prove that the 8th Congress decided on a "Rightist" orientation.

Every Communist knows that the concept of self-defense arose late in 1949 and began to develop in 1950. In 1952, the 7th Congress of the Party summed up the early experience of self-defense.

We are convinced that only by reaffirming this slogan can we really extend the preparation of the people and ensure the participation of new segments of the population in future struggles to realize the forecast of our 10th Congress, which said that "the armed struggle of the people will become the principal form and a decisive factor in the people's taking power."

Experience has shown again and again that struggle in the highest form is not waged whenever necessary and that practical, that is, organizational and political, factors are needed for this. Unless these factors are there the masses do not respond to the need for this struggle but begin a disorderly retreat and yield to terror.

6. DENIAL OF THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

On the face of it, the document is an encomium of the peasantry. It says that "the peasants are the primary element," that the revolution is a task "primarily of the rural strata," that "the exploited peasants must be the predominant element," and so on.

In reality, however, the CP is made out to have underestimated the countryside and the peasantry, the aim being to oppose the policy and practice of our Party to the rural masses, who are praised while the role of the Party is minimized. Of course, this attempt is at variance with the Communists' long-standing revolutionary struggle in the countryside and the Communist movement's tradition of sacrifice, self-abnegation and heroism in rural Colombia. It is not accidental that some of the more prominent leaders of our Party are at the same time leaders of the peasant movement, meaning also its higher forms.

However, the important thing to stress in this attitude is that the demagogical praise of the peasantry and the countryside is a smokescreen behind which the role of the working class as leader of the revolutionary struggle is virtually denied. True, the fourth thesis speaks in declamatory terms, and contrary to the spirit of the document, about the ideology of the working class, but the author's whole argument is intended to show that the working class has nothing to do in Colombia "in view of its increasingly high social standing." This proposition fully accords with the totality of ideas expressed in the document.

It is only natural, therefore, that this lengthy document does not say a word about the working-class movement except to condemn "the selfish desire of false labor leaders to share in the privileges of the bourgeoisie." A collection of recipes for making the revolution, it says nothing at all about the struggle for working-class unity, which to the Communist is a fundamental task in building up popular unity, forming the revolutionary social force and combating the big bourgeoisie and imperialism. Nor does it make the least mention of the role the worker-peasant alliance has to play in the revolutionary process in Colombia.

In other words, the Colombian revolution has, as Montana sees it, nothing in common with the vast day-by-day effort to organize the working class, unite it in struggle, ensure that it plays its vanguard role, and bring together thousands of the finest and most prominent fighters of the proletariat in the ranks of a class party.

As it stands, the document brings grist to the mill of those who allege that in Latin America the working class is lagging behind the actual revolutionary process.

Montana tries by means of figures to oppose the towns to the countryside in absolute terms, to show that, demographically and

economically, the countryside predominates. He proceeds from the assumption that there is no working class in the countryside. In the first lines of the document, listing the classes that make up the people, he speaks of "wage peasants" and not of the agricultural proletariat.

All this is supported with statistical data which are supposed to prove that the rural population, the gainfully employed population of the countryside and the gross agricultural product are of decisive importance, that the peasants are the country, a majority exploited by the townspeople, who play a very small role in the economy and in public life and, moreover, constitute an artificial minority.

From the Marxist point of view, it is a big mistake not to consider the national situation in the context of the process of capitalist development stimulated by imperialist penetration and at the same time hampered and deformed by it. Marxists hold that it is important not only to cite statistical data but to disclose the trends these data express. From the three latest censuses it appears that in 1938 the rural population made up 71 per cent and the urban 29 per cent, in 1951, 61 per cent and 39 per cent respectively, and in 1964 the population was split roughly in two. Perhaps the rural population still exceeds the urban, but even so the three censuses, carried out on one and the same basis, show a rapid growth of the urban over the rural population. Marx wrote in *Capital* that the capitalist mode of production, by its very nature, leads to a steady reduction of the agricultural population. This becomes all the more evident when we consider that the gainfully employed population in the countryside decreased from 70 per cent in 1938 to 54 per cent in 1951 and to only 47 per cent in 1964.

On the other hand, the attempt to divide the gross national product by (rural and urban) areas conceals the fact that capitalism is developing in the countryside as well where there is also a growing working class. But we can trace definite trends anyway. While in 1950 agriculture accounted for 38.1 per cent of the GNP, in 1959 its share dropped to 34.3 per cent and in 1965 to 30.4 per cent. The share of industry in the GNP was 21.8 per cent in 1950, 25 per cent in 1959 and 26.4 per cent in 1965.

It will be seen that the national economy shows a trend toward capitalist development (we will not here analyze the nature of this development in the conditions of dependence and backwardness) and that the importance of the town working people and the working class as a whole is growing steadily. This is why our Party, while bearing in mind the importance of work in the countryside and the role which the peasants have played and continue to play, also takes into account the growing role which the working class must play, and the need for the Communists not to underrate the

working class but to strive to ensure that it joins decisively in the revolutionary process.

In the view of Marxists, the importance of the working class as the vanguard force is not limited to some workers going to the countryside to organize the revolution and promote the proletarian ideology. It is a question of the mass force that the working class constitutes, of the fact that the working class is associated with progressive economic forms and as the figures for Colombia likewise show, is a class on the rise while other classes are disintegrating and losing strength. And then, the role of the proletariat is gauged not only by its numbers but by its features as a class which plays a liberating role with regard to all the popular forces of capitalist society.

It is interesting to note that lately the role of the working class in national life has been under bitter attack from the more recalcitrant reactionaries, the national bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. Curiously enough, this attack manifested itself everywhere as a trend toward "enhancing underdevelopment" based on certain pseudo-Marxist theories of F. Tonnies, Stavenhagen, G. M. Foster and other European and American authors about the so-called "internal colony," "dichotomy town-countryside," etc. The local versions of these theories have wolf's ears sticking out. "We must prevent the policy of misinterpreted social gains from continuing to cause a dangerous decline in the incomes of the mass of the peasantry in favor of small urban minorities," wrote Jaramillo Ocampo in *El Tiempo* on June 4, 1967. Lopez Michelsen, for his part, speaking at the Liberal Party congress in Bogota, said: "If we had a revolution here, it might begin, as in Cuba (?) or elsewhere, by curtailing social benefits and by equalizing the workers and peasants a little more . . . *(El Tiempo,* October 22, 1967.) Surely this sounds very much like what Professor Montana writes about the "inordinate exploitation of the countryside (the real country) by the urban minority (as artificial as industrial life)."

The theses presented in the document are, needless to say, in open contradiction to Marxism, which regards the leading role of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle (not a vague and declarative role but a concrete and definite one) as a matter of principle. Lenin stressed that "the important thing in Marx's doctrine is that it explains the historical role of the proletariat."

7. TREND AGAINST THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

Typical of the theses is also a liquidationist tendency in respect of the role of the CP in the revolutionary movement. They distort history for the sole purpose of denying that the CP has any achievements, past or present, and of extolling Régis Debray's theses, in-

cluding the one denying the Party. They also minimize the theoretical and practical role which the Party has to play and which is the essence in Lenin's concepts. Their underlying idea is that any other revolutionary trend can be, and is, superior to the Communist Party. According to them, it is for the guerrillas and not for the Party to "fulfil the political tasks of the revolution." The Party and its leadership were valuable and could prove their worth only insofar as they reflected the strengh of the guerrilla movement. On the other hand, "it is absurd that a group should want to arrogate to itself the exclusive right to lead and to be the 'only vanguard' and so on."

Ideologically and politically, all this tends to deny the possibility of the proletarian party, its orientation and its practical activity becoming the leading force of the Colombian revolutionary movement. There is clearly a gulf between this concept and the Communist concept. In effect, this concept, as well as the tendency to deny the role of the working class in the revolutionary movement, expresses the point of view of revolutionary elements whose ideological and political views are diametrically opposed to those of the proletariat.

This concept is veiled by a formula of unity of the revolutionary forces and the objective necessity for diverse class forces taking part in the revolutionary struggle.

Of course, diverse classes must take part in the struggle and there must be alliance and unity of the political forces representing these classes if the revolution is to succeed. But from the Marxist point of view, and from the proletarian standpoint of the CP, this class alliance and this front are not something amorphous, and the Party program makes that perfectly clear.

Those revolutionaries who adhere to the proletarian point of view strive to become the vanguard of the movement in reality, being equipped with Marxism-Leninism, the only thoroughly correct theory. Victory can be achieved only if the Party succeeds in playing this role and in imparting a consistently revolutionary character to the struggle. Hence, unity and alliance are one thing and confusion another. Alliance implies mutual understanding in action and orientation of different forces holding converging views and pursuing identical or similar revolutionary aims. In our country, the CP represents the proletarian, Marxist-Leninist view on the revolution and its development. There are other forces, likewise revolutionary, progressive and democratic, which share these ideas fully or partly and are fighting for them. This is why the revolutionary struggle should be carried forward through alliance and understanding, and first of all through unity of action between the Communists and other, non-proletarian forces. This is what we can a patriotic front. We must not rule out the possibility of even

merging with these forces eventually. It may also be that the revolutionary movement will win and will build the new society with both the CP and other parties which will exist without merging. This will be determined by the struggle itself, by the stance of each force at this or that juncture, etc.

In any case, no one who adheres to Marxism-Leninism can ignore or misunderstand the role of the Party although different theses and views are advanced as the struggle goes on. We cannot make others accept our views, for the political forces involved are dissimilar. Nor can the Communists be made to accept all the views of others. The important thing is to act together and to search for forms of understanding and alliance. These forms are, and will be, diverse, varied and complex because it is no easy task to achieve unity.

We Communists consider that to strengthen and develop the Party, to enhance its role on the basis of the concept of unity and alliance, is "a necessary condition of the Colombian revolution," as the closing part of our program puts it. We therefore refuse to equate revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist consciousness to the consciousness of other revolutionary forces. It is by no means a question of a futile bid for hegemony but of how to carry on and direct the revolutionary struggle properly, whether to ensure that the Marxist, proletarian aspect predominates or to settle for a vague, petty-bourgeois orientation. This, of course, will be decided by reality, by everyday struggles, by daring and energy in promoting action, by correct leadership and orientation.

Throughout the document prominence is given to positions and theses upheld not by the CP but by other revolutionary forces. Its author therefore does not take his stand as a Communist striving inside the Party and in keeping with its concepts to help improve the work of the Party, to remove shortcomings or to foster unity with other forces. On the contrary, this is the position of a person who is alien to the Party and, rather than calling for an alliance of the Party and other forces advocating other theses, unconditionally joins up with these forces. In other words, the author rejects the theses of the Party in the name of unity to accept the theses of others, and this has nothing to do with unity. He does not uphold the ideology of the Party in searching for ways of achieving unity with others but upholds the theses of others as he mocks at the theses of the Party.

That explains why he echoes all those tales about the Communists' "sectarianism," in particular about their having opposed agreement with certain revolutionary forces. Yet it was the Communists who took the initiative of agreeing on a common line, extended material aid when it was needed, agreed to set up joint committees, never levelled the slightest public criticism at others

and have always stood up uncomprisingly for the latter's prisoners or persecuted members. These facts show where the Communists really stand.

This, of course, is not to say that the Communists accept every estimation and every proposal made by others. But neither does it mean that we will not continue, as consistently as ever, our search for ways of reaching agreement and acting jointly despite the public insults flung at us by some.

After stressing the people's vast participation in the revolution, the author declares that setting up a joint committee of two commands of the forces engaged in the higher form of struggle is the only, and highest, form of this unity.

We must say that the author is not original in this respect, for this view was advanced by those who would like to push the Party aside, disregarding it as a revolutionary force and ignoring its role in the struggle of our people. On the pretext of championing unity, he merely joins in the hue and cry raised by those who, not being Communists, are under no obligation to understand the problem of revolutionary consciousness or the importance of the CP for the destiny of the Colombian revolution.

Precisely because we aspire to unity we must search for ways of bringing it about by reaching agreement with all who are fighting for revolutionary change in our country, or who at a given moment are against the existing system, against the national front of the oligarchies, even though afterwards they may revise their position and abandon the fight. Hence unity must be sought not only in one form of struggle but in every joint manifestation of mass discontent and popular protest if the opposition forces are to grow and to attain solutions and political changes favorable to the masses.

We know that we must wage a life-and-death struggle against imperialism and the oligarchies, and that this is how we will win due recognition among the masses.

Of course, we want the working class and the people to accept us as their leaders not because we say we want it but because we are in the van of their struggles and because our orientation is consistent with their interests. This is what we Colombian Communists are actually trying to do, seeing it as an honorable task facing us.

8. LEADING THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

These theses repeat Régis Debray's affirmation about revolutionary leadership to the effect that the leaders must not live in the towns, that there can be no two revolutionary commands, that the guerrilla movement is above the party and gives rise to it, that

revolutionary leadership is subordinate to the concept of generations and not to the class struggle, and so forth.

It is worthy of note that in the case of Colombia there is no question of the leadership living in only the towns, which are alien to the fight going on in the countryside. Indeed, more than half of our Central Committee has at various stages been in the countryside, as when it held its 20th plenary meeting. At present, in line with our concept of the importance of revolutionary struggle and the role of the Party in every aspect of this struggle, and also in line with the fundamental principles of Leninism regarding the significance of the revolutionary vanguard, the Party leadership does its best to take in tried and tested leaders of the revolutionary movement (in its diverse aspects and diverse forms of struggle), indigenous peasant leaders of the movement in its higher forms, leaders of the working-class and trade union movements of the revolutionary intelligentsia, professional revolutionaries, youth leaders and others.

The Leninist criterion of forming a revolutionary leadership is to select the best from the point of view of their loyalty to Marxist-Leninist ideology, their political firmness in implementing the policy laid down by Party congresses, their ability to organize the masses and the Party, their revolutionary activity on this or that front. These are the qualities taken into consideration whether those who possess them are young or not.

9. THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONALISM

Montana professes internationalism and yet criticizes the CEC of our Party for holding meetings with the leadership of the CP of Venezuela. He is up in arms against "particularizing each revolutionary struggle," which he says is "a pretext to avoid the risk of proletarian internationalism," and claims that the struggle in Colombia is "the national expression of a continental war as was the case in the last century, during the war of independence from Spain."

Obviously, the principle of proletarian internationalism, which is at the basis of the rise of the Communist movement, must guide Marxist parties in their relations with other revolutionary contingents.

But internationalism has to be complete and to express itself in solidarity with the working class and the revolutionary struggle throughout the world, with which we are linked by common goals, by the struggle against a common imperialist enemy, for a stronger world socialist system.

Besides, proletarian internationalism today, when there no longer exists a world center leading the revolutionary movement,

prompts us to contribute to the discussions in and the decisions of the world Communist movement, to which we belong first and foremost. This is what we actually do, as is evident from our participation in the world Communist meetings of 1957 and 1960, which set a standard for our work more than any other decision.

Furthermore, with due regard to the peculiarities of Latin America, we are trying to find a basis for agreement, according to the decisions of the 1957 and 1960 conferences, with the Communist parties of the continent. An indication of this was our participation in the conference of Latin American Communists in December 1964.

Lastly; guided by the spirit of the two international meetings, we use the system of bilateral agreements with other parties. Exchanges of experience, actual solidarity with our people and the peoples of other countries are instances of proletarian internationalism.

Why is it, then, that some people are surprised at our holding bilateral meetings, in particular with the CP of Venezuela? Could this kind of meeting endanger the revolutionary movement in some other country? Is it not directed against the oligarchies and imperialism, that is, the common enemy of both our nations? Why should anyone consider it injurious to his interests when the Communist parties of two neighbor countries agree on joint action and solidarity measures?

How can anyone think it harmful that we advocate a new meeting of all Latin American Communists to discuss the forms of stepping up revolutionary activity on the continent, of eliminating the weak points of our solidarity with Vietnam and Cuba, of bringing closer together the positions of parties having obvious differences that can be neither concealed nor ignored?

Bilateral or multilateral meetings with other parties do not imply that our views on this or that issue, or our estimations of various aspects of theory or its application, cannot differ at a given moment. But these differences do not prevent us from finding the way to unity of action, from striving to overcome them through fraternal criticism.

We seek agreement first of all with the Communists of other countries as a step toward, among other things, hastening alliance and unity with other revolutionary forces which are not Communist but are fighting along with us against imperialism and the oligarchies. This is why we attended the Tricontinental Conferences and the conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS). We are convinced that these meetings marked an important advance toward revolutionary unity and action on the continent. This does not, however, prevent us from holding views of

our own which we discuss in a fraternal spirit and in the interest of unity and which do not fully coincide with the views of this or that revolutionary force in Latin America. Internationalism implies that the national revolutionary contingents must confront their points of view in order to develop a common criterion and launch common action. At the same time it entitles us to advance our own criteria and put on the scales our own experience, which deserves to be respected as much as anyone else's.

Internationalism is incompatible with the demand that all the parties should submit to the line and orientation laid down by one party. For this would mean cultivating another form of nationalism, imposed on other revolutionary movements and making it impossible for them to form their own opinions and gain their own experience. While it is true that we should take into account the fraternal advice, opinion and experience of other parties, it is just as true that we must do this critically, with due regard to our national realities. We do not think that in view of the present state of the revolutionary movement it would be right to hold these discussions in public instead of internally. If we were to do so we would be supplying weapons to our common enemy instead of fostering internationalism.

The Communists of every country are more qualified than anyone else to work out the line of revolutionary action within national bounds and to shape, in keeping with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the international agreements of the Communist and labor movement, the policy to follow, the most expedient strategy of fighting for power and the most suitable tactics of achieving this goal. This is not to say that they never make mistakes. But they most probably make fewer mistakes than those who have no thorough knowledge of the actual conditions. Marx maintained this principle in the passage from the *Communist Manifesto* quoted by Montanna: "Of course, the proletariat of each country must first finish with its own bourgeoisie." And this will be the most important contribution made by the proletariat of the country in question to the worldwide struggle and to proletarian internationalism.

This does not mean that national territory should be a restricted zone for the ideological and political contribution of other revolutionary movements or for the participation of revolutionaries of other countries. On the contrary, since it is our Party that will have to bear the brunt of fighting and defeating our own bourgeoisie, we do not reject fraternal cooperation in this struggle by the revolutionaries of other countries, provided, of course, that the Leninist principles of Communist organization, which are also international, are borne in mind.

We do not cling to dogmas and hard-and-fast patterns and we consider that the experience of other peoples can, and does serve us, too! We therefore try to adjust ourselves to the new factors and the new contribution—so important in its every aspect—of the victorious Cuban revolution, which is in itself a proof that it is impossible to set patterns for all times and impose them on everyone. We are certain that the very evolution of the struggle in Colombia will, for its part, contribute new and rich experience to the common treasury of revolutionary theory and international experience. To think otherwise means having no faith in our people and the creative nature of their struggle.

The historical and revolutionary unity of Latin America is undeniable, and it demands of us, above all, coordination and solidarity of the movements in our countries. But it does not imply that everyone must follow one and the same strategy. The real principle of the continental revolution should be conceived as a series of common factors in the struggle and in its perspectives. However, this struggle must not be equated to the war of independence from Spain, for in the century and a half of economic and political development that has passed since then the Latin American nations have taken shape and acquired characteristics of their own.

10. THE REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLES

One of the document's declamatory statements says "it is not democracy that is the road to revolution but revolution that is the road to democracy." It repeats well-known assertions opposing the fight for democratic freedoms to the revolutionary fight for power and condemning all that does not mean "making the revolution."

This thesis certainly has nothing to do with Leninism, because Lenin repeatedly stressed that the fight for democracy, for civil rights and freedoms is inseparable from the process of educating the masses in action, an instrument of creating and organizing the popular movement. Lenin said that the proletariat cannot transform the economy unless trained in the fight for democracy. On the other hand, Lenin on various occasions led the fight for democracy as part of the future fight for socialism, as something inseparably linked with the gains of the proletariat.

Although experience has shown more than once that the fight for democratic freedoms is a political necessity of the revolutionary movement, and although in the actual course of the fight the very same people who support these theses are compelled to join in the fight, "Leftists" for "Leftism's" sake consider it their duty to voice their scorn for this fight whenever they can.

Had these people been right, it would mean that in present con-

ditions we must not come out for the democratic rights of the workers and peasants, the people's freedoms, trade union rights, or the freedom of political prisoners. It would mean that we would be unable to resist the authorities' offensive against the university, that writers and artists would be unable to maintain their right to creative endeavor, to association, assembly, freedom of the press, etc. Nor would we be able to fight against the state of emergency, military courts and reactionary violence aimed at stamping out all freedoms. In other words, this thesis would have led us to passive acceptance of all the arbitrary acts and abuses of power on the part of the enemy, and we would find ourselves outside the fight which the masses are carrying on against political form in which the oligarchic and monopolist minority oppresses the whole people.

As it happens, the author is again confused over the problem of classes in the revolutionary struggle. Obviously, genuine democracy, democracy for the people, which is also a dictatorship against the present exploiting minority, can be brought about only through revolutionary change. This is what we are fighting for and what the revolutionary movement is about. But it does not follow that in the process of revolutionary struggle we will not advance and uphold democratic slogans and will score no gains on this road. If the action of the masses is powerful enough and if the popular movement develops along with working-class and democratic unity, we will be able to wrest from the bourgeoisie freedoms and rights making the revolutionary struggle easier even though they will not amount to a revolution. A party and a movement which do not fight for these freedoms would enable the enemy to defeat them quietly, and would have to renounce a number of actions that are called for in any case.

The document is wrong where it says that the Party spoke, at its 8th Congress and later, of the possibility of structural changes within the framework of the national front. The policy followed by the Party over the last years has been characterized precisely by the repeated argument that such changes are impossible under the present system. More, it has said on various occasions that the prevailing political system rules out democratic advance and makes it our duty to wage a consistent and principled struggle against it. "The parity system," the 8th Congress pointed out, "cannot solve any one of the big problems of our country, nor can it improve the condition of the people."

Thus the attitude of the Party it clear. We are fighting for democracy in the present conditions, for every democratic freedom, against the parity system of succession.* We are fighting for deep-

*That is, the succession of the Conservative and the Liberal parties.—**Ed.**

going revolutionary changes that will also mean the broadest democracy for the whole people.

11. ELECTIONS

Lastly, the ninth thesis, added by the author at the last moment and not included in the document submitted to the CEC, declares against participation in the elections.

The author's first thesis speaks of the people in general without distinguishing in any way between those who differ in religion or ideology and including in the people "medium industrialists and industrialists who are not agents of foreign capitalism" (it should have been "big industrialists" because the small industrialists were classified earlier), and of the need of alliance with all of the population. It then contradicts itself by saying that the alliance can be concluded with only genuinely revolutionary forces.

The author sees in the Liberal Revolutionary Movement (LRM) none but bourgeois elements and comes to the wrong conclusion that the entire LRM has always been against Cuba, although when it came to taking a stand on this issue most of the LRM members of parliament supported Cuba, causing a split in parliament.

We have said time and again that the LRM is not a homogeneous body. It includes large groups of the democratic petty bourgeoisie who have progressive leanings and are by nature allies of the proletariat in the fight against repressions and the policy of the big bourgeoisie.

That is why our Party has maintained its alliance with these forces which are going—with the LRM or with other movements—to play a role in the political life of the nation. We have already seen that revolutionary struggle for power does not make it impossible for us to promote actions which do not amount to a revolution but express the protest of the people striving for democratic and progressive changes.

The present national front must be combated in every possible way and popular demonstrations against it should be held whenever an opportunity offers, even during elections, no matter how rigged and limited these may be. This is why the 10th Congress said that "we are prepared to continue using the election campaign against the present system according to the actual conditions and circumstances."

To be sure, elections will not enable the people to win power. But if we resort to the proper propaganda, mass action and unity, they can become one of the forms of action and reveal the people's protest against the system of the oligarchic "big bourgeoisie" which is ruling in Colombia and against which we must rouse all who are trying to express their discontent in one way or another.

To stay away from the elections on the pretext that we cannot bring about radical reforms in the existing system through a democratic alliance and such measures as electoral action means taking a passive, wait-and-see stand which, experience has shown more than once, has no revolutionary value and in no way helps to expose and defeat the prevailing system.

Non-participation in the elections is, as we have repeatedly made clear and as reality has shown, merely a negative attitude fostering indifference to politics on the part of the masses. We know that all attempts by some revolutionaries to benefit by the Colombian people's traditional non-participation in the elections have been only a petty-bourgeois illusion taking refuge in passivity and based on the belief that when the majority of the people refuses to participate in the elections this means that it is revolutionary-minded.

We believe that, despite all anti-democratic restrictions and curbs, the most reasonable position is not to cling to hopeless non-participation in the elections but to take part in the electoral process. At the same time we reaffirm our policy of joining in every form of struggle and of bringing the masses into the struggle by every possible means.

AN OPEN LETTER* TO THE ISRAELI PEACE MOVEMENT

GUS HALL

I received your memorandum titled "The Six Day War Was on the Part of the People of Israel a Defensive War for Israel's Very Existence." In that sentence you have stated the root of our most fundamental disagreement.

No matter how often you say it, an aggression does not become a "defensive war." You cannot deny that it was the armed forces of Israel that attacked Egypt, Syria and Jordan. You cannot deny that it was the bombers of Israel that dropped bombs on these countries. You cannot deny that it is the armed forces of Israel that still occupy large sections of the soil of the three Arab countries. You cannot deny that the government of Israel has taken steps to incorporate these sectors as a part of Israel.

I need not catalogue for you the public statements by Israeli government spokesmen, by leading religious and political leaders who openly state the intentions of Israel to continue the aggression.

On the other hand you cannot state one fact showing where the armed forces of the Arab countries attacked or crossed the borders of Israel.

These are undeniable facts. So you retreat to a shappy subterfuge. You recite a long list of quotations showing the aggressive intentions of the Arab leaders. The refusal of Arab countries to accept and to recognize the existence of Israel is shortsighted and wrong. Their speeches and editorials reflecting these policies need to be condemned. But they do not in any way justify Israel's criminal armed aggression against the Arab peoples or governments. Yours is a total apology for Israel's aggression. You do not express one word of criticism about Israel's role. You see the world through the blinders of Israeli nationalism. Israel's aggression was not triggered by the anti-Israel speeches in Cairo and Damascus.

* * *

The root of the crisis in the Middle East is oil. The governments of the Arab countries have increasingly and justifiably insisted on a greater share of the wealth extracted from their soil. The U.S. and British governments, and especially the CIA, have been very

*The Worker, January 7, 1968.

busy making one attempt after another to overthrow these Arab governments.

For the expansionist forces in Israel this crisis over oil became an opportunity. For the oil corporations and the governments of the U.S. and Britain the expansionist forces of Israel became an instrument to remove the Arab forces who stood in their way of maximum colonial profits from oil. It became an alliance of thieves. Without U.S. and British support Israel would never have had either the material means or the confidence to carry out the aggression. U.S. and British spokesmen demagogically blockade all effective action by the U.N.

Israel's aggression was planned. It was a conspiracy by varied forces whose different interests temporarily came together in the armed attack.

* * *

You attempt to influence the fighters against U.S. aggression in Vietnam by saying there is a difference between U.S. aggression and Israel's war against her Arab neighbors. But by so doing you further expose the contradiction in your position. You say "There is no room for any comparison between the situation in the Middle East and that in Vietnam: *the Americans in Vietnam are foreign invaders.*"

Yes. The U.S. forces are foreign invaders. But what are the armed forces of Israel in Egypt, Jordan and Syria? Angels of mercy?

As if this is not enough, you say the situation is also different because "the final solution of the Vietnam problem lies in eliminating the Americans from there." In short, you do not see the solution in the Mideast crisis by "eliminating the forces of Israel from there."

In your bulletin you also state: "Up to the last moment the Israeli Peace Movement called for non-use of force, for honoring the Armistice agreements, seeking for peaceful solutions . . ." By the words "up to the last moment" you obviously mean "up to the moment Israel was victorious," because in the same Bulletin you declare, "The Six-Day war smashed to smithereens the whole set of the Armistice Agreements of 1949—which no longer exist." Is it not utter hypocrisy?

Before Israel was victorious in its aggression, you say, you fought for "honoring the agreements." After the aggression succeeded you hail the "smashing to smithereens of the agreements" you fought so to honor. Now you say "they do not exist."

Is it not clear you were for the Arabs honoring the agreements, but you hail when the armed forces of Israel smashed them to "smithereens." You are for "agreements" and for "peace" when

it suits the purposes of Israel. You are guided by narrow bourgeois nationalism.

You speak about "negotiations" including settlement of territorial problems. What territorial problems? It is clear you are talking about keeping some of the Arab land the armed forces of Israel are now occupying. What other territory could there be to "settle" since no Arab armies are on the soil of Israel?

As is befitting for apologists of aggression, you also cover up for the brutal atrocities committed by the forces of Israel against Arab men, women and children. Some leading newspapers of Israel called for a halt to the atrocities. You pass it off by saying, "There were some hardships, as is usual in wartime." Yes, there were hardships, but these were widespread, inexcusable, brutal, heinous atrocities that had nothing to do with military operations. Until responsible leaders of Israel publicly expose and condemn these acts, it will tend to eat at the moral fibers and pollute the political life of your country.

Proof that your statement does not represent the outlook of all of the intellectuals of Israel is in your last sentence, where you say it was adopted by a majority. I have no doubt the day is not far off when your position will be rejected by the majority.

To support the aggression by Israel is not supporting Israel. Progressive mankind supports the right of Israel to exist as a state, but they do not support its aggression.

It is an axiom of unprincipled alliances that the weakest partner will take it on the chin when the alliance becomes a burden on the stronger partner. Israel cannot forever exist by doing the bidding of the imperialist powers, because such bidding cannot be against the best interest of its Arab neighbors. To do the bidding of imperialist powers is to be a tool of imperialism. Such policies cannot but sharpen the relations between Israel and her Arab neighbors. It is a path that can lead to Israel's destruction.

In the Middle East the dynamic social and political force is anti-imperialism. It will determine the course of events. It will mold the future of all countries. It is the only force that will resolve the Mid-East crisis. It is the only force that can bring peace and harmony to the area. The future of Israel will be assured if it lines up with the forces of anti-imperialism.

Doing the bidding of imperialism for the sake of some temporary gains at the expense of the Arab states who are in sharp conflict with the forces of imperialism is shortsighted and extremely dangerous.

The fight for Israel must start with a recognition that the present policy and acts of aggression by her are wrong. Like all states Israel has a right of defense, but aggression is not a defense.

One's sincerity, one's convictions get their severest test when

they lead to a struggle against the wrong policies of one's own government. The people of the USA have an honorable record in the struggle against the U.S. policies of aggression in Vietnam. The Johnson administration also calls this a "defensive war." Our people by and large have refused to join the bandwagon of false nationalism. The struggle of our people against the policies of U.S. aggression is a struggle for the best interests of our people. We as a people will be judged by our actions against these policies.

Mankind will not accept your apologies for Israel's aggression. The people of Israel will also be judged by how they fight against the unjust policies of Israel. At the moment it may not be clear to all, but these struggles against the present policies of the government of Israel are also in the best interests of Israel and your people.

COMMUNIQUE ON THE 3rd NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

The 3rd National Conference of the Iraqi Communist Party, held in December 1967 in keeping with the decision of the extraordinary meeting of the CC (September 19, 1967), which was reaffirmed by the CC plenary meeting (October 3, 1967), discussed and adopted documents related to the political tasks of the Party, the ways and means of strengthening its ideological and organizational unity, and an assessment of the Party's past policies.

The conference was preceded by active preparatory work in the course of which conferences and enlarged meetings of district and local committees were held and delegates to the national conference were elected.

The conference was attended by 55 delegates who represented the district and local Party Committees of Baghdad, Qut, Sulaimaniya, Arbil, Kirkuk, Mosul, Hilla, Diwaniya, Basra, Imara, Nejef and other localities. The delegates included the CC members and leading functionaries of Party commissions and other bodies. Among those present were also two comrades (with deliberative vote) from the Party leadership. Thus, the conference was attended by 57 functionaries, the biggest ever number in the history of our Party. The procedure of nominating and electing conference delegates was worked out on the basis of the importance and role of Party organizations and other cadres, with due account to their numerical strength. The conference owed its special character not only to the democratic system of election of delegates, but also to its class composition. Workers made up about one-third of the delegates. As for its national composition, 62 per cent of the delegates were Arabs, 31 per cent Kurds and seven per cent representatives of national minorities.

During the opening ceremony the delegates sang the *Internationale* and stood for a minute in silence as tribute to the memory of the leaders and members of the Party and the National revolutionary movement who had given their lives in the struggle. After the unanimous approval of the agenda and the Central Committee's report on the procedure of nominating and electing delegates, the powers of the conference and its right to elect the Central Committee were confirmed.

Nineteen sessions were held in the 10 days of the work of the conference, in the course of which the delegates discussed all

points on the agenda and adopted corresponding decisions. All questions were discussed freely, in a democratic way. The spirit of preserving Party unity in the face of factions and opportunist splitting trends, the striving to affirm the Leninist standards of Party life largely contributed to the success of the conference, which was thus able to adopt the necessary decisions on a number of problems of fundamental significance, relying on the unanimity of views of the Party leadership.

The results of the 3rd conference provide a fresh impetus to the further development of the Party, to the consolidation of its ideological, political and organizational unity.

The conference adopted the following important resolutions:

1. The resolution condemning the opportunist factions, which have put themselves outside the Party and, by pursuing subversive tactics jeopardizing Party unity, made common cause with its enemies. The resolution expresses absolute confidence that all our Party organizations will take a resolute and principled stand in fulfilling their lofty duty to eliminate the Ramzi-Walid splinter group, and put an end to liberal and factional activities and do away with factionalism. The decision points to the need resolutely and persistently to continue the political, ideological and organizational struggle against the splitters. The decision condemns all ideas and slogans which purport to arouse sympathy with the splitters. This policy weakens the impact of their subversive activities.

Expressing a common will, the delegates declared that the Ramzi-Walid opportunist splinter group, like its counterpart the Najm group, does not differ in its bourgeois essence and opportunist basis from all other splinter groups which have appeared in the Party's history. And it will share the fate of these opportunist groups.

2. After a thorough discussion of the Party's policies in the period since the 2nd Conference (1956), in which all the delegates took part, a resolution was adopted approving the document assessing the activities of the Party. The resolution was put up for discussion as a document binding on all Party organizations and bodies pending the convocation of the 2nd Party Congress, which will approve it in its final form.

3. Following an extensive exchange of experience of Party organizations and committees the draft of the Party's rules was approved with amendments.

4. In the resolution of the Party Program the Conference called for further discussion of the draft Program which the Central Committee had distributed among the Party organizations for the purpose of securing the participation of all our Party members and

popular masses in the discussion of the draft and of elaborating the best revolutionary programmatic document reflecting the collective will of Party members, expressing the interests of the toiling masses and defining the strategy of our revolutionary movement at the present stage and the prospects of its development. The draft Program will be submitted to the 2nd Party Congress.

5. The Conference supplemented the tactics of the Party and its methods and ways of revolutionary struggle against the dictatorial regime hostile to the people and to their rights, and reaffirmed the fundamental role of the masses in the revolutionary process to achieve victory.

The Conference stressed the importance of broadening the struggle of the masses, leading them from simple forms to higher ones for accomplishing economic, social, democratic and national aims of the masses, and stepping up the activities of our organizations to ensure their leading role in all fields through different forms of struggle.

6. The resolution on the situation in the world Communist movement contains greetings on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the highest appraisal of the great victories scored by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in all fields. The resolution expresses satisfaction over, and gratitude for, the internationalist aid rendered by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties to our Party and people and the entire Arab national-liberation movement, especially during the Israeli-imperialist aggression.

The resolution supports the call for convening a consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties in Budapest in February 1968, and announces that the Iraqi Communist Party will take part in the meeting.

7. The Conference adopted a resolution on the situation in the Arab world and on the situation resulting from the Israeli imperialist aggression and on the causes of the setback that the Arab peoples have suffered. The resolution also defines forms of struggle in order to recover from the setback and indicates the ways and means of eliminating the consequences of the aggression.

8. The resolution on the Kurdish question stresses the internationalist line which the Party has followed since its inception with regard to the divided Kurdish nation, a line of full recognition of the right of all peoples, big and small, to self-determination. The resolution expresses support for the aims for which the Kurdish people are fighting, including the right to autonomy within the framework of an Iraqi democratic republic.

The resolution emphasizes the firm determination of the Iraqi

Communist Party to continue to support the current Kurdish revolution, and its resolve to ensure that Iraqi Communists continue to participate in it and to render it assistance in every form.

9. The Conference adopted a resolution on political prisoners, sent a message of greetings to the freedom fighters jailed for their political and patriotic convictions and appealed to all the progressive forces of the world to express solidarity with our people in their struggle for a general amnesty for all imprisoned and arrested patriots.

10. A resolution was adopted on the class policy of the Party in the national alliance and ways to unity of action by the progressive and patriotic forces in the struggle to free Iraq from the military dictatorship and establish a national coalition government.

11. The resolution on Vietnam and the consequences of the dirty war of aggression which has been unleashed by world imperialism against the valiant Vietnamese people fighting for their freedom and national independence, calls for an end to this tragedy which threatens universal peace and the security of the peoples.

12. The Conference adopted a resolution on holding, within a specified period of time, the 2nd Congress of the Party and on its ideological, political and organizational preparation.

The 3rd National Conference was and remains an important event in the history of our Party. It will play a majority role in strengthening the unity of the Party and in its further development along the road to victory.

At its concluding session the Conference elected the Central Committee of the Party, acting in keeping with the principles of democratic centralism, the freedom of nomination of candidates, and the secret ballot.

The Secretary of the Central Committee, in his concluding remarks, expressed gratitude for the confidence which the delegates had shown in the members of the new Central Committee. He stressed the importance of utmost consolidation of the relations based on principle, relations of solidarity between the leadership and the Party rank and file as a condition for the successful performance by the leadership of the tasks entrusted to it. He also pointed to the importance of the understanding and observance of the principles of Party discipline, and emphasized the need to combat any manifestations of negligence, liberalism and unprincipled relations which violate order and weaken Party unity.

* * *

The Iraqi Communist Party, the party of Fahad-Salam Adil, is confident in its ability to surmount all the difficulties which have been put in its way by its class enemies and the dictatorial rulers.

It will march forward with firm steps and in close ranks. It will justify the confidence of the Iraqi working class and all revolutionary working people. It will be advancing towards victory in the vanguard of the struggle of the revolutionary Arab and Kurdish masses.

Long live our glorious Communist Party!
Long live communism!

3rd National Conference of the Iraqi Communist Party.

December, 1967.

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—Gus Ha

SIXTH CONGRESS OF BRAZILIAN CP

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contents

POLITICAL RESOLUTION
6th Congress of Brazilian CP 5

ALLOW GREATER SCOPE FOR PEOPLE'S ACTIVITY IN EVERY FIELD
Alexander Dubcek 30

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CP OF ISRAEL 42

TASKS OF JORDANIAN CP AT PRESENT STAGE
M. Kamel 46

NOT ALL PEACE TALK IS TALK FOR PEACE
Gus Hall 48

SOVIET ECONOMY IN 1967
Facts and figures 50

REIDAR LARSEN INTERVIEWED BY "FRIHETEN" 53

MODERN PROBLEMS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE
Interview with Prof. J. Schleifstein 54

DIALECTICS OF DESPAIR
R. Steigerwald 64

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POLITICAL RESOLUTION* ON THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

I. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The evolution of the international situation in the years that have passed since the Fifth Congress confirms the thesis of the Communist movement that in the present epoch the main direction of historical development is determined by the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for the socialist transformation of society.

The international situation today is characterized by the achievements of socialism and all liberation forces, and by resistance and aggressive maneuvers on the part of imperialism.

The world socialist system, with the Soviet Union at its head, has become considerably stronger and its prestige and influence have increased. The fourteen socialist states, which take up 26 per cent of the surface of the globe, already supply 40 per cent of the world industrial output and are the principal factor in the development of the present-day revolutionary process.

Another characteristic of the international situation is the events in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the national-liberation movement goes on developing. In recent years about a score of one-time colonies have become politically independent states, with the result that millions of people have joined in the fight for new social gains. Many of these countries, having won political independence, proceeded to fight for economic independence, against the neo-colonialist plans of imperialism, which is trying to regain its lost positions and prevent the social progress of these countries.

The working-class movement in the most developed capitalist countries, for its part, is waging grim class battles against the monopolies. In a number of countries, the proletariat has secured new positions from which it can pursue its offensive against the system of exploitation. The fight of the democratic forces, among which the working class is gaining ever greater influence, has registered appreciable progress in France. In Italy, the working people showed their militancy by taking energetic mass action in defense of democracy and progress. In Spain there is a growing desire for democratic unity against the Franco dictatorship. In all the countries of this area, as well as in Japan, the broadest sections of the

*Abridged.

population are becoming aware of the need to maintain peace, and this prompts to action groups holding the most diverse opinions. In the United States, the fight against poverty and racial discrimination, for peace, is gaining in scope and vigor, causing worldwide repercussions. The stand of the Catholic Church, in which powerful trends identify themselves with the forces fighting for peace and democracy, against capitalist exploitation, is growing in importance. These trends adhere to positions favorable to the peoples' aspiration for independence and socialism.

The balance of world forces continues to change in favor of the labor and national-liberation movement and socialism. However, the period under survey is also characterized by the growing aggressiveness of imperialism. The deepening general crisis of capitalism and the exacerbation of capitalist contradictions impel the imperialists to launch new ventures endangering peace and social progress. On the other hand, the political and economic alliances and military alignments of the imperialists are entering a period of crisis leading to the failure of the cold war strategy.

The economic and military potential of the principal capitalist countries, primarily the United States, continues to grow. Imperialism, forced by history into retreat, resists the revolutionary forces with the fury of a cornered beast and takes the counter-offensive here and there. U.S. imperialism, which has assumed the role of world policeman, is the main reactionary force of our time. It grossly interferes in the internal affairs of many countries and peoples, and gravely endangers world peace. It is stepping up its criminal war against the people of Vietnam. By instigating Israel and fomenting war in the Middle East, the U.S. imperialists try to check and crush the Arab peoples' fight for freedom and independence. They try to put down the national-liberation movement by force of arms, as they did in the Dominican Republic. There is no let-up in their provocations against revolutionary Cuba. They engineer military coups, as in the case of Indonesia, Brazil, Argentina, Greece and other countries. They encourage the revival of Nazism and seek to arm Federal Germany with nuclar weapons.

The aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism is particularly obvious in the war against the Vietnamese people, in which it is using the most barbarous means of destruction and mass annihilation. Powerless in the face of the indomitable courage with which the people of South Vietnam are defending their country and freedom, the imperialists have carried aggression into the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They violate the frontiers of Laos and Cambodia and continue to escalate the war, which threatens to extend the conflict and may lead to a thermonuclear world war.

World opinion is showing increasing solidarity with the patriots of Vietnam as it follows their heroic fight with admiration. In the

United States itself, the people hold protest demonstrations on a mounting scale against the aggression in Vietnam, which help considerably to step up international support for the resistance of Vietnam and to extend the struggle against U.S. imperialism, in defense of world peace.

At this congress we declare once again that the Brazilian Communist Party is in fraternal and active solidarity with the people of Vietnam. We hail the political, economic, technological and military aid which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are rendering to Vietnam. Within the possibilities of the socialist countries, this aid is limited to the needs and wishes of the Vietnamese patriots and constitutes the highest manifestation of proletarian internationalism.

Thus world events show that so long as imperialism is there the danger of predatory wars and armed conflicts that may touch off a nuclear war will persist. The imperialist policy of aggression and warmongering is effectively countered by the strategy of the struggle for peace, international détente and peaceful coexistence, by the Leninist policy being followed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and supported by all peace-loving peoples. The defense of peace is one of the most important forms of popular struggle against imperialism. It reflects the vital interests of the working class and other working people. The peoples today have sufficient forces to ward off a new world war through vigorous and coordinated action. However, to foil the plans of world reaction and safeguard world peace, it is necessary always to exercise vigilance and to mobilize the peoples and peace forces for repulsing imperialist acts of aggression.

The Communists of Brazil will do everything to activize and extend the peace movement throughout the world, which should rally public opinion to influence the foreign policy of Brazil and end its subservience to the imperialist interests of the American warmongers.

Our duty—solidarity with the peoples fighting for national liberation and social progress—prompts us to carry on sustained work explaining the real nature of this struggle to the Brazilian people and exposing imperialist threats and acts of aggression. Communists must condemn the policy of the Brazilian government, which backs the Portuguese colonialists, and launch in our country a campaign of solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea who are fighting against the Salazar tyranny, for national independence.

Worthy of special attention on our part is solidarity with all the fraternal peoples of the continent suffering along with us from the barbarous acts of aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their local partners. It is necessary to intensify the campaign against the OAS

and its policy of interfering in the internal affairs of the Latin American peoples, against the formation of the so-called Inter-American Peace Force and its camouflaged versions, such as the Military Council of the OAS, and against the arms race. Unity of action will help to unmask the Alliance for Progress and promote the fight against the economic and financial policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund. Our duty is to start an extensive campaign of solidarity with all who are persecuted, held in prison or convicted for their political views in various Latin American countries.

Solidarity with the Cuban revolution and the government building socialism in America is more important than ever before in view of the imperialists' increasing attempts to isolate Cuba, tighten the trade blockade and begin armed intervention. Our duty is to launch a broad movement of solidarity with the Cuban revolution. By defending this revolution, we are defending our own interests, the freedom, dignity and future of our own people.

The fight in defense of world peace and in support of all the peoples battling with imperialism is an important factor extending and intensifying the struggle against the dictatorship in our country. It is by stepping up the struggle against the dictatorship, that tool of U.S. imperialism, that we will make the greatest contribution to the world peace movement, to the fight against imperialism, for the triumph of socialism and communism all over the world.

By fighting against U.S. imperialism and the traitorous military dictatorship in our country, the Brazilian Communist Party is fighting for a consistent policy of peace, disarmament and national independence. A primary task of every Communist is to strive with might and main for unity of all the forces opposed to world war.

II. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POSITION OF BRAZIL

Brazil has undergone important changes in the postwar years. Once a country specializing in a limited range of exported raw materials, it now has an agrarian-industrial economy.

The industrialization process has been the main dynamic element of capitalist development. Industrial output has grown fourfold since 1948, whereas the gross national product has increased 2.6 times and the population, by 60 per cent. Capital goods production has been greatly increased. Output in this field equals consumer goods output in value, while in 1939 it was less than half that amount. It must also be noted that consumer goods production, which before World War II barely met a fraction of the nation's demand, shows a substantial increase. At present it supplies practically the entire Brazilian market. Heavy industry, for its part, already meets three-quarters of the national demand for plant.

This industrialization process has been based on nationwide extension and integration of the home market, brought into being chiefly by the growth of towns, the extension of farming areas and the penetration of capitalism into the countryside. Wartime import difficulties, government support, the shortage of convertible exchange and other circumstances made for the rise of large markets for manufactured goods, imported items being replaced by home-made ones. The Brazilian economy gained a dynamic center of the home market and ceased to be a mere appendage of the imperialist market. In the relations between the national economy and the world market there is the positive fact that trade with the socialist countries is rising.

However, this economic progress, while important, has done little to alter Brazil's relatively low rating in per capita production and consumption. Nor has it created a sufficient number of jobs for the available labor force. As a result, the proportion of fully or partly unemployed living in poverty in urban centers has increased. Their existence makes it possible to put pressure on wages and salaries.

State capitalism has played a prominent part in the postwar development of the country. The investments made by the state after the completion of the Volta Redonda project differ sharply from those made earlier, when they were restricted to the services and to auxiliary operations. The government enterprises that have sprung up under the pressure of the people and progressive forces are a valuable weapon against the foreign monopolies in the iron and steel, oil, power and other industries. Having set up large government enterprises and using its importance and its key positions in the economy, the state proceeded to play a prominent role in economic development. Besides, the state extended and intensified its interference in the economy through the government mechanisms of control and encouragement of the private sector.

Economic development has been based, in particular, on inflationary processes. Chronic inflation due to structural causes and reaching extreme proportions between 1960 and 1965, in particular for economic reasons, was used to speed the accumulation of capital. The bourgeoisie, which for a long time had cashed in on inflation, began eventually to fear that runaway inflation would undermine the entire economic system.

Postwar development has accentuated certain economic imbalances and deformations. Industry is concentrated in the south-east and south of the country. In 1964 these regions accounted for 93.85 per cent of the total industrial output, so that the share of the north, north-east and central west was a meagre 6.15 per cent. The existence of relatively developed regions surrounded by backward areas that are falling farther and farther behind the core that

has outpaced them is complicating the nation's problems. The north and north-east, which take up more than half the area of the country and have a population of 33 million, find themselves in a particularly hard plight. The per capita income of their population is below 100 dollars a year. Their backwardness and poverty are alarming—they reduce average life expectancy to 30 years.

Economic development as a whole has not been accompanied by a corresponding growth of agricultural production, first of all for the home market. This is due to the slow extension of the cultivated area and the slow growth of crop yields.

Economic development shows a trend toward exceedingly high concentration and centralization of capital and production leading to increased exploitation of the working people. Real wages have dropped. While the standard of living of some sections of the population has improved, the number of people living in poverty, primarily in the interior and in the north and north-east, has grown. This trend was particularly marked at the stage which began in April 1964.

Lastly, it must be stressed that development has been taking place on an unstable basis. Because of the limitations of the home market, the low purchasing power of the population, the completion of the process of substituting home-made for imported products, and imperialist plunder, development cannot keep up a high rate and has been slowing down since 1962.

Speaking generally, these peculiarities of development are essentially due to the disastrous role of imperialist capital and the latifundia system of exploiting the land. The growing share of progressive national elements in the economy has not eliminated the connections and privileges typical of imperialist rule and latifundia exploitation. These are the fundamental reasons for the backwardness and increasing deformation characterizing the present development of Brazil.

Despite the considerable growth of investment, the absolute power and the activity of the imperialist monopolies, their share in the economy has been diminishing due to the decrease in the relative importance of foreign trade and to the growth of the national sector, both state and private. Nevertheless, development has also been based on large foreign investments, leading to an absolute increase in imperialist investment, first of all in some of the decisive, particularly profitable industries. Imperialism uses diverse methods, including direct investment, loans, patents, and lower prices for our exports. The ultimate result of its activity is always harmful to the development of the country. Imperialist activity imparts to the economy a lopsided character in accordance with the interests of the trusts and monopolies, and hamstrings or

complicates a course of development that would meet the interests of the nation and the people. It causes an outflow of part of the wealth created by the working people of Brazil to the metropolitan centers of financial capital and makes for a reduction of internal accumulation.

The latifundia system is another important obstacle to the growth of the productive forces. According to the 1960 census, farms owning 500 hectares or more (2.2 per cent of the total number of farms) held 58 per cent of the land area and only 18.5 per cent of the cultivated land. The purchase of large tracts bv Americans strengthens the latifundia system. Owing to the monopoly ownership of the land by a small minority of big proprietors, the most backward production and management methods still predominate in agriculture. The latifundia system bars from the land those who want to till it, and so impedes its better utilization. Hence the pauper's standard of living of the rural population, a limited home market, the low productivity of agricultural labor, and the concentration of ground rent in the hands of a privileged minority. All this upsets internal accumulation and has an adverse effect on economic progress.

The strength and role of the latifundia do not obscure the growing penetration of capitalism into agriculture, particularly in the state of Sao Paulo. Over 80 per cent of the cultivated land today belongs to farms holding less than 500 hectares and employing over two-thirds of agricultural wage labor. Thus farmers using capitalist methods, as well as small and medium landowners, are becoming the most active force in agriculture.

However, these capitalist changes have been unable to break up pre-capitalist relations of production on the greater part of the country's farmland area. These changes have been accompanied by growing concentration of property in land and by increases in ground rent, land prices and the number of minifundia.

The vast majority of the rural population continues to suffer from the latifundia system. Eighty per cent of this population are farm hands who have no land. They are compelled to migrate continually and are exploited by the big proprietors. Their standard of living and class consciousness vary greatly from area to area. What many of them want above all is a job, living quarters and a livelihood. However, a sizable proportion of them long to own land and may be prompted to put forward other demands.

The economic development of recent decades has had important repercussions in every sphere of the social and political life of the country. Once Brazil was a country in which the big landed proprietors dominated the sphere of political power. The urban population was small and had no strong political positions. Farm labor was isolated within the all but impenetrable bounds of the latifundia.

Only one per cent of the population was involved in politics. Since then the towns have grown, and by 1960 the number of towns of 20,000 or more inhabitants had increased to 172. In 1965, the urban population overtook the rural in number.

The changes that occurred helped to reveal more clearly the various social strata and classes and to increase their participation in political struggles. The urban and rural proletariat, the mass of the peasants and the greater part of the urban petty bourgeoisie came out in this process as the most active and progressive political forces.

Industrialization produced considerable changes in our proletariat, which today numbers roughly eight million, including three million urban workers and five million agricultural wage workers. Factory workers number almost 1,600,000. The proletariat already constitutes one-third of the gainfully employed population. It follows that the composition of our working class has changed noticeably in a short period. Its ranks have been swelled mostly by newcomers from the countryside and small inland towns.

Another noteworthy fact is the concentration of the proletariat in large enterprises situated mostly in the central southern part and in big cities. In 1960 Sao Paulo alone had 802 industrial enterprises employing over 200 workers each. They made up 1.5 per cent of the total of industrial enterprises but employed 50.6 per cent of the industrial labor power of that state. The working class has also changed due to changes in the structure of industry. Whereas the traditional categories of workers, employed in light industry, in the ports and on the railways, have grown by a narrow margin, there has arisen a new proletariat in the automobile, chemical, heavy engineering, shipbuilding, electronics, electrotechnical and other industries. This new proletariat is a large and growing contingent with relatively high educational and qualification standards.

The changes in the numbers and composition of the proletariat are reflected in the working-class movement. The existence, along with the more politically conscious core of the working class, of a vast number of working people who came not long ago from the countryside and from inland towns, temporarily lowered the average level of class consciousness and militancy of the proletariat as a whole. This was also due to the policy of the government, which adopted a demogogical and paternalistic attitude to the working people while retaining control over the trade unions. Nevertheless, the impact of the labor movement on national life has been growing. The trade unions have advanced from activity within the narrow limits of economic demands to activity ranging over a wider field. In the favorable situation created by the democratic process they have begun to draw up, especially at their

congresses and conferences, a program for anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. The working people's fight against the wage freeze policy, a fight affecting a basic aspect of the economic and financial policy of the government, played an important political role in that period. The political positions of the labor movement meet with response in other segments of the population, particularly among the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, so that the labor movement already plays an important role in mobilizing, consolidating and promoting the bloc of nationalist and democratic forces opposing the imperialists and their agents.

The growing penetration of capitalism into agriculture brought into being a large body of agricultural workers, semi-proletarians and poor peasants. Some of the agricultural workers moved into cities and towns. Contractors and go-betweens concerned with trade in agricultural labor made their appearance. Exploitation of the rural working people increased, and so did the difference between their living conditions and those of the urban centers. On the other hand, the rural popualtion is drawing nearer to the urban population due to the development of transport and communications. The rural masses have awakened politically and have begun to organize and to advance their demands. The striving for an agrarian reform has gained in breadth and depth. The trade union movement has provided new opportunities for the alliance of the workers and peasants.

Development led to the rise of a numerous urban petty bourgeoisie whose composition and structure are an entirely new element in the country. In the past this stratum consisted mostly of craftsmen, small producers, independent specialists and civil servants and represented a small fraction of the population. Today the number of civil servants stands at 1,000,000 and that of banking, commercial and auxiliary personnel, of specialists and other categories has climbed to almost 1,500,000. The rise of this numerous and active group of wage workers is producing a qualitative change in the composition and role of the urban petty bourgeoisie. Being close to the working class by virtue of its economic position, it is taking an ever more favorable stand on the democratic and liberation movement. It is an important factor in democratizing the cultural life of the country—in literature, the arts and sciences—and leads to the formation of a progressive trend among the intellectuals that is very active in politics. However, the urban petty bourgeoisie keeps up its links with the bourgeoisie, particularly those of a political and ideological nature, and is therefore vacillating and unstable. Its importance in political life, already traditional, has grown considerably due to these changes and to the capacity for mobilization and activity typical of it, as well as to the high level of its education and information.

Industrialization led to expansion of the section of the bourgeoisie whose interests are linked with the independent development of the country. This sector differs in many respects from the commercial bourgeoisie, which at one time held a dominant position. In seeking to control the home market, it clashes with the imperialists. Its interest in expanding the consumer market prompts it to support the struggle for agrarian reform. Besides, there has formed and grown a section of the bourgeoisie which associates itself with the nationalist and democratic movement and therefore enters into conflict with the traitorous elements of the Brazilian bourgeoisie.

III. CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL REGIME

The overthrow of the Goulart government brought deep-going changes into Brazilian politics. It meant the defeat of the nationalist and democratic forces and the triumph of reactionary and traitorous trends. The April coup, a result of the unification of numerous and heterogeneous political, economic and social forces, ushered in a new political process in our country. Brazil today is ruled by a dictatorial military regime of a traitorous, anti-democratic and anti-labor type. This regime, sanctified by the 1967 Constitution, discontinued the democratic process which had been developing under the previous government, guided by the 1946 Constitution. It radically altered the political form of power and caused tremendous damage to the interests of the majority of the people and to the whole nation.

The dictatorial regime abolished the democratic gains reflected in the 1946 Constitution. Power was seized by the most reactionary local groups linked with U.S. imperialism. The national bourgeoisie was forced into the background in the administration. The petty bourgeoisie was expelled from the sphere in which it could influence government decisions. Under a reign of police terror, a policy of wage freeze was imposed on the proletariat. Many of the workers' gains, including the right to guaranteed employment, were nullified. The peasants' exploitation was intensified. The dictatorship began to interfere in the activity of trade unions in an effort to transform them into clubs or mutual insurance organizations. The intellectuals became victims of a policy of obscurantism and cultural terror.

The Brazilian state was placed in the service of a policy of abolishing national sovereignty and suppressing the democratic and progressive aspirations of the people. The fundamental characteristic of this policy is that it imposes on the country a course of development which makes it increasingly dependent on and subservient to U.S. imperialism and bolsters the positions of home

reaction. The opportunities for investment, decision-making and encouragement which the state retains in the economic field are being used to strengthen the positions of the U.S. monopolies and to integrate the Brazilian economy in keeping with the requirements and interests of these monopolies. The government makes a considerable effort to restrict the activity of government companies and even to transfer some of them to imperialist capital. It has accentuated the negative aspect of state capitalism by using some government companies in the interests of the trusts and monopolies.

On the pretext of combating inflation and rationalizing production, the state interferes in the capitalist process of concentration and centralization of production and capital, increasing the exploitation of the working class. Official meddling with the relations between employee and employer goes to unprecedented lengths. The purpose of this meddling is to exert pressure so as to cut wages. In 1965 the purchasing capacity of the working people dropped by 15.3 er cent and in 1966 by 15.6 per cent. The bulk of the small and medium companies in which national capital predominates is doomed to failure or to absorption by imperialist, primarily American, groups. Thus the process of denationalization of our economy is intensifying. The system of latifundia exploitation is safeguarded by police measures and terror in the interior regions of the country. The foreign policy of the regime is leading to the loss of sovereignty and to refusal to uphold national interests, which benefits he U.S. imperialists. Our country is disgracefully associated with the activity of the world policeman, the United States, above all in Latin America.

Democratic liberties are suppressed in favor of a foreign and home policy of development subordinated to U.S. imperialism and the interests of national reaction. The regime, inspired directly by the American imperialists, is trying to implement the doctrine of semi-fascist rule based on a military camarilla. The classical institutions of bourgeois democracy have been abolished or are preserved only in name. Political power is concentrated in the executive bodies which are influenced by the imperialist monopolies. The armed forces are used to suppress the people in line with the new concept of national security according to which one should no longer see potential enemies in foreigners who encroach on the territorial integrity or sovereignty of the nation but in the national forces coming out against the authoritarian and traitorous regime.

The process of establishing the dictatorship, and its anti-national and anti-popular policies under the Castelo Branco government aroused strong resentment in the country in a few months. This expressed itself in the gubernatorial elections in some Federal states, particularly Guanabara and Minas Gerais. There the people took

a stand for the first time on the political situation by voting for the candidates backed by the opposition. The political situation deteriorated. The military insisted that the election returns be declared invalid, and threatened to overthrow the Castelo Branco cabinet. The crisis was overcome by means of the No. 2 Institutional Act which accentuated the reactionary aspects of the regime and provided for "indirect elections" to the presidency of the republic to prevent the direct presidential elections set for 1966 from resulting in the election of a candidate committed to the opposition. Thus the October 1965 events prompted the reactionary forces to make a compromise on the presidential elections, so as to deal with the political crisis and head off a deeper split among the military. This reactionary compromise benefited the War Minister.

The forces which grouped themselves around Costa e Silva and which included military and civilian putschist elements pushed aside by the Castelo Branco government created a broader political basis for the new dictatorial government. Costa e Silva, while still a candidate and at the time of his advent to power, promised to effect certain changes in the policies of the dictatorship. He criticized the financial, economic and foreign policy of the previous government. All this made for a situation in which changes favorable to the people were expected and which had an effect on petty-bourgeois quarters and even on the proletariat, and virtually paralyzed the bourgeois opposition. But the present government differs from that of Castelo Branco in only secondary matters. It reflects to a greater extent the pressure of the bourgeois quarters interested in economic development.

The Costa e Silva government is trying to consolidate the traitorous and reactionary regime imposed on the nation. It is an intransigent defender of the present Constitution, which bars the people from politics, virtually abolishes personal guarantees and does away with many gains of the working people. Its economic and financial policy implies no substantial alteration of the traitorous and anti-labor policy of its predecessor. It keeps intact the measures taken by the previous government to transfer control over the decisive and most profitable industries to the U.S. monopolies. It continues the wage freeze policy and keeps in force laws which virtually ban strikes and leave wage readjustments to the government.

While continuing what was essentially the policy of its predecessor, the Costa e Silva government was compelled, in trying to win and retain the support of the discontented sections of the national bourgeoisie, to renounce the political monolithism of the previous government. This change brought into the government elements of vacillation and duplicity which tend to become stronger as the difficulties of the country mount.

Thus greater possibilities are presenting themselves for intensifying the opposition movement and mobilizing the people in a struggle for democratic and national changes. But the actions of the Costa e Silva government show that a simple replacement of the head of government not leading to a cardinal change in the composition of the forces in power and not affecting the essence of the traitorous reactionary regime would never bring about a solution of the problems of the country in keeping with the interests of the toiling masses and the majority of the nation.

The growing resistance to the dictatorship testifies to the discontent of the majority of the population with its policy. The fallout between it and the most prominent civic political leaders, its inability to subdue the intelligentsia and students, its failure to check the organized movement of the working people, are indicative of irreconcilable contradictions between the regime and the aspirations of the majority of the population.

It is only with difficulty that the nationwide discontent with the dictatorship manifests itself in major concrete actions against the regime. The insufficient vigor of the democratic struggle is explained primarily by the defeat of the mass movement in 1964, the weakness of the progressive trends on the eve of the coup, and the low level of organization of the masses. The arrest, exile and removal of people's leaders who had come to the forefront during the rise of the democratic movement, the disunity of mass organizations and the lawlessness and terror to which the working people are subjected have led to an obvious slackening of the struggle of the people for their demands and of their participation in political life. The participation of the democratic trends in political life in the first years of the dictatorship was limited to the activities of the opposition heads and the resistance of the few vanguard circles of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie. A prominent role was played in this respect by the intelligentsia, especially students. Recent months have seen more active participation of the working class in the struggle against the government's policy on wages, despite the tremendous obstacles to the development of trade union activity. In the main industrial centers the trade union movement is uniting forces in the fight against the wage freeze in which it enjoys the support of other strata of the population. The rural working people are beginning to step up the activity of their trade unions and trying to make landlords abide by the labor laws. But this activity is still far from having reached the magnitude necessary for delivering telling blows at the dictatorial regime.

By virtue of all this the most negative aspect of the present political situation is the weakness of the mass movement, especially that of the working class, which is aggravated by the dif-

ficulty of uniting the various trends opposed to the dictatorship. The way to a cardinal change in the situation in Brazil lies through the elimination of these shortcomings.

IV. OUR STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE

Brazil's capitalist development, although limited, is objectively of a progressive character, for it has signified transition to a more advanced stage of social development. The possibilities of this road have not yet been exhausted. But this type of development does not solve the problems facing the Brazilian people. This is a road of growing exploitation of the working class and all working people, a road which does not lead to the satisfaction of the demands of the majority of the nation. The objective requirements of the country's economy and the national interests demand a different type of development, one aimed at abolishing imperialist domination and monopoly of the land.

Brazil is experiencing a structural crisis resulting from growing contradictions between the national productive forces, which require new forms of development and progress, and the present economic structure, which impedes their development. The social forces standing for the preservation of this structure are imperialism, the latifundists and the Brazilian capitalists connected with imperialism. The traitorous bourgeoisie, associated with imperialist groups, constitutes the internal social basis of national oppression; its power derives from the economic dependence of the country. This bourgeoisie has also been one of the forces that hampered the implementation of the land reform, because its interests are linked with big land ownership.

The basic contradiction between the requirements of development and the system of imperialist domination and latifundist exploitation should be resolved in order to ensure the progressive development of Brazilian society. The political alliance of imperialism and domestic reaction is the biggest obstacle to resolving this contradiction.

At the present stage the Brazilian revolution must overcome these two historically-conditioned obstacles to the progress of the country: imperialist domination and land monopoly. This revolution is national and democratic. And since the national factor assumes primary importance, the main blow is directed against imperialism and especially North American imperialism and its agents. The traitorous bourgeoisie will be eliminated as a social force together with the other enemies of the revolution.

As capitalist relations develop, the class struggle between workers and employers is growing in scope and intensity. The working people bear the brunt of imperialist domination and latifundist

exploitation. The proletariat must step up, not slacken, the struggle for its interests and rights. By doing so it will accelerate the development of the national-democratic revolution. Even without destroying the exploitation of the workers by the bourgeoisie the national-democratic revolution will pave the way for the victory of socialism.

The chief aim of a radical land reform is abolition of monopoly ownership of the land. The latifundists' land will be expropriated and turned over gratuitously to landless and land-hungry peasants and to all those who will want to till it. The new agrarian structure will be based on individual and collective peasant ownership and state ownership. Small and medium holdings will be given protection and guarantees; rich peasants will not be affected.

The Brazilian revolution is a component of the world socialist revolution. It is ripening under the influence of the new international situation and developing during a new stage of the strenuous struggle against the chief enemy of the peoples—North American imperialism. It enjoys the support and solidarity of the socialist camp, the peoples fighting for national liberation and independence, and the proletarian and other progressive forces in the highly developed capitalist countries.

The proletariat is the main motive force of the revolution. The peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie comprise, together with the proletariat, its principal forces. The national bourgeoisie, objectively interested in national emanciation, is capable of coming out against imperialism and taking part in the revolution and its present stage. The working class must assume hegemony in the revolutionary process to ensure its consistent development. The necessary conditions for this are unity of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

The victory of the national-democratic revolution will ensure the complete economic and political liberation of the country from imperiailst domination and cardinal reorganization of the agrarian structure through the abolition of land monopoly and pre-capitalist relations of production. Owing to the nationalization of the U.S.-owned enterprises and other anti-imperialist measures the profits which are now taken out of the country will remain at the disposal of the Brazilian government which will thus be able to increase capital investments, speed up economic development and eliminate inflation. The state sector will be strengthened and will be unimpeded in its function as the chief accelerator of economic development. Duly organized along democratic lines, it will become a powerful means of industrialization and development of an independent national economy. The agrarian reform will expand the domestic market and make it possible to reduce production costs in agriculture and raise the living standard of the toiling masses.

Thus material conditions will be created for the socialist development of Brazilian society.

The implementation of these measures in the economic structure calls for a radical change in the correlation of political forces and the transfer of state power into the hands of those classes and social groups which are taking part in the struggle against imperialism and the latifundia. This means that various revolutionary parties and trends will take part in governing the state.

The profundity of the national-democratic revolution and the rapidity of its development into the socialist stage will depend on the strength and fighting capacity the nucleus of the revolutionary forces will have acquired in the course of the revolutionary process, on the influence it will be able to exert on the social strata near to it. Hegemony of the proletariat is the principal political condition for the transition to socialism.

Drawing the broadest masses of the people, including the national bourgeoisie, into the struggle against imperialism and the latifundia, the Communists will apply the main effort for mobilizing the proletariat and building a solid political alliance with the other basic revolutionary forces—the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, so that the proletariat may win the leading role in the bloc of revolutionary forces and in the organs of state power after the victory of the national-democratic revolution.

V. OUR TACTICS

In the present conditions our chief tactical task is to mobilize, unite and organize the working class and the other patriotic and democratic forces against the dictatorial regime, for the winning of democratic freedoms. The realization of this task is closely connected with the revolutionary objectives at the given stage and with the development of the struggle of the working class for socialism.

The primary importance of the defense of democratic freedoms stems from the need to draw the broad masses into political life and the revolutionary process. The struggle for democratic freedoms, from the freedom of assembly, organization and demonstrations to freedom of the press and of the formation of political parties, is connected with mass struggle at all levels: from the struggle for the most elementary demands to decisive battles for power. Every victory, big or small, and even defeat in the struggle for freedoms enriches the experience of the masses. Only their own combat experience will stimulate the masses in advancing towards their aims, in establishing their organizations and in maintaining the prestige of their leaders, and in taking a resolute part in political actions to topple the dictatorial regime.

The working class, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie are the main forces of the anti-dictatorship front. An alliance of these forces will be the basis for the union of the other anti-dictatorship forces, a guarantee of resolute and consistent action against the dictatorship, a factor which will determine its defeat and the further development of the situation in the country. The national bourgeoisie is taking part in the anti-dictatorship front although its opposition to the existing regime is limited. The other strata of the ruling classes whose interests are prejudiced by the policy of the dictatorial government can take part in actions against this regime and be useful for invigorating and strengthening the anti-dictatorship front.

The working class is the principal motive force of the anti-dictatorship front. The promotion of unity of action of the working class in defending its economic and political interests and against the dictatorship should be the chief concern of the Communists. It is necessary always to begin with the defense of such interests on the basis of which the working people will be able to unite and join in the struggle. Correct formulation of the most essential demands of the working people as regards wages, living and working conditions and the freedom of assembly and demonstrations, as well as organization of struggle for these demands and the choice of appropriate forms of it must be constantly in the focus of attention of the Communists. The struggle against the official policy on wages, which is of the most immediate concern to the working people, assumes great political importance, for it affects the foundations of the financial and economic policy of the dictatorship. Hence the need to organize and broaden this struggle with a view to securing the participation of the broad masses in it and the further development of unity of action of the working people on the scale of enterprises, municipalities, states and the entire country.

Work in the trade unions is the principal means of intensifying the working-class movement. The Communists should concentrate their work at enterprises and utilize, for this purpose, all legal possibilities of such organizations of working people as trade union committees, the Commission for the Prevention of Accidents, and others. In order to draw the entire working class into the trade union movement it is also necessary to strengthen the trade unions by building up their membership. Acting within the framework of the existing trade union organizations, it is necessary to make them independent of the state and the employers. Special importance attaches to the establishment of coordinating and unifying centers of the trade union movement. While utilizing all legal possibilities, the trade union movement should not confine itself to the limits established by the dictatorial regime but develop in a way that

enables the masses to win and secure their rights. The Communists should also work in the non-trade union organizatons of working people, particularly the cooperatives, mutual aid societies and sports clubs. The establishment of trade unions of agricultural workers is of decisive importance. The urban trade unions and their members should extend greater help to their brothers in the countryside, directing, stimulating and assisting the organization and activities of rural trade unions in the neighboring districts.

The mobilization and organization of the peasant masses are equally necessary for the struggle against the dictatorship. This work must materialize in activities that will enliven the movement for peasant unity and in defense of their demands with a view to stimulating their struggle for their specific interests, for the agrarian reform and democracy. Here are some of the demands around which the mobilization of the peasants is possible: observance of laws that guarantee certain rights, such as limits on rent; the prohibition of dispossessing peasants of their holdings; abolition of the obligation to render unpaid services and of the system of payment for farm products in receipts and not in money; obligatory institution of work-books for agricultural workers; conclusion of long-term lease agreements; prohibition of converting tilled land into pastures; the issuance of title-deeds to the land possessed by working people; exemption of small plots in family use from tax; establishment of village schools; social security; the fixing of minimum compensation prices; measures against foreign enterprises and local profiteers who plunder both the producers and the consumers; easy-term credits and technical assistance to small and medium holders. In order to mobilize the peasants it is necessary to step up work among the agricultural workers.

Stimulation of the struggle of the wage-earning categories of the petty bourgeoisie for their demands is of great importance for securing the participation of this social group in the fight against the dictatorship. The white- and blue-collar workers, technical specialists and others should be drawn into this struggle through defense of their demands, especially those for wage regulation and higher wages.

An important role in the fight against the dictatorship belongs to the intelligentsia. The Communists should act as a stimulating and uniting factor in its struggle in defense of national culture, for the freedom of creative searching and the freedom of opinion.

A major contribution to political actions can be made by women. Their participation will do much towards intensifying the fight against the dictatorship. Therefore it is necessary to organize, in different forms, their struggle for their specific demands, against the social and legal discrimination which reduces them to the status of second-rate citizens, for equal rights for working women,

for the protection of motherhood and children. Women can also greatly contribute to the democratic struggle, acting against the rising cost of living and for solidarity with the political prisoners, victims of persecutions, and their families.

Increasing importance is assumed by the participation of young people in the life of the country. Constituting more than half of the population and being by nature more sensitive to the demands of the future of the nation, young people impart characteristic mettle to the popular struggle. Our students have displayed courage in battles against the oppressive regime, but their actions bear the imprint of the sectarian attitudes of their leaders. It is necessary to enlist the participation of the majority of students in such battles, laying stress on their specific demands, and, what is equally important, to mobilize and organize young workers and the rest of our young people, uniting them around the striving for learning, for work, for recreation and sport and thereby drawing them into the struggle of our people for access to the material and cultural values created by modern civilization.

Mobilization of broad strata of the population against the dictatorial regime should also be carried out through stimulating the struggle of the urban population for such demands as control over rent, housing construction, elimination of slums, solution of transportation problems, extension of the school network, improvement of services and supply, etc. This calls for work in organizations that unite residents of slums, neighborhoods, towns, etc.

The main effort in arousing the masses against the dictatorship should be accompanied by persistent actions aimed at uniting all forces and individual politicians who come out against the regime or are opposed to it. The anti-dictatorship front includes also religious trends and leaders. Hence the important role of the progressive wing of the Catholic church. Our chief aim in the battle against the dictatorship is to promote the establishment of a single bloc of all opposition forces. Mutual understanding between the various elements of the bloc should develop on the basis of joint action for concrete aims.

Elaboration of a minimum program which would comprise common aims is decisive for the creation and development of the anti-dictatorship front. For this program, to be decided upon by agreement between different groups, we propose the following basic points:

1. Abolition of the 1967 Constitution and all dictatorial decrees restricting or eliminating democratic freedoms; restoration of the rights of the working people which have been curtailed or abolished by the authoritarian regime; freedom of activity and autonomy for trade unions; release of the political prisoners and a general amnesty; free elections to a constituent assembly, which will work

out a democratic Constitution; restoration of direct elections of the President of the Republic; freedom of formation and activities of parties, including the Communist Party; autonomy of states and capitals; direct elections to all elective offices.

2. Abolition of all dictatorial decrees prejudicial to the national interests; a policy of independent economic development; defense of the material wealth of the country, the national industry, state-owned enterprises, and Amazonia.

3. An end to the policy of reducing wages; measures to raise the living standard of the working people of town and country; partial implementation of the agrarian reform.

4. A foreign policy which would make it possible to affirm national sovereignty, uphold the right of the peoples to self-determination, promote economic and cultural relations with all countries, and strengthen universal peace.

Concrete forms in which democratic unity will be achieved will be prompted by the development of the struggle. Not being homogeneous, the anti-dictatorship front is depeloping in the course of struggle among its components. The groups headed by the bourgeoisie will endeavor to pursue a line of anti-dictatorial struggle more suitable to them, one which will not be centered around the mobilization and organization of broad strata of the population. As regards the Communists, in the united front they will always insist on the main thing—organization and mobilization of the masses against the dictatorial regime. Without prejudice to their chief task —defense of the specific interests of the working people and all the exploited and oppressed—the Communists should launch a struggle within the anti-dictatorship front, using all possible means for achieving unity of action of all its constituent trends.

The struggle against the dictatorship demands particular concern for the cohesion of the more advanced contingents of the front. The Communists must constantly strive for unity with the various components of the left wing of the front and above all the groups and leaders who uphold the interests of the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and also with all those who want to defend the interests of the working people and truly champion the cause of our people.

In the course of the struggle against the traitorous regime the Communists should actively contribute to reorganizing the movement of the nationalists on the basis of the just demands of all patriots, such as defense of state-owned enterprises and the enterprises in Amazonia, protection of mineral wealth, denunciation of anti-popular agreements imposed by the imperialists, as a result of which U.S. troops and missions are stationed on our territory, land is brought up by imperialist agents, and so on.

Within the framework of the mobilization of the masses against

the dictatorship we should launch a struggle for a partial agrarian reform to curb the latifundist monopolies. This includes expropriation of latifundia which are unproductive or which have been declared unprofitable, to be compensated for according to the value declared for tax purposes; establishment of a greater progressive tax; sale of land to land-hungry peasants on long-term credits at a low rate of interest, etc.

The situation in the North and Northeast has become a national problem. The policy of the dictatorship aggravates the plight of the toiling masses of town and country who suffer from exploitation, misery, police terror and the arbitrary rule of the latifundists and their hired assassins. Employing different methods, North American imperialism is seeking to break the fighting spirit and the resistance of the inhabitants of these regions, to take hold of the local natural riches and prepare conditions for the seizure of that territory. Therefore the problems of the North and Northeast deserve close attention on the part of the Communists, and not only because of the need to stimulate the struggle of the working people of these regions against misery and oppression, but also in order to launch a nationwide campaign of solidarity with this struggle and to expose and frustrate the designs of North American imperialism and the activities of its agents.

The effects of the many pears of pro-American brainwashing are very much in evidence in the attitude of the Brazilian armed forces, the mainstay of the dictatorship. On the other hand, hundreds of servicemen who took part in the nationalist movement have been expelled from the army and subjected to persecutions. Nevertheless, the developing mass struggle against the dictatorship cannot but influence the armed forces. Officers, sergeants, soldiers and sailors are bound to take part in it.

Despite the measures to ensure the existence of only one party in the country, political groups and leaders both in and outside parliament are developing opposition to the regime. With few exceptions, the deputies from the Brazilian Democratic Movement have adopted an undecided attitude vis-à-vis the arbitrary rule of the dictatorship. Nevertheless, this Movement, as well as other groups, can become a positive factor for the mobilization of the popular forces.

In the struggle for the demands and interests of the masses, against the dictatorial regime, it is necessary to make maximum use of the existing legal means of propaganda and legal possibilities for holding political campaigns and demonstrations for the satisfaction of demands. But the popular forces cannot work only within the laws issued by the regime; they should combine legal and illegal forms of struggle and organization. Clashes with reaction are inevitable. Self-defense of the masses is needed to fight back

violence and police repressions; it constitutes an important means of preparing the masses for higher forms of struggle. As mass actions grow in intensity the severity of the clashes with reaction will increase. In Brazil, comparable in size to a continent, the development of separate regions is highly uneven, and the popular struggle in these regions will assume different forms and will be waged at different levels. The Party should prepare itself and the masses for combining the simplest and legal forms of struggle with other, higher forms, such as armed struggle, depending on the conditions in every region. The most important thing is that the forms of struggle should conform to the concrete situation at the given moment and in the given place and to the level of consciousness and militancy of the masses.

The Communists are fighting for the holding of direct and free elections. Participation in elections even under the existing electoral system, which prevents democratic exercise of electoral rights, is instrumental in uniting the forces opposed to the dictatorship, exposing its policy before the masses, and inflicting defeats upon it. While participating in elections it is necessary to work for the unity of action of the opposition forces and to support candidates who represent these forces and who deserve the confidence of the people.

The process of isolating and defeating the dictatorship is the process of development of the mass struggle and democratic unity of action. In the course of this process the slogans and forms of struggle change as mass actions develop. The growing opposition and rebuff to the dictatorship are steadily narrowing down and weakening its political and social basis and can lead to its split and defeat. The actions of the democratic forces can bring about de facto legality, force the reactionary minority into retreat, and defeat it. But the dictatorship can force the people to resort to armed uprising or civil war. Therefore the Communists should prepare the Party and the masses for this eventuality and reach an understanding on this matter with the various trends in the anti-dictatorship front.

The contradictions within the political bloc which accomplished the coup of April 1964 are weakening the regime. We should bear in mind that growing mass actions and intensification of clashes with reaction will deepen the conflicts in its camp and increase its instability. A government crisis and a new coup d'etat can take place. In this case only interference by the popular forces under their own banners will prevent a reactionary solution — a mere replacement of one group of putschists by another—and lead to a democratic solution.

As the mass movement develops and the unpopularity and isolation of the dictatorship increase some strata of the ruling class

can begin to look for a way out in the overthrow of the government without the participation of the popular forces. In this case the masses should take the initiative and, without waiting for government decrees, effectively restore democratic freedoms and demand concrete measures ensuring democratic development.

Many fatcors can predetermine the defeat of the dictatorial regime and the establishment of a new government. The Communists, who orient themselves on the winning of power by a revolutionary government, nevertheless join the forces opposed to the present regime, in the struggle for a government of anti-dictatorship forces. The participation of the main forces of the anti-dictatorship front in this government will make for effective democratization and for extensive development of the mass struggle for national liberation and progress. The attitude of the Communists towards any other intermediate government will depend on the concrete situation, the stand of imperialism and domestic reaction, the attitude of the united front and above all the possibilities which will have opened for the free mobilization of the working class and its allies. Irrespective of whether or not they will participate in this government, the Communists will continue the struggle for their programmatic aims.

VI. CONSOLIDATION OF THE PARTY IN THE PRESENT CONDITIONS

Never in its forty-five years has our Party been broken or renounced its fundamental principles. It owes this viability and strength to its revolutionary spirit, identification with the vital interests of our people and loyalty to the working class, and the boundless devotion of its members. Before achieving this, our Party traversed a long road of victories and defeats and sank deep roots in Brazilian society from which it draws experience and strength.

The application of the line worked out by the 5th Congress enabled the Party to score successes in all areas of its work. It strengthened its organizations and increased its membership. It acted as an important mobilizing and uniting force in the nationalist and democratic movement, and its influence among all sections of the people increased. The coup of 1964 interrupted this process and inflicted a serious defeat upon the entire democratic and patriotic movement and the Party itself. But it did not lead to the destruction of the Party and the isolation of the Communists.

It is true that we committed mistakes, and not only minor ones. But they did not divert us from the correct course, let alone plunge us into desperation and adventurism after the defeat. This was an important victory of our Party, a manifestation of its maturity and

ability to chart independently a correct course in keeping with the conditions of the country and the sentiments of the masses. Evidence of this is furnished by the approval of the line of the Central Committee and the basic provisions of the political resolution of our 5th Congress by the overwhelming majority of Party members and organizations in the course of the free and democratic discussion which preceded the 6th Congress. The group which is seeking to split the Party and to impose an adventuristic and "leftist" policy on it has ended up coming out against the historical path of development of our Party and becoming a mouthpiece of those extremely retrograde un-Marxist concepts which had done us so much harm in the past, while its members have turned into an instrument of those who are working in and outside the country to destroy our Party and impose upon the proletariat a kind of political leadership which contradicts its doctrine and class organization. It pursues a policy ignoring the objective conditions and considers that a revolutionary situation has matured or is imminent, a situation which has matured only in their own heads. It is seeking to revive, in "new" guerrilla garb, a theory of revolution, on the basis of adventuristic rebel groups divorced from the genuinely mass movement, and to replace the Marxist-Leninist party by a para-military alignment. Loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party stands on the side of the masses, mobilizing, organizing and educating them.

The defeat of 1964 brought to light many of our weaknesses and showed up more clearly than ever the pernicious influence which is still exerted on our Party, beginning with its leadership, by false concepts which manifested themselves with particular force at crucial moments in our life. There is the false concept, essentially petty-bourgeois and putschist, which presents revolution as a result of action by the top or by the party and not of mass action. This concept imparts to our actions a character of petty-bourgeois rashness and diverts us from the prospect of stubborn struggle, from the realization of our tactical and strategic objectives through accumulation of forces and the winning of hegemony by the proletariat. Our inadequate theoretical training and insufficient knowledge of the realities of the country resulted in serious mistakes and deviations in our policy which stemmed from such concepts and other non-proletarian ideas. The reason for the emergence of these concepts should be sought primarily in the strong influence of petty-bourgeois ideology on the Party.

To make the Party equal to revolutionary tasks, we should wage an ideological struggle against the influence of the "Left" and the "Right" and combat all that tends to push us onto the narrow road of doctrinarianism, dogmatism and subjectivism. In equal measure, we should stimulate and strengthen all that helps us affirm

ourselves as a party of political action leading the broad masses and closely linked with the life of the working class and the entire people.

It is necessary to combat everything that hampers the growth of our Party, to ensure full democracy and Party discipline based on democratic centralism and collective leadership and to step up the struggle for the education and formation of Party cadres on the basis of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

The Brazilian Communists are faced with the historical task of building a strong and big party of the working class. Ours is a political organization which has long since been firmly defending the basic interests of the working class. We are a party which possesses the most experienced and militant worker cadres. Many of the gains of the working class have been achieved, directly or indirectly, due to the struggle of the working people guided by the Party. That is why the reactionaries persecute and vilify us, but we enjoy the confidence and support of a considerable part of the proletariat. However, our Party has not yet become the leader of the broad proletarian masses. It is not surprising that the influence which temporarily predominates among the petty bourgeoisie is felt so strongly in our actions.

The building of a powerful party of the working class demands of us first of all that we fully assimilate Lenin's teaching on the party as the headquarters of the proletariat. The party is not established for its own sake; it is, first and foremost, a center which lives, learns, draws inspiration from the problems of the working class and plays its vanguard role choosing the most correct road for the proletariat in its hard and complicated struggle for its emancipation. The lesson that this teaching gives us is that Party organs and organizations should constantly and primarily concern themselves with problems that agitate the working people and with cardinal problems of the working-class movement.

Consolidation of the influence of the Party among the working class presupposes first of all elaboration, on a nationwide scale, of a long-range plan for establishing and strengthening Party organizations at big enterprises. The Party leadership at all levels should closely follow the life of primary organizations at enterprises. Admission of new members, especially in industry, should be conducted principally in connection with the mass struggle. The policy of training and selecting cadres should be based chiefly on the loyalty of Communists to the Party, their ability to defend and pursue the policy of the Party among the masses; it is necessary to take care of Party functionaries from among the workers, especially recognized leaders of the masses and trade union leaders. Special attention should be paid to Communists holding leading posts in the trade unions and other mass organizations, seeing to it

that they become the best leaders of these organizations, cadres capable of leading at the same time political work. Our theoretical, analytical and planning work should be centered on the problems of the working class. Party building within the working class also demands of all Party functionaries that they never slacken attention to problems of the trade union movement. The effort to strengthen the Party in the ranks of the proletariat is connected with the struggle of the working class for its vital political and economic demands, for stronger trade unions.

To ensure its continuous development and fulfilment of its task as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat and the entire Brazilian people, our Party should further consolidate the working-class, peasant and popular movement, and win it over for the cause of the revolution. It has to carry out the great task of uniting all democratic forces in order to rout the dictatorial regime, open the way to Brazil's independent and progressive development, and strengthen its own organiaztion, which is the principal factor for the development of the revolutionary process.

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The 6th Congress approved the expulsion from the Central Committee of the following six members who engaged in factional activities: Carlos Marighela, Jover Teles, Mario Alves, Jacob Gorender, Camara Ferreira, Apolonio de Carvalho and Miguel Batista.

In the part of its political resolution devoted to the world Communist movement the Congress supported the initiative of the 18 Communist and Workers' parties for convening a consultative meeting in Budapest in February 1968.

December, 1967.

ALLOW GREATER SCOPE FOR PEOPLE'S ACTIVITY IN EVERY FIELD

SPEECH* BY ALEXANDER DUBCEK

Cooperative members, comrades, on behalf of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, I convey comradely greetings from the CC CPC to you and, through you, to other cooperative members and to all working men and women who take part in developing our agriculture. The Central Committee of our Party has a very high opinion of your work,

*Rudé Právo, February 2, 1968. The speech was delivered by Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, at the Seventh Congress of United Agricultural Cooperatives in Prague, February 1,

which is so decisive a factor for the progress of our socialist society.

Our society is passing through a period of development in which many new paths are opening before us and we are all faced with new tasks. It is these promising yet difficult tasks that are in the focus of public attention and that the Central Committee of the Party has pondered carefully at its latest meetings. We proceed from our historical experience and from all that past practice has proved to be useful. We are not changing the general line of either our internal or our foreign policy. But we must think more deeply of how to speed the socialist development of our country, what approaches and methods to choose at the new stage, characterized by a new social structure, the rapid advance of the scientific and technical revolution and by the pressing tasks in science, culture and economy which it involves and which makes up the center of gravity of our problems. However, the solution of these problems, or rather the key to their solution, lies in the political sphere, in the development of socialist democracy, in activizing and uniting all forces in every walk of the life of our society. You, too, know well the host of practical problems and new tasks we have to grapple with in general and in each particular field.

The fundamental object of our common effort is to allow greater scope for the activity of all social groups irrespective of generation or nationality. The pressing character of this political function of society flows from the principle that socialism and its further development are and must be represented by the broadest possible sections of the working people and from the fact that the leading political force, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its committees and representatives, want to continue fully in the service of this social development as the vanguard organizing the people's growing participation in social progress. We should regard as the decisive criterion of fruitful political work the increasing activity of people, their awareness of the usefulness of their effort, and their will to commit themselves to solving the economic, scientific and cultural problems of our society in the interests of the progressive forces of the world. Proud appreciation of all the positive results we have achieved—and they are not few—and respect for the revolutionary record of our peoples are another criterion.

If we succeed, through our further work, with due regard to the conclusions of the October and January meetings of the CC CPC, in carrying socialist democracy deeper, providing greater scope for people's activity in every field, removing the barriers that have been standing in our way, and setting in motion people's creative energies, all the physical and moral forces of society, and if every honest citizen who cherishes the cause of socialism, the country and the unity of our peoples and nationalities feels that he is needed and taken into account, it will be a great beginning.

It is now hard to foresee the tremendous energy that will come about as a result, encouraging people to apply their abilities more fully, to become more active, to further the progress of our socialist society.

Permit me to make, primarily on the basis of these fundamental socio-economic premises, a few remarks about the deliberations of your congress.

You are summing up your work, and are making plans and outlining measures. Your deliberations are important not only in that you are solving problems of the development of socialist cooperative agriculture, which is so important for the harmonious development of our entire economy. Your congress also reveals the face and character of the new class of cooperative peasants, a class born of and linked with socialist relations of production, with growing large-scale agriculture. In other words, it is a congress of representatives of a new, really dynamic social force of socialist society whose task is not only to supply foodstuffs but to take part, on a completely equal footing with others, in the all-round transformation of people's lives, in the further rapid advancement of our entire socialist society.

These past years, the changes that have come about in the social structure of the peasantry and their thinking, with the result that our peasants no longer think in terms of small-scale farming but in those of large organized associations, have contributed to people in agriculture becoming ever more conscious makers of their destiny and moving into a qualitatively new position in society. All the more can they draw on all that has contributed to national progress in the history of both our peoples, particularly during their national rebirth and their socio-political movement, and continue all these progressive traditions in a new context. To benefit fully from the changes that have taken place so far in the social pattern of the further all-round development of society, we need unity and activity, close cooperation of all the social strata and classes of our society. This explains why the close political and economic alliance of the working class, which will continue to hold a leading, key position in the development of socialist society, and the peasantry is being given new and wide scope.

This active unification of the forces of our society will be based on the results attained to date by the political alliance of the workers and peasants, which has so obviously proved its worth in the progress of our society and has brought about great social, political and economic changes.

Let us on this occasion recall and assess once more the immense significance of the worker-peasant alliance in the fight for national liberation, in the national and democratic revolution and in the fight for the socialist orientation of our further development. The

twentieth anniversary of the February events is approaching. During these events, the worker-peasant alliance, joined by the progressive intelligentsia, was the mainstay of a peaceful political solution of the pressing problems of the socialist revolution. The definitive defeat of the bourgeoisie settled the issue of political power—the fundamental issue of every revolution—and confirmed that the Czech and Slovak peoples, united with the other nationalities of our country, were resolved to continue along the road leading to socialism, a road already taken in 1944 and 1945 by the national democratic revolution. In the common fight for political power, the political maturity of the peasantry became evident when, in February 1948, the congress of peasant commissions ranged itself squarely on the side of progress. This is why, speaking here today, we hail and give high praise to the diligent and meritorious effort of the pioneers of socialist cooperative agriculture.

February 1948 cleared the ground for truly historic social changes in our society, in which an important role devolved on those working in agriculture. Today, when the cooperative peasants are meeting in their congress and when we are on the threshold of the twentieth anniversary of the February victory, it is only proper that we should recall Klement Gottwald and his work. The role of our peasantry was most aptly defined by Comrade Gottwald, that outstanding leader of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the world Communist movement, who said that we would have no socialism unless the countryside adopted socialism. The laboring peasants of our country successfully accomplished that historic mission of theirs in keeping with the policy of the Party, in close union with the working class and with important help from the intelligentsia—teachers, technicians, scientists, economists.

We all know that it was no easy period. At that time, age-old traditions, relations, habits and ideas were changing to the very foundations, whereas the outlook for a better, richer and more secure life was often hazy. But the only way to bring that life nearer was for socialist relations of production to become a reality in agriculture as well, and for this sphere of social activity to be no longer organized on the basis of private but cooperative, collective ownership of the means of produdction.

In spite of occasional shortcomings and mistakes, which this process, too, could not avoid, life and the experience of our socialist construction have proved the Party's policy of reorganizing our agriculture along socialist lines to be correct. The entire period of the historic transformation of the countryside as an important component of the struggle for the triumph of socialist relations of production will for ever remain a proud record of the effort of our working people.

The groundwork for large-scale agricultural production with

regard to organization and personnel was laid, life in the countryside underwent radical changes, and cooperative democracy became the principle of organizing work and public life in the rural areas. On this basis we will and can make further progress in the development of the human personality as we strive for the complete emancipation of man, that is, continue to fulfil the ideals of the revolution. We realize that we cannot settle for what we have attained but that the results we have attained must serve as the basis on which to continue our work for the future. This is also true of solving the problems of people working in the countryside as we expand agricultural production. Practical problems are raised in Comrade Mestek's report and in the materials submitted to the congress for consideration. Their solution, too, will depend, above all, on carrying cooperative democracy deeper, on how far we succeed in encouraging the activity and commitment of the broadest possible segments of the cooperative peasantry.

Just as in society as a whole, democracy and discipline should not in this sphere be seen as contradicting each other in any way. Genuine democracy implies discipline and conscious discipline is proportional to the democracy of decision-making. In this sense, there will never be enough democracy. Democracy in this case is not only the right and opportunity to voice one's opinion but the manner in which people's opinions are treated, whether people really feel they have a share in responsibility and decision-making, whether they feel they take part in deciding on and carrying out the various tasks of their enterprises and important social problems, and whether this feeling of theirs is becoming stronger or is declining.

Conscious discipline, the only basis on which socialist society can develop in healthy conditions, presupposes an active will to identify oneself with decisions taken, and, by the same token, it is necessary in adopting a decision or approving a recommendation to respect the opinion of those it is intended for. This approach on the part of those who lead, who are in charge of production processes, is the best because it draws on the strength of the people. After all, the task in the cooperatives or on any managing job is not to control machines, hectares, square metres or abstract production units but to guide the work of people, to work among people. In leading and controlling social activity under socialism, this principle is, in fact, imperative, because the strength and development of socialism depend on how deeply aware people become, in the course of their concrete work, that they are working on what is theirs and for themselves, that all-round progress and the satisfaction of people's requirements are directly conditioned by the all-round development of society and by the provision of conditions for this development. We must bring about this close interaction

of material and moral incentives and stimuli in concrete conditions, in concrete social groups, in concrete segments of society as a single community, for by upholding their interests and meeting their needs we will gain strength and secure an active contribution to the progress of the entire society.

I have in mind, for instance, the position of women in agriculture. They have always played, and will continue to play, a most important role in it, doing much of the work and bearing much of the responsibility it involves, and this entitles them to a thoughtful approach on the part of those who organize and direct their work. It is still a very urgent problem to provide proper conditions for women and mothers in the rural areas with regard to the services, trade, social security and health, a problem which will have to be solved by drawing on both cooperative and state funds.

We know that another serious task facing us is to complete the settlement of the problems of pensions for cooperative peasants. We realize that among those to be pensioned off in the next few years will be men and women who pioneered the first cooperatives. We will look for ways and means of ensuring them an easy old age. How, when and to what extent we will be able to realize this intention of ours will depend, first of all, on how we all work and, to no small degree, on the results of the work of the cooperative peasants themselves. However, we must under no circumstances put off the solution of this problem much longer.

In promoting the activity and commitment of our people, we must devote special attention at all levels and directly in the countryside to our rural youth. Their natural and healthy desire fully to prove their worth is an immense social asset which we must use very wisely by placing it in the service of what we are now striving for first and foremost—further economic progress, the industrialization of agriculture, higher educational standards, a fuller cultural life. In the highest Party bodies, we must think especially of how to continue housing construction in the countryside, which has a direct bearing on inducing young people to stay in agriculture.

Growing in step with the successes agriculture is beginning to achieve is not only the standard of living of the peasants but their healthy social consciousness, which is a good basis for still greater public appreciation of their work. I say this in connection with youth because I think increasing public appreciation of agriculture is highly important for them, for their will to do well in agricultural labor.

Agriculture, its dynamics and the role society expects it to play makes great demands on each individual as regards his development. To farm in our day means drawing on the achievements of

science in the production sphere and making adequate use of production sources.

As we educate those working in agriculture we must lay much greater emphasis on economic thinking. This applies to both the leadership of the cooperatives and to the broadest sections of the cooperative peasantry, that is, those directly engaged in production. We must make fuller use of new forms and methods, and must insist on their application. Our new system of economic management, which is being introduced step by step, should provide a favorable atmosphere for the fruitful activity of progressive, efficient, experienced organizers of production. The first measures taken under the new system indicate that this is what our experienced farmer wants, and that is well. We must, however, continue our effort to make economic levers more effective and to improve the economic system of managing agricultural production, so that it may directly stimulate people's activity and thinking. This is an earnest that scientific and technical progress will become a decisive productive force in Czechoslovak agriculture as well.

It is not only advice or instructions on what they have to do that agricultural producers expect of the central and regional bodies, nor need they be told that they must plough, sow, and sell produce. This they know very well. What they do expect of the central agencies is to create favorable conditions for further progress in agricultural production, conditions which they themselves cannot provide. They also expect to be protected from possible administrative fiat or bureaucratic stifling of their initiative. It is for this more precise division of labor in leadership and management that we are striving today, and the relevant central bodies should adopt further measures in this sense.

Economic problems, economic estimation of the significance of agriculture for the development of our national economy, and an equal status for agriculture are the key problems with which you and the administrative bodies will be concerned in the period to come.

Agriculture holds a most prominent place in the program of consolidating the national economy. The contribution of agriculture to the growth of a fully developed economy like ours is exceedingly complex in character: an adequate supply of inexpensive and high-quality foodstuffs has an effect on the situation in the country and contributes substantially to closer political unity of the working people. Agricultural progress helps expand the industrial goods market, and agriculture has an impact on the living conditions of a large proportion of the population.

These realities, too, stress the importance of your congress, its deliberations and the conclusions you are going to draw for your subsequent work.

COMPLETE THE BUILDING UP OF A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT IN AGRICULTURE

The industries supplying agriculture have a decisive role to play in expanding agricultural production and in providing conditions for it. Greater heed should also be paid to the division of labor—on which agricultural progress depends more and more—inside agriculture and between agriculture and other branches of the national economy, as well as to the services catering for agriculture, which still have many weak points and which should be promoted in every way. The situation in this respect is becoming more favorable, above all due to the implementation of the new system of management throughout the national economy, including agriculture, to the solution of some practical problems of the development of the agricultural-industrial complex, the expansion of the services and the execution of the March decisions of the CC CPC and last year's decisions of the government of the republic. It should be clear, however, that we are only just beginning this process and that we must press it consistently forward, according to the relevant Party decisions, in the interests of agriculture and the whole of society.

We are following a new, unexplored road. In developing socialist forms, we cannot make headway without searching, without thoroughly analyzing the actual conditions in our country. This fact in itself calls for greater democracy and collectivism in every sphere of public life, for maximum utilization of all that is sound, reasonable and progressive as we go on.

The socialist cooperative form of democracy has proved its worth as a promising and viable form that will continue to be an important factor for the progress of our socialist society. We must continue to improve the cooperative form of organizing production and public life in the countryside. It is decisive in agriculture. This is not to say, however, that we should not look into the needs of the individual farmer, who continues to work in very difficult, mostly mountain conditions. It is essentially a question of small, land-hungry peasants, who should likewise be treated as allies of the working class. We must study and adopt measures ensuring that their honest labor, too, is properly appreciated by society.

We will have to refashion more fully the basic forms of organizing labor, production and public life, the cooperative form. We in the Party leadership have again discussed steps to complete the building up of a democratic system of organizing agriculture at the present stage, under which fuller use can be made, in the production, economic and social spheres, of those principles of socialist cooperative farming that have proved effective. We should thus continue the steps we took in this direction according to the

March decisions of the CC CPC. We should give more thought to this, should study and discuss it so as to have a clear idea of the most suitable ways of completing the system of organizing and managing cooperative agriculture.

You ought to ask yourselves whether it would not be right to resume the tradition of the harvest home throughout the country by regularly celebrating the devoted and fruitful labor of those who work in our socialist agriculture.

Comrades, this congress of agricultural cooperatives is bound to become an important component of the entire process of raising the activity of all social forces, a process we are launching the sooner to solve the practical problems of our further advance posed by the 13th Congress of the Party. It is on these lines that we in the Party committees are pondering a more thoughtful approach and preparing, in cooperation with a large body of activists, an action program to put into effect the wealth of ideas which have lately been put forward in our society and which the CC CPC has discussed at its plenary meetings.

The object of the program should be to concentrate the efforts of all the sound and progressive forces of our society on accomplishing the tasks and achieving the goals flowing from the policy line of the 13th Congress of the Party and specifying it. At the same time it should be a question of resolutely eliminating all that is outmoded, all handicaps, wrong practices and distortions that have held up our progress in the political, economic and ideological spheres. This criticism of all that is obsolete and ossified will help us focus our attention on the near future, when we are going to lay emphasis on the fundamental long-range activity of the Central Committee and the government of the repbulic and on the programmatic perspectives of development of our socialist society. We therefore want to link our action program, which will stress the immediate tasks, with purposeful work on the key problems of the effort of our socialist society, so as to make proper preparations for the 14th Congress of our Party. In this way we want to provide conditions for concentrating the best forces and experience on the drawing up of a complex, integral long-term program.

STRENGTHENING THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM: OUR INTERNATIONALIST DUTY

Thus we are concentrating on the political and organizational problems of our internal development. In carrying out all these difficult tasks we must bear in mind, however, that our entire socialist society, its life and development, is closely linked with the process of world progress. In view of the present situation, it is perfectly understandable that in our policy we continue to regard

the further strengthening of the world socialist system, of its unity and cohesion, as our supreme internationalist duty and the primary object of our foreign policy. We will therefore do our best to contribute to the success of the forthcoming consultative meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties in Budapest, which is to decide on the convening of a world conference of the international Communist movement.

This policy of ours proceeds from the vital interests of our people and our socialist state, from a realistic estimation of a complex international situation in which we must continuously take into account the stubborn attempts of the imperialist forces to frustrate or at least check the revolutionary process in the world. Very serious evidence of this is furnished by the war of extermination in Vietnam and the events in the Middle East.

A factor of the utmost importance for the security of our country and other socialist countries is the Warsaw Treaty, which it is a common duty of the socialist countries to consolidate in view of the existing military pacts of the capitalist countries. In accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism and in proportion to our possibilities, we will extend every kind of assistance and support to the just fight of the Vietnamese people and the revolutionary, democratic national liberation movements which are coming out actively against imperialist expansion, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In line with the policy of peace between states with different social systems, our socialist republic will continue its vigorous efforts toward lessening international tension and safeguarding peace and the security of nations. We will fully support every endeavor to create an effective system of European security. We will never stop our struggle against the rise of neo-Nazism in the Federal Republic of Germany, against the West German reactionaries' dangerous attempts to put through their revanchist claims to neighbor countries and to liquidate the German Democratic Republic, the first peace-loving, progressive state on German soil. Those who are laying such plans should know that the CSSR, in common with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, stands firmly and unshakably on the side of the GDR.

We are convinced that our peace policy and the objective requirements of the economic development of our country, combined with the world renown of Czechoslovak culture, science and technology, provide the best conditions for promoting extensive, mutually beneficial cooperation with all countries, especially in Europe.

The standing of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in international politics today is good. We have numerous friends abroad and reliable allies in socialist countries. A fundamental prerequisite for the security and sovereignty of our country is our highly

effective fraternal relations and solid unity with the Soviet Union and the CPSU. The alliance with the Soviet Union is also the most dependable international basis of our effort for the successful socialist development of our country.

Two days ago I returned from a friendly visit to the Soviet Union. I can tell you that the Soviet comrades showed appreciation of all aspects of the further consolidation of these relations, as befits the fraternal character of the relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. I take this opportunity, too, to convey to you and, through you, to all our people, heartfelt greetings from the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, personally, from Comrade L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

Our progressive domestic and foreign policies are in complete harmony. They are and will continue to be based on the fight for the emancipation of man from all oppression, for the unity of the forces fighting for human freedom. Their basis is Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We promote internationalist cooperation on a world scale by actively contributing to the consolidation of the world Communist movement. But we also emphasize it in our internal relations, in the relations between the peoples and the nationalities of the CSSR.

It is an incontrovertible truth that our peoples—the Czechs and Slovaks—equally wish the prosperity of Czechoslovak statehood, which they have brought into being jointly and of their own free will. Hence the Czechs and Slovaks are, in equal measure, builders of the state. Our task is to strengthen and to maintain in practice our people's conviction that the republic offers further prospects for the Czechs and Slovaks and affords them equal opportunities for social, cultural, political and national advancement, that no one lives at the expense of others and that, in fact, our possibilities are multiplied through the common life of the two peoples and all the nationalities of our country, through the purposeful labor of our people and the judicious utilization of every opportunity for further progress.

The Czechs and Slovaks and other nationalities of our country are equally pondering ways and means of strengthening their common state. Hence the substance of the Slovak question, which of late has been discussed frequently enough, should be seen in how to ensure that Slovakia makes a greater contribution to the cause of our common Czechoslovak country, how to increase Slovakia's share in the progressive, socialist development of the state, how to ensure that it takes an even more active part in enhancing the international prestige of our republic, in strengthening and consolidating our common homeland—the Czechoslovak

Socialist Republic. Our enemies are wasting their time in trying to loosen the fraternal relations between our peoples. The unity of our peoples is in our hands. We will continue to strengthen, safeguard and carry deeper the unbreakable unity of our peoples, to promote Czechoslovak statehood, which is, and will be, the permanent unifying basis of this alliance.

Joint building of the state, joint efforts and greater activity on the part of all to strengthen and promote it, allow vast scope for mutual confidence and understanding and constitute the unshakable foundation of the joint advance of our fraternal peoples along the socialist road. Every instance of undermining this confidence, every provocation of distrust, whatever its motives, can only prejudice and hamper the development of our main common effort. This is why we must — and I trust we will — put in the service of the unifying factor all that brings our peoples closer together, so that our socialist statehood may become ever more solid and that the principles on which it is based — equal rights, equality and unity — may be fully applied. Successful solution of the fundamental problems of the development of our Czechoslovak society will create the best conditions for carrying national relations deeper and for uniting our society in every respect.

Comrades, it should be a principle for all of us who have a share in leadership anywhere that we must not only welcome but fully support and arouse and organize the cooperation of all forces and the entire wisdom of society for the further socialist advancement of our life, for the concrete solution of the tasks facing the various social spheres. I am convinced and trust deeply that these forces do exist in our society. Our chief task in political and leading work is to give them the right direction, so as to provide every condition and allow still greater scope for their application.

Permit me to express the conviction that the functionaries of the Party, the mass organizations and the National Front, economic executives, technicians, economists and all organizers of agricultural production will fulfil this task in such a way as to ensure that the socialist cooperative form of activity in agriculture moves into the forward position in the further development of socialist society to which it is entitled. I wish success in this effort to you and to all of us.

Glory to your honest work, before which I deeply bow my head.

RESOLUTIONS* OF THE CP OF ISRAEL

A. ON THE ESHKOL VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES
B. FOR THE DEFENSE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

A.

The visit paid by Israel's Prime Minister, L. Eshkol, to L. B. Johnson, the President of the USA, and the joint statement issued by them, are an expression of the increasing dependence of Israel on the United States, on American imperialism, an expression of the additional affiliation of Israel to the global and regional plans and intrigues of the United States as opposed to the real national interests of Israel.

The Prime Minister set out to his talks with President Johnson with declared aims such as "Enhancement of collaboration for the sake of Peace" . . . "Reinforcement of Israel's Security," but from the publications of the Israeli and U.S. official press it becomes apparent that Israel's Prime Minister and the President of the United States discussed the "strengthening of collaboration and the common efforts" with the aim of "curbing aggression against the free world anywhere." The only meaning of all this is an increasing integration of Israel within the global strategy of the USA, aimed at the independence and the freedom of the peoples of the Middle East and of other parts of the world. By raising the bogey of "Communist danger" and "Soviet encroachment" the American imperialists attack the freedom, the independence and the economic and social development of the peoples in Southeast Asia, in the Middle East or in other parts of the world.

President Johnson's promise "to give Israel's military and defense capability a permanent and sympathetic consideration" was given on the background of the American imperialists' efforts to safeguard the interests of the oil companies and their enormous profits in the Arab countries and their strategic positions, aimed against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

It is not Israel's security and welfare that worries President Johnson and the other representatives of American imperialism, even when supporting Israel's official policy and promising her military aid. The American imperialists support, encourage and exploit the policy of strength conducted by Israel's government against the Arab peoples, as a means of pressuring and threatening

*Press release, January 21, 1968.

the Arab anti-imperialist regimes, of assisting the Arab reactionary rulers, of preserving their domination over the oil resources in this region and of keeping a trump card in the global strategic alignment against the Soviet Union.

Israel's rulers rely on U.S. imperialist aid to further their adventurist aims—territorial aggrandizement, perpetuation of the conquests and violation of the just rights of the Palestinian Arab people. The bitter experience of all the peoples proves, however, that no good to the real interests of Israel, no good to Israel's security and its future in the region will come forth from this collaboration with American imperialists, with the murderers of the Vietnam people, the enslavers of peoples and the enemies of peace. The American imperialists care only about the advancement of their selfish aims; and whenever the need arises they would sacrifice the interests of the partners and vassals for the sake of their intrigues against the freedom of the peoples and against peace.

The Communist Party of Israel warns that this complicity is bound to damage the future of the Israeli-Arab relations and to obstruct peace; it carries with it additional dangers to peace in this part of the world and puts Israel in a much more dangerous situation opposite and against the Arab peoples and the socialist countries; it also brings Israel to support the criminal aggression in Vietnam and the global war plans of the American imperialists.

The Communist Party of Israel stresses again that not by relying on American imperialists, not by resorting to the policy of strength and not by conquests will Israel advance towards peace with the Arab peoples and towards securing its future in the region, but by seeking the way of understanding, agreement and collaboration with the Arab peoples.

In order to set foot on the way to peace the Communist Party of Israel calls on the Israeli Government to act immediately for faithful implementation of the Security Council's decision of November 22nd, 1967, the first step of which is the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied territories to the positions prior to June 5, 1967. This is an essential and imperative step towards the achievement of a peace settlement of Israeli-Arab relations and to the solution of the Palestinian problem, a settlement which should be based on respecting the independence and the sovereignty of both Israel and the neighboring Arab states, the right to agreed and secure boundaries, on respecting the rights of the Palestinian Arab people and foremost the rights of the Arab refugees, as well as on respecting Israel's right to free navigation in the international waterways of the region.

The perpetuation of the occupation is only bound to put off peace, to increase enmity between the two peoples, to create additional dangers, and may lead to a new war.

The Communist Party of Israel calls on all peace-loving, progressive and democratic forces in Israel to rally in a public struggle, in order to change the Israeli policy towards peace, independence and a happy future for Israel.

B.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel points out with concern and gravity the expansion and intensification of the persecution of opponents of war and territorial conquests. The government's organs intensify the incitement against the Arab population of the occupation which not only obstructs peace, increases the bloodshed and endangers the security, but also threatens—as we have warned beforehand—democratic liberties in Israel.

At the beginning of 1968 former orders of confinement and restriction-of-movement were renewed, and many additional orders were issued against hundreds of members of the Communist Party of Israel, prominent Arab personalities and opponents of war, citizens of the State of Israel.

Many hundreds of women and men—housewives and workers, members of the Histadrut (General Confederation of Labor) Executive and of the Histadrut Council, members of municipal and local councils, lawyers, physicians, engineers, poets, journalists, members of the intelligentsia, simple citizens from all parts of the country and from almost all the Arab villages—were ordered by the military commanders, on the strength of the Mandatory Emergency (Defense) Regulations of 1945 to be confined to their towns or villages in Israel or were forbidden to enter the occupied territories, including the Arab part of Jerusalem, in order to meet their relatives. In addition orders were issued to people forbidding them to leave their homes from sunset till sunrise.

The governmental press and broadcasting service exploit all news about the arrest of some Arab Israeli citizens—on the charge of having contacted "El-Fath" members in the occupied territories —in order to incite against the Arab population of Israel as a whole, although many times the charge proves to be a false one and the arrested have already been set free, or were arrested on the strength of an administrative order, without any trial. Khalil Tu'ma, the chairman of the Arab Students' Association at the Hebrew University, was arrested on the charge of having contacted a leader of an Arab political organization in Arab Jerusalem.

Outrageous news about the torturing of arrested persons in Israeli prisons is received. The press recently published the news that Abd El-Latif Hamad, 27, of Nazareth was arrested on January 8, 1968. On the same day the police announced that "he hanged

himself in prison" and ordered his family to bury him in secret, without permitting them to look at his corpse.

The horrible reprisals against the Arab population in the occupied territories carry serious consequences for the whole of the Israeli-Arab relations. They poison the atmosphere in Israel itself and intensify the persecutions against the promoters of Jewish-Arab brotherhood in Israel and against its Arab population.

We appeal to every progressive and all wise people in our country to protest against the restrictions-of-movement orders and the most dangerous precipitation of the official policy towards the Arab population of Israel.

The democratic forces of Israel have to their credit many achievements in the struggle for the abolition of the military rule, against national oppression and for equal rights for the Arab population. Let us not enable the extreme militarists and the chauvinist adventurers to turn back the wheel of history and damage the achievements reached in the struggle for the abolition of the military administration, for equal rights and for Jewish-Arab brotherhood.

We appeal to the workers and toilers, the progressive intelligentsia and all the democratic forces of our country to stand up against the rulers' attack upon the freedom of action and movement of communists. The experience of our country, too, teaches us that the communists are the first to be attacked, but gradually all the democratic forces are the objective.

Abolish the confinement orders and the restrictions of movement!
Cancel the administrative arrests!
Stop the incitement against the Arab population of Israel!
Strengthen and deepen Jewish-Arab brotherhood!
Safeguard democratic liberties in Israel!
All our forces for peace!

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TASKS OF THE JORDANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AT THE PRESENT STAGE

STATEMENT* BY MAZIN KAMEL, MEMBER OF THE PB, CP OF JORDAN

Although still illegal, the Jordanian Communist Party is now "tolerated," and after many years of persecution has had all its members who were in jail released.

It has defined its main task now as the formation of the broadest possible united front in the country, capable of forming a Cabinet that will ensure political freedom, nullify reactionary laws and conduct an independent foreign policy based on Arab solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Jordanian Communists have pointed out that the absence of political freedom, the absence of confidence between people and Government and the dependence of the country on the U.S. resulted in a situation in which the people were not mobilized to defend the country when Israel's aggression took place last June.

They have also called for big changes in Jordan's armed forces, which were originally created by Gen. Glubb of Britain and were used to suppress the Arab people of Jordan.

The conscription law passed a month ago, and which was supported by the Communists, will change the character of the army and will eventually mean that it will no longer be a professional force recruited mainly among the Bedouin tribes.

The Communists are also calling for changes in the High Command as part of a general clean-up of the administration, the elimination of corruption and democratization at all levels.

Apart from the massive problem of the refugees and the seizure by Israel of the large areas of Jordan on the West Bank, including the Arab sector of Jerusalem, Jordan faces many urgent problems.

Israel has occupied and still holds 32 per cent of the country's arable land and 48 per cent of all its industrial establishments, while Jordan has lost in the process 65 per cent of the country's production of vegetables, 60 per cent of the fruit, 80 per cent of the olives and 30 per cent of its cereals.

The impact of these losses on the economic and social life of the Arab-held parts of the country will be felt even more severely as winter draws on.

At the same time, in the occupied areas Israeli military rule has

*Al-Ittihad, January 12, 1968.

resulted in increasing oppression with progressive forces being arrested on the basis of laws promulgated by the British authorities in Palestine in 1936.

Jordanian Communists are also being arrested in the occupied areas on the plea of "respect for Jordanian law."

The proposals put forward by the Jordanian Communists for the formation of a National Front have been well received in the country and there is general agreement that if Jordan is to correct the conditions which have held her back hitherto, cooperation with the Communists is essential.

While Jordanian Communists insist that there must be big changes in their country, they insist with equal vigor that these changes must be brought about by the people of Jordan themselves.

They are against the export of revolution to Jordan from any other country and consider that every people and every country must decide its own future without interference from outside.

Any contrary attitude would, in their opinion, deepen differences between Arab countries and weaken the solidarity which is so essential between the Arab countries if imperialism is to be defeated in the Middle East and if plots being hatched against the Arab Liberation movement are to be foiled.

Jordan's Communist Party is in favor of a peaceful settlement of the conflict with Israel, but it considers that the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all territories they occupied after June 5 is a paramount necessity and a decisive condition for a peaceful and fair settlement of the Palestine question.

Jordan's Communists deplore the tactics and actions of the so-called Palestine Liberation Organization and its leader Ahmed Shukeiry and its calls for the extermination of the Jews or their expulsion from Israel.

Mazin Kamel, repeating what he told the British Communist Party Congress, said: "It is true there are certain elements among the Arabs who irresponsibly hold certain chauvinistic views and make statements to that effect."

But such views must not conceal the nature of the Arab Liberation Movement or lead to misinterpretations or misunderstanding of its general progressive trend.

This movement has realized radical political and economic changes in several leading Arab countries and is moving toward actively consolidating political independence in other parts of the Arab world.

Formed in 1950 after the partition of Palestine, the Jordanian Communist Party has a magnificent record of struggle against home reaction and foreign imperialism and played a leading part in the campaign for the withdrawal of British troops from the country.

It was the first party in Jordan to put forward the demand for

the ending of the Jordan-British treaty and in 1954 played a leading part in the formation of a national front.

Past experience has not only helped Jordanian Communists to find the correct methods of work in the present situation but also to overcome mistakes in the past.

Now they are working for the formation of a wide national front which will include all those who are for the unity of both banks of the Jordan and the elimination of all the results of Israeli aggression.

NOT ALL PEACE TALK IS TALK FOR PEACE*

By GUS HALL

Pope John XXIII charted a new course for the Catholic Church. His celebrated encyclical *Pacem in Terris* was hailed by all progressive forces in the world. He opened a path of dialogue between Catholics and other forces of social progress. He set into motion the forces of progress within the Catholic Church—a historic struggle that continues today. The forces fighting for progressive policies within the Catholic Church have made impressive gains. But it is not easy to change centuries-old encrusted policies and deeply imbedded bureaucratic hierarchies.

Pope Paul VI has not given the same kind of leadership for the realization of these policies. He often uses the same words as Pope John but very often they do not have the same meaning. For Pope John's words and messages were meant to carry the idea of activity, of movement as instruments of change. Pope Paul's messages convey the idea of inaction.

This difference is clearly demonstrated in his December 15 call for "A Day of Peace." Even more than a call for inaction, Pope Paul cynically condemns the forces who do act for peace. In the message there appears the following paragraph:

"Accordingly, in conclusion, it is to be hoped that the exaltation of the ideal of peace may not favor the cowardice of those who fear it may be their duty to give their life for the service of their country and of their own brothers, when these are engaged in the defense of justice and liberty, and who seek only a flight from their responsibility, from the risks that are necessarily involved in the accomplishment of great duties and generous exploits."

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*Abridged.

*The Worker, December 24, 1967.

In essence Pope Paul says: Think of peace but don't do anything about it. Go right ahead and fight and die for imperialism. If you refuse to take part in this dirty war, it is because you are a "coward."

The label of cowardice does not belong on the foreheads of the young Americans who are putting up a heroic struggle against the dirty war in Vietnam.

Rather, I want to discuss the word in relation to the Vatican position on the Vietnamese situation.

To deliever a sermon "Thou shalt not steal" equally to a thief and the victim while the robbery is going on is in fact to side with the thief.

To declare "Thou shalt not kill" equally to the victim and the murderer while the murder is going on is to side with the murderer.

To issue abstract statements about "the blessings of Peace" directed to both sides while an aggression is going on is to side with the aggressor. Not to condemn the aggressor and not to call for actions against the aggression is to side with the aggressor.

And further, to slander those who fight for peace as "cowards" is to become an accessory in the crime of imperialist aggression.

The Vatican's one-sidedness regarding the Vietnamese situation has appeared at other crucial moments. Each Vatican statement about "the dangers of the war spreading" has been issued at moments when there were statements about the Vietnamese getting some new weapons with which to fight for their independence. Such statements have not come from the Vatican when U.S. imperialism has escalated its aggression.

Frankly, the sincerity of all general statements about peace must be measured by the actions against the aggressor. Calls for peace without differentiating between the forces of aggression and the forces fighting a just war for the right of self-determination objectively become a cover for aggression. In fact the Johnson administration has used such calls to say, "See, the Vietnamese have not responded," while the U.S. has escalated the aggression.

Even these general professions for peace come under further suspicion when exactly one year ago Cardinal Spellman, speaking in Vietnam, said: "War in fact has brought out the noblest instincts and the best traits of human courage and endurance in the annals of history." This blatant glorification of the war of aggression by a leading Catholic spokesman was not objected to from any Vatican quarter. The silence can be interpreted as acquiescence.

When social struggles sharpen, the fence of neutrality becomes uncomfortable. Generalities and platitudes turn into demagogy which objectively sides with the forces of reaction.

Pope John gave the Catholic Church a new direction. The bless-

ing of wars or slandering the young men who refuse to support an ugly imperialist aggression is not in keeping with the spirit or the meaning of that path. And it is contrary to the thought and actions of the progressive forces within the Catholic Church.

SOVIET ECONOMY IN 1967

FACTS AND FIGURES*

Implementing the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the working people of the USSR worthily marked the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and achieved in 1967, the second year of the current five-year plan, new successes in building the material and technical foundations of socialism.

Compared with 1966, the national income grew by 6.7 per cent, industrial output by 10 per cent (10.2 per cent in the producer goods industry and nine per cent in the consumer goods industry), agricultural output by one per cent, the value of new basic assets put into operation by seven per cent, capital investments by eight per cent, total freight turnover in transport by nine per cent, labor productivity in industry by seven per cent, profits in the national economy (in comparable prices) by 16 per cent, wage fund by 7.4 per cent, public consumption funds by 7.7 per cent, real incomes per head of the population by six per cent, the volume of services by 18 per cent.

INDUSTRY

About 7,000 million rubles' worth of industrial giods was turned out in excess of the plan.

Compared with 1966, production in key branches increased as follows:

power industry	9 per cent
fuel industry	7 per cent
iron and steel industry	8 per cent
chemical and petrochemical industry	13 per cent
engineering and metalworking industry	12 per cent
timber, woodworking and pulp-and-paper industry	7 per cent
building materials industry	9 per cent
light industry	11 per cent
food industry	7 per cent

*Pravda, January 25, 1968.

OUTPUT OF BASIC INDUSTRIAL GOODS

		Increase over 1966 in %
Electric power, 1,000 million kwh	589	44
Oil, million tons	288	23
Gas, 1,000 million cu. m.	159	14
Coal, million tons	595	10
Cast iron, million tons	74.8	4.5
Steel, million tons	102.2	5.3
Rolled metal, million tons	70.5	4.5
Mineral fertilizers, million tons	40.1	4.2
Soda ash, thousand tons	3,169	206
Automobile tires, millions	29.6	2
Forge and press machines, thousands	41.0	2.6
Automobiles, thousands	728.8	53.6
Tractors, thousands	405.0	22.6
Excavators, thousands	25.8	2.4
Cement, million tons	84.8	4.8
Wireless sets and radio-gramophones, millions	6.4	0.6
TV sets, millions	5.0	0.5
Washing machines, millions	4.3	0.5
Refrigerators, millions	2.7	0.5
Textiles, millions sq.m.	8,042	382
Leather footwear, million pairs	561	39

Industry overfulfilled the plan as regards growth of labor productivity and accumulations and reduction of production costs. Profits registered a 22 per cent increase over 1966. More than 3,000 models of new machines and equipment and about 1,500 instruments were designed and manufactured. About three million inventions and rationalization proposals were introduced into production, yielding an annual economy of about 2,300 million rubles.

Towards the end of the year the new system of planning and economic stimulation had been introduced at 7,000 industrial enterprises accounting for about 40 per cent of the total output, nearly 50 per cent of the profits and one-third of the labor force in industry. These enterprises overfulfilled their higher-than-average plans as regards sales and profits

AGRICULTURE

Despite unfavorable weather conditions in a number of important grain-growing regions, total agricultural output exceeded the level

of the high-crop year of 1966 and was 17 per cent greater than the average for 1961-65.

OUTPUT OF BASIC CROPS IN MILLIONS OF TONS

	Average for 1961-65	1966	1967
Grain	130.3	171.2	147.6
Raw cotton	5.0	6.0	6.0
Sugar beet	59.2	74.0	86.8
Sunflower seeds	5.07	6.15	6.6
Potatoes	81.6	87.9	95.0
Vegetables	16.9	17.9	19.8

The state plan for the purchase of grain, raw cotton, sugar beet, sunflower seeds, potatoes, vegetables and other crops was overfulfilled. Grain purchases amounted to 57.2 million tons—less than in 1966 but 11 per cent more than the average for 1961-65.

Thanks to increased output of livestock products the plan for the purchase of cattle was fulfilled by 125 per cent, milk 117 per cent and eggs 119 per cent.

The technical level of agriculture continued to grow. In 1967 it received 286,000 tractors, 146,000 trucks, 96,000 grain harvester combines and many other machines, as well as 33.7 million tons of fertilizers, 3.2 million tons more than in 1966.

LIVING STANDARD

Per capita real income went up by six per cent. The average monthly wages of factory and office workers grew by four per cent, reaching 103 rubles. With payments and benefits from public consumption funds, they amounted to 139.5 rubles, as against 134.5 rubles in 1966. Remuneration of collective farmers increased by six per cent.

The population received from public consumption funds various payments and benefits totalling 49,000 million rubles, an increase of 1.7 per cent over the previous year.

Turnover in the state and cooperative retail systems made up 122,200 million rubles, 9.4 per cent more than in 1966. Sales exceeded the planned level by 2,400 million rubles.

More than 1.9 million new flats were built in the towns and 375,000 new houses in the countryside. More than 11 million people received new or better housing.

REIDAR LARSEN INTERVIEWED BY "FRIHETEN"*

We asked Reidar Larsen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Norway, to tell us in greater detail about the decisions adopted by the latest meeting of the Central Executive of the Party.

Q. Were there many items on the agenda? Did you pass any important decisions?

A. I can answer that in the affirmative. I would like to add that the meeting was marked by a common desire to carry on the debate until positive results and decisions were reached, as was the case at all our earlier meetings.

Q. What prompted the Central Executive to decide in favor of discussing political issues at the Party Congress** in open session?

A. The chief business of the congress will be the political report and formulation of the main lines of the new action program. We are not in the least embarrassed by the prospect of the general public witnessing a discussion of our policies inside the Party. On the contrary, we have an interest in that and are therefore inviting the press to the congress.

In the case of certain questions it may be argued, of course, that a public debate on them at the congress would prevent an entirely free exchange of views. The Executive has found it appropriate to discuss such questions behind closed doors.

Q. Which questions do you mean?

A. For example, elections of the leading committees for the next period.

Q. Is it right to say, with reference to the statement of the Central Executive, that expulsion from the Party is not regarded as conducive to resolving the difficulties created by some members of the Executive?

A. I appreciate the fact that the stand taken by those members of the Central Executive on the Party cause a sharp reaction on the part of the rank and file. However, the policy of the Executive has always been to avoid steps which are typical of factional struggle and have never done the Party any good. Those members of the Executive made an absurd attempt to deprive most other members of their posts. When the attempt failed they resigned. We take a different view of how Party democracy should be exercised, and in this case we refrained from using similar methods. Indeed, we suggested that they resume their work in the Central Executive, but

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**Due in March 1968.—Ed.

the offer was turned down. However, I think we will find a solution that is best for the Party, provided we treat the matter calmly.

Q. Did the Central Executive consider the taxation proposal submitted by the Sandberg committee?

A. Yes. We regard it as a direct challenge to wage labor, such as has not occured for a long time. We are preparing a statement of the Party to be published shortly. There really is a need to take broad action on this particular issue.

MODERN PROBLEMS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

AN INTERVIEW* WITH PROFESSOR JOSEF SCHLEIFSTEIN (BELIN)

During the Leipzig Fair a staff member of the journal *Marxistische Blaetter* met with Professor Josef Schleifstein, one of the publishers of the collected works on Franz Mehring and an authority on the labor movement and Marxism, and interviewed him on some problems connected with the opposition in the FRG.

Question: We would like to hear your views on some problems now being discussed among socialists in the FRG and above all in the student movement. The debate is particularly lively around the subject of social change. You must have heard about sceptical pronouncements regarding the role of the working class. As far as I can understand the essence of the problem, the argumentation is this: The actions of the working-class movement have brought about an improvement in the living standard of the worker himself. The coexistence of socialism and capitalism has compelled the latter to satisfy the vital material requirements of the workers, which is made possible by the present-day productive forces. Controlling, at the same time, the mass media for shaping public opinion, one can manipulate the political consciousness of the worker masses and integrate them into the existing system. Thus, it is further claimed, the working class has ceased being the vehicle of cardinal change. It is interesting that the presence of the working class and its exploitation are not denied, but, as Habermas wrote in *Theory and Practice*, the workers are not the addressee of revolution today. Marcuse said in Yugoslavia in 1964: Why should the worker be vitally interested in a revolution directed against the

*Marxistische Blaetter No. 6, 1967. Frankfurt am Main, FRG.

system which provides him, within the framework of the system, with a house of his own, a car, a TV set and, naturally, a sufficient supply of food and clothing?

Answer: You have touched upon a wide range of problems, and within the limits of this talk I can only answer in broad terms. Perhaps I should begin by saying that putting the question in this way is very important, for the relationship between the working class and socialism, the movement now getting under way, for instance, among the students, will determine, in my mind, whether this movement will become an influential force. The objective basis for this formulation of the question is furnished by social development in the last fifteen to twenty years, the scientific and technological revolution and the resultant economic, social and spiritual changes in the highly developed capitalist countries; the impact of the very fact of the existence of socialism and its successes on the capitalist world; the uneven, difficult and often retarded development of the socialist working-class movement in some big capitalist countries, and a number of other factors. No one more or less versed in history will be surprised by the emergence, on this ground, of pessimistic and even nihilistic attitudes.

By the way, the points of departure for the analysis made by Herbert Marcuse and kindred authors, who deny the revolutionary potential of the modern working class in the capitalist countries (or appraise it so pessimistically as to practically reduce it to naught), contain many elements against which no Marxist will argue. But since their very analysis of the social phenomena and processes of modern capitalism is highly biased and abounds in forced generalizations, their conclusions too are, to my mind, utterly erroneous.

Question: Could you enlarge on this point?

Answer: Now, the gist of the matter is whether the working class in the Western countries is still a revolutionary force, whether it possesses a revolutionary potential, and whether the classical Marxist understanding of the historical role of the working class is valid today.

Essentially, all views stated by Marcuse and his predecessors proceed from the assumption that the revolutionary potentialities of the working class are rooted only in material need, *only* in an exceedingly low living standard; that the workers cease being the "addressee" of revolution when their living standard presupposes possession of a TV set, a refrigerator, even a car and a house of one's own. Marcuse and others doubt that in such circumstances a revolution can become a vital need for the workers. They link the "vital need" of revolutionary social change with merely extreme social impoverishment.

Basic to these views is not only a debasement and vulgarization

of Marx's thesis on relative impoverishment, but also a too optimistic appraisal of the economic development of modern capitalism, and to a considerable degree a failure to comprehend historical development. To be sure, the much higher productivity of labor, the trade union struggles of the workers and the influence of the socialist world have brought about a rise in the living standard, a reduction of working time and an improvement in the social position. But the proponents of such views fail to notice other contradictions that are advancing to the foreground in modern capitalist reality, contradictions which not only objectively demand revolutionary changes (which Marcuse himself admits), but will subjectively open new "outlets" to revolutionary consciousness.

Incidentally, extremes converge in this case again. Herbert Marcuse (his answers to Kursbuch show that he is clever enough not to carry conclusions to extreme trivialities) and, to a still greater degree, his followers represent, speaking precisely, a belated echo of the capitalist and Right Social-Democratic apologia which have long since been pointing to the relatively rapid growth of the capitalist economy after World War II, the postwar boom and the weakness of the revolutionary part of the working-class movement in such countries as the United States, Britain and the FRG as proof of the "expiry" of all revolutionary possibilities and perspectives in the West.

Question: In recent years the economic and social climate has changed even in the country of the "economic miracle." A whole generation of workers who have until now seen capitalism only in conditions of full employment is now compelled to change its notion of this society. Every day brings them fresh proof that insecurity, loss of employment, reduced hours or a sudden drop in incomes are by no means things bygone. More and more factory and office workers are faced with anti-social consequences of automation used in the capitalist way. Does not this have political implications?

Answer: Neither these economic phenomena, the barbarity of the war in Vietnam, nor the general irrationality and inhumanity of the capitalist system spontaneously breed socialist consciousness. The awakening of the worker masses to the need for cardinal social change will depend primarily on the socialists in the respective countries. But that has always been the case. It would be an obvious mistake and an extreme simplification of the historical process to consider that formerly it was easier to find the "addressee" of revolution or to activate him. Twenty-three years passed from the first independent revolutionary actions of the Paris workers in June 1848 till the first bold attempt to establish working-class power in the period of the Paris Commune in 1871, and 34 years passed from the Paris Commune till the big mass strikes of the

Russian workers in the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905.

In those decades the liberal bourgeoisie of all Europe and, following it, the Social-Democratic opportunists, used to scoff, more or less wittingly, at the socialists' "naive belief in the future" and "comical revolutionary expectations." But history bore out the correctness of the Marxists, who had never lost sight of the perspective of socialist development. In this connection we must not forget that in those times, when the socialist revolution had not yet won in a single country, in the long decades of outwardly slow development, it was much more difficult for socialists to retain their revolutionary consistency and identity than today, when the exceptionally fast acceleration of the historical process is evident to all.

Question: You know, of course, that Marcuse and others refer in this instance to the problem of conscience manipulation?

Answer: As regards the political brainwashing of broad sections of the working class, no Marxist ignores the tremendous difficulties and, in a certain sense, the qualitatively new conditions which hamper the rise of socialist consciousness in some highly developed capitalist countries. But in this case too, any exaggeration and absolutization is harmful. Firstly, it would be utterly unjustified from the historical viewpoint to suppose that in the past the brainwashing to which the masses were subjected by the school, the army and the church made it easier for socialists to win over the workers for revolutionary ideas. This task is always exceedingly difficult, and the magnitude and depth of the revolutionary labor movement have always depended not only on the socio-economic position of the workers, but also on many political, historical and national factors. Many of the mistaken conclusions regarding the modern working-class movement are due to an entirely one-sided generalization of phenomena in the United States, where a traditional mass political working-class movement is non-existent. Suffice it to cast a glance at France and Italy to see the tremendous differences in the past and present development in individual capitalist countries.

Certainly, the "outlets" to socialist, revolutionary consciousness today are not what they were before. It is not easy to find these new outlets, to analyze the roads that lead man's consciousness from phenomena of immediate concern to him to the understanding of his social position as a whole, i.e., to socialist consciousness. However, considering that state-monopoly capitalism is altogether incapable of guaranteeing to the workers social security, a position worthy of man in the sphere of production and in social life, the desire to change his position will arise in him over and over again. At first his mind will be inevitably preoccupied with the need to secure improvements and changes within the framework of the

existing system, and only when socialists succeed in proving in these "minor" battles that they are the worthiest champions of the workers' interests, will the workers tomorrow, after having reached in their practice the confines of the existing system, realize the need for deep-going socialist transformations and go along with Marxists.

Question: The matter concerns the problems of revolution. Many people in our country, young intellectuals in particular, talk much about revolution. Their argumentation is, roughly, this: the Communists in Western Europe act today as revisionists. Marcuse asserted in Yugoslavia that the Communist parties of France and Italy have "gone social-democratic." It was said at the last congress of the Socialist Union of Students in Frankfurt-am-Main that the Communist Party of Germany, too, if it existed legally, would integrate itself "into the system." Thus, objections are made to references to the strength of the Communist parties of France and Italy. Evidently, they stem from a certain notion of revolution on the basis of which the struggle for peace, democracy, co-management, etc., can be measured and qualified as revisionist.

Answer: I know these views, but if their exponents are right why then are the reactionaries in the FRG so keen on emergency legislation? Why are they so stubborn in defending the ban on the traditional Communist Party?

A closer look reveals that what we are talking about is an old misunderstanding which cannot be blamed on young people who are only beginning to come across socialist ideas and trends. But it can be blamed on those theorists who preach false views to them. In the FRG the climate for such sermons is particularly favorable, for these young people have never known a Marxist party acting before the public at large. Part of the answer to this question is contained in the above-said: what does the working-class movement do in those historical periods when on the order of the day are not *directly* revolutionary tasks, but much more difficult, more prosaic tasks of moulding consciousness, of organizing struggle for social and political reforms?

Those who have some knowledge of history know that there has never been a successful revolution without this persevering everyday "petty work" which often lasts for decades. All these views stem from an utterly undialectical understanding of the relationship between democracy and socialism, reform and revolution. The latter two are not, to a Marxist, mutually exclusive opposites, but two interconnected mutually complementary aspects of the development of class struggle and the revolutionary movement. Reformism and revisionism arise, not from the struggle for reforms, but from contentment with reforms within the framework of the capitalist system, from the refusal to set a revolutionary socialist aim. Mar-

cuse's contention that the West European Communist parties have "gone social-democratic" sounds very "revolutionary," but for him and for others this is only one of the pretexts for denying the presence of any revolutionary potential in the working-class movement in the capitalist countries. Concealed behind this is the notion that revolution is always and in all circumstances armed struggle and that it can be "made" at any time.

The modern "radicals" repeat all the "leftist" mistakes of the period following World War I, mistakes which Lenin called an infantile disorder of "leftism" in the world Communist movement. But today these mistakes cannot be used as a justification any longer, for the working-class movement has behind itself a half-century road of development. There is no need to repeat all the old mistakes which, on the historical plane, were often carried to an absurdity. That is what one feels like saying to those young people who, undoubtedly with the best of intentions, militate against "traditionalism" in the working-class movement.

To be sure, socio-economic conditions will, in the final count, determine the need for a socialist upheaval in capitalist society. But this social need finds expression in many political, democratic, peaceful, national and cultural aims and all these questions can—given definite historical prerequisites—form outlets to the revolutionary consciousness of the working people. Demands which today appear to be, or are, immanent in the system can tomorrow blow up the frontiers of the capitalist system. The notion of "pure" social revolution is an empty abstraction which has nothing in common with real history.

The Russian October Revolution of 1917, this most profound of the revolutions in world history, was successful because there merged in it highly diverse interests and aspirations — socialist, peaceful, peasant, democratic—which found in the Bolsheviks an experienced, far-sighted and organized guiding force. Lenin, the greatest teacher of revolution history has ever known, often ridiculed those socialists who expected "pure" socialist revolution. Lenin wrote: "So one army lines up in one place and says, 'We are for socialism', and another, somewhere else says, 'We are for imperialism', and that will be a social revolution . . .

"Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will *never* live to see it. Such a person pays lip-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is . . .

"The socialist revolution in Europe *cannot* be anything other than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it—without such participation, *mass* struggle is *impossible,* without it no revolution is possible—and just as inevitably will they bring into the

movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But *objectively* they will attack capital . . ." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 22, pp. 355-56.)

Question: One often comes across such thoughts in Lenin's works.

Answer: Right! Many statements similar in essence to this one can be cited. In his "'Left-Wing' Communism" Lenin spoke very sharply against these sentiments of revolutionary impatience according to which any activity in parliament or in reformist-led trade unions already is betrayal of revolution. Lenin showed also that on the other hand, these left-sectarian views repeated the one-sided views of right-wing opportunism. He stressed on many occasions that the working class and the labor movement, unless they wage a determined fight for democracy, would never be able to prepare for the socialist revolution.

But those who today, when there exist weapons of mass destruction threatening whole nations with extermination, do not realize that the struggle to prevent a world war or, let us say, for the peaceful coexistence of the two German states is a pre-eminently revolutionary matter, for its outcome will decide whether many peoples will ever come to socialism—these people are in all cases revolutionary phrasemongers. Those who fail to realize—after the fascist dictatorship and in the face of dangerous reactionary and neo-nazi trends in the FRG—that the struggle for democracy, even for the most elementary bourgeois-democratic rights, is a concrete revolutionary task, are ignorant even of the fundamentals of scientific socialism. Enthusiasm over the revolutionary struggle in Latin America or Asia is a good thing, but he who wants to display solidarity *in practice* must strive for struggle against imperialist reaction in his own country—and do so by forming an alliance with the working masses and not enclosing himself in the intellectual "elite." The "leftist" noise should not confuse Marxists and socialists.

Question: The polemic concerns also a third complex of questions —the role of the Soviet Union, the socialist system. Speaking in Yugoslavia in 1964, Marcuse said that the coexistence of the two systems deforms socialism and transforms capitalism. In this connection mention is often made of the theory of convergence, according to which capitalism and socialism are growing increasingly alike. At the same time, Marcuse writes, the fear of atomic catastrophe interferes with the struggle against the forces which generate this danger. Others accuse the socialist countries of having left Vietnam tragically alone. It is not enough to wish victory to the victim of aggression, they declare. It is necessary "to share the fate of the victim of aggression." True, the socialist countries would be thus faced with the risk of a world war, but so would the United States, which is already groaning from the consequences of its

aggression in Vietnam. Several Vietnams are needed, they maintain, even a "worldwide Vietnam."

Answer: On this question, too, much more can be said than the limits of an interview allow. On the first point of this set of problems, it should be said that the coexistence of socialism and capitalism has been a fact since the October Revolution of 1917. The Russian socialists could not search for an ideal world in which they could accomplish their objectives in a "chemically pure" form. It stands to reason that this coexistence imposes on socialism many problems which would be non-existent in an all-socialist world. Imperialism compels the socialist countries to spend means for the sake of self-defense and the preservation of world peace, which, naturally, cannot but slow down economic and cultural progress. Military expenditures are alien to the very nature of the socialist system.

But what can the socialist countries do? They are not alone in the world. Marxists have always been against the export of revolution. The struggle for a new society is for every people its own affair. The October Socialist Revolution of 1917 triumphed fifty years ago. Such is also the age of the accusation that inevitable compromises, diplomacy, negotiations and moreover, temporary alliances, with imperialist countries "deform" socialism. Lenin was accused of this back at the time of the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and the "Left" proclaimed in all seriousness that the Russian revolution should "perish heroically" rather than conclude such a humiliating, predatory peace with the German imperialists. But the compromises which Lenin won saved the Russian revolution and generally made socialist development possible.

In the context of present-day conditions, we can say this: it is true the successes of socialism after World War II, the formation of the world socialist system have had a stable impact on the capitalist system, on the political strategy and tactics of the ruling classes. Illustrating this fact would call for the elucidation of a whole complex of other problems. But all these changes could not —and herein lies Marcuse's mistake which he, highly characteristically, shares again with bourgeois economists and sociologists— "transform" capitalism. The contradictions of capitalism have not been removed, they manifest themselves in different forms; moreover, they are even becoming deeper.

Question: Could you dwell in more detail, in this connection, on the "theory of convergence"?

Answer: Although the thesis that the economic competition with the capitalism of highly developed countries "deforms" socialism, that both systems are to a certain degree becoming similar to each other, is a favorite means for glossing over the incurable ills of the capitalist system, it should not be repeated by people who call

themselves socialists. Social relationships, political power, relations of production, ownership of the means of production, the purpose of production—all these fundamentally differ despite all their technical and organizational similarity and even identity. Not only can Socialism accomplish the scientific and technological revolution *in the socialist spirit,* for the good of the working people, without unemployment and crisis upheavals, through rationally planned training and retraining and prognostic structural planning on a nationwide scale. It can avoid indisputably objective dangers connected with the growing role of technology which only seemingly can acquire independence vis-à-vis objective human relationships. Socialism has all the prerequisites for solving spiritual and ethical problems in such a way as to make the conquered forces of nature serve as a means for the further *humanization* of society and all its members.

Question: What do you think of the thesis that the policy of coexistence ensures the continued existence of a system from which the danger of nuclear war emanates?

Answer: Concerning the assertion that fear of atomic catastrophe impedes the struggle against those who generate this danger, I would only say this: this and similar assertions by Marcuse and others reduce the struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism to the Soviet Union's confrontation with the biggest imperialist power, the United States. Everything is made dependent on the position of the Soviet Union, or, more precisely, on the Soviet Union is heaped responsibility for all the troubles and difficulties of the anti-imperialist movements in the world. This is a very convenient method, of course. Leaving aside those who have always existed and who were always ready to wage their revolutionary battles to the last Soviet soldier—the exponents of such views too easily forget that the struggle against the imperialist aggressors is a *common* task of *all* anti-imperialist forces and that the *greatest* responsibility rests with the peace-loving people of *those* countries from which aggression and war danger emanate.

Most of those who hold forth so noisily on the "caution" and even "treachery" of the imaginary Soviet "revisionists" very readily hush up facts which are very well known but unpleasant to them. Any more or less realistically-minded person knows that socialist Cuba—at the very threshold of the United States—can exist only thanks to the existence of the Soviet Union. Cuba could not, if only economically, survive for a single day without the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But such elementary facts of life are of no interest to the "revolutionary" world strategists. For theirs is the world of revolutionary phrase.

The same applies to the accusation that the Soviet Union and its socialist allies have abanonded Vietnam. These critics could learn

even from the bourgeois press what a great and constantly growing role Soviet weapons play in the struggle against the barbarous U.S. aggression. In numerous statements, leading statesmen of the DRV and leaders of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam have stressed the indispensability and vast importance of Soviet aid and expressed their warmest gratitude for it. Incidentally, it is also well known to these critics that the Vietnamese leaders have not yet accepted the proposals to send volunteers from the socialist countries no matter from what side these proposals have come. But it is clear to every one that aid can be given only in those forms which the combatant himself finds suitable. Great harm has been done to the anti-imperialist struggle and especially to the fight against the U.S. aggression by the Chinese leaders' rejection of any joint action with the Soviet Union in support of Vietnam. Otherwise the destructive U.S. escalation would have been impossible. What is interesting, however, is that many of the "revolutionary" critics address themselves, let us say, not to Mao Tse-tung and his leading group (who supported alliance with Chiang Kai-shek in the past but today reject unity of action with the Soviet Union), but to the Soviet Union, which has repeatedly stressed its readiness for joint action.

There have always been, and will be, amateur strategists zealously playing in such situations with "military solutions" which would greatly increase the risk of the outbreak of a world war. But who would benefit from this after all? The Vietnamese people? By all forecasts, they would become the first victim of a nuclear clash.

Question: And what is your opinion of the slogan of "several Vietnams"?

Answer: This demand has no address. Although it sounds very revolutionary, everything boils down, in fact, to a desire to prescribe certain forms and methods of struggle to the revolutionary movements and forces in other countries. But no one has been given this right. The choice of forms and methods is the affair of the revolutionaries and socialists in each country who should know the conditions of their struggle better than anyone else. Likewise, no one has the right to recommend to the Soviet Union to "prepare for the big risk"— no one who himself does not shoulder at least a tiny fraction of the responsibility for universal peace, for the destinies of *all* socialist countries which is borne by the Soviet Union. Now, this is an unprecedented insolence! It is precisely from those countries whose governments perpetrate aggression and create the war danger that "revolutionary" advice is given to the Soviet Union—to the peoples of the country which lost 20 million lives in the war against German fascism. Would it not be more proper to do in the imperialist countries everything possible to have the aggression ended? The responsibility of genuine revolu-

tionaries and socialists is affairs in their own countries. Those who really want to fulfil their duty as socialists should do their utmost in their own countries to ensure effective solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

Interviewer: This is perhaps the modern formulation of Karl Liebknecht's well-known dictum that the chief enemy is in one's own imperialist country.

DIALECTICS OF DESPAIR

ROBERT STEIGERWALD* ON HERBERT MARCUSE'S "ONE-DIMENSIONAL MAN"

The book, published in the U.S. in 1964, is Marcuse's principal theoretical treatise. To understand it fully, one must have an idea of the author's spiritual evolution.

About 1930 Marcuse joined the (socially and culturally) critical-minded Left Hegelians led by Horkheimer and Adorno. At that time he tried to link that Left Hegelianism with Marx's views set forth in *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts.* He was among those who discovered this important work of young Marx. By interpreting it anthropologically, he set the tone for numerous attempts still going on, to revise Marxian philosophy on anthropological lines. (Marcuse himself has long since abandoned this position.)

After the Nazi take-over Marcuse had to emigrate. It was then that, partly continuing his earlier writings, he wrote *Reason and Revolution* (1941) a vast treatise on Hegel in which he took a stand against attempts to represent Hegel as the forefather of fascism.

Reason and Revolution already contained some of the fundamental theses of *One-Dimensional Man.*

All of Marcuse's principal concepts recur in *One-Dimensional Man,* which attempts a more profound theoretical explanation of the "failure" of the struggle for freedom. I will first give the main points of the new book.

Marcuse asks whether our material and spiritual resources are used for the good of man in the most dignified manner. One could answer this question only if one examined the actual conditions in the light of the real opportunities they themselves afforded. But this critical attitude was defeated because technological progress provided sufficient opportunities of injecting opposition forces into the prevailing system. This deprived the revolution of its social

*Marxistische Blaetter No. 6, 1967. Frankfurt am Main, FRG.

strength although such a revolution today was as necessary as ever. One had only to think of the terrible means of mass destruction.

Marxism had sprung up when there had been effective revolutionary forces. At that time its concepts had been critical. As modern industrial society absorbed the revolutionary forces Marxism was becoming merely descriptive.

All this was an expression of one-dimensional thinking and action. The meaning: technological means manipulate man to such an extent that he identifies himself with the prevailing system, his thinking no longer goes beyond its bounds and he operates only with the one existing industrial-social dimension.

It followed that technology should not be seen as a neutral instrument. Inherent in our technology was already the relationship of domination which expressed itself in the totalitarianism of our technological-political universe.

The "error" lay in the man-nature relationship chosen as early as the ancient Greek period, a choice which had seen nature as an object of man's domination. At its basis was, again, the ancient Greek form of the concept of reason whose latest outgrowth was the totalitarian, technological whole of modern industrial society.

What does that mean? Up to and including Plato, everyone had recognized that the real included both the existing *and* the originating. This had brought into being a logic covering *both* dimensions. If one of Plato's dictums said "is", this meant "is" *and* "is not yet." Thus, this dictum contained the "order" to realize what was only in the making but was not yet. "Man is free" meant "man must be made free."

But philosophy itself, born of the division of labor into physical and mental, gravitated toward mental labor. Philosophy practically negated those (let us say, slaves) who are not free but must be freed. Owing to this contradiction to reality, philosophy developed and advanced to ever greater abstraction. Finally a logic was evolved which investigated only the general forms of thought and its relation to objects—namely, from the angle of a subject for which there no longer exists any process of becoming. The dimension of "is not yet" disappears from the copula (the connecting link between logical subject and predicate) "is". The principle of identity A=A is raised to a dominant and separated from the principle of contradiction, contained in Plato's dialectical logic, in the meaning of his copula "is". Now this kind of logical thought became indifferent to the qualities of its objects. Everything came under the sway of general notions and laws. Concepts became instruments of forecast and control. This *Aristotelian* logic was the *first* step on the long road to scientific thought, of which technological rationalism—the quantifiability of the real, elimination of the

nonquantifiable was the model. Thereupon, with the disappearance of quality, the problem of the qualitative leap, of the revolution, disappeared too. What is left is the quantitative process *within* the existing dimensions. Protest, rejection, a negative atitude to this existing world seemed to be directed against technical rationalism, appeared to be pointless, unreasonable, "irrational."

To change this, it was necessary to alter our *kind* of science and technology (which was only positivist-quantitative, only one-dimensional). I leave out some of Marcuse's comments on this. What is, in his view, the road to such a new world?

The integrationist tendencies of industrial society has nullified the working-class movement, and totalitarian trends had poisoned even the traditional forms of struggle. There was a need for new forces and new forms.

What new forces does Marcuse see? Among or outside the manipulated and hence conservative segments of the people there was a substratum of pariahs and outsiders: Negroes, white outcasts, the exploited and persecuted of other races, the unemployed. *Theirs* was a revolutionary opposition because it came from *outside* the existing order.

Listed by Marcuse as methods of struggle are "massive refusal" to cooperate, rejection of all harshness, comradeship, disobedience toward the tyranny of the majority, joining in the feeble and ridiculed actions of protest and refusal. Where the workers were still genuinely opposition-minded the fight for "control from below" (hence also participation in management?) was to be recommended, But even the keenest social consciousness was helpless without material power.

So much for Marcuse's theses, which I have necessarily had to simplify. What I am going to criticize is only some of his central points.

He is evidently disillusioned about the revolutionary potentialities of the working class in the highly developed capitalist countries (and about development in the socialist countries). He therefore asks what makes integration of the revolutionary forces possible. In answering this, he finds "shortcomings" in Marx's doctrine, in its approach to the problem of technology. Hence Marcuse evolves his own theory of technology, of its relationship to society, and deduces his own "therapy" accordingly.

Since the point of departure of Marcuse's theories is the thesis of the failure of the liberation struggle resulting from the loss of revolutionary potentialities by the working-class movement in the highly developed capitalist countries, and even by the socialist countries, it is reasonable to begin the critique of Marcuse at this point. For when the point of departure is wrong the conclusions drawn on its basis hang loosely.

Marcuse's assessment of the role of the working-class movement in the highly developed capitalist countries and his opinion of the role of the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, in modern revolutionary processes has been dealt with by Professor *Dr. Schleifstein.*

We suppose Marcuse, too, is aware of the deep crisis of political leadership in the United States caused by American and international protest against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Thus development in that country, alone, refutes the disappointed comments made by Marcuse in 1964.

It must not be forgotten, incidentally, that the reasons for opposition in the U.S. are manifold, that opposition there has foreign-policy, socio-political, democratic and other aspects and expresses in sharp form some basic problems of U.S. capitalism which, rather than easing off, are bound to gain in intensity. What strength can such opposition movements generate if merged in a single stream? To investigate this and to contribute to it by means of a really critical theory and not a pessimistic theory calling itself "realistic" would be a task for genuinely progressive intellectuals.

Marcuse rushes to generalizations, fails to take history into adequate account, is disappointed much too readily, and then takes refuge in ideological stereotypes that are merely reversed stereotypes of apologetics. This leaves its imprint also on his present theory of dialectics.

"In a paper he read in Prague in September 1966, Herbert Marcuse advanced the thesis that Marxist dialectics remains in thrall to idealistic reason and positivism so long as it does not destroy the 'pattern of progress' which anchors the future in the existing, so long as it does not radicalize the concept of transition to the new historical stage, i.e., does not 'fit' the qualitative difference in the direction of progress into the theory."

This shortcoming had not been overcome by even Marx, and Marxism was therefore not materialistic enough. J. Fetscher notes this in *Karl Marx und der Marxismus* (Piper, Munich 1967, p. 10). He very correctly comments that since Marcuse takes this view he will have "to substitute the ethical for the vanishing historico-philosophical substantiation of socialism" (ibid., p. 11).

What is the point at issue here?

Marx, like Hegel, stressed the qualitative difference in every real process of becoming. It follows that Marcuse has something else in mind. His critique is directed against the fact that in every process of becoming Marx, like Hegel, saw and recognized also the element of continuity, of preservation. Marcuse's "radicalism" tends to renounce *also* this aspect of continuity because, according to him, it co-determines the future, that is, injures freedom. In philosophical terms, this means writing off the dialectics of quantity

and quality, as well as that of continuity and discontinuity. The result is, first of all, a kind of "qualitative dialectics" evolved in the past by *Kierkegaard,* the father of existentialism, and Marcuse hails, after all, from existentialism.

There would be no difficulty in showing that "qualitative dialectics" reduces precisely the "qualitative difference" to quantitative steps and in the end blurs it beyond recognition. The theoretical destruction of the dialectical connection between quantity and quality, the annulment of what is a real new process of becoming, is undertaken, not only by those who postulate only quantitative-technological progression, but also by those who resolve all processes into continuous "qualitative differentiation." To them, therefore, "small steps" in politics, too, mean nothing. Yet Marx and Engels, arguing with Bakunin, produced sufficient proof that massive "refusal" does not destroy the framework of "small steps." (Marx, Engels, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 18.)

Interpreting the processes of becoming as a continuous process of qualitative differentiation leads to negation of the element of relative rest and immobility in all things, situations and processes. And this explains why Marcuse confronts Plato and Aristotle.

It is true, of course, that anti-dialectical, conservative, reactionary thought negates the real processes, interpreting them as a mere semblance, an external impression. But this does not imply that a logic which, like formal logic, expresses the real aspect of rest and immobility, is anti-dialectical. It would have been anti-dialectical only if it had negated motion in principle, which it does not.

On the other hand, one cannot negate the reality of rest. As a condition for identification, it is part of each act of cognition in the same way as recognition of the fact that motion is active.

I could have passed over Marcuse's confusing formal logic with the anti-dialectical method in silence if it had not led to important conclusions which I must deal with.

Marcuse's "radicalized" dialectics condemns the anchoring of the future in the existing. This is directed against the aspect of concreteness, of determination in *dialectical* negation, which is seen as "suspicious," as burdened with "a repressive side meaning" (p. 233). What negation is he left with after this? Whoever rejects the concrete, definite negation of dialectics is left with nothing but formal-logical negation. Of course, this is an interesting phenomenon: a judgment negated in terms of formal logic is confronted by the *whole* universe of *all* the other judgments. That is freedom! I deny something, and as a result, the whole world is open to me! If I negate capitalism and do not thereby arrive at the definite negation called socialism, and everything is open, this is interesting, even to non-socialists like Fetscher. The latter is perfectly right in saying that Marcuse's dialectics leaves no room for scientifically-

based socialism and that in this case socialism becomes a purely ethical postulate. The inner logic of this dialectics, which is "more materialistic" than Marx's, leads to the position held at one time by none other than Eduard Bernstein. This is the upshot of Marcuse's ultra-Left dialectics of a negation that is no longer repressive, a dialectics born of his disappointment in the working-class movement.

To be sure, there is also Marcuse's philosophy of technology. Is it refuted by the foregoing? Or perhaps it, at least, is correct?

Taking it at its face value, one would feel rather like accepting it. But, here, too, one should ask: is technology really characterized by only quantitative-one-dimensional development? Was there no industrial revolution? Are we not going through a scientific and technological revolution on a vast scale? For all the inner logic of technical processes, are there no inner connections between this revolutionization of production techniques and social changes? In other words, is not technology, its development, likewise going through dialectical, two-dimensional processes?

I consider Marcuse's philosophy of technology incorrect also because it attributes an absolute character to the fact that under socialism, too, there can be, and are, contradictions between technical processes and humanism, and because it contends from this position that capitalism and socialism are converging under the motto of "industrial society." Why does Marcuse ignore the possibility—which exists in principle under socialism, in view of the absence of the profit motive—of studying the anti-human effects of objective, technological processes and of evolving humane alternatives? It is a fact that in the socialist countries, too, there occur positivist-technocratic tendencies, that there, too, not all philosophers and sociologists realize at once the multiformity and complexity of problems and not all, therefore, work out methods of solving them suggested by modern production techniques. But to draw from this the far-reaching conclusions which Marcuse draws really means mistaking the appearance for the essence. It means lumping together capitalism and socialism—two social systems which are entirely different in basical social structure and in their motive forces—on the strength of existing secondary and accidental features, in the name of a postulated "qualitative differentiation" and "radicalization" of dialectics.

Marcuse's book contains various correct propositions and brilliantly formulated passages, and its ethical impulse is strong. For all that, viewed in its entirety as a diagnosis and therapy of the fundamental problems of our time, it is rather too poor by several dimensions. It is a failure rather than a "revelation."

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4 (116) • 196

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contents

STOP THE WAR
CP USA message
to the American people 5

REPORT BY ROLAND LEROY
France 14

SPEECH BY LUIGI LONGO
Italy 22

UNITY OF THE LEFT AROUND A COMMON PROGRAM
Canada 29

REPORT BY WALTER ULBRICHT
German Democratic Republic 33

SPEECH BY A. DUBCEK
Czechoslovakia 41

RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL SITUATION
Swiss Party of Labor 63

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STOP THE WAR

A MESSAGE* TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

McCarthyism of the 50's menaces America of the 60's.

Unless checked this *can be* a far more dangerous madness than the one which engulfed the country in the hysterical 50's.

With the military-industrial complex more tightly than ever in control of the nation, with Senators and Congressmen brandishing atomic weapons, with the President threatening to spread the flames of war to North Korea, this can be a McCarthyism pointed like a gun at the heart of America.

The rising wave of repression is the result of the crisis of desperation gripping the ruling circles of the country and its Johnson Administration.

Unable to win the war in Vietnam or win the American people for that war, unable to bully its way into North Korean waters, unable to halt or slow down the Freedom Train, unable to provide anything but bankrupt answers to the greatest crisis confronting the nation since the Civil War, the military-industrial complex ruling and ruining the country is turning more and more to repression.

It would be folly to minimize the menace.

It would be equally disastrous to succumb to despair or desperation.

The situation calls for sober concern and mass action.

If ever the times demanded a United Front of the people, that time is *now*.

Such a United Front, embracing the two great movements of our time, the peace and freedom movements, striving to win, as it can, the mass of labor, uniting the people to fight for the resolution of the crisis of our cities, the crisis of our ghettos, the crisis in taxation, can rally the mass of the American people. *Nothing less should be the goal of such a United Front.*

The Communist Party of the USA calls on all Communists to act today in the spirit of our party's great tradition in rallying the people for the United Front against fascism in the 30's and 40's.

What is the situation confronting the nation?

From the President to the Pentagon to the local police preparations are underway to make 1968 The Year of the Gun.

The President. who long ago adopted Goldwater's Vietnam policy,

*Special Supplement—The Worker, February 11, 1968.

has raised the racist Goldwater banner "crime in the streets" in his State of the Union address.

U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark announced to the nation over a TV network, "1968 will be the year of the policeman." The gun and the policeman are to be the recruiting sergeants for Vietnam, and possibly for North Korea and for mad suicidal military adventures. The gun and the policeman are to be the invasion force for the military pacification of the black ghettos rebelling against decades of depression.

The gun and the policeman are to be the instruments to bridge the credibility gap between the President and his evaporated consensus.

Everywhere the cry is raised for: More Police!

Police at schools!

Police on campus!

The very police who, as exposes have revealed, are the concentration of the John Birch Society, Minutemen and the KKK and whose brutality has triggered ghetto uprisings are proposed as the solution to the crisis of our cities, to every festering social ill.

A virtual Federal, state and city invasion force to suppress the ghettos is being mobilized. Having turned much of Vietnam into a graveyard the President and the Pentagon are ready to turn our cities into devastated battlegrounds. The nation is being prepared not only for endless and expanding Vietnams but for annual summer and all-seasonal slaughters in our black communities. War abroad and war at home is to be the American way of life.

And to sustain this way of life Americans are to be made to bear surtaxes on top of unbearable taxes annually compounded on Federal, state and city levels.

Army, National Guard and local police are jointly assembling street maps, aerial photos, setting up command posts and storing battle equipment. The National Guard is being expanded to form 125 new units, 60 per cent of which will be military police groups to suppress mass actions.

The *New York Times* January 18 reported "police agencies are purchasing armored cars" to meet the "riots in the months ahead." Orders for armored cars have been pouring in to J. Tom Moore & Sons of Memphis whose general manager told newsmen, "everyone who has ordered cars has asked us not to disclose their names."

According to Richard McGlaughlin, sales manager for Smith and Wesson, his company's sales to law enforcement agencies of guns, handcuffs and tear gas "are at an all time high."

Miami Chief of Police Walter E. Headley told newsmen at a recent press conference he planned to use police dogs, shotguns and tough stop and search laws against the black communities.

"This is war!" Headley declared.

In the nation's Capital President Johnson signed a vicious "crime" bill strongly opposed by Negro and civil liberties organizations and the Negro Mayor-Commissioner Walter Washington. The new law includes penalties of up to 10 years for rioting or inciting to riot and permits three-hour questioning of suspects before lodging any charges.

There is crime in the streets.

No one knows this better than those who now play on the people's fears.

No one has done less about it than the FBI whose major effort has been for years and is today concentrated on hounding black militant freedom fighters, harassing youths who resist the draft, and persecuting Communists for their persistent struggle against McCarthyism. No one knows it better and did less to make our streets safe than the Birchite-ridden police, paid off by the big dope syndicates which prey on hopeless youth imprisoned in the walls of endless ghetto misery.

Who then knows better about "crime in the streets" and has done less to uproot it than those whose criminal social system and policies for years bred crime faster than the rise in population?

What's more, what crime in the street can compare with:

The crimes on the battlefields and in the villages of Vietnam.

The senseless and immoral killing of more than 16,000 American boys and the wounding of more than 100,000.

The slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, the napalming of tens of thousands of women and children.

The wasting of $30 billion a year to destroy Vietnam villages while our cities decay.

The spending of billions to invade and lay waste the black ghettos while the desperate demand for decent homes, schools and jobs goes unheeded.

Why then the sudden concern about "crime in the streets"?

The President's cry, "crime in the streets," has the same deceptive objective as the thief's shout "Stop Thief." Its purpose is to divert the attention of an alarmed people from the real crimes inflicted upon them by the White House, Congress and the Pentagon and the military-industrial complex they serve.

Its aim is to divide the American people by inflaming anti-Negro racist prejudices at a time when they are becoming increasingly united in their resistance to the war in Vietnam.

Its objective is to make the Negro people the scapegoat of the country's frustration with crisis-living. In a similar war, tsarist Russia inspired pogroms against the Jews to divert the Russian people from the real source of their misery.

The real targets of "crime in the streets" are the rebelling black

communities and the demonstrations in the streets against the war in Vietnam.

From the bi-partisan cheers that greeted the President, from the statements of the leading Republican Presidential contenders, it is clear that most of the candidates of both parties intend to compete on this issue.

And Wallace, whipping up vigilanteism against the Negro people, will work the dirtiest side of the racist street.

The fascist-like assault, while most fiercely directed against the black communities and in the first place, black militants, is aimed at the democratic heart of America.

Giving the signal for a new witch-hunt, the last Congress breathed new life into the McCarranite Subversive Activities Control Board. The revised McCarran Act pushed through Congress by the House Un-American Activities Committee by Senator Everett Dirksen with the encouragement of President Johnson permits the SACB to do the "registering" of "Communist Action members and . . . Communist Front and . . . infiltrated organizations."

It was rushed through the Senate with only five members voting and present.

The militant W. E. B. DuBois Clubs are but the first target of the new McCarthyite witchhunt which is aimed at more than 200 peace and freedom groups.

Under a provision of the McCarran Act still in force, concentration camps are in a state of readiness to house dissenters and protesters should the President proclaim an "internal security state of emergency." The further escalation of the war in Vietnam, the aggressive U.S. actions in North Korean waters and the planned military invasions of the black ghettos this summer can all be seized upon by the President to declare such an emergency.

The indictment of Dr. Spock, the increasing police brutality against peace demonstrators, the vindictive revocation of draft deferments, the racist sentence meted out to LeRoi Jones, the lifting of Muhammad Ali's title and his persecution for his opposition to the war in Vietnam are all heralds of the new wave of McCarthyism which threatens.

New York's vicious strikebreaking Taylor Law has already been used to jail Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, and John J. DeLury, president of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, because their unions went on strike. The UFT was fined $150,000, and the amount of fine for the sanitation union is not yet determined.

The arrests of hundreds of striking miners in Pennsylvania who were resisting an injunction, the illegal firing of textile workers in the South, the $650 million law suits directed against the United

Steelworkers Union under the Taft-Hartley law, all form a menacing pattern of labor repression.

The targets of the reactionary offensive are far more widespread than just the more militant and more radicalized sections of the peace and freedom movements.

It aims at silencing the voice of Senator Eugene McCarthy as well as Dr. Benjamin Spock.

It is directed at the McCarthy-for-President Dump-Johnson movement as well as New Politics.

It seeks to outlaw the struggle for peace and freedom, to make peace a dirty word again as it once was in the days of Joe McCarthy's hysteria and the Korean War.

The ghost of McCarthyism of the 50's is indeed very much alive in the closing years of the 60's. It can happen here again but it need not.

There is a vast difference between the silent 50's and the rebelling 60's.

In a way it is reflected in the reverse ring evoked by the name McCarthy itself today. The difference in the two decades is symbolized in the Pentagon confrontation of more than 150,000, in the April 15 peace demonstration of more than 250,000, in New York and 80,000 in San Francisco, in the militant uprisings in the ghettos, in the heroic draft resisters, in the transformation of the nation's leading baby doctor into one of its outstanding peace leaders, in the Fort Hood Three and Private Ronald Lockman, in Muhammad Ali, in the election of the first Negro Mayors in Cleveland and Gary and of 25 Negroes to public office in Mississippi, in the revolt on the campus, in the Dump Johnson and the McCarthy-for-President movements in the Democratic Party, in New Politics, in the more than 100,000 signatures secured by the Peace and Freedom Party to get on the ballot in California, in the Labor Assembly for Peace which is beginning to challenge George Meany's right to support the war in Vietnam in Labor's name. It is particularly revealed in the decline of the influence of anti-Communism and the rejection of the policy of exclusion of Communists by the most significant sections of the peace and freedom movements. It is demonstrated in the unprecedented disillusionment, particularly among the youth, with the very social system which breeds Vietnam wars, racism and the kind of values that result in spending $30 billion a year for the war in Vietnam and less than $2 billion for a war against poverty.

Millions of Americans in our schools and universities, in our churches and synagogues, in our black and white communities, in our shops and offices are disturbed by the nation's steady drift deeper and deeper into crisis. They are alarmed at the rapid transformation of the U.S. into a repressive military state, its unparal-

leled industrial machine geared to its role as policeman at home and abroad. More and more they are rebelling as never before.

Thus a vast movement, which in fact can become the movement of the majority, is in process of formation.

But this imposing force has not achieved its full potential because it is not yet united.

Its chief weakness is its failure to understand and appreciate the immense power that lies in the tactics of united front.

Thus there is a tendency within the peace, freedom and political movements to pose the more militant against the more moderate, resistance against the more traditional forms of protest, the struggle on the streets to the battle of the ballot, grassroots, local organizing to nationwide political efforts; those whose political rebellion is still within the limits of the two-party system to those who have already broken out of these limits. New Politics against the Dump Johnson movements.

There is a tendency to confuse substantive questions of strategy involving long range goals and the more temporary questions of tactics involving more immediate objectives.

This has contributed toward the development of a serious fragmentation within and a disturbing gap between the peace, freedom and political movements, which the enemies of all are taking advantage of and striving to widen.

There are reasons for these tendencies toward fragmentation and division.

The most significant of these is the failure of the peace, trade union and political movements to conduct an aggressive struggle against racism. More than anything else this holds back the uniting of the powerful militant freedom movement with the movements to end the war and to Dump Johnson, and feeds tendencies toward black separatism.

An unprecedented process of radicalization is taking place in our country. It cannot, however, but be an uneven process with some moving at a faster pace than others. Moreover while radicalization is extensive it is not yet intensive ideologically.

Its chief weakness indeed is its lack of revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist ideology to match and guide its militant actions.

Many if not most are turned off the free-enterprise capitalist system but not yet turned on to socialism.

This ideological weakness contributes to the existence of alternating moods of all-out activity and despair.

It feeds frustration which, turned against itself, aggravates fragmentation.

The frustration basically is the result of the objective difficulties in the struggle to compel the world's most powerful and most aggressive and racist ruling class to end the war in Vietnam and

to wrest from it full freedom for 25 million Negro Americans.

It is stimulated by the all-out support given by most of the labor leadership to the war in Vietnam and the failure to fight racism aggressively in the unions.

The absence today of a strong largely united Left with firm ties to and widespread influence within the unions and mass movements as existed in the 30's and 40's is likewise no small factor feeding frustration and fragmentation.

Thus there are serious problems which must be overcome to achieve an effective united front.

But the struggle for united front was never easy. It was always accomplished only in the course of overcoming divisive tendencies and pressures, and it was only by leading this struggle that the Left and the Communist Party grew strong. The motive force for united front was always the recognition of a great and growing common danger.

Such a common danger now confronts us all.

Many are coming to realize this.

The time for putting an end to fragmentation has come.

The time for united front has arrived.

There is a need today to restate the time-tested principle of united front.

The essence of a united front has always been an agreement on common action on immediate issues by those who in the main as yet do not agree on ultimate objectives and long range goals.

It has never demanded as a condition of unity the surrender or postponement of the pursuit of these basic aims.

Debate and discussion of differences within the united front, yes, but only in the course of vigorous united action. The overriding emphasis is on united action around those issues on which the united front is established. The emphasis is on agreement, not disagreement; on action, not debate.

United action does not exclude independent more advanced forms of struggle outside the united front.

But the emphasis is on united action involving the greater number.

Militancy by courageous individuals has always served as a significant force for inspiring mass struggle. But it can never be an effective substitute for *mass action.*

The aim of a united front is militant mass action at the level large numbers are ready to accept.

The level of militancy of the more radicalized can never be imposed on a mass movement.

Moreover united front, while a voluntary union, cannot be fully

effective unless all its participants respect the agreement on slogans, objectives, and tactics arrived at.

United Fronts are not arenas for resolution of differences.

These are some of the elementary principles of united front we believe can help guide united action.

United Fronts in the communities, shops, unions, schools, colleges, churches—everywhere—are needed to direct the anger of the American people against the real crimes being committed against them.

A united front above all between the two greatest movements in the U.S. today, the peace and freedom movements, to conduct a two-front struggle to end the war in Vietnam and to stop the war on the black ghettos. Such a two front struggle is just as important to winning peace and freedom as the second front in World War II was for the defeat of Hitlerism.

A united front to meet the new menace of McCarthyism, to defend the right to dissent and protest. For full repeal of the McCarran and Smith acts and criminal syndicalism laws. For repeal of the Taylor law and all anti-strike and anti-labor laws.

A united front on the streets and at the polls. To register the greatest possible expression for peace and freedom in the '68 elections on an independent presidential ticket as well as within the major parties. To defeat racists and war-hawk Congressmen and to elect peace and freedom candidates everywhere.

A united front to save our cities by fighting for a drastic reversal of national priorities. The $30 billion a year spent on the war in Vietnam to be used to reconstruct our black ghettos, build sufficient decent schools, homes, hospitals, modernize our transit, provide jobs at union pay.

A united front to support labor's struggles against governmental pressure for compulsory arbitration and "voluntary" wage restraint.

A united front within the black communities embracing all who are ready to fight for full freedom on the streets and at the polls.

A united front of white and black, with white progressives in the forefront of the struggle, to fight racism everywhere on the streets, in the police departments, in the schools, in government, in industry and in the unions.

A united front to fight the draft.

A united front to shift the tax load from the people to the huge corporations and to end the huge expenditures for the war in Vietnam. For a budget of peaceful construction.

There are moments when united action is the decisive element. Such a time has come. Our country is at a crucial turning point. Like the Pueblo we are embarked on a disaster course.

Only unity, unity in action by millions, can change that course.

Only unity, unity by millions, can end the war in Vietnam, stop the war on black ghettos, save our cities, and halt the new menace of McCarthyism.

And only a united front can rally the millions who have shown by their unprecedented struggles their readiness to fight for peace and freedom.

United Front Everywhere!

Henry Winston, National Chairman
Gus Hall, General Secretary
Communist Party, USA

REPORT* BY ROLAND LEROY

Propaganda is a constant necessity in the work of a Communist party. Capitalist society is dominated by the ideas of the ruling class, which has the principal means of disseminating them and is in command of powerful ideological vehicles.

In the long struggle he waged to found a party of a new type, Lenin put propaganda first. He saw the task of "imparting socialist ideas and politics to the mass of the proletariat, and organizing a revolutionary party" as a mission of the party. His famous article published in the first issue of *Iskra* showed how wrong were those "who restrict the content and scope of political propaganda, agitation and organization; who think it fit and proper to treat the workers to 'politics' only at exceptional moments in their lives, only on festive occasions; who too solicitously substitute demands for partial concessions . . . for the political struggle . . . and who do not go to sufficient lengths to ensure that these demands . . . are raised to the status of a systematic, implacable struggle of a revolutionary working-class party." Proceeding from this, Lenin showed that the *first step* should be to found a political newspaper for the whole of Russia.

This had been forgotten by those who not so long ago upheld the "theory" that our Party was a "party of action" and should therefore not be a "party of propaganda." Yet it was a *party of action* that Lenin founded by means of his revolutionary *propaganda.*

Had it not been for the propaganda Marcel Cachin carried on immediately after World War I all over France, in the Socialist Party and among the workers, our Communist Party would not have come into being. Had it not been for sustained propaganda against the war in Morocco and the occupation of the Ruhr, our Party would not have been steeled in its early battles. Had it not been for the systematic use of propaganda adapted to the conditions of the time, the Popular Front would not have won. This is true of every period of our struggle. Without propaganda against one-man rule the latter would not have suffered the reverses it has, nor would we have achieved the influence we have among the masses. *There is not and can never be action without propaganda.*

What has been valid for a long time and at every period is still more valid today. Indeed, our time poses more complex problems than ever. Today increasingly broad sections of the people need

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to see clearly in the most important issues. The ideological struggle has become sharper than ever. The setbacks of imperialism, on the one hand, and scientific and technological progress, on the other, have exacerbated this struggle. Due to modern means of disseminating ideas, the clash of ideologies is assuming a bitter, permanent and universal character.

If we in France take into account the two strategic tasks facing the proletariat and the progressive forces—replacing one-man rule by a new, democratic regime, and forcing the US imperialists to stop their aggression in Vietnam—it is quite evident that we must set every segment of the population in motion. However, they can go into action only consciously. It is therefore more important than ever to extend our propaganda.

French political life in recent weeks has shown new aspects.

First. The Gaullist congress in Lille* resolved to launch an anti-Communist campaign. The reasons for that resolution are not hard to detect. The main reason, if not an obvious one, is that *they are anti-Communists and we are what we are,* that the FCP is the defender of the interests of all working people and all ordinary men and women, that it is the most constant and determined opponent of monopoly power, that it is fighting for a new democracy which would strike at the roots of the might of big capital, and that it is the chief enemy of Gaullism. This is the main reason for the anti-communist campaign. Maurice Thorez showed that anti-communism has class origins. And the reason why the authorities have decided on an anti-communist campaign now is that they are alarmed by our gains and the progress of Left unity. They want in this way to regroup all the reactionary forces of the country and to hold up the formation of the unitary trend.

What are the forms of this campaign and what are the means used?

Let us underline two points: first, one cannot innovate deeply by resorting to the battered weapon of anti-communism. Certain arguments are not very far removed from the Nazi phrase "A Communist is no Frenchman." Secondly, Gaullist "experts" have chosen their six points under the impact of FCP policy. These points are as follows:

1. *Communists and national independence.* This is a return to the argument of "separatism" cherished by de Gaulle at the time of the French Popular Union. The editors base their calumnies on the Chinese leaders' infamous articles. We would like to note that on this point the Gaullist document gives the lie to those who imagine there is a subtle distinction between "home" anti-com-

*November 1967.—Ed.

munism and anti-Sovietism, for a whole page is devoted to anti-Sovietism.

2. *The Communist Party is neither the party of the future nor the party of the working class.* This has become the classical thesis of anti-communism—it maintains that Marxism is a thing of the past. Note that this section of the document tries to oppose the workers to the peasants and have another go at anti-Sovietism.

3. *Communists and the political institutions.* An attempt is made to caricature our position by representing us as partisans of a pure and simple return to the Fourth Republic. The Soviet Union is attacked again. "People there," says the document, "are freer than in Stalin's day but less free than even in tsarist times."

4. *Alliance with the FCP: an error and mistake of the Left.* This is a direct appeal to all non-Communist forces to rally, an attempt to stir every variety of anti-communism back to life, an invitation to the non-Communist Left to join in a campaign said in no uncertain terms to be aimed at *"destroying the Communist Party."*

5. *Has the Communist Party changed?* The document tries to portray us as dogmatists and sclerotics. It stresses that while some changes have come about in the Communist Party they are inadequate and—I quote—"they should be used for inducing the FCP to become a party like any other, for making it join in normal French political life (which would amount to eliminating it as a 'Marxist-Leninist party', a 'party of a new type')."

6. *Communists and Catholics.* Here, too, the document, while maintaining its anti-Soviet stance, tries to caricature our policy and to prevent unification of the popular forces of the nation.

Thus it is plainly a question of defense measures against the strongest points of our policy.

These measures will not help. No one can cut the roots linking the Communist Party and the French people, nor frustrate the development of the alliance of workers and democrats. No one can stop the upsurge of the people, which is bound to go on. However, this campaign can become a certain hurdle to progress if we ignore it and let it develop. Indeed, vacillating elements may yield to its influence. On the other hand, the Gaullist leaders are out to arouse a certain anti-communist nostalgia among those who put aside their own anti-communism only recently. Lastly, the Gaullists long to force us into a defensive attitude.

Their effort will fail completely provided we promote our policy, our ideas, our proposals, our program in the spirit of an offensive.

It is particularly important to show on every occasion how thoroughly our policy meets the national interests of the country and, consequently, how it is our patriotic duty to beat off anti-communist attacks.

Second. A vast effort is being made to spread Leftist and adventurist theses of which the bourgeois radio and press often become willing instruments. The Maoist leaders continue their attacks on the Communist policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, on the policy of uniting the anti-imperialist forces and in so doing direct their main blows against the Soviet Union and Leninist party principles. They maintain their agents in France and have just announced the formation of what they call a "party." The handful of adventurers who have joined in this semi-clandestine operation do not amount to much, except that they are a prop directly used by the most reactionary forces. They comport themselves as veritable counter-revolutionaries and we will go on treating them as such.

However, that is not the only form of spreading Leftist and adventurist ideas. Small Leftist groups flourish. They have substantial funds and they publish newspapers, periodicals and bulletins. Lastly—and this is particularly serious, of course— Leftist and adventurist ideas are spread in diverse forms. Under the guise of "revolution" and "extremism," the thesis is upheld that the armed struggle is the only possible form of struggle, everywhere and under all circumstances.

Hence the need to show, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism as well as the realities of our time, that to be a revolutionary today means bringing effective influence to bear on the social reality of our time by rallying the forces of labor and democracy. While others prate about revolution we must remind people of the objective of socialism, of our struggle to bring it about, and stress that the struggle we are waging today is a component of the fight for socialism.

Undobutedly, we must speak here of the special need to carry on this effort with regard to young people in the universities, high schools and colleges and in industry and agriculture.

Third. Labor and Left unity cannot develop either without struggle or without an occasional setback. It is a continuous struggle in which every advance provides new opportunities and at the same time creates new difficulties. We still have a long way to go. Some adherents of the non-Communist Left have not quite given up their search for an alliance with the forces of the so-called "Center" or the Right. Some still do not rule out a solution which would make the working class and our Party a supplementary force supporting the policy of the so-called "third force."

These trends are encouraged by such reactionaries as Lecanuet and Giscard d'Estaing, who shower smiles and promises on those they regard as their virtual allies. There certainly are serious differences between the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist

Left (FDSL) and ourselves over the content of the common government program needed by the entire Left. It will take an effort by all to overcome these differences. And this is what our Party has concerned itself with in the working group whose work, completed three months ago, constitutes a real new advance over the content of the agreement of December 20, 1966. We want the two organizations—the FDSL and the FCP—to decide to publish the agreed text and to continue their efforts toward solving the principal problems, notably in the economic, social and foreign policy fields.

It is regretable that during this period *Le Populaire* has again been publishing, almost systematically, anti-communist articles.

We must strengthen the conviction, already held by millions of working people and left-wingers, that there can be *victory* of the Left in France without the Communists, and that no Left policy can be carried on without the Communists. What is more, now that the necessity for a common program is generally recognized, the question to decide is that of the *content* of the program.

We are living in a period when new aspects of the situation, even though different, all point to the need of a *Party propaganda that will be both deeper and more accessible to the masses,* all the more so since our adversaries have redoubled their efforts in this field.

Our propaganda should go deeper. It should bear on the big ideological problems conditioning the activity of the masses. We really are living at a time when the big problems do not confront a limited range of people but the masses and when ordinary agitation, always necessary in connection with everyday facts, is no longer sufficient. We must deeply *convince* millions upon millions of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen of the necessity for an advanced common program making it possible to follow a policy of social progress, peace and national independence, and of the possibility to impose peace and peaceful coexistence. We must deeply *convince* the working people, youth, students and intellectuals that they must be on their guard against the temptations of leftism and adventurism.

Our propaganda should be more accessible. The rhythm of life is swift and the problems numerous and complex, hence our propaganda should be more efficient, that is, should promptly answer any question put by people.

We already have important propaganda media which are not always used to the best advantage.

First of all, we have *l'Humanité* and periodicals. The study days we now hold in the federations suggest the following conclusions:

1. In terms of content, *l'Humanité* generally fulfils its invariable task, which is to provide daily information and comment, and to

organize struggles, discussions and study. *l'Humanité* is an indispensable weapon of our propaganda.

2. The circulation of *l'Humanité* and *l'Humanité-Dimanche* is far from corresponding to the strength, prestige, influence and activity of the Party.

3. A larger circulation of our press depends on the number of active members and organizations of the Party concerning themselves with it.

4. We must do much to persuade every member of the Party to read *l'Humanité* daily.

It would be safe to say that to muster the thousands of propagandists we need, the whole Party must *first* make an effort to increase the circulation and readership of *l'Humanité* and Party periodicals.

We must stress at this point the importance of *France-Nouvelle* for the training and education of active members, and of the help they get from it in carrying out their tasks. *La Terre,* for its part, is doing a good job.

Besides, the Party has a variety of monthlies meeting the requirements of their readers. We will not go into the condition of each periodical but will make a number of general remarks that we think apply to all.

Our periodicals should serve to a greater extent as vehicles of systematic propaganda of the policy of the Party and a means of carrying forward our theory. This is their fundamental task. They must answer questions about the future of the country, the experience of socialism, the close worldwide solidarity of the socialist system, the national liberation movement and the labor movement in the capitalist countries, the scientific and technological revolution. They must refute hostile theories, in particular the various technocratic theories.

Each of them should address itself to its own group of readers and each should have its own range of interests. The desire to specialize is commendable provided it takes into account the aims of the periodical and its potential readers. Each periodical should hold a sector of one and the same front and they all should promote one and the same policy.

Our periodicals have some to occupy an important position. They can launch discussions, confrontations and dialogues. The Argenteuil resolution of the Central Committee says that *"the dialogue is by no means an end in itself but furthers joint action for democracy and socialism."* This means confirming our positions without in any way covering up opposition or disagreement. Our periodicals can play a big role from this point of view. They are not primarily *forums* for the dialogue but an *element* of the dialogue, a partner for conducting the dialogue, for holding discussions and polemics

with other forces and other periodicals. Their foremost concern should be to express *our* view of the problems under discussion.

Consequently, the Party periodicals must make a great effort to raise their theoretical standard, and the Party should give them real support to increase their circulation. This applies, first of all, to *Les Cahiers du Communisme,* the theoretical and political journal of the Central Committee, to *La Nouvelle Critique* and *Démocratie Nouvelle.* Two specialized journals—*Economie et Politique* and *L'Ecole et la Nation*—hold a fitting place in the ideological life of the Party. These general remarks apply also to *La Pensée* and *Les Cahiers de l'Institut Maurice-Thorez. La Vie du Parti* is necessary reading for active members of the Party.

Lastly, *NGF* and *Le Nouveau Clarté,* published by the Communist Youth Movement, must come to play an important role by raising their ideological standard and increasing their circulation.

Books are another propaganda medium to which the Party should devote greater attention. *What Being a Revolutionary Means in France Today,* Waldeck Rochet's pamphlet published recently, was a great success.* This shows that a book is likely to sell well if brought out at the right time, and if it deals with a burning problem, answers real questions and enjoys the attention of the Party as a whole. However, the sale and distribution of political books as well as fiction throughout the country needs to be organized much better.

It has become a commonplace to say that radio and television are the means used by modern propaganda. This, like every commonplace, is both right and wrong. Radio and television do play an important part but they are not the only means of spreading ideas. The bourgeoisie uses them widely but does not neglect other media. Evidence of this is the success of Malraux's *Anti-Memoirs* and Servan-Schreiber's *The American Challenge.* On the other hand, while the courage and creative talent of a number of producers help to make radio and television vehicles of culture and information conveying the political truth about certain issues, we must not forget that radio and television are still controlled in the main by the regime. *We* do not control them. The dominant position radio and television hold in modern life should, of course, prompt us to use every opportunity to express our views. Under the present regime, however, we will always fall short of this goal.

Our primary concern should be to answer the arguments of radio and television more promptly and more directly. Our press should not regard criticisms levelled at us by radio and television as a minor item but should keep track of all that goes on there so as to

*See **Information Bulletin,** No. 22, 1967. Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague.

evolve our own arguments. The Party organizations and branches should miss no opportunity to react promptly.

We must remember that while we have neither radio nor television we have a powerful, active and able party—something which no one else has. This means that we can *modernize our own propaganda media* to reach everyone and not merely the electorate.

We propose, first of all, that the Central Committee make a special effort to increase the number of *newspapers intended for the masses*. Some federations already have ample experience in this. They regularly publish newspapers distributed free in the enterprises. Experience shows that publishing expenses are easily covered through collections of funds, subscriptions and advertising. Many big and medium enterprises could borrow this experience. But this is not enough. Radio and television reach every home. We therefore suggest increasing the number of newspapers published for big and medium cities, for the constituencies where we have Communist deputies, and for the cantons where we have Communist general councillors. *Mailed to every home,* these newspapers, which might appear once in three months, would constitute a unique link between the masses and the Party and its elected representatives.

It should be evident that these journals, which are a high-standard propaganda vehicle—and this not only during election campaigns but at other times when, indeed, their significance is even greater as I see it—cannot be a substitute for branch periodicals. The latter have their characteristics and advantages, and make it possible to give very prompt expression to the opinion of the masses and to reach the readers, beginning with the most pressing problem. They afford the best opportunity of giving the reader a "*clear idea*" of the social reality Lenin had in mind.

To make our propaganda more accessible means also publishing more in the way of specialized material, letters and leaflets, for example by categories.

Printed propaganda is not enough. We must improve our oral propaganda. We disagree on this point with those who allege that public meetings and lectures are "outmoded" and useless today.

True, our oral propaganda reaches fewer people than printed propaganda, but then we achieve better results with audiences because our contact with them is more direct. This is why we are going to hold more public meetings, both big and small, on the entire policy of the Party, more talks, special discussions, and so on.

LUIGI LONGO'S SPEECH* AT A SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (February 1968)

Much has already been said in Pajetta's report and the speeches of other comrades about our relations with other parties, with the other Left forces of Italy in the light of our political and organizational agreement with the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity regarding the forthcoming elections to the Senate (scheduled for June 1968.—*Ed.*). The agreemnt was joined by Autonomous Socialist functionaries and groups, which is connected with the movement getting under way following the call of Ferruccio Parri (ex-Prime Minister—*Ed.*) for the establishment of a broader front of democratic Left forces.

The response this initiative evoked and its success demonstrate not only the correctness of our criticism of the policy of the Christian-Democratic Party and the Center-Left, but also the necessity of the policy of contacts, agreement and unity which the ICP pursues with regard to all democratic Left forces. And on this broader plane Pajetta and other comrades spoke also about our relations with the Demochristian, Socialist, Republican and, speaking in broader terms, Catholic forces and circles representing the Catholic trade unions. In recent years, which have been characterized by a disappointing bankrupt policy of the Center-Left, these forces, confronted with "an endless succession of abnormal facts right up to the latest, particularly serious ones," have not only "experienced bitterness," as *Voce Republicana* put it, but taken a new view and cognizance of their own choice and experience

It is on these issues of our discussion that I want to add a few words to what has been said, above all regarding the "dialogue" with the Christian Democrats and Catholics which has been so much talked about, especially after the Chamber of Deputies debate on the affair of SIFAR (intelligence service.—*Ed.*) and the speeches on this subject by Piccoli (Deputy Secretary of the CDP. *Ed.*) and Comrade Amendola. After having spent so much time not only denying the existence of the dialogue but declaring it unthinkable, the Demochristian leaders let themselves in for it. But in re-

*Unita, February 15, 1968.

cent days they have endeavored to reduce it to trifles. "There has always been dialogue in the country and the parliament," they said. Of necessity there is "talk" or "dialogue." Piccoli, who permitted himself in his Chamber of Deputies speech to demand "correct functions of constitutional opposition" (meaning the ICP), immediately felt the need to make his voice available to the employer press, which is committed to preserving the most hidebound traditions of cold war and anti-communism. How dare they speak, implying the ICP, of "correct functions of constitutional opposition" as if Italy were Britain and the Communist Party were something like Her Majesty's opposition, *Corriere della Sera* demanded inquisitorially. The right of the minority to become the majority—this democracy suits well the employers and reaction, if only the goings-on in Britain and other countries do not in any way prejudice the power of the big monopolies. But not in Italy, where the Communists are always ready, *Corriere della Sera* declares, "to lay the foundations of a broad united secular and Catholic political front." Make note of the striving of our opponents, who are in this matter willingly joined by some Socialist comrades, to discredit our unitary policy which they call either "frontist" or "popular frontist."

But we feel not in the least discredited by such definitions. They point to a policy which we pursued in a different situation and in a different period, and which we have plenty of reasons to be proud of. But the present-day policy of the ICP is an entirely different matter. It has changed in many respects, acquired much greater strength, and it pursued in a different way. It is dictated by the recognition of the need to have an alternative to the policy of the Center-Left and to build, for this purpose, relations of a new type between us and all the Left forces in order to end the paralysis caused by the domination of the CDP and especially its "moderate" ruling group, release the progressive forces languishing in the clutches of the system and the Center-Left parties, and lead the government coalition to a crisis with a view to putting an end to its policy of social stagnation and promoting, in keeping with the newly-acquired democratic dialectics, the demand of renovation and prograss of the country.

For the sake of this we have always initiated discussions, meetings and comparisons of views among all the Left forces, both those in opposition and those which, although still connected with the parties of the majority, feel the intolerability of the situation of powerlessness and confusion created by the Center-Left in Italy and which are ready to search, together with the other Left forces, for a new way, to foster a new majority. In face of the recent "abnormal facts," this policy of ours has been meeting with growing understanding and approval.

And it was this reality, which increasingly saps and undermines the Center-Left, that compelled Piccoli and Rumor (CDP Secretary.—*Ed.*) to make their speeches which the Right press provocatively called a step to meet the Communists "halfway."

Under the pressure of the intra-party Right and the employer press the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of the CDP made one more step backwards—the dialogue they are talking about should be merely of a didactic nature and aim at returning the sheep that seem to have strayed into our Party to the fold of democracy! Thus commenced, the "dialogue," reduced to pure propaganda, is approved even by the most hidebound advocates of isolation of and discrimination against the Communists, for in this instance it will fall within the framework of traditional Centrist and Center-Left strategy. But look out, yells *Corriere della Sera,* which distrusts even such well-intentioned contacts and speeches. "The return (of the Communists) presupposes belief in oneself . . . If the crisis of confidence reaches ourselves," then farewell! There is nothing that is worth its while.

Beware, "something different is stirring to action, something different is taking shape," chimes in the newspaper of Confindustria (the association of Italian businessmen.—*Ed.*), and proceeds to draw an alarming but truthful picture of the situation. Now look, the malady has spread to all the parties of the majority, "the Christian-Democratic Party is rent by distrust in the Center-Left itself . . . the Socialist Party is deeply split and as deeply disappointed . . . large numbers of grass-roots members of the CDP and the Socialist Party do not recognize the government's line of skilful equilibrium pursued by Moro, they 'take the bit between their teeth' and vaguely strive for a different majority which would turn to new political horizons."

One would think these lines have been penned by us. However, they have been taken from *Corriere della Sera.* Return of the sheep that have strayed into the Communist Party? Not likely. Think of yourselves, the big newspaper of the bourgeoisie and Confindustria says, as it were, to the Christian Democrats and United Socialists, to their leaders. Think of how to contain the growth of distrust that has penetrated into your ranks. Try not to lose your rank and file, who do not recognize the line of the government, vaguely strive for a new majority and turn their gaze to new political horizons—in a word, who strive for such a new majority and turn their gaze to such new political horizons as are offered by us, Communists, and together with us by the Proletarian Unity Socialists, Parri and his friends, and by many other prominent Catholic, labor and trade union leaders.

It remains a fact, however, that the leaders of the Dorotei wing

of the CDP, although they are aware of the grave crisis that is convulsing the party and undermining its monopoly of power, cannot go farther than the prattle of Rumor's and Piccoli's we have heard these days. They are captives of their own lie, of their anti-communist slogans, and they do not know how to get out of the predicament. The same can and must be said about all kinds of pseudo-Left groups within the CDP which cannot carry their political assessments beyond the bounds of anti-communism and which, if only by virtue of this alone, deprive themselves of the possibility of any genuinely political action and reduce their functions to providing a leftist camoufiage to the very same "moderate" policy which they allegedly condemn and oppose. *Corriere della Sera* has felt constrained to admit that the "dialogue with the Communists," which has always been rejected in words, is actually "getting more and more woven into the facts" by dint of the actions of not only authoritative Catholic leaders and prominent Catholic trade unionists, but also of the working people and democrats who, irrespective of whether they carry CDP cards or not, are following these leaders.

Are facts needed? Suffice it to look around.

Suffice it to recall the workers' and other working people's struggle of recent weeks and months for their demands for pensions—and also for a whole number of structural reforms, beginning with hospitals and ending with universities.

Suffice it to recall the unitary platform worked out by the three biggest trade union federations, their joint definition of the functions of trade unions which includes recognition of the need to increase their power and strength and specifies the relations which should exist between trade unions and the state. One can also recall the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist positions which have evoked such a broad response in the Catholic world and in Catholic trade union organizations, with their analysis of cardinal problems of the present-day world which in many respects differs from the old approach, or the position which is indicative of a striving to find a common meeting-ground for orienting Italy's foreign policy on the preservation and promotion of peace.

In making this analysis, of necessity a general one, we should not forget that in the parliamentary debates on the SIFAR affair and the facts of July 1964 many representatives of parties belonging to the government majority either opposed the diktat of Moro and the CDP leaders or submitted to it against their conscience. It should be remembered also that in recent months a number of Center-Left directed local government organs have broken up and have been replaced by Left popular ones. Nor should we underestimate the importance of the recent agreement between Communists, Socialists, Proletarian Unity Socialists, Catholics and

Demochristians in communal administrative organs, in Sicilian trade unions and in the Sicilian regional assembly itself on submitting to the central government a joint plan of immediate and long-term measures to eliminate the tragic consequences of the earthquake. In all these facts, which testify not only to the existence of a fruitful dialogue with the Communists but also to the achievement of agreement on joint actions, the reactionary press sees only a reflection of electoral troubles, a trend for "mutual unsaddling between the CDP and the Socialists." "God forbid if the race to the left makes the Socialists feel being out-distanced by the CDP," *Corriere della Sera* moralizes. "The parliamentary dialogue with the Communists needs no further encouragement," for "in the provinces Catholics and Communists are conducting dialogue over the head of the CDP and the United Socialist Party."

"Rumor's voting is insufficient, Piccoli's half-admissions complicate the matter," notes the Milan group of Confindustria and the big bourgeoisie.

It remains a fact, however, that neither the CDP is trying to unsaddle the USP, nor, still less, is the USP trying to unsaddle the CDP. The popular movement at the grass-roots level, the more conscious and progressive groups in the Center-Left parties themselves are unsaddling their leaders who have set up the Center-Left coalition and the Center-Left itself.

Besides, it remains a fact that stormy meetings, assemblies and conferences are taking place in many Catholic and Demochristian groups at which the demand is voiced to put "an end to the myth about Catholic unity," because "on the political level, broad Catholic circles can no longer consider themselves to be in the political bloc, in the ruling bloc formed around the CDP."

We know, and the leaders of the Dorotei wing of the CDP also know, that authoritative and prominent persons who formerly occupied important posts in the CDP are speaking openly about the need to break with the CDP, to leave it, to deny votes to the Center-Left and, to avoid absenteeism, give these votes to the parties of the labor and democratic opposition. One can only smile at the actions of the CDP Dorotei leaders who, faced with this trend of the Catholic masses and their own party's rank and file, are trying to deceive them with the help of base and ambiguous sallies like the statements made by Piccoli and Rumor. To resist such a trend, *Corriere della Sera* notes, one has to have faith in oneself and in one's own ideological and political superiority.

But faith is like courage; if it is lacking, no one else will supply it . . . The CDP Dorotei leaders may not even suspect that while they are militating against any contacts, dialogue and cooperation with the Communists, functionaries and activists holding different posts in their party are searching, in different fields,

for contacts and agreement with us, even if partial and temporary ones, in order to stimulate the political and social actions in behalf of peace about which Moro and the Center-Left government do not want to hear anything. In view of their total submission to the U.S. government we launched large-scale actions in defense of peace which met with broad support on the part of not only public opinion but various strata in the democratic parties.

The successes of the guerrillas and people of Vietnam reward and inspire our solidarity with their liberation struggle, Comrade Pajetta said. We consider that we have been, and remain, loyal to our duty of solidarity with the liberation struggle of Vietnam, our duty of support for the Hanoi government's consistent, firm and serious-intended political and diplomatic actions for an immediate cessation of U.S. air raids and recognition of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front as the legitimate spokesman of the people of South Vietnam. These are prerequisites which can pave the way for the opening of peace talks.

In this sense we have been constantly demanding that our government display its own initiative conforming to the gravity of the situation and the existing possibilities; a few days ago we made an inquiry demanding that the government inform parliament about its recent activities and take urgent political and diplomatic steps to bring about an immediate discontinuation of U.S. bombing raids and the opening of talks on a peaceful settlement of the conflict, with due respect for the Vietnamese people's right to freedom and independence.

In recent months we have been working for joint action by the Communists and all the progressive forces of the Mediterranean region against the dangers created in this region by the presence and actions of U.S. imperialism. We acted jointly with the comrades from the ISPPU as initiators and organizers of a conference of these forces. All this testifies to the authority and influence which our Party and the Italian working-class movement enjoy among the Communist parties and progressive movements.

It is highly significant that in this situation, despite the possibilities for the Italian democratic and popular forces to undertake concrete actions in defense of peace which would influence the course of events, the Social-Democratic leaders and functionaries from Nenni's party, who are ready for all kinds of renunciation, have chosen to act as priests of anti-communism, Atlantism and NATO and to reject any contacts and meetings with the Communists. By doing so they shut their eyes to reality, for they cannot but know that their comrades from the Socialist International not only unhesitatingly meet with the Communists but closely cooperate with them, as is the case in France and Finland.

Nor can they feign ignorance of the fact that the very same

Social-Democratic leaders of big European countries seek not only meetings with us—yes, with us Italian Communists—but also, with mutual consent, a fruitful exchange of views in order to find points of covergence and agreement on questions of the struggle for peace and of European security.

In his report on the second point Comrade Galuzzi will give a more detailed account of the meetings and talks in Italy and abroad with the biggest parties and movements and with the most authoritative spokesmen of the governments of socialist countries and countries fighting for liberation and in defense of their newly-won freedom.

The meeting I want to mention—in view if its importance—is the recent one with responsible spokesmen of the Hanoi government and the Party of Working People of Vietnam. In conclusion, I only want to stress that we have been and are acting both on the internal and international plane with a deep sense of responsibility, having in our arsenal a rich stock of initiative, doing everything possible to facilitate and advance the search for concrete and important points of convergence between all democratic and Left forces, both secular and Catholic, all forces striving to fight for Italy's democratic renovation, all forces fighting for peace and for the triumph all over the world of the policy of peaceful coexistence over the militarist policy of imperialism.

Such is the line which we will pursue perseveringly and skilfully, constantly bearing in mind that, as was pointed out in the resolution of the Karlovy Vary conference of European Communist and Workers' parties, the present historical moment demands courage and initiative.

Our Party has this courage and initiative, and it has the necessary strength to lend weight and authority to its activity.

We have demonstrated this in the past, and we will be constantly demonstrating this on an ever bigger scale, being aware of our task and believing in our strength and the correctness of our policy.

UNITY OF THE LEFT AROUND A COMMON PROGRAM

We address this message* to all Canadians who believe, or who are becoming convinced, that our country needs new policies that will raise living standards for all, broaden the democratic content of our society, secure our independence, and promote world peace.

The need for a new direction in policy has never been more evident in Canada's history. Dissatisfaction with the old-line parties was never more widespread and the potential coalition of all left-thinking and democratic movements and individuals never more implicit.

The Canadian working class and democratic movement is made up of many currents. Overshadowing differences that exist in the course of struggles to advance, are points of common interest and areas of general agreement.

Presenting this appeal for left cooperation and unity in action, we are fully aware that it will be neither an easy nor spontaneous process. Yet the road to cooperation among the left, however difficult it may be, must be travelled. Anti-communism, which has served as a divisive ploy to weaken, isolate and in a sense mesmerize the whole radical movement, is still a potent weapon. It too, must be overcome before real progress can be made by the working people in our country.

Our goal remains as always—a socialist Canada. The struggle to win socialism is inseparably bound up in a democratic movement to defend and extend the gains of the people. We believe the necessity for basic change in the social structure of Canada will be clarified in the growth of the democratic movements of today. How this will be done willl be determined by the democratic will of the Canadian people.

A NEW PATH FOR CANADA

Canada's post-war policy of subservience to American interests has distorted the economic development of our country. It has facilitated the transfer of control over key sectors of commerce, industry and resources into U.S. hands. It has bound us to military alliances which work against Canada's national interests. It makes us accomplices in such undertakings as the United States' war in Vietnam, with its grave danger to world peace.

*The Canadian Tribune, February 5, 1968

We believe a new path of Canada is encompassed in the following areas.

1. ECONOMIC POLICY AND INDEPENDENCE

To achieve continuous and sustained growth our economy must serve the needs of Canada first. To be planned and balanced the decisive areas of commerce and industry must be socially controlled through nationalization and/or other forms of public direction.

—Trade unions and farm organizations must be involved in long-term democratic planning.

—Technological change and automation must be planned and systematically introduced to ensure a minimum of dislocation as well as a guarantee of rising living standards and complete individual security. This can only be done through democratic control by society as a whole.

Canada must break out of the trade patterns imposed by the United States, and enter into mutually advantageous trade with all countries in industrial and agricultural products.

Alongside of giving the economy a new direction, based upon the needs of the Canadian people, there are immediate social requirements, which include:

—a radically new system of taxation based upon ability to pay with increment of wealth and personal incomes, rather than consumption, being the source of governmental revenues.

—a vast housing program, including low cost housing provided as a public utility. Official Review Boards to publicly review prices and rents.

—implementation of universal medicare now, to include medical, surgical, optical and dental care and diagnostic services on a prepaid basis.

—nationalization of drug companies, making drugs and medicine available to the people at cost.

—extension of unemployment insurance coverage to all wage and salary earners.

—day-care nurseries for all working mothers.

—a government-operated auto insurance plan with universal and comprehensive coverage.

—full and free education up to and including university, with annual stipends for students' maintenance.

2. EXTENSION OF DEMOCRACY—A NEW CONSTITUTION

It is now clear that the French Canadian nation has rejected the British North America Act which bound our two nations together in unequal union for a century. The French Canadian people

have decided once and for all to assert their right to self-determination, to sovereignty in their national territory, Quebec, to decide for themselves what their future will be. This decision does not have to lead to the break-up of Canada. In fact, to our minds, what is required is a new pact of confederation based upon the voluntary equal partnership of our two nations. This would be very much in the interests of the working people of both French-speaking and English-speaking Canada.

A new pact of confederation must recognize the heritage and rights of all ethnic minorities to the fullest possible use of their language and culture.

The adoption of a Bill of Rights, which in addition to guaranteeing democratic rights for all Canadians (right to organize and strike, free speech and assembly, right of habeas corpus, trial by jury, protection of religious beliefs, a truly independent judiciary), should also include the right to a job and to a guaranteed income for working people in industry, agriculture, commerce and the services.

The revision of the criminal code to completely eliminate all medieval hangovers in our judicial and penal system, divorce and abortion laws.

The democratic involvement of people in the conduct of their own affairs must include the guarantee of a full, free education to all, based on the principle of full student participation in the affairs and curricula of universities and other institutions.

Canadian farmers must have a right to participate in the formulation and implementation of agricultural policy.

Electoral reforms must be made that will grant full franchise to all Canadians from the age of 18. We support the principle of one man one vote, proportional representation and the transferable ballot.

3. PEACE AND FOREIGN POLICY

Dissociation of Canada from United States aggression in Vietnam and everywhere. Restriction of manufacture and sale of war materials. Withdrawal from NATO and NORAD. Removal of all United States nuclear bases from Canadian soil. A drastic reduction in the spending for arms and transfer of funds to socially useful purposes. Make the United Nations truly universal by the inclusion of all countries. Establish diplomatic relations, trade and cultural exchanges with the People's Republic of China, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Democratic Republic of Korea and the German Democratic Republic. For a political settlement of all crises, such as the Middle East developments, preventing military aggression by the fullest use of the U.N. Security Council, inter-

national diplomacy and the use of all machinery of the world organization.

These policies represent, in one way or another, the strivings of members of the trade unions, farmers' organizations, women and youth movements, the New Democratic Party and of the Communist Party.

To win them, however, will require a great effort. No one organization by itself can effectively do the job. By uniting all the democratic forces it can be achieved.

The Communist Party of Canada believes the above points constitute a realistic base for united action. We intend to popularize and win support for this program.

Together with all sections of the labor and democratic movement, with socialists and non-socialists alike, we shall debate and fight for the achievement of these and other proposals that may arise, conscious of the fact that purposeful unity is forged in the struggle for essential and realizable objectives.

The opportunity and the great challenge to achieve a democratic alternative is here. Much depends on the Left, on its unity and cooperation, and how the challenge is met.

We appeal to all those who see the need for radical change of our society to join the battle to bring about unity of the Left. It is in this way that the interests of the Canadian people can be advanced.

Fraternally yours,

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Canada

WALTER ULBRICHT'S REPORT* TO THE PEOPLE'S CHAMBER OF THE GDR

Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, described the draft of the new Constitution submitted to the People's Chamber on Wednsday as the "German charter of freedom and humanity." In presenting the draft on behalf of the Constitutional Commission led by him, he summed up the post-war development of East Germany. He pointed out that the people of the GDR had fulfilled their historic duty by making democratic progress and by overcoming their past, and had paved the way for becoming the masters of their future.

The new Constitution would help to solve, for the good of every citizen of the GDR and the entire German nation, the great problems posed by history for the coming years and decades. Ulbricht called the draft Constitution a "program for political, social, economic, spiritual and cultural progress." The draft contained "guidelines for building a developed social system of socialism" and determined the "strategic orientation for the triumph of socialism." The Constitution would be "the most democratic constitution in German history."

The new Constitution would make it clear to all who still did not understand it that the socialist GDR is not a passing phenomenon but a stable and permanent factor for peace and security in Europe. There was no road leading to lasting peace and security in Europe and yet by-passing the peaceful socialist state of the German nation.

Ulbricht recommended starting a comprehensive discussion of the draft Constitution involving every citizen of the GDR and every sphere of public life. He dealt at length with certain aspects of the work done by the Commission, and gave a precise definition of the draft by calling it the "fundamental law of the political organization of the life of our people." In this connection he touched on various home and foreign policy issues.

Ulbricht quoted, in particular, the following passage in the draft: "The GDR and its citizens are striving . . . to end the division of Germany imposed on the German nation by imperialism, and gradually to bring the two German states closer together, to the point of unifying them on the basis of democracy and socialism." "This provision," he said, "expresses our firm conviction that as it advances socialism will not by-pass West Germany, and the day

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ADN release, January 31, 1968.

will come when the West German workers and their allies will join us on the road leading to a united socialist Germany."

The big capitalists of West Germany had "together with the U.S. imperialists split Germany in an effort to prevent execution of the commitments under the Potsdam agreements to destroy Nazism and militarism and abolish monopoly rule. The international treaties signed by the Bonn government and its Christian Democratic leadership had robbed the West German people of the right to make policy on the German question. "Rather than unifying the nation, they advanced the watchword *'NATO ueber alles.'* Yet that was tantamount to a lasting split."

The existence of two German states meant that "at the early stages there is only the road of peaceful coexistence of the two states. This implies that first a treaty must be concluded between the governments of the two states existing on German soil, renouncing the use of force in their mutual relations."

Concerning Bonn's bid for the status of leader of Western Europe, which finds expression in the plan for a West European federation recently presented by Hallstein, Ulbricht said: "What handicaps Bonn today is that West European countries are anything but inclined to harness themselves to the cart of a West Germany bent on conquest and revenge. A West European federation would remove these difficulties for Bonn. The idea is, evidently, to impose this concept on Bonn's weaker partners. But this would be a suicidal policy for them to adopt."

Ulbricht described Bonn's plan of a West European federation as "a further contribution toward perpetuating the division of Germany." "As far as its implications are concerned," he said, "these plans are not far removed from the Paris treaties." On the other hand, the socialist Constitution of the GDR, "like a beacon of democracy, freedom and socialism, will help also the people in West Germany to choose the right way."

Speaking of the foundations and the national mission of the GDR, Ulbricht stressed: "The German Democratic Republic is a socialist state of the German nation. Its capital is Berlin. A long-time militant slogan of the working people, which is no longer a mere expression of the hopes of the oppressed and exploited, will for the first time be reflected in a German constitution. It says that "what has been *created* by the hands of the people *shall* belong to the people" and, as a formula of the victorious people, that "what has been *created* by the hands of the people *belongs* to the people."

This document was inspired by Karl Marx's words: "If man is formed under the influence of circumstances, it is necessary to humanize these circumstances."

"Freedom," said Ulbricht, "is friendship with the Soviet Union

and deliverance from imperialist tutelage; it is fraternity and solidarity with all that is positive and progressive in the world, a determined fight against setting the peoples upon one another, against war propaganda, against racial hatred, colonial exploitation and imperialist wars of conquest."

Referring to the situation in the FRG, Ulbricht then said: "How can anyone in West Germany speak of freedom in the face of the fact that, contrary to the interests of the people and the proclaimed will of an increasing segment of the people, they are pursuing there a policy designed to alter European frontiers, a policy which, owing to the claim to exclusive spokesmanship for the whole of Germany, is aimed at annexing the GDR, that is, at war? He who approves and supports the dirty war of the United States against the people of Vietnam, and who backs the dictatorship in Greece, cannot be trusted when he speaks of freedom."

Ulbricht described the "new position of the citizen in socialist society" by listing the fundamental civil rights stated in the Constitution, specifically the right "to participate in every way in shaping the political, economic, social and cultural life of socialist society and state." Ulbricht also mentioned the right to work and education, as well as the principle of equality of men and women. As a result of the emancipation of women, an injustice that had lasted for centuries was at an end in the GDR. "Had this been the only achievement of socialism, it would still be sufficient to prove the historical superiority of socialism."

"Citizens of the GDR are guaranteed freedom of religious worship and the performance of religious rites. In the GDR, for the first time in German history, the believers' love of peace and of their fellow-men, on the basis of the Constitution, fully accords with the policy of their state, which is directed toward peace and humanism.

"The draft Constitution guarantees churches and religious communities a sound basis—the only one that is possible—for promoting their relations with the socialist state. These relations have been gaining in scope and strength during the past two decades. Still, the West German imperialists and revanchists have not given up their attempts to use the Church in the GDR as an instrument of their imperialist policy of revanche. The rulers of West Germany still refuse to respect the constitutional order established in the GDR. The draft Constitution shows the church leaders of the GDR, who occasionally try to do the political bidding of the West German militarist Church, that this dependence is impermissible. Our draft foils such tendencies and calculations. It provides churches and religious communities with a legal basis for the unhindered performance of religious rites and for generally useful activity in keeping with the political interests and moral concepts of the believers."

"As a socialist state, the GDR is a political organization of the working people of town and country building socialism under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party . . . The nature of political power is determined by the working people's political domination, which socially and economically is based on popular ownership of the means of production. After the triumph of socialist relations of production political, economic and cultural development goes on according to the laws of socialism."

"Steady consolidation by the working class of its alliance with the other laboring classes and sections of the people, open and close cooperation with them, and enlistment of their participation in the building of socialism constitute a vitally important element of the socialist system and its further development."

"The draft Constitution formalizes the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party and the increasingly close cooperation of all the parties of the bloc and all the mass organizations in the National Front." It contained "all the necessary political and legal guarantees ensuring that no government body exercises administrative power outside or independently of the people's representative bodies."

After a detailed survey of the issue of socialist state building, Ulbricht turned to the issue of building a developed social system of socialism. "In the historical conditions that have developed," he said, "socialism cannot be a brief transitional phase in social development." The aim of the Commission had been to "provide constitutional legal standards and conditions that would contribute to the full development of socialism in the GDR as an independent socio-economic formation. This is a process requiring long years of creative effort."

"The draft Constitution stresses the responsibility of the enterprises and agricultural cooperatives according to the social plan and paves the way for carrying further and perfecting the socialist economic system. It indicates how we should create and guarantee the necessary conditions for effectively combining centralized state planning and management of the principal aspects of the social process as a whole with planning and management by the socialist production units and with the regulation of public life by the local government authorities. Thus the Constitution helps to realize the fundamental idea of the socialist economic system.

"The Constitution confirms the powers of the Federation of Free Trade Unions of the GDR as a universal class organization of the factory and office workers and the socialist intelligentsia, and affords an important basis for the motive force of the socialist mode of production to become more effective."

"The Constitution formulates the principles of foreign policy that have guided us ever since our republic was founded. The

treaties and relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are a model of German foreign policy meeting the national interests of our people. We frame our foreign policy in line with the principles of internationalism. Our foremost concern is to foster comprehensive cooperation, including the coordination of scientific, technological and economic effort, with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

"Our policy of peace, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism really has been a concern of all our people ever since we in the GDR completely did away with imperialism and eradicated, under the Law on the Defense of Peace, all racial persecution and man-hating propaganda on national grounds."

Speaking of the constitutional duties of the GDR and its citizens, Ulbricht pointed to the duty "to encourage the peoples' desire for freedom and independence, and to strive for relations of friendly cooperation based on equality and mutual respect with all countries.

"The constitutional duty of the GDR and its citizens is to contribute actively to the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe and to the provision of durable conditions for peaceful relations all over the world. All militarist and revanchist propaganda, all war propaganda and all manifestations of hatred on religious, racial or national grounds should be condemned as criminal.

"The draft Constitution declares the universally recognized standards of international law to be binding on the state power and on every citizen of the GDR. The new Constitution commits the GDR and its citizens never to start a war of conquest nor to use their armed forces for encroaching on the freedom of another people."

"Those states which have yet to fully clarify their relations with the GDR will now see our objectives and aspirations the more readily: to take into account the national and international mission of the GDR and its role as a stable peace factor in Europe.

"Our new Constitution will also make it perfectly clear to those European states whose governments persist, under the influence of the revanchist policy of Bonn, in their refusal to establish normal inter-state relations with the socialist GDR that here in Germany there have taken place irreversible processes of historic importance to the whole of Europe, changes which no one can in the long run ignore."

Ulbricht recalled his New Year's proposals on important problems of European security addressed to the FRG. "The Soviet government," he said, "took an important initiative toward safeguarding European security by its proposals to the FRG for concluding treaties between the USSR and the government of the

Federal Republic, and between other socialist countries and the government of the Federal Republic."

According to the agreements signed by the victorious powers, West Berlin was controlled by the four occupying powers. It was a special area having a special political status; it had never belonged to the West German Federal Republic and never would. The Bonn government should not use West Berlin as a base for revanchist, neo-Nazi or other action directed against the GDR and undermining the status of West Berlin. The West Berlin Senate could develop economic relations with all countries but had no authority to permit West German government agencies to instal themselves in West Berlin. It should not tolerate and agree to commissions of the West German Bundestag meeting in West Berlin, should not allow statements by Herr Luebke or Herr Kiesinger in line with their traditional ideology, nor should it allow re-nazification, which manifested itself, specifically, in the defense of provocations by the nazi National Democratic Party in West Berlin.

"To ensure European security, all European countries must establish normal diplomatic relations with both German states. When the West German Federal Republic speaks of a 'new Eastern policy' to establish diplomatic relations with the socialist countries in the Warsaw Treaty organization without renouncing its revanchist policy or recognizing historical realities and the frontiers existing in Europe, it is clear that the only purpose of the so-called new Eastern policy is to divide the Warsaw Treaty countries, estrange them from the Soviet Union and isolate the GDR.

"In the interests of peace in Europe and the world and of peaceful coexistence of the two German states, it would be timely to admit both German states into the United Nations. This would accord with the principles of the U.N."

"The draft of the new Constitution specifies the attitude of the GDR to the relations between the two German states.

"In particular, Article 8 of the draft, in keeping with the national interests of the GDR, states the need to establish and maintain normal relations and cooperation between the two equal German states. The GDR and its citizens are intent on ending the division of Germany imposed on our nation by the imperialists and the Paris treaties and NATO treaties concluded by the imperialists. The GDR and its citizens also want a gradual rapprochement of the two equal German states, to the point of unification on the basis of democracy and socialism. As regards Berlin, the draft Constitution states clearly that Berlin is the capital of the German Democratic Republic.

"I would like to hope that every politically conscious citizen of the GDR will wholeheartedly approve of this constitutional principle of our policy calling for peaceful coexistence of the two

German states. This will not only provide our policy aimed at easing tension and normalizing the relations between the two German states with a constitutional legal basis but will also help to rid the minds of certain West German politicians of revanchist illusions.

"I would like to call on the citizens of West Germany to study these provisions of our future Constitution with especial care. This will undoubtedly help them to the conclusion that it is an indispensable and, indeed, an inevitable step for West Germany to turn a new leaf in its relations with the GDR. There is no room any longer for the misleading maneuvers of Bonn.

"In some West German quarters the fear has been voiced that the new socialist Constitution of the GDR would increase tension between the two German states. It is a groundless fear. The new socialist Constitution of the GDR is not aggravating the split of Germany or increasing tension between the two German states for which the rulers of West Germany are the only ones to blame. In fact, tension can be relaxed only when the Bonn government recognizes without qualification a historical reality—the existence of two sovereign German states with different social systems—and agrees to establishing inter-state relations on an equal footing and on an obligatory basis."

"When the citizens of West Germany and their government recognize at last historical facts which they cannot alter anyway, the necessary new beginning I spoke of in my New Year's Message may become feasible in West Germany. I am convinced that our socialist Constitution will play a useful part in this.

"The national question in Germany is a class issue. It is a question of socialism, democracy and peace or of monopoly capitalism, neo-Nazism and imperialist expansion, that is to say, war.

"We know well that unification of the two German states is a long process. It requires, first of all, that the Nazi past and imperialist reality in West Germany be ended, including the splitting Paris treaties. All of the Bonn ministers' talk about detente and cooperation means nothing or sounds false so long as they try to camouflage the historical fact that Adenauer's undertakings, which associated West Germany with the Paris treaties and with NATO, block every step toward ending the division of Germany. . . . To top it all, the Bonn government has joined in the global strategy of the U.S. Indeed, it makes no secret of the fact that it is out to gain supremacy in Europe by imperialist devices."

"A treaty renouncing the use of force, a treaty on inter-state relations on an equal basis, an agreement to the effect that the two German states will apply for UN membership, and a declaration saying that the West German Federal Republic will withdraw from the system established by the Paris treaties and will approve of the

proposal for dissolving NATO could constitute a hopeful new beginning."

"It is up to the West German population, and primarily to its trade unions and youth organizations, to the working men and women, the peasants, and the democratic elements of the bourgeoisie to think how a new bginning could be made in West Germany."

Walter Ulbricht concluded his report as follows:

"All that the finest and noblest minds of our nation had dreamed of, hoped for and aspired to for centuries—freedom, justice, humanity and brotherhood—is being realized in the GDR thanks to socialism. Through socialism the Germans can for the first time create and use social conditions bringing into being these great ideals of mankind. Small wonder that the old world, all that is reactionary and hostile to the future, is trying to resist this.

"Our socialist Constitution says that joint efforts by society, the state and its citizens are the fundamental duty and obligation of all. It will be a constitution of socialist society foreseen by Marx and Engels, who spoke in the *Communist Manifesto* of 'an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all'."

SPEECH* BY A. DUBCEK

Dear comrades, members and alternate members of the Central Committee,

Dear representatives of the government and the National Front,

Dear representatives of fraternal Communist and Workers' parties,

Dear guests,

The twentieth anniversary of the February victory of our people is not and cannot be a formal celebration of past successes. Nor is this a glorious anniversary only for our Party or for the generation of those days. February 1948 is one of the principal dates in the history of the emergence and development of our present-day socialist system, a milestone on the road which began in the period of national and anti-fascist resistance, above all in 1944-45, and which was a continuation of the preceding activity of the Party.

Many values and truths of the past perished in the vortex of the terrible war. Our republic could hold out only because it literally revived and transformed itself, finding new and firmer foundations for its existence. It acquired confidence in the international arena in firm alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union, whose army liberated Czechoslovakia, and with the People's Democracies, in correct cooperation with other states, above all European ones. It founded its national structure on equal relations between the two fraternal peoples whose finest and most progressive forces had made building a state of national and social justice their program. The entire machinery of state, radically transformed, has since the revolution rested on a new, truly popular basis. Fundamental changes also took place in the economy. Socialization of the means of production became the source of its new dynamics and prosperity. Socialism, in which our people, after all the tragic trials of the past, saw the only way out, became a veritably national cause, a cause of unity of all the progressive and democratic forces of our country among which the working class headed by our Party occupied a generally recognized leading place.

The socialist course of development initiated by the revolution of 1944-45 and vividly confirmed in February 1948 was a natural result of the political and ideological development of our peoples during the war and in the resistance period. It united two principal modern traditions of the Czechs and Slovaks—struggle for national freedom and democracy and the long-standing effort to stimulate

*Delivered at a meeting in Prague to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the victory in 1948. **Rude Pravo**, February 23, 1968.

the rise of the working people, an effort to which the ideas of Marxism-Leninism gave a clear-cut and stable form.

The national freedom of the Czechs and Slovaks and the democratic values of the entire preceding period of development could be renewed and revived only on the socialist basis, and socialism itself gained new strength and was enriched owing to these values. This combination was embodied in the Kosice Government Program for the building of a new, socialist society which would incorporate, preserve and develop all the great and positive values of the past. This program and its realization advanced to the head of our society the working class and the Communists, who became its chief vehicle and for whom it was a vital cause in the best sense of the word.

Recalling today, twenty years later, those glorious stirring revolutionary times, we should pay tribute to the entire Communist generation of that period which had matured in hard struggle against capitalism and fascism and which was the first to carry into practice its revolutionary ideas. It was one of the greatest merits of the Gottwald leadership of our Party, which is still a model, that it could combine loyalty to its firm Marxist, revolutionary socialist convictions with the understanding of the great and positive values of Czech and Slovak national reality. In keeping with the contemporary orientation of the international Communist movement, our Party strove to find its own, specific solutions to the problems of Czechoslovakia. "We are setting off along our own, original road. . . . There has emerged a new type of democracy which we call people's democracy," Klement Gottwald said at the time. General principles of socialism were implemented in a specific way conforming to the conditions of Czechoslovakia.

The efforts of our Party to build socialism in keeping with the traditions and realities of our peoples were fully justified in the postwar period not only as the basis of the policy of the Party but also as the source of the policy of the entire state. I think it will be right to regard this as a general and permanent principle of socialist construction in our country, a principle which will be as correct tomorrow as it is today and was yesterday.

Development confirmed the correctness of these principles, although they, as always happens in life, underwent certain modifications. The conditions in which we launched the building of the new state were far from easy. Gradual aggravation of international contradictions cut across many of the previous expectations, the notion of more or less durable forms of peaceful coexistence of capitalism and socialism, a notion which on the domestic scene found expression in the concept of the broad National Front, a new political bloc born of the anti-fascist struggle.

The gradual disintegration of the anti-Hitler coalition, the ele-

ments of the cold war, the onslaught of the reactionary forces in Western Europe and the attempts inside the country to preserve the positions of the bourgeoisie led to an ever more obvious consolidation and then predominance of rightist trends among the Communists' partners in the National Front. That caused corresponding changes in the position of the Party. Development in the renovated republic was rapidly heading for explosive, antagonistic situations which could no longer be resolved through agreements and constructive compromises as had been the case immediately after the war. Everywhere, in our country and elsewhere, on both sides of the political barricades of that time, the need was felt ever more strongly for a decisive confrontation of forces, for a clash under the "who beats whom" motto.

The question of the use of force was, naturally, one of the aspects of this ideological, political and economic struggle. But even in that grave and tense situation the Communists did not rely on force alone, which can be effective only within limited bounds.

All of us vividly remember the events which were truly decisive for the success of February—the autumn of 1947 in Slovakia, the partisans' congress, the congress of factory councils in Bratislava and Prague, the general strike, the alerting of the people's militia, the manifestations in Old Town and St. Vaclav squares, the congresses of peasants' commissions, the unforgettable atmosphere of those stormy revolutionary days. Our Party passed then a veritable examination in statesmanship. The striving for a lawful and constitutional settlement of the conflict with the active participation of the masses showed that in that period too the Party remembered the behests of the revolution of 1944-45. For the Czechoslovak Communists the February victory was not a negation of the ideals of the national and democratic revolution, but their deepening, consolidation and development in the direction of socialism. In this sense the Czechoslovak revolution of 1944-45, our entire path to February and February itself constitute a valuable experience also for the modern international Communist movement; in this sense they continue to inspire us politically and ideologically in the present conditions.

The Party as the leading force of genuinely democratic relations between Communists and society as a whole, the spontaneous upsurge and the unforgettable, for all of us, activity of our inner-Party life—such are but some of the phenomena of those times which have retained their vitality and to which we should return in every new situation.

But since the moment of its victory our Party was faced with a great, truly historic responsibility for itself and for the life of the entire country. Return to capitalist relations was definitively ruled out by the internal forces.

The tremendous success achieved by the Party had, of course, its underwater reefs. How easily the Party and its individual members could get dizzy, and how easy all further construction could appear at the moment when the Party became the sole genuinely leading force in the entire political life of the country! The Party believed in its forces, and the majority of the members of society believed in the Party. In such conditions the Party could very easily overlook the submerged dangers of its new situation. "We must realize that from now on we cannot blame others for anything," Klement Gottwald warned. "We cannot point a finger at any one who allegedly interferes with our construction. . . . To lead the masses does not mean to command them. . . . This can do the greatest damage to the Party. Had we failed to notice it in good time, had we failed to remove in good time such elements of command and domineering, all non-democratic, non-communist ways, this could have been fatal for us. I repeat: God save each of us from conceit" (*Works,* Vol. 14, p. 439). I think it will be correct if we keep returning—not only on grand occasions but in all our everyday activity—to these thoughts of the period of culmination in the history of our Party, if we return, over and over again and ever more actively, to this treasure-store of lessons which have retained their validity to this day.

In the period when it assumed responsibility for the destinies of the country our Party, too, was not given the privilege of accomplishing its objectives in ideal conditions of its own choice. The situation in which, following February, intensive construction of socialism began differed from the situation of the previous years. The cold war was at its height. Several times the world was pushed to the brink of a real war. These phenomena had a great impact on our country, situated as it is in a highly sensitive area of Europe where the capitalist and socialist worlds face each other. Economic embargo, political and ideological baiting outside the country were combined with the resistance of the exploiter classes inside it. Added to this were the growing pains of socialist society which united countries with different levels of development and with different traditions, and for the most part burdened with the mutual disputes of the past. The situation was further complicated by the grave consequences of the "personality cult," by lack of experience, by subjectivism and many other factors.

In the early nineteen-fifties our peoples lived through one of the greatest dramas in all their history. Never before had it been possible to effect, within such a short historical period, such profound transformations in the socio-economic, political and ideological life of the country. Unfortunately, the magnitude of the errors and shortcomings which the then leadership of the Party, regrettably, failed to avoid corresponded to the scale of those truly gigantic

processes. There were many setbacks also in inner-Party life the consequences of some of which are still felt by us. In the atmosphere of false suspicion these problems and equally serious socio-political problems were compounded by such negative phenomena as violations of socialist legality from which not only Communists suffered. I think that the task of true rehabilitation of the dignity of all those who during the first and especially second world wars honestly served the republic, the cause of its progressive development and of the victory of socialism in our country is an integral part of our present day efforts for the all-round democratization of the entire society and the Party. We must remove, along both state and Party lines, all the injustices done to people, and we must do so consistently and without reservations.

FEBRUARY—A SOURCE OF VALUABLE IDEAS VALID TO THIS DAY

Beginning with 1956 conditions began to take shape in our country favorable for correcting the mistakes of the past years and for resolving new problems with which we were inexorably confronted by world development and the development of our society. It would be incorrect to say that we did not do anything or did little in this or that respect, that the Party did not strive to solve those problems. We adopted a number of decisions containing a great deal of truth about the past, present and future. More than once the Party and its leadership tried to get rid of old habits and old shortcomings and embark resolutely on a new road. But deeds did not always correspond to words, and these efforts were all too often half-hearted. As a result of the failure to win a victory of principle in this confrontation of progressive and conservative forces, we could not realize all our good intentions, and in many respects we were inconsistent. And if even in that complicated internal and international situation our country achieved a satisfactory advance and numerous successes, this testifies to the tremendous strength of socialism, to the greatness of the ideas of the Party and above all to its exceptional activity, to the colossal and inestimable effort of thousands of Communists and non-Party people who had in all times held dear the destinies of our country and our socialist system. It is proper to recall these facts precisely today and to express, from this rostrum, gratitude to all those who throughout all those years modestly, loyally and honestly shouldered the entire burden of this stupendous work, and first and foremost to the members and functionaries of our organizations, without whom we would not have achieved anything.

It is primarily thanks to them that we can state as we sum up the results of the twenty years that have passed since February 1948: a qualitatively new chapter, as long as the twenty-year rule

of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie, has been added to the history of our peoples. But twenty years after the advent of the working class to power the vital foundations of the republic are in no way threatened, as distinct from the Munich period. We do not claim that we do not have foreign-policy problems. But today the republic is reliably guaranteed against any shocks by its firm alliance with the Soviet Union and other member-states of the Warsaw Treaty organization, and by its policy of peace addressed to the whole world.

Nor do we claim that we have no internal problems. But neither from the social nor national viewpoint can there be any question of an antagonistic crisis similar to that which our country experienced after the twenty years of bourgeois rule.

Thus, approaching this matter with all modesty and sobriety, we can confidently say now: much of what we strove for twenty years ago, what was the subject of our wishes and dreams and what the Party set itself as its chief aim in February 1948 is a reality now. The great tasks of workers' power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat have been carried out. The socialist character of our state has been definitively secured. We have built a stable political system which not only safeguards our gains but which can develop further and is open to all changes demanded by a modern developed society.

We have set the entire economy on a new, socialist footing. We have ensured considerable growth of our industrial potential and set up big cooperative and state farms in agriculture. The level of our culture, literature, art, education, science and technology has risen considerably.

We have eliminated the poverty and misery that reigned in large regions. Our entire population, workers, peasants and intellectuals, men and women are today truly confident of the morrow; they have work and conditions for achieving a proper standard of living for their families. The entire outlook of our society has been transformed. Fundamental changes have taken place in the national relations and the whole social structure of our society. New relations exist between town and country. Half of our country's population has grown up under socialism. What is particularly significant is that the social composition of society has changed. Our working class can in no way be likened to what it was during the abolition of capitalism. Instead of a socially differentiated countryside we now have a new, cooperative peasantry whose attitude towards the current efforts of the Party has been demonstrated by the recent congress of agricultural cooperatives. A new, socialist intelligentsia closely linked with the people has grown up. The old, exploiter and parasitic classes have disappeared.

This new social reality, the fact that new relations between

classes and strata are gradually shaping up in our society, is a truly grand result of our twenty-year efforts. We are happy that we are carrying into life the greatest ideal of communism, that class contradictions and their consequences are already a thing of the past. The class moment in the traditional sense of the word is dying out as is acute internal class struggle. Class antagonism manifests itself principally in the external sphere, whereas inside the country new class aspects, non-antagonistic relations, relations of cooperation and growing harmony between the various strata and groups are increasingly advancing to the foreground. Class struggle in its classical meaning has ceased being the motive force of our social development.

The results of development since February 1948 which we present to the people today are gratifying, but they cannot and must not satisfy us. Let awareness of this be part of these results. We have created prerequisites for the development of our society in the coming years, but there exist unsolved and half-solved problems; in some respects we have not achieved the results we expected; we have not fully eliminated past mistakes and deformations; we do not always and in time respond to the new that is emerging in our society. Let us be loyal to the February tradition of our Party and frankly say this as well.

The great ideas of the glorious February 1948 that are reaching us across the past twenty years are not dead, although they do not provide us with ready solutions to our present-day problems, which, of course, differ from the problems of the past. True fidelity to the ideals of February and of our entire revolution does not consist in a mechanical repetition of that period, of its concepts and program. That would mean admitting that we have not done or changed anything in these twenty years, but we have no reason to say that.

True fidelity to the ideals of our revolution consists in setting before ourselves the same task we set then: to face reality and solve new tasks in this new period. Indeed, that is how Communists should, in the final count, always treat the revolutionary past: to be loyal to this past and worthy of it means to overcome it. In the truly Marxist, dialectical meaning of the word this overcoming presents a dual task: to advance resolutely and boldly along the new paths towards which the new reality leads us, preserving at the same time all the positive values of the past of our entire republic and of our revolutionary and working-class movement, as well as drawing upon the experience of the world Communist movement.

Hardly any one would deny the merits and the present role of the working class. Of this, however, much was said at the 13th Congress of our Party and at the October plenary meeting of the

CC, whose counsel we must constantly bear in mind. We know how organically our working class is linked with socialism, and we also know what heavy burden it shoulders. We know well with what problems the working class and the peasants are confronted, and we know that although it is not all roses for them they are carrying out their tasks as they have always done all these twenty years: selflessly, modestly and honestly. I would like to assure our workers and peasants that the CC CPC very well knows, highly appreciates and will always appreciate this.

It is a credit to our Party that it has always combined in itself the best features of the working class, arousing in it interest in the needs of the entire society and helping it to comprehend them. One of the most valuable traits of our workers is, and has always been, that they can appreciate people who really stand for their interests, and reject those false "friends of the people" who only pose as spokesmen of the class interests of the workers.

I speak about this on this solemn occasion because the tasks now facing us demand active support on the part of the entire people and especially the workers, who have always been the chief mainstay of our Party. That is why we renew our call to all working people to give us their full support. I repeat: on them depends the fate of all our plans and decisions.

THE MAIN PURPOSE OF POLITICAL WORK

I think it is precisely from the ranks of our workers and peasants that serious voices have long been heard to the effect that it is no longer enough to improve and correct something from time to time in the Party and in all our society, that it is necessary, acting in the spirit of long-standing Leninist methods and traditions of the working-class movement which have justified themselves, to change the state of things in a really thorough way, taking resolute measures in every sector of work in order to promote the further development of socialism. Precisely such is the aim of the Central Committee of our Party, and I think that this truly conforms to the sentiments and wishes of our working people.

We have more than once tried to effect a turn in different areas of our life—in industry, agriculture, science, culture. We have achieved definite successes, but at the same time we feel that these successes fall short of our possibilities and the efforts expended. Reviewing all these efforts today we shall come upon the sphere in which, to my mind, lies the knot of our pressing problems and the key to their solution. The sphere we should begin with today is the political sphere. Life itself, our experience, lead us to this conclusion. It is not accidental that it is precisely in this sphere that we have witnessed of late a growing number of unfavorable

phenomena which we all know well and the most alarming of which are definite manifestations of indifference to politics, passivity and even certain resignation, and these phenomena are to be observed also among Communists.

That is where unsolved problems have begun to accumulate, problems which must not be allowed to gather into a knot which will be very difficult to untie. That is where we should begin, where corrections and a turn are vitally needed. There are some signs that the need for this was and is realized in the broadest sections of the public, throughout the country. The same is true of the leadership of the Party, which, beginning with the October plenary meeting, has been going into these matters more energetically.

These discussions had as their principal subject, not the line and decisions of the 13th Congress of the Party, which lay a sufficiently broad groundwork for solving the problems that face us, but methods of work, the ways of our further advance, the question whether old methods would help us carry out the new tasks set by the 13th Congress or would lead us into a blind alley instead of ensuring our progress.

It was, in fact, a clash of opinions on how best to promote further development.

What was the result, or the initial results, for what is involved here is only the first step, to be inevitably followed by others? I consider that the correct and progressive viewpoint will triumph, namely, that we can preserve the values of the past, not by merely defending them all the time, but by facing up squarely to the new problems and tackling them in a new, creative way, at a level corresponding to our present-day reality. It will hardly be simplifying things to say that today it is more necessary than ever to concentrate our policy on "struggle for" and not on "struggle against"; this, to my mind, puts the matter in a nutshell.

The discussion at our protracted meeting in December and January, which we can hardly compare with anything from the past twenty or thirty years, concerned all basic problems of our Party's policy and spotlighted several spheres whose problems are particularly topical today. We should thoroughly analyze them in order to find a correct solution really conforming to the objective requirements.

Allow me to begin with foreign-policy problems.

Our plans and prospects are inseparable from Czechoslovakia's being a part of the community of socialist countries. The past years have confirmed the great importance of alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union for the entire life of the republic, for its security and socialist development. Consolidation of unity and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries on the principles of equality, mutual benefit, mutual res-

pect and firm internationalist solidarity therefore remain the cornerstone of our foreign policy. This friendship and alliance came into being as a vital cause of the people, and as such they were reaffirmed in February. It follows from this that our attitude towards the Soviet Union and the socialist countries is not the result of a government act; likewise, fraternal relations with the CPSU and the other Communist parties are the basic principle of our Party policy. The ideological and political unity of the CPC and the CPSU on fundamental issues is an earnest of our comradely and fraternal relations. And my recent meeting with you, Comrade Brezhnev, and with members of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU in Moscow was added confirmation of this. I request you, Comrade Brezhnev, to convey to the Soviet people the sincere feelings of friendship entertained by our Party and our people. Please convey our greetings to the Soviet Army, the liberator of the Czechoslovak Republic. Equally sincere greetings of our Party and our peoples are extended to the peoples of the socialist countries whose representatives we salute at our meeting. The policy of cooperation fully conforms to the internationalist traditions of our Party, which will remain loyal to them. And today we proclaim this ideological and political principle to be the source of the strength, vigor and unity of the world Communist movement.

Our policy should in the future as well be aimed at strengthening the progressive forces the world over and ensuring conditions for peaceful development. Therefore we want to promote mutually beneficial relations with states in all parts of the world and actively contribute to the elimination of seats of military conflicts chiefly provoked by the aggressive actions of the imperialist powers and above all the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people. The courageous struggle of the Vietnamese people has not only our sympathy but our all-round support.

Europe, in the center of which our country lies, is naturally an area which interests us. This is where the active role of our foreign policy aimed at normalization of relations, consolidation of international cooperation of states irrespective of their social systems, and establishment of foundations of an effective system of collective security, should be manifested on the biggest scale. Of essential importance in this respect is further development in Germany, in relations with which our people have a bitter experience of the past. Therefore probably no other European country can be so directly interested as our republic in ensuring that the danger of war, of new reaction and fascism should never emanate from German territory. We regard the existence of the German Democratic Republic, the first German socialist state, as an important factor of a peaceful and progressive settlement of Germany's problems, a settlement another aspect of which is con-

sistent struggle against revanchist aspirations which, regrettably, find fertile soil in the FRG. Comrade Ulbricht, please tell the SUPG and the working people of the GDR that the CSSR and our CPC are loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, that they have been and remain firmly on the side of the working people of the GDR in this struggle.

Our Party should work ever more actively for the consolidation and deepening of cooperation and unity of action of the Communist parties and other progressive and anti-imperialist forces. It is a matter of concern to us that the Communist Party of China is stepping up its attempts to impose upon the world Communist movement views and methods which are harmful to it and, which is particularly serious, disrupt its unity. That is why we attach such great importance to international conferences at which the Communist and Workers' parties could discuss questions of interest to all of them in a business-like way, in a spirit of internationalist, genuinely equal cooperation. That is why we attach such great importance to the meeting in Budapest, which we fully support.

Czechoslovakia launched socialist construction as an economically and culturally developed country. This obliges us to show to the world Communist movement what possibilities socialism has in a country such as ours. And in the future it will not be enough merely to proclaim that we share this great internationalist responsibility. If we are to prove our superiority in competition with a rapidly developing world we must display new initiatives and undertake new actions in furthering the development of the Czechoslovak national economy.

In the economic field we are faced today with exceptionally difficult tasks and highly important decisions. In the past years our economy lived through a period of vigorous development. But its structural changes were influenced by some factors of that time which are no longer operative today. We achieved important results, but were also faced with equally important problems: excessive emphasis on quantity, a weakening of material incentives of production, underestimation of skilled labor, administrative methods of leadership. These shortcomings led to increasing economic imbalances, insufficient initiative and enterprise, and low profitability sometimes resulting from uneconomic utilization of the national labor resources.

It is not only today that these negative phenomena have become known to us. But the solutions that were offered in the past insufficiently relied on the achievements of economic science and progressive economic practice. Therefore they did not yield results conforming to the expended efforts. Inconsistency did grave harm also because the necessary fundamental changes were stretched over many years and were often replaced with constant

particular changes. That was far from conducive to stabilizing economic life.

Many serious difficulties do exist in our economy. It would be extreme irresponsibility not to say so and thus give rise to the illusion that it will be easy to find a way out. Nevertheless, given the determination and effective assistance of all, the difficulties will be overcome. But this will not be achieved overnight, of course.

However, it is time to create, at long last, prerequisites for a consistent solution of economic problems designed not only to surmount the existing difficulties but to prepare the scientific and technological revolution. This signifies, first of all, consistent implementation of the new system of management in all its essential interconnections, and at the same time the need to see its political aspect and to deepen planning as an instrument of economic policy. Democratization of economic management is also an integral part of the democratization of social life.

Solution of these problems will not be easy or rapid and will demand considerable efforts on the part of our society. Naturally, everything cannot be put right at one fell swoop, although all the shortcomings equally concern us and all our citizens. We should concentrate our resources on the most important sectors and set truly feasible tasks. I would like to assure, however, that we want to solve these problems in such a way as to guarantee in the future as well social security and not to affect the living standard of the working people. As before, our Party will work for improving the condition of socially weak strata, pensioners and large families. Special attention should be paid to drastically improving housing construction.

With the same determination we must eliminate wage levelling, this deep-rooted injustice which makes unskilled labor, poor results and insufficient interest and enterprise more profitable than skilled labor, good results and useful social initiative.

We shall have to solve all these problems gradually and thoroughly, taking care to avoid a serious mistake which our working people know well from their own past experience—not to give irresponsible promises not based on the state and possibilities of the economy, promises which cannot be fulfilled and have a depressing effect on people. Our people do not like it when a rosy picture is drawn of everything and difficulties are hushed up; they want to be told honestly what the position of all and each of us is, and what this position will be or can be.

Exceptional importance attaches in the coming period to the leading economic and political organs, whose economic activity must be governed by the same principles which are effective in the entire social and political life. The Party organs cannot supplant the economic organs and take over their prerogatives. Consequently,

the bulk of the responsibility for the implementation of the Party line must be shouldered by the Communists working in the economic field and at enterprises. Professional competence, education and experience, political consciousness and, last but not least, the necessary traits of character must play their role in management. The principle of reliance on profound professional knowledge should find expression also in the active participation of scientists and experienced practical workers in elaborating both immediate measures and solutions to long-term economic problems.

Finally, it is time that we put into practice consistently the numerous decisions to increase worker participation in economic management. Of invaluable help in this respect could be the experience accumulated by our revolution during 1945-1948, which was neglected in subsequent years. All component parts of the National Front must be given the necessary scope for independent and vigorous activity. This policy of the broad National Front as the method, form and instrument of enlisting the entire people in socialist construction—has retained its validity also in our day when we are calling on all who hold dear the building of socialism, the prosperity of our socialist land, to actively participate in constructive labor. Here particular importance attaches to the trade unions whose responsibility in protecting the interests of the working people will increase under the new management system. The trade unions will be able to play an effective role in the political life of the country, in the finest traditions of the post-war revolutionary period, only if they display initiative in helping to settle the pressing social problems of the workers and all working people generally.

The big economic task to be accomplished in the next few years is that of solving the urgent problems of the lagging regions of our state, and particularly of ending the economic differences between Slovakia and Bohemia in the interests of the effective development of the entire national economy; this is an integral part of our Party's national policy. National problems, particularly the relations between Czechs and Slovaks, have been attracting considerable attention of late among Slovaks and Czechs alike. I might note that the recent plenary meetings of the Central Committee stressed the importance of the national problem in our policy.

It would be a profound mistake and an expression of the old methods of work if we were to see in this national process nationalistic or separatist strivings, tendencies weakening the fraternal relations of our peoples, the foundation of the existence of our state. In fact, these tendencies arise due to entirely different causes. The latter include the development of our republic in which I would like to stress as a Slovak Communist, a special role has been

played by the Czech people, the most numerous of our peoples. It is this development that created the favorable conditions for the national activity of all peoples and nationalities of our state.

As might have been expected this activity soon ran up against the old bureaucratic and centralized methods of work which have caused us so much harm in all spheres and particularly in this one. Disregard of national interests and the requirements arising from national traditions is alien to our Communist internationalism and state consciousness. It is a question, of course, not only of the problems of the Slovaks or the minorities. I consider that these incorrect tendencies strongly affected also the Czech people whose great and positive traditions still have to be properly evaluated. Our Party, being a Leninist party, proudly accepts the progressive national heritage and wants to place it entirely at the service of Czechoslovak socialist patriotism.

In general, comrades, it should be clearly stated that if any national activity is going to be regarded as something suspicious this will not benefit our movement, our state. The Party, its Central Committee, will do everything to strengthen the unity of our peoples and nationalities, our Czechoslovak state. The plans of those at home or abroad who are staking on the union of our peoples being weakened will never be realized. We know that nobody lives at the expense of others, that, on the contrary, our forces are multiplying because of our cohesion. We also know that the degree of freedom of the peoples living in our republic is adding to its strength. It is all the more stable the greater the scope given for the free development of the national peculiarities of the peoples inhabiting it. It is all the more secure the more every one of our citizens, irrespective of his nationality, feels at home. We can achieve unity and rapprochement only through their promotion. Our national policy must go further than just overcome the old survivals and prejudices, regardless of which side is the source of this. We need a truly effective program also in this sphere. Both our peoples, the Czechs and Slovaks, and also the minorities are interested in the prosperity of our common state. However, this calls for prosperity of all its constituent parts; our state can flourish only as one whole. To achieve this it is essential that we release and develop all the creative forces of our two peoples and tap all their possibilities. Our state is not so big as to allow for the existence of regional contrasts. Our regional and national resources contain, if anything, a great potential which has still not been fully used.

It is these real requirements that prompt us to give thought again and again to our national policy, to advance in step with the new conditions. Here we can proceed from the traditions of a

similar struggle for national liberation, of the joint struggle for national development which found expression in the desire to form a common state of our two truly fraternal peoples.

The history of our people's democratic state, the history of our movement which we are recalling today, has profound traditions by which we must be guided.

We must treasure all that has been done in this respect in the past. It is one of the brightest pages in our Party's policy since the liberation. Slovakia has changed beyond recognition. Credit for this goes before all else to the Slovak people and its constructive labor, but it is due no less to the Czech working people, to their full understanding of Slovakia's problems.

With regard to the Slovak national organs the mistakes made after 1960 must be rectified and relations regulated so as to accord with the level of development of the entire state and our two peoples. And in all this we must respect the level of consciousness and attitude of the Slovaks, just as the attitude, interests and mentality of the Czechs. There is not doubt that the further development of our state will bring with it still fuller equality of our peoples and the consolidation of the Czechoslovak state.

I would like to say a few words about another sphere on which the Party and our public have centered attention of late. I am referring to the cultural, scientific, spiritual and educational sphere which constitutes much of the country's capital.

Czech and Slovak culture and science are moving in the van as a result of our development over the past 20 years. Both art and science, including the social sciences, have produced numerous outstanding works that have been acclaimed at home and abroad. Reviewing the results achieved without bias it is only occasionally that we encounter phenomena with which we sharply disagree, and cannot accept. The biggest say in our culture and science belongs to the generation that grew up together with the Party and in its ranks in the fight for a new socialist Czechoslovakia, the generation which infused its creative work with its socialist humanist ideals and which is concerned with our common cause, the principal motive of critical views in this sphere. Science and culture are probably the most complex and delicate branch of Party activity. For here we are dealing with educated people whose work requires deep understanding and appreciation and does not tolerate stagnation, set formulas, impatience or haste.

Neither cultural nor scientific creation is free of difficulties, setbacks and errors. It is influenced not only by positive results but, to a larger extent than in other fields, also by shortcomings and defects in our work, which lead to disenchantment and disillusionment. We do not always correctly appraise the significance, impact

and, more important, the causes of this. As a result, in this field we have had more frequent undesirable conflict situations that tend to aggravate relations between Party bodies and scientists and artists.

However, these minor shortcomings, which occur in every field, cannot and should not prompt us to base our policy towards scientists, writers, cinema workers, artists and other cultural workers on distrust of their public activity, its content and direction.

On the contrary, our policy must be based on trust and fruitful, constructive cooperation. We must eliminate everything that tends to hamstring scientific and artistic creation, everything likely to breed tensions.

This, I believe, does not run counter to the best traditions of our Party, in which intellectuals have always played an outstanding part. I believe it corresponds with the thoughts and convictions of our working people. They have always had a deep respect for education and have always been able to distinguish the genuine intellectuals from the colorless bureaucrat, whom our intellectuals, and all honest workers and peasants, never recognized.

However, the Party cannot relinquish its right and duty to see to it that artistic creation helps to form socialist man.

We have now taken the first steps along this road and we intend to follow it further. We feel sure that in this we will have the support of all honest men and women.

The problem of the youth holds a special place among the tasks confronting us. The young generation differs radically from other age groups. It has grown up in a people's democracy building socialism and has had no experience of capitalism. This is not a handicap but rather an advantage.

Our youth has contributed to the country's achievements. This is testified by the many youth construction projects in the early post-war years and now. In the factories, fields, schools and in the army the youth gives constant evidence of its sincere attitude towards socialism and the Communist Party's policy. This makes it incumbent on us to devote more attention to educating the young generation so that it more fully assimilates our revolutionary traditions, the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism and the profound meaning of socialist ideas.

I do not think we can win over the youth by reproaching or by telling it that everything it enjoys had to be won by hard effort. For young people all this is a workaday reality, something they take for granted, they do not regard it as something that had to be fought for. However, that is not the central point. The enthusiasm of the youth cannot be restricted to constantly praising our achievements. Our young people want to have achievements of their

own, bring to reality their dreams and ideas, just as older people did in their young days, when the revolution gave them the opportunity. The youth must not be given gifts, things won for it by others. It must be afforded the conditions necessary to develop its own initiative, work for its own goals, that will enable our young citizens to perform their duty as a generation. I am firmly convinced that the youth will accomplish that, and it is our duty to provide all the necessary conditions. For if we want the youth to continue to support our reality and the older generations that brought that reality into being, we must create a situation in which the youth sees in us teachers, comrades and partners, we must foster a feeling of mutual respect. The authority of individuals and of the Party cannot rest merely on past achievement. Real authority is not something granted for all time. It must be constantly renewed, re-won by new deeds. The youth must see in us, in our Party, not older people who rest content with what has already been accomplished; it must see in us the same spirit of search, the same readiness to tackle new problems and work towards new achievements. Only these youthful qualities, enhanced by practical experience, will give the Party genuine and not formal authority in the eyes of the youth. For all of us Communists, for the entire Party, it is important correctly to apply the Party's prestige in directing the wholesome initiative and enthusiasm of our young people.

An analysis of these problems of culture and the youth again leads us to the conclusion that we must begin with the political sphere, our political and social system, which probably, offers the greatest potentialities and opportunities.

We have already analyzed, and resolutely rejected, economic leadership by directive. It does not correspond to the present level of the productive forces. It is a survival of the time when economic development could still follow an extensive rather than intensive pattern. We have to face similar problems in the political field as well.

That being the situation, we were just wasting time in seeking to rectify tendencies to passivity by calling for more responsibility, more creative activity and tighter discipline. For real, effective activity, which is vital to socialism, requires certain favorable conditions. Henceforth political directives will have to be formulated with the increasing participation of those for whom they are meant.

By that method we can, naturally, more effectively promote conscious, voluntary and genuine discipiine. Democratic centralism should be our guide in applying the Leninist principles of Party and government activity. This means we must more profoundly

study its implications and the ways it can be employed in our practical work. We must avoid excessive centralization, which tends to weaken the democratic element in our work. That was one of the cardinal questions discussed by the Central Committee at its plenary sittings in October and later in December and January. And it is no accident that emphasis was on the need to draw all the necessary conclusions from the basic fact that socialism has triumphed in our country and that we have a new pattern of class relationships. This has to be understood and brought to bear on every aspect of our work, for today it is the key to the solution of most of our political problems.

The discussion should not center on whether or not the Party is to play a leading role in social development and in shaping policy in the economic and cultural fields, in the trade union and youth movement, etc. What should be discussed is how, in present-day conditions of socialist construction, the Party can play its leading role more effectively. This follows from the Leninist principle that the Party must strive to strengthen its leading position in society.

Latterly, the old view of the Party as a force which, instead of giving political leadership decides minor issues in an authoritarian way has again gained dominance.

We should give serious thought to the consequences of this mentality because our shortcomings are closely linked with the problem of decision making and government. This, too, was discussed at the Central Committee plenums. No one is likely to deny that this understanding of leadership was largely responsible for the fact that the work of many of our administrative, economic and public institutions was largely deprived of meaningful content and responsibility, that public initiative was not encouraged and many of our undertakings bore the stamp of formality.

In this context, I think, we should recall the words of Klement Gottwald, who after February 1948 warned us against applying administrative methods in relations between the Party and society.

A whole complex of theoretical and practical problems are involved here and working out solutions will not be easy. Haste and improvisation will be of little use, though decisions should not be unduly delayed. The Party must re-formulate political aims and related policy concepts in a way that is readily understandable to the people. The new situation calls for new formulas, but they should not lose contact with the past, which is materialized in the present state of our society and its way of thinking. Moreover, we must not be guided solely by our wishes; we must take into account realities and patiently change them.

We spoke about it at the latest Central Committee meetings, and

it is most clearly expressed by the need to work out a program of action as a first step and then, after a few years, a long-term political program in which all our citizens—Czechs, Slovaks and other nationalities, and all social strata—will find an answer to their questions, to their needs and to what they expect from the further development and growth of socialist society in Czechoslovakia. The draft action program for the immediate period of preparation for the 14th Party Congress, which we shall discuss in the coming months, is one of the chief means of carrying through in practice, in a positive way, the decisions of the January meeting of our Central Committee.

We want to rally round it all the citizens of our Republic in order to accomplish the progressive aims of socialist development and to strengthen confidence in our Party. The way to do it is to eliminate errors and deficiencies, and to extend inner-Party democracy, the latter being a guarantee that Party members and activists will join wholeheartedly in working out the policy of the Party and in putting it into effect.

In a program of action we cannot lay down a concrete plan for the various links of our society, but we can and must offer political scope for separate groups, public institutions and organizations to formulate their own immediate concrete aims and tasks, and for every citizen of our country to apply directly and effectively, chiefly at his place of work, his interests as a composite element of our common cause.

We believe that the action program should, at the same time, serve as a point of departure for working out the basic problems of the long-term program after 1970. The long-term program and the conception of socialism's all-sided development should express the natural substance of the socialist revolution, the reconstruction of the material and spiritual conditions of social life, and the genuine emancipation of man.

This work, based on the decisions of the 13th Congress, which we must extend still more in our preparations for the 14th Congress, depends to a very great, I should say decisive, extent on our resolving the numerous problems of our Party life, for which the latest Central Committee meeting has provided a substantial and valuable impulse.

I believe that we have succeeded at plenary meetings of the Central Committee to deal with the very questions that have long troubled all of us, all our Party, all its members. For the Party to carry through its leading role in the present situation means, first and foremost, to create the necessary preconditions for the growth of creative initiative, to provide greater scope for confrontation and exchanges of opinion, to make it possible for every

Communist to be informed thoroughly, objectively and in good time about events in his own country and abroad, so that he should possess a point of view with regard to the Party's policy and, particularly, that he should participate not only in effecting, but also in framing the Party's political line and in its actions, especially in the sphere in which he is employed. In brief, it means that at present, while retaining the essential centralism, we should lay the greatest accent on developing more, and above all deeper, democratic forms, and this not only in the upper Party echelons, but especially "lower down," in the organizations and among the membership. Excessive centralization in decision-making has to be eliminated in our inner-Party life, and many more opportunities should be afforded to Party organizations and elected bodies. Professionalism and science must play a far bigger role in framing the Party's political line. Today, the Party has an ample number of scientists and experienced practicians perfectly capable of producing thoroughly grounded solutions.

The latest meetings of our Central Committee have been the best possible evidence of how democratic forms in Party life are justified as the most desirable method of a responsible approach to the problems of our practice. From this we want to draw all the due conclusions, to formalize the results of all these meetings in an aggregate of duly framed and scientifically grounded measures. I have already mentioned that the draft of our action program is being worked out by a few dozen members of the Central Committee Presidium. We have tackled a number of other vital and burning problems of Party life in the same manner.

The solutions will no doubt give numerous impulses for all the other links and organs of the Party, which, like the CC, have to begin to work in keeping with the demand of our times, the feelings and thoughts of most of our members.

Whether we shall succeed in sustaining this surge of activity and in filling the atmosphere with creative work, depends now on the efforts of the primary organizations, the district and regional conferences.

We must find ways for solving the accumulated problems in a sober-minded, purposeful and yet daring manner, and at the same time, sensibly. The only way to avert some of the extremes which today naturally and necessarily appear on the surface, and which we must repulse, is for the Party organism to function correctly. There is no other effective way of overcoming them.

All our efforts and aspirations are centered on activating and uniting the sound progressive forces of our Republic, unquestionably a necessary precondition for a new upsurge of socialism in our country. The purpose of this upsurge is to build a developed

socialist society along sound economic lines, to build socialism consistent with the historical democratic traditions of Czechoslovakia and with the experience of the other Communist parties.

This is a compulsive demand for us this year, which is, symbolically, highlighted by two auspicious occasions—the 20th anniversary of February 1948 and the 50th anniversary of our Czechoslovak state. The deep respect we have for the works and struggles of the preceding generations obliges us to apply all our efforts to securing for our people the kind of life that reflects its aspirations, a life in peace, a life filled with creative labor for the good of each and everyone of us, for the good of socialism and progress.

It is our duty to ourselves, to our movement and our people to fill the coming years of the next 50-year period of our Republic with deeds worthy of the finest of the past 20 and 50 years. We have all the necessary conditions for this.

Dear comrades, in celebrating this anniversary we think back with respect and gratitude to those who in the past war fought not only for our national liberation, but also laid the foundations for our present life. We think back with respect to those 370,000 of our countrymen and 25,000 Communists who laid down their lives in this fight.

We pay homage to all members of the Resistance movement in our country and abroad, to the Communists of the generation that pioneered the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia. We remember them gratefully.

Gratefully, too, we remember those who 20 years ago, and throughout the past period, devoted themselves to building up our socialist land, to promoting socialism in the world. And I turn to you, the veterans of February 1948 present here, to participants at congresses, workers, peasants, the militia, and workers in art and science, to pay our sincerest tribute to you.

Allow me to thank sincerely the delegation of the CPSU headed by Comrade Brezhnev, the delegation of the PUWP, headed by Comrade Gomulka, the delegation of the SUPG headed by Comrade Ulbricht, the delegation of the HSWP headed by Comrade Kadar, the delegation of the RCP headed by Comrade Ceausescu, the delegation of the BCP headed by Comrade Zhivkov, and the delegation of the LCY headed by Comrade Vlahovic, for participating in our celebrations of the 20th anniversary of February 1948 and thereby showing their consideration for our people, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its struggles, its work.

I thank you once more, dear comrades. We extend to your peoples and your Communist and Workers' parties the warmest of comradely and fraternal greetings. Loyal to the traditions of internationalism, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will do its

utmost to firm up the unity of the socialist countries and of the world Communist movement.

Dear comrades, years and decades will go by and despite our mistakes and failings, our time, our period of struggle and of building socialism will be covered with glory. The past years have not been easy ones for the Party. And the years to come, too, will not be without difficulties and problems. Allow me, however, to express on your behalf our common confidence that it is really worth living and working in the name of the Party, the vanguard of a new life, in the name of our country, in the name of the Communist cause.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, SWISS PARTY OF LABOR

At a meeting in Lausanne on January 27 and 28, the Central Committee of the Swiss Party of Labor adopted a resolution on the political situation obtaining in the country after the elections to the National Council. The CC stresses, first and foremost, the lack of success of four parties represented in the Bundestag (the Social-Democratic, Free Thinkers', Conservative and Peasant-Bourgeois-Artisan parties) and those who make up the government majority (the Liberals and Democrats). Such a change affecting the parties in power has occurred for the first time in more than thirty years. Obviously, this is explained by pressure from below, by the displeasure of the people with the policy of the Swiss big bourgeoisie.

This "landslide," admitted by the entire official press, is indicative of growing discontent with the constantly rising cost of living, the government's inability to solve a number of problems of vital importance for the country, and generally the class character of the policy of the big bourgeoisie favoring big capital and harmful to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people.

The CC expresses satisfaction over the considerable success of the Party of Labor, which has increased its vote by 30 per cent and for the first time won a seat in the Neuenburg canton.

Fully aware the difficulties yet to be overcome, the Party sees in this success a confirmation of the correctness of its policy and regards it as a result of its tireless struggle for the immediate and general interests of the people and a proof of the role it plays in the social life of the country.

The CC considers that everything should be done to strengthen the opposition trend which is now directed against the one-sided policy of economy pursued by the bourgeoisie and orient it on concrete tasks, on effective changes in the interests of the people and the country.

As for the disagreements and confusion reigning in the Social-Democratic Party following its poor showing in the elections, the Party of Labor emphasizes the stand it adopted already before the elections and openly declares against the participation of the Social-Democrats in the Bundestag. It regrets that this participation, which in the present conditions is far from serving the inter-

*Vorwaerts, February 1, 1968.

ests of the people, is unconditionally maintained, and points to the need for a broad opposition and unity of all Left forces.

It calls upon all working people, Social Democrats and above all the trade unions to help affirm this viewpoint in order to put an end to the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, to "labor peace," to a policy which only obstructs the struggle of the working class for its vital interests.

The CC puts on record that although the Bundestag program of economic restraints (ironically, it was called a program of struggle against the rising cost of living) is no longer effective, the policy that underlies it is still pursued by the ruling bourgeoisie, which unscrupulously continues to defend and even increases its profits and privileges, the profits and privileges of the trusts, monopolies and the financial top.

Such is the offensive of big capital, which comes out against wage increases and even against bringing the wages into conformity with the growing prices, against a shorter working time, against the demand for longer paid holidays and against the just demands of the Confederation employees, but for economy in the sphere of social services and other spheres serving the interests of society. In the meantime, prices are growing, which affects first and foremost wage workers, old people, invalids, pensioners, persons with low incomes and the middle strata, and this growth is organized by the authorities themselves. Early next year the tenants will lose—if the people do not offer resistance—the last vestiges of protection they still enjoy.

The CC sees it as the principal task of the Party to continue and step up the struggle against this class policy, the struggle in defense of and for the improvement of the living standard of the people, for the rallying of all forces of the world of labor, the world of progress, against the omnipotence of those in power, against intensified exploitation on the part of big capital, for a different policy, for a policy in the interests of the entire people, of the public at large, of the future of the country.

This is the first goal that has to be achieved in order to open the way to socialist society, the society of tomorrow which is more than ever the ultimate objective of the Swiss Party of Labor.

The CC reiterates the immediate demands and the further-reaching aims of its program "For a New Policy, for a New Switzerland!" which it published in time for the elections to the National Council. It stresses the need to use every opportunity to counterpose these demands and aims to the policies of the bourgeoisie and big capital.

The CC states that in the near future the issue of public finances will arise on a cantonal, communal and nationwide scale, and that this issue, including all so-called taxation and technical questions, is a class issue. The Party of Labor stands firmly on the positions

which were adopted by its representatives in the National Council debate on "The Program of Immediate Actions." It fights against any financial and tax program which is being implemented through raising direct and consumer taxes, at the expense of the working people, while at the same time protecting the chief beneficiaries of the boom, the luxurious life and high profits of big capital, but resisting even a minimal reduction of military expenditures. The Swiss Party of Labor will most energetically oppose this program after the elections, just as it did before them.

Accordingly, our Party will vigorously fight against the scandalous tax amnesty to be put to popular vote on February 17-18. It urges all working people to vote against and to frustrate this tax amnesty, which is nothing else but a premium for tax evasion, a reward for violation of law, a gift to big swindlers, a howling injustice to the wage workers who are taxed on the basis of data about wages.

The CC, alarmed by the difficulties experienced by the sickness insurance funds, instructs the Party organizations to go into this problem and work out proposals in the interests of the insured persons.

The Party of Labor demands, in keeping with its program, both the raising of pensions by at least 40 per cent, and a corresponding increase in the cantonal and communal marginal benefits, and pending the payment of bigger sums, in the 1968 cost-of-living marginal benefit. It continues to insist on the establishment of a genuinely popular pension and urges the public to support these just and necessary demands.

Imperialism is trying to work out a "global strategy." Led by U.S. imperialism, it is stepping up activities all over the world. U.S. imperialism continues its criminal war of aggression in Vietnam and interferes in the affairs of all countries which are under its influence, but some of these countries are trying to free themselves from this influence.

Therefore the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence assumes increasing importance and remains the central task of all Communist and Workers' parties, before which numerous problems of fundamental importance keep posing themselves in a new light. Concretely, the problems are these: Can peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition be ensured or is a world war inevitable? Can peace be restored in Vietnam and what has to be done to rapidly restore it and guarantee the independence of a reunified Vietnam? How can peace be concluded in the Middle East and the aftermath of the Israeli war of aggression eliminated? What are the possibilities and prospects for success of the national and social revolutions in the developing countries and especially in Latin America? What are the relationships between the Communist and

Workers' parties, the socialist countries and the national-liberation movements? On what scale and under what conditions can the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism be accomplished? What is the measure of the contradictions between proletarian dictatorship (the democratic and temporary dictatorship of the majority) and the multi-party system, and to what degree are they mutually complementary? What attitude should be adopted by the Communist and Workers' parties towards the other progressive forces (namely, the Social-Democratic and religious forces)? Under what conditions can all the forces of the people be united against monopoly? How is it possible to democratize the life of the peoples, parties and trade unions and to ensure not only formal but genuine democracy?

These are sóme of the most important problems that arise today. Without doubt, bilateral and multilateral conferences of Communist and Workers' parties have been and remain useful for finding answers to these questions, but today an international conference has become a necessity. At this conference Communist and Workers' parties will be able to exchange experiences and offer what they think are correct solutions. But this conference will be preceded, at the end of February, by the Budapest preliminary conference which is convened on the initiative of the 18 Communist and Workers' parties and in which the Swiss Party of Labor will also participate.

Lausanne, January 28, 1968.

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In this issue

BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

(Feb. 26-Mar. 5, 1968)

5—6—7
(117-118-119) 196

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contents

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(February 26-March 5, 1968) **5**

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COMMUNIQUE
ON CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

A Consultative Meeting of representatives of the following Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Budapest from February 26 to March 5, 1968:

Communist Party of the United States of America, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Chile, Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, South African Communist Party, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labor, People's Unity Party of Haiti, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of India, Irish Workers' Party, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Communist Party of Israel, Jordanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Colombia, Polish United Workers' Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxemburg, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Moroccan Communist Party, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Italian Communist Party, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Reunion Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, San Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, Swiss Party of Labor, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Sudanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Venezuela and the Communist Party working underground as well representatives of the Algerian Communists.

The Socialist Unity Party of Iceland and the Communist Party of Norway were represented at the Consultative Meeting by observers.

In an atmosphere of free comradely discussion, the participants in the Consultative Meeting exchanged opinions on the convocation and preparation of the international Conference of Communist

and Workers' parties. After a comprehensive discussion, they agreed on the convocation of such Conference in Moscow in November-December of 1968.

The Consultative Meeting believes that the aim of the Conference is to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement, to help rally all forces of socialism and democracy in the struggle against imperialism, for the national and social liberation of the peoples and peace throughout the world. After discussing proposals for the agenda, it came to the conclusion that there should be one question on the agenda: the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and the unity of action of Communist and Workers' parties, and of all anti-imperialist forces.

In the unanimous opinion of the participants in the Meeting, preparations for the Conference should be conducted on the basis of consistent observance of the principles of collegiate and comradely cooperation with equal rights extended to all Communist and Workers' parties to participate in both the preparation and the proceedings of the Conference.

Over a period of preparation for the Conference, the participants in the Consultative Meeting have agreed to set up a Commission consisting of the representatives of all the Communist and Workers' parties desirous of taking part in it. The Conference Preparatory Commission has been instructed to consider and summarize all the proposals submitted by the fraternal Parties and all other materials germane to the Conference, to draw up drafts of its documents and to present such drafts to the Conference. The Commission will likewise maintain liaison with the fraternal parties on these matters. This approach will make for the taking into maximum consideration of all constructive views and wishes expressed by the fraternal parties and for collective preparation of the international Conference. The Commission will have its headquarters in Budapest. The Consultative Meeting deems it necessary for this Preparatory Commission to meet on April 24, 1968 and hereby instructs the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to convene this meeting.

It is the firm conviction of the participants in the Meeting that the Conference accords with the interests of each Communist Party and the entire international Communist movement and also with the interests of rallying all forces together to struggle against imperialism.

The Consultative Meeting urges all Communist and Workers' Parties, even those that for one or another reason failed to attend the Budapest Meeting, to take part in the future Conference. It urges them to join in the preparatory work on a full and equal footing.

The participants in the Meeting unanimously adopted a Message

of Solidarity to the People of Vietnam, in which they have expressed that admiration which all Communists feel for their heroic struggle and in which they have given the assurance that the help rendered by the socialist countries and all the working folk of the world to struggling Vietnam will grow until the American aggressors are fully evicted from the soil of Vietnam.

The delegations that took part in the Budapest Meeting are convinced that the impending International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties will be a milestone towards rallying the Communists of the world together on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and will make a signal stride forward in the further consolidation of all anti-imperialist forces.

MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY

TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE, CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VIETNAMESE WORKING PEOPLES' PARTY, PRESIDIUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF SOUTH VIETNAM

Dear comrades and friends,

Representatives of 67 Communist and Workers' Parties attending the Consultative Meeting in Budapest send brotherly greetings to the heroic people of Vietnam, who, in grim struggle against the American aggressors and their accomplices, are upholding the freedom and independence of their homeland.

The epic of the Vietnamese people is a model and stimulus for all peoples fighting for their liberation. It is also a powerful factor of unity of action of the anti-imperialist forces. Vietnam is a symbol of courage, fortitude and resolve in the struggle against the main enemy of peoples—American imperialism. You are graphically proving that the people who have risen to fight for a righteous cause cannot be defeated.

Your victories in the past few weeks evoke general admiration. We wholeheartedly congratulate the patriots of Vietnam, who are inflicting blow after blow on the enemy, and we have complete confidence in the final victory of the Vietnamese people in their fight against the foreign invaders.

For all its crimes, American imperialism, playing the part of international gendarme and oppressor of the peoples' freedom, will never succeed in its designs. A wrathful protest and denunciation of the criminal policy of American ruling circles—a policy of real genocide—is growing everywhere in the world.

Suffering defeat after defeat, American imperialism continues escalating the war in Vietnam, threatening to use atomic weapons and thereby creating a real menace to general peace, the danger of a world thermonuclear war. Today, as never before, vigilance and resolute action of peoples are necessary against this great danger.

Defending their country, the Vietnamese people are performing their internationalist duty to mankind, serving the sacred cause of safeguarding peace.

We, Communists, regard solidarity with fighting Vietnam as our vital internationalist duty. On behalf of our Parties, on behalf of millions of our supporters, we reaffirm our inflexible resolve to give all necessary support to the Vietnamese people who are in the forefront of the armed struggle against imperialism. With you are the

countries of the socialist community; with you are all Communists; with you are factory workers and working people of the world; with you are the fighters of the national-liberation movement; with you are all people on earth who hold dear freedom and peace, including those in the United States. Rest assured, dear comrades, that the aid rendered to you by the socialist countries, by all working people of the world, will grow.

A continuous strengthening and expansion of the international front of support for the Vietnamese people fighting for victory serves the interests of every country, of every nation, of world peace. Unity of action in the struggle against imperialism, above all against American imperialism, is the most powerful need of our time.

Dear friends, we fully agree with you that there is but one way of solving the Vietnam problem—on the basis of the just proposals made by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the program of the National Liberation Front. We demand the immediate and unconditional cessation of the barbaric bombings of Vietnam and all other military acts against it.

Vietnam soil is the cradle of a proud and courageous people and the time will inevitably come when the last interventionist is ousted from this sacred soil. There is not, and there never will be, any other master on Vietnamese soil than the Vietnamese people.

Honor and glory to the heroic Vietnamese people fighting selflessly for their freedom and independence!

Budapest, February 28, 1968.

BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

(February 26-March 5, 1968)

FIRST DAY, FEBRUARY 26

A Consultative Meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties was opened in Budapest on the evening of February 26.

The following representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties are taking part in the Consultative Meeting:
the Communist Party of Australia,
the Communist Party of Austria,
the Communist Party of Argentina,
the Communist Party of Belgium,
the Bulgarian Communist Party,
the Communist Party of Bolivia,
the Brazilian Communist Party,
the Communist Party of Great Britain,
the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party,
the Communist Party of Venezuela,
the People's Unity Party of Haiti,
the Guadeloupe Communist Party,
the Guatemalan Party of Labor,
the Communist Party of Germany,
the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
the Communist Party of Honduras,
the Communist Party of Greece,
the Communist Party of Denmark,
the Dominican Communist Party,
the Communist Party of Israel,
the Communist Party of India,
the Jordanian Communist Party,
the Iraqi Communist Party,
the People's Party of Iran,
the Irish Workers' Party,
the Communist Party of Spain,
the Italian Communist Party,
the Communist Party of Canada,
the Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People,
the Communist Party of Colombia,

the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica,
the Lebanese Communist Party,
the Communist Party of Luxemburg,
the Moroccan Communist Party,
the Martinique Communist Party,
the Mexican Communist Party,
the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party,
the Nicaraguan Socialist Party,
the People's Party of Panama,
the Paraguayan Communist Party,
the Peruvian Communist Party,
the Polish United Workers' Party,
the Portuguese Communist Party,
the Reunion Communist Party,
the Rumanian Communist Party,
the Communist Party of Salvador,
the San Marino Communist Party,
the Communist Party of Northern Ireland,
the Syrian Communist Party,
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
the Communist Party of the United States of America,
the Sudanese Communist Party,
the Tunisian Communist Party,
the Communist Party of Turkey,
the Communist Party of Uruguay,
the Communist Party of Finland,
the French Communist Party,
the Communist Party of Ceylon,
the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,
the Communist Party of Chile,
the Swiss Party of Labor,
the Communist Party of Ecuador,
the South African Communist Party.

The Algerian Communists also sent their representatives to the Meeting.

The United Socialist Party of Iceland and the Communist Party of Norway are represented at the Meeting by observers.

Comrade Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee, arrived at the Meeting and, on behalf of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, greeted the delegations of the fraternal Parties attending the Meeting.

To conclude the first day, representatives of the fraternal Parties agreed on the procedure of presiding over the Meeting. With the participation of representatives of all the fraternal Parties, a Secretariat was elected to draft proposals to be discussed at the Meeting and to provide for order of the work.

SECOND DAY, FEBRUARY 27

The Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties continued its deliberations on Tuesday. The meeting was chaired successively by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America, Fernando Nadra, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina, Claude Jones, Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia and Erwin Scharf, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Austria and Secretary of the Central Committee.

The following delegates spoke:

Comrade SANTIAGO ALVAREZ, Member of the Executive Committee, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain

The representative of the Communist Party of Spain emphasized the necessity to convene an appropriately prepared Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The aim of the Conference is essentially the fight against imperialism, as well as a contribution to the restoration and strengthening of the unity of the Communist movement based on internationalism. The Communist Party of Spain considers it impossible that the intention of the Conference would be the condemnation or the "excommunication" of any Communist Party.

He expressed the idea that the new Conference should not be mechanically linked up with the former ones, that it was necessary to invite, without exception, all the Communist and Workers' Parties, striving to ensure the participation of all of them, or encourage them to join, in one form or another, in solving its tasks, but that the convening of the Conference should not be linked to the presence of all parties.

The Conference should be held within a reasonable time limit and on the basis of free democratic discussions, and its basic goal, the strengthening of unity in the fight against imperialism, must be reached.

Later on a world conference of all the anti-imperialist forces could be initiated.

Finally he assured the Vietnamese people of the complete support of the Spanish Communists in their heroic fight.

Representative of the South African Communist Party

The representative of the South African Communist Party submitted a Declaration. He stated:

International imperialism, particularly the criminal government of the USA, is carrying out a global strategy of aggression and counter-revolution. They are conducting a war of unprecedented

barbarity against the heroic and unconquerable people of Vietnam, South and North. They continue to threaten humanity with the most terrible of world wars.

The SACP is fighting in a crucial battlefield. The struggle against the fascist apartheid regime, backed by international imperialism, is of far-reaching importance for the future of Africa and the preservation of world peace.

For us, the question of Communist unity is not an abstract or academic one. We feel that we have the right and the duty to demand of our comrades in the brother Parties that they should unite as soon and as effectively as possible. We are for a world meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, to be held in Moscow before the end of 1968. All the parties present at the 1960 meeting should be invited. This consultative meeting should also decide which other parties should be invited.

ELIAS MUNOZ, Member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador

The Ecuadorian delegate suggested in his speech that a Permanent Committee of Co-ordination should be established in order to take every measure to organize the Third World Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow this year.

He suggested that this Conference, in addition to confirming the 1957 and 1960 Declarations, should approve special documents on the most important problems on the basis of the analysis of the international Communist movement.

PIETER KEUNEMAN, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon

The Ceylonese delegate in the name of his Party expressed gratitude and high appreciation for the preparatory work for the Consultative Meeting done by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. He said that the positive response to this Meeting by the vast majority of the fraternal parties was very gratifying and showed that the desire for unity of action in the fight against imperialism was the "dominant, growing and decisive trend" in the international Communist movement. It also showed that the objective conditions for a new world conference of the fraternal parties had matured and needed to be utilized.

He noted that several of the fraternal parties that had not been able to send delegates to the Meeting had also supported and emphasized the need for unity.

Comrade Keuneman, continuing, said that, as a fraternal party from Asia, the Ceylon Communist Party was acutely aware of the importance of the need for unity. It was in Asia that the U.S. im-

perialists were maintaining their aggression. Yet it was precisely in Asia that the consequences of disunity had been serious. This disunity had encouraged imperialism to become more aggressive and at the same time tended to inhibit progressive forces in Asia in their efforts to develop fresh initiatives against imperialism.

He said that the Ceylon Communist Party felt that a new international conference should be held before the end of 1968 and that Moscow should be the venue of the Conference. All the 88 Communist and Workers' Parties in the world should be invited and the process of preparation for the conference should be such that fraternal parties that could or did not attend the Consultative Meeting could join the work even at a later stage. He also outlined the proposals of the Ceylonese Communists as to the agenda of the proposed international conference.

ZENON KLISZKO, Member of the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party, Secretary of the Central Committee

The Polish delegate, speaking on behalf of the Polish United Workers' Party, voiced the opinion that the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties ought to be convened either at the end of this year or in January 1969. The necessity of such a Conference is supported by the internationalist character of the Communist movement and the present international situation characterized by the increasing aggressiveness of the imperialist forces. The attention of the Conference must be centered around the struggle opposing imperialist intervention against the liberation movement of the masses.

The Conference must work out the new basis for the unity of the Communist movement, in accordance with the present phase of development of the Communist movement. This unity must be built up with due consideration for the existing divergences and differences of opinion. Unity does not necessarily mean that all parties should have an identical opinion on all questions. An identification of views in the spirit of internationalism must result in working out a common position.

In the opinion of the delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party, a committee should be set up to prepare the work and organization of the Conference, which would consist of representatives of all the participants at the present meeting, and at the same time, however, the committee would be open to all the Parties not participating at the Budapest meeting because of various conceptions.

MAX SCHAEFER, Member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Germany

The spokesman of the delegation of the Communist Party of

Germany advocated the convening of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow at an early date, possibly in November 1968.

He pointed out that the German Federal Republic has adapted itself to the worldwide strategy of the U.S. imperialists; in the German Federal Republic neo-nazism has again emerged; that on the basis of the revanchist policy of West German capital the German Federal Republic continues to be the greatest disrupter of Europe's peace and the relaxation of tension.

He pointed out how gratifying it is that the Marxist-Leninist Parties analyze the situation, they precisely determine their strategies and tactics in the fight against imperialism and they are united with regard to the realization of multilateral, joint and active discussions.

M. A. SUSLOV, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Secretary of the Central Committee

The representative of the CPSU stated with gratification that a far-reaching identity of views prevails at the Consultative Meeting as far as the main issue, namely, the striving for unity in the Communist movement, and the unification of all socialist and democratic forces for the struggle against imperialism, are concerned.

He emphasized the undaunted resolution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet people to give all the necessary assistance to the fraternal Vietnamese people serving a sacred cause in wanting to be the masters of their own land.

Comrade Suslov expressed the opinion that a new International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties should be convened in November or December 1968. The Conference should discuss the question of the unity of all Communist and anti-imperialist forces, in order to advance the anti-imperialist struggle, in the interests of the working class and for peace and the cause of socialism.

A committee should be set up at the Budapest Consultative Meeting to prepare such a Conference. At the same time, an opportunity must be provided for every Communist Party represented at this meeting and also for the other Communist Parties to participate at the Conference and in its preparations.

Comrade Suslov stressed the deep conviction of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that the preparation and the successful organization of the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties can be ensured as a result of joint action and on the basis of collectivity and equal rights.

OSCAR ASTUDILLO, Deputy General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile

The representative of the Communist Party of Chile was of the view that the Conference of the Communist Parties should be convened and organized by the end of the year.

The Communist Party of Chile holds the view that every Communist Party may attend this Conference, including also those who have not attended the Budapest Consultative Meeting. The watchword of the Conference should be the consolidation of unity and the united action of the Communist movement, together with all the other revolutionary forces, in the struggle against imperialism.

He pointed out that the unity of action of the Communist Parties must be based on the fact that in the case of every Party, the peculiarities of its situation should be taken into consideration as well as the diversity of tasks that result from them. The basis of such united action should be the independence of each Party, and the harmony of specifically national tasks with those originating from proletarian internationalism.

He stressed that the Communists of Chile are ready to do their utmost for the consolidation of united action by the Communist Parties in the anti-imperialist struggle.

PAUL NICULESCU-MIZIL, Member of the Executive Committee and the Permanent Presidum of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party

Starting out from the fact that an improvement in the relationships between Communist Parties is endeavored, the delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party stressed the consultative character of the Budapest Meeting. The role of an exchange of opinions is to lead to agreements which are later to be sent to the appropriate Parties for approval. As it was shown, the Rumanian Communist Party is in favor of such a conference which serves unity, and advocates the creation of conditions for the participation of all Communist Parties without exception, seeking forms for participation of other anti-imperialist forces too.

The agenda of the Conference must be limited to concrete problems of the anti-imperialist struggle without adopting program-like documents, or disputing or criticizing in any form the activity of those Parties that are present or absent.

The Rumanian Communist Party proposes that the problems connected with the further preparations for the Conference should be discussed at a consultative meeting to be held in the future. That meeting could also examine the date of the future conference. The entire activity of the preparations should be carried out with

strict observance of the norms of relationships between the Communist Parties.

THIRD DAY, FEBRUARY 28

On Wednesday, the Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties continued its deliberations.

The successive chairman during the discussions were:

Jean Terfve, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium; **Boris Velchev,** Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party; **Representative** of the Communist Party of Bolivia, and **Luis Carlos Prestes,** General Secretary of the Brazilian Communist Party.

The following contributions were made to the discussions:

BORIS VELCHEV, Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party

The head of the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party explained with justified arguments that conditions had ripened for convening a new Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties by the end of this year. Representatives of the fraternal Parties which did not send delegates to the Budapest Meeting, should also be able to take part at this Conference. His Party was of the opinion that the occasional non-attendance of some Parties at the Conference cannot be an obstacle to the holding of the Conference. Any further delay would be harmful to the interests of the international Communist movement and the individual Parties as well as to the fight against imperialism in general. He welcomed the proposal that the Conference should be held in Moscow and a committee be established which should be composed of the representatives of Parties participating at the Budapest Consultative Meeting and those which are not represented in Budapest, in order to start the preparations. He expressed his conviction that the Consultative Meeting will mark a resolute step towards convening and holding the International Conference.

GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America

Strongly supporting the call for a full International Conference of Workers' and Marxist Parties for the latter part of this year, he said:

World Communist unity must not be propelled only by the negative factors in life. It must not be moulded only by needs of defense. Moulding world Communist unity is moulding the victory of world communism. It must be propelled by the vision of giant

strides now possible in social progress. It must be fired by victorious offensive battles that are now fully possible.

We are firmly convinced, the historic moment calls for a world Communist unity that is reflected in some organized system for exchanging experiences and for consultations between parties. The real question is not that of autonomous relations between parties but rather the struggle against the demagogic campaign of our class enemy about our autonomous standing in our countries.

Our Party is for a world conference of Marxist-Communist Parties. Our support for such a conference is without conditions. There are no "ifs" "ands" or "buts" about our participation in such a conference.

The new level of the military struggle by the people of Vietnam must now be matched by a new level of political-ideological and diplomatic struggle in every continent, in every country, in every city and hamlet, the world over.

ANNA-LIISA HYVONEN, Member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland

If international conferences are well prepared and are held in an open and comradely atmosphere, based on the broadest exchange of experiences, it is possible to evaluate major questions and processes of development that concern the whole world. Depending on circumstances, on the international situation and on the general situation of the struggle, these conferences may differ in their character, objectives and subjects.

In our view, the central question of a coming international conference should be the question of war and peace and the development of an anti-imperialist fighting unity. The main item on the agenda should be the preservation of world peace and the unification of forces striving to safeguard world peace.

Great attention should be paid to the Vietnamese question, to the national liberation movements, to assistance to be extended to newly established states, to obstructing neo-colonialism, to peaceful coexistence and to preventing a third world war.

ERICH HONECKER, Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Comrade Honecker stressed that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is taking a consistent stand for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. The main danger to peace in Europe devolves from the expansionist and revanchist policy of the Bonn government which is linked with the global strategy of U.S. imperialism, and from renazification in West Germany. New problems of the struggle of the revolutionary forces require

a joint strategy and the coordination of actions of the world Communist movement in the anti-imperialist struggle. Erich Honecker reaffirmed the unbreakable solidarity of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany with the courageous people of Vietnam. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany proposes that the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties be convened in Moscow in November 1968, and that its main theme should be: "The consolidation of the unity of the Communist movement and of all revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism." A committee comprising representatives of all fraternal parties has to be set up to prepare for the world conference.

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU, General Secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus

This Meeting should send out an urgent appeal for unity to save Vietnam and defeat American aggressive imperialist war. We need unity for Vietnam. We need unity to drive the Israeli aggressors out of the Arab lands and safeguard peace in the Middle East. We need unity to check counter-revolution and establish democracy in place of dictatorship in Greece, Spain, Portugal and other countries. We need unity for national liberation, peace and socialism. And it is this imperative need that brought us here. The greatest gift imperialism could ever dream of is disunity in the ranks of the socilaist camp, in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' Parties. Let us deprive imperialism of this gift.

ERWIN SCHARF, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Austria, Secretary of the Central Committee

The escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam particularly stresses the utmost urgency and timeliness of the world conference of the Communist Parties. As we are Communists, we bear the moral obligation of giving the necessary priority to the unity confronting imperialism in our policy. Regarding this main issue, differences of opinion can be of no consequence. In order to achieve a maximum of unity one should strive to win all Parties, among them the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to participation in the world conference. Each Communist Party decides on its policy independently and in conformity with the conditions in its own country. The autonomy of Communist Parties is by no means weakened by their true friendship which unites them in the struggle against imperialism. The coordination of joint efforts for peace, the united stand against aggressive actions can but strengthen the trust in our movement and mobilize the forces of peace and progress, far beyond the Communist Parties. This is how the Com-

munist Party of Austria interprets the interdependence between autonomy and internationalism in Communist policy.

KHALED BAGDASH, General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party

The present Consultative Meeting is a great and important step taken on the road to the unity of the international Communist movement. Not only the Communists, but all progressive forces feel that this is necessary for successfully fighting against international imperialism and its main force, United States imperialism, for supporting the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam, and for remedying the consequences of imperialist Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. It is also needed in order to thwart every act of aggression.

He went on to stress that the defensive power of the Arab countries must be increased by all means whatever stage is reached by the Middle East crisis. He exposed international Zionism as a movement serving the interests of United States imperialism. Speaking about progress and internationalism, he said that the Communists were the people who were simultaneously patriots and internationalists. He emphasized that the Soviet Union was the main basis of all international revolutionary activity, and declared that he agreed with the convening of the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties before the end of this year. He said the Conference should take place in the capital of the Soviet Union —if it is possible. Finally he declared that imperialism and reaction regarded with hostility the convening of this Consultative Meeting, at the same time all progressive and anti-imperialist forces wished the Meeting success.

IRADJ ESHKANDARI, Member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran

After having expresed his thanks to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for preparing and organizing the Meeting, the delegate of the People's Party called to mind the position of his Party. According to this the convening of a new international conference is vital for the movement in the present phase of international development. The speaker went on to explain the external and internal reasons which make the convening of a new conference imperative in order to collectively study the problems raised and to draw the appropriate conclusions for joint action.

The agenda of the Conference should be as follows:

"The pressing and urgent tasks of the international Communist movement in opposition to increasing imperialist aggression and for the sake of preserving world peace."

In his opinion the Conference of the Parties should be followed by a broader anti-imperialist conference. In order to prepare the Conference, his Party agreed with the need to set up a committee with the participation of all the Parties. According to the speaker, the committee would also have the task of finding a new system for regulating the relations of the Communist Parties, an organization that would ensure international contacts, regular conferences and reciprocal information among the Parties.

He suggested that the International Conference should meet by the end of this year at the latest, in Moscow.

GEORGES MARCHAIS, Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party

We believe that the most important and timely task of our Parties is the strengthening of the unity of our Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism, the common enemy of all peoples, first and foremost U.S. imperialism. The aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism most severely endangers the independence of the peoples and peace.

As this concerns an important stage of our joint activity, we deem it to be the duty of all our Parties to contribute to the efforts necessary to the success of the Conference. The questions that arise in course of the preparations have to be solved in the spirit of mutual understanding. In this way the spirit of comradely attitude, democracy, and efficiency will appear, which should characterize the Conference already in the phase of preparations.

Following this the representatives of 67 Communist and Workers' Parties endorsed a message of solidarity to be sent to the people of Vietnam.

FOURTH DAY, FEBRUARY 29

The Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties continued its deliberations on the 29th February .

Chairmen of the Meeting were **S. A. Wickrenmasinghe,** Chairman of the Ceylon Communist Party and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee; **Oscar Astudillo,** Deputy General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile.

The following contributions were made:

D. MOLOMZHANTS, Member of the Political Bureau of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Secretary of the Central Committee

The head of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party stressed in his speech that it is absolutely necessary

to convene the new international conference of the Communist movement to discuss the matured problems and to work out a unified standpoint for the struggle against the increasingly aggressive activity of imperialism. He emphasized that the revolutionary movement of the world can repel and defeat the present enraged imperialist attack only by means of further reinforcing and continuously strengthening unity. Comrade Molomzhants stressed the primary importance of the active struggle aimed at the unconditional banning of American bombings and other war activities against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and at the immediate liquidation of the aggression carried out on Vietnamese soil.

He declared that the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party advocates a conference, which, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, would effectively contribute to rallying the ranks of the Communist movement. According to the opinion of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party the new conference must examine the basic questions of the anti-imperialist struggle, of the national liberation movement, its development and the ways of supporting it. The democratic character of the preparations of this conference will assure its success and will contribute towards providing possibilities for those parties which did not for one reason or another participate in the Budapest Meeting to join in these preparations.

The delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party supports the convening of the new Conference in Moscow before the end of this year and the establishing of an operative body to carry out all necessary preparations concerning the forthcoming International Conference of Communists.

JAKUB DEMIR, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Turkey

The rapidly developing and changing international situation, the bilateral and multilateral meetings of the fraternal Parties as well as this Consultative Meeting which is supported by the large majority of the Communist and Workers' parties have all helped to clarify that the conditions for an international conference have ripened. It is our imperative internationalist duty to convene it.

We think it is necessary to exchange experiences that have accumulated in the Communist world movement during the seven years that have elapsed since the 1960 international meeting, and in the light of Marxism-Leninism and the 1957 and 1960 Moscow resolutions to examine and analyze collectively the new events that have cropped up in the international situation.

The Communist Party of Turkey deems it necessary to convene a new international conference in order to strengthen the unity of our movement. The primary aim of the conference would be to

protect and consolidate the unity of the Communist movement. This does not mean, however, that we should gloss over tacitly those significant political questions which today give rise to contradictions.

The Communist Party of Turkey supports the view that the conference must be held this year in Moscow. It also supports the suggestion that a preparatory committee for the international conference be formed in Budapest.

CARLOS ALDONA, Member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Honduras, Secretary of the Central Committee

The delegate of the Communist Party of Honduras stated in his contribution that world imperialism, making use of the situation which has developed in the international Communist movement, has gone over to an offensive against our peoples. The policy of Washington is of an increasingly adventurous and aggressive character; this has been proved by its brutal intervention against the people of Vietnam, by the series of provocations against other Asian countries, and by the support given to the most chauvinistic circles of Israel in its military actions against the Arab nations. After that, he spoke about the consequences of this policy in Latin America, namely that, as pointed out by the speaker, "the most reactionary groups of the ruling classes not only came to and stabilized their power, but began a general offensive against the democratic liberties and most elementary rights of our nations." He called attention also to the fact that the resistance of the masses increases to the same measure and their fighting "assumes the most varied and unexpected forms." He stressed the pressing necessity of an agreement—on however small scope—between all democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces in order to stand up to imperialism and "maintain the severely threatened world peace." He adopted a definite position on the question of convening the conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties, in order to examine these questions and realize the unified action of all Communists.

ALVARO VASQUEZ, Member of the Executive Committee, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia

The Communist Party of Colombia is of the opinion that this Consultative Meeting, at which delegations of 67 parties representing the majority of the international Communist movement are taking part, affirms that conditions have matured for a Communist world conference. It considers it necessary to convene the world conference and is of the opinion that the conference must be held not later than the end of this year. The main goal of the conference

should be to strengthen the front of struggle against imperialism. Besides this it must analyze the new developments in the world and must contribute toward drawing up guiding principles to meet the new international situation. Naturally the revolutionary policy for individual countries can be worked out only by the respective Communist Parties, but there are joint questions and international processes which can be analyzed appropriately only by the world conference. The Communist Party of Colombia is of the view that all Communist and Workers' Parties must be invited to the world conference, the democratic and collective preparations of which must be guaranteed, and also those parties are to be drawn into these preparations which are not present at this Consultative Meeting.

* * *

The Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties held a Thursday evening session which decided that a difference of opinion took place on February 28 between the delegations of the Syrian Communist Party and the Rumanian Communist Party. Following this the delegation of the Syrian Communist Party agreed to delete from the minutes those passages of its contribution objected to by the Rumanian delegation, which went *beyond the scope* of the agenda of the Meeting. The delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party expressed its satisfaction. The Consultative Meeting in agreement with the delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party regarded the incident as closed and continued its work.

Nevertheless, on February 29, on instructions of the Central Committee of its Party, the delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party once again questioned the solution unanimously adopted and which it had itself previously accepted. It demanded that the Consultative Meeting express disapproval of the delegation of the Syrian Communist Party and indicated that it would leave the session if the Meeting did not submit to this demand. Despite prolonged discussion, in a very democratic atmosphere and in the spirit of friendly understanding, and despite the efforts of several delegations to find a solution which would be acceptable to all Parties, the delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party stubbornly continued to insist on its demand.

The Consultative Meeting wished to adhere to the policy it had adopted, namely to exert al lefforts to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement. It is not the aim of the present meeting to condemn any fraternal Party.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Finland then submitted the following proposal:

"We propose that it be recorded in the minutes of this morning's session that the participants in the Consultative Meeting expressed

their satisfaction over the solution of the incident between the Syrian Communist Party and the Rumanian Communist Party and are striving to carry out the tasks of our conference through discussion in a free and comradely atmosphere.

"At the same time it should be stated in the minutes that each Party is alone responsible for its own contributions."

This proposal was favorably accepted by the Consultative Meeting. The Rumanian Communist Party refused to consider this and assumed the responsibility for leaving the meeting. The Consultative Meeting, regretting this decision, continued its work to achieve its objective—the preparation of the Internatonal Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties for the sake of the unity of the international Communist movement and for the sake of the struggle against imperialism and for peace.

FIFTH AND SIXTH DAYS, MARCH 1-2

The meeting continued its work on March 1 and 2. It was chaired by **Arnoldo Ferreto Segura,** member of the Political Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, by **Vladimir Koucky,** Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and by **Ib Norlund,** member of the Executive Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark.

Before giving the floor to the first speaker, the Chairman informed the Meeting that the delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, authorized by the Secretariat of the Budapest Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, handed over on Friday, March 1, a message of solidarity unanimously adopted at the Budapest Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties to Hoang Luong, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Budapest and to Dinh Ba Thi, Head of the Permanent Budapest Representation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Hoang Luong and Dinh Ba Thi expressed their warm thanks for the message. Hoang Luong stressed that the unity and support of the international Communist movement was a significant source of the victory of the Vietnamese people. Dinh Ba Thi underscored the fact that the solidarity of Communist and Workers' Parties has been a great inspiration in the present offensive of the South Vietnamese patriots.

VLADIMIR KOUCKY, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Comrade Koucky prefaced his remarks with a brief declaration in the name of the delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in which he expressed his regret at the departure of the

delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party, and disapproved of the procedure of the Rumanian delegation, especially on the occasion of its last intervention. The delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia reserved the right to return to this question.

In his opening remarks, the representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia emphasized that the Consultative Meeting attended by many Communist Parties was convincing proof that the fraternal Parties—in order to strengthen unity—unanimously felt the urgent need for an exchange of views on basic problems of the world situation and of the revolutionary movement.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia comprehends the unity of the Communist movement in relation to the entire complexity of the revolutionary process, as well as the diversity of the revolutionary processes and situations and the many aspects of the traditions of the movement. Realistic unity must include the possibility for divergent views of the fraternal Parties on some questions.

Every new manifestation of imperialist aggression underlines both the urgent need for the coordinated procedure of the Communist movement and the fact that it is not expedient to curb the normal collective activity of the Communist movement in the future. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia agreed that the world conference should be held in Moscow at the end of this year.

To strengthen the fight against imperialism, we must strive by all means to assure that the Communist parties should most closely unite with the broadest front of anti-imperialist forces. The delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia supported the proposals that the Budapest Meeting should recommend the organization of a broad international conference of all progressive and anti-imperialist forces.

It is indispensable for the Communist parties jointly to evaluate the principal phenomena and to draw conclusions from this evaluation which will not curb, but rather promote, the implementation of future initiatives.

From the outset, the international conference of the Communist parties must be prepared on the broadest and most democratic basis, and conditions must be assured for all the parties who are interested to share in its preparation and proceedings. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia supports the proposal to establish a broad committee, which would assure many-sided preparation of the international conference.

It would be impermissible for the conference merely to exchange views; its achievements should be summarized in several political resolutions determining the joint aims of the Communist parties.

JACK WODDIS, Member of the Executive and Political Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain

The head of the British delegation stressed three main points. The conference of Communist and Workers' Parties should analyze in detail every aspect of imperialism in its present stage and reach definite conclusions on how best to strengthen world united action against it.

It should consider how best to help those who are engaged in direct conflict with imperialism and especially how to give new impetus to the many separate actions of support for the heroic Vietnam people.

Secondly, he said that the British Communist Party was quite opposed to a conference which would discuss the differences between the various parties and ideological issues of many kinds.

"Attempts to press for this would create more tension and more disagreement in the international Communist movement," he said.

Thirdly, Comrade Woddis urged that such conferences should be held in public in future. The Communist parties had nothing to fear but everything to gain from maximum publicity of what they were doing. He was in favor of a conference later this year and also considered Moscow an appropriate site.

JEAN KILL, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Luxemburg

Jean Kill began his speech by expressing his regret at the action of the Rumanian comrades who left the meeting though they were offered full amends. He expressed the sympathy of the Luxemburg delegation to the representatives of those fraternal parties who served as targets for the unjustified attacks of the Rumanian speaker. Notwithstanding he hoped that nothing irreparable had happened.

The Communist Party of Luxemburg took a favorable stand, from the outset, on the idea of a new international conference, as shown by the resolution of its last Party Congress (March 1965).

The masses of working people in Luxemburg are increasingly becoming aware of the fact that American imperialism is their enemy too. In this connection the speaker pointed to the solidarity actions of the Luxemburg united Left-wing youth federation on behalf of the Vietnamese and Greek people.

After outlining the major tasks of the Luxemburg people's unity movement against American imperialism and its dangerous allies, the West German revanchists, the speaker of the Communist Party of Luxemburg took a stand for the international conference: the Luxemburg delegation agreed it should be convened before the

end of this year, in Moscow. There should be one item on the agenda: united action against imperialism. However, the Luxemburg delegation disapproved any curbing of the freedom of the parties to express their opinion or impairing their right to exercise mutual comradely criticism at this conference.

Comrade Jean Kill then voiced his appreciation for the decisive role of the Soviet Union in the anti-imperialist struggle.

ANDREW BARR, Chairman of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland

The presence of 66 Communist and Workers' Parties, and the undoubted good wishes from other Parties for its success, is a strong foundation upon which to build the preparations for a future international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The threats to peace, the dangers to the lives and living standards of our people and the international working class need to be discussed at such a meeting.

An important question so far as our country is concerned, is the intensified drive of the monopolies, their mergers and exploitation of our economy. This phase of imperialism holds dangerous consequences for our people who have been exploited by it for centuries. The increasing monopoly penetration of our economy has not and cannot solve the great evils of unemployment and emigration for thousands of our people in this era.

LUIS CARLOS PRESTES, General Secretary of the Brazilian Communist Party

Comrade Prestes declared that last December, at the 6th Congress of his Party, a resolution was adopted which supported the convening of a world Communist conference. This conference is now an objective necessity because of the changes that have taken place in the world situation and the impact of those changes on man's consciousness. Since 1960 the socialist countries and socialist ideas have acquired considerable political and moral prestige among the peoples, while imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, has become isolated more and more and steadily lost prestige.

Touching on the situation in his country, Prestes declared that the political thinking of the Brazil masses is tending in the same direction. The dictatorship which seized power in 1964 with the backing of the imperialists and which was first supported by the middle classes, has, due to its anti-national and anti-popular substance, become the instrument for the masses' anti-imperialist training and enlightment. Today the forces confronting imperialism are far more numerous and represent many more segments of society than earlier. The Brazilan Communist Party is greatly inter-

ested in the convening of the international conference, for such a conference would contribute, by the scientific analysis of the new course of development, to better political work among Brazilian forces opposing imperialism.

In closing, Luis Carlos Prestes said that the main condition for the success of the anti-imperialist struggle was primarily the unity of the international Communist movement, proletarian internationalism and correct application of the principles of solidarity among the parties.

SEAN NOLAN, Chairman of the Irish Workers' Party

In his speech Comrade Sean Nolan referred to the declaration on Vietnam adopted by the Meeting. This declaration is a clear manifestation of the unity of all the Parties represented here in their support of the heroic people of Vietnam; American imperialism is committing the most vile acts of barbarism against the people of Vietnam, but despite its great military strength, American imperialism is not winning the war. The Vietnamese people are paying a high price in this terrible war, but they are as determined as ever to fight on to rid their country of the imperialist aggressors, and there can be no doubt that they will succeed.

MANUEL DE SILVA, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party

The meeting essentially corresponds to the ideas expressed in the statements of the Portuguese Communist Party. An agreement must be reached among the Parties concerning the aims, the agenda, the date of the international conference, even if not a final one and the methods for preparing it. The conference ought to inform the Central Committees of the participating and absent Parties about the main materials and should decide on the holding in two or three months of another consultative meeting.

As far as the international conference is concerned, the Portuguese Communist Party thinks that its principal aim should be the establishment of closer cooperation among the Parties and the unity of the Communist movement. It cannot be used to condemn or exclude fraternal Parties; the agenda should be determination of the general line of the fight against imperialism. All Communist and Workers' Parties should be able to attend it, including those that were founded after 1960. At the international conference, just as at the present Meeting, and throughout the preparatory work, all Parties must be given the opportunity to express their opinions and to closely cooperate, so that the final conclusions of the conference should always be the results of collective analysis, results arrived at on the basis of agreement of the Parties present.

ANTONIO PINEDA, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of El Salvador

Proceeding from the two questions that the split in the international Communist movement must be overcome and a fitting response must be given to imperialist aggression, the Communist Party of El Salvador agrees with the convening of a new international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, with the central aim of creating a basis for uniting the Communist, the progressive and democratic forces in the anti-imperialist struggle. Moscow could be the venue, while the idea of the subsequent changes of venue of these international conferences should not be discarded.

Our Party supports the idea that the new conference should approach all Parties, without discrimination, but we believe that the conference should be held even if one or more Parties do not wish to participate in it.

The conference should be attended exclusively by Communist and Workers' Parties, although it would be proper to hold a broader international meeting afterwards where the Communists and the rest of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces could hold discussions in common.

NICOLAS CHAOUI, General Secretary Lebanese Communist Party

The delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party stressed in its speech that the major tendency in the international Communist movement is an intensified drive for unity and cohesion. The present Consultative Meeting at Budapest attended by 67 fraternal Parties is a clear proof thereof.

The delegation reaffirmed its adherence to the Statements of 1957 and 1960 and emphasized the success of the various detachments of the Communist movement in recent years. It pointed out that de pite the growing aggressiveness of imperialism, the worldwide relation of forces favors the forces of peace and progress. Some examples of this are the criminal war of American imperialism against the Vietnamese people and the Israeli aggression supported by American imperialism against the Arab countries.

The delegation emphasized the important part played by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the effective support of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle waged by the peoples.

Following this the Lebanese delegation stressed that the unity of the international Communist movement is the objective basis for the unity of all anti-imperialist forces, adding that a preliminary International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties was needed for the gathering of anti-imperialist forces to be successful.

The Lebanese delegation condemned the splitting and disruptive activities of the Mao Tse-tung group, not only in the Communist movement, but within the framework of national movements in the Arab countries and other areas as well.

Dealing with the imperialist offensives against the Arab world, it stressed Arab-Soviet friendship which in our age was a decisive factor in ensuring the success and progress of the Arab liberation movement.

The Lebanese delegation wholeheartedly supported the holding of an International Conference by the end of this year in Moscow. This expresses the great appreciation by the world's Communists of the role played by Lenin's Party in the international Communist and labor movement. It proposed the setting up of a preparatory committee in which all Parties would participate, with headquarters in Budapest. The agenda of the conference could include the analysis of the new problems facing the Communist movement and the defining of tasks, all this should be recorded in a document.

Representative of the Central Committee of the Party of People's Unity of Haiti

In his remarks he expressed regret at the absence of several fraternal Parties. Concerning the preparation for the Conference, he proposed the setting up of a committee consisting of representatives of all trends, to be led by the Working People's Party of Vietnam. He pointed out that the General Conference cannot be narrowed down to the questions of the anti-imperialist struggle, taking into consideration that this is closely linked with the theoretical strategic and tactical problems of our movement. He dealt at length with the shortcomings of the 1960 Statement and elaborated on several problems which call for the drafting of a new political line. He referred to the questions of relations between Parties and pointed out the need of improving them and the need of struggle against chauvinism, suspicion, sensitiveness, doubt, hate, hypocrisy, submission, toeing the line and tendencies for hegemony. Finally he pointed out that "the unity and cohesion of our movement can be firmly established only on the basis of a common international line." In conclusion he did not exclude the possibility of a new Consultative Meeting which would proceed with the preparatory work for the Conference and set its time and place.

ALBERTO SUAREZ, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Uruguay and Secretary of the Central Committee

The forward thrust of the forces of Communism and progress, which is resulting in the great victories of the national liberation movement and the proletariat of the capitalist countries, is arousing

the aggressiveness of imperialism. Imperialism is provoking wars throughout the world, committing aggression and pursuing a criminal policy of repression; it is launching its attacks against hundreds of millions, against people who are illiterate owing to the heritage of the past, and are hungry and impoverished .

All this places great responsibility on the forces of the vanguard, particularly on the Communist Parties. This responsibility is not exhausted in the fulfilment of their own national tasks, but is internationalist in character. The cause of the suffering and fighting people in Latin America and in other parts of the world requires the unity of the Communist movement, a coordination of global strategy and the strengthening of mutual solidarity.

All these factors can bring us closer to the ending of the Vietnam war, promote the defense of Cuba against Yankee threats, and shorten the suffering of the peoples. Therefore, the Communist Party of Uruguay firmly supports the holding of the World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, before this year is over, to contribute to the unity of the movement and, in particular, to actions of solidarity with Vietnam. The Conference preparatory committee should do everything to secure participation of the greatest number possible of the parties.

ENRICO BERLINGUER, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Italy and of the Party's Executive Committee

The absence of a few Parties cannot prevent the preparation and convening of the Conference. Any form of collective and public condemnation of these Parties should be avoided. Everything must be done so that the Parties will be able to take part in the preparatory work at any moment. The Italian Communist Party notes that the agenda must be confined to the most urgent political and militant objectives in order to be able to retaliate against imperialist aggression and to mobilize all the forces of peace. This is the main reason that justifies the holding of the Conference, which, in our opinion, should be attended—under terms to be studied—by other revolutionary, anti-imperialist and progressive forces that are interested in the struggle against imperalism and in the struggle for peace and democracy. The present situation demands the unity of all forces, primarily against the increased aggression of imperialism in Vietnam. The Communist Party of Italy approves the convening of the Conference during this year, the setting up of a preparatory committee in which any party that wishes may participate, whether it is present at, or absent from, the present Meeting. After wide discussions and the compiling of the necessary documentary material a new consultative meeting could be held so that the final phase of the preparations could be carried out better. The Communist

Party of Italy believes it necessary that there should be the widest possible publicity both at the preparatory discussions, and in the work of the Conference.

KOSTAS KOLIYANNIS, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece

We believe that the conditions for convening the international Conference of Communist and Workers' parties have matured. This conviction stems from a study of international developments and of changes that have taken place in our country.

The important question of coordinating the struggle against imperialism is engaging the attention of all the fraternal Parties. This problem is occupying us Greeks as well; we feel particularly the need for an international cohesion of forces and solidarity in the difficult struggle against a regime that came to power with the instigation and direct support of United States and NATO imperialists. Therefore, our Party has always stressed, and still holds this opinion, that the international conference must be convened as soon as possible before 1968 is over.

It is our opinion that the conclusions and common standpoints at which we shall arrive at the international conference, must find expression in one of the documents of the Parties that agree on them. We believe that Moscow obviously is the suitable place to hold the conference.

JULIO LOPEZ, Member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Guatemala

The delegation of the Party of Labor of Guatemala supports the holding of the world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, which, if the Soviet fraternal Party accepts the commission, should be convened in Moscow at the end of the year. The Guatemalan Party believes the agenda of the world conference should consist exclusively of the tasks of the struggle against imperialism. We are, he said, in favor of inviting every Party, without exception, to the conference, at which nobody should be condemned and from which nobody should be excluded.

The Guatemalan delegation also stressed the necessity of holding a world conference of all anti-imperialist forces, the convening of which could be initiated by the international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

He declared that the defense of the Cuban revolution was the duty and responsibility of every Latin American revolutionary, and firmly condemned the counter-revolutionary terror that the puppet government of imperialism and Mendes Montenegro exercised in a criminal manner in Guatemala.

ZOLTAN KOMOCSIN, Member of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, and Secretary of the Central Committee

In its remarks, the Hungarian Party's delegation submitted to the Consultative Meeting the proposals of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party:

The Consultative Meeting should appeal to all Communist and Workers' Parties to take part in the international conference and its preparations. The agenda of the international conference of Communist and Workers' parties should be: the rallying of all progressive forces in the fight against imperialism. The international conference should meet at the end of this year, and the location should be Moscow. This appears to be convenient and the most suitable place from every point of view. The preparations should take place in the most democratic manner, with consideration for the viewpoints of all the fraternal Parties. The possibility should be given for the participation of all Communist and Workers' Parties and a Preparatory Committee should be formed.

WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada

The Canadian delegation favors the convening of an International Conference this year in Moscow, with all Communist and Workers' Parties invited to participate.

We believe the proposed agenda of the Conference should concentrate on what is most urgent and unifying—united action against imperialism, in the first place U.S. imperialism, as all signs point to a further dangerous escalaton of United States' aggression in Vietnam.

We do not consider it expedient to re-examine all the strategy and tactics of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, but to focus attention on the joint struggle against imperialism.

Such an agenda would present the need for examining a whole series of questions related to the struggle against imperialism and monopoly capitalism, an estimate of the continued strength and growing weaknesses of imperialism, and the setting forth of proposals for co-ordinated action which would unite in one mighty force the peoples of all sections of the world.

There must be a unity between national and international tasks, a merging of patriotism and internationalism.

The successful outcome of an international conference would lay the basis for uniting all the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the world.

IB NORLUND, Member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark, Secretary of the Central Committee

The head of the delegation pointed out: the Communist Party of Denmark has been urging for some time the convening of an international conference, and, therefore, welcomes the beginning of its practical preparations.

Since the ideological foundation of our movement is the same, the problems in question are general and not of a special character, there is a basis for forming joint opinions and evaluations on the tasks of our times. It is our paramount duty to utilize these opportunities to the full, in order to develop the world Communist movement into a significant political reality as is demanded by our times.

LARBI BOUHALI, Representative of the Algerian Communists

On behalf of those invited to the 1960 Conference, Comrade Bouhali expressed his conviction that the international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1968 would accord with the wishes of true Algerian revolutionists and the interests of the peoples of the Third World. He expressed the wish that the items on the agenda of the Conference should be the increasing of the anti-imperialist struggle and the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties. He was convinced, he said, that the Conference would help to lay the foundations for a broad anti-imperialist front which would curb imperialist aggression, thwart the machinations of neo-colonialism, and proffer tremendous aid to the struggle of the revolutionary forces and the peoples of the Third World against foreign rule and internal reaction, and for genuine independence, the development of their countries, for progress, democracy and socialism.

MANUEL TERREZAS, Member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Mexico, Secretary of the Central Committee

He declared that his Party supports the convening and the holding of a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties. He dealt with the factors that determine the acute necessity of the unity of the international Communist movement and the convening of its new conference.

Due to joint efforts, he said, the first results of the Consultative Meeting which are the starting point of a new fruitful phase in the world Communist and labor movement can already be seen. This movement, relying on the invincible might of unity, will be able to achieve new victories in the workers' struggle for independence, socialism, democracy and peace. The present Meeting marks the beginning of a mighty anti-imperialist offensive of all the progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces throughout the world.

The representative of the Communist Party of Mexico spoke of the vital importance of unity, and the contribution that the next conference will make to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Mexico and all Latin America.

He believed that at the next conference of the Communist movement the struggle to strengthen the unity of the movement, and to develop a wide front rallying all democratic, progressive and revolutionary forces, should be the center of interest. The conference should be held in the last months of this year, the place should be Moscow, and the preparation for it should be undertaken by a committee, on which, apart from the Parties present, the Parties absent could also have representation if they so desire.

FERNANDO NADRA, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina

He opened his remarks by stressing the significance of the Meeting which is attended by 66 Communist and Workers' Parties. He pointed to the tasks and proposals the Meeting has to discuss. He supported the early convening of an international conference, underscoring it with several important arguments: the need to make the struggle against imperialism, in particular American imperialism, more effective, and to deepen the unity of Communist and Workers' Parties, and the urgent compulsion to give answers, in principle and in practice, to questions arising from the reality of our age.

Then, on behalf of the Argentine delegation, Fernando Nadra spoke for convening the Conference in Moscow before the end of the year, and inviting all Communist and Workers' Parties. He said that first unity of action of the Communist Parties had to be accomplished on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and then a great anti-imperialist conference could be called. The conference should give a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the reality of our time and draft a basic document which will be a guide in the struggle against imperialism, for democracy, national independence, peace and socialism.

He emphasized the important role played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by the Soviet Union in the vanguard of the international Communist movement. In conclusion he agreed with the setting up of a preparatory committee for the international conference composed of representatives of all Communist Parties present at the Meeting, and Parties which would join it at a later date.

MUSTAFA IBRAHIM, Member of the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party

In the opinion of the Sudanese CP, unity of the world Communist movement is essential for strengthening the influence of world

socialism, which determines the main trend of modern social development. We can achieve this unity only if we uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism, value the practice and experience of the fraternal parties, and strive for a common position in the struggle against imperialism. Victory over imperialist counter-revolution calls for further consolidation of the anti-imperialist front. Precisely for this reason our Party stands for holding, before the end of this year, a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties with the participation of all parties wishing to take part in it.

EDGAR WOOG, General Secretary, Swiss Party of Labor

The speaker said the Swiss Party of Labor supported the proposal for calling a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow before the end of this year. Unity of the working class of the world against imperialism and war should be the main theme of the conference. The peace forces had grown but the fight against the warmongers was not over. In carrying on our struggle, we draw on the strength of the peoples, but we must not underrate the strength of our enemy. This made unity of the Communist and Workers' parties, and unity and cohesion of the working class of the world against imperialism and war more important than ever.

The delegation thanked the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for the excellent preparation and carrying out of the Meeting, and for the hospitality shown to the delegations.

SEVENTH DAY, MARCH 4

The Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties continued its deliberations on Monday, March 4.

Chairmen of that Meeting were **Anna-Liisa Hyvonen,** member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland, **Raymond Guyot,** member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, **Kostas Koliyannis,** First Secretary, Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party.

The following contributions were made:

ARNOLDO FERRETO SEGURA, Member of the Political Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

The speaker thanked the HSWP for the excellent organization of the Consultative Meeting.

The Costa Rican Party had repeatedly called for a new world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The complex situation in which the Communist and Workers' parties were operating today was not an obstacle to such a conference but necessitated

it. The discussion and the conference should be aimed at ascertaining the ways in which the current fight for democracy, national liberation, socialism and peace could be directed into the right channel by joint effort. The conference should be convened as early as possible, and before the end of this year, even if some parties should be unable or unwilling to attend.

As for the business of the conference, it should consist in discussing and adopting a document on the anti-imperialist unity of the democratic and Communist forces.

The speaker agreed that the new conference of the Communist and Workers' parties should meet in Moscow.

GEORGES MAUVOIS, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Martinique

The Communist Party of Martinique considered a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties necessary. The conference, which should neither expel nor condemn any party, would promote the unity of the parties against imperialism.

The speaker noted with satisfaction that the Consultative Meeting was proceeding on strictly democratic lines. He proposed that the preparations for the future conference and the conference itself be carried out in the same democratic spirit.

ABDALLAH LAYACHI, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Moroccan Communist Party

In the opinion of the Moroccan Communist Party, the recent period had been characterized by a general offensive of imperialism, primarily the US imperialists, who maintained a system of oppression in large areas of the globe, caused poverty, and were following a policy of aggression.

The Party, which had denounced the imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the Middle East, regarded it as an urgent task of the world Communist movement, the national liberation movement and all democratic forces to prepare for a counter-offensive against imperialism.

The Party declared firmly for convening a conference which should be carefully prepared and which every Communist and Workers' party should be free to attend. The conference agenda should be restricted to studying the current imperialist offensive and to deducing from it the tasks of our movement. This would make it easier for all Communist and Workers' parties to attend, meaning above all the parties directly facing imperialism and fighting against imperialist aggression on their own soil, for the absence of these parties from the conference would detract from its value.

Since the parties worked in different conditions, the Moroccan CP did not consider it necessary for the new conference to adopt any documents like those of 1957 and 1960.

In determining the tasks of the Communist parties, it was essential to respect the principle of the sovereignty and equality of all the parties and to renounce the idea of setting up one or more centers.

Lastly, the Moroccan CP, bearing in mind the perspective of carrying out strategic plans and resisting the imperialist offensive by common effort, believed that the next international conference should be held on a broader basis, with progressive parties and contingents of the national liberation movement participating.

CLAUDE JONES, Vice-Chairman, Communist Party of Australia

The desire for cooperation in the fight against the common enemy was very strong in every party, including those that had had doubts and misgivings about the international meeting.

Communists were particularly concerned about the differences existing in the world Communist movement, for these differences played into the hands of the imperialists, who missed no opportunity to exploit them.

The CPA delegation believed that a well-prepared world meeting could become a step—if a small and modest one—toward increasing the strength, cohesion and appeal of our movement.

The conference should have a very definite purpose and its agenda should contain two items:

1. Promoting the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties and all democratic forces to step up the struggle against imperialism, for peace.
2. Solidarity with the people of Vietnam against the U.S. aggression.

The delegation expressed the hope that the Consultative Meeting would initiate a new period in the fight for cooperation, coordination and united action in the world Communist movement.

FUAD NASSAR, First Secretary, Jordanian Communist Party

The events and changes of the past seven years, especially the growing aggression of the United States in various regions of the world, the escalation of the dirty war against the people of Vietnam, the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, the advance of fascism in West Germany, the Bonn rulers' desperate efforts to gain access to atomic weapons, and the series of coups organized by the imperialists in various part of the globe all made it imperative to convene a world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties in order to promote the unity of the Communist

movement with a view to fulfilling the tasks facing it, with due regard to the fact that the Communist movement was the most influential world political force today.

Today world Communist unity and the solidarity of the socialist countries were a problem which did not concern Communists alone but interested all the anti-imperialist forces of our time, all the forces fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. These forces already realized that disunity or inadequate unity encourages the imperialists and enables them to extend their aggression. The expansion of the American aggression at a time when there were trends toward a split in the world Communist movement and between socialist countries was not accidental.

MOHAMMED HARMEL, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Tunisian Communist Party

Speaking of the adverse effect of disunity in the world Communist movement on the political situation in the third world, the delegate stressed how staunchly the newly-free African and Arab countries must fight against imperialism, which was trying hard to block their further progress. The imperialist aggression against the third world was a component of a global strategy to which we must oppose a united front of the revolutionary forces, of the international Communist and working-class movement, which played a decisive role in the revolutionary process irrespective of the influence this or that party exerted in its country. This was why the Tunisian Communists agreed that actual preparations should begin for a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties and that the conference should be held in Moscow at the end of this year. The absence of some parties should not prevent the Communists from meeting for a joint analysis of their problems.

One must not expect unity to materialize spontaneously, and so must not adopt a passive, wait-and-see stance. It was a question, not of a definitive solution of the problem, but of an important stage on the road to world Communist unity. The conference would attain its fundamental goal only if held in a spirit of unity and if it focussed its attention on problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. But one could hardly draw a sharp line between the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle and their ideological impact. The delegate supported the proposal for a conference of all anti-imperialist forces. He stressed, however, that such a conference could not be a substitute for a Communist conference, since the two forums would be faced with different and yet mutually complementing tasks. First there should be a conference of the Communist parties to work out the conditions for uniting all progressive and anti-imperialist forces.

Representative of the Communist Party of Reunion

The Reunion delegation held that the conference alone could not solve the existing serious problems. Its success would hinge on how it was prepared for and carried out.

True to the decision of the 1960 Conference, the Reunion CP did not join in open discussions. It was taking part in this Meeting because of its consultative nature, nor did it propose to criticize or condemn any other party. This was also why it had disapproved of the Finnish initiative and the statement adopted by the Meeting as a result of the incident between the Syrian and the Rumanian Communist parties.

This Meeting had brought together spokesmen of numerous Communist and Workers' parties. Besides, representatives of the Algerian Communists and two parties were attending as observers. Present at the Meeting were the Communist parties of seven socialist countries, but the other six parties which had been invited and which represented densely populated Asian countries were absent. Africa and Asia were not represented adequately, and even countries engaged in direct battles with U.S. imperialism (Cuba, Korea, Vietnam) were not taking part in the deliberations. While no decisive change had taken place in the balance of world forces, the increased aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and a new feature of the situation.

U.S. imperialism, to which barriers had been set in Europe, had multiplied its conspiratorial, provocative and aggressive activities against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America because conditions for important changes were ripening in these areas. It mounted direct attacks on such socialist countries as Cuba, Korea and Vietnam.

However, the American imperialists found themselves in a blind alley in Vietnam, where victory by the Vietnamese people could deliver a decisive blow to the entire global strategy of the U.S.

During the past twenty years, on no issue had U.S. imperialism found itself in such a state of isolation, nor had any development drawn so much sympathy and solidarity from the enemies of imperialism.

S. A. DANGE, Chairman, Communist Party of India

Comrade Dange stressed the urgent necessity for the international Communist meeting to work out a common strategy and tactics for the fight against the aggressive and neo-colonialist attacks of U.S. imperialism. He stressed that at a time when the Americans were escalating their war of aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam, no party had the right to put off or reject the convening of such a conference. The speaker pointed out the

historic significance of the documents of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960, saying that the changes which had occurred since then and the evolution of the international situation called for a critical analysis. He dealt at length with the struggle of the CP of India against the Indian reactionaries, and spoke of the lessons and experience derived from this struggle.

Comrade Dange said he supported the proposal for calling an international conference in Moscow at the end of this year and stressed that unity could be achieved only through struggle.

AGOSTINO GIACOMINI, Member of the Leadership, Central Committee of the Communist Party of San Marino

Imperialism in general and the ruling circles of the U.S. in particular were sworn enemies of peace, democracy, independence and freedom in any country. The democratic system, the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of San Marino had fallen victim to imperialism in 1957. After securing the support of the reactionaries and the American imperialists, the Rightists had accomplished a coup against the popular government.

The nature of imperialism was the same everywhere and always —imperialism was the enemy of all the humanistic and social aspirations of the peoples. The peoples, led by their vanguard, the Communist and working-class movement, must carry on an unrelenting fight against the reactionary strategy of the world policeman, taking into account the situation in their respective countries. This was why the big family of Communist and Workers' parties should meet to take joint action for peace, democracy and the independence of the peoples against the common enemy, imperialism. Our movement should hold international meetings more frequently so as freely to exchange views and experiences, respecting the autonomy of each party, and determine the course of action according to the exigencies of the moment.

The barbarous aggression against the people of Vietnam, the Israeli attack on the Arab countries, the Greek coup, the provocations against China, Cuba, Korea, Cambodia and Laos, and the revanchism of the rulers of West Germany—a constant threat to peace in Europe—all demand that the anti-imperialist movement as a whole should immediately come out with determination for unity in the fight against imperialism.

This Meeting should pave the way for an international conference to mobilize the masses. The big Moscow Conference of 1968 should receive widespread publicity if it is to set the working people of the world an inspiring and magnetic example in the anti-imperialist struggle. It would be right, therefore, to have the conference attended by the whole international press.

In conclusion, the delegate said the conference must not aggravate differences by condemning anyone but should, on the contrary, foster the spirit of unity and fraternity in the name of our irresistible advance to the triumph of socialism.

GUY-JEAN DANINTHE, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Guadeloupe

The delegate from Guadeloupe spoke of the grave repercussions which the differences in the world Communist movement had caused in his country. In stating his Party's view on the independence of the Communist parties, he stressed that independence in this case meant that each party should be able to exercise complete autonomy in choosing its policy line and in using the experience of other parties.

The CP of Guadeloupe considered bilateral and multi-lateral meetings and international conferences to be the most acceptable methods of settling and ironing out differences between brother parties.

The Guadeloupe delegation agreed that an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties should be held in 1968, the aim being to fight imperialism still more effectively and, above all, to help our Vietnamese brothers stop the criminal U.S. aggression. The delegation proposed holding the conference in the Soviet capital. It believed that every effort should be made to ensure that all brother parties took part in both the conference and the preparations for it.

Representative of the Socialist Party of Nicaragua

The international Communist movement was the vanguard of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world. This placed a very great responsibility on each of our parties. The need, therefore, was for "cooperation, solidarity and cohesion of all the contingents of our movement."

These were the main reasons, as the Nicaraguan delegation saw it, why a world conference should be held in November.

The speaker condemned splitting activities. On behalf of the Nicaraguan Communists, he called on the Communist brother parties to analyze the causes of the split jeopardizing their vanguard role among the masses.

DAVID HENIN, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee Communist Party of Israel

On behalf of the Israeli delegation, the speaker supported the

initiative of holding a new world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties before the end of this year.

The Israeli delegation proposed inviting the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and other brother parties, founded since 1960, to take part in the conference and contribute to preparatory work. It expressed regret at the fact that the Rumanian delegation had withdrawn from the Consultative Meeting.

The conference should concenrate on uniting the Communist movement, on the fight against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and on elaborating the fundamental document in keeping with the new stage in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The war in the Middle East, launched last June, had posed the urgent problem of analyzing the new imperialist tactic of local wars and of drawing appropriate conclusions from it. The Israeli delegate set out the program of his Party for mobilizing new forces to seek the elimination of the effects of the war, the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied territories and a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The speaker emphasized that Israel was interested in an alliance with the Arab peoples against imperialism, and not in an alliance with the imperialists against the Arab national-liberation movement.

JEAN TERFVE, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Belgium

The speaker outlined the following items for the agenda of the forthcoming conference:

1. Analysis of the changes that have taken place in the international situation since 1960, with a view to setting long-range tasks.
2. Elaboration of coordinated action by the Communist and progressive forces to preserve peace and assure further progress toward socialism.

The Belgium Party believed that the problem of restoring and strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement could not be solved through abstract ideological exchanges of views but solely through concrete anti-imperialist struggles.

The delegate tabled a motion to the effect that the objective basis of the differences should be analyzed at a conference to be called for the purpose.

He declared for preparations for a big world conference of all anti-imperialist forces. As these preparations would take a long time, he suggested calling a preparatory meeting of the world Communist movement. He agreed to the meeting taking place in November or December 1968, in Moscow.

The Belgian delegate moved a number of proposals regarding the methods of preparing for and carrying out the discussions.

Representative of the Communist Party of Bolivia

My Party considers it necessary to convene an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties which will help to establish the cooperation of the revolutionary contingents in the struggle against the imperialist offensive, and to make the experience of the past decade the possession of our entire movement, the Bolivian representative said.

He went on to stress the importance of unity of the Communist parties for strengthening solidarity with Vietnam, a victim of aggression, and with the other peoples against which U.S. imperialism is organizing provocations.

There is need for unity in elaborating a common strategy, but it should be borne in mind that revolutionary tactics in different Latin American countries has both common features and dissimilarities. It is necessary to promote exchange of opinions and information.

The Bolivian representative supported the proposals not to convene a new consultative meeting, for the preparatory committee, in which the overwhelming majority of the parties attending this Meeting will take part, will work right till the opening of the conference, and its composition will be sufficiently representative.

Representative of the Dominican Communist Party

The Dominican Communist Party favors the convening of a new international conference to discuss problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. I consider, he said, that fundamental ideological problems should also be discussed with a view to strengthening unity.

The Dominican Communist Party will in the future as well openly criticize any party whose policy will, on the international plane, adversely influence the masses in our country.

RUBEN DARIO SOUZA, General Secretary of the People's Party of Panama

The need for an international conference stems from the very character of the Communist and Workers' parties. To speak about the unity of parties means to speak about its source and basis, about the ideological cohesion of the international proletariat.

Referring to the character of the forthcoming conference the Panamanian representative said: In our opinion, the most urgent and fundamental task of the next conference is to work out a common view of the new developments in the world which affect the Communist and Workers' parties in their common anti-imperialist struggle.

He stressed that his Party had sent a delegation to the Consultative Meeting, instructing it resolutely to support the convocation

and preparation of an international conference of all fraternal parties and its holding before the end of 1968.

EIGHTH DAY, MARCH 5

On Tuesday, March 5, the Meeting was chaired by **Julio Logez,** member of the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Party of Labor.

The following contributions were made:

EDUARDO GALLAGOS MANSERA, Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela

Every day in Budapest gives us fresh proof that the independence of parties, far from contradicting the norms of proletarian internationalism, is organic to them.

When speaking of independence we presuppose also our invariable will to oppose any interference in the internal affairs of other parties, no matter where it may come from. This determination is confirmed by concrete facts. We do not tolerate such interference, and no one can compel us to change our line. At this Meeting we categorically stress this concept of ours.

We express agreement with the convening of a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, and we agree that its principal task is to promote unity of action against imperialism and its aggressive plans. We agree with the elaboration of an agenda which will be basically limited to the most burning problems of our time. It is our firm belief that all Communist and Workers' parties, irrespective of whether they took part in the 1960 Conference or not, should be invited to the new international conference.

Representative of the Peruvian Communist Party

Supporting the opinion of many delegations regarding the character of the conference and other relevant questions, the representative of the Peruvian Communists opposed the proposal of the Rumanian delegation to invite the so-called parallel parties to the conference. He hailed the Communist Party of Israel, which had set an example of conduct in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. After analyzing the political situation in Latin America resulting from the growing aggressiveness of imperialism, he recalled the existing trend to deny the importance of Communist parties and the striving to "replace" them by other organizations.

The contraposition of the liberation movement to the Communist movement, he said, weakens their striking power in the face of

imperialist attacks. Proceeding from these considerations, our Party resolutely favors the convening of an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Representative of the Paraguayan Communist Party

Our Party stands for convening in Moscow, in the nearest future, an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, the Paraguayan representative said. He supported the view that the chief aim of the conference should be to strengthen and consolidate the world Communist movement on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism and to elaborate a joint platform of struggle against imperialism. He exposed the United States' plan to set up an air base in Paraguay capable of receiving supersonic planes and designed to carry on aggression and repressions against the revolutionary movements in Latin American countries. In conclusion he voiced the conviction that unity of the three main revolutionary trends would make it possible to frustrate the aggressive reactionary and criminal policy of imperialism.

DSHELIL DSHANDAL, Member of the Political Bureau of the Iraqi Communist Party

The delegate of the Iraqi CP spoke approvingly about the unselfish efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union aimed at strengthening and rallying the world Communist movement. The very fact of the presence in Budapest of a vast majority of the Communist and Workers' parties which took part in the Moscow Conference of 1960 testifies to the success of the Consultative Meeting. By joint sincere effort we can consolidate this initial success. Our Party will take an active part in the forthcoming international conference of the Communist parties and in its preparation, even if not all parties declare for its convocation.

We firmly believe that the conference should be convened before the end of this year. Any delay would only give encouragement to the embittered imperialist aggressors. In the opinion of our Party, the holding of the conference this year would help intensify the struggle against imperialism. We believe that Marx's motto "Workers of all lands, unite!" will triumph at the forthcoming conference. Although we firmly adhere to the statements of 1957 and 1960 in matters of principle, we fully agree that it is necessary to prepare a new document which would give direction to the activity of our international movement in the nearest future. We should look ahead, that is the main thing now. We highly appreciate solidarity with the Arab peoples displayed by the fraternal parties of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist system—Mongolia, Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria

—and also by the fraternal parties of Britain, France, Italy and other countries which came out against the Israeli aggression.

* * *

The agenda of the Consultative Meeting was thus exhausted.

At the evening session the delegations, with the exception of the representative of the Communist Party of Reunion, who abstained, adopted the concluding communique which had been drafted and submitted to the participants in the Meeting by the editorial commission set up the day before and consisting of representatives of sixteen parties.

Statement by MIKHAIL SUSLOV

Dear comrades,

The delegation of the CPSU reported to its Central Committee about the proposal of the delegations of many fraternal parties to hold the conference of the Conmmunist and Workers' parties Moscow, and received the following instructions from it:

to express sincere gratitude to the delegations of the fraternal parties for the confidence shown in it and to state that, should the Consultative Meeting find it expedient to hold the conference in Moscow, the CC CPSU would consider it an honor to receive in Moscow all the participants in the conference;

the CC CPSU will do everything necessary to create the most favorable conditions for the work of the conference and will accord cordial hospitality to the delegations of the fraternal parties.

The statement was received with stormy applause.

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On behalf of the participants in the Meeting **Gus Hall,** General Secretary, Communist Party of the USA, expressed heartfelt thanks to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for the successful organization of the Meeting.

In conclusion of the Meeting **Zoltan Komocsin,** leader of the Hungarian Party delegation, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC, HSWP, said in his remarks that the Budapest Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties had successfully carried out a big job of important work. On behalf of the CC HSWP he thanked the delegates for their effort.

"We sincerely hail," he said, "the comradely, democratic and internationalist discussion, and the progress made by joint effort and serving the great and sacred cause of the world Communist movement."

Zoltan Komocsin called on the participants in the Meeting to convey, upon returning to their countries, warm, fraternal greetings and best comradely wishes from the Communists and the working

people of Hungary to the members of their parties, their working class, and other working people of their countries.

The Consultative Meeting ended with the singing of the proletarian hymn **Internationale.**

JANOS KADAR

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

Comrades,

First of all I wish to express my thanks to all the fraternal parties represented here, and personally to the comrade delegates, for accepting the invitation and coming here. I wish to emphasize that our Party regards it as a great honor that the initiators entrusted us with the direct preparations for this Meeting and chose Budapest, the capital of our country, as its venue. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Party membership and our entire working people, I wholeheartedly welcome you on the occasion of the opening of the Budapest Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Let me wish all of you good work, and I hope you will enjoy yourselves on the hospitable soil of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Comrades, the joint declaration in November of the 18 Communist and Workers' Parties, in which they initiated this Consultative Meeting, attracted great attention in international public opinion. Since then this attention and interest have only increased, and now it may be said without exaggeration that both friend and foe are regarding the Meeting and its results with great expectations. This is quite understandable.

These expectations stem from the complex state of the world which demands clear words and action, and secondly, from the fact that, at the present time, the international Communist movement is the most powerful political and ideological trend of mankind, one that plays a decisive role in the shaping of events.

Thirdly, people are interested in knowing what this Consultative Meeting in Budapest will bring that is new, and whether there will be a step forward in the matter of strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement, convening the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties and adopting a concerted program of action in the fight against imperialism.

Pravda, February 27, 1968.

The imperialists, in particular the United States imperialists, trampling underfoot the most elementary standards of international law, interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states by means of political and economic pressure. They organize armed coups against governments not to their liking, and precipitate wars in various areas of the world. They have occupied South Vietnam with a colonialist army of more than half a million men, and are waging an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. For years they have been massacring the peaceful population, children, women and the aged in both the North and the South, and have been committing the crime of genocide against the entire Vietnamese people. Last summer they launched a war against independent Arab countries, and they are now committing armed provocations more and more frequently against the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The aggressive moves of the imperialists, the so-called local wars, cause untold suffering to the people and carry within them the constant threat that they will unleash a new world war upon mankind.

Naturally, the peoples who are attacked resist with all their strength, and the socialist countries and progressive forces help them in every possible way. The tremendous January and February counter-blows of the heroic Vietnamese people testify better than anything else that, do what they may, the imperialists are incapable of stifling the peoples' aspirations for freedom, they cannot deprive the people of their right to decide their own destiny, they are incapable of reversing the course of history. Every supporter of progress, peace-loving mankind, and among them the standard-bearers of this struggle, the Communist and Workers' parties, must act with even greater resolution against imperialist aggression and must intensify the aid they are extending to the peoples who are the direct victims of attack. This ensures the effectiveness of the anti-imperialist struggle best of all, and so the paramount political and moral task is to do everything to unite all the forces of progress and achieve a better coordination of action.

The front of forces fighting against the imperialists must be further enlarged and strengthened. Imperialism is an international force which wishes to achieve its objectives through alliances extending across the boundaries of countries. Among the anti-imperialist progressive forces, the most significant and best organized force is the working class of the world, which itself is international. The historical role and responsibility of the working class require that we pit against the imperialists united action by the Communist and Workers' parties. The international Communist movement is internationalist by its very origins and its character. If it unites its forces it can cope with all its tasks in the historical struggle to curb the imperialist aggressors, and to achieve the

freedom of the peoples and social progress.

Comrades, in the struggle against imperialism, the Communists, Socialists, other progressive forces, representatives of the most diverse political and social trends, all who are prepared to act against imperialism, the dictatorship of the monopolies, against the aggressors, for civil rights, for progress and peace, are natural allies. The anti-fascist popular movements that arose during the Second World War and the present anti-imperialist movements prove that the fight against imperialism is effective and triumphant to the extent that it is capable of rallying all anti-imperialist forces.

The Communist and Workers' parties have played and still play a major role in initiating and organizing the anti-imperialist front. This struggle is usually led personally by the most selfless and most consistent fighters, the Communists, who for this very reason also bear the honor and every burden of leadership. It follows from all this that since the intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle, the further rallying of the masses for this struggle, and the unification of all progressive forces are the order of the day throughout the world, only the Communist and Workers' parties who maintain a joint position on the basic issues and act in unity can perform these tasks.

It is not easy in the given conditions to work out the proper way, the proper method for the intensification of the global anti-imperialist struggle, for drawing in new forces, rallying all the progressive elements and strengthening unity in such a fashion as to satisfy the conception of every Communist and Workers' party, but it is necessary and possible.

The Communist and Workers' parties are operating in practically every country of the world, working in widely varied conditions. Some of the fraternal parties are working to abolish the old and new types of colonial dependence, to achieve national sovereignty for their peoples and embark them on independent development. In capitalist conditions other parties are fighting to restrict the dictatorship of monopolies, and still others are fighting to assume power. Some of the fraternal parties active in the capitalist countries are working under the trying conditions of illegality, and others are operating legally. Some of the fraternal parties are already governing, exercising power, in the free countries of the socialist world system, and are organizing and leading the building of socialism or communism.

This wide variety is natural, it reflects the present state of the world, the complexity and many-sidedness of the international situation as a whole. The increasing strength of our world movement, the continuous development of the countries in the socialist system and the achievements of the struggle against imperialism demonstrate that our parties are solving their immediate tasks with

increasing success. A growing number of people in every country recognize that the Communists are the foremost fighters in the struggle for a better life for the working people, for the security of their peoples and for the advancement of their nations, and that the Communist Party is the best-qualified leading force of the working class and of the people.

In its own field of activity, under the circumstances existing in its homeland, every fraternal party is striving for the independent, creative application of Marxism-Leninism, and for maximum effectiveness. The results of their work, however, depend in no small measure on the course of international affairs, on the development of the international Communist movement, its successes or temporary failures and on the overall position and achievement of the socialist countries. The work of every single fraternal party is affected by the activity of all the other fraternal parties, by the unity of the international Communist movement, or by division in it.

The diversity of our immediate political objectives goes inevitably with the inclination to examine the problems of the international Communist movement, subordinate to the daily work of one's own party. Possibly others, too, fall into a similar way of thinking; at any rate, we Hungarians believe that the main points of the compass—north, east, south and west—are to be counted from Budapest or that, in other words, this is the center of the universe for us. Speaking of our movement with accuracy and realism, we have to compare and coordinate our own views with the views and opinions of fraternal parties.

The joint strength of the international Communist movement and of the socialist countries is growing, increasingly becoming the decisive factor in world progress. The fact, however, that our movement at present lacks unity reduces the effectiveness of this joint strength and objectively presents imperialism with certain opportunities for maneuvering. In recent years, serious ideological, philosophical and political differences have appeared in the international Communist movement. The striving to proceed from our common interests, to set aside the disagreements and to subordinate everything to the demands of the anti-imperialist struggle, is gaining ground among the fraternal parties. Keeping pace with this general demand of the international Communist movement, we must strive for a more comprehensive and effective unity of action, for there is no standing still in the struggle.

Comrades, today there is no center of the international Communist movement, and the consensus of opinion is that there is no need for one or more centers. The individual Communist and Workers' parties function in full independence today and this is going to be the practice in the future as well. There are, however, questions to be discussed together and there are common tasks.

We have a common ideology, a common theory, Marxism-Leninism, and a common principle, internationalism. We have common interests and are fighting a common enemy, imperialism. What, then, is the solution in this situation? There is a need for conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties at which we can, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and in the spirit of internationalism, study the present situation, determine our tasks, and coordinate our actions on matters of mutual interest.

International conferences prepared and conducted on the principle of democracy respect and do not affect the independence of our parties. The communiques, statements, appeals and declarations containing the conclusions of joint discussions are addressed to parties, countries and peoples but they are not resolutions binding on the members of the individual parties. The central committees of the individual parties adopt their own resolutions to declare how they intend to contribute to the attainment of the objectives set out in the appeals of international conferences. This has been the practice for a long time in the activities of the fraternal parties. It was followed in the case of the 1957 and 1960 conferences, of the Vienna Conference of the West European Parties, the Karlovy Vary Conference of the European Parties and of many other international meetings of the past year. Obviously it is going to be retained in the future as well.

Correct Marxist-Leninist answers to the central and most important issues of our age can be found only in friendly discussions, free, democratic debates at an international conference of the fraternal parties, and only by joint effort. With the present enormous growth and extension of the international Communist movement, no fraternal party would or could, alone, undertake to evaluate the world situation and decide what the task of all the Communist and Workers' parties should be in general questions of the international situation. No party could claim that its views must be adopted by all other parties. The totality of the theoretical foresight and revolutionary experiences of all fraternal parties provides the theoretical foundation of our activity, and only on this basis can we contribute to the further development of our theory of Marxism-Leninism. The exchange of opinions at an international conference will strengthen our unity, give new political strength to the international Communist movement and assist the efforts towards unity of action of all the progressive forces.

Comrades, what I have said here was to underline the great importance of the Meeting and the vast significance of the issues to be discussed. It is my sincere conviction that the Budapest Consultative Meeting will be a further step towards convening the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, and will contribute to the reinforcement of our unity. If we

reach principled agreement on the aim, we shall find the way to attain it, the necessary forms to inform the world about our agreement and to mobilize the masses in the struggle for a noble cause.

The Hungarian Communists, together with all our people, with all the Communists of the world, hope all the Communist and Workers' parties will join forces. The masses exploited and oppressed by the capitalist world, the fighting people of Vietnam, the workers of the socialist countries, and all the progressive forces of the world expect our parties to join up with every progressive force and to deal new blows at international imperialism, at the enemies of progress and peace.

I wish you full success in your work.

Thank you.

ZENON KLISZKO

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CC OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

First of all I want to express, on behalf of our Party, profound satisfaction over the fact that the initiative taken by the eighteen fraternal parties in November 1967 met with such a broad response and that representatives of sixty-seven Communist and Workers' parties have assembled at this Consultative Meeting in Budapest. That proves best that the idea of a new international conference, discussed for a number of years now, has received wide recognition in the Communist movement and that the time has come to convene it.

Our delegation subscribes to the words of gratitude already addressed by other fraternal parties to the Hungarian comrades, who have accorded us such a hospitable reception and provided such favorable conditions for our work.

The PUWP has long been calling for a new international conference of the Communist movement with a view to consolidating its unity and rallying its ranks in the struggle against imperialism, for the freedom of the peoples, social progress and world peace.

The programmatic aim of every Communist and Workers' party which guides itself by the principles of Marxism-Leninism is socialism. In its deepest essence the idea of socialism is universal and

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Trybuna Ludu, March 1, 1968.

international. The path of our movement has since its very inception been illumined by the motto of the Communist Manifesto: "Workers of all lands, unite!"

At every stage of the revolutionary movement of the working class its international unity has been based on solidarity and joint actions by the Marxist parties of different countries in the fight against a common enemy—capital, reaction and imperialism. This unity has always multiplied the forces of our movement. Owing to it our movement has been scoring victories over the superior forces of the enemy.

At every stage of its development the revolutionary labor movement has called into being definite organizational forms of international contacts between its parties. In the past, centralized international organizations of the labor movement constituted such a form. With the development of the forces of socialism and the growth of the maturity and independence of Marxist-Leninist parties these organizations outlived themselves and lost what made their existence historically justified. In our time, when a socialist world system exists, when Communist and Workers' parties are at the helm in fourteen countries, when Communist parties are acting and fighting in about 100 countries—and in highly diverse conditions at that—regional and world conferences constitute—along with systematic bilateral contacts—the form that makes possible international contacts between parties.

Our Party is fully aware of the importance of bilateral contacts and it maintains them with many fraternal parties. We also attach great importance to regional meetings and take an active part in them.

Nevertheless we consider that nothing can replace international conferences, for they are today the only forum at which Communist parties from all the regions of the world—from socialist, capitalist and newly-free countries—can compare their views and positions, work out a common strategy and coordinate activities against imperialism.

The struggle between socialism and imperialism is of a worldwide nature. On its results depends the ultimate solution of all fundamental problems of our time, problems of the entire mankind and of every people. We must counter the global strategy of imperialism with our international strategy, with our solidarity and the unity of the international forces of socialism. In conditions when there does not, and cannot, exist a single organizational center of the Communist movement and when all Communist parties independently shape their political line, only international conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties can impart a concrete political content to the idea of internationalism. Thus

the need for periodically convening such conferences stems from the very nature of the Communist movement.

The international situation, too, necessitates a new world conference.

STRUGGLE AGAINST THE THREAT OF A NEW WAR— CHIEF TASK OF THE COMMUNISTS

More than seven years have passed since the previous international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The changes that have taken place during this period in the correlation of world forces of socialism and imperialism, and the trend of international events have confirmed, on the one hand, the correctness of the main assessments and theses contained in the Statement adopted by the 81 parties in 1960 and posed, on the other, new problems before the world Communist movement. The new international conference should analyze and appraise these new problems and determine the topical international tasks of the movement that follow from them.

Without trying to make a comprehensive analysis of the changes in the international situation—for that would be precisely the task of the international conference—the PUWP delegation would like to call attention to some phenomena which, in our opinion, are of special significance.

It is beyond doubt that if in the past years, despite the growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism, the peoples have not been drawn into the nightmare of a world war, that was due in decisive measure to the peace-loving policy and the growth of the might of the international forces of socialism, above all the defensive might of the Soviet Union, and also to the activity of the revolutionary and democratic forces in many capitalist and newly-free countries. The growth of the economic, scientific, technological and defense potential of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist system is the main factor that paralyzes the military gambles of imperialism on a world scale.

This does not at all mean that the United States has given up its claims to world supremacy. Its aggressive policy linked with an intense arms drive remains the main source of international tension, and the fires of war fanned in different parts of the world can grow into a world conflagration. That is why the struggle against the threat of a new world war remains a central task of the Communists.

The United States is acting as imperialism's policeman with the help of local wars.

This aggressive policy of the United States has its most flagrant manifestation, rousing general indignation, in its war of intervention against the national-liberation movement in South Vietnam

and against the DRV. Israel's aggression in the Middle East is also an expression of this policy.

The reliance on local wars stems from the striving of U.S. imperialism to retard and turn back the emancipatory and progressive processes in the countries of different continents. The very course of these wars reveals, on the one hand, the barbaric nature of imperialism and testifies, on the other, to its inability to attain its ends through local wars. The heroic Vietnamese people supported by the socialist countries and by world public opinion are successfully rebuffing the huge war machine of the United States.

The local wars, the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, Israel's aggression against Arab countries and other aggressive actions of imperialism have aggravated the danger to world peace.

This has a special expression in the ever louder threats of the United States to use tactical nuclear weapons against the Vietnamese people. All this calls for more vigorous resistance on the part of the international Communist movement and all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces.

Another characteristic feature of the changes in the international situation and in the alignment of world forces that have taken place in recent years is that, parallel with the growth of the aggressiveness of the United States there has matured in many capitalist countries—and not only in the broad masses but also among ruling circles—the realization that the only alternative to a destructive nuclear war is to base international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The consistent peace policy of the socialist states and the stubborn struggle of the fraternal Communist parties against the cold war policy have dispelled the "communist menace" myth and strengthened in many Western capitalist countries the striving for freedom from the hegemony and adventuristic policy of the United States. The ruling classes of the majority of the West European countries fear lest Johnson's strategy of local wars should draw them into conflicts which have nothing in common with the genuine interests of their states and jeopardize their security. As a result of the bankruptcy of the policy from strength the Atlantic pact and the entire world system of aggressive military blocs knocked together by the United States back in Truman's and Dulles' times is living through a stage of open crisis or complete disintegration, as for instance in SEATO and CENTO. France has withdrawn from the military organization of NATO, and the majority of the other states of the Atlantic bloc dissociate themselves to one degree or other from the aggressive course of U.S. policy. The United States' most loyal ally in Europe is the Federal German Republic whose government obstinately persists in its policy aimed at revising the results of the Second World War.

The danger of neo-nazism is growing in the FRG; man-hating and revanchist slogans are loudly proclaimed there. Bonn presents, as before, the main threat to European peace. Awareness of this is becoming a source of growing isolation of West Germany in Europe.

Contradictions are also growing between West Europe and the United States: the West European bourgeoisie fears technological and economic colonization by U.S. monopolies which are seeking to occupy dominant positions in the most modern branches of industry in such countries as Britain, West Germany, Italy and France.

This state of things opens up before our movement new possibilities for establishing broad political alliances with the democratic and peace-loving forces, as well as for successful actions against the hegemonistic claims and aggressive policy of the United States. This is of great importance not only for the struggle of the fraternal parties in the West European capitalist countries, but also for the success of the policy of peace pursued by the parties of the socialist countries, and also for the emancipatory aspirations of the peoples of other continents.

As a result of the growth of the national-liberation movement, supported by the forces of socialism, in the years since the previous world conference, a large part of the world has ceased being the sphere of direct military and political control by imperialism. Many young states have strengthened their sovereignty and initiated progressive development. At the same time, however, these numerous young independent states have become the object of intensified penetration by neo-colonialism and pressure on the part of the imperialist forces, especially the United States, which is trying to stop by force the processes of national liberation and the implementation of progressive social reforms.

Despite the elimination of colonial dependence, the exploitation of undeveloped countries by international monopolies continues, and the economic disproportion between the industrial capitalist states and the rest of the non-socialist world is growing from year to year. Life shows to the peoples of these countries that capitalism offers them no prospect of removing this disproportion and doing away with backwardness, misery and ignorance, and that only the non-capitalist road and reliance on their own efforts and on cooperation with the socialist states can ensure a better future for their countries which have cast off the shackles of colonialism.

For the same reason a polarization of political forces has taken place in the "third world" countries in recent years, and social antagonisms have grown in intensity between the progressive and patriotic forces and the forces of reaction, which in their class or

narrow group interests are in collusion with the imperialists and are betraying the national interests of their countries.

In our opinion, the new problems pertaining to the prospects of development of the Asian, African and Latin American states and to the cooperation of the Communist movement with the national-liberation movement in a world anti-imperialist front should become one of the subjects of the forthcoming conference.

WHAT UNITES US IS STRONGER THAN THAT WHICH DISUNITES US

The greatest concern of our parties and all Communists should be roused by the split in the socialist camp and in the world Communist movement, a split which imperialism exploits in its struggle against socialism and the national-liberation movement. The weakening of the unity of the socialist camp created a situation in which U.S. imperialism dared launch a flagrant aggression in Vietnam and attack a socialist state—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Orientation on the deepening of the disruptive trends in the socialist camp, on the eventual prevalence of manifestations of nationalism and on the weakening of the unity of the Communist movement is a component of the entire political strategy of the United States and other imperialist states. Therefore there is no task more urgent for Communists today than to search for ways of rallying our movement.

When speaking about strengthening the international unity of the Communist and Workers' parties we must proceed from reality, and reality is such that Communist parties differ considerably in their assessment of the prospects of development of the international situation and in matters of the tactics of the struggle for the socialist revolution and the methods of building socialism. The existence of these differences is a fact largely conditioned by objective circumstances. In every given case socialism, spreading over new countries and new regions of the world and retaining its integral class and structural content, assumes concrete national forms organically connected with the historically-conditioned reality of the given country. Likewise, the Communist parties, acting in different parts of the world and having sunk deep roots in the life of their countries, shape their political line concretely and in different ways. From these diverse conditions and experiences inevitably stem different positions and different views on certain problems of our movement.

As we, the PUWP, see it, these differences and even disagreements should not lead to a split or prevent preservation of the unity of our movement in the joint struggle for common aims against the common enemy—imperialism.

The world conference will give effective rebuff to the disruptive trends and will help rally our movement if it elaborates such principles of relations between Communist parties which will make it possible to build the unity of the international movement despite the existing differences and disagreements.

The opinion exists that in view of the disagreements existing in our movement the conference should limit itself to issues on which the positions of the parties converge, and eschew all controversial and even debatable issues. The exponents of this viewpoint consider that any discussion of controversial problems deepens the split and worsens the situation in the movement. Some go even farther, declaring that the existing divergencies of views are a fundamental obstacle to convening the international conference and that they would prefer to postpone it till more propitious times, i.e., till the ironing out of the disagreements in the Communist movement.

The PUWP does not share these views. We are deeply convinced that the range of problems and tasks on which we Communists agree is much broader than the range of problems on which we disagree. What unites us certainly outweighs that which disunites us. We are all united by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which determine our common attitude towards social reality. We are united by a common aim—the building of a new, socialist society. We are fighting against a common enemy—imperialism. It is these foundations on which we should build the unity of our movement and which we should emphasize at our international conferences. However, our Party believes that the problems and tasks on which divergencies exist should not be excluded from the agenda of these conferences and generally from contacts between parties.

It is known, for instance, that the problem of war and peace, the most important political problem of today, has for a number of years now been a subject of debate in the Communist movement. Some parties consider that the thesis on the possibility of preventing a world war is erroneous, that sooner or later imperialism will bring matters to such a war. In our view, the parties which adhere to this position should have the right to state it at the international conference, for this issue is highly important for our entire movement. Any other party, in turn, should have the right to determine its attitude towards this position. It goes without saying that no one is sure, or can be sure, that a third world war will never break out. That is for history to decide. Never has any Marxist-Leninist party given assurances on this score to the working class and to the peoples. But we, together with many other parties, are deeply convinced that the possibility to prevent war exists and that this depends primarily on the strength of the socialist camp, on the dynamics of its development and on its unity, on the strength

of the world Communist, national-liberation and democratic movements, on their cohesion in the fight against imperialism. The greater the superiority of the forces of socialism over the forces of imperialism, the greater the chances of preserving peace.

Let us take another fundamental problem. There are parties in our movement which criticize the policy of peaceful coexistence. They maintain that it helps preserve the social status quo in the world and thereby hampers the development of the national-liberation and socialist revolutions. Other parties, among which we list ourselves, hold that this view is due to a mistaken interpretation of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We regard peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems as the only alternative to a world thermonuclear war. Peaceful coexistence understood as renunciation of war in inter-state relations and, consequently, of any interference in the internal affairs of the peoples could, in our opinion, effectively prevent the export of counter-revolution and neo-colonialism by the imperialists. In the struggle for peaceful coexistence we see, as a matter of fact, the most suitable broad platform for mobilizing the masses against imperialism. Inasmuch as the attitude towards the issue of peaceful coexistence generates a divergence of views, it should be a subject of discussion at the international forum of the Communist movement.

Opinions could be exchanged on other, no less important socio-political questions causing disagreements and demanding discussion at the world conference, such as the relationship between the armed and non-armed ways of development of the socialist and national-liberation revolutions, or the attitude of Communist parties towards their national bourgeoisie.

DO NOT AVOID A DISCUSSION OF CONTROVERSIAL PROBLEMS

Should the conference by-pass such key issues because of their controversial character that would be against the spirit of Leninism. In practice, that would lead to the emasculation of the agenda of our meetings with regard to real problems agitating our movement, to the adoption of decisions of a general character which could lend themselves to arbitrary interpretation. As a result, that would only create a semblance of unity, encourage the parties' shutting themselves up in the backyard of nationalism, and threaten to paralyze our entire movement as an international force.

The hope that side-stepping of controversial issues prevents a deepening of disagreements is illusory. Quite the reverse is true. Only a businesslike, Communist confrontation of positions can diminish disagreements, eliminate imaginary, non-existent divergencies and elucidate the intentions of every party and the prere-

quisites of its conception. Such a confrontation will also enable the working class of every country to familiarize itself with the attitude of other parties towards certain problems.

Discussion and exchange of opinions on controversial issues as a method of hammering out a common position conform, as before, to the finest traditions of our movement. Political and ideological discussions on matters of principle were conducted in the First and Second International. Despite the centralized organizational structure of the Comintern, its congresses in Lenin's lifetime were an arena of creative and fruitful discussions between Communist parties in which the programmatic position of the young Communist movement crystallized.

All Marxist-Leninist parties are guided in their life by the principles of democratic centralism, which presupposes, on the one hand, a free discussion in the party before the decision is adopted on the given question and, on the other, subordination of the minority to the majority resolutions. In the international labor movement, in the relations between Communist parties the principles of centralism cannot be applied. No party can be expected to submit to the decisions of the majority of other parties. However, we hold that in the Communist movement it is our duty fully to apply the democratic principle of discussion of disputed problems arising in it, especially those which pertain to unity of action in the struggle against imperialism and the war danger. At the same time, it is impermissible in inter-party relations to cover up the absence of arguments by invective, to slight fraternal parties, to ascribe to them with ill intention a position they do not hold, to accuse them of betrayal on the basis of absurd and invented data.

We should not be afraid that open discussion will disclose the disagreements in our movement to the enemy. These disagreements have long since ceased being a secret to anyone. Our enemies readily seize upon them, and imperialist propaganda deliberately distorts and maliciously inflates them. The businesslike and open discussion of these problems in our movement, conducted in a party atmosphere, has strengthened our offensive spirit in the ideological struggle against hostile propaganda and subversion.

Some advocates of excluding all controversial problems from the agenda of international meetings refer to the principles of sovereignty and independence of every party and every socialist state. They contend that no international forum and, consequently, the conference, has the right to "censure" the policy of any party, for that would be interference in the internal affairs of this party. The thing is how interference in internal affairs is to be understood. If it means the imposition on a certain party of the stand of other parties or its reading out of the Communist movement only on

account of its views, all the parties present here reject this practice as contrary to the principles of internationalism .

However, one cannot agree that any discussion of the policy of one party by other parties is at variance with the principles of inter-party relations, that any criticism of any party by other parties is impermissible.

This interpretation of the principle of non-interference in internal affairs would render exchange of opinions between Communist parties practically impossible even in those cases where the position of one Communist party would run counter to the vital interests of other Communist parties or other socialist countries.

In the present epoch, whose main content is determined by the struggle between the socialist and capitalist systems, the policies of all our parties are objectively interdependent. The successes of every party in the struggle against capitalism and reaction and in the building of socialism strengthen the forces of other parties, while its setbacks aggravate the difficulties with which other parties have to contend, and weaken the entire movement. No Communist or Workers' party can free itself from this interdependence. Therefore no party can be indifferent towards the policy of other fraternal parties in any matters whose importance transcends the bounds of one country.

That is why our parties, guiding themselves by the principles of solidarity and mutual support, cannot renounce the right to adopt a party and businesslike attitude towards the position of other fraternal parties when they are convinced that this position does harm to our common cause, the cause of Marxism-Leninism and internationalism.

In the opinion of the PUWP, a particularly deep interdependence of interests is manifested in relations between the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries which, in addition to ideological bonds, are linked by inter-state alliances.

We stand for the sovereign right of every Communist party and the government of every socialist country to shape its policy—both internal and foreign—independently. But it does not follow from this that every Communist party and every socialist country determines its policy in international matters without regard to allied commitments, to the opinion and policy of other Communist parties and socialist states. For inter-state agreements presuppose mutual obligations assumed by every side voluntarily and independently, which leads, in the end, to the consolidation of the independence and security of every party to the agreement.

The thing is that the alliances of socialist states rest on the fundamental community of their interests and on their complete equality.

A special role is played in these alliances by the Soviet Union.

The security of the socialist camp, the independent existence of all socialist states and the possibility of their peaceful development depend in decisive measure on the economic, scientific, technological and military might of the Soviet Union which its peoples have built up under the leadership of the CPSU at the cost of tremendous efforts and hardships and which constitutes the principal force protecting the entire socialist system against imperialism.

This special role of the Soviet Union should be correctly understood and taken into consideration in practice, especially in the sphere of foreign policy, by all Communist parties and above all the ruling parties in the socialist countries. For it is hard to agree that one party and one socialist country should shoulder international responsibility and therefore reckon with the interests of the socialist community and that another party and another country should be absolved from this joint responsibility in the name of wrongly understood sovereignty and independence.

The national tasks of any of our parties cannot be separated from the international tasks of the entire Communist movement. They are indissolubly interconnected by those objective bonds which link the destiny of every party and every country with the worldwide struggle of the two systems.

PROPOSALS OF THE PUWP REGARDING THE CONFERENCE

The PUWP stand is that at the world conference whose preparation we are now launching every Communist and Workers' party should have the absolute right and an unlimited opportunity to state its position on every point of the agenda and on any other problem which interests it and which it regards as important and worthy of being placed before that forum. This also presupposes, of course, the right of every party to state its attitude towards the position of other parties.

We hold that the deliberations at the forthcoming conference should be, in principle, open, i.e., that provisions should be made for their publication. We mean not only the exchange of opinions between party delegations, but also the need that these discussions should help in the ideological education of the Communist movement, that the international worker community should be able to familiarize itself with the position and arguments of every party and to form its own opinion.

We are convinced that the party discussion and comparison of views should facilitate the crystallization of the new unity of our movement, despite and apart from the existing divergencies.

The viewpoint was expressed in statements on the issue of the conference that the conference should limit itself to an exchange of opinions and experience and should not adopt any documents

or declarations. In our opinion, such an outcome of the conference would contradict its underlying idea. The international Communist movement is entitled to expect the world conference to produce concrete results and, especially, to work out a stand on the question under discussion, a stand that would constitute the basis of joint action of our parties against imperialism, in defense of peace and the freedom of the peoples. Therefore we consider it necessary that the results of the debate held in the course of the preparation of the world conference and at the conference itself should be reflected in definite documents.

It would be best of all, of course, if these documents were unanimously approved by all the conference participants. But we realize that it would be very difficult to achieve, considering the present situation in the international movement. As we see it, there would be nothing abnormal or dangerous if some participants in the conference disagreed with certain theses of the documents or even found it necessary to abstain from signing some document as a whole. Such parties should have the right to publicly substantiate their position. Even if some party were to find that the resolutions of the conference as a whole do not conform to its interests, it should have the right to state its particular position in a separate document.

Insistence on the principle of complete unanimity in the world Communist movement in conditions of the existence of a divergence of views would signify, in the final analysis, either a return to the methods of the period of the personality cult, or renunciation of the very idea of world conferences of our movement. Either alternative is unacceptable. The system of the personality cult has been crossed out by history, and there is no returning to it. But the Communist movement cannot give up world conferences. That would signify renunciation of what is today the main form of internationalist connection between our parties, and would lead to the disintegration of our movement, to the collapse of one of the foundations of our strength—the international character of communism.

The leadership of our Party has on more than one occasion declared that differences in the positions of Communist parties and the absence of unanimity are not in themselves a violation of the principles of internationalism and should not threaten the international unity of the working-class movement. Unity and loyalty to the principles of internationalism should not be identified with unanimity. The essence of the internationalist bonds binding our parties together lies first and foremost in mutual solidarity, in the sense of belonging to a common ideological movement, in observance of the political and moral obligations stemming therefrom, in unity of action in the struggle against imperialism. A departure

from the principles of internationalism begins when differences in ideological and political positions become a pretext or motive for undermining solidarity, for splitting activites and for struggle against fraternal parties.

Our Party sees the harmfulness of the present position of the CP of China leadership not so much in its views on the issue of war and peace or the methods of socialist construction—although we do not share these views, regarding them as incorrect—as above all in the splitting policy of the CPC, in the slanderous propaganda against the CPSU and other parties, in the high-handed rupture of links with all parties not wishing to submit to the line of Mao Tse-tung, in the refusal to act jointly with the other socialist states even in the matter of rendering aid to embattled Vietnam.

The method of preparation and holding of the world conference proposed by us opens the way to the full-fledged participation, in both this conference and in future meetings of fraternal parties, by every party which, regardless of this or that difference of views with other parties, is willing to discuss problems in a party fashion, is opposed to the split, regards itself, together with us, as a component of the Communist movement, and wants to fight imperialism within the framework of this movement.

We share the opinion of the parties which believe that there are no grounds for further postponing the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. We consider that our present Consultative Meeting should decide the question of convening the conference at the end of 1968 or in January 1969, choose its venue and outline the order of procedure. The PUWP stands for holding the conference in Moscow.

We think it necessary for the Budapest Consultative Meeting to set up a commission to prepare the conference both organizationally and with regard to the essence of its content, with its headquarters in Budapest. The preparatory commission should include all parties taking part in our Consultative Meeting. Any Communist and Workers' party not attending this Meeting should be able to join in the work of the commission at any stage whenever it finds it desirable.

We agree with the parties which hold that the international conference should be held in 1968, for there is no reason for further delaying it. We do not and should not spare any efforts to ensure that the largest possible number of parties should take part in the conference. But the convening of the conference should not be made dependent on the participation of this or that party.

We hope that the parties which for some reason or other will find it necessary to abstain from attending the conference will display attention to its work and decisions and perhaps later on find it possible to accede to them.

The PUWP considers that only Communist and Workers' parties should be invited to the conference. We understand the motives of the comrades who propose to convene the conference with the participation of all anti-imperialist forces and movements. But we believe, as many other parties do, that the situation in the world and in the world working-class movement demands above all the convening of a conference of Marxist-Leninist parties in order to discuss and determine, in the circle of Communists, their attitude towards the most burning problems of our struggle.

Our movement is the mightiest international political force of our time. The socialist world system is its creation. The Communist movement is playing the main role in the struggle against imperialism, for progress and peace. The range of problems which the conference of the Communist movement should discuss is in its very nature much broader than that which could comprise the agenda of a meeting of anti-imperialist forces. We support the idea of such a meeting, although we consider that it should be concretized and thought over from the viewpoint of both its substance and organization. Under no circumstances can a world meeting of anti-imperialist forces be regarded as an alternative to the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, and it could take place only after this conference.

The Polish United Workers' Party is firmly resolved to do everything in its power to help ensure the favorable course of the future conference and the achievement by it of most fruitful results. We are convinced that it will contribute tremendously to the rallying of all anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for the freedom of the peoples, for democracy, peace and socialism.

MAX SCHAFER

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

The question uppermost in the minds of the Communists today is what can be done to strengthen the unity of the Communist and working-class movement, to make the joint actions of all progressive forces against imperialism, for peace and social progress, more effective. Therefore the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany hails the fact that with the holding of the Consultative Meeting in Budapest we are entering the stage of concrete preparation of an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, whose convocation the CPG has long been advocating.

The draft Program of the CPG now being discussed in the FRG stresses that the world Communist movement owes its strength to Marxist-Leninist theory, to the unity and coordination of its actions. A joint politico-ideological stand on all fundamental issues of the time has always been a source of the strength of the Communist movement. We consider that our task is to strengthen this politico-ideological unity through exchange of experience and opinions. The documents of the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960 stress quite correctly that international forums of the Communist and Workers' parties are an important means of consolidating the unity and solidarity of the Communists of different countries.

The correctness of the general line of the world Communist movement charted at the Moscow conferences has been confirmed by life. We consider that this line retains its validity and significance today. But we should realize that in the period since 1957-1960 new phenomena have been observed in social development, that the class struggle waged throughout the world has grown in acuteness. The time has come to exchange views on these problems, to discuss the various general issues that arise in the course of the worldwide struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism at the present stage. Thereby we shall certainly help create better conditions for effective actions by Communists against the main enemy, imperialism.

The complexity of the present international situation necessitates intensifying the efforts to strengthen the unity and cohesion of all

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Neues Deutschland, February 28, 1968.

the Communists of the world. In the years since the last international conference the forces of peace and socialism headed by the Marxist-Leninist parties have scored signal successes. The difficulties experienced by the imperialist system and the contradictions between imperialists have been aggravated. The isolation of the U.S. imperialists and their government is growing. Imperialism is seeking a way out of its contradictions in increased aggressiveness. The striving of U.S. imperialism, actively supported by its principal allies, the FRG ruling circles, to escape the growing difficulties and contradictions with the help of ruthless interventions is manifesting itself quite clearly. The dirty war of U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people which is morally and materially supported by the FRG government is rising to a new level highly dangerous to universal peace. The American generals are preparing to use nuclear weapons. In the Middle East, the imperialists of the United States and West Germany continue to fortify and inspire the aggressive ruling circles of Israel. In keeping with NATO plans, a fascist regime has been established in Greece. The intrigues against the independence of Cyprus, the provocations against Cuba, the reactionary coups in some countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America show that imperialism is stepping up the aggression against the progressive forces, against the efforts for a stable peace and an international detente.

The global strategy of U.S. imperialism makes it imperative for the progressive and revolutionary forces of the entire world and in the first place the Marxist-Leninist parties to analyze the situation, specify their strategy and tactics in the anti-imperialist struggle, declare for purposeful joint actions, and come to agreement on their realization.

The ruling circles of the FRG have joined in the implementation of the imperialist strategy of the United States, striving for a deeper involvement of U.S. imperialism and their other NATO allies in their own revanchist aims. After restoring its power West German imperialists are presenting territorial claims to other European states. Their policy is aimed at incorporating West Berlin in the West German state. They refuse to recognize the real situation in Germany, the fact that there exist two German states. They lay claims to exclusive spokesmanship for the entire German people, i.e., cling to this potential declaration of war on the German Democratic Republic. The FRG rulers are reaching out for a share in control over nuclear weapons in order to back up their expansionist policy with armed strength. They have concluded from the Israeli imperialists' aggression against the Arab states that there is a possibility to blitzkrieg the German Democratic Republic if the international situation favors their plans. Only a few days ago Bundestag Vice-President Jaeger, member of the government party

CSU, declared that in Europe "a limited war is no longer so unlikely as three years ago."

In the FRG itself, big capital, annulling democratic clauses of the Constitution and relying on the projected emergency legislation to give dictatorial powers to the government, is creating internal prerequisites for the pursuit of its aggressive policy. This policy constitutes also a nutrient medium for all nationalistic and neo-nazi trends. Is it not characteristic of the Bonn rulers' policy and at the same time dangerous for the world public that twenty years after the end of the terrible Second World War nazism is again rearing its head in West Germany and that an heir to the Hitler party thinly camouflaged as the NDP, has been created and is growing in West Germany with the support of the Bonn government and big capital, whereas the Communist Party, a party which made the biggest sacrifices in the fight against fascism, has been under a ban for twelve years now? Is it not alarming that at a time when the neo-nazis can freely advocate their revanchist and chauvinistic program in the FRG press, radio and television, the dissemination of the draft Program of the Communist Party is countered with persecutions?

What is particularly alarming in the development in the FRG is that neo-nazism is not confined to the NDP. Neo-nazis hold leading posts in government and juridical organs, in the police and the Bundeswehr. The FRG government is headed by a nazi of long standing who was responsible for propaganda in Hitler's Foreign Ministry. The territorial demands and the claim to speak on behalf of the entire German people are made not only by irresponsible extremists, but by the government itself. The CPG draft Program points out that the nationalistic and revanchist demands of the neo-nazi NDP differ from the similar demands of the CDU-CSU, the leading government party, only in their greater frankness. The growth of the neo-nazi trends is not only an internal affair of the FRG. It is a threat to the security of the peoples of Europe, as the Soviet Union's recent statement stresses.

Let no one entertain illusions in connection with the presence of Social-Democratic ministers in the FRG government. The right-wing leaders of the SDP have incorporated themselves into the dominant state-monopoly system. They do not represent the interests of the workers and other strata of the working people, but serve big business. They have been included into the government in order to compel the masses to discontinue their struggle and to act as auxiliaries in the pursuit of the reactionary internal and foreign policy. They are to help camouflage the expansionist policy of the monopolies both in and outside the country.

There are two trends in the Social-Democratic Party. On one side are many members and supporters of the SDP who see in it a

spokesman of the interests of the working people and stand for social justice and progress. We Communists feel closely associated with them. But since 1945 these forces have not been big enough to steer the party along a new course.

The policy of the SDP is determined by those right-wing leaders who have made collaboration with big capital the supreme principle of their policy. The Social-Democratic ministers, including Foreign Minister Brandt, have openly declared that for them there can be no question of recognizing the other German state, i.e., the GDR. They support the FRG rulers' claim to exclusive representation. During the debate on defense matters Helmut Schmidt, chairman of the SDP parliamentary group, resolutely declared, on behalf of the party leadership, for the concept of War Minister Schroeder —stepped up armament and efforts to secure the right to dispose of nuclear weapons. The Social-Democratic ministers agree with the CDU/CSU leadership in that emergency laws should be introduced in the FRG. Thus they side with the most reactionary forces in the FRG and stand opposed to all democrats, including the trade unions. They have had a hand in burdening the working population and above all the working class with the consequences of the crisis phenomena in the FRG. The right-wing Social-Democratic leaders' policy of community with the CDU/CSU objectively helps the growth of the influence of the neo-nazi NDP. Their policy facilitates that party's efforts to present itself to public opinion as an opposition force. Besides, they assume grave guilt before our entire people, for West German big capital can pursue its expansionist policy only thanks to their support of the political concept of the CDU/CSU leadership.

Let no one be deluded by the fact that the FRG government has for some time been talking about a "new Eastern policy." We Communists state in the draft Program: the successes of the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist states, the successes of the struggle of the peace forces in the FRG itself have compelled its rulers to modify the forms and methods of their foreign policy. They want to disguise their expansionist policy and, under the cover of the "new Eastern policy" motto, are seeking to sow discord among the socialist countries, undermine them by methods of psychological warfare and separate the GDR from its allies. The FRG government wants to deceive public opinion in order to end its isolation and thus build stronger positions for the realization of its intentions.

The global strategy of U.S. imperialism includes both the war in Vietnam and Johnson's policy of "building bridges to the peoples of Eastern Europe." The FRG government is trying to pursue this line in Europe. Taking into consideration the policy of West Ger-

man big capital, the FRG government remains the chief villain of the piece and opponent of relaxation in Europe.

In assessing the situation in the FRG it would be incorrect, of course, to see only the policy of the ruling circles and their accomplices. There are forces in the FRG which actively come out for a detente and mutual understanding. A negative attitude towards the United States' dirty war against the Vietnamese people and the FRG government's support of this war is growing in the country. Workers and students, representatives of most diverse strata of the population are vigorously acting against the United States' war in Vietnam.

Not only the CPG, but also trade unionists, the working class, students and intellectuals are demanding that the FRG give up the claim to exclusive representation and insisting on the recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the existing borders in Europe.

The acuteness of social clashes has increased. The working class is ever more actively defending its living standard. Its class consciousness manifests itself ever more clearly as it fights back the attacks of big capital on its material interests. Criticism of the capitalist system is growing and anti-imperialist sentiments are on the rise among the working class. Great possibilities are again presenting themselves for more actively explaining to the working class its historical mission to eliminate the capitalist social system.

The CPG states in its draft Program that the cooperation in the struggle against emergency legislation that is beginning to be established between the trade unions, the intelligentsia and youth organizations constitutes the nucleus of the democratic movement. Peace fighters of different political views and world outlooks have united in the marches against atomic armament, for disarmament. These movements have demonstrated the existence of great possibilities for building a broad alliance of democratic forces and given rise to new forms of democratic protest and new organs of democratic struggle.

Greater cohesion of the democratic forces and greater unity of their actions are needed to prevent the establishment of the state-of-emergency dictatorship, to combat social reaction and the growing neo-nazi danger, to defend and extend democratic rights, to initiate a resolute policy of peace and normal relations with the GDR and to reconstruct the FRG along democratic lines.

The success of the popular forces depends in large measure on agreement between the Social Democrats, Communists, Christians and the democratic forces of all strata of the people on a joint democratic program of action. With its draft Program the CPG contributes to the achievement of this agreement, offers an alternative to the reactionary policy of the ruling circles, and shows the

way to turning the FRG into a state of peace and advanced democracy.

We would also like to point to the growing demand for the restoration of the legality of the CPG. We have made progresss in the fight for legality—in no small measure due to the solidarity with the CPG shown all over the world and above all by fraternal parties. We take this opportunity to wholeheartedly thank all fraternal parties for the solidarity which they have already demonstrated in the fight for the legality of our Party. At the same time we request continued support of the efforts to ensure a free discussion of our daft Program and the lifting of the ban on the CPG.

We believe all agree that the danger of a new world war grows as a result of the aggressive intrigues of imperialism. It is also a fact that in implementing its aggressive plans imperialism openly exploits the disagreements in our ranks and uses them in its struggle against the interests of the people, against national freedom, democracy and socialism. It is not accidental therefore that the reactionary forces of the whole world, including those in the FRG, have done their utmost to hamper the preparation of this Consultative Meeting, that they are feverishly intriguing against the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The very convening of the conference is bound to deal a blow at the imperialists plans to widen the split among the progressive forces.

It is stressed in the CPG draft Program that in its striving for the unity of the world Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces our Party proceeds from the fact that success of the strategy of the working-class movement demands recognition of the common principles and regard for the peculiarities of historical and national development in every country. The CPG comes out against the trends for national seclusion which can only harm the common cause. The basic principle of Marxism-Leninism—"Workers of all lands, unite!"—presupposes that every Communist party is both responsible to the working class and the people of its own country and internationally responsible to the entire world Communist movement. Since the imperialists coordinate their efforts, we can advance only with the help of a jointly determined policy on the main problems of the international struggle and joint actions based on this policy. Both the government as a whole and the revolutionary forces in every country stand to gain from coordinated actions. At the same time a growing international response is evoked by the struggle of the national forces for progress in their own countries, a struggle which will be the more effective the more closely it is linked with the world revolutionary anti-imperialist movement.

The opinion is sometimes expressed that an international con-

ference of the Communist and Workers' parties can be held only after absolutely all Communist and Workers' parties have expressed their readiness to take part in it. But that would mean allowing a few parties or even only one party, such as the Communist Party of China, in which the Mao Tse-Tung group dominates and which is against an international conference, to impose its will upon the entire world Communist and working-class movement. The talks and the establishment of unity of action, the need for which is so urgent, would thus be postponed ad infinitum.

The Communist Party of Germany has taken part in many bilateral and multilateral meetings, and it actively supported the important conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe in Karlovy Vary. Such conferences play a positive role, but they cannot replace an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. This conference is, without doubt, a highly valuable and, at present, indispensable method of discussing major topical problems and determining major common aims and tasks in the spirit of our joint responsibility in the anti-imperialist struggle.

It goes without saying that we do not forget the existence of different views and attitudes in the Communist and working-class movement. But there certainly exist many topical problems, many important and pressing issues which concern all parties and on which unity of action can and must be achieved. Therefore it is necessary for this Consultative Meeting to decide that the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties should be convened in Moscow in November 1968. This proposal takes into consideration both the necessity of thorough preparation of the conference and the urgent need for its early convocation.

The proposal has been made to convene the conference on a still broader basis, with the participation of most diverse anti-imperialist forces and not only the Communist and Workers' parties. This is a very correct proposal, of course, but it is also correct, in our opinion, that the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties should be held prior to the conference jointly with the other forces. The Communist and Workers' parties are armed with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. They are the main force in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence and socialism. Exchange of opinions between them and establishment of their unity of action are essential for rallying all anti-imperialist forces.

As regards the agenda of the international conference, we hold that it should concentrate on the principal problem—consolidation of the unity of the world Communist movement, the rallying of the socialist and democratic forces of all countries in the struggle

against imperialism, for the national and social liberation of the peoples, in defense of universal peace.

We must build the anti-imperialist unity of action of the world Communist movement against the global strategy of imperialism.

We consider it important to find the way to unity and joint action on questions such as these:

1) How can the struggle against the U.S. imperialists' dirty war in Vietnam be consolidated and intensified on a world scale in order to put an end to the U.S. aggression?

2) How is it possible to rebuff, by joint effort, the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism in any region of the world, to frustrate its attempts to strangle the national-liberation movements and deprive nations of their independence?

3) How is it possible to create, by joint effort, conditions for a lasting peace? This includes such questions as recognition of the present frontiers in Europe and of the existence of two sovereign and equal German states; establishment of a system of collective security in Europe; removal of the possibility of the FRG ruling circles gaining access in any form to nuclear weapons; the struggle against revanchism and neo-nazism in the FRG; abolition of the ban on the Communist parties in the FRG, Spain, Greece, Portugal and Turkey; support of the struggle for democracy in Greece and to save the lives of the thousands of people jailed and tortured by the present military regime.

A conference which would lead to a joint stand and unity of action on these and other topical problems would signify a great success for the forces of peace, democracy and socialism all over the world and, of course, in the FRG.

We consider that it is necessary to ensure collective preparation of the conference, taking into account the fact that all Communist parties are independent and equal. We think it would be correct to set up a preparatory commission in which representatives of all parties will be able to take part.

The conference should on no account limit itself to talks, to an exchange of opinions. It should prepare, discuss and adopt decisions or documents on topical issues on which unity of action is needed. These decisions or documents could facilitate the actions of parties in the concrete conditions of their work. They should be effective as a guiding line which the competent organ of every party will implement with due regard to the peculiarities of its position. In drafting them due account should be taken of the proposals of the Consultative Meeting.

We consider that the international conference which will be prepared and held in this spirit will be an important contribution to the establishment of the unity of the Communist and working-class movement, to the victory over imperialism.

M. A. SUSLOV

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Dear Comrades,

To begin with, permit me to cordially greet, on behalf of the CPSU delegation, all the representatives of the fraternal parties participating in the Consultative Meeting. We would also like to express feelings of profound gratitude to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for its hospitality and for everything it has done to prepare the meeting and create fine conditions for our joint work.

The CPSU attaches great importance to the Consultative Meeting which will have to solve some important questions: on the calling of a new international conference of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, on the purpose of this Meeting and its agenda, on the time limits and the methods for its preparation. The calling of the conference is a reflection of the desire and will of the fraternal parties to cohesion, of their determination to overcome the difficulties which have appeared, and to achieve a new upsurge of the Communist movement.

The question of a new conference has been actively discussed in our movement for the past two or three years. Now this idea has not only won extensive recognition, but is being carried into life. From bilateral consultations on the questions of the conference we are going over to the collective work of its direct preparation.

It was with great interest that we heard the representatives of the fraternal parties who have spoken from this rostrum, and we are gratified to note an extensive coincidence of views on the most important issues—the desire to achieve cohesion of the Communist movement, unification of all the socialist, democratic, progressive forces for a still more effective struggle against imperialism—the main enemy of the peoples. The speakers put forward constructive proposals on the methods and forms of preparing the new conference, and their summarization will help to come to unanimous and most feasible conclusions.

Permit me to express our viewpoint on the question in the agenda of the Consultative Meeting.

We consider that in the present conditions the holding of inter-

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Pravda, February 29, 1968.

national conferences is a natural requirement of the Communist movement. Naturally, international contacts between the parties are also developing on a bilateral and regional basis. However, it is precisely the international conference that, while retaining for every party its complete independence, makes it possible to coordinate the actions of the Communists of all the countries of the world.

The international solidarity of the working class and of its Communist vanguard has always been and will remain the most important factor of development of the world revolutionary process. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism calls in our days more than ever before for practical actions aimed at strengthening the unity of the Communist movement and the fraternal cooperation of the world socialist community. As to the CPSU, it will continue, as V.I. Lenin put it, together with other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, "to serve the cause of the international workers: we shall rally, unite and merge the workers of all nations for united and joint activities" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Eng. Ed., Vol. 20, p. 494).

The CPSU considers that the holding of the new conference is called for by the need for cohesion in the struggle against imperialism whose aggressiveness is growing and by the situation in the Communist movement.

Assessing the present international situation as a whole, it is safe to say that in spite of certain difficulties in the Communist movement and the activization of the aggressive circles of imperialism, the main tendency of world development is characterized by the growth of forces of the revolution and socialism, headed by the Communists. The world is now entering a stage when the revolutionary forces are being confronted by new tasks, and new opportunities are opening before them.

The countries of the socialist world system are building up their political, economic and military might. This primarily determines its increasing role as the main anti-imperialist force. The activities of the Communists of the socialist countres assume ever greater international significance. The influence of the socialist countries' policy on world development is growing. Many socialist countries are now carrying out important measures to perfect the economic mechanism, develop socialist democracy and improve the well-being of the working people. They also have a direct bearing on further changing the balance of forces on the international arena in favor of socialism, in favor of all the forces of social progress. The prospects of the competition of the two systems, enhancement of the authority of world socialism, expansion of support to the national-liberation movement, and, to a considerable extent, the further exposure of anti-communism depend on the successes of socialist

and communist construction. The guiding and directing activities of the Communist parties and their cohesion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are an indispensable condition for fresh successes of the socialist countries.

The struggle of the peoples who have overthrown the yoke of colonialism is entering a new phase. Now that they have in the main broken the sysytem of political domination of imperialism they are faced with the urgent task of achieving economic independence and social progress in the struggle against neo-colonialism. With the aid of the neo-colonialist policy and adapting its methods to new conditions, imperialism tries to retain its domination in the former colonies, to "modernize" the system of national oppression and exploitation. In this vast area of the world, in the struggle against the intrigues of imperialism and internal reaction political forces are maturing which come out not only against imperialist domination and the consequences of colonial rule in their countries but also against capitalism as a social system. The national-liberation movement has reached a new stage.

Important changes are taking place in the working-class and general democratic movement of the developed capitalist countries. The struggle of the proletariat against the omnipotence of the monopolies is intensifying. Dissatisfaction is growing among the broad sections of society, particularly the youth and intellectuals, who see more and more clearly the political degradation and spiritual poverty of capitalism. Factors of political and economic instability of the capitalist system are making themselves felt more and more strongly.

All this opens up fresh possibilities for an upsurge in the revolutionary movement. Naturally, realization of these possibilities greatly depends on the world Communist movement, on its ability to take into account the specific features of the present period, to perfect its political line and enrich the tactics, and come out in unison against imperialism and reaction.

Such, in our opinion, is the first argument in favor of convening a new international conference.

There is also another important argument, namely, the increasing attempts of the reactionary forces to retard the revolutionary process. Taking advantage particularly of a certain weakening of the unity of the socialist system, the world Communist movement, imperialism is striving to preserve its positions and in some places to recover the positions it has lost. The United States which plays the role of world policeman is resorting more and more frequently to direct aggression and armed suppression of separate detachments of the liberation movement.

The criminal war which American imperialism is waging against the Vietnamese people, the provocations against Cuba and the

Korean People's Democratic Republic, gross interference in the affairs of the Latin American countries, organization of reactionary coups in some Asian and African countries, the aggression in the Middle East, the fascist putsch in Greece, stepped up activity of the revanchist and neo-nazi forces in the FRG, and unceasing growth of militarism—all this testifies to the attempts of imperialism to change the balance of forces in the world in its favor.

Aggressive imperialist forces are increasingly staking on conspiracies, interventions and local wars, which leads to an aggravation of the international situation and increases the danger of a world war. But at the same time this strategy of imperialism quite obviously reveals its weakness and proves its unsoundness as a social system: in the struggle against the forces of socialism and revolution it is now counting less and less on the efficacy of its economic, let alone ideological and political means.

However, having chosen this road, U.S. imperialism has not come closer to its aim. Its attempts at arresting the revolutionary process with the help of military adventures have come up against resolute resistance on the part of the nations, victims of aggression, on the part of the socialist countries and Communist parties, most of which act in complete solidarity and render effective support to the peoples that fall victim to imperialist aggression. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are rendering to fighting Vietnam extensive political, economic and military assistance which is essential for repelling American aggression. Hatred for the American imperialists is growing all over the world. The people's rebuff to their aggressive designs is growing more and more resolute and firm. The moral-political condemnation of the U.S. ruling circles by world public opinion is a fact obvious to all. Their policy rouses dissatisfaction even among the most loyal allies of the USA; contradictions in the imperialist camp take a critical turn more and more frequently. These conditions offer the revolutionary forces further opportunities for dealing a blow at the entire system of imperialist domination. The utilization of these opportunities depends to a great extent on the unity of their action.

Such, in our opinion, is the second argument in favor of a conference.

Conferences are essential to promote the solidarity of the Communist movement. It is nobody's secret that in recent years serious differences have appeared in the views of a number of parties with reference to the fundamental problems of revolutionary struggle. Unity in repelling imperialism's attacks has been disrupted. Dangerous nationalist tendencies have manifested themselves in some links of the Communist movement. Non-coordinated activities weaken the strength of the blows dealt at our common foe. It is the immediate duty of the Communist movement to frustrate

imperialism's designs of breaking up the forces opposing it and to counter these imperialist tactics by concerted, joint actions of all champions of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

The tendency to unity is the leading tendency in the Communist movement. But there is no doubt that there is a different understanding of the unity we need and a different approach to the problem of the ways, forms and methods of implementing this unity in practice. A comradely and unbiased discussion of these problems may help us to arrive at identical conclusions and promote better coordination of the activities of the Communist parties on the international arena.

We are in favor of rigid observance of the independence and equal rights of all parties. Proceeding from these principles reflected in the joint documents of the international Communist movement, the participants in the conference could exchange views on the ideological and political principles of the further development of the fraternal parties' international bonds and the standards of relations among them in conditions of their independence, growing influence and increasing responsibility for the destinies of the peoples of their countries and for the destinies of the entire Communist movement.

We consider it quite natural for the conference to discuss in a frank and comradely way also those problems on which the parties have different views. This will make it possible to define the Parties' stands and examine them comprehensively in a business-like way; this will promote the coordination of views on the items included into the agenda of the conference.

The purpose of the Conference is to consolidate the principles of proletarian internationalism in our movement. By collectively discussing the urgent problems of our time and agreeing on joint actions in the struggle against imperialism, the Communist parties will demonstrate their aspiration to combine national and international tasks in their activity.

This would also deal a heavy blow at the anti-communist reaction which tries to utilize the ideology of nationalism for splitting our ranks.

Of course, there are certain difficult problems involved in the convocation of the Conference.

We would sincerely welcome the presence here and at the conference itself of delegations from all the Communist and Workers' parties, including parties from which we are now separated by profound ideological and political differences. But participation in preparation of the Conference is totally voluntary and comes within the competence of the leading bodies of each and every Party concerned.

The democratic methods employed to prepare the Conference enabled the parties not attending the Consultative Meeting to join in the preparatory work on an equal footing. It is our opinion that neither during the preparation of the conference, nor at the conference itself, can there be any question of denouncing or "excommunicating" any one Party from the Communist movement. The key motto and basic aim of the new conference is unity and again unity.

Nor can we agree to the refusal of any Party to take part in the collective examination and solution of the common problems of our movement being used as a pretext for unjustifiably postponing the conference or for discrediting the very idea of holding such a conference. No Party can impose its will on all the other Communist and Workers' parties.

It has been already said here that the Mao Tse-tung group has long been waging a smear campaign against the conference and against the desire of the fraternal parties to use it to rally the ranks of the Communist movement. This campaign gained momentum after preparations for the Conference started in earnest. By its rude reply to the invitation extended by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to attend the Consultative Meeting, the Mao Tse-tung group has once again demonstrated its reluctance to cooperate with the Communist parties in tackling the tasks of our movement and organizing a joint assault against imperialism. This challenging act shows that the Mao Tse-tung group is totally deaf to the language of proletarian internationalism that is accepted among Communists. It is now quite obvious that its stand can in no way serve as a pretext for putting off the Conference any further.

Our Meeting graphically demonstrates the resolve of the fraternal parties to convene a new international conference and to conduct it in such a fashion that becomes a landmark in the consolidation of the Communist movement and a timely and effective reply to the strategy and tactics of imperialism. For this reason we believe it is important in principle to fix the date of the conference for November-December of this year. We believe there is enough time to ensure its thorough collective preparation. An understanding on this score recorded in our final communique will be of paramount international significance. It would demonstrate to the entire world the adamant resolve of the Communist and Workers' parties to convene the conference on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and to consolidate their ranks in the struggle against imperialism.

By a joint discussion at the Conference of vital problems of consolidating the Communist movement, the fraternal parties would provide a fresh ideological and political stimulus for its further de-

velopment, serving to promote the joint action of all revolutionary and progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. *Consolidation of unity of the Communist movement and all the revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism,* in the opinion of the CPSU, could be included as the key item on the agenda of the Conference.

Allow me now to voice several pertinent considerations.

The struggle against imperialism, as is plain to all Communists, should be spearheaded not only against definite aggressive actions but against the imperialist system as a whole, against the domination of monopoly capital. We Communists must determine the main trends of the struggle against imperialism. While concentrating on immediate problems it is important not to lose sight of the ultimate goals of our movement and to establish a firmer link between the immediate and long-range tasks of Communists. Only on the basis of a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the developments that have occurred over recent years can we correctly formulate the question of unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces in all its aspects, and frame a platform for rallying them.

This will require an assessment of the revolutionary potentialities of the main anti-imperialist detachments.

It would be useful, in the first place, to give a more deep-going analysis of the significance of the unity of the countries making up the world socialist camp, to determine the ways of increasing its influence on the entire international liberation movement, on the entire world revolutionary process.

Another important problem is the role of the proletariat as the center of all the anti-monopoly forces in connection with the changes in the social structure of the developed capitalist society taking place under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution and other objective factors. The conference might examine in the light of the new experience the prospects of the unity of actions between Communists and Left-wing Socialists and Social Democrats in the struggle against state monopoly capitalism and imperialism. To promote the struggle against the forces of imperialism, war and reaction we Communists are consistently advocating broad alliances with the general democratic movements which in their actions are getting ever closer to the revolutionary working-class movement.

The Communists are responsible for the entire revolutionary movement. Therefore it would be useful, in our opinion, to discuss at the Conference the problem of stepping up the support of the national-liberation movement, of strengthening our alliance with it. New, very imortant processes are taking place in that part of the world. Being new, the big political and theoretical prob-

lem of the ways of the newly-free countries' development needs an additional profound elaboration. The further development of scientific socialism is unthinkable without generalizing the social experience of that great part of mankind, and the planned unfolding of the offensive against imperialism is unthinkable without strengthening the ties between the Communist and national-democratic parties.

Such are our views as regards the central item of the coming Conference's agenda. In our opinion, the results of the discussion to be held at the Conference should be summed up in the main document. The adoption of such a document would be a logical result of the big work we are commencing here at the Consultative Meeting.

The basic conclusions we shall draw from the analysis of the modern stage will exert a beneficial influence on the development of not only the Communist movement, but all other revolutionary forces as well. They will help the peoples choose the most effective ways of struggle for their own interests, and enhance the authority of our movement still more. World communism will come out as an international force having a clear prospect of concerted political action.

It is obvious that the main document of the coming Conference should not repeat the 1957 Declaration or the 1960 Statement. The CPSU has adhered and will continue to adhere to the general line of the international Communist movement formulated in these documents. The basic line worked out at the Moscow Meetings has been borne out by life, although nobody wishes to stick to every letter of those documents. The document of the coming Conference ought to reflect the topical problems of the struggle against imperialism in the present stage and to formulate practical proposals on the joint action of all the Communist and Workers' parties, on rallying all the anti-imperialist forces.

Like many fraternal parties, we think that the document of the Conference would chiefly bear the character of political conclusions. It is a matter of principle that it should give clear expression to the ideological trend of the Communist movement, its faithfulness to the teaching of Marx and Lenin, its firm determination to follow the road of proletarian scientific communism.

The question of increasing support to the peoples who are now struggling against the armed aggression and provocations of imperialism merits particular attention of the Communists of all countries—both in the course of the preparation for the conference and at the conference itself. It concerns first of all the strengthening of international *solidarity with embattled Vietnam.*

The whole world admires the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people who are delivering powerful blows at the U.S. aggressor

and the forces of reaction. The CPSU Central Committee has instructed our delegation to announce once again the unbending determination of our Party and the Soviet people to render all necessary support to the fraternal Vietnamese people who are upholding the sacred right to be masters of their own land. The cause for which the Vietnamese people are fighting is not only their national problem; this is also a vital international cause of the workers', democratic and national-liberation movement, of all progressive people of the world. It is the internationalist duty of the Communists to unite their ranks even closer in their support of Vietnam.

We would also deem it useful for the Conference to take up the matter of *intensifying the struggle for averting a thermonuclear war, for peace.* In doing so it would be advisable to delve deeper into the relationship between this struggle and the social progress of mankind, to substantiate the tactics of combining the struggle for a relaxation of international tension with the organization of a resolute rebuff to the aggressors, to show more concretely and thoroughly the class content of the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, aimed at preventing a world thermonuclear war, makes it possible to mobilize wide sections of the population against the aggressive policy of imperialism, to work for the implementation of such principles of international relations as non-interference in the home affairs of other peoples, respect for their sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity. It presupposes a firm rebuff to the imperialist encroachments on the freedom and independence of the peoples, to the attempts to undermine the revolutionary movement. The policy of peaceful coexistence is an important form of the struggle against imperialism.

Our delegation would favor the adoption by the conference of special resolutions on the Vietnam question and on the question of intensifying the struggle for peace.

In connection with the question of the documents of the conference we will also have to solve the matter of how they are to be prepared. The gist of the proposals advanced so far here is that all documents are to be worked out by a collective effort of the fraternal parties. We fully support this approach.

The success of the new international conference—and we are all greatly interested in it—depends not only on the correct definition of its aims and the content of its work but also on the methods and forms of its preparation.

We deem it important that the form we will choose here should first of all ensure systematic work on the preparation of the conference, and, secondly, enable every party to take part in it. In

our opinion, this condition is fully met by the proposal of the fraternal parties on setting up at our Meeting a commission for the preparation of the international conference. We support this proposal. The setting up of a preparatory commission would be a good result of our agreement in principle on the necessity for convening another conference and would help to provide a reliable practical foundation for the entire task of its further preparation.

The commission will carry out the task given it by the Consultative Meeting. All parties, including those which for different reasons are not present today in Budapest, should also have the right of equally participating in it. They can send their representatives or submit to the commission their opinion on any question connected with the conference in writing. Thus the commission would have the opportunity of carrying out its duties—that of systematizing materials received from the parties and drawing up on this basis draft documents for the conference. It stands to reason that when the conference starts its work, the functions of the commission will be exhausted and it will be dissolved.

We think that the work of the commission will help to consolidate and develop the major principle in preparing the conference which we all recognize: collective and equal participation of all fraternal parties at all stages of this preparatory work. It is our opinion that every party, big or small, should have full opportunity of making its contribution to this common work. Such an approach will make it possible to take maximum account of all constructive opinions and wishes aimed at consolidating our movement and will facilitate the creation of a comradely, creative business-like and truly communist atmosphere in the course of the preparations for the conference.

The Communist parties today conduct their activities under the most diverse conditions. This is why there can be no question of organizing any leading international center of the Communist movement. There is no need for such a center—this is the firm and principled conviction of our Party and, we assume, of all parties represented at this Meeting. The present-day forms of unity and the coordination of action of the fraternal parties are sufficiently mobile and flexible. They ensure the effectiveness of international actions of Communist parties in the struggle against imperialism, in achieving common aims on an international scale and at the same time in no way restrict the independence of parties in elaborating and implementing their policy.

Comrades, we have reached a most important and responsible point in the development of our movement, and it is no accident that today the attention of the world public is centred on Budapest.

There is only one political movement which half a century ago

for the first time in history could cope with the task of overthrowing the exploiting system and translating the idea of socialism into practical actions of millions and then affirming socialism as the leading force of the present-day epoch. This is the Communist movement. The 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which was celebrated last year convincingly showed that the road of socialism is the highway of social progress for the whole of mankind.

There is only one political movement which, due to its all-embracing scientific theory—Marxism-Leninism—is capable of expressing most fully the interests of the widest masses of the people. This is why it possesses the widest opportunities in rallying all democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces for the struggle for common aims. This is the Communist movement.

There is only one political movement which holds aloft the banner of peace, which does everything to unite progressive forces to give rebuff to the imperialist policy of plunder, violence and war. This is the Communist movement. What do we Communists need in order to fulfil our responsible mission at the present stage of world development In the first place, cohesion. We need unity, which stems from the basic community of interests of the working class and is based on the principled foundations of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism.

Our Party is profoundly convinced that jointly, on a genuinely collective and equitable basis we shall be able to map out such a concrete plan of actions, the realization of which will ensure the convening and the successful holding of the conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

Allow me to assure you, dear comrades, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, true to Lenin's traditions, will do everything in its power to make its contribution to solving our common tasks in rallying the Communist movement, all socialist and democratic forces.

OSCAR ASTUDILLO

DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

The conference should be open to all parties and should meet before the end of this year.

The Communist Party of Chile considered that all parties could

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El Siglo, February 29, 1968.

participate in the conference, including those that had not attended the Budapest Consultative Meeting.

The chief purpose of the conference should be to promote the unity of the Communist movement and seek unity of action of the Communist movement and all the other revolutionary forces against imperialism.

Communist unity of action should take into account the actual conditions in which each party is operating, with all the differences flowing from this in respect of their tasks. Unity of action should be based on the autonomy of every party and on a harmonious combination of specific national objectives and the tasks stemming from proletarian internationalism.

The Communists of Chile are doing all in their power for closer unity of action of the Communist parties against imperialism.

PAUL NICULESCU-MIZIL

MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE STANDING PRESIDIUM, SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUMANIA

Dear Comrades,

First of all I wish to convey to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the hosts of our meeting, to all the communist and workers' parties you are representing, a warm and fraternal salute of internationalist solidarity from the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, from the Rumanian communists and the entire Rumanian people.

The Rumanian Communist Party decided to take part in this consultative meeting animated by the desire to make its contribution alongside other parties, to the finding of the best ways for the organization of an international conference that should contribute to the improvement of the climate and serve the rapprochement and understanding between the fraternal parties, should lead to the strengthening of the cohesion of the international Communist and working-class movement under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

An essential feature in the evolution of international life is the growth of the forces of socialism and peace. The socialist countries are continuously increasing their material potential through their achievements in the economic development and the building of the

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"Agerpres" supplement, No. 4, February 29, 1968.

new system. The greater the importance of the results in the growth of the productive forces, in the solution of the problems of social life, in the development of democracy, in the field of science and culture, in the raising of the living standards of the working people and in the establishment of international relations of a new type, the greater is the increase in the confidence of the peoples in the superiority of the socialist system and the greater the prestige of socialism in the world. Resolutely fighting for the vital interests of the masses of the working people, the communist parties of many capitalist countries have in recent years increased their ranks and accumulated a rich experience, exercising a growing influence on the political life of society. In a number of states there is a growing trend for joint, united actions of the communist and the socialist parties. The newly independent states are asserting themselves in the international arena more and more as a progressive and peace-loving force; the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples are striking heavy blows at imperialism and colonialism in several regions of the world.

In the capitalist countries large social forces, democratic mass movements, are carrying out big actions against the domination of the monopolies, against the military bloc policy, against the maintenance of foreign bases and troops on their territories. Realistic and lucid currents advocating a detente and the normalization of inter-state relations are making headway on the European continent; the intensification of links on several levels between European countries having different social systems, the development and political organization, with public personalities and statesmen who stand for the elimination of discrimination in international relations, for peace and collaboration, are leading to positive results in the improvement of the political climate of Europe—an outstandingly important condition for the prospects of building security on this continent.

At the same time, Comrades, it should be noted that this evolution is lately accompanied in international life by a number of phenomena which arouse the justified anxiety of the peoples. There is an intensification of the aggressive actions of the imperialist circles, and in the first place of American imperialism, which in recent years has resorted to a number of increasingly overt attempts on the revolutionary gains won by the people, to plots and coups-d'etat and to direct military interventions. The most flagrant expression of this policy is the aggressive war against Vietnam, the continuous escalation of this typically imperialist, brutal and barbarous intervention.

At our consultative meeting which has to discuss the ways of preparing a conference of the communist parties we obviously do not intend, Comrades, to make an analysis of the international

situation. We have made the above references because *the entire development of international life emphasizes that the problem of the unity of the communist and workers' parties, the strengthening of their fighting solidarity, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the strengthening of the solidarity of all the anti-imperialist forces is the categorical imperative of our days, that, in the last instance, it is a vital cause of the international working class and of the whole of progressive mankind.*

Having the firm belief that what unites the communist parties is the fundamental factor which must be above differences of views, and proceeding from the need to intensify the joint struggle against imperialism, the Rumanian Communist Party considers that there exists no international duty more important than to resolutely and perseveringly act for the re-establishment of the unity of will, struggle and action of the communist and workers' parties. In this context our Party considers *that all efforts have to be concentrated in one positive and constructive direction — towards the improvement of relations between all communist and workers' parties* without any exception, the development of their fraternal collaboration in the interest of the cause of unity. Because it proceeds from the major interests of the international working class, of all the peoples, our Party considers that one of the most important general duties at present is *to undertake absolutely nothing that could add new elements of tension, absolutely nothing that would lead to a worsening of the relations between the communist and workers' parties and weaken the capacity of the joint struggle against imperialism.* We believe that everything should be done to eliminate the elements of tension and strain, to improve the atmosphere between parties in the interest of the re-establishment and strengtehning of their fighting cohesion.

It is in this spirit and in keeping with the cause of unity that the Rumanian Communist Party has militated and militates for the development of the fraternal alliance and collaboration between Rumania and the other socialist countries on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism, equality, independence and noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage. At the same time, the Rumanian Communist Party continuously develops its relations of internationalist solidarity with all the communist and workers' parties.

Our Party appreciates the importance for the strengthening of friendly relations between the communist parties of the development of bilateral relations which favor direct information, from leadership to leadership, better acquaintance with the respective positions and reciprocal clarification, and the finding of ways to highlight joint conclusions.

At the same time the Rumanian Communist Party decidedly stands for large meetings between the communist and workers' parties and in principle is in favor of international conferences.

The utility of each multilateral meeting, of each international conference must naturaly be assessed according to the concrete situation, to the conference's character, scope and results. In the present circumstances, when deep divergencies persist between the communist parties, and when numerous elements of suspicion have accumulated—generated especially by infringements of the norms of relations —, the Rumanian Communist Party believes that *such a conference, in order to be useful to our common cause, must serve rapprochement and understanding, must make a real contribution to the elimination or at least to the attenuation of some of the sources of tension, to the improvement of the relations between the communist and workers' parties, to the cause of their unity.* Conversely, an international conference could under the present conditions but impair the major interests of unity if it were to lead to the hardening of relations between the communist parties, to the worsening of the situation in the communist movement and would add new reasons for suspicion and lack of understanding to the present differences.

Proceeding from these premises, and with the sincere desire to see the entire future preparations of an international conference directed in such a way that they smooth the way to a conference serving the needs for a normalization of relations between the communist parties, we would like to speak of some aspects regarding the preparation of the present consultative meeting.

In our view, any action in which the communist parties are callled upon to participate has to be definitely organized on the basis of their previous consultation, on the basis of their agreement. In this context we believe that it would have been normal and useful to have had prior to the convening of this consultative meeting an initial information and consultation of all the parties in keeping with the norms of relations between fraternal parties. But we have to express our regret that our Party was not previously consulted about the intention to call a consultative meeting. We first learned of the decision to call this meeting from reports transmitted around the 8th of November by the Moscow correspondents of bourgeois newspapers and press agencies, although during that very period our delegation, like the delegations of other parties, attended the festivities of the semi-centenary of the October Revolution. As far as we know, other fraternal parties were in a similar situation. Speaking openly, as between comrades, such a procedure to put parties before a *fait accompli* does not seem natural to us; it does not serve rapprochement and understanding, it can only add new elements of reserve towards the conference, it does not appear

to be of good omen for the international conference.

The convening of the meeting by the 18 parties which participated in the March 1965 reunion—which itself was a matter of divergency between the communist parties at that time—has led to a limitation of the consultations between parties, to the actual exclusion of a great number of communist and workers' parties from these consultations and even from the preparations for this consultative meeting.

We also believe that it would have been in the interest of a good preparation of the conference if to the Budapest meeting all communist and workers' parties with no exception whatever had been invited, without having recourse to the "criterion" of participation in the 1960 Moscow Conference. Eight years have passed since that conference, life has evolved in the meantime and we see no reason of principle to consider another international conference as a continuation of the 1960 conference. In this connection we wish to declare that a new international conference should not discuss the 1960 conference, should not proceed to an analysis or re-confirmation, in whatever form, of its documents. Each international conference is a separate, independent manifestation, and to conceive international conferences as having a certain succession and membership would mean to attribute to them the character of sessions of an organized body, to introduce into the relations between the communist parties the elements of an organizational structure.

In this connection the Rumanian Communist Party considers that the absence of an invitation to the Yugoslav League of Communists and to other communist and workers' parties to the consultative meeting of Budapest is a discrimination.

Likewise, in the conditions in which, as a result of circumstances and factors which, certainly, we are not called upon to analyze, the communist parties of India and Israel have split and are carrying on as two communist parties, only one party has been invited from each of those countries. Now, in these cases the only ones entitled to decide which party should be considered as the true spokesman are the communists, the working class and the respective people alone. Any decision from outside inevitably appears as a form of support for one party group or of one party against the other. Therefore, to invite only one party does not mean in these cases an assistance with a view to the re-establishment of the unity in those countries, the unity in which, as shown by experience, resides the source of the force of each communist party. In our view, a fruitful road to a constructive international conference, to a conference in keeping with the interests of unity, can only pass through the strengthening of the internal cohesion of all fraternal parties.

We wish to emphasize, dear Comrades, that we have dwelt on these aspects because we believe that it would be necessary and useful to prevent their future repetition and because we are guided by the desire that from now on all preparatory work should proceed in a spirit and in forms which should not generate new elements of dissatisfaction in the relations between parties, should not strengthen the reserves of some parties with regard to the conference.

Of course, it is a positive fact that this consultative meeting is attended by a big number of communist and workers' parties. But, to our Party it is a matter of deep concern that many communist and workers' parties are not present at this meeting. Thus, the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor are not participating. The Working People's Party of Vietnam is not present, which means that a preparatory meeting for a conference on the problems of the struggle against imperialism is not attended by the representative of the very people directly engaged in the sharpest struggle, in a fierce war against imperialist aggression. Nor is the consultative meeting attended by the Communist Party of Cuba, a socialist country in the immeditae neighborhood of the USA, having to face the pressure and the repeated hostile acts of American imperialism. There is no representative of the Workers' Party of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, a socialist country against which the USA is continuing to commit acts of provocation.

The reasons for non-participation in the Budapest meeting may vary from party to party, but the absence of the above-mentioned parties is a fact. And if these parties will also be absent from the international conference dedicated to the problems of the struggle against imperialism this would mean that nearly half of the number of socialist countries, the main stronghold of the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle, will be absent. There is no doubt that such a conference could in no way be a demonstration of the unity of the socialist countries.

Also a number of communist parties from capitalist countries and developing countries are not present at this meeting — such as the communist parties of Japan, Indonesia, Burma, Laos, Thailand, Malaya, Sweden, the Netherlands. Our attention is strongly focussed by the fact that a great part of the communist and workers' parties of the continent of Asia are absent from the present consultative meeting. Furthermore, the continent of Africa, where the number of communist and workers' parties is, as you know, small, is also not well represented. Not more than half of the world's population lives on those two continents, where there are numerous centers of sharp struggle against imperialism.

In this situation, which mirrors the present state of things in

the communist movement, *the fundamental, essential problem,* is we believe, to join and concentrate our efforts and direct the entire work of preparation to the creation of the conditions necessary for the organization of a conference which would make a real contribution to the normalization of the relations between the communist parties and really serve the interests of their fighting unity.

In this sense, we believe our meeting here should mark *the beginning of preparations which would be based on the principle of large consultation in the spirit of full equality, esteem and mutual confidence, and would open the road to bringing the viewpoints closer together and achieving joint agreements on the essential problems of the organization and procedure of the international conference.*

We therefore consider that at this consultative meeting we should have a constructive exchange of views, to examine together and consult on what should be done to prepare a conference which would help to improve the climate between the communist parties, to create conditions for the participation of all the communist and workers' parties in the conference. The Rumanian Communist Party stands *for* the organization of the conference, *for* its thorough preparation, believes that it would be useful to reach here unanimous consensus, notably to reach agreement on such essential problems as the character and aim of the international conference, its agenda, the nature of the final document, the procedure for its adoption, etc. The realization of agreements of principle on such problems, during our consultations here, would, doubtlessly, be particularly useful in preparing the conference.

Along this line, we wish that, in specifying the agenda, stress be laid on the necessity of maintaining the consultative character of the present meeting—as it was called. This is in our opinion, an important question of principle.

After we get to know each other's viewpoints through the exchanges of views taking place here and lay down the common conclusions being reached by the efforts of all, it will obviously be necessary to give our parties, their leading bodies, the Central Committees, the possibility to analyze the opinions expressed, to judge them thoroughly and declare on them, taking decisions, fully cognizant of the situation, on all problems regarding the respective party and the international conference. Thus, we shall be able, after several months, to gather again at a consultative meeting at which we should determine the course of the further preparations for the convening of an international conference. We think that such a procedure will serve as a good preparation of the conference, at the same time corresponding to the democratic spirit characterizing the communist parties, the norms in the relations between fraternal parties — the only ones who have the right and are in a

position to take decisions on any problem regarding them directly.

The adoption of decisions at the Budapest meeting, convened as a consultative meeting, would deprive the parties represented here of the possibility of analyzing the materials of the meeting, the points on which an agreement has been reached as well as those on which possible disagreements may still persist — and thus of taking the necessary decisions regarding the further unfolding of preparations.

Moreover, we cannot overlook the fact that many parties are absent from this consultative meeting. The adoption of decisions at the consultative meeting would narrow their possibilities of subsequent participation in the preparation of the conference and in the international conference itself, would face them with an accomplished fact as — practically speaking — they would only have the alternative of upholding or not some decisions established by this meeting, of ratifying or not decisions of the meeting. This will not contribute to the removal, but on the contrary, will lead to the growth of the reserves expressed by a number of parties with regard to the international conference all of us desire.

In this light, we consider that it is on *the manner in which this consultative meeting unfolds that depends to an overwhelming extent the whole subsequent progress of the preparations for a conference.* Proceeding from the prerequisite that a future conference will have to be a manifestation of unity and wishing to make its entire contribution to its preparation, the delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party is ready, at this meeting, to do its part for the realization of agreements of principle on the characteristics of the international conference, on what should further be undertaken to pave the way for the participation in the conference of all parties without any exception, so as to ensure the possibility to parties, present here or not, of examining the opinions expressed and deciding upon them. Then the present consultative meeting will be a positive factor and will mark an important step forward along the line of the thorough preparation of an international conference.

It is in this light that the Rumanian Communist Party looks upon the basic features of the consultative meeting at Budapest.

Comrades,

In view of our Party, one of the main problems that should be clarified by the consultative meeting is the character of a future international conference, so that the question of *what kind of conference is intended to be organized and what shall be its nature and aims be fully elucidated.*

The Rumanian Communist Party considers the international conference to be a reunion for an exchange of views between the fraternal parties on the tasks of joint struggle against imperialism,

with a view to the development of their international solidarity and the strengthening of their unity in action.

A new international conference should under no circumstances re-enact a conference of the 1960 type which had the intention of establishing universal solutions and adopt program-documents with the character of directives for all communist and workers' parties. As recognized to an ever larger extent in the communist movement today, the independent establishment by each party of its home and foreign policy, of its tactics and strategy, of the ways, forms and methods of activity, on the basis of creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the enormous diversity of conditions in which they carry on their activities, is an inalienable right of each party, an imprescriptible obligation and duty to the working class, to its people, as well as a lofty internationalist duty.

If, at this meeting, we were to reach the clear conclusion that a future international conference is not to be organized for the establishment of directives and normative lines, this would contribute to a better understanding of the aim of the conference, to a diminution of the reserves of some parties, to the smoothing of the way for the adhesion of all fraternal parties.

As regards the agenda of the international conference, our Party believes that in order that it may serve unity, the conference should have as its agenda—which defines the precise scope of the conference—*the discussion of these problems on which joint conclusions can be reached.*

Our Party has noted with interest the idea formulated by several fraternal parties according to which a future international conference *should discuss the concrete problems of the present struggle against imperialism.* It seems to us that this is a judicious, well-founded proposal. In the first place, because, it responds to a requirement of major actuality, in view of the intensification of the aggressive acts of imperialism and of the stringent need of a strong and concerted rebuff, of a consistently militant attitude on the part of all the communist and workers' parties and of the entire anti-imperialist front. This would also have the advantage that it would clearly circumscribe the agenda of the international conference and would favor the finding of a common ground of practical action.

In the present circumstances, when so many divergencies of a political and theoretical, strategic and tactical nature have accumulated, we do not believe it to be opportune to give the international conference a character of ideological discussion.

Of course, our Party does not exclude that in the relations between the fraternal parties divergent ideological problems be discussed. But what we are discussing here is a concrete matter, notably whether the future conference of the communist and work-

ers' parties should discuss the great divergencies existing in the communist movement. In our view, if we were to proceed on such a line in preparing the conference, this not only would not lead to the clarification of divergencies, but, on the contrary, would lead to the sharpening of the disputes and the hardening of relations between parties; it would hamper the finding of a ground of joint action.

Therefore the Rumanian Communist Party backs the idea that a future international conference should have an agenda limited to the problem of the concrete tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle, where likewise, there can be different assessments, different points of view, but where, in our opinion, it is not only necessary but also *possible* for us to reach common conclusions.

In a discussion on the problems of the struggle against imperialism a central, fundamental place would obviously be held by support for the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the American aggression. Our Party declares again that it agrees with the view that this international conference should adopt an appeal for solidarity with the Vietnamese people. In this connection the position of the Rumanian Communist Party is known; it has consistently voiced its active solidarity with the fight of the Vietnamese people, it has given and gives it its entire support, resolutely working for the immediate and unconditional cessation of the American air raids against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, for the observance of the Vietnamese people's right to decide its fate by itself, without any outside interference.

In view of the present situation, of the fact that numerous fraternal parties are not represented at our meeting, we believe it all the more necessary that throughout the preparatory work persevering efforts be made, that everything possible should be done in a spirit of understanding and comradely rapprochement, on strictly principled lines, to create conditions for the participation of all the fraternal parties in the conference.

An important requirement in this direction would be *that we establish here that all communist and workers' parties, without any exception or discrimination, will be invited to the international conference.* As regards the situation in India and Israel, we believe that a correct, equitable and principled solution would be the invitation of both communist parties existing in each of those countries.

In connection with the problem of participation, several parties have emphasized the need to find forms which would make possible *also the participation of other political and social forces actively fighting imperialism in an international conference dedicated to the problems of the anti-imperialist struggle.*

We believe this to be a justified and well-founded proposal. The

vanguard role of the communist parties in the struggle against imperialism is obviously well known. But there are countries, geographical zones, where — because there are no communist parties or for other reasons — an important role in the struggle against imperialism is played by other political and social forces, by national, anti-imperialist movements.

In the interest of a full discussion of the problems of the fight against imperialism and in keeping with the major requirements of consolidating the unity of action of all the anti-imperialist forces, we consider it useful that the planned international conference should be attended by such movements as the fronts of liberation, the people's movements of national liberation, other anti-imperialist forces and a number of socialist parties having clear-cut anti-imperialist attitudes and which are interested in the achievement of the unity of action of all forces fighting imperialism.

We therefore believe that at this consultative meeting we have to proceed to an exchange of views on this question, on the forms and ways in which the participation of such forces in the international conference would be possible.

In our view, *the international conference could be an important moment in the creation and consolidation of a powerful worldwide anti-imperialist front, not by way of excluding, but on the contrary, by drawing into the discussion, alongside the communists, other political and social forces as well which are in the front lines of the anti-imperialist struggle.*

The Rumanian Communist Party considers it important that we should within the consultative meeting discuss and clarify *what kind of final document* a future conference might adopt.

We are of the opinion that *the document should include the main questions related to the struggle against imperialism on which an agreement had been reached.* We are convinced that even when divergencies of views between parties on the interpretation of some international events are manifest, common points of agreement can be found—certainly, if there is the necessary goodwill—, leaving it to time and life to clarify the unsettled issues. It follows as a matter of course that a document of that nature can only be adopted on a democratic basis, through a consensus of the conference participants, any tendency whatever of recording in it points of view some parties are in disagreement with being excluded. However, we do not exclude a situation where a party may disagree with an assessment or with the respective document as a whole, and makes its stand known. Essential is that this should not be conducive to the alteration of the relations between the fraternal parties.

We consider it necessary to stress that documents of international conferences of the communist parties cannot be adopted *on the*

basis of majority vote. The principle of democratic centralism is valid only on an inner party plane; this principle cannot be transferred mechanically to the international plane, as it is absolutely unapplicable in the relations between the communist parties.

Conceiving the international conference within the normal framework of a forum for the free exchange of views, the Rumanian Communist Party considers that the document this conference would adopt cannot have a programmatic character, cannot be a norm-setting act for the parties' activities. In the opinion of our Party it is life itself, the best judge of everybody's actions, which fully demonstrated the reduced efficiency of some documents pretending to cover and explain the whole development of world events and point out to the communist parties the path to follow as well as the concrete tasks in their activities.

A clear agreement as part of this meeting on the nature of the document would doubtlessly be a stimulating factor along the line of the participation of the fraternal parties in an international conference.

A cardinal requirement for the thorough preparation of the Conference lies in *very clearly establishing that a future international conference should not in any form discuss and criticize the internal and international activity or policy of any fraternal party, present or not present at the conference, should not resort, in any case and in no way, to blame or condemnation with regard to other parties.*

During the discussions here, it was aptly shown that it is the sovereign right of each party to set out, on any occasion and not hampered by anybody, the point of view it shares. We wish to stress once more that this is obviously a sovereign right which the Rumanian Communist Party treasures—but this right also implies the obligation to assess *what is useful* to the conference we want to organize and what is not useful, what would serve the conference and what would harm it. Precisely this is the meaning of the comradely appeal made here by the Rumanian delegation to the effect that the fraternal parties should during the consultative meeting refrain from criticizing other parties.

Our Party has noted with attention as an important positive fact that lately a series of parties in their stands on various occasions have emphasized that a future international conference must not in any form criticize or discuss the internal or international policy of any party. The public assertion by our consultative meeting of the principle according to which a future international conference is not convened in order to discuss or condemn the internal or international political line of other parties would have a powerful positive international response, would contribute to removing suspicion, would doubtlessly inspire confidence and

pave the way for the participation of all fraternal parties in the conference.

In this connection, we wish to express the deep regret of the delegation of the Rumanian Communist Party over the fact that at this very consultative meeting the policy of a fraternal party has been discussed.

The Rumanian Communist Party has a clear-cut stand in this respect. All of us know that there exist numerous divergencies in the communist movement, but the path of solving them is not the discussion of parties, is not the way of their being criticized or judged by outside forums. Historical experience has fully demonstrated that the criticizing or condemning of fraternal parties not only does not resolve the problems under dispute, but, on the contrary aggravates the differences of views, increases the elements of tension and discord, impairs the unity between the fraternal parties, causing serious prejudice to the common fight against imperialism, to the cause of socialism.

There were other international meetings or conferences at which parties were condemned or blamed, having well-known baneful results in consequence of which the communist movement is still suffering. Also known are the wrongs done by the practice of classifying the fraternal parties in nationalist or internationalist, in various other categories.

We wish to declare here in all sincerity that if this consultative meeting turns into a rostrum for the discussion and judging of other parties, this will not be a constructive factor in the process of preparation, will not contribute to the creation of the necessary conditions for a conference to serve unity. On the contrary, this would lead to the narrowing of the possibilities for participation in such a conference, will strengthen even more the reserves expressed by several parties, will be another source of worsening the relations between the communist parties.

As regards ourselves, *the Rumanian Communist Party most categorically declares in support of not discussing in any form—neither at this consultative meeting, nor at the future consultative meeting, nor at the international conference—the internal or international activity or policy of other communist and workers' parties.*

Along the same line we think it useful for our consultative meeting to emphasize *that the decision to take part in the international conference should not in any case be regarded or turned into a reason of discord and it should not affect the relations of comradely cooperation between the communist parties.* Regarding the participation in a conference as well as any question related to its internal and international activity, the only one that has the right and is in a position to decide is the respective party.

We note as a positive tendency that of late this principle is being

recognized on an ever wider scale. Reasserting this principle in the present consultative meeting we would doubtlessly do something positive for the thorough preparation of an international conference.

A cardinal prerequisite for the success of a future international conference is that it should unfold on a democratic basis with the strict observance of the norms in the relations among the communist and workers' parties.

Historical experience has proved that the assertion of every communist party as a political vanguard force of the working class, of its people, as well as the efficient solution of the problems of the struggle for socialism and against imperialism, are incompatible with the existence of any international leading center. Consequently, *all problems connected with the preparation of the conference should be conceived and resolved in such a way so as not in the least to let it be inferred that the relations between communist and workers' parties were based on the idea of a leading center.* Among the communist and workers' parties there cannot be "superior" parties and "inferior" parties, all parties are equal, no party can or should hold a place apart, a privileged position, no party can or should interfere in the internal affairs of another party. Within the present historical framework, starting from the irreversible processes of development of the parties, the conception has widely gained understanding and recognition which provides that the *unity and internationalist solidarity—the communist movement is in such great need of—can only be built on the foundation of the principles of the parties' independence and sovereignty, of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other parties, of the observance of the right of each and every party to decide by itself on its policy and activity.*

In our Party's opinion it will be necessary all through the conference preparation that the consultations between parties should be carried on democratically, evincing receptivity with regard to the opinions expressed by each and every party, avoiding all action or manifestation meant to alter the climate of comradeship, principledness and sincerity, which is absolutely necessary for the thorough preparation of a constructive international conference.

It results from all this that in our Party's view, *for the organization of an international conference which should meet the interests of unity, thorough and strenuous preparatory work still has to be carried on,* in order to create conditions for the participation of the communist and workers' parties, present or absent at the present consultative meeting, as well as for the possible participation of other anti-imperialist political and social forces.

The very fact that this consultative meeting is not attended by a great number of parties, even if their non-participation is deter-

mined by various reasons, reflects the serious reservations a number of communist parties have at present with regard to the idea of the conference and shows that conditions are not ripe at the present time for a world conference of the communist and workers' parties. A conference held in such conditions would only even more flagrantly illustrate on a world scale the lack of unity between the communist parties and would inevitably appear, whatever the intentions, as an acknowledgement of the phenomena of division and scission.

In view of all the above, the Rumanian Communist Party considers that *it would be premature to establish the date of the conference at the present consultative meeting,* or to already create preparatory commissions or committees. The establishment of the date already now would mean the relegation to a secondary plane not only of the conditions in which the conference would be held but also of the results it would conclude with, would shift the stress from the adequate preparation of the conference to the aspect of its convening at any price at a fixed date, irrespective of whether the preparations were completed or not. *But the essential thing is not to precipitate things, but to thoroughly prepare the conference, patiently, as long as will be necessary, for what is naturally of primary interest is not the calendar date, but the consequences a conference should have, the way it should find its reflection in the life and on the relations between the communist and workers' parties, in the life and development of international events.*

Taking into account that the necessary conditions do not exist now and, hence, we would not be in a position to pronounce ourselves as to the date—*we are of the opinion that we should take up this question at the next consultative meeting.* In a few months time, contingent upon the stage of preparations, if we note that they are carried on successfully and tend to lead to the existence of the necessary premises, we shall certainly then be able to concretely tackle the problem of establishing the date of the conference.

In this respect, our Party thinks that the establishment of the place where the future consultative meetings and the international conference are held should be based on ensuring an alternation of the host parties of these events. This would accord with the principles of equality between parties and would at the same time exclude the possibility of interpretations unwished for—namely of the existence of a leading center. The establishment of the place may form the object of discussions at the next consultative meeting, in accordance with the interests of its preparation in the best conditions.

Comrades,

We have outlined the point of view of the Rumanian Communist

Party, animated by the desire that this consultative meeting should conclude with positive results, should mark a real contribution to the re-establishment of the climate of principledness and the normalization of relations between the communist and workers' parties, to the creation of conditions for the participation of all fraternal parties in an international conference meeting the interests of unity. We wish to emphasize once again that the Rumanian Communist Party will most actively participate in the preparation of such an international conference.

The unfolding of the preparatory work for the international conference on the basis of the strict observance of the norms in the relations between the fraternal parties will be a contribution to creating conditions for the re-establishment of the unity of the communist and workers' parties—the unity on which the cohesion, strength and success in struggle of the whole anti-imperialist front depend to a decisive extent.

Proceeding from the lofty internationalist responsibility incumbent on it for our common cause, the Rumanian Communist Party expresses its determination not to spare its efforts with a view to the re-establishment and strengthening of the unity of all the communist and workers' parties, to do its utmost to contribute to the cohesion of the communist movement, of all forces fighting for socialism, peace and social progress.

BORIS VELCHEV

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Comrades,

All who have spoken here have rightly addressed words of gratitude to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. I, too, wish to fulfil that pleasant duty on behalf of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the whole of our public by thanking the Hungarian comrades for all that they have done and are doing to ensure the success of the Consultative Meeting, and for their warm hospitality.

Before dealing with specific matters, I wish to point out that we have come to the capital of fraternal Hungary to express the willingness of our Party to do all in its power to ensure that the Budapest Consultative Meeting becomes the decisive step toward

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Rabotnichesko Delo, March 1, 1968.

the early convening of a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. We are deeply convinced that this task is quite realistic. If we who are here proceed from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint, from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism, there can be no doubt that we will be joined by other fraternal parties which so far have not found it possible to send their representatives to Budapest.

Comrades, the Bulgarian Communist Party resolutely declares for a new world conference because we are convinced that it really is an urgent and objective necessity. With the present state of the world Communist movement and in the present international political situation, the conference could contribute effectively to closer unity of our ranks and subsequently also to greater unity of the other revolutionary and democratic forces against imperialism, for national and social emancipation, for democracy, socialism and world peace.

Allow me to tell you what the Bulgarian Communist Party thinks of the importance of international Communist conferences and why it believes that the conditions for an early new conference are ripe.

At the present stage in the development of the Communist movement and in world development generally, periodical general conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties have become a vital necessity, as experience shows. When the Comintern was still there it held congresses which determined the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement. But while the Comintern no longer exists and nothing demands its re-establishment, the historical mission of the Communist movement, the common goals and tasks of the Communist parties in the fight on a national and an international scale make it no less necessary for them than before to meet periodically and to coordinate their positions and actions in the flght against the common enemy, doing it collectively, without their autonomy being infringed. This of course, does not abolish the need for bilateral, multilateral and other meetings and conferences, which will be held in the future as well. But it is clear to anyone that those meetings are more or less one-sided and narrow in scope and can under no circumstances replace the general conference, a very suitable organizational form today, it appears, in which to shape correct strategy and tactics for the struggle against the class enemy and to promote the internationalist unity of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The issue of a new conference has been discussed by the brother parties for some years now. If it has not materialized yet and there still are obstacles on the road to this goal, we all know that the reason is the divergences and differences that have come out in the world Communist movement in recent years, and above all certain attempts to split our ranks, which, of course, seriously

injures our unity and cohesion, undermines our strength and prestige and renders a direct service to imperialism. Nor are these divergences few. And then, they are grave enough in certain respects. They bear on the estimation of our epoch and the present international situation, the balance of forces and future trends of development, and the strategy and tactics flowing from this situation. More specifically, they bear on the estimation of the aggressiveness of imperialism in recent times. They manifest themselves also with regard to relations between the Communist parties at the present stage.

It is from the standpoint of this conception of the role of general meetings, comrades, especially now that there are divergences and differences in our ranks, that I wish to state the principal considerations of our Party in favor of an early new international conference. What are these considerations?

First. Everyone knows that in the various countries and in the world as a whole there continuously take place changes with which the Communist parties and the entire Communist movement must reckon by bringing their strategy and tactics, the forms and methods of their work and leadership, the ways in which they associate and cooperate, into line with these changes.

Seven years have passed since the last international conference. This period, while rather brief, has been rich in important events and changes, first of all in important gains in the fight for national and social emancipation, for democracy, socialism and peace, against imperialism and reaction. This period has borne out the correctness of the fundamental conclusions and estimations of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow conferences regarding the peculiarities and trends of development in the present period.

We could cite numerous facts to show that today, too, the most typical feature of our time is the further transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, and that our successes and gains are growing and multiplying in the face of furious enemy resistance.

The socialist system, the world Communist movement and other democratic and progressive forces are extending their positions and influence. The Communist parties have accumulated ample experience in the creative application of Marxism-Leninism both in the fight against capitalism and in the building of socialist society.

At the same time the general crisis of capitalism is becoming deeper in spite of desperate attempts — not always unsuccessful— to hold up and tone down this irreversible process.

The alignment of forces goes on changing in favor of socialism, the Communist and working-class movement, progress and peace.

Nor is that all. A careful analysis of the changes that have occurred in the world in late years shows that there are also new pro-

cesses, phenomena and aspects which have to be explained and dealt with, and which call for corresponding modifications of the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement.

I would like merely to point out these things, for there is no need now to go into them—it will be for the conference to do so.

Let us take the development of the socialist countries. There is much that is qualitatively new there in the building up of the material and technical base, the development of social relations, the Communist education of people, and promotion of the standard of living. In short, deep-going economic, socio-political and cultural changes have taken, or are taking, place in the socialist countries. The guidance of socialist construction in our countries is characterized, above all, by the desire to take scientific and technological progress into increasing account. Cooperation between the CMEA countries has risen to a higher plane, and new forms of cooperation and specialization are used.

The brother parties of the socialist countries justly regard their achievements as a fruit of their effort to apply Marxism-Leninism in a creative spirit, to exchange experiences ever more fully, to cooperate, all of which enriches the theory and practice of socialist construction. They know this is the tried and tested road to new profound changes that will add to the strength, prestige and influence of each of our parties and will steadily increase the impact of the socialist community on world development.

Obviously, all this is not to say that the socialist countries have no unsolved problems, that they are free from difficulties, shortcomings and mistakes, and we do our best to draw proper conclusions from this.

In the capitalist system, too, there are new phenomena and processes and aspects. Taken in their totality, they speak, in the final analysis, not of a prosperous system, of course, as imperialist propaganda tries to suggest, but of a further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Numerous facts show, for instance, that U.S. capital is penetrating more and more into the economies of these countries, that the sphere of action of state-monopoly capital is extending, and that lately upheavals in the currency sphere have been increasing the instability of the capitalist economy. And who can deny that the antagonisms between the principal imperialist powers are growing deeper, that NATO is passing through a deep crisis, that monopoly capitalist exploitation affects, not only the interests of the working class, but also those of the middle classes and all working people, that the progress of the scientific and technological revolution poses new social problems and gives rise to new upheavals in these countries?

The brother parties in the capitalist countries know best of all that in these conditions the class struggle is inevitably gaining in

intensity, as are the anti-monopoly sentiments of the masses. The process of radicalization is expanding, involving new social strata. The brother parties in the capitalist countries have made appreciable progress in the struggle to unite the proletariat, to rally the left-wing and democratic forces, to set up broad anti-imperialist fronts. Communist parties have drawn up, or are drawing up, their programs for effecting the transition to socialism. Unquestionably, the Communist parties of the capitalist countries, for their part, enrich the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle, making valuable contributions to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

As regards the national liberation movement, it has won decisive victories. To begin with, the colonial system has definitively fallen apart. A number of newly-free countries have taken the road of non-capitalist development, which shows that a new trend has emerged, a trend toward anti-imperialist struggles growing into anti-capitalist struggles. At the same time this inevitably leads to the further consolidation of the alliance of the national liberation movements and world socialism and the labor movement in the capitalist countries, which expresses itself in broader and stronger links between the Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties and the anti-imperialist movements. More, the various revolutionary forces in the developing countries and the national liberation movement already call, not only for struggle in common with the socialist countries against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, but also for an ideological rapprochement on the basis of scientific socialism. All these are new important aspects of the development of the world revolutionary process providing a basis for new advances in the fight against imperialism, the common enemy.

Surely, comrades, all this requires collective analysis and appraisal. Surely it is in the interest of the Communist parties to carry on their policies in keeping with the new aspects of the social development of the world. We are deeply convinced that a new world conference could accomplish this task much to the benefit of the Communist movement as a whole and of its various national contingents. This, however, implies that we must overcome the divergences and differences that exist or may arise over this or that fundamental issue of the common fight of the Communist and Workers' parties against imperialism, for the building of the new society.

Second. Another important reason for which we should hold a new international conference before long and which does not allow us to temporize is the aggressiveness of imperialism, particularly of U.S. imperialism, which in recent years has been on the rise.

Does one need a more vivid example than what is going on in

Vietnam as a result of the barbarous intervention of the American imperialists and their satellites to see how really aggressive imperialism has become?

There can be no doubt that history will severely condemn the aggressors. But neither will it forgive those who raise obstacles to our extending, in a spirit of solidarity, the necessary assistance and support to the fraternal people of Vietnam, whose heroic fight is admired by all progressive mankind.

Another fact that surely is of no small importance is the Israeli aggression—inspired and backed by imperialism, chiefly U.S. imperialism—against free and independent Arab countries, and particularly against progressive regimes in the Middle East. If it did not develop into a greater catastrophe—although the effects of the aggression have yet to be removed—this was due, first of all, to the solidarity shown by the group of socialist countries, with the Soviet Union at their head, to which both the Arab countries and the whole of peace-loving mankind are deeply grateful, of course.

I need hardly mention Cuba, Laos, Cambodia, or the recent provocation against the Korean People's Democratic Republic on the part of the American spy ship *Pueblo*.

The aggressions and provocations committed by the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, against the freedom and independence of the peoples and exposing humanity to the threat of nuclear war make up a long list.

Like the American imperialists, the West German revanchists are spoiling for a fight.

I would like to stress that certain differences over the estimation of the aggressiveness of imperialism came out also during the preparations for the Karlovy Vary Conference. The conference, however, answered the question correctly by giving expression to the peoples' concern about the imperialists' efforts to strike a blow wherever they can and even kindle the flames of a world-wide conflagration if possible. Developments since the conference, far from disproving its estimation of the increased aggressiveness of imperialism, have emphatically confirmed it, as well as the necessity for all to appreciate the correctness of the estimation, so that the forces interested in barring the way of reaction, aggression and war may be fully united.

Third. A new international conference could go a long way to overcome yet another kind of differences—those over relations between the Communist parties.

The brother parties today are completely autonomous, independent and mature and can shape their policies by themselves. They are interested in constantly maintaining contacts between themselves, in exchanging their experiences in various forms, and in

coordinating their positions on the common objectives and tasks of the Communist movement.

Undoubtedly, if each of our parties proceeds in precisely this way, our unity will become ever fuller and stronger. Such unity is very important to us today, when the international situation is much more complex and contradictory. The revolutionary process has now assumed a comprehensive character, and the Communist movement has already become a world force. The contest between the two worlds already pervades every sphere of social activity, with the inevitable result that the scope of the various Communist parties' national and international tasks has increased. This makes it more necessary than ever to heighten the role of the unity of the socialist commonwealth and the entire Communist movement, to strengthen the internationalist cohesion of the Communist and Workers' parties. There is almost unanimous agreement that the problem of achieving fuller cohesion is the most pressing problem and that life imperatively demands that it be solved as speedily as possible. The desire for unity is increasingly becoming the main trend in our movement.

Experience shows that a general international conference is, now as in the past, the most effective form of strengthening the Communist front. Manifestations of proletarian solidarity at bilateral, multilateral or general meetings or conferences do not, and cannot, run counter to the independence, autonomy and equality of the brother parties—big or small, young or old. They do not diminish but increase the strength, prestige and influence of the various Communist parties. Proletarian internationalism has been, is and always will be the banner rallying the Communists and their parties and showing them the right way in their struggle.

It will be seen how indefensible is the doubt, let alone the allegation, that manifestations of internationalism by various Communist parties contradict the principle of their autonomy and independence.

Nor is there any reason to suspect or affirm that periodical general conferences would become a kind of directing center that would impose its will on individual parties and so handicap their work and struggle. That is not true, because the Communist parties at their conferences work out a common line on a completely voluntary collective basis and in a comradely atmosphere, that is, on a broad democratic basis. As for specifying that line, each party does so according to the actual conditions in its own country. The parties' national and international obligations today intertwine and condition each other so closely as to impel the parties to rally together of their own accord, on their own initiative and by their own will, to be at one and to cooperate closely, without anyone having to prescribe that to them.

The efforts of the Mao Tse-tung group virtually to transform themselves, the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China into the center of the Communist and national-liberation movement, of the socialist community and the peace-loving and democratic forces of the world will get them nowhere. Today these efforts are obvious to anyone. They take the most brutal forms. Those who are making them stick at nothing, they interfere most blatantly in the internal affairs of brother parties and resort without scruples to any means to split and discredit them. They have gone so far as to deny the Marxist character of the vast majority of the brother parties, whom they describe as revisionist and conciliatory. The Communist parties of the capitalist countries are accused of the mortal sin of having betrayed the proletariat and sold themselves to the bourgeoisie. As regards the parties of the majority of the socialist countries, they are accused of being headed for the restoration of capitalism.

It is not out of a desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the CPC that we touch on these questions. We respect the right of every party to solve its problems as it sees fit. But the activity of the Mao group goes much farther than that. It directly affects the world Communist movement, each of our parties, our unity and our common fight against imperialism.

The charges flung at the CPSU and the Soviet Union are particularly outrageous. We know that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been declared to be the leader of the "modern revisionists." The Maoists accuse the Soviet Union of collusion with U.S. imperialism although it is precisely their conduct and their activity that render the greatest service to the imperialists.

If all that should go on much longer, we cannot even imagine the extent of the harm that will be done to the proletariat, to socialism and communism, by inciting the Chinese people against the CPSU and the Soviet Union, by alleging that they are the greatest enemies of the Chinese people. All this deeply pains us Communists, but we are firmly convinced that no amount of slander can tarnish the glory and greatness of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The entire history of the CPSU and the Soviet state, from their rise to our day, shows that that great party and that great country have no equal. World history knows of no other party and no other people who have done as much for the good of mankind as the CPSU and the Soviet people have done and are doing. Having gone through incredible trials and weathered all the storms of time, they now constitute the mainstay of not only the world Communist movement but of all the peoples fighting for peace, democracy, freedom and justice. And that is why the whole of progressive mankind is proud of them and counts on them.

Let us, comrades, see the truth as it is. And let me ask you: if there had been no Soviet Union with its immense economic, scientific, technological and military power, with its invincible strength which commands respect, would the military conflagrations that have broken out in the Middle East during the last decade — to cite one example — have been stamped out? Is it not the Soviet Union that today renders the greatest assistance to heroic Vietnam and constitutes the main barrier to further military expansion in that area of the globe? Besides, everyone realizes that should a new world war break out tomorrow, the decisive force that would be in a position to bar the aggressor and save mankind is the mighty Soviet Union.

Georgi Dimitrov said that the attitude to that great country of socialism is the touchstone of the sincerity and honesty of every labor leader, every working-class party and working people's organization, every democrat in the capitalist countries. Those words are as valid as ever.

In emphasizing all this, we are far from wanting to underrate other parties. We have already said that all the brother parties—big and small, young and old—have equal rights. In our Communist community based on equality, each party makes its contribution. But there are parties which, due to historical circumstances have contributed, and still contribute, to our common cause more than anyone else. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is precisely such a party.

Comrades, these, then, are the principal considerations of the Bulgarian Communist Party in favor of a new world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

However, the important thing that we must do by joint effort, both during the preparations for the conference and at the conference itself, is to overcome existing divergences and differences. The considerations I have stated show that it is a question of divergences which can be overcome. How?

What is needed first of all is for every Communist party to approach this matter from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint, and then we will certainly find ourselves on common ground and arrive at a common position on the main directions of the struggle against the common enemy both in the various countries and in the world. The Communist parties, components of one great international movement transforming the world and shaping a radiant future for mankind, cannot ignore the general laws of the struggle for the triumph of the socialist revolution nor the laws of socialist construction. It is these general laws, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism that form the basis on which the Communists can achieve unity of thought and action at every stage of the revolutionary struggle.

All this, of course, by no means implies that there can be no divergences or differences between Communist parties. There have been, are and will be divergences between them. The objective precondition for this is the great variety of the conditions in which the parties operate. Unity and cooperation on their common goals and tasks will very greatly promote, in specific conditions, their work and their struggle for the interests of their class and their people. To those who look on the problem in this way, it should be clear that there remain irreconcilable and unsurmounted divergences and differences only when the matter is not approached from Marxist-Leninist positions. It is not in the nature of the Communist movement, of our common revolutionary cause, to seek unity on an unprincipled basis, nor do they need it. Such a unity would be of no use to us. Consequently, the point is the positions from which one estimates a divergence or difference, its origins and the ways and means of overcoming it. The point is whether this is done from Marxist-Leninist positions or from other positions which are either a departure from Marxism-Leninism or have nothing to do with it.

In other words, if we want to prepare for a new world conference and to carry it out successfully, we need closer unity and cohesion of our ranks on the basis of principle, in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. To this end, we must stand firm on what unites us and gradually overome divergences over the main directions of our struggle against the enemy, divergences which cannot be unsurmountable since they manifest themselves between genuine Communist parties.

Under all circumstances, and however great the difficulties and trials, we Communists must uphold our principles, mut be uncompromising toward both dogmatism and revisionism, toward all deviations from our revolutionary theory, must preserve the purity of the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Some believe that unity cannot be attained unless the conference brings together all the Communist parties. It would be best of all, of course, if all the Communist parties could meet. But if we want to be realistic about it, we must admit that that is impossible at the moment. We wish, however, to add immediately that the absence of some parties cannot be an obstacle to the effort to unite our movement. This is why we consider that those comrades who advise us not to hold a conference as yet but to wait until all parties agree to attend it are wrong. Let us wait, they say. No, comrades. We positively cannot agree to that. To wait means injuring the world Communist movement, the individual partie sand, in general, the fight against imperialism. Those who wish to cooperate can do so during the preparations for the conference, at the conference itself and after it. But there are parties which clear-

ly do not wish to cooperate with the world Communist movement now.

If we approach the issue of unity in this way, if we tackle it realistically, from Marxist-Leninist positions, the existence of differences and the absence of some parties—which would be regrettable—could in no way prevent us from accomplishing an important, and in a sense a historic, task—to agree now on convening an international conference shortly and on launching practical preparations for it. If we reach agreement here on this issue, we will have no difficulty in doing as much on other issues.

We support the opinion that the new conference should meet before the end of 1968, and welcome the proposal for holding it in Moscow.

We have already stressed that we are for the broadest participation of all the Communist and Workers parties in the conference, meaning the parties which attended the 1960 conference, those that could not attend for one reason or another, and the Marxist-Leninist parties founded since 1960.

We are for a conference of only the Communist and Workers' parties, a conference at which each brother party could make its contribution to our unity as the main guarantee of success in the fight against imperialism and reaction.

Some comrades suggest that the proposed conference be attended also by representatives of various democratic and anti-imperialist parties and movements. We identify ourselves with those parties which think that today, when we are searching for ways and means of closing our ranks, it is more necessary to hold a conference of only the Communist and Workers' parties. After that there could be a conference or congress of the Communist parties and the representatives of socialist and democratic parties and the national-liberation movement. We are convinced that such a conference or congress would be useful—it would undoubtedly help to rally all forces against imperialism.

As for the agenda, it is suggested by what has been said and by the composition of the conference. With the present state of the world Communist movement and in the present international situation, we declare for the conference discussing one fundamental problem and adopting a relevant fundamental document. That problem, as we see it, should be the problem of rallying the forces of the Communist movement, of socialism, democracy and progress, against imperialism. Some other documents could also be discussed and approved, of course, such as documents on the war in Vietnam, on stepping up the fight for peace and the security of nations, etc.

When we speak of the new international conference, there inevitably arises the question of the connection between it and the 1957

and 1960 conferences, as well as of the connection between their documents.

The fundamental principles contained in the Declaration and the Statement have been proved correct by practice. As regards the LCY, we think the criticisms which the 1960 conference levelled at that party cannot be an obstacle to its participating in the world conference. We note with satisfaction that the relations between the BCP and the LCY, especially in recent years, have been steadily developing and expanding, which benefits both fraternal peoples and our common Communist cause.

We agree with those who say that the actual preparations for the conference should begin immediately after the Consultative Meeting. We support the proposal for setting up a preparatory committee of representatives of all the parties that have or have not attended this Meeting. This would enable us to put the entire preparations on a broad democratic basis, on the understanding that each brother party will take an active part and will contribute to both the preparations for the new international forum and its actual course.

In conclusion we wish to express confidence once again that this Consultative Meeting will successfully accomplish its tasks. It cannot be affected by accidental or secondary factors. Otherwise it would not justify the hopes of the Communists and other progressive forces of the world.

The attention of world opinion is focused on the Budapest Meeting. There can be no doubt whatever that given a sincere desire and goodwill, it will really be the decisive step toward fixing the date of a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties and toward holding it before the end of this year.

GUS HALL

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Life has dictated a new urgency for this consultative gathering.

The heroic offensive of the Vietnam people during the past weeks has created a new crisis for U.S. imperialism and a moment of great urgency for the forces of anti-imperialism. The crisis presents new dangers. But above all it presents new possibilities for administering a crushing and historic defeat to imperialism.

The Worker, March 10, 1968.

How to most effectively meet this critical moment; how to take full advantage of these new possibilties is an urgent question on our conference table. The new level of the military struggle by the people of Vietnam must be matched by a new level of political, ideological and diplomatic struggle in every continent, in every country, in every city and hamlet the world over.

The moment calls for an accelerated many-sided anti-imperialist offensive. The moment calls for a renewed, all-peoples movement against the dangers of nuclear war.

PRIORITIES

World Communist disunity has a top tag of priority in the plans of U.S. imperialism. For us here, the success of this conference is a hope and a working-class dream; but it is also more, much more. World Communist unity is a question of top priority in the struggle to defeat the policies of imperialism in general. But it is critical; it is a burning necessity in the struggle to defeat the policies and wars of aggression of U.S. imperialism.

The NLF offensive has been a rude awakening.

The credibility gap has further widened.

The increased brutalities, the open policies of genocide, the cold-blooded destruction of cities and villages, including the men, women and children living in them, has further exposed U.S. imperialism for the ugly beast that it is.

This has further isolated the U.S. from the rest of the world. These new developments of the moment argue with new force for world Communist unity.

TIME FOR ACTION

Should we not consider an appeal for renewal of an all-peoples offensive against the practices of genocide and the threat of world nuclear genocide? It seems to us such actions will not detract in any way from the purpose of this conference.

U.S. imperialism and our people are learning the truth about this epoch, that aggression is a costly business. It is costly in resources, in human lives, but it is costly in many other ways. The cost of being the gendarme of world imperialism in a period when the world is in revolt against imperialist oppression, the cost of empire building at a time when the balance of world forces has shifted, are coming home to roost.

The costs of these imperialist forays show up in a developing crisis of democracy. The cost is in a crisis of taxation, in runaway prices, in a further deepening and widening of the enclaves of poverty, especially in the Negro ghettos.

PIVOT IN CRISIS

It is a feature of the present power relationship in the capitalist world that because the U.S. is the pivotal state in it, it is also the place where the crisis factors of world imperialism are focused and very often magnified. This is the cost of being the reactionary military, financial and ideological headquarters for a world system in crisis, a system in decline.

It is this sharp point of world reality that influences all developments. It must influence the work of this conference. Policies, tactics, attitudes, must go through the process of continuous check and refreshment and renewal to retain the important element of timeliness.

FORM AND CONTENT

The question of world Communist unity is no exception to this rule. Both the form and the content of such unity needs to go though the process of continuous check, refreshment and renewal.

To speak about world Communist unity but then to oppose every step that will give it meaning and form is to disagree, is in fact to oppose such unity in content and form.

Not all who talk about unity are for unity. Expression of unity must take a form, it must be transferred into acts of unity. The human mind cannot as yet perceive formless matter or unity as an abstraction.

World Communist unity, working class internationalism; these concepts of principle take on meaning only if they are alive, only if they reflect a changing reality, only if they have content and form.

FOR 1968 CONFERENCE

Our party is for a world conference of all Marxist Communist parties. Our support for such a conference is without conditions. There are no ifs, ands or buts about our participation in such a conference. We are for full preparations but we are for holding the conference in 1968.

There is a time for preparations and there is a time for holding the conference. After eight years the time is now. We are firmly convinced the historic moment calls for a world Communist unity that is reflected in some organized system for exchanging experiences and for consultations between parties.

ANTI-SOVIETISM

We want to emphasize we are for some organized system of relations. Anti-Sovietism is a main ideological pillar of U.S. imperialism. It brings the highest price on the U.S. imperialist ideological market.

It is a mark of our times that there is a greater demand for anti-Sovietism packaged in left radical wrappings in the imperialist market place. There are great pressures for its use. There is pressure to use what is called a little anti-Sovietism to prove our autonomy, our independence. This is the price of admission into the circle of "independent" parties in the books of U.S.imperialism. This is the wedge; this is the instrument with which U.S. imperialism seeks for soft spots in the ranks of the Socialist countries and in the positions of Communist parties.

There are many sides to this question, including how to express disagreements publicly with the parties in the socialist countries without giving fuel to this central ideological premise of imperialism. Here, again, each party has to decide where to draw the line of a principled position. To explore, to retreat on matters of principle is buying fools' gold.

The best line of attack is to meet the issue head on. It is a principle of working-class internationalism that you do not take advantage, you do not break ranks for some momentary gain. We cannot fight this slander by unprincipled retreat; it can also lead to the swamp of opportunism.

DANGER TO UNITY

One still hears the argument that steps towards world Communist unity endanger future world Communist unity. We believe this concept has now reversed itself. Now it is the lack of steps towards greater world unity that endangers all future unity. The lack of steps toward greater unity is a force for dispersal.

Each step of greater unity will now become a magnet. We are for the unity of all Communist and Marxist parties, but we believe the time has come for removing the power of veto by one or more parties over what the rest of the Communist movement should do. The urgency of this moment of history does not permit us such luxuries.

It is also our opinion that militant talk about a struggle against imperialism while resisting every form of world Communist unity is a contradiction in terms. Any serious approach to the struggle against imperialism inevitably leads one to new approaches to the question of world Communist unity.

Proletarian internationalism is a live principle when it relates to struggles. Anti-imperialism by its very nature must be based on struggles and developments beyond one's own border.

The growth of the world Marxist movement is itself an argument for some system of exchanges and consultations between parties of the world. There is a broad challenge to working-class ideas within the broad new Marxist development itself. For example, could the world Communist movement have been a factor, an influence in

moulding more stable Marxist parties in other lands where historcal development has not yet produced a bigger working class? Is it not possible to have some form of organized collective assistance? Is it not possible to have a commission for consultations on such matters?

In the capitalist countries, petty bourgeois radicalism, with the influence of anarchism, has grown into a rather serious problem. It is one question, comrades, most parties ask about. It has become a problem in mass movements. It is an influence in Communist parties.

Is it not possible for a commission, for as long a period as is necessary to exchange experiences and be helpful in every way possible on this?

Is there not a need for some form of commission on the role and problems of nationalism?

It seems to us there is a need for some system of exchanging ideas dealing with problems of the trade unions, as well as in the struggle against racism. Why should not the coming world conference set up the machinery for the next one? What is wrong with the conference electing a committee that in consultation with all other parties will call and prepare a conference?

Without this, we will again spend months and years getting the machinery moving. The present generations do not view internationalism as a dirty word. World ties are seen as crucial in holding the world back from a nuclear disaster. Thus, for the millions, international cooperation is a matter of life or death. The development of worldwide Corporations is giving the working class a new concept of world ties. The struggle for peace and against imperialist aggression is seen as a worldwide struggle. We have the most internationally minded young generation in our history. This has been a big factor in the development of our anti-imperialist consciousness.

A united world movement is a center of gravity for all forces of progress. A divided movement does not attract. We simply cannot draw fully, we cannot get the full benefits, from the new world relationship of forces as long as the world Communist movement remains formless and divided.

We think the conference should discuss whatever are the cardinal questions of the moment: any question of common concern, questions which we should collectively probe, questions to which we should try to find common answers.

We should not fear collectively discussing any problem. If we are not able to come to united conclusions on all matters, it seems to us this is no catastrophe.

It has been said that we should limit the conference to questions we can agree on. But how do we find out what we do not probe and discuss?

It has been suggested that we should not take up controversial questions, ideological questions or programmatic questions. What is left of the political spectrum seems rather narrow.

It seems to us that the base of the conference should be the assessment of the struggle against imperialism, pinpointed on the struggle against U.S. imperialism and all related questions.

World Communist unity must not be propelled only by the negative factors in life, it must not be moulded only by needs of defence, it must be propelled by the visions of giant strides now possible in social progress.

ANNA-LIISA HYVONEN

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU,
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

"Conference should further unity of Communist movement." Under this headline, borrowed from Anna-Liisa Hyvonen's speech, *Kansan Uutiset* pointed out that "international meetings are indispensable in present-day conditions."

The Communist Party of Finland considers international meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties to be very important in present-day conditions, Hyvonen said at the session of the Consultative Meeting on February 28.

On behalf of the CP of Finland, the speaker stressed that not all the Communist parties would welcome an international meeting or take part in it. That was their right. Each party was independent in deciding on its policy, and also on whether or not it should attend international conferences.

All the Communist parties, including the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, should be invited to take part in the preparations for the conference and in the conference itself. The Budapest Meeting should adopt relevant proposals, so that preparations for the conference might begin immediately and the conference might convene before long.

It was precisely in present-day international conditions that the Communist parties should seek the closest and most effective cooperation and work out a common course of action on common problems brooking no delay.

While it was important for two or more Communist parties to compare notes and maintain contacts, this kind of link could

Kansan Uutiset, March 1, 1968.

certainly not take the place of international Communist meetings.

At international conferences, if they were well organized and proceeded in a frank and comradely atmosphere, the parties could engage in a broader exchange of experience and appraise fundamental world problems objectively. Depending on the international situation and the general trend of the struggle at the given stage, the conferences could vary in character, objectives and agenda.

"The necessity for the world Communist movement setting up a united front against world imperialism is the most pressing issue today because there is an immense growth of the forces of socialism, on the one hand, and a growth of the imperialist forces of aggression, on the other. The U.S. imperialists' hopes of winning world domination by force of arms and avoiding destruction have been dashed. This is why they have adopted the tactic of local wars and conflicts, which is particularly obvious in the case of Vietnam."

Under the circumstances the CP of Finland held that this was the time to propose to all Communist and Workers' parties convening a general conference.

The conference should concentrate on the issues of war and peace and seek closer unity against imperialism. The principal item of its business could be to muster forces to preserve and promote peace.

The conference should devote special attention, in particular, to Vietnam, the national liberation movement, the issue of supporting the new states and resisting neo-colonialism, the problem of peaceful coexistence and the possibility of heading off the threat of a third world war. Bringing about closer solidarity of the Communist parties and closer unity of our movement should be regarded as one of the most important objects of the proposed conference, which should further unity.

If some parties stayed away from the conference this should not prevent its convening. In this case, it was a question of bringing together those Communist parties which considered such a conference necessary.

It must be stressed that the conference and the preparations for it should be carried out collectively and on a broad democratic basis. All the Communist parties, including the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and those Communist parties which have been founded since 1960 and adhere to scientific socialism, should be invited to prepare for the conference and take part in its deliberations.

"The Budapest Consultative Meeting should work out general proposals regarding the specific tasks to be carried out in direct preparation for the conference, so that the conference could meet shortly."

ERICH HONECKER

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY

Dear comrades,

Allow me to begin by expressing, on behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, most cordial thanks to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and personally to its First Secretary, Comrade Janos Kadar, for the great political and organizational efforts in preparing our meeting and for the good conditions that have been created for holding it.

In the first place, our delegation expresses profound satisfaction over the fact that the Consultative Meeting has been convened.

Our Party consistently supports all steps and measures aimed at strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. They can foil the diabolical plans of the imperialists by uniting all progressive anti-imperialist forces. The fact that representatives of 67 Communist and Workers' parties have assembled here is of primary importance for the cause of socialism and peace, for promoting the unity and joint actions of the world Communist movement. Our Party, the working class and all the working people of the German Democratic Republic are very glad that with the holding of this Consultative Meeting there has begun the stage of concrete preparation of the world conference for which Communist and Workers' parties and not in the last place the SUPG have been working for a long time.

The convening of the Consultative Meeting to prepare an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties has evoked wide response in the world. Our Party stands for the convocation of a new international conference to collectively discuss first of all the problems of the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism that have advanced to the foreground in recent years, and to work out a common strategy of the world Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism, for intensifying international aid to and defense of heroically fighting Vietnam and for a stable peace.

The eight years that have passed since the last world conference of the Communist and Workers' parties have been marked by great successes of the forces of socialism, peace and national liberation.

Neues Deutschland, February 28, 1968.

Owing to the vigorous efforts of the peoples and especially the great socialist Soviet Union and other socialist countries the international correlation of forces has further changed in favor of peace and socialism. The socialist states are making good progress in building a new society; they are strengthening their cooperation and gradually solving, step by step, new problems in science, technology, the sphere of material production and in political and spiritual life. Their economic growth is faster than that of the developed capitalist countries. They are learning qualitatively new methods of management conforming to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution. The struggle of the workers and the masses in general in the countries of monopoly capitalism is growing in depth and breadth. Despite setbacks at certain stages, the national-revolutionary liberation movement is, on the whole, advancing and has entered a new stage of development. Overcoming the aggressive aspirations and counter-blows of imperialism, the revolutionary forces continue their offensive.

This evokes fierce resistance by the main forces of imperialism, which hope that increased aggressiveness and wars will provide a way out of th ecrisis expressed in an unprecedented aggravation of all imperialist contradictions and conflicts. Developments fully bear out the correctness of the Marxist thesis that imperialism has become, not stronger, but more aggressive and more dangerous. The escalation of the dirty criminal war of the United States against the people of Vietnam, the imperialist aggression against Arab peoples accomplished with the help of Israel, the monarcho-fascist coup in Greece, the provocations against socialist Cuba, the actions of the U.S. imperialists and their South Korean puppets against the Korean People's Democratic Republic and other aggressive actions show that imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, is taking recourse to all means in the pursuit of its notorious global strategy. The Bonn government of the "grand coalition" has in large measure joined in the realization of this strategy. It intensifies its aggressive policy and makes ever more persistent claims to the right of exclusive representation. Its policy of expansion aimed against the present status quo, its striving for possession of nuclear weapons and its craving for domination in Europe breed the danger of conflicts fraught with grievous consequences. In a recent speech in the CDU federal committee West German Chancellor Kiesinger voiced these aspirations with unparalleled cynicism, declaring that the Federal Republic must support the United States in the war against Vietnam. This alarming development imperatively calls for new active efforts to ensure the unity of all anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the Pentagon's global strategy, against the expansionist designs of West German and Japanese imperialism, against all encroachments of the imperialist powers on peace.

Strengthening their cohesion and unity of action the Communist and Workers' parties create necessary conditions for this rallying of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces. International conferences of the Communist and Workers' parties are the best, indispensable means of achieving this goal.

Several months ago the world Communist movement and progressives the world over celebrated, together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution as a glorious world holiday of mankind's progress. The festivities in Moscow, attended by representatives of the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties, demonstrated the firm will of the Marxist-Leninist parties for cohesion and cooperation and provided a powerful impetus to their striving for greater unity.

In view of the penetration of bourgeois ideology into the working-class movement and in view of the existence of certain nationalistic trends we agree with all the Communist and Workers' parties which remind us that the revolutionary Marxist labor movement emerged and has been developing as an international movement. Proletarian internationalism has been and remains a reliable guarantee of the proletariat's advance and victory in the struggle to deliver mankind from exploitation and wars. We are reminded of this also by the 120th anniversary of our movement, the 120th anniversary of the Communist Manifesto which we are marking these days. In this document Marx and Engels substantiated the historical role of the working class and its revolutionary party. They stressed that in the various national battles of the working class Communists always emphasize common interests of the international working class which do not depend on nationality, and translate this thesis into life. They wrote: "The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."

The entire experience of international class battles confirms the validity of this programmatic statement. Far from diminishing, the role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party has increased considerably since the time of the Manifesto. This was pointed out by the Communist and Workers' parties in the Moscow Statement of 1960: "The central factors of our day are the international working class and its chief creation, the socialist world system."

In the present conditions of worldwide struggle between socialism and imperialism and of the scientific and technological revolu-

tion the working class is growing substantially not only in numbers. Its specific role of the main revolutionizing force of society is growing both in the socialist and capitalist countries. The victory of the anti-imperialist revolutions of national liberation depends in no small measure on its development and maturity.

In order to prepare the international working class for the performance of this lofty mission the Communist and Workers' parties should, in our opinion, thoroughly analyze the topical problems of revolutionary practice with a view to charting ways to the realization of their historical objectives—the victory of socialism and communism. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany holds that the convening, in the autumn of 1968, of the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties serves above all precisely this task common for all sectors of our movement.

THE NEED FOR COMMON STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

With the launching of preparations for the new world conference, for which we want to achieve constructive and concrete decisions at this Consultative Meeting, our parties are entering upon a path tested in revolutionary practice and fully conforming to the new conditions of our struggle. Assessing the results of the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960, we see that they have played a positive role in rallying the world Communist movement, in uniting all anti-imperialist forces. The fundamental estimates and conclusions of these conferences have been corroborated by developments. The successes of recent years became possible because the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties creatively and independently developed their policy on this collectively elaborated basis. On the other hand, the revolutionary forces know from bitter experience that imperialism has proved capable of accomplishing break-throughs—especially at those stages of the struggle when parties departed from the collectively coordinated course and adopted narrow nationalistic positions, thus weakening the united front of anti-imperialist struggle. The U.S. imperialists dared escalate their war of aggression to bombing raids on the DRV only because in East and Southeast Asia the Mao Tse-tung group had undermined the unity of the socialist world system and blocked joint actions by all socialist countries to help the valiant Vietnamese people. The military crimes of the United States against the Vietnamese people evoke scorn, disgust and indignation. There has started a worldwide movement of fraternal solidarity with, and support for, the people of Vietnam who are a shining model of courage, staunchness, will for victory and readiness to make hard sacrifices for the sake of their freedom and the freedom and

progress of all peoples. At this meeting too, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany proclaims its full solidarity with the profoundly just liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people.

It is with feelings of great admiration and respect that the working people of the German Democratic Republic are following the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese patriots, who are just now delivering heavy blows at U.S. imperialism. The combat successes of the Vietnamese fighters for liberation show what tremendous achievements and heroic deeds can be accomplished by a people fighting under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party and enjoying growing support from the socialist states and above all the decisive assistance of the Soviet Union. We are convinced that this broad movement of solidarity with Vietnam and against the atrocities committed by the American world gendarmes will go on growing and gaining in effectiveness and that victory over the U.S. aggressors will be won the sooner the more quickly the Communist and Workers' parties achieve further consolidation of their ranks and start acting on the basis of a common line. The SUPG considers that if only for the sake of victory over the aggressors in Vietnam the earliest possible holding of the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties and the elaboration of common strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialist forces are a thousand times necessary and justified.

In the Middle East Israel, which had the support of imperialist powers, scored initial successes in its aggression. However, owing to the resolute actions of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and to the fighting spirit of the Arab masses, it did not achieve its principal objective—liquidation of progressive regimes in Arab states. The conferences of leading representatives of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow, Budapest and Warsaw are a new convincing example of the effectiveness of joint action by socialist states.

The events in Vietnam, Korea, the Middle East, Yemen and Greece and the renazification of West Germany cast light on the plans of the main imperialist powers, which are seeking to attain their aggressive ends with the help of numerous "limited" wars. It is absolutely necessary to make a timely collective analysis of imperialist strategy and tactics, expose the preparation of military gambles by the imperialists, and frustrate their plans with the help of coordinated worldwide campaigns. Every effort must be made to prevent imperialism from creating new seats of crisis and military conflicts in the future. The imperialist global strategy will be defeated only when the Marxist-Leninist parties work out a common revolutionary strategy of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. Our rejection of this highly powerful weapon which we alone possess and which makes us invincible—our unity

on all fundamental problems of our time, unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism—would signify our inability to withstand the test to which our epoch subjects us, and our failure to assimilate the experience of the 120 years of the international Marxist labor movement.

FOR JOINT STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE

Dear comrades, two main trends of political development stand out conspicuously in Europe. As a result of the consistent policy of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty states, as a result of the struggle of the Communist and Workers' parties and all peace-loving forces in Europe the movement for peace and security on our continent is gaining in scope. The forces of monopoly capitalism in the United States and West Germany reply to the efforts of the peace forces to weaken tension and strengthen security by intensifying their aggressive policy in Europe. The establishment of the government of Kiesinger, Strauss, Brandt and Wehner signifies the beginning of a new period in the development of the state-monopoly system in the Federal Republic, a period of active expansionism. Attempts are being made to solve internal and external contradictions by imperialist means — through intensifying reaction at home and expansion abroad. The ruling circles of West Germany are seeking to achieve their aim of playing the undivided, if possible, role of the dominant power in Europe and realizing their expansionist plans in the East with the help of a special alliance with Washington. In reward for the far-reaching inclusion of West Germany into the global strategy of the United States, the Bonn government is granted the position of the principal ally and partner of the United States and enjoys U.S. support in its revanchist policy. In the interests of creating a state-monopoly system it is implementing an extensive program of reactionary reforms, anti-constitutional acts and emergency legislation. The purpose of the inclusion of Social-Democratic ministers into the Bonn government was to camouflage and implement, with their help, the aggressive aims of West German monopoly capital which are meeting with growing internal and external resistance.

The policy of revenge and expansion launched by Adenauer and Erhard and continued by Kiesinger creates favorable conditions for renazification, which has been going on in West Germany for years and which is particularly conspicuous today. It is precisely in this light that one should appraise the Soviet government's statement of February 24, 1968, regarding the growing activity of neo-nazi forces in the Federal Republic, in which it was pointed

out that the aggressive policy of the FRG is ever more clearly becoming the chief obstacle on the way to European peace and security. Non-recognition of the results of the Second World War and Bonn's revanchist policy aimed at changing borders and the status quo—such is the modern manifestation of the old fascist theory of *Lebensraum*. The expansionist policy of West-German imperialism and its striving for hegemony have been proclaimed by Strauss, the "strongman" of the Bonn cabinet, in his book *A Project for Europe*. Several days ago, with a view to implementing this program, Hallstein, former chairman of the EEC Commission, announced a plan for setting up, with the help of the EEC and its merger with the EFTA, a West European federation whose member states will have to renounce a great deal of not only their economic but also political and military sovereignty.

This means that the West German imperialists want to control the entire economic and military potential of the West European capitalist states in order to continue the traditional expansionist policy of German imperialism. Hegemony over Western Europe is to become the first stage on the way to hegemony over the whole of Europe.

It follows from the coincidence of these imperialist interests of the United States and West Germany, even though it does not rule out certain contradictions, that the main blow of the global strategy in Europe is at present aimed against the German Democratic Republic. The chief method employed is to make revanchist claims to the right of exclusive representation, claims which constitute a permanent threat of aggression. With the support of the United States the Bonn rulers are trying to draw distinctions between European socialist states, estrange the other socialist states from the Soviet Union and isolate and encircle the GDR. Hence the ever-growing insistence of the Kiesinger-Brandt government on the right of exclusive representation and its refusal to conclude an agreement with the GDR renouncing the use of force, recognize the existing borders and proclaim the Munich agreement invalid from tht very beginning. At present the expansionist aspirations of West German imperialism find expression in intensified attempts at cold annexation of West Berlin, in its support of the U.S. dirty war in Vietnam, the Israeli aggressors and the Greek monarcho-fascists and in the organization of an international Fronde against the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

Thus those who, like the Social-Democratic ministers in West Germany, are taking an active part in the pursuit of this dangerous policy of an aggressive imperialist power in Europe belong to the extreme right-wing of European Social Democracy.

The exceptionally aggressive character of West-German imperialism and the specific role of the Social-Democratic ministers

predetermine a peculiarity in the relations between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social-Democratic Party in West Germany. This peculiarity lies in the fact that the Social-Democratic ministers are trying to incorporate the working class of West Germany into the system of state-monopoly domination and infect it with nationalism in the interests of the expansionist aims of monopoly capital. In doing so the Social-Democratic ministers pursue Adenauer's old policy in a Social-Democratic wrapping. The more than a year of the existence of the "grand coalition" has shown that the role of the Social-Democratic ministers boils down to making a show of dynamic policy before their own and other peoples. Moreover, they are doing everything to prove to the monopoly bourgeoisie that they are best equipped to support its expansionist policy directed against the GDR and other socialist countries. How naive and silly it is: Brandt and Wehner seriously believe that they will succeed in isolating the GDR and spreading the capitalist system over the whole of Germany. Conformably with this aim, they support the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the obliteration of social and democratic rights at home. As a result of this policy the influence of the Social-Democratic ministers on the electorate is weakening.

This fatal course is causing growing alarm among the Social-Democratic rank and file. They ask for the cause of the recent resounding defeats of Social Democracy in many West European countries. The Social-Democratic parties are suffering setbacks because of their failure to offer to the working class and other working people a genuinely democratic alternative to the policy of the big bourgeoisie. We agree with those Social Democrats in West Germany who hold that the SDP should learn lessons from this experience and go over to a policy conforming to the interests of the people.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany fully supports the progressive democratic alternative for West Germany and the demand for the unity of action of the West German working class contained in the draft program of the Communist Party of Germany, which remains illegally banned. Our Party wants to cooperate with the West German working people, with the members of the Social-Democratic Party and of the trade unions, with all progressives and democrats in the struggle against the aggressive internal and foreign policy of West German imperialism. We proceed from the fact that the working class of West Germany, including many Social Democrats, wants peace and security, repudiates the U.S. war in Vietnam, comes out against the threatening dictatorship of emergency legislation and against the worsening social conditions, and condemns nazism. In the light of the development of the West German government's policy, whose dan-

ger should under no circumstances be underestimated, the importance of the Statement adopted by the conference of the European Communist and Workers' parties on European security, held in Karlovy Vary in April 1967, becomes especially clear. It was stated there that the policy of the socialist states and Communist parties aimed at ensuring peace on the European continent is directed first and foremost against the policy of West German militarism and imperialism and is an important component of the struggle against the global strategy of U.S. imperialism. We proceed from the influence which the economic, political and military consolidation of the GDR and all Warsaw Treaty states and the coordination of positions and measures regarding the basic aspects of European policy exert on the military and political correlation of forces in the world. Powerful forces of imperialism are pinned down in Europe, where they are faced with the mightiest military power of socialism. Imperialism, considerably weakened in other sectors of the struggle, is thus partially immobilized.

UNITY ON FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

In the opinion of our Party, the new conditions of struggle which can be spoken about today stem primarily from the new correlation of forces in the world. The new conditions and the greater possibilities for joint struggle against imperialism are due to the existence of fourteen socialist countries on three continents. Communist and Workers' parties are fighting in almost all other countries. Instead of the colonial system, there exist seventy national states.

The latest events show that the pace of revolutionary development in the world depends in decisive measure on the further consolidation of the socialist world system and the growth of the international influence of the world Communist movement. Consequently, the Marxist-Leninist parties shoulder not only great responsibility to the working class in their own countries but also and above all international responsibility to the international working class and the world Communist movement.

In his criticism of Kautsky's right-opportunist views Lenin wrote: "I must argue, not from the point of view of 'my' country . . . but from the point of view of *my share* in the preparation in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution." Every party should shape its policy independently. No one can relieve it of this duty, and no one can call this right in question. Marxism-Leninism is an international teaching. A Marxist-Leninist party is not only entitled, but duty bound to take part in the collective elaboration and creative development of common strategy and tactics. Comradely exchange of opinions, utilization of the collective experience of fraternal parties with the help of

international conferences—all this is of inestimable help in shaping the policy of every individual party. In the final count, without the active support and solidarity of fraternal parties no Communist party can carry out its tasks.

Our Party has always regarded it as its duty to learn from the experience of fraternal parties and to act in keeping with the general line of the world Communist movement. We recognize the possibility and necessity of working out the general line, for the international working-class movement has common and, consequently, general tasks. These common tasks and the common views that underlie them are embraced by the general line of the international Communist movement—not more, but also not less. We stated that the better our policy is coordinated wih the common interests of the international working-class movement, the more easily and successfully are our tasks fulfilled.

Our Party has always striven to apply creatively the universal theory of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of fraternal parties in the conditions of socialist construction in the GDR. For example, we did not set up Soviet-type organs of power but first built an anti-fascist democratic system and then established the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a multi-party system under the leadership of a united Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. Although we entered upon this road proceeding from the specific historical conditions and in agreement with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we have always opposed the "theory" of the special German way, for, in our opinion, what mattered was not some special German way to socialism, but creative application of Marxism-Leninism in our conditions.

Therefore our Party does not regard participation in international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties, agreement with a common line and the binding nature of this line for its policy as a limitation of its sovereignty and independence. On the contrary, the statement on questions of European security adopted in Karlovy Vary fully conforms with the interests of the German Democratic Republic and to its policy of peace and relaxation of tension, and helps us just as it helps all fraternal parties.

In the present epoch of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution and intensified international class struggle any attempt at national isolation becomes a harmful anachronism. One has to ponder over the fact that, while recommending to the German Democratic Republic decentralization in its political and economic life and a weakening of its defense alliance and cooperation with fraternal socialist countries, the imperialists are mobilizing on an international scale their own forces in the economic, military and political spheres.

The successful rise of the world Communist movement shows that the strength of proletarian internationalism is much greater than the arithmetical sum-total of the potentials of the socialist countries and Communist and Workers' parties. Unity multiplies our strength. Therefore what we regard as the decisive element of internationalism is not the diversity which is due to the different conditions of struggle and with which every party has to reckon, but above all the community of aims, the community of Marxist-Leninist theory and policy. We can achieve this community in analysis and in setting tasks only with the help of collective all-embracing international conferences. We certainly want to exchange valuable experience with fraternal parties at our conferences. But that is not all, for we want not only correctly to explain the state of things in the world, but also to change it in a progressive spirit through joint struggle, joint actions based on collective scientific generalization of combat experience and on corresponding agreements.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany regards as correct the viewpoint which was formulated back at the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960, namely, that the struggle against imperialism should be waged on the basis of broad unity with all democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces. This unity does not develop automatically. It receives the most powerful impulses as a result of the resolute and consistent anti-imperialist struggle and fraternal solidarity of the world Communist movement. Consolidation of this firm alliance depends primarily on the ability of the Communist parties to work out a correct policy that accords with the interests of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle, and to effectively implement a common line through joint action.

It is claimed that international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties narrow down this struggle and negatively affect the alliance with these democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces. Quite the contrary: the experience of each of our parties shows that those who want a broad alliance must themselves firmly stand on positions of principle. This thesis is valid not only within the national framework but also for the entire world Communist movement. The more clearly the viewpoint of the Marxist-Leninist parties is stated and the deeper the scientific substantiation of their common line, the more successfully can they act in the broad anti-imperialist alliance. According to the negative view, the less frequently Communists get together and the weaker the coordination of their actions, the faster the anti-imperialist struggle should develop. But historical experience testifies to the contrary.

The delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany supports the constructive proposal to convene, after our international conference, a broad congress of Communist and Workers' parties,

national-democratic parties, all progressive parties, organizations, movements and forces on problems of joint struggle against imperialism, for peace.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES—THE PRINCIPAL MEANS OF ENSURING AND STRENGTHENING THE UNITY AND COHESION OF OUR MOVEMENT

In the past years our movement has accumulated much new experience regarding the forms and methods of our cooperation and joint actions. A very important role was played by the Moscow Conferences of 1957 and 1960, the Karlovy Vary conference of European Communist and Workers' parties and other multilateral conferences. The SUPG regards all-embracing international conferences of our parties as the principal means of developing our Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics and ensuring and strengthening the unity and cohesion of our movement. Sometimes the question is raised of a center in the sense of the leading organizational organ of our movement. Such a center cannot be established, and there is no discussion of this question altogether. But this does not mean that there are no binding criteria of internationalist conduct for us, Communist parties. Internationalism has its criterion in loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which also finds expression in the community of interests, in international conferences and decisions of the world Communist movement. The attitude towards the Soviet Union and its Communist Party has been and remains, in the opinion of our Party, the decisive criterion of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. By virtue of their achievements, which have changed the outlook of the world since the Great October, and by virtue of their pioneering role in the building of communism they are in the vanguard of the international working-class movement and of the entire mankind. The Soviet Union has shouldered, and shoulders now, the brunt of the struggle against imperialism. It is primarily thanks to the Soviet Union that the imperialists have to this day not succeeded in plunging the world into the nightmare of nuclear war. Those who oppose close cooperation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union weaken their own positions and the positions of our entire movement.

The delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has come to Budapest with instructions to convene, together with representatives of the fraternal parties, an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. With this aim in view it would be useful to indicate in the concluding communique the venue, the date and the agenda of the international conference and to outline the necessary preparatory measures. The delegation of the SUPG

proposes that this conference be convened in Moscow in November 1968.

Consolidation of the unity of the world Communist and all progressive and democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism should be the chief topic of the international conference. The Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation which will be made at it and the joint tasks stemming from this analysis should be stated in a fundamental document which, in our Party's opinion, could contain an appraisal of the international correlation of forces, the trends of development on the main sectors of revolutionary struggle, and corresponding common strategy and tactics with regard to the main problems of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. Such a document, firmly based on our Marxist-Leninist doctrine and specifying the common position of the international working class, would offer to the peoples solutions to the main burning problems of our time. That would conform to the high responsibility and historical role of the world Communist movement.

Our Party takes it for granted that the international conference will state its position regarding such problems agitating mankind as the struggle for an end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the establishment of the broadest possible front of fighters for world peace in order to prevent the unleashing of a thermonuclear war and to ensure world peace, and adopt corresponding decisions.

Along with agreement on the date, venue and agenda of the international conference, it is necessary to determine at our meeting the most expedient methods of its democratic collective preparation. We agree with the proposals that have been made here to set up a preparatory commission in which any fraternal party will be able to take whatever part it will find suitable. This, of course, applies to all those fraternal parties which are not taking part in our Consultative Meeting. If our meeting sets up this preparatory commission there will be sufficient time to draft documents in an atmosphere of creative comradely businesslike discussion to which every fraternal party will make its contribution.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany would hail the participation of all Communist and Workers' parties in the international conference. It goes without saying that every party will adopt its decision on this matter independently and will be responsible for it to its people and to the international working class. But the non-participation of any party cannot and must not serve as the reason for postponng or calling off the international conference.

Our Party and the people of the Socialist German Democratic Republic, located at an important nerve center of the socialist community, in daily confrontation with the main imperialist powers, are deeply interested in strengthening the unity of the world Com-

munist movement. They expect this Consultative Meeting to take effective steps and measures for preparing and convening the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. We assure you, dear comrades, that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany will mobilize all its forces in order to carry out this sacred task in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

E. SCHARF

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CC OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

The Communist Party of Austria hails the initiative of the eighteen parties for holding a consultative meeting to prepare an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The Austrian Communists have never given up the idea of the possibility of convening such a world forum. They have been actively participating in preparatory work in different forms, especially in the course of bilateral and multilateral meetings in recent months and years.

We have been following closely the statements and attitudes of representatives of fraternal parties with regard to problems of the international conference. Although different viewpoints stand out clearly from them, the need to act jointly against the imperialists' aggressive acts is stressed in them almost unanimously.

In conditions when this central task of the world Communist movement has to be carried out, the differences in the opinions and the peculiarities of individual parties cannot be regarded as decisive. Of course, every Communist party should shape its policy independently and autonomously, proceeding from the conditions of the country. If different views on problems of international policy arise in the process, they should be discussed in the course of exchange of opinions between fraternal parties, without leading to oblivion of common tasks. The autonomy of Communist parties is not in the least weakened by their common fight against imperialism. That is how our Party regards the relationship between autonomy and the internationalism of Communist policy.

The need for an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties has now been made particularly urgent by the escalation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The suffering and sacrifices of the Vietnamese people, their admirable courage and

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Volksstimme, March 1, 1968.

will for victory in the struggle against an enemy who is making ruthless use of his technical superiority have generated a worldwide movement of solidarity with the fighters for freedom and sparked off meetings of protest against the aggression. In this movement of solidarity it is a moral duty of Communists to head these movements and make unity the cornerstone of our policy. This is one of the chief arguments in favor of an international conference.

The importance of our struggle for unity is confirmed also by the exceptional interest with which the hostile press, radio and television in the capitalist countries are following our efforts to have an international conference convened. They comment on the meeting in Budapest and sometimes supply false information.

The various hints and premature forecasts about the alleged failure of our efforts vividly show that the capitalist world fears the strength and firmness of our movement, that it is afraid of the force of attraction exerted by the Communists.

In this connection the proposal to include all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces of the world in the international conference is being discussed in our Party as well. We think that no one would deny the possible usefulness of such a conference, which could develop a broad front of struggle against imperialism and forms of cooperation between the working-class movement, the national-liberation front and other progressive forces of the world. But such a conference cannot replace the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties and cannot be an alternative to it. If the proposal for holding a conference of progressive and anti-imperialist forces gets the approval of the parties present here, we would like to suggest that the initiative for holding it should be taken by a commission in which, along with others, the parties which took part in the Rome conference of the anti-imperialist parties of the Mediterranean should be represented.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Austria considers that in view of the international situation the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties should discuss first of all questions of unity in the anti-imperialist struggle and questions of solidarity with Vietnam. If we arrive at a common viewpoint in the principal matters of the present anti-imperialist struggle, we shall make a large step forward.

The situation in the world Communist movement shows that we shall not achieve complete and final unity at the forthcoming conference. We cannot put up for discussion there all the differences of principle which exist between parties, nor can we expect the participation of all, or all big, Communist parties in the conference. If such notions or wishes become a condition for holding it, we shall never be able to make the major steps towards unity which can be made already now.

However, we must certainly strive for the closest unity possible in the present conditions. This demands the maximum of collective work in preparing the conference and drafting its decisions. Therefore our delegation supports the proposals that the documents of the conference should be drafted in a commission or at another consultative meeting, so that they could be discussed by the central committees of the Communist parties before the international conference.

We must also undertake serious efforts with respect to all the parties which are not taking part in this Consultative Meeting, in order to secure their participation in the international conference. In this connection our delegation declares for inviting the League of Communists of Yugoslavia so as to give it a possibility of equal cooperation. Likewise, other fraternal parties (Vietnam, Korea, Japan, Cuba, Sweden and others) should be invited directly by the Consultative Meeting in Budapest. In addition, commissions or individual parties could be instructed to establish contacts with the parties not represented in order to convince them of the need for their active cooperation. Should parties express the desire to take part in our conference as observers, they must be given this right.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Austria considers that at this meeting we should determine the date or the time of the holding of the conference. To be sure, in so doing we should take into consideration the volume of the problems still awaiting solution.

The delegation of the Communist Party of Austria stands for making international conferences as public as possible. Our endeavors and our discussions are serving a good cause.

GEORGES MARCHAIS

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

"We think the Budapest Consultative Meeting is the first stage of concrete preparations for the conference, whose convening would fully meet the interests of the world Communist movement.

"Our Party is ready to contribute its share to these preparations in a spirit of fraternity and unity.

"We believe the paramount task facing all our parties today is

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L'Humanité, February 29, 1968.

to strengthen the unity of our Communist movement against the common enemy of all peoples, imperialism, and first of all U.S. imperialism, whose policy of aggression poses the gravest threat to the independence of the peoples and to peace."

After a brief analysis of the international situation Georges Marchais said: "More than ever before, we must counter the strategy of imperialism with the unity of the world Communist movement, the most advanced, most consistent and powerful anti-imperialist movement.

"We resolutely support this unity. We are convinced that no task is more important today than to promote this unity. We think, therefore, that an international conference of the Communist parties should be convened without any further delay.

"The conference would make possible a fraternal confrontation of our parties on the analysis of the present international situation and imperialist activities. It would produce a fruitful exchange of experiences, which is indispensable if our Marxist-Leninist doctrine is to be steadily enriched. Lastly, it would enable us the better to coordinate our struggles against imperialism to spare mankind a nuclear conflict.

"The international conference would be an indispensable stage in our joint efforts. It would provide favorable conditions for consolidating the unity of the Communist movement and would enable it the better to cope with its internationalist duty in the near future.

"Since it is a question of a highly important stage in our joint activity, we think every party is in duty bound to contribute the effort needed for the success of the conference. All the questions arising from the preparations for it should be settled in a spirit of mutual understanding."

NEW FORM OF COORDINATION

"The diversity of conditions in which our parties have to operate, the divergences that may occasionally result from this, and even differences over this or that theoretical or tactical issue should in no way prevent closer unity of the Communist parties, hamper coordination of their action against imperialism or lead to the isolation of parties.

"On the contrary, they oblige us to look for a new form of coordination and to establish new relations based on recognition of the bonds linking the interests of the working people and the peoples of the world.

"It seems to us, therefore, that the international conference for which we declare should by no means set out to condemn or exclude any one of the parties, no matter how deep our differences with it may be and irrespective of whether it will or will not attend the conference.

"It goes without saying that we propose to go on combating both trends harmful to our cause: Left adventurism and Right opportunism. We will also continue vigorously to oppose the Mao Tse-tung group's attempts to interfere in the conduct of our policy, to undermine and split our Party and the French democratic forces. We consider that the group of Chinese leaders which professes 'Maoism', and opposes coordinated action by all the socialist countries and Communist parties against imperialism, is thereby abandoning proletarian internationalism, one of the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

"The only object of the international conference should be, as we see it, to provide as favorable conditions as possible for closer unity of the Communist parties and for the coordination of their efforts against imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism."

Pointing out the need to work on setting up a broad anti-imperialist front, Georges Marchais went on to say: "The Communist parties have a role of primary importance to play in bringing this broad united front of all anti-imperialist forces into being. The importance of the struggle being waged by other parties and movements cannot detract from the decisive character of this role. Indeed, the Communist parties are parties of the working class, the class which today is the decisive social force, the most consistent revolutionary class and which *has produced the socialist system, a system bearing the brunt of the general struggle against imperialism.* They are equipped with a scientific doctrine of class struggle and have an organization enabling them to come out as the main force in the emancipation struggle of the peoples. This is why strengthening the unity of the Communist movement, far from impeding greater unity of the broadest anti-imperialist forces, forms the basis of a powerful united anti-imperialist front which it is important to establish. What we need at the present stage, therefore, is an international conference of the Communist parties, whose program, rules and organization are based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The success of such a conference of the Communist movement would create favorable conditions for establishing a vast anti-imperialist world front. Incidentally, we believe it would be desirable for the conference to decide, among other things, on taking the important initiative of developing this united front of all the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces of the world, an initiative which at the right moment could take the form of, say, a world conference of these forces."

INVITE ALL PARTIES

Speaking of the concrete aspects of the preparations for the conference, the FCP delegation proposed holding it at the end of 1968,

in Moscow, and inviting all the Communist parties. It recalled that "the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, an integral part of the world Communist movement, should be invited to the conference on the same footing as the other fraternal parties.

"We think the conference agenda should be restricted to the main problem of today, which we would formulate as follows: *present-day tasks in the fight against imperialism.* What we mean by this is that the conference should set itself the task of analyzing the present situation and the policy of imperialism in their various aspects, of studying present-day problems of the fight against imperialism and for peace, and creating favorable conditions for concerted action by all Communist parties and all democratic and peace-loving forces against the imperialist enemy."

The common conclusions at which the conference would arrive as a result of its deliberations should be set out in an appropriate document.

"Indeed, while we think the suggestion that the conference should end in the adoption of program documents of a general and universal nature is inopportune, neither can we regard the conference as a mere forum for an exchange of views and experiences between Communist parties not resulting in any collective conclusions or any perspective of joint action. We think it possible and necessary for the conference to adopt a document containing, not only an analysis of the situation and the policy of imperialism, but certain conclusions from which the Communist parties could subsequently draw inspiration for their struggle in the specific conditions of their activity, and the main lines and points of departure in taking joint action against imperialism, for national independence, peace and socialism. Of course, a special document would have to be devoted to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and to our unqualified support of that struggle, to the support which all the peoples of the world should give it."

On the other hand, the FCP delegation stressed the importance of geniunely collective preparations for the conference.

"All the Communist parties are autonomous and equal. All of them should contribute their share to our doctrine and help to make our action more effective. We have said more than once that today, when the Communist parties are an important political force of their nations and when the conditions of struggle have become considerably diversified, they do not and cannot have one or several 'centers' directing the activity of the parties. There are no 'dominant' or 'subordinate' parties, nor can there be any. Hence no party should seek to impose its point of view on others. On the contrary, all the parties should show the broadest possible mutual understanding.

"At the same time proletarian internationalism is a component

of the theory and practice of every Communist party. It is the internationalist duty of every party not to separate its responsibility to the working class and the people of its country from its responsibility to the revolutionary working-class movement of the world. The contribution of each party to the common treasury of our doctrine and to the experience of our movement is unique. At the same time *no party can do without the collective wisdom of the thought and action of the world Communist movement as a whole.* It is the sacred duty of Communists to take into account the general interests of the revolutionary working-class movement as a whole, and the determination with which they fulfil it in all circumstances is one of the factors making the Communist movement the conscience of our epoch. This demand does not contradict the national responsibilities that each Communist party has. In fact, it is the surest means and condition of discharging these responsibilities effectively."

PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

"We think a preparatory committee should be set up. It should be charged essentially with drafting the document that would serve as the basis for the conference deliberations. It should be composed of representatives of all the Communist parties which desired it and which participated in it on a completely equal footing. Those brother parties which for one reason or another had not taken part in this Consultative Meeting or in the initial labors of the committee could join in its work when they saw fit.

"If the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party were agreeable to carrying on the task it has been willing to fulfil so far, we think it would be desirable for the committee to have its seat in Budapest.

"The French Communist Party would like this meeting to enable us to embark on active preparatory wark.

"Although we do not consider that the holding of the conference should be conditional on the participation of this or that party, we must do our utmost for the conference to bring together as many Communist parties as possible."

In conclusion Georges Marchais said:

"To strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement and step up its struggle is a necessity meeting both the interests of the anti-imperialist fight as a whole and those of the struggle of the people of each country.

"Each party decides, in complete political independence, on the forms of its action and the methods of its struggle. We abide firmly by this principle and resolutely oppose all attempts to interfere in the shaping and conduct of our policies. Under all circumstances, our party frames its policies on the basis of scientific socialism, in

the interests of the working class and the people, and with due regard to the actual conditions in which the masses are fighting in our country.

"At the same time our Party is invariably inspired by the common goals and interests which unite the working people of the world, the working class and the peoples of all countries—the socialist and capitalist countries as well as the countries still fighting for their political and economic independence—who have goals that can be attained only through joint struggles. The ability to combine the national interests of each people and the common interests of the peoples of the world is a requisite of success in this struggle. We realize that fulfilment of this task sometimes encounters real difficulties which may be due to objective causes. We think, however, that diversity should under no circumstances mean division and that the independence of our parties, which is based on the specific character of the conditions of the struggle of each party, should never mean isolating oneself by retreating into a nationalist shell.

"The French Communist Party will do all in its power for the success of the coming international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. We are convinced that the conference will redouble the vigor of the fight our Party is carrying on against imperialism, and will create favorable conditions for extending this fight to bring in all the forces aspiring to independence, democracy, social progress and socialism."

D. MOLOMZHANTS

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Dear comrades,

The delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party conveys, on behalf of the CC of our Party and all Mongolian Communists, warm fraternal greetings to the representatives of Communist and Workers' parties taking part in this Consultative Meeting.

Our Party regards this meeting of fraternal parties as an event of tremendous importance for the entire Communist movement. This meeting will not only demonstrate anew the sincere striving

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and determination of its participants to fight actively and consistently for the unity of the world Communist movement, but will certainly constitute a major practical step towards the preparation and holding of a new international conference of the Communists of the world.

Great changes have taken place in world social development since the Moscow Conference of 1960, changes which are characterized by the further growth of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy. In the struggle for common objectives the world socialist community, the international working class and and the national-liberation movement have accumulated considerable experience; new important problems have arisen demanding collective analysis and assessment.

The recent exchanges of views at bilateral and multilateral meetings of fraternal parties, the wide response that has been evoked in the world Communist movement by the initiative of 18 parties for convening this meeting, and the very fact of this meeting taking place and being attended by representatives of the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties, clearly testify to the urgent need for a new international conference to discuss topical problems and work out common positions of our movement.

In the opinion of our Party, the convening of a new international conference is imperatively demanded by the tasks of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the main revolutionary forces of our time in the face of the increasing activity of imperialist reaction.

Today world peace is undergoing the most serious test in the entire postwar period. The imperialists headed by the U.S. ruling circles keep on stepping up aggressive actions against socialist countries and the liberation movement of the peoples, trying to hold back the world revolutionary process. In Southeast Asia, U.S. imperialists continue their predatory war against the Vietnamese people, carrying out an open armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and provocative actions against the sovereignty of Laos and Cambodia.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggression has become a common vital cause of the countries of the socialist world system, the international working-class and national-liberation movements, and all peace-loving forces. The Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries resolutely support embattled Vietnam and render it all-round aid in its just struggle, working persistently for unity of action in the fight against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The events in Vietnam show vividly that a people that staunchly and selflessly upholds its just cause and enjoys powerful support on the part of the progressive forces of the world is invincible, and that the aggressors' hopes for armed

suppression of its resistance through escalation of a "local" war are doomed to failure.

Vivid proof of this is furnished by the resolute struggle of the people of the DRV to defend their socialist gains against the imperialist aggression, and by the signal successes of the patriotic forces of South Vietnam in their fight against the U.S. invaders and their Saigon puppets.

In defiance of the demand of world public opinion, the U.S. ruling circles ignore the clearly-stated position of the DRV and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam which would lead to a settlement of the Vietnam problem, and go on intensifying hostilities in an attempt to suppress at any cost the national-liberation struggle of the population of South Vietnam and impede socialist construction in the DRV. In these conditions utmost importance attaches to the active sruggle of all peace-loving forces for the unconditional cessation of U.S. bombing raids and other acts of war against the DRV and for an immediate end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists are actively reviving a seat of war also in the Far East. Continuing the occupation of South Korea and some other territories belonging to Asian states, the U.S. brass-hats are openly utilizing them in acts of aggression against peace-loving peoples of Asia, organizing dangerous conspiracies and knocking together military blocs and alliances against the peace and security of the continent.

Serious concern is caused among all peace-loving peoples also by the tense situation in the Middle East, where the Israeli extremists, who have unleashed, with the direct connivance and encouragement of the imperialist circles of the West, aggression against the neighboring Arab states, continue to occupy the territories seized by them. This is a vivid reflection of the imperialists' neocolonialist plans with regard to the Arab peoples, their striving to eliminate progressive regimes and prevent growth of the liberation movement in the Arab world.

The revival and growing activity of neo-fascist, revenge-seeking forces in the FRG, the military fascist putsch in Greece, the reactionary coups in Ghana and some other African and Asian countries, the unceasing provocations against socialist Cuba and the Korean People's Democratic Republic—all this eloquently testifies to the increasing aggressiveness of international imperialism and especially U.S. imperialism, to the sinister plans of reaction to aggravate tension in almost all regions of the world.

Active joint struggle against the intrigues of imperialist reaction calls for high vigilance and close cooperaton of all revolutionary anti-imperialist forces. Only on the basis of new cohesion and constant consolidation of its unity can the world revolutionary

movement repel and foil the current vicious onslaught of imperialism and reaction. In view of this, we consider it necessary that cardinal problems of the present-day anti-imperialist struggle should be discussed during the preparation of the new international conference and at the conference itself.

Development of the national-liberation movement is another important question calling for collective analysis and study. The revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples in the past period has been characterized by the fact that, along with the breaking away of ever new countries from the colonial system of imperialism, many independent states that got rid of the colonial yoke have entered a new stage of their progressive development.

Seven years ago the Statement of the Moscow Meeting pointed out that after winning political independence the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised by life and begin to see that the best road to abolishing age-long backwardness and improving their living standard is that of non-capitalist development.

Today we can note with satisfaction that the peoples of a number of African and Asian countries have embarked upon this road indicated by Lenin and are effecting deep-going political and socio-economic reforms.

To check and strangle the liberation movement of the peoples the imperialists are trying in every way to exploit the difficulties of the newly-free countries caused by the pernicious consequences of colonial rule; they are rearing and rendering aid to the reactionary forces in these countries, engineering conspiracies against legitimate governments, and trying to sow discord among the fighters for national independence and social progress.

Therefore close links and cooperation with the world Communist movement and its creation—the socialist world system—remain of exceptional importance for the growth of the national-liberation movement of the peoples. Experience shows that only in close unity with the socialist countries and with the working-class movement in the capitalist countries can the newly-free countries advance along the road of social progress and defend their sovereignty and independence against imperialist and neo-colonialist encroachments.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party considers that the new international conference should promote the rallying of all anti-imperialist forces and the pooling of their efforts in the struggle for common aims, for active support of the national-liberation movement, in defense of the peoples suffering from imperialist aggression, against the anti-communist and neo-colonialist intrigues of imperialism.

The world Communist movement can successfully cope with the many complicated problems facing it and achieve its aims primarily on the basis of unity, cohesion and close cooperation of all its

contingents, through joint struggle and coordinated purposeful actions.

Concern for constant consolidation of the unity of the world Communist movement is the supreme international duty of every Marxist-Leninist party. This fundamental principle is as valid today as ever.

What is demanded of every party is conscious and purposeful efforts and solidarity actions to fulfil its internationalist duty to the international working class, to the world Communist movement. For every Marxist-Leninist party is not only the vanguard of its people, but also a component of the world Communist movement, a participant in the struggle of the working class and all working people of the world for peace, democracy and socialism. Great harm is done to both the international and national interests of the peoples by any deviation from the principles of proletarian internationalism, the principles of solidarity and friendly relations between parties.

At present the world Communist movement is experiencing serious difficulties caused by the open departure of the Mao Tse-tung group from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, by its splitting activity in the movement. The great-power hegemonistic policy of the Maoists, their interference in the affairs of other parties and countries, their subsersive activities in our ranks are only playing into the hands of imperialism and reaction.

The difficulties and disagreements which the Communist parties and the socialist countries are now facing are being exploited by the imperialists, who are trying to launch counter-attacks against the progressive forces, staking above all on a split in the world Communist movement, on a break-up of the socialist camp, on the undermining and weakening of the united anti-imperialist front. Therefore the need is greater than ever for the Communist parties to deeply comprehend their internationalist duty, display the highest sense of responsibility and undertake maximum efforts in an active joint anti-imperialist struggle on the basis of internationalist solidarity.

A new conference of the Communists of the world would be the most effective form of, and a practical step towards, strengthening the cohesion and unity of action of the contingents of the Communist movement. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, proceeding from the internationalist tasks defined in our Party Program and from the basic propositions of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement, comes out, as it always has, for such a conference which would effectively help to overcome the differences that have arisen and to rally the Communist movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism. The interests of our movement demand that the future conference should be prepared and

held from a clearly defined class position of the proletariat, that it should produce concrete results in rallying the revolutionary forces of the world on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

We consider that any disregard for this demand and resistance to practical steps in preparing the conference on the pretext that conditions are not yet ripe, cannot meet support on the part of those who are undertaking active, conscious efforts on behalf of genuine unity of the Communist ranks. Our Party agrees with the other fraternal parties in that we should immediately launch collective preparations for a new international conference of representatives of all contingents of the Communist movement on the most democratic basis.

The democratic character of the preparation and holding of the forthcoming conference is the best guarantee of its success. It also enables those parties which for some reason or other are not taking part in this Consultative Meeting to join in the work of the conference.

The new approach to the matter of convening a new international conference makes it possible for us to discuss and positively decide the question that is on the agenda of our meeting. The non-participation of certain parties in the discussion of this question by no means testifies to the inexpediency of holding an international conference. The idea of the conference, which is called upon to promote consolidation of the unity of the Communist movement, is supported by many of the parties not represented at this meeting. As for the position of those who have openly proclaimed and pursue a policy of a split and direct disassociation from the Marxist-Leninist parties, it cannot and must not serve as a pretext for postponing a conference supported by the majority of the Communist and Workers' parties of the world.

In view of the above-said a Party regards as quite substantiated and realistic the proposal that has been made here, namely, that the new international conference should be prepared and held before the end of this year.

Our delegation attaches great importance to the matter of choosing the venue of the future conference. We think that Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union, where the previous world Communist forums were successfully held, would be the most suitable place. May we express the hope that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will undertake the highly important and responsible job of arranging the conference.

It is perfectly obvious that the conference will adopt documents reflecting common conclusions and views of the Communist parties regarding the problems they will have discussed. In order to work out collectively the drafts of the documents and to ensure the entire necessary preparation it would be useful to set up, already

at this meeting, a commission or any other working organ in which the parties not represented here could take part on an equal footing with the parties attending the Budapest Meeting.

Together with other fraternal parties, the MPRP expects the forthcoming conference to constitute a major event for the entire Communist and working-class movement, an event which will raise the development of the movement to a new stage and greatly help to strengthen its tunity. The unity of our ranks, the unity of will and action of all the contingents of the Communist movement multiplies the strength of Communists; it is an invincible force which can frustrate the aggressive aspirations and intrigues of the imperialists.

Deeply aware of its internationalist duty and high responsibility, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party will work to contribute to the successful preparation of the new international conference and the consolidation of the unity and solidarity of the Communist movement in the struggle for common aims.

Allow me to exress, on behalf of our delegation, heartfelt gratitude to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for its great efforts in preparing this meeting, for the splendid organization of its work, for its warm hospitality.

VLADIMIR KOUCKY

SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In a statement preceding his speech Vladimir Koucky, speaking on behalf of the delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, expressed regret at the withdrawal of the Rumanian Communist Party delegation and disagreement with its conduct, in particular the final statement. The CPC delegation reserved the right to return to the matter.

On behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, I wish to express sincere gratitude to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for the important preparatory work done by it and for the comradely attention which we have been given from the very first minutes of our stay here and which creates a favorable atmosphere and conditions for our work.

This Consultative Meeting, attended by so large a number of

Rudé Pravo, March 2, 1968.

Communist parties from every part of the globe, is a convincing proof that the brother parties, despite the difference in the conditions in which they have to work and the diversity of the tasks facing them, realize the imperative necessity for a collective exchange of views on the key problems of the situation in the world and in the revolutionary movement. We fully identify ourselves with what Comrade Janos Kadar said at the opening of this Meeting, and are quite certain that the Budapest Meeting, the broadest Communist gathering since the Moscow conference of 1960, will take us a long way toward the goal we have set ourselves.

The CPC is convinced that conferences of the Communist parties are necessary and fully meet the present-day exigencies of the world Communist movement. The 13th Congress of our Party stressed that "the common interests of the movement call for coordinated action by the Communist parties, the elaboration of common positions and a common estimation of the key social phenomena and processes, the shaping of common views on the key issues of the strategy and tactics of the fight for the victory of the working-class cause." Our Party adheres to these conclusions in all its internationalist activities, and takes part in numerous meetings and consultations involving dozens of brother parties and in an active effort to solve pressing common problems.

International conferences are also necessary because our movement, owing to historical developments and changed objective conditions, no longer has the solid organizational forms it used at earlier stages. We are perfectly aware that not one of the previous forms meets the requirements of today and that there now hardly exists a single universal formula for new comprehensive methods of cooperation among the Communist parties.

We think this puts much higher demands to each party with regard to the consistent promotion of internationalism in its work. We maintain that the methods and practice of inter-party relations should make, first of all, for deeper internationalist cooperation and unity. The Communists of all countries are familiar enough with the facts relating to the activity of the CPSU and the brother parties of socialist and other countries, which, inspired by the best Leninist traditions, render effective aid to all who are fighting against imperialism, for national independence and social progress. Cohesion of the Communist parties is particularly imperative today in view, specifically, of the considerable increase in the activity of the imperialist forces.

We view the unity of the Communist movement in the context of the immense complexity of the world revolutionary process and the multiformity of revolutionary action, the differences in the position and the traditions of the movement. Real unity should take into account the diversity and distinctive character of conditions.

It should foresee and allow for the possibility of the brother parties differing over some issues.

The CPC has repeatedly stressed its full respect for the autonomy and independence of all Communist and Workers' parties. But the objective conditions of world development and the steadily increasing interdependence of the peoples in solving world problems, along with the need to resist the global strategy of imperialism, set certain limits to the autonomy of the parties and emphasize the need for consultations and unity on matters which can neither be discussed nor settled within national bounds only. Common interests, among which we can undoubtedly list the defense of the revolutionary gains and of independence, the fight against imperialism and for peace, do not contradict national interests and, indeed, are in harmony with them. Needless to say, the brother parties cannot realize these interests separately, in isolation from other parties, but only through and within joint struggles.

To achieve unity, the Communist and Workers' parties must necessarily work out a common estimation of the main developments and draw from it conclusions which, naturally, should be so formulated as not to shackle but to encourage initiative. It is also necessary that active implementation of these conclusions in the activity of each party should fully ensure the interests of its country and people.

Thus we regard collective conferences as an important and unavoidable instrument which furthers cohesion and unity of action if used properly and democratically.

A conference is not an end in itself but a means of achieving definite objectives, a stage in this process. This is why the tasks of every conference should be clearly specified with due regard to the actual situation and requirements.

A situationn in which Communist parties meet and confer should be seen as normal. By the same token, the situation should be seen as abnormal if they do not meet for a long time. Hence international conferences should not be extraordinary culminations of the activity of the world Communist movement and should gradually become a normal practice. They should be convened without extraordinary organizational measures and should eschew the complex procedures still prevailing.

The CC CPC welcomes the Budapest Meeting and has given our delegation an explicit mandate: to discuss with the other parties, collectively and on a broad democratic basis, all the questions relating to the early convening of the next international Communist meeting and to contribute to the Leninist cohesion of the Communist forces of the world through the joint elaboration of further solidarity actions.

The conditions in which we operate today differ considerably

from the situation in the late fifties and early sixties. This also determines our attitude to the results of the 1957 and 1960 conferences. Those meetings played an important part in the world Communist movement. On this occesion, too, we should stress the importance of the documents adopted at the time for the general direction of the movement, and the validity of their conclusions on a number of important issues. Along with fundamental, long-range concepts, those documents contain, of course, conclusions which have outlived their validity, which, viewed against the background of the present situation, no longer fully reflect the complexity of various world processes, and on which an approach conditioned by that period has left its imprint. Nor can we now pass over in silence the fact that the section dealing with the LCY is wrong. All this can and should be seen in a realistic light, for this in no way diminishes the historic significance of the earlier Communist conferences.

However, the task facing us today is, first of all, to do all we can for the progress of the movement through a careful and frank analysis of the present situation, to adopt what has proved its worth and reappraise all that must be reappraised to meet the present needs of the movement. This is the principal meaning of the next international conference, which it makes inevitable.

What are the main facts determining the tasks of our movement and, in large measure, the program of the conference for which we must pave the way, and making the conference a very urgent necessity indeed?

The world revolutionary process will continue to be characterized by the growing power and international influence of the socialist countries, the definitive disintegration of the colonial system under the blows of the liberation movement, and a further exacerbation of class conflicts in the capitalist world. However, this process has lately been taking place in the conditions of an extreme intensification of the activity of the reactionary forces. In an effort to retain its positions and achieve its aims, imperialism has been using ever more drastic means.

The imperialists, with the U.S. in the lead, resort to military and political sabotage, coups and local war conflicts, trying to stop the revolutionary process and suppress the peoples' fight for freedom and independence. They provoke a chain reaction of tension and instability in the world and create a permanent and grave threat to world peace.

The inncreasing U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the Middle East conflict, Korea and Cuba all vividly illustrate this situation, although they are far from being the only cases in point. The American imperialists are well aware of the existence of a global nuclear

balance in the world. This is why they do not venture a nuclear conflict and are increasingly adopting the tactic of local wars, which for the moment allows them a certain scope for counter-revolutionary schemes. The existing balance of world forces considerably restricts these possibilities of theirs. The Americans are compelled to take into account the existence and influence of the socialist world community. But they can and do profit by the difficulties existing in our camp to gain temporary advantages. Among these difficulties are, undoubtedly and first of all, those encountered by the world Communist movement as a result of the well-known splitting activity and of the fact that some parties reject, on untenable pretexts, all united action with the vast majority of the other countries, which considerably weakens the fight against imperialism, for peace and socialism, and encourages the reactionary forces to come out against both the Communist parties and social progress generally.

It inevitably follows that we must discuss the balance of world forces in the light of new phenomena once again, doing it realistically and collectively, must analyze contemporary imperialist strategy and tactics very carefully and counter them with the most effective forms of mobilizing and uniting all revolutionary and progressive forces.

We must devote special attention to the war of aggression the U.S. is waging against Vietnam. The courage and staunchness with which the people of Vietnam resist the aggression, dealing powerful blows at the American imperialists, makes it our duty to collectively discuss once again the common problems of effective resistance to the U.S. aggression. We must strive to ensure that the struggle for an end to the war in Vietnam and for respect for the inalienable right of the Vietnamese people to shape their own destiny becomes the main demand and task of the entire anti-imperialist front, of the democratic, progressive and revolutionary forces. The international working class has a special duty of doing its utmost today to raise the activity of this front in support of the Vienamese people.

We believe the international conference should by all means pronounce itself also on the problems of the national liberation movement, the further emancipation of the developing countries, and our relations with these countries and their national-democratic parties. World reaction today regards the so-called third world, where the overwhelming majority of open clashes between the forces of progress and reaction occur, as the most vulnerable spot of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces. In this area recent years have seen, along with the further weakening of imperialist positions, a series of reverses of the anti-imperialist forces

adding up to a certain slowing down of the revolutionary process which set in with great intensity after World War II.

Misconceptions about the fundamental contradiction of our time are a typical product of the contradictory nature of the development in question and of the fact that it is fraught with conflict. These misconceptions describe the contradiction between the so-called rich and poor countries, and between the South and the North, as the fundamental contradiction of today.

We know that these conclusions are due to an oversimplified approach to the real relationnships in the world and to the negation of their class nature. However, they often provide a basis for extensive pseudo-revolutionary demagogy, and for this alone we must not dismiss them by rejecting or ignoring them. Already their serious effects indicate that in this case, too, our movement must, in close cooperation with all the genuinely revolutionary and progressive forces of the developing countries, seek a collective solution to the burning problems which reality poses before us.

To step up the fight against imperialism and increase the impact of socialist ideas, it is more necessary than ever before to strive for greater unity, militant cooperation and coordinated action with the broadest possible front of the forces opposed to imperialism and neo-colonialism. The Communist parties and progressive forces of the third world are linked by the bonds of common interests and common positions on numerous important issues, by the bonds of real cooperation. Wherever we register distrust and occasionally even hostility to the socialist countries and the Communist parties, we clearly see—whatever the cause of either—the great harm this does to the cause of progress and the struggle against the common enemy.

Communists will always strive to establish lasting relations with the national liberation movement based on alliance, revolutionary solidarity and mutual confidence.

The experience of our Party, which closely cooperates with a number of national-democratic parties and renders assistance to numerous movements still waging an armed struggle for their independence, brings us to the conclusion that we are in a position to cooperate more actively and more flexibly with these forces and effectively to consolidate the positions of progress in vast areas of the world.

Our Party has shown appreciation in discussing the proposal of some brother parties for inviting representatives of the national democratic parties of developing countries to the international Communist conference. Nevertheless, we know of the complex situation in the Communist movement and the peculiar conditions in which a number of parties have to work—for instance, as a

result of last year's aggression against the Arab countries. We believe, therefore, that it would be more correct to discuss and use other forms of extending cooperation between our movement and these parties. To us, the most suitable form meeting present-day conditions is the proposal that the Consultative Meeting, as well as reaching concrete agreement on the convening of a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, which is our main task, should propose in appropriate form a broad world meeting of all anti-imperialist forces, to be held at any early date.

After this Meeting we will have to see to it that the idea of an anti-imperialist world congress wins widespread support among the progressive and democratic forces and becomes a mobilizing watchword. Should this appeal bring a favorable response, we could go on to preparations for the other conference soon after the preparations for the Communist conference. The anti-imperialist conference of the Mediterranean, which is scheduled for the spring of 1968 and which we consider an outstanding event, could reveal much in this respect.

Our Party regards it as its duty after the Budapest Meeting to foster still more vigorously bilateral contacts with the revolutionary democratic parties of the developing countries and to discuss with them, within the framework of the preparations for the Communist conference, problems bearing on common interests and common tasks.

We think it inevitable, in discussing overall development and the potentialities of intensifying the anti-imperialist struggle, to assess the policy of peaceful coexistence, whose validity and significance now are a matter of controversy, and to elaborate it still further. Our Party is still convinced that we owe it to this policy, based on the growing economic and military power of the socialist countries, primarily of the Soviet Union, that a general positive trend has set in the balance of world forces. Past development emphatically disproves the allegation that the policy of peaceful coexistence implies that the burden of the anti-imperialist struggle is shifted on to the shoulders of only the countries of the third world. It is undeniable that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries not only maintain the fundamental military balance in the world and tie down the main forces of imperialism, but are explicitly committed in every area of direct conflict with imperialism, that is, in the political, economic and military fields.

The peace policy of the socialist countries and vigorous action by the progressive forces in the capitalist countries—we must give high praise, first of all, to the tenacious fight of the brother parties—have made for the sharpening of the contradictions between imperialist powers, which has found expression inside NATO as well.

It is fair to say that our idea of the inevitability of a definitive settlement of relations in Europe, including the rejection of the territorial claims which the West German revanchists are the only ones in Europe to put forward, has a considerable impact on the minds of the peoples and is becoming a factor influencing also the stance of the governments of some Western countries.

Our Party considers it one of its principal tasks to wage an unrelenting struggle against revanchism and neo-nazism and to heighten its solidarity with the GDR. We believe, however, that our policy has important untapped reserves also for strengthening the positive trends I have mentioned and for effectively extending the positions of progress against reaction. For all the positive experience we have, we are still far from making full use of the possibilities of cooperation with the socialist countries and other progressive forces, including the common interests of the progressive Christian movement with which we unquestionably have many interests in common and many points of agreement, as the Karlovy Vary Declaration clearly showed. We think even the issues relating to the establishment of this broad alliance and to the elimination of various sectarian approaches will be discussed at the coming international conference of our movement.

We are deeply convinced that the new experience of the Communists of the socialist countries, specifically in extending and perfecting socialist democracy in the political and economic fields, could be utilized much more effectively so as to overcome the continuous pressure of the reactionary propaganda machine on the masses and to win the support of all honest people for progress and socialism.

The debate at the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties will inevitably concern itself with the issue of the present-day forms and content of the unity of the movement. We think it will not be so much a question of searching for formal guarantees of equal relations as of the need to confirm the beneficial effect of these standards of relations in the course of the conference, during the comradely exchange of views, and particularly in joint actions. In any case, we feel we can already note that this Meeting is characterized by a spirit of equality. This places on us an obligation for the future.

I have tried here to show, by citing the main facts of contemporary development, that when we say the conditions are ripe for an early world conference it is not wishful thinking. We think this demand of dozens of brother parties, which sounds so forcefully also in the present debate, must be heard by all means. I wish to reemphasize that every new concrete instance of imperialist aggression is an emphatic reminder of the weak points of the revolutionary movement and stresses both that the need of well-considered

and concerted actions by the movement is imperative and that there is no justification for further blocking the normal collective activity of the movement.

In common with the other parties, the CP of Czechoslovakia considers that from the outset we must prepare for the international conference on a broad democratic basis, ensuring that all the parties interested in it take part in the preparations and the conference itself.

Naturally, we would welcome the participation of all Communist parties in the conference. But when we take a more realistic look at the situation in the movement we must admit we cannot achieve such an ideal result in the near future. On the other hand, we do not share the opinion that we could achieve it by putting off the conference still further. There is no guarantee that the future will not bring new complications, and hence new difficulties, over the participation of some parties. Indeed, we regard the preparations for the conference and the conference itself as a component of the process of unification, as an effective platform on which to unite all honest and sincere aspirations to strengthen the unity of our movement and enhance its capacity for action. This is a prerequisite of the normal and favorable atmosphere we all want. This is why we fully support those brother parties which have declared here for a world conference to be held at the end of this year in Moscow and for specific agreement on this point at the present Consultative Meeting.

We regretted to hear that a number of brother parties had for various reasons refused to attend the Budapest Meeting. Of course, it is for those parties themselves to decide whether they should participate in international meetings of this kind. We are not going to use their absence as a pretext for attacking them or for loosening contacts and cooperation with them. On the contrary, we want to go on doing all we can to bring these parties, as early as possible or at least at a definite stage, into the preparations for the conference and to the conference itself, on a par with any other party. We hope this may be feasible in a number of cases.

If we are consistent advocates of the principle of complete equality of the Communist parties we must apply this principle to every party in all fairness. I think, therefore, that if we want to serve the vital interests of the movement we must not look in silence on the activity of the present Chinese leadership, which openly attacks the majority of the Communist parties, must not ignore the adverse effects of its subversion in our entire movement nor question the right of Communists to come out against them. We neither want to nor can we avoid a principled discussion on the concepts which are the cause of the present serious differences in the movement. But we are resolved, first of all, to continue our

line and to contribute to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism regardless of the tags the Chinese leaders may put on our efforts.

We realize that the success of the conference will largely depend on the manner in which we prepare for it organizationally and the concrete content we impart to it. We think it advisable — and some other delegations have already suggested it— to set up at this Consultative Meeting a preparatory committee that would be joined by all the parties interested in it. We will strive, of course, to ensure that the parties which are absent from Budapest now likewise work on the committee.

I think the usefulness of the preparatory committee is beyond all question. Our present exchange of views shows that there is ample similarity of views on fundamental issues, which means that we can already set about preparing for the conference. We could make no progress if we merely confirmed the need of careful preparations for the conference, without taking any actual steps towards the conference. The very existence and activity of the preparatory committee will contribute to closer contacts between brother parties, make it possible to exchange views, and clear up moot points, and help create favorable conditions for the conference to meet.

The preparatory committee should get to work soon after this meeting. It should steadily carry on organizational preparations for the international conference, settle the new problems that might arise in contact with various Communist parties, concentrate the points of view and the proposals of brother parties and begin, at a defiinte stage in its activity, preparing materials for the conference documents. Te enable the committee to perform these functions, it would be desirable to provide it with definite technical facilities and set up its office preferably here in Budapest which, like the committee itself, could operate till the conference opened.

What we mean is not a new center but a provisional agency having a specific task. If we reach agreement on setting up the committee—the progress of our business shows we will—then we must fully trust and support it rather than proposing other preparatory forums or agencies.

At the same time we must energetically continue consultations between brother parties, paying special attention to those parties which are not participating in this Consultative Meeting. We must enlist their participation in the conference, hold the theoretical political seminars and scientific conferences that may be called for, discuss key issues of today in the press, and so on.

By preparing for the conference on so broad and democratic a basis, we could best ensure that it is comprehensive and concentrate on the important aspects of its content. This could also ensure

a positive effect in the sense of fully normalizing the relations between all the Communist parties really interested in the conference, and build up a most favorable atmosphere in our movement. Provided we really intend to acquaint ourselves with the views of other parties, objectively weigh their arguments and verify our own views by comparing them with theirs in order to bring about genuine Leninist unity, we can rest assured that we will come to a common conclusion before long.

The deliberations of the international conference should proceed in such a way as to produce concrete political conclusions which, being based on a careful estimate of the state of affairs, would guarantee united action by the parties and at the same time allow sufficient room for a creative realization of the approved principles in specific conditions. Of course, determining the main strategic lines in the fight against world imperialism can hardly be regarded today as the sovereign right of each party.

Obviously, the conference must not be a mere exchange of views. We could forego conclusions with regard to issues on which we really could not reach a broad and useful agreement. As for the key issues of the program and, in general, issues on which it is possible to arrive at a common point of view, it would be a step back not to do all in our power to formulate this point of view in a relevant document.

We do not think the coming conference could culminate in the adoption of a single, all-inclusive document, so that every change in the situation and every modification of view on a particular issue would risk calling into question the validity of the entire document and breeding new complications.

We are inclined to think that the results of the conference should be summed up in several political resolutions formulating our common objectives in concrete terms, on the strength of an analysis of the various developments. To be specific, we have in mind a political resolution, a resolution on the fight against imperialism, for the rights of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism, and a resolution on the US aggression in Vietnam, a document expressing our solidarity and support for the national liberation movement and the developing countries, and calling for a more active fight for world peace. By drafting separate conclusions for the conference we could enable a maximum number of parties to join in the working groups, and facilitate contacts with brother parties still staying away and useful consultations with other progressive movements and organizations.

We also believe that, in addition to the resolutions, the conference of the Communist parties should reach a number of concrete agreements on the joint organization of effective political actions guaranteeing realization of the adopted conclusions. One of the

shortcomings marking the period since the Karlovy Vary Conference is, in our view, the fact that the Conference proposals have not been adequately reflected in joint practical measures. We must avoid this in future.

We think the meeting should send invitations to all Communist and Workers' parties irrespective of whether they have attended the previous conferences or not. We mean chiefly the LCY and the Communist parties founded since 1960. The meeting should also address a collective appeal to the parties still refusing to attend the conference, to the effect that they should in the interest of success in the fight against imperialism weigh their decisions once again, reconsider their reservations and contribute to the unity of the movement. Should some parties express the wish to participate as observers, we should not deny them that and should establish the status of observers to enable them to take part in every collective action.

Allow me in conclusion to express confidence on behalf of the delegation of our Party that this meeting will reach proper and fruitful agreement on holding an international Communist conference and on further joint preparations for it, and that this year the Communists of the world will meet to demonstrate their resolve to fight in a united front against imperialism, for freedom, peace and socialism.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, true to the principles of proletarian internationalism, is ready in common with other parties to do its best to ensure that the collective effort begun at this meeting in Budapest leads to unity and to greater efficiency of the world Communist movement.

JACK WODDIS

MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE AND POLITICAL COMMITTEE, CP OF GREAT BRITAIN

Practical issues which a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties could take up in order to strengthen the struggle against imperialism were outlined today by the British delegation here.

Such a conference, Mr. Jack Woddis told the other 65 delegations, should examine every facet of the present stage of imperialism; the roles of U.S., British and West German imperialism and of resurgent Japan; neo-colonialism in all its many forms.

The world Communist conference should then go on to reach definite conclusions on how best to strengthen world united action against imperialism and how to render the most effective aid to those who are engaged in direct conflict with the enemy.

It should consider how to give new impetus to the many separate actions of support for the heroic people of Vietnam; how to help the brave fighters in Southern Africa, in Rhodesia, South-West Africa, Mozambique, Angola, the Republic of South Africa and Guinea-Bissam.

ISRAELI AGGRESSORS

The conference could consider fresh efforts to force the Israeli aggressors to disgorge the lands they had seized since last June.

These, Mr. Woddis said, were a few of the vast array of direct political problems which it was essential to discuss, and were some of the reasons why such a conference had become essential.

As to the nature of a world Communist conference, Mr. Woddis said that there were two divergent views in this consultative meeting in Budapest.

Part of the delegates wanted the conference to concentrate on one item—rallying the world movement in a concentrated struggle against imperialism. This was the British delegation's position.

Others wished to widen the agenda to include differences between Parties and ideological matters of many kinds.

"Our delegation," Mr. Woddis said, "has no mandate to prepare an ideological conference.

Morning Star, March 2, 1968.

UTTERLY OPPOSED

"We are utterly opposed to such a conference. We believe that any attempt to press for one would create tension, more disagreement in the international Communist movement, and would be completely counter to the aims which brought the Parties to this Budapest meeting.

"We endorse the keynote speech here on Monday by Comrade Kadar in which he declared that differences should be put aside so that we could achieve unified action against imperialism."

Mr. Woddis said that it was high time that Communist conferences were held in public and not behind closed doors.

"We have nothing to fear, but everything to gain by securing publicity for what we do," he said. "The holding of a public conference, and the issuing from it of a popular appeal, could have an important impact on world public opinion and assist the development of united action."

Like numerous other delegates, Mr. Woodis favored a meeting this year and urged building "patiently, carefully, solidly, with the aim of stronger international Communist unity ever uppermost in our minds."

JEAN KILL

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF LUXEMBOURG

The speaker began by expressing regret at the move of the Rumanian comrades who had withdrawn from the Meeting even though they had been offered a positive settlement of the matter. On behalf of the Luxembourg delegation he voiced sympathy with the delegates of various brother parties who had been unjustifiably attacked by the Rumanian representative. Nevertheless, he hoped nothing irreparable had happened.

The CP of Luxembourg had from the outset taken a positive stand on the idea of a new international conference, as the resolution of the latest Party congress (March 18 and 19, 1965) showed. The working people of Luxembourg were coming to realize that U.S. imperialism was also their enemy. The speaker pointed out the solidarity actions of the united Left youth organizations of Luxembourg in support of the Vietnamese and Greek peoples.

Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek, March 4, 1968.

With regard to the practical aspects of the conference, the spokesman of our Party took the following stand:

1. The present Consultative Meeting should settle the matter of convening a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, which should meet in 1968, in Moscow. We were of the opinion that the conference should be no longer put off by holding another consultative meeting, and even regarded this as harmful.

2. A committee of representatives of all the parties present here, with its seat in Budapest, should immediately take the actual preparations for the international conference into its hands and try to bring in the parties which for one reason or another had not attended the Consultative Meeting.

3. With regard to these decisions and to the decisions to be adopted by the coming international conference, the principle of unanimity could not be put forward as a pre-condition. Otherwise some one party could paralyze all international activity. Nor should freedom for the various parties to express their views, including mutual comradely criticism, be artificially limited.

4. We held that the coming conference had no right to confine itself to a non-committal exchange of views. It should culminate in the adoption of a document providing guidelines.

5. The agenda of the conference should contain one important item stressing the need of an international united front against imperialism.

6. Our Party paid attention to the idea of an international conference of all anti-imperialist — that is, also non-Communist — forces. But first we must hold a conference of our own.

The speaker said in conclusion that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were the main force of the worldwide struggle against imperialism. The working class of the developed capitalist countries and the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who were fighting for their freedom, played a tremendous role. But only if we rallied firmly behind the Soviet Union, which rendered every kind of assistance to the peoples attacked by aggressors, failing which the imperialists' political, economic and military power would have crushed us piecemeal, one by one, could we curb imperialism, stave off the threat of a third world war and ensure our peoples peace, freedom and well-being. This was the conviction of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, and also the conviction of the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties.

ALBERTO SUAREZ

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY

The gains of the forces of communism and progress which are reflected in the great victories of the national liberation movement and the proletariat of the capitalist countries impel imperialism to greater aggressiveness. The imperialists provoke wars, commit acts of aggression and pursue a criminal policy of enslavement. They are on the offensive against hundreds of millions of people, against those who have inherited illiteracy, hunger and poverty from the past.

All this puts a great responsibility on the vanguard forces, especially the Communist parties. They cannot be relieved of this responsibility after they have solved their national problems, for it is international in character. The cause of the peoples who suffer from oppression and are fighting in Latin America and elsewhere demands unity of the Communist movement, a common strategy and closer solidarity. All this could hasten the end of the war in Vietnam, help to safeguard Cuba against the threat emanating from the U.S. imperialists and alleviate the suffering of the peoples.

Therefore, the Communist Party of Uruguay supports the proposal for convening an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties before the end of 1968 to promote Communist unity and, above all, solidarity with Vietnam.

The preparatory committee of the conference should do its best to ensure that the conference is attended by as many parties as possible.

El Popular, March 4, 1968.

ENRICO BERLINGUER

MEMBER OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

In the first place we want to extend greetings to the comrades from the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and to thank them for the warm hospitality and for the excellent work done and ensuring the success of our meeting. We warmly greet all the comrades from the fraternal parties who have come here in order to have a free and sincere exchange of opinions among themselves and with all forces of labor and progress and to jointly adopt a decision on matters pertaining to the theme of the forthcoming conference, the means of preparing and the date of holding it.

1. The large number of parties taking part in our meeting should not make us forget about the absence here of some other important Communist parties. Precisely for this reason it is necessary to display first of all a realistic attitude towards this question. This means that account should be taken of the political significance, profound objective causes and various motivations of this absence.

The absence of several parties — above all the Chinese comrades — is an expression of a fairly serious and deep split and divergence of opinions which have existed for several years now.

In addition, we all know that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China refused to accept the letter with an invitation to this meeting. Hence it would be unrealistic to expect, within a relatively short space of time, a change in the Chinese comrades' stand on the matter of the conference. It would be unrealistic on our part to decide to make continuation of our work and the convening of the conference conditional upon a change in their attitude. Another thing is our common attitude towards China and towards the Chinese party. As far as this question is concerned, our Party has been among those who have since the very outset invariably criticized the positions of the Chinese party. But we do not forget that the CPR is a target of the hostile and threatening policy of U.S. imperialism. We realize that China, by virtue of the place it occupies and has the right to occupy in Asia and in international life, can make a tremendous contribution to the cause of preserving world peace as well as to the anti-imperialist struggle. The position is therefore correct when the

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Rinascita, March 8, 1968.

door is left open, facilitating — as far as it depends on us — the possible return of China to the road of cooperation with all anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces, and also the possibility of normalization of relations with the Chinese party.

As for the other parties not attending our meeting, the very replies to the Hungarian party's letter of invitation prove that their absence can under no circumstances be regarded as the result of a break-off. These are, incidentally, parties with which we maintain fraternal or at least normal relations. Their absence is due to objective circumstances or to quite legitimate and understandable causes, or doubts and reserve as regards the timeliness of calling, at the given moment, an international conference. We all hope that subsequently these doubts and this reserve will diminish.

We agree with the comrades who declared that the absence of one or several parties at our meeting or at the conference cannot and must not prevent us from conducting concrete work in preparing and convening the conference. At the same time it is necessary to encourage an initiative essential for securing the participation of all parties in the further stages of the preparation of the conference. With this aim in view it would be useful not only to repeat our invitation, but also to try to interest all these parties in a discussion of the political problems which will be taken up during the preparation of the conference; we should encourage the contribution of these parties in any form, even if their direct participation proves impossible.

Summing up our stand on all these problems, we consider that the main thing is that the questions of unity should always be raised in a positive spirit, avoiding any forms of collective and public disapproval of the political line of any party or of its position regarding the conference. In our view, this also applies to the Chinese party.

I would like to say a few words about the problem that has arisen as a result of the decision of the Rumanian comrades to leave our meeting. Any party certainly has the right to state its attitude towards this event. We shall also do so. Incidentally, we have already declared here that despite the improper criticism of the Rumanian party which was made here by the representative of the Syrian party, we profoundly regret the decision of the Rumanian comrades and consider that this decision cannot be justified. But we are against any expressions of reproof or collective criticism in this case as well. We hold that, with regard to the Rumanian party too we should do everything we can to secure the positive attitude of the Rumanians towards the conference. For our part, we shall try, in addition, to maintain friendly and normal relations with that party.

2. The theme of the conference should take into consideration the

need for the closest possible unity; the need for unity of the attending parties; the need for unity with non-attending Communist parties or at least mutual understanding and serious discussion with them, also the need for cooperation with the other anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces.

To be sure, this does not mean that we should evade discussing all matters which give rise to various problems, or that we should determine the political platform to be worked out at the conference, on the basis of some compromise between incompatible theses. The experience of 1960 was not positive in this sense, at least with regard to some concrete formulations of the statement that was adopted then. The present situation demands that we clearly and precisely determine the most pressing tasks of the struggle. But this does not contradict the need for a search for the broadest possible basis for unity. Many comrades justly pointed out that we should not, for instance, strive to raise and solve at the conference and with the help of the conference all problems that now face our movement.

This does not mean that we can ignore the essence and the significance of these problems, and we do not want to give up their discussion and deeper analysis and the making of proposals for their solution in an appropriate form. A few examples. Suffice it to mention, in the first place, the problems connected with the economic reforms being effected in many socialist countries, or the problems engendered there by the evolution of democratic life and of the freedom of culture and creative work, as well as other problems stemming from the further development of relations, which are not always simple, between countries of the socialist community. In the capitailst countries and the countries belonging to what is perhaps not quite correctly called the "third world," new, varied and complicated processes are manifesting themselves both in economic life and in the sphere of alignment and orientation of political forces. It should be noted that both among Communists themselves and in the entire anti-imperialist camp there exist highly diverse views on the broader question of the analysis of imperialism, as well as common strategy.

We think that evidently it would not only be difficult but also impossible to give at the conference a correct unitary answer to this and other questions that remain open. But it is necessary to continue the objective discussion of these problems. This means that we should intensify all our international activity. Each time, and depending on the problems concerned, we should find the most suitable forms of discussion and analysis in the form of bilateral and multilateral meetings, international scientific meetings and initiatives by journals, research institutes, etc.

The conference should be regarded as one of the forms —

politically the most important form it is true — of this rich varied international activity. This conference, as the French, British, Spanish and other comrades, although not all speakers, said here, as distinct from the conferences of 1957 and 1960, should, among other things, point to those political combat objectives which are the most topical and most pressing in our day.

We are convinced that this precise definition of the theme of the forthcoming conference, far from detracting from its significance, will, on the contrary, help ensure that its work and conclusions should have, judging by everything, political effectiveness and repercussions, even greater than those of the previous conferences. If we are able to achieve, with the help of this conference, real unity based on concrete aims of struggle, we shall be several steps towards political and ideological unity, which is of decisive importance.

Besides, the questions which the forthcoming conference is to discuss are very important. These questions now command the attention of the Communists, the masses and all the progressive forces of the world. Indeed, it is necessary to determine in what way the Communists and all progressive forces can react to the serious dangers created by imperialism's policy to the freedom of the peoples, democracy, peace and the future of all mankind. The demand to discuss these questions is an imperative and urgent demand and also the basic and most valid reason that makes the initiative for convening the conference justified and topical, despite all the misunderstandings which can be mentioned in other respects.

3. Some comrades already noted that in recent years the policy of imperialism, especially of U.S. imperialism, has been characterized by increasing aggressiveness, which has already led to serious local conflicts and at the same time aggravated the international tension which already directly endangers world peace. This increased aggressiveness is due to the striving of U.S. imperialism to act as the policeman of reaction, as a "superpower" bent on checking any future development of the movements of social and national liberation and imposing its economic and political domination on ever greater regions of the world.

How do things stand in this respect? What is the first result of this new aggressive and still continuing phase of the policy of U.S. imperialism? In this matter we should eschew both superficial optimism and the almost desperate pessimism which can sometimes be found in analyses made by certain revolutionary parties and groups. Indeed, we should not shut our eyes to the defeats sustained by the democratic and national-liberation movement in some countries as exemplified by the establishment of reactionary regimes in Indonesia, Brazil, Greece and some African countries. But it is also true that the overall result of events of these recent years is unfavorable for imperialism, whose policy has not only

failed to achieve definite results and affirm itself, but in many respects has entered a new period of difficulties and can experience a crisis even deeper than in the period of the so-called cold war.

That is precisely why everything that is happening in Vietnam was, and is, of decisive significance. In recent years U.S. imperialism has concentrated in this corner of the globe all its efforts in order not only to retain its military and political positions in that country, but also to deal a mortal blow at the liberation movement of the peoples of Asia and the whole world. But it is also in Vietnam and in the Vietnam issue that U.S. imperialism has been suffering one defeat after another both on the local plane (militarily and politically), and on a world scale, from the viewpoint of the correlation and alignment of forces. That is what imparts international significance to the heroic resistance which the people of Vietnam both in the North and in the South have been offering to the barbaric U.S. aggression. Herein lies the significance of the brilliant victories which have been and are being scored by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam in the offensive it launched in the last days of January. Herein lies the significance of the just and far-sighted line of action in military, political and diplomatic matters which has been followed by the Vietnamese comrades and which is developed by them with great courage and initiative in their country and all over the world with a view to isolating the U.S. aggressors politically and morally and driving them into a blind alley. At the same time the solidarity and political activity that have developed in the world of late are also of decisive significance: this is the military and economic aid and political support which the Soviet Union and other socialst countres, invariably loyal to the duty of proletarian internationalism, have been and are rendering to the Vietnamese people on a growing scale and with ever greater effectiveness; this is also the resolute mobilization of the forces of the Communists and peace-loving and freedom-loving forces in the other countries of the world.

For instance, in our country too, owing to the unending stream of mass manifestations and political initiatives, a situation has arisen where the majority of public opinion and many members and leaders of the parties in power oppose the U.S. aggression and declare for an end to the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem based on full recognition of the Vietnamese people's right to freedom and national independence. The government itself is compelled to reckon with this situation and no longer dares openly express its solidarity with the U.S. aggressors.

The defeats, the impasse U.S. imperialism has reached in South Vietnam, the alarm aroused all over the world by the expansionist

and adventuristic policy of the United States—all this has caused a crisis of American hegemony. Ever broader sections of the masses and of the middle strata condemn U.S. policy. The contradictions between the United States and the other capitalist countries are growing and reaching an unprecedented level. This phenomenon is fairly evident now in Europe and in the Atlantic bloc itself, where a trend for a revision and reappraisal of the relations with the United States and the striving for ever greater independence and freedom of action are manifesting themselves. This trend is increasingly evident even among those ruling circles which have for many years resolutely defended the U.S. stand.

Nor can imperialism's aggressiveness achieve important and lasting results in other regions of the world. Despite the military successes scored by Israel in its attack on the Arab countries, the striving is growing in these countries and other Mediterranean states to unite their forces and further strengthen their contacts with the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the progressive labor movement in the capitalist countries in order to remove the threat to peace, national independence and democracy, a threat engendered by the presence and policy of U.S. imperialism in that part of the world. The current successful preparation of the conference of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces of the Mediterranean region is a vivid illustration of this trend.

Consequently, the aggressive policy of imperialism and especially U.S. imperialism has reached a critical point or, putting it more cautiously, it is faced with serious and growing difficulties. But the facts show that the trend now gaining prevalence in the ruling circles of the United States is to conclude, from the defeats, that it is necessary not to return to a more realistic policy but to engage in new and bigger gambles, first of all through stepping up and expanding the aggression in Vietnam and turning it into a veritable genocide.

At the same time the U.S. imperialists go on engineering provocations and threatening socialist countries such as Korea and Cuba; they support and try to organize coups in Latin America, Africa and even Europe, especially in the Mediterranean region, which has of late become one of the chief targets of imperialism's aggressive policy. Thus the current political line of the United States gravely endangers the independence, freedom and peace of the peoples. Israel's attack on the Arab countries, the revanchist trends in West Germany and numerous signs in other regions of the world show that this encourages in the ruling circles of other countries the extremely dangerous trend to settle inter-state disagreements by use of force. This trend creates new dangers to world peace.

4. Hence the particularly urgent need to mobilize all forces called upon to eliminate these dangers, to save the indivisible cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. This calls for an examination of the present peculiarities of the union of anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces. This is another important subject which has to be discussed at our conference.

We think it can be stated, in the broadest outline, that after a certain irresolution in some sectors initially caused by the novelty of the situation, the rebuff to the imperialist offensive has of late been gaining in effectiveness. We have already spoken about broad international solidariy with the struggle of the Vietnamese people which has, in fact, already created a kind of unity of action and a definite form of united front, even though this form is incomplete and undeclared. In addition, we must stress the role being played all over the world by the Soviet Union and all those socialist countries which pursue a consistent policy of peace and render concrete aid to the people fighting for their freedom and national independence, and the constantly growing respect enjoyed by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. In the national-liberation movement too—despite setbacks and delays in some countries—one can see numerous signs of this movement's growing capacity for resistance and struggle in the face of the open aggression of imperialism and the various forms of colonialist and neo-colonialist pressure. New signs of revolt and struggle are maturing and manifesting themselves in highly diverse forms in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Perhaps there has been insufficient emphasis on the fact that the position of the working-class and Communist movement in the capitalist countries, a movement called upon to play a unique role in the international revolutionary process, is evincing new signs of rise and development testifying to the beginning of a change after the stagnation that reigned—with few exceptions—in Europe at the height of the cold war. In these conditions the major successes of the policy of labor and democratic unity pursued by the comrades in France, Finland and other countries are of particularly great importance. It is highly indicative also that the Communist parties have made headway in recent elections in almost all European capitalist countries.

The most important critical comment which can be made regarding the line of the general development of the struggle of the labor, democratic and anti-imperialist forces is that, despite a partial advance, despite the growth of the forces which are taking or striving to take part in the struggle, all the possibilities and the entire existing combat potential are not being utilized yet. The split caused by the stand of the Chinese comrades and the other pro-

cesses of diffusion of forces and isolation that have been taking place in recent years are making themselves felt in the most negative sense and impede the affirmation of the trend for unity and cooperation which has in these same recent years been manifesting itself, it seems to us, in highly diverse and contradictory forms in various sectors of the labor, democratic and revolutionary movement both in individual countries and on an international scale.

However, we think that the Communist and revolutionary movement suffers not only as a result of the split and the centrifugal trends that have appeared in it, but also from a kind of "narrowness."

We all remember that, although in different conditions and perhaps in a more open form, a similar phenomenon occurred in the life of our movement in the early nineteen-thirties. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International resolutely assisted in eliminating this phenomenon by outlining prospects of a long-range policy of unity which enabled the Communists to win over other major democratic and peace-loving forces, secure for themselves the decisive role in the victorious fight against fascism, and act in many countries as a big national political force.

We also think that, as was stressed recently in one of his very clearly-worded articles by Comrade Le Duan, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Working People of Vietnam, the problem that faces us now bears some similarity to the problem which we successfully solved. But in many aspects, positive or negative, this problem is, of course, more complicated. The split is more serious and more profound. On the other hand, the revolutionary movement has acquired a magnitude unparalleled in the past: new peoples, political forces, objective demands and ideological concepts are appearing in the international arena. It is almost impossible to pinpoint the forces which can today be drawn into the struggle against imperialism. But success in implementing this task demands that the Communists fully restore their ability to act in conditions which will inevitably differ from the conditions of the past, setting before themselves different aims and applying different methods but displaying the broadmindedness and creative courage of which the Seventh Congress was an example.

Now as well it is above all necessary clearly to define, on the basis of the continuously effective principles of correct Leninist strategy and tactics, the main tasks that have to be carried out, ensure the broadest possible unity of all forces interested in the implementation of these tasks, and subordinate all other demands to this.

5. On a broader plane, we consider that we should begin with stating definitely that in order to open before the world the prospect

of an epoch of peace and peaceful coexistence our first and principal aim is to foil all plans of imperialism which can lead us to a world war which in the present epoch would assume the character of a nuclear catastrophe. In view of all sorts of insinuations and the quite natural but unfounded incomprehension, it is necessary to declare again that peace and peaceful coexistence are our combat aims whose achievement calls first of all for isolating and defeating the more aggressive forces of imperialism and frustrating, one after another, their militarist initiatives, for this is the main condition for saving mankind from nuclear catastrophe and enabling all peoples freely to decide their own destiny.

Our most pressing task today is to force the U.S. imperialists, through our struggle, to stop their barbaric war of aggression in Vietnam and accept the absolutely reasonable and just proposals of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam in order to begin negotiations on peace and a political settlement of the Vietnam problem.

As regards other important aspects of the current struggle for peace, we shall limit ourselves for the present to stressing the need to fight in Europe for the recognition of all borders determined after the victory over nazism, for the recognition of the GDR and generally to fight against the Atlantic pact and for the establishment of a collective security system which can lead to the gradual dissolution of mutually opposed blocs. The appeal of the Karlovy Vary conference evoked a very broad response in this respect, but today we have new and greater possibilities to continue the discussion of these questions and display consistent initiatives together with the other democratic forces of the continent. In the present international situation the struggle for peace is becoming ever more closely interwoven with the struggle against any form of colonialism and neo-colonialism, because the attempts in some countries to maintain or restore the relations of subordination that were established by imperialism constitute a source of grave war danger. Besides, a just and lasting peace will be established only when we will be able effectively to satisfy the needs of development of that (the biggest) part of the world which has for centuries been doomed by imperialism to exploitation and subordination and which is now fighting to eliminate the lag.

In our relations with the powerful reserves of anti-imperialist forces in the so-called third world we should proceed from the existence of a growing gap between their level of development and that of the most advanced countries. Therefore we should search for means of eliminating this gap, and this search should at the same time set into motion the progressive forces in these countries,

the socialist world, and the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries.

6. In our view, there exist in the world today ample possibilities for ensuring broader or partial agreement and unity of action of the most diverse forces for the achievement of these aims of peace, freedom and progress. The matter concerns not only the new national and revolutionary forces which are fighting on anti-imperialist positions in the colonial and former colonial countries. A deep internal struggle is also going on within other traditional political forces. In Europe, for instance, a profound reappraisal of values is taking place in exceptionally broad strata of the Catholic movement, and the consequences of this reappraisal are to be observed within the framework of other religions. A crisis of anti-communism is evident in the Social-Democratic ranks, even though the obstacles to unity of action have been removed only partially and only in some countries. The world of workers in culture is revolting in its major actions against the growing aggressiveness of imperialism. In Europe, even forces at the government level agree to a discussion and to the prospect of broader unity and cooperation among all countries of the continent so as to avoid complete subordination to America.

Clearly, the decisive thing today is what every party and progressive movement will be able to do in this respect in its own country. But much depends on the common initiative which different forces will display in various regions of the world, as well as on what we will be able to do by common effort on an international scale, on our ability to create new relations with the new trends now appearing all over the world.

Hence the need for broad international cooperation based on effective unity conforming to the present reality of the movement. What this means first and foremost was correctly pointed out again a few days ago by the CC CPSU in its press organ: it is impossible and unthinkable "to return our movement to the old framework and direct it from a single center." The independence of every party must remain the "absolute principle" of our movement.

Indeed, internationalism and autonomy are inseparable factors which are mutually conditioned and neither of which can be sacrificed. Non-observance of either leads to negative consequences. But we, who were among the first propagandists of these principles and who for a long time expressed this position in the formula "unity in conditions of autonomy and diversity," need not dwell on this matter at large, just as there is no need to dwell at large on the fact that our Party strives in shaping and pursuing a line of struggle for socialism conforming to our national reality.

The most important, the most political and the most topical

problem today, as we have endeavored to prove in our entire statement, is to promote this broadest possible unity resolutely and with initiative. This is an imperative of the entire situation confronting us. This is demanded and made possible by the objective processes which have been taking place in international development in recent years owing to the growing scope and diversity of the revolutionary movement, and also by the fact that parties and movements have appeared in many countries which do not call themselves Communist and are not such but which have nevertheless been greatly influenced by Communists and by ideas advanced and carried into life by the socialist countries in the past fifty years, and which are making an important contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle.

That is why we say that our task today is not so much to rally as to broaden our ranks, to search for contacts between all elements of the present revolutionary movement on the basis of tasks which can and must be common for all of them.

We do not oppose a priori the idea of an international congress of these forces. But this will require much work and a fairly long time. On the other hand, this initiative should be discussed and prepared from the very beginning together with the other forces concerned so as to ensure its complete success.

We consider that this political demand should find expression both in the course of debates in the period of preparation for our conference and in the very composition of the participants in it. In advancing this demand we are far from denying the right of Communist parties to meet only among themselves. The problem we raise is of a political and not juridical character. We are even farther from the idea that Communist parties should become dissolved in a movement with vague outlines. We are absolutely convinced of the leading role of the working class and its vanguard, the socialist countries and the Communist parties. But we are also convinced that today the working class and its party can perform their historical mission only as a force inspiring the broadest possible anti-imperialist movement and striving for discussion and confrontation of views with the other progressive forces in order to prove by deeds the correctness of the solutions offered by us.

To be sure—we repeat this—the matter concerns not only our conference; but we cannot understand why this conference could not and should not be an occasion also for making certain steps along this road. We are aware of the difficulties which can arise in some countries regarding the decision on the organization and forms connected with this problem. But if we agree concerning its political significance, we are convinced that in this case it is possible to find also the form of organization.

For instance, all forces which consider that they are interested in the theme we shall propose for discussion at our conference (struggle against imperialism) could ask for permission to attend the conference and could themselves determine the form of their participation.

To the arguments in support of our proposal we would like to add that since, despite all our efforts, a number of Communist parties (including fairly big ones) will most likely not attend the conference, the participation of other forces—non-Communist but revolutionary—could facilitate contacts with the highly diverse realities of many nations and many continents and would thus ensure the broadest possible worldwide character of the conference. For all these reasons our Party attaches great importance to this question.

7. As far as the other aspects of the preparation and convening of the conference are concerned, we agree with a number of proposals made by many comrades, above all with the proposal for convening the conference before the end of this year and for setting up already now a preparatory commission in which all parties, both those that are present here and that are not, could take part at any moment. The main thing is to correctly use this period so that the preparation for the conference could be of a more open and more democratic character. That is why our Party considers that the drafting of the documents to be submitted to the conference should not be made the starting point.

We think it would be much more correct to begin with extensive consultative work based on the collection of most diverse materials and proposals, which would enable us to continue the discussion not only among the parties present but also with the parties which are absent and with the other political forces showing an interest in the questions discussed by us. After several months of such work a new consultative meeting could sum up the first results of the work and decide in what way we should prepare the final stage at which the documents will be drafted.

Finally, we want to stress the need to arouse the interest of the broadest masses, the most diverse progressive forces and the public at large in the themes under discussion and in the preparation for our conference. Systematic contacts with the press and abundant information will be necessary both at the subsequent stages of preparatory work and—in particular, I would say—at the conference itself. Indeed, what we are discussing is not only our problems but vitally important problems for all peoples and for all political forces striving for freedom, peace and progress. We have nothing to lose and we should not be afraid of giving wide publicity to the debate, right up to the presence of the world press at the general discussion at the forthcoming conference.

We are convinced that the forthcoming conference can and must signify a new step forward in the struggle against imperialism, an important contribution to the creation of a new type of unity between the Communist parties and the other revolutionary forces, a contribution to the class struggle of the peoples for their social and national liberation, for world peace.

ZOLTAN KOMOCSIN

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

Dear Comrades,

By commission of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, we herewith submit to the participants in the Consultative Meeting our views and proposals about the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

It follows from the consultative character of this Meeting that the representative of each party should state the views of his own party about the problems that emerge in connection with the international conference. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party states its views and proposals in the hope that the delegations of the brother parties will give them proper attention and consideration. That is how we receive the contributions of brother party delegates. We feel bound to give them our attention, to ponder and consider their words, whether the views they set out agree with or differ from ours.

We are convinced that the object of bilateral and multilateral exchanges of views among the Communists is to promote mutual understanding and to serve our common cause in a concrete form. Consultations and exchanges of views, whether bilateral or multilateral, can only be effective if neither of the parties tries to impose unalterable and predetermined conditions on the other and if neither makes its participation in the talks and the final result of the consultation dependent on the acceptance of such conditions.

In stating the stand of our Party now, we proceed from the assumption that our proposals must not necessarily be the only acceptable ones, and we shall gladly yield to and accept better

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Népszabadsag, March 3, 1968.

proposals if we are convinced of their correctness. We are striving for understanding and agreement. Promotion of our common cause and materialization of the international conference rather than acceptance of our own concepts is what we regard as the important thing. To come to terms, to advance, to serve our common goal is only possible if we carefully study and give attention to other proposals, if all of us are willing to advance together towards preparations for the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

INTENSIFY AND EXTEND THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

Our starting point in familiarizing you with the views and proposals of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party at this Consultative Meeting is the fact that our Party has long advocated the necessity to hold a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The Ninth Congress of our Party in November 1966 expressed its stand in the following words:

"The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party declares for the idea of a big conference, not for the sake of the conference itself but in order to strengthen and widen our unity and solidarity. We want unity of action first of all and immediately in aiding Vietnam, and generally in the struggle against our common enemy, imperialism."

Between the Ninth Congress and the end of last year, we conducted bilateral exchanges of views with 52 brother parties, with some of them on several occasions. The experience gained from these bilateral exchanges, and careful study of the brother parties' opinions have been decisive factors in the framing of our own standpoint.

The development of the world situation is objectively favorable to the cause of socialism, national liberation and independence, to the forces of peace. Many facts in evidence of this are cited in resolutions of the central committees and congresses of the Marxist-Leninist parties fighting on all continents. But while we underline the favorable development of the objective world situation, we must not close our eyes to the successes imperialism gains through its so-called global strategy, with the result that the international situation is becoming increasingly grave and complicated. The known facts can be summed up as follows: the war in Vietnam with its heavy toll, devastating bomb raids on a socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, that have been going on for years, the blows delivered to the national liberation fight in Indonesia, Ghana and on the Latin-American continent, the military coup and the introduction of a dictatorship in Greece, the Israeli aggression on the Arab countries.

When under the pressure of reality, we admit and realistically

reckon with the fact that the development of the third world necessarily shows weak points—that there are countries which might fall prey to neo-colonialism, we must never forget that the imperialists profit from the lack of unity in the international Communist movement. The crumbling of unity and the slackening of internationalist solidarity hold back the development of the international Communist movement and enable the imperialists to increase their aggression.

The task facing every Communist and Workers' party today as its first priority is to intensify and extend the struggle against imperialism. This can only be attained through better mutual understanding among the brother parties, by cementing and developing their unity. The world situation and the state of affairs in the international Communist movement imperatively demand that internationalist solidarity be put above all else.

We see the main reason for the crumbling of unity and the chief obstacle to restoring it in the abandonment of proletarian internationalism. It is common knowledge that Mao Tse-tung and his group, who are prompted by great-power chauvinism, objectively cater to the imperialists by their anti-Soviet campaign and their slanderous activity against brother parties. If the Chinese leaders, despite the serious dissensions in matters of ideology and policy, had a minimum of internationalism and, rather than launching attacks on brother parties, strove to establish unity of action with the Communist and Workers' parties at least in supporting the fight of the Vietnamese people, this would at once produce a new situation, not only in Southeast Asia, but on the world political scene generally.

INTERNATIONALISM IN PRACTICE IS THE ROAD TO UNITY

Signs of growing nationalism, isolationist trends, the artificial opposition of party autonomy to internationalism, and the slackening of international Communist solidarity are the greatest obstacles to the unity of the international Communist movement. Inversely, the road towards cementing and developing the unity of the international Communist movement does not lie through mere phrases about internationalist ideas but through actually carrying these ideas into effect.

Internationalism among parties in power and parties fighting for power expresses itself in mutual solidarity because of the interaction of their efforts and because the success of each is conditioned by the success of the other. Unacceptable in principle and ineffective in practice is the striving of a Communist party, whether in power or fighting for power, to resort to anti-Sovietism as evidence of its autonomy. No party which is fighting for power can be right

in principle or can attain lasting results if, yielding to the pressure of the bourgeoisie, it tries to gain popularity and increase its mass influence by launching attacks on the socialist countries. By the same token, what does not benefit the Communist parties fighting for power cannot be useful to the party of any socialist country.

The Communist and Workers' parties must not be divided into first-rate and second-rate parties, into big and small parties, for all the brother parties have equal rights.

Promoting internationalist solidarity and the unity of the world Communist movement are among the most pressing and important tasks of all Communist and Workers' parties. In the present situation, this is a prerequisite for strengthening the anti-imperialist unity of action of the brother parties and of the unity of action of the international Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces. Our Party regards itself as a contingent of the international Communist movement, with the rights and obligations that are implicit in this. This is why we attach such great importance to strengthening and developing unity to the best of our ability.

The desire for unity has been increasing in the Communist and Workers' parties in recent years. One proof of this is the growing frequency of bilateral and regional meetings. This Consultative Meeting is further evidence of the brother parties' aspiration for unity. As we see things, discussion so far had centered on whether or not there should be an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, but now exchanges of views are increasingly giving prominence to the agenda, time and place of the international conference and to how we should prepare it.

THE MOTIVES FOR CALLING AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND ITS OBJECTIVES

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party holds that the international conference of the Marxist-Leninist parties can have, above all, two motives and objectives. The first motive and objective springs from the fact that much time — nearly a decade — has elapsed since the 1960 conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, the world has changed in the meantime and this alone justifies a new international conference.

As for the general line and the fundamental conclusions of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow conferences, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party faithfully abides by them as the basis of its international activities. In stressing this we take into account the fact that the 1960 Statement is no longer valid in some respects.

World development raises new problems which have to be solved and so we cannot be content with quoting previous declarations. There is a need to make a thorough, Marxist-Leninist analysis of

the struggle between the imperialist and the anti-imperialist forces. Of course, every brother party gives attention to this matter. But at the present time it is necessary that the Communist and Workers' parties, which are conducting their struggles in different conditions, should study the situation also jointly, collectively; that they should draw the necessary conclusions and work out an action program for the anti-imperialist fight in order to make unity of action more energetic and effective. We are convinced that the collective experience and wisdom of the brother parties enable this work to be carried out better than one or several parties could do. Joint efforts and collective work could help to ascertain—more fully than it is possible today—the points of agreement on whose basis the anti-imperialist struggle could be made more effective.

The other chief motive and objective of the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties is to strengthen and further the unity of the international Communist movement. We give right to those brother parties who insist on putting first, not the contradictions over questions of ideology and strategy, but the problems of the anti-imperialist struggle on which there are numerous points of agreement corresponding to our desire for unity. Democratic and comradely exchanges of views, better knowledge of one another's views, exchanges of experience gained in struggle, collective analysis and the elaboration of an action program will all add to mutual confidence and internationalist solidarity, and solidarity, in turn, will reinforce the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties. This will increase the prestige of the Communist parties and appeal of the socialist ideas in the eyes of the working masses and among the forces which fight in alliance with us against imperialism. All this together will provide better conditions for intensifying the anti-imperialist struggle.

Like the other brother parties, we are aware that by holding an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties we cannot solve all problems overnight, cannot fully restore the unity of the international Communist movement. But the slogan "all or nothing" is unacceptable to us. If we cannot achieve everything as yet, this is not to say we must do nothing. We must not doom ourselves to passivity only because full unity cannot be restored yet. Let us do what we can today so as to serve our goal, which can only be reached later, and take a big stride towards restoring complete unity.

PROPOSALS OF THE CC HSWP

The foregoing considerations have served as a basis for the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to formulate answers to the questions the present Meeting is examining by way of consultation.

The invitation letter dispatched by our Central Committee proposed that the Consultative Meeting should elaborate our common stand on the objective of the international conference, its character and agenda, preparations for it, and its date and place.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party we propose:

a) that this Consultative Meeting should call on all Communist and Workers' parties to participate in the international conference and in the preparations for it;

b) that the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties should include in its agenda the question of rallying all progressive forces against imperialism;

c) that the conference should be held before the end of this year;

d) that the conference should take place in Moscow;

e) that preparations should be conducted in the most democratic manner, with due regard to the standpoints of all the brother parties; that a Preparatory Committee should be set up, ensuring every Communist and Workers' party the possibility to participate.

Let us ask ourselves: are we not overhasty in insisting that the international conference should meet this year? It is our firm view that the brother parties cannot blame themselves for undue haste. The important thing, however, is that the remaining three-quarters of 1968 will be enough for careful and thorough preparations. Besides, it would do harm to the prestige of the brother parties and cause them political damage if the preparations for the international conference and its convocation were unduly delayed. By joint, collective efforts the brother parties can cope with the tasks facing them.

We think the international conference should work out a declaration reflecting the common stance of the brother parties. What we have in mind is a political declaration stating our attitude to the present-day questions of the struggle against imperialism and giving a collective formulation of the tasks in consolidating the anti-imperialist forces. Apart from this document, we thing it necessary to work out a peace appeal.

In our view, these jointly elaborated and accepted documents must not be concerned either with an analysis or with an appraisal of any brother party's policy, let alone with condemning, attaching labels to or excluding anyone.

Another thing is the inalienable right of every brother party to take a stand on the fundamental political, strategic and tactical questions of the international Communist movement and to explain its views, as they actually do in public, as well as at bilateral and multilateral meetings. Our Party holds that no party can prescribe to another what it may or may not say in its published declarations or at the meetings of brother parties. Similarly, participation in

bilateral or multilateral meetings should not be made dependent on preliminary conditions. It follows from the independence of the Communist and Workers' parties that each party should decide for itself, where, when and in what form it should state its views. Nor can anyone regard this as interference in the internal affairs of the brother parties. The statement of views in matters of principle is one thing, and interference is quite another thing.

Our Party, strictly adhering to the principle of independence and non-interference, has always insisted on the right to get acquainted with the standpoints and opinions of brother parties and even to criticize them from positions of Communist principle. When a brother party states its views about our policy, we do not regard that as interference in our internal affairs or violation of our autonomy but as an offer of comradely assistance. We consider it our duty to ponder that offer. But no one except the leading bodies of our Party have the right and can take decisions and pass resolutions.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party holds that we now need an international conference of the Marxist-Leninist parties. Every party should be enabled to join in the preparations and invitations to attend the conference should be sent to all Communist and Workers' parties. In common with the other parties, we shall continue in the endeavor to secure the participation of the Communist and Workers' parties now existing in 88 countries. However, we must face an undeniable thing: should we stand pat on the demand that all brother parties be represented at the international conference, we would have to give up the efforts to arrange the conference because it would be an objective not to be reached in the foreseeable future. The stand of our Party is laid down in the following words of the resolution passed by the Ninth Congress:

". . . We desire talks and union in the fight against imperialism with every revolutionary party and all progressive forces, including, of course, the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor. However, if their leaders today absolutely dissociate themselves from it in every way, the international working-class movement cannot stand still, nor can a conference on a broader basis be put off till the end of time."

PREPARE FOR THE CONFERENCE ON A COLLECTIVE AND DEMOCRATIC BASIS

This we say frankly: the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, striving for maximum participation by the brother parties, believes that it is possible to hold the international conference after careful and thorough preparations on a collective and democratic basis. It will send its representatives to the conference even if some

Communist parties should find it impossible at the present time to attend. It is the right of each party to decide whether or not it will take part in the international conference. It is part of our stand that we strive to develop bilateral contacts and that we desire to put up a joint fight for the common goals even with those brother parties who may be absent from the international conference.

Our Party considers that the international Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces are interested in an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. With the present state of the international Communist movement, the paramount task is to strengthen the solidarity and unity of the Communist and Workers' parties so as to increase the effectiveness of the struggle against imperialism. In our view, it is one thing when we speak of the international conference of the Marxist-Leninist parties and quite a different thing when we speak of a world conference of all anti-imperialist forces. The history of the international Communist movement, supported by numerous present-day examples, furnishes evidence that whenever Communist policies and aims are concerned, the work has to be performed by the brother parties severally or jointly and thereafter only can they turn to their allies. This is the basic prerequisite of winning allies and strengthening contacts in the joint struggle. On the national scene, let alone in the international arena, the Communist and Workers' parties cannot renounce their right to work out their policy, each maintaining its independent character. It is neither sectarian aloofness nor secretiveness towards our allies that prompts the Marxist-Leninist parties to meet at an international conference to exchange views and experience. Communist policy and the tasks of promoting internationalist unity can only be elaborated by the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The international conference of Communist and Workers' parties could, we think, examine the question of whether it would be expedient and correct to take the initiative of convoking a world conference of all anti-imperialist forces at a later date.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, like most brother parties, is very seriously interested to know what results this Consultative Meeting will finally produce. It thinks that we cannot content ourselves with talking and exchanging views and then letting everyone go home, leaving the fate of the international conference to chance. We think it is important that the thread of preparations should not break after this Meeting. On the contrary, we should advance purposefully towards the international conference. Long-time experience suggests that when we want to solve a problem we must act resolutely and purposefully. The same is true of the international conference. We think the Consultative Meeting would arouse a great echo if all the participating brother

parties agreed on the need to convoke the international conference before the end of this year in Moscow. We should call on all the Communist and Workers' parties to participate in the further preparations for the international conference and in the conference itself. Everyone would see that as a resolute initiative and it would fill us Communists and the forces identifying themselves with us with joy, and at the same time would strike a blow at our enemies, the imperialists.

We have submitted our concepts and proposals, being ready to hear and examine proposals differing from our own. The goal is to find a concrete solution that would satisfy, as far as possible, every brother party.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is convinced that the Consultative Meeting will carry out its task by taking a big stride forward on the road leading to the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Thank you.

WILLIAM KASHTAN

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CANADIAN CP

This decision of our party (favoring an international conference) arises from our long-held view that the consolidation of the unity of Communist and Workers' Parties is essential not only to effectively cope with imperialist aggression but also to create more favorable conditions to further change the balance of forces on a world scale towards peace, democracy, sovereignty and socialism.

This is why we believe that the task of this consultative meeting is not only to affirm the need for unity; is not only to consult, but to take very practical steps which would help bring about unity.

We see an international conference as an important step in this direction. We believe that to delay holding it for whatever reasons, only gives an advantage to imperialism. We need to be quite realistic about the problem. There are those who do not want an international conference under any circumstances, while there are others who want it under conditions which do not presently exist. Marx used to say that the people make their own history, but they make it out of the material at hand. In our opinion this must be our position with respect to the convening of an international conference. We cannot wait until the last button is sewn on the last uniform. We need to make history with those who wish

The Canadian Tribune, March 11, 1968.

to act and work together for common aims, while leaving the door open to other parties who may wish to participate at a later date.

This is why we are for convening an international conference this year. But this is not the only reason. We are meeting at what may be a turning point in world affairs. All the signs point to a further and more dangerous acceleration of United States' aggression in Vietnam and perhaps elsewhere. Nor can we ignore the threat emanating from the Pentagon to use nuclear weapons against the Vietnamese people. This situation not only calls for the maximum of vigilance: it likewise calls for the maximum of unity.

All of us are well aware that imperialism and its press speculate on the possibility that national interests will supersede internationalism in the world Communist movement. It has pursued a skilful tactic in this connection, directed to keeping the Communist and Workers Parties divided. It pursues a soft approach and a hard approach, bridge building and subversive activity, coup d'etat and local wars, all directed to one purpose, to reverse the revolutionary processes at work in the world and regain its lost positions. This global strategy cannot be effectively coped with and defeated without coordination of efforts by all Communist and Workers' Parties on an international scale. For parties to go it alone, so to speak, when it affects the world socialist system and the worldwide struggle for peace, national independence and freedom, hinders the struggle against imperialism and in the first place United States imperialism. We need to reply to this global strategy by a united front of all Communist and Workers' Parties against imperialism and in the first place United States imperialism.

It must be stated quite frankly that in the world Communist movement tendencies have arisen over the past period of time to pose national versus international tasks. We believe this is a mechanical and harmful approach to the defense of the true national interests of each country and its people. There must be a unity between national and international tasks, a merging of patriotism and internationalism. To take any other attitude when imperialist aggression has been intensified is to live in a dream world. We see no contradiction between the responsibility of every party to its working class, the fate of its nation, and its international responsibility, and the responsibility to pool and coordinate efforts against imperialism and its global strategy. Indeed, such coordination of efforts on an international scale against imperialist aggression is the best guarantee that each party can safeguard the interests of its nation and its people. The sovereignty, independence and equality of a party are not in question when agreements are freely and openly arrived at. They are in question when any one party tries to impose its will on other parties.

We see an international conference as marking an important

step forward in achieving such coordination and in creating a new and firm basis for consolidating the unity of Communist and Workers' parties.

As we have already stated we believe the main theme of the conference should be the struggle against imperialism. We hold the view that in the prevailing conditions the most urgent task for all Communist and Workers' Parties is the development of united action against imperialism. In the first place U.S. imperialism.

It is around this objective that the best possibilities exist for beginning the process of restoring the unity of the world Communist movement, and creating those conditions of mutual confidence necessary for open debate and discussion in the future about the whole range of strategic and tactical problems confronting the Communist and Workers' Parties in various parts of the world.

Bearing this in mind we do not consider it expedient to re-examine all the strategy and tactics of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, but to focus attention at the international conference on the joint struggle against imperialism . . .

Thus in our view the principal document to be presented to the conference should focus on the new phenomena, new problems and new tasks demanding solution today. We would not consider it to be possible at a conference to be held before the end of 1968 to again present a document as basic and wide ranging as that of the 1960 conference which attempted to go into considerable detail with respect to the strategy and tactics of Communist parties in the socialist countries, the former colonial and semi-colonial countries, and the advanced capitalist countries. Nor do we think it is appropriate to do so. Each party must work out its own strategy and tactics in conformity with the situation in each country and the needs of the overall struggle against imperialism. . .

To sum up: our party believes the international conference should take place this year. All Communist and Workers' Parties should be invited to participate in it. Its theme, in our view, should be unity of Communist and Workers' parties in the struggle against imperialism and in the first place U.S. imperialism.

In our opinion the successful outcome of an international conference would lay the basis for uniting all the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the world. It would constitute the beginning of a process, a new stage in the life of Communist and Workers' Parties enabling them more effectively to shift the balance of forces on a world scale. A great responsibility rests upon all of us here. Imperialism and its press believe that unity of the world Communist movement cannot be restored, consolidated and extended. We say it can and it will be. Much depends upon our efforts, our work and proposals here. If we build well, we shall create the conditions for a great, new advance in the period ahead.

EDGAR WOOG

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE SWISS PARTY OF LABOR

Our Party agrees to the proposal for an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. We think such a conference is necessary and timely and would be useful. We agree with the majority of the comrades who said that unity of the international working class against imperialism and war should be the central theme of the conference. We are for the conference because the evolution of the international situation calls for a common position and unity of action on the part of the Communist and Workers' parties.

It is true that the peace forces have grown and the Soviet policy of peace is gaining ground. It is also true that the blows dealt at the American aggressors by the heroic people of Vietnam show what a small people can do when their freedom, independence and dignity are at stake. Nevertheless, the battle against the warmongers, against those who are enginering a new world war, has not been fought yet, and the talk about the imperialists being paper tigers is stupid and harmful, for it depicts imperialism as harmless and makes it out to be weaker than it actually is. Imperialism is not a paper tiger, not even in terms of centuries. It is a real and terrible beast, a greedy and deadly beast of prey which we must catch and curb and destroy if we are to get rid of it.

What distinguishes us from the Social Democrats is, among other things, the fact that we believe in the strength of the working class and other working men and women, in the strength of the people, that we rely on this strength for support, and organize and mobilize it and lead it into action. We cannot win unless we appreciate the strength of the people. But neither can we underrate the strength of the enemy. Many comrades have spoken of the growing militancy of the working class in the capitalist countries, and rightly so. The struggle for economic and political demands has intensified. The workers use strikes as a weapon, they come out into the streets and fight veritable battles against the instruments of power. Nevertheless, there are still no mass movement and mass strikes in the capitalist countries against U.S. imperialism, the war in Vietnam or the war menace generally. Often it is the middle classes, the intellectuals and youth who are in the van of the fight for peace, against the war in Vietnam. To be sure, this is very important and is a sign of the times. But

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Vorwaerts, March 14, 1968.

it will be difficult to change the balance of forces until we succeed in setting the working class in motion, meaning primarily its organized section, on a greater scale. This applies to the situation in the United States, Britain and almost every other developed capitalist country of Europe. It also applies to our country, which retains a relatively high standard of living in spite of inflation, the rising cost of living and the drop in real wages but in which discontent and resistance to imperialism and war are on the uptrend and there is also concern about U.S. penetration which is increasingly threatening the economic independence of Switzerland.

In most capitalist countries the Communists are still a minority while the majority of the working class still follows Social-Democratic and reformist union leaders. However, there are opposition groups and groupings in the Social-Democratic parties and the reformist trade unions, and it is with them that we can cooperate against imperialism, the war in Vietnam, the armaments in our own countries and arms deliveries to the imperialists. An international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties that set itself the task of combating imperialism and war would make this cooperation easier, build up confidence in the Communists, their policies and their organizations, and help intensify the struggle for peace.

That is why most delegations probably agree that the fight against imperialism and war should be the main theme of the international conference. This is also true of the proposal that all parties be invited, including those that were absent from the Moscow meeting in 1960 and those that are not with us in Budapest today. There seems to be unanimity about the time and place of the conference and the way in which we should prepare for it. Our Party, for its part, agrees to the proposal for holding the conference this year in Moscow.

While we think the fight against imperialism and war should be the main theme of the conference, we also think that each party should be free to pose questions and speak of the problems it considered important and necessary. We believe in the comrades' sense of responsibility and trust that they will pose questions and discuss problems in such a way as to contribute to our movement, to its strength, unity and cohesion.

The Central Committee of our Party, which met on January 27 and 28, took the following stand on the conference:

"Such international conferences, held generally for the benefit of all parties, are not very likely to produce agreement on all problems because the conditions in which the various parties have to fight and to determine their objectives are much too different. Hence there is no need to seek at all costs the general and absolute consent of all the parties if it should turn out that new discussions

and new experience are needed. The important thing is to state clearly what unites all the Communist and Workers' parties in the fight against imperialism, even though the forms of the fight are different."

Differences do exist, and so do difficulties, but we are convinced, and the experience of past years has shown it, that we are strong enough to overcome both differences and difficulties.

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contents

POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE 8th CONGRESS CP OF INDIA 5

MATERIALS OF THE BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING (Cont'd) 18

SPEECH BY L. I. BREZHNEV
at meeting of Moscow City organization of the CPSU, March 1968 **72**

RESOLUTION OF THE CC CPSU PLENUM 88

A LETTER FROM ISRAEL 91

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POLITICAL RESOLUTION*

ADOPTED BY THE CPI EIGHTH CONGRESS

The basic feature that characterizes the economic and political developments in our country since the last Congress of our Party centers around the fact that the capitalist path of development pursued by the Congress rulers during the 20 years of Indian independence has entered the phase of acute crisis, engulfing the whole country in its ruinous, all-pervasive consequences.

From the very beginning the capitalist path of development pursued by the Congress leadership contained an inherent contradiction which was bound to thwart the rapid development of our backward economy to an advanced stage. The need for rapid industrialization and increase in production of food and raw materials demanded the establishment of a democratically-run state sector in commanding position in the economy, a firm curb on monopoly development and eradication of the remnants of feudal interests in agriculture.

But in order to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, whose representative it is, the Congress government failed to take these steps. It allowed the monopolies to grow to unprecedented heights, and encouraged foreign capital to enter the country in growing proportions. It failed to carry out land reforms, give liberal assistance to agriculture to grow food and raw materials in a planned manner and to protect our agriculture from the inroads of foreign imports and monopoly trading finance.

This contradiction between the dictates of the private profits of the capitalist class, especially the monopoly sector, and the interests of the national economy and the toiling masses led to the debacle in our development and made our economy vulnerable to the attacks of recession and crisis.

Despite the difficulties created by foreign monopoly capital, which does not desire the industrialization of our country, and the imbalances and anarchy inherent in the capitalist path of development, some independent development of our economy did take place during all these years. Big plants in iron and steel, heavy engineering, chemicals, refineries and oil, etc., have been established, especially in the public sector.

But the full utilization and further development of the newly built industrial capacity, which has a highly strategic importance in our national economy, has been sabotaged by governmental

*New Age, February 25, 1968.

policies, bureaucratic management, incompetence and corruption. Hence our economy continues to be held in ransom by the imperialists, who are interested only in their superprofits and not in the development of the country and the prosperity of the people.

The Congress rulers have been trying to solve the internal problems through increased exploitation of the working masses, more concessions to internal monopolies and more reliance on the vested interests in agricuture and on foreign private capital, principally American aid.

It is this which is responsible for the rapid aggravation of the crisis during the last three years and the appearance of new features in the economic and political policies of the Congress leadership signifying further and further dangerous shifts towards the Right and at the same time leading to the disintegration of the National Congress as the sole and stable ruling party of the national bourgeoisie.

The shameful and treacherous act of devaluation of the rupee, carried through by the Congress ruling clique at the dictation of the World Bank, denoted a dangerous turning point in our economic and political life.

Experience has amply proved that acceptance of devaluation and the other policy changes dictated by the World Bank, far from helping to solve India's crisis in planning and development that had already burst out in 1965, has only led to its further aggravation.

The Congress govenrment which, by betraying our economy to the demands of devaluation hoped to gain more foreign aid from the World Bank and foreign monopoly capital, finds itself cheated on that account also. Neither the project nor the non-project aid, so abjectly prayed for by the government, has flowed into the country, which has led to further fiascoes in the development plans as envisaged in the capitalist path.

Imports of goods which have become more costly due to devaluation continue to grow despite the fact that they can be substituted by the products of our newly-built industries. The result is that our plants lie idle and foreign monopoly interests and their Indian partners in the import trade fatten at the cost of our development. Even in a year of highest bumper crop, the government commits our economy and our foreign exchange to purchase of seven million tons of PL-480 foodgrains.

Export of our goods which have become cheaper due to devaluation has fallen and the government impoverishes our economy further by distributing vast subsidies to the benefit of the exporting houses.

Thus instead of saving foreign exchange by import cuts and gaining more of it by increased exports, thereby reducing our

foreign debts and dependence on the World Bank and foreign monopolists, the government takes recourse to cutting down further industrialization and developmental plans that should go to the benefit of the people. This has aggravated the recession and the crisis still further.

Primary products which still form the bulk of our exports already suffering from the imposition of low prices and unequal exchange at the hands of advanced capitalist countries, have become still cheaper due to devaluation. But even in this field no further gains are accuring and exports are not growing due to the financial and trading crisis in the countries of the West. Moreover, these countries refuse to open their markets to the new lines of manufactured goods which India has now begun to produce.

A noteworthy feature of the recession is that contrary to usual expectation, there was no fall in the level of prices as a whole. On the contrary, prices continued to rise, even in the consumer goods industries, despite recession, lack of demand and accumulation of stocks. The basic reason for this is the dominance of monopoly capital in the main sectors of production, in the main arteries of the market and the main levers of finance, i.e., the banks allied with the landlord and moneyed interests in the agrarian sector.

Such a situation heightens the danger of U.S. neo-colonialist domination of our economic and political life which will get accentuated in the coming period, unless the entire policy of the Congress government is defeated by people's action.

With the devaluation of the pound and the fall in the real value of the dollar, the imperialists have intensified their attack on our economy. Their aim is to pump out more profits from India and to get our goods at cheaper rates in order to buttress their own economies, which are facing crisis due to the war in Vietnam and other aggressive adventures.

But these designs of imperialism are coming up against the growing political and economic contradictions and conflicts in their own camp. This finds expression in greater aggressiveness of the imperialists to growing international tensions and increased war danger.

The global strategy of American imperialism 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 and are striving for social progress. This strategy is at present meeting with resistance and defeat.

In Southeast Asia, the U.S. imperialists deployed vast military power and set about building up South Vietnam as a base of aggression on the Asian continent. From here, the colonialist and neo-colonialist positions of imperialism are being sought to be

brought under U.S. control in a situation where Britain, reduced to economic bankruptcy, is forced to quit her bases East of Suez. Besides, the U.S. government is hoping to exert stronger military pressure from here on developments in the Asian continent.

In the same way, the U.S. imperialists are at present concentrating on undermining and subverting the policy of non-alignment and dragging India into their scheme of neo-colonialist aggression and penetration into Southeast and South Asia. Economic squeeze and pressure are orientated towards this political goal. At the same time, it is necessary to emphasize that the present aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism arises not out of its strength, but precisely out of its growing crisis, weakness and isolation. Despite their massive deployment of American and satellite forces in Vietnam, they are today actually facing defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese people. The devastating consequences of the Vietnam war on American economy have led to the beginning of a political crisis for American imperialism inside America itself, coinciding with the onset of an economic slump and a weakening of the dollar which has forced the mightiest imperialist power to actually put a curb on export of capital.

The mass movement inside America against the Vietnam war merged with the struggle of the Negro people for civil rights and a new deal and with the struggle of the working class against unemployment and the oppression of the monopolies has grown into a mighty torrant during the year 1967 which has become a serious threat to American imperialism in its rear.

In a situation where the newly liberated developing countries are affected by difficulties and recession, the imperialist countries instead of helping them to overcome these difficulties assail their independence and economic development and try to convert them into their neo-colonial appendages, and aggravate the miseries of the peoples of these countries.

The countries of the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union, on the contrary, render disinterested aid to the developing countries. In India, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries first contributed to the establishment of bases of heavy industry, engineering, oil, etc. Now when the further development of these vast industrial enterprises has been hampered by the recession, to their closures and unemployment of workers, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries propose to buy their products and provide a stable growing market for them. Thereby they help the working people to defend their wages, standards of living and help the country to resist imperialist blackmail and take to the path of independent development.

The development and stimulation of India's trade is also sought to be achieved by the three non-aligned peace-loving countries like

India, Yugoslavia and the UAR agreeing to lower the high tariff walls between themselves.

Due to the aggressive advance of the imperialist monopolies against the economies of the developing countries, all the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are trying to lower the tariff walls between themselves, and are trying to unite their efforts to resist the onslaught of imperialists. In this they get the full support of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, as is evidenced in the deliberations of the UNCTAD.

The Indian monopolists, having the main levers of the economy in their hands, are seeking a way out of the crisis which will strengthen their position at the cost of the working masses and the middle classes and even the non-monopolist bourgeoisie.

The Congress leadership is showing its utter bankruptcy by surrendering to the demands of Indian monopolists step by step. Instances of this are:

Abandonment of the Fourth Five Year Plan and its replacement by a so-called "One-Year Maintenance Plan";

Rejection of nationalization of banks and institution in its place of 'social control' of banks and promise to divert more credits to rural areas;

The real meaning of this is to provide banking credit for development of capitalist agriculture on a large scale and to bring about a tie-up of the big business houses and the upper strata of the rural vested interests;

Indiscriminate decontrol in the interest of the monopolies;

More and more concessions to foreign private capital and increased foreign collaboration;

The attempted wage-freeze by Morarji Desai which was only temporarily halted by the powerful united resistance of the working class and the government employees;

The emphasis now being given to "maintenance of law and order" and "political stability" and the forging of new weapons of repression like the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act.

The Congress leadership is thus seeking solution of the crisis in favor of the monopolists, big business and the upper strata of the rural vested interests. It would be a mistake to underestimate the maneuvering capacity which the Indian bourgeoisie still has in the present situation. It is against this background that political developments in our country have to be viewed.

The mass popular upsurge that swept the whole country in the form of the bandh movement in 1966 assumed the form of a nation-wide revolt against the anti-people policies of the Congress government and the all-round ruin and sufferings they brought on all sections of the common people.

The initiative of the Communist Party led to the first successful

steps towards forging unity of Left and democratic parties in certain states though the degree of unity forged fell far short of the needs of the situation. The mass popular upsurge accentuated the conflicts and contradictions and hastened the process of political differentiation within the Indian bourgeoisie and initiated the crack-up and disintegration of its party, the National Congress.

It is this that led to the debacle of the Congress Party in the fourth general elections and the rise of non-Congress governments in nine states. It is true that in some states it is the parties of Right reaction, the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh, that espouse the cause of the monopolist vested interests, who have been the main gainers from the debacle of the Congress. They strengthened themselves taking shrewd advantage of the discontent of the masses and by riding on the wave of the mass yearning for a change. The failure of the Left parties to forge a Left democratic front with an alternative program was a factor which also assisted the process.

The non-Congress democratic governments formed in the states, specially those in which the Left parties played a significant role, become instruments of popular struggles and mass movements against the vested interests for securing the long-standing demands of the workers, peasants and other exploited strata of society, for strengthening Left and democratic unity and for an alternative path to the discredited and bankrupt capitalist policies pursued by the Congress leadership.

Some of the non-Congress governments espoused the cause of the exploited, and refused to allow the state machine to be used as before to suppress the masses.

Even those non-Congress governments in which the Left parties participated but did not occupy dominant positions were instrumental in securing some concessions for the people, further strengthening the unity of Left and democratic forces and exposing not only the intrigues of the Congress but also the reactionary nature and machinations of the parties of Right reaction such as the Jana Sangh. These governments with all their limitations and varying degrees of utility also contributed to strengthening the all-India struggle for breaking the monopoly of Congress power.

The formation and activity of the non-Congress democratic governments with the participation of Left parties, despite all their initial vacillations and weakness, did set in motion new forces and processes.

In states where the Left and democratic forces played the leading part in these governments by taking measures of concrete relief for the people, by preventing the use of police for assisting the exploiting and vested interests and by initiating new policies,

these governments started projejcting an alternative to the bankrupt path of the Congress governments.

In other states where the Left and democratic forces were not in a leading position in the governments, struggles developed in these united fronts on question of policies. This experience of the parties and the people was slowly leading them to the conclusion that a real alternative to the Congress regime was a government working for a Left democratic program.

The Congress Party leadership saw in this process the beginning of its final break-up and disintegration, and the crystallization and formation of a Left democratic alternative leadership that could eject the Congress Party from power at the Center and rescue the country from the miseries imposed on the people by the capitalist path.

This process also alarmed all the forces of reaction in the country. The Swatantra Party and important sections of the Jana Sangh started playing soft towards the Congress, called for a coalition government of such forces, and on crucial questions of a mass democratic character began siding with the Congress government at the Center.

From the very inception of the non-Congress governments, the Congress government at the Center launched its efforts to subvert and undermine them by withholding adequate food supply and by exerting financial and economic pressures. It encouraged and utilized the hold-up of production and closure of factories by big business to blackmail these governments and unleashed a virulent campaign about the "breakdown of law and order." The Congress leadership even stooped to downright bribery to purchase and wean away unstable and vacillating elements and thus spread the scourge of "defections" in order to bring about their downfall.

And when all these still proved ineffective and the Left and democratic forces centered around these ministries continuad their steady advance and their struggle to implement the common program agreed upon, the Congress leadership at the Center resorted to the final weapon—assault on the very principles of parliamentary democracy itself—in a frantic bid to reverse the trend of the last nine months and the verdict of the fourth general elections. The Governors in the states are being utilized as agents of the Congress governments at the Center to carry through the dangerous game of destruction of parliamentary democracy.

The present counter-offensive of reaction is a reflection of the increased grip and power of monopoly over our economic and political life and the reaction it engenders in all spheres of life and within the ruling class itself and its political party. Even during the period of crisis of our economy and the recession, the top monopolists continued making their super-profits and adding to

their wealth and power, at the expense of all other sections of society, including the middle bourgeoisie.

Also to be noted is the increasing grip of the bureaucracy over administration and in the state machinery during the last four years and the role they are playing in the current reactionary offensive. Through them, the monopolies and the foreign agencies are exerting greater influence over formulation and implementation of policies. They play a more marked role in sabotaging democratic policies formulated by the democratic united front governments. Placed in key control of several public sector undertakings they are more and more sabotaging the public sector and laying it open to infiltration by the monopolists.

It would be a serious mistake to underestimate or minimize the real danger of the present counter-offensive of reaction, arising from the greater degree of cohesion and articulation politically of the forces of the Right, as well as their far greater degree of entrenchment in the party organization and governmental leadership of the Congress, and in the upper echelons of the bureaucracy and the military.

The forces of Right reaction are increasingly strengthened by the CIA which has intensified its activities in India in recent years. The CIA played an active part during the last general elections. PL-480 funds in the hands of the U.S. Embassy in India are a dangerous source of subversion. The CIA has penetrated into some of our educational and cultural institutions and has been seeking to corrupt our intelligentsia. It has influential direct contacts in the top echelons of the bureaucracy and the military, in addition to its links with reactionary political parties. They utilize these fully in order to subvert democracy and buttress the forces of chauvinism and disruption.

The offensive of reaction and the increasing influence of imperialist powers in the politics of our country is also apparent in the weakening and undermining of the policy of non-alignment and in particular the emasculating of its anti-imperialist content.

Examples of this are the failure to condemn American aggression in Vietnam, allowing important materials to be exported to the puppet government of South Vietnam and the continued refusal to recognize the GDR.

Menacing as the counter-offensive of reaction is, it should not be mistaken to be a sign of its increased strength. On the contrary, the developments of the recent years have shown the strength of the forces of democracy and the increasing participation of the masses in the struggle in defense of their demands, of democratic rights and for curbing the monopolies.

In this situation, the Communist Party regards it as an urgent national necessity for the Left and democratic forces in the

country to come closer together, strengthen unity in action and take steps to evolve a common democratic platform, as an alternative to Congress policies, to serve as the basis for a joint political battle against the counter-offensive of reaction and the policies of the Congress government. Such a common democratic platform alone can enable the Left and democratic forces to overcome their present political weakness and disarray and give them the striking power to unitedly hurl back the challenge of reaction and carry forward the pre-election mass upsurge to a higher plane which the present situation demands.

Such political unity of the Left and democratic forces, backed up by a common democratic platform, becomes all the more necessary for the coming period when the confrontation between the forces of reaction and neo-colonialism on the one hand and those of anti-imperialism, democracy and socialism on the other becomes sharper and more bitter and the question of power at the Center comes on the agenda as the crucial political question facing the nation.

The fourth general election has opened up such possibilities in actual political life of the country. The Left and democratic parties have gained in strength and stature. New democratic parties and forces have emerged on the scene. The cracks inside the Congress have also brought to life some new democratic forces on the political scene.

It is also to be noted that anti-communism does not hinder as before the establishment of united front relations between these parties and forces. They have come together on minimum programs to form UF governments and they have led and are leading together huge united mass political actions.

The experience of the last nine months of the united front governments in the states, the present counter-offensive of reaction and the great mass resistance movements that have developed in West Bengal, Bihar and Punjab are also giving rise to new crystallization of political forces and bringing about new shifts inside the various political parties in the country. It is exposing the hollowness of the claims of reactionary parties like the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh to their being alternatives to the Congress and laying bare their real character. It is strengthening the trends in favor of unity and united action inside the various Left parties and the consciousness within the Left and democratic parties of the different united fronts that they must close up their ranks and strengthen their unity.

The glorious mass resistance and civil disobedience movement of the people of West Bengal has forged such firm all-in unity of the Left and democratic forces of the state as was never seen before. Similar has been the experience of the united front mass

movement that has developed in the Punjab and in Bihar after the toppling of the united front ministries and that are still only at the initial stage.

These mass movements have already resulted in further disintegration and confusion in the camp of reaction. The new course of policy adopted by the Congress rulers—economic and political—will further intensify the contradictions between imperialism on the one hand and the Indian people on the other; between the narrow clique of monopolists and landlords on the one hand and the vast majority of the people, including the middle bourgeoisie on the other, and last but not least between the Congress government and the popular masses.

The Communist Party emphasizes once again that the responsibility of the Left Parties in this critical situation is crucial and decisive. They must take urgent steps to strengthen their unity, as well as the unity of the trade union movement, in action and launch a sustained all-India mass movement to defend parliamentary democracy, and the living standards of the working masses. They must also break new ground and take urgent steps for forming minimum political unity on the basis of a common democratic platform, for lifting the mass movement to the level of a national political battle for new policies. Such Left unity on a political plane can give a political direction and orientation to the other democratic and middle-of-the-road parties and groups in the country, as well as to democratic sections within the Congress and the masses still following the Congress and help to pave the way for the National Democratic Front.

Overcoming the schism in the ranks of Communists and establishing unity of action and mass organizations is one of the vital elements in conducting further battles against the ruling classes and reactionary forces in India as elsewhere.

The Communist Party of India puts forward the following six-point program on the basis of which this Left and democratic unity on the widest possible basis has to be built in the coming period:

1. Defense of democracy; mass struggle against the subversion of parliamentary democracy as seen in the toppling of the united front governments in West Bengal, Punjab and Bihar, imposing minority governments on the people and denying midterm elections. The mass movements in West Bengal, Bihar and Punjab should be supported by all-India coordinated action of all Left and democratic forces.

A powerful mass campaign all over the country in defense of the United Front Government in Kerala; against the vile conspiracies of the Congress Party and the central government's conspiracies to subvert it.

Struggle for democratic changes in the Federal Constitution of

the country so as to divest the Union government of its overriding powers to interfere in the affairs of the states and in order to widen the autonomy of the states, especially in the matter of finance and state economy. Struggle to make the elected Assembly and the Council of Ministers the sole and representative authority in the state by doing away with the institution of Governors and the second chambers and eradication of the special covenanted privileges of the superior services.

2. Defense of the wages, employment, living standards and the democratic rights of the workers and employees in all spheres against the offensive of the employers and the government.

3. Struggle for the enforcement of urgently needed land reforms, reduction in land ceilings, distribution of all kinds of waste and fallow as well as surplus lands to the agricultural laborer and the landless peasant, security of tenure to all tenants-at-will and share-croppers.

—Struggle for a national campaign for a rapid break-through in agriculture and for a national food policy based on state trading in foodgrains and for stoppage of PL-480 imports.

—Struggle for an integrated price policy which ensures a remunerative price for the peasants and which also protects the interests of the consumer.

—Struggle for the reduction of rent and tax burdens on the peasantry and for supply of credit, other inputs as well as the consumer goods the peasant needs in adequate quantities at cheaper rates and for the expansion of consumers' cooperatives to protect the interests of the peasantry.

—Struggle for free house sites and a reasonable minimum wage to the agricultural laborer.

—Struggle against eviction of adivasis from the lands they are cultivating, patta land under possession, for household lands, for their right to the forest produce and fair prices for the same.

4. Defense of national sovereignty and building up of economic independence.

—Struggle for nationalization of banks, general insurance, oil and export-import trade and for effective steps to break up the monopoly houses and moratorium on foreign debts.

5. Struggle for national integration and safeguarding the class unity of the working class and the working masses, for safeguarding secularism and combating communalism and casteism and for protecting the rights of Muslim and other religious and linguistic minorities.

—Struggle for uniting the people of various language groups in the interest of Indian democracy and unity.

—National consensus regarding language question. To help

arrive at such a national consensus the CPI will put forward concrete proposals on the basis of the following:

a. Indian languages to replace English as medium of education and administration at all levels in the respective regions.

b. The current controversy regarding link language should be resolved by adopting and implementing the principle that neither English should be imposed on Hindi-speaking states nor Hindi imposed on non-Hindi speaking states. Till non-Hindi speaking states accept Hindi as the sole link language, English together with Hindi should continue to be the link language.

c. No unequal burden in the matter of selection for services under the central government.

d. All Indian languages are equal.

—Struggle for more powers to the states, especially in matters of finance and planning.

—Support for the abolition of the category of Union territories and their upgradation as full-fledged states wherever it is so possible.

—Struggle for democratic solutions to be arrived at by mutual discussions on issues of inter-state disputes and against all narrow bourgeois-nationalist trends on these issues.

—Fight for the economic and cultural demands of the tribal peoples and for their right to full autonomy within the present state or statehood within the Indian Union, depending on the stage of development, compactness of the area, distinctiveness of their language, culture and tradition, consciousness and other conditions prevailing in the respective tribal areas.

—Support for extension of full autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian Union, for all-round development of the economy of the state on a sound basis, for the removal of all regional imbalances, for full civil liberties and unfettered democratic rights to the people of the state.

—Active struggle for preserving, strengthening and extending the unity of the working class in the face of the onslaught of the forces of communalism, chauvinism and disruption by a planned campaign to enhance their political consciousness.

—Struggle against obscurantist, revivalist and other reactionary ideological trends propagated by foreign and internal reaction and for the flowering of a progressive national culture.

6. For a foreign policy of peace and non-alignment, of active struggle on all issues against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and of growing friendship and cooperation in all fields with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and newly liberated countries — a policy based on the interests of the defense of India's sovereignty and safeguarding and strengthening

our economic independence. For all-out solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam.

For recognition of the GDR; for understanding and amity between India and Pakistan the way for which has been paved by the Tashkent agreement; for a no-war pact and a peaceful settlement with China; for support to all liberation movements in Latin America, Africa and Asia; for solidarity with the Arab peoples in their struggle for liquidation of the consequences of the Israeli aggression; for support to the struggle of South African peoples against racial oppression and for national liberation.

The task of building up the unity of the Left and democratic forces in our country on the basis of a common democratic platform to hurl back the challenge of reaction requires immense independent mobilizing and organizing work by the Party in the coming period. The complexity of the present situation and the sharp differences that persist among the various Left parties on key political issues and the persistence of opportunist trends and anti-communist prejudices create a situation where such unity cannot come by means of top negotiations alone. It can come only through a process of patient, protracted and persistent struggle on our part, involving powerful independent mass campaigning and powerful independent mass actions and joint actions initiated and carried out by the Party and the mass organizations.

The importance of such independent initiatives and independent activities by the Party in the coming period will be decisive for forging the unity of Left and democratic forces.

Finally must be emphasized the supreme importance of rapidly building up the independent strength and independent striking power of the Party, of developing and improving it as a mass Party and as a disciplined revolutionary force, steeled in struggle and ideologically tempered in Marxism-Leninism.

Only such a Party can stand up to the requirements of the coming period.

MATERIALS OF BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING

(Continued from issue No. 5, 6, 7)

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU

GENERAL SECRETARY, AKEL

This Consultative Meeting is taking place at a time when the US imperialists are escalating their barbarous war of aggression in Vietnam and when imperialist provocations — in Korea and elsewhere — threaten to create new seedbeds of war. In the Middle East, the Israeli agents of US imperialism persist in aggression, so that a new war may break out at any moment. In Africa, Latin America and even in Europe imperialism is becoming ever more aggressive, and preparations for a revanchist war are gathering momentum.

All this invites the question: what is the reason for the aggressiveness of imperialism, especially of U.S. imperialism? Is it possible that the balance of forces is favorable to imperialism? If so, must not we revise the relevant thesis of the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties?

EFFECTS OF THE SPLIT

We should make a fatal mistake if we came to such a conclusion. The fact is that the aggressiveness of imperialism is not an indication of strength. The aggressiveness of imperialism and the counter-revolutionary military coups carried out by the imperialists in a number of countries should be seen against the background of the split that has existed between Communist and Workers' parties and, above all, between socialist countries, for six or seven years now. The imperialists take full advantage of this split to wage a war of conquest and to promote counter-revolution.

Had we had unity instead of division in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' parties, had there been unity in the socialist camp, and had the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China been closely cooperating with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the U.S. imperialists would never have ventured to wage their war of aggression in Vietnam or, having done so, would already have lost the war.

Kharavgi, March 3, 1968.

The American imperialists have thrust their dirty nose into Vietnam and shower bombs and noxious chemicals upon its soil. They have sent over half a million troops to Vietnam in an effort to profit by the opportunities which the CPC has afforded through its hostile stand on the unity of the forces of socialism and the international working-class movement.

But try as it may, the CPC leadership will never be able to convince the honest workers and sincere anti-imperialists that it is serving the best interests of the Vietnamese people and the anti-imperialist struggle by refusing to cooperate with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, or with the Communist and Workers' parties.

CALL FOR UNITY

The heroism of the Vietnamese people and their leadership, the Communist Party of Vietnam, have won the admiration of the world. The words *Vietnam* and *Vietcong* are deeply engraved in the hearts of all freedom- and peace-loving mankind. At the same time they are a call addressed to us. They are an appeal to us to unite and support the Vietnamese people in such a way as to enable them the more speedily to rout the American imperialist aggressors and their servitors.

We know that the Soviet Union renders enormous assistance to the people of Vietnam and that it does so in absolutely disinterested fashion. The Vietnamese people owe it to this assistance that they have been able to perform the miracle of their resistance to the US aggressors, and even to take the offensive in recent weeks. We also know of the difficulties which the Soviet Union encounters in helping Vietnam and which would disappear as soon as unity was established

This Meeting should issue an earnest call for unity to save Vietnam and defeat the American imperialist aggressors. We need unity for Vietnam. We need it if the Israeli aggressors are to be expelled from Arab soil and if peace in the Middle East is to be safeguarded. We need it if we are to curb the counter-revolution and establish democracy in place of dictatorship in Greece, Spain, Portugal and other countries. We need unity for national liberation, peace and socialism. It is this imperative necessity that has brought us here. The greatest godsend the imperialists could dream of would be a divided socialist camp and divided Communist and Workers' parties. Let us deny them this godsend.

The fundamental theses of the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties are valid and will be valid for many years to come. What we need is to modernize that historic document with due regard to the developments and experiences of the past period.

BULWARK OF PEACE

It has been stressed at this Consultative Meeting and earlier that all our parties, big and small alike, are equal. This is correct and should stay so. But while we all enjoy equal rights, we are not, nor can we be, equal in responsibility and obligations. The CPSU and the Soviet Union bear the brunt of all that goes on in the world. It would be ridiculous to compare the responsibility and obligations of small parties with those of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Historically and by virtue of its position, the CPSU has been the vanguard and will continue so, whether the imperialists like it or not. The destiny of the world is largely in the hands of the Soviet Union. This is how matters stand, and it is in this light that the world sees the Soviet Union today. Even those who disagree with communism on ideological grounds, recognize the Soviet Union to be the bulwark of peace.

Unity with the Soviet Union is necessary. It would be unthinkable for anyone who wants to be called a Communist not to see his chief duty in upholding Communist unity, unity with the CPSU.

SUPPORTING THE PROPOSAL FOR WORLD CONFERENCE

The Central Committee of AKEL has empowered the Cyprus delegation to declare at this Meeting that it enthusiastically supports the proposal for an early conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. We congratulate the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on the important organizing work it has carried out for the benefit of the Consultative Meeting, and thank it for its efforts and its hospitality.

The fight against imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism should be the only theme of the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

It has been asked here whether a conference of the kind that would be convened later this year should adopt a new statement or an appeal. Yet one thing does not rule out the other. The conference could adopt a document containing theses on the cardinal problems of the contemporary world and an appeal to the peoples of the world dealing with the same problems.

Our Party considers that the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties has been unduly delayed. This delay benefits the splitters and the imperialists. The conference should meet next November at the latest, and Moscow is the most suitable place for it. A conference held in Moscow in the interests of the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties would deliver a telling blow to imperialism, to the anti-Soviet campaign planned and financed

by the imperialists and intended to cause the greatest possible split in the ranks of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Comrades, we come from a small country. The experience of recent years has repeatedly shown that the unity of the Party and the anti-imperialist unity of the nation inside the country, as well as the powerful support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries outside the country help to successfully counter imperialist intrigue and aggression. The unity of the Party and the anti-imperialist unity of the nation won an important victory at last Sunday's presidential elections. Makarios, who was backed by our Party, polled 95.5 per cent of the votes, while his opponent collected a meagre 3.7 per cent.

The unity of the Communist and Workers' parties and world-wide unity against imperialism will end imperialism and slavery and infuse our movement with fresh vigor. They will strengthen it and bring about the victory of the peoples. Unity is the key to success in our struggle.

ALBERTO SUAREZ

MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay we wish to begin by greeting all the comrades and party delegations present here, in particular the delegates of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, whose efficiency and fraternal attention have enabled us to meet here in Budapest.

We consider that the very holding of this meeting is an important success of the world Communist movement and of the cause of unity of the Communists, the proletariat and the revolutionary forces of the world, and at the same time a telling rebuff to imperialism and reaction, which have always staked on the split in the Communist movement as one of their most important trump-cards in the worldwide struggle that is going on. We feel that this Consulatative Meeting is ushering in a new positive stage in the struggle to strengthen the unity and cohesion of our movement.

We think the fact that we are holding this meeting and the progress it has made so far show that there exist conditions for convening the next international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, and we should decide here on concrete measures to prepare for and to convene it. The conference, which will make it possible to further the unity of the world Communist movement, is a deep-rooted objective necessity of today. It has been aptly said here that we are living in the glorious historical epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, the epoch of the definitive abolition of the exploitation of man by man and of national oppression. The world revolutionary process has been advancing during these past years. Socialism and communism are being built at a fast rate in one-third of the globe, and socialism wins one victory after another in the economic and cultural emulation with capitalism. Colonialism in its traditional forms has been eliminated. The working class is gaining increasingly decisive positions all over the world.

Still, hundreds of millions of people continue to suffer from poverty, hunger and illiteracy and from the most brutal forms of exploitation and subjugation.

El Popular, March 6, 1968.

The forces of international reaction, led by the U.S. imperialists, cling to their privileges. They try to check the liberation movement of the peoples by committing crimes and unleashing aggression and war in the most barbarous forms. This is why each advance has to be fought for and has often to be paid for in blood.

The transition from capitalism to socialism cannot take place spontaneously and peacefully. It is a turbulent process requiring revolutionary initiative and a high degree of militancy on the part of the vanguard forces among which we class ourselves. In the face of hunger and sorrow and crime and war still maintaining a cruel grip on so many millions of men and women, we must steer clear of adventurist trends while bearing in mind the urgency of our revolutionary tasks.

We feel we are linked by close bonds with all who are suffering and fighting, with the workers, students, peasants and intellectuals of our country, Latin America and the world. And we are keenly aware of our responsibility to them in this crucial period of history. This responsibility is not limited to each party accomplishing its national tasks. The contemporary historical process is essentially universal. Ever since the *Communist Manifesto* and its slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" appeared, Marxists have stressed that while the tasks of the Communists are necessarily national in form, their principal content and significance are international.

Indeed, Lenin insisted on unconditionally subordinating the national tasks of the movement to its international objectives.

This meeting and the conference we are planning fit in with these glorious traditions of proletarian internationalism which, needless to say, are not an invention of recent date but a pillar of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. It is just as true, however, that lately it has been our enemies who have stressed the international character of the struggle. Driven to despair by the inexorable advance of revolutionary processes, they are trying in vain to hold them back by applying a global strategy which today expresses itself in the infamous aggression in Vietnam, the provocations against Korea, the resurgence of nazism and revanchism in Europe, the continuous threat to Cuba, and recurrent acts of aggression and repressive measures against Latin American and other peoples.

In the enemy camp today, the United States, which has become the policeman of five continents, symbolizes the utmost internationalization of all counter-revolutionary struggles and processes. Can we be content with purely national solutions in the face of this general offensive against peace, freedom and national independence, against the movements demanding democracy and

justice? Can we, in the face of the coordination and unification of repressive forces under the aegis of the U.S., fail to coordinate and unify the struggle of the Communist and revolutionary forces of the world, the actions of all the peoples for peace, freedom, democracy, socialism and communism? Of course not. But we do not think mutual solidarity alone, for all that it is a very important expression of internationalism, which should be extended and fostered as far as possible, can fully meet the need of coordination and unification. We are not, nor must we be, a set of parallel forces alien in a sense to one another if having common long-range goals.We are contingents of an only worldwide force, political representatives, within each nation, of one only social class, the international proletariat, behind which other social strata of the people rally. The very fact that we have already become an immense force combining state power in the socialist countries, the hundreds of millions of people taking part in the national liberation movement and the battle-hardened contingents of the proletariat of the capitalist countries, a huge power unmatched by the strength of the peoples at any previous period in the history of mankind, commits us more than ever to use this power to the full and in unity for hastening the final victory.

For we cannot be indifferent to the genocide in Vietnam going on for months or years, or to hunger, disease, illiteracy and political despotism, which today affect whole nations and continents, going on for years or decades. Whether or not this suffering will last long depends in vast measure on our ability to unite the gigantic forces of the peoples so as to strike imperialism a devastating blow.

In this connection, allow me to say something more from the standpoint of Uruguay and Latin America. On the strength of the community of the historical process going on in our countries, language and cultural traditions, the main features of the socio-economic patterns, and of the fact that we are fighting against a common enemy, we maintain that the emancipation movement in our countries is acquiring the characteristics of a continental revolution. The victory of the Cuban revolution, the radiant presence of socialism on the American continent and, along with it, deepening economic and political crisis are quickening the maturing of revolutionary conditions on the continent. To be sure, this is not to say we ignore or underestimate the differences in the economic, political and social position of the various nations, differences which are marked and must by all means be taken into account if the right tactics of struggle are to be used in each country. Nor does it mean that the revolutionary stages in the various countries must keep to a uniform and rigid pattern. What it does imply is the undeniable fact that in the context of the general intensifica-

tion of the socio-economic and political crisis, inter-action between the revolutionary process in each country and in other countries and on the continent as a whole is becoming closer, which accounts for an increased sensitivity to events occurring in any part of the continent. This was exemplified by the unprecedented repercussions of the Cuban revolution and the shock caused among very large sections of the population by the dramatic death of Ernesto *Che* Guevara. To this we may add that in America the international nature of the retrogressive plan of the U.S. imperialists and the national oligarchies expresses itself in what is perhaps more brazen and cynical forms than one comes upon in any other part of the world.

All these factors call, as we see it, for close understanding among all the Communist parties and genuinely revolutionary groups of the continent on the initial and elementary basis of mutual solidarity. At the same time, however, we must search, patiently and steadfastly, for much more profound agreement so as to have a greater chance of success in the fight against our common enemy.

Our Party has educated itself, and is striving to educate the working class and the people, in such a way as to harmoniously combine the features of a national patriotic force reflecting the needs and aspirations of the Uruguayan people, and the distinctive paths of their political development with a high sense of internationalism. For half a century of unshakable solidarity with the Soviet Union, this internationalism has comprised all the important international themes and has lately found expression in solidarity with Cuba and Vietnam.

There is no doubt that in the conditions prevailing in Latin America today, and given greater cohesion of the world Communist movement and the three great streams of the worldwide struggle against imperialism, unity would make our fight against U.S. imperialism much easier and help further countries—possibly before long—to take important steps towards liberation. This in turn, would vastly contribute to the progress of the world revolution and hasten the final defeat of imperialism.

Does what we have said mean that we think it is an easy task to attain this higher plane of unity and cohesion? No. Regrettably, the experience of recent years shows there are obstacles that will be very hard to overcome. They stem from the very scope of our victories and are also due to subjective mistakes and to methods of dealing with differences that are not always correct. These difficulties oblige us to proceed tactfully and patiently, knowing in advance that certain objectives of unity cannot be achieved at once and must necessarily be put off. But we also think that difficulties are there to be overcome and that, provided

we have a clear idea of the magnitude of our ultimate goals, we can proceed wisely so as to overcome the obstacles and to advance whenever the conditions are ripe for it. It should be obvious to anyone that in this process the principles of complete equality and independence of all parties, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs must be scrupulously observed. It is indisputable that each party should decide in its own country on the line of its political action. These are indispensable conditions for the relations between Communist parties to develop on a sound basis and for their unity to make progress. It is on this basis—drawing on one another's support and solidarity, striving to appreciate and borrow all that is valuable in the experience of other parties, creatively developing Marxism-Leninism by contributing new theoretical syntheses, combating all manifestations of national narrow-mindedness and arrogance, and becoming increasingly aware of the common responsibilities, placed on us by our proletarian internationalist concept—that we must prevent those principles from becoming, in effect, impenetrable walls impeding fraternal communication, frank discussion and comradely understanding. We must prevent it in order to elaborate and apply a global strategy against our common enemy.

We think, as we said at the beginning, that this Consultative Meeting and the proposed world conference constitute positive steps in this process. It would be ideal if the conference could provide guiding solutions to some big problems of the contemporary process. The conference would justify our enthusiastic support of it if it brought about effective mutual understanding and unity of action on the burning issues of the anti-imperialist struggle, above all on active solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam. Thus it could become the first step toward realizing an idea we wholeheartedly support—the idea of convening a big and broad anti-imperialist meeting. We are agreeable to the date and place of the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties proposed here by various brother parties as well as to the techniques and methods of preparing for it, which should be aimed primarily at ensuring the participation in the conference by the greatest possible number of Communist and Workers' parties.

ALVARO VASQUEZ

MEMBER, SECRETARIAT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA

On behalf of the delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia, I wish to greet the delegations of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties present here and to give the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party our heartfelt thanks for its active role in organizing this Meeting.

We would like to begin by stressing the great significance of this Meeting, its importance as a step forward in the difficult job we have undertaken in recent years to promote the unity and cohesion of the revolutionary forces.

To our Party, which has long been working, to the best of its ability, for Communist unity and against various disruptive elements, this Meeting is a source of enthusiasm bringing a new spirit into our struggle.

Our Party considers that, despite the difficulties and other adverse factors which have prevented other parties from coming here, this Meeting is an indication that the conditions for holding a world Communist conference are ripening. Be that as it may, most of the parties represented here express the will to work for the restoration of the unity of the international working-class movement, which is the chief task of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.

For this reason, and in view of what the foremost champions of progress, democracy and peace expect this Meeting to achieve, we must work effectively and usefully, according to the exigencies of the situation. To specify, the situation calls for a world conference of the Communist movement, which must not be put off any longer and should take place before the end of this year. Experience has shown that we stand to gain nothing by postponing a conference whose urgency is felt in increasing measure.

Our Party, which has always been loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, has been doing its best to contribute to Communist unity along the lines of united action, solidarity, and recognition of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

We have sought exchanges of views and experiences and the formulation of common tasks, and have had bilateral meetings with brother parties of Latin America and Europe. At the end of 1964 we attended the Conference of Latin American Communists, which was an important step in that direction. We feel that in

present conditions these are all concrete measures for unity. We realize, however, that they are not enough. We feel there is a need for a world conference to join the efforts of all those revolutionary contingents which are prepared to work hard for the further progress of international revolutionary unity.

The facts show that the three great streams determining the trend of progress today continue their advance. The socialist system is going from strength to strength. The labor movement in the capitalist countries is daily winning new victories. The national liberation struggle continues to weaken the capitalist system.

On the other hand, we are witnessing increased aggressiveness on the part of imperialism, which is out to alter the balance of world forces in its favor. The imperialists take advantage of the negative phenomena of division and disarray which manifest themselves within the very nucleus of the movement for freedom and progress, the world Communist movement. The imperialists, first of all those of the United States, expect to profit by these phenomena and to set in motion their forces of aggression so as to make the peoples' fight for sovereignty and a free future more difficult. The U.S. imperialists, faced with growing protest and struggle and unable to prevent the contradictions in their own camp from becoming sharper, are hoping against hope that the inadequate cohesion of the revolutionary movement will become a permanent factor in the balance of world forces.

Hence, the primary task of the international Communist conference should be to strengthen the anti-imperialist front, to reach agreement on the best forms of solidarity with the peoples who are in the front line—above all with the heroic people of Vietnam, whose exemplary resistance requires an all-out effort, solidarity action, and mutual concessions.

Besides, the conference should analyze the new processes going on in the world and contribute, through the collective effort of all parties, to the formulation of guidelines corresponding to the new international situation and the development of its perspectives, and likely to serve as a common course of action against the global strategy of imperialism. We think we can carry forward the general line of the 1960 Statement, which "is still valid for us as far as its fundamental theses are concerned," as the Central Committee of our Party pointed out at a recent plenary meeting. To be sure, the policy line in each country can be evolved and applied only by the party concerned, "which is responsible to the working class and other working people of its country and first of all to the international working-class and Communist movement," according to the Statement. This is the principle of autonomy and independence of the parties, a principle forming the basis of respect for every party and non-interference in its internal affairs.

Experience shows, for instance, that all attempts to impose uniform tactics for Latin America are doomed to failure and, if anything, could injure the popular movement. But there is a sphere of common issues and international processes which can be properly analyzed only by a conference of the international movement equipped with the general scientific theory. This movement has gained unique experience in every aspect of the struggle and at all levels of development. It is composed of the most tried revolutionaries, of men and women whose activity is intimately linked with the hopes and aspirations of the peoples.

One of the themes must necessarily be the development of the national liberation movement with its increasing complexity and differentiation, a movement in which the struggle of the peoples of Latin America holds a definite place. This struggle is intertwining more and more with all international revolutionary actions. It expresses a new balance of world forces, with the transition from capitalism to socialism gaining in scope even in that part of the globe which the U.S. imperialists have always regarded as their backyard and reliable reserve.

An expression of the new development is the triumph and consolidation of the Cuban revolution, which has been making progress in the face of U.S. imperialist provocations and threats because it is the American vanguard of the new, socialist world system. Another expression of it is the growing revolutionary and anti-imperialist consciousness of the peoples of the continent and the engagement of new social strata in the struggle to accomplish the tasks of the anti-feudal and democratic revolution.

At the same time, however, it is necessary to counter the new political methods used by the imperialists who try to couple the most brutal repression with a crude reformism designed to win over the national bourgeoisie and the middle classes. The "preventive" war in Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia, Bolivia and elsewhere, the abortive invasion of the Bay of Pigs, the bloody occupation of the Dominican Republic, the attempt to form the Inter-American "Peace" Force and, on the other hand, the establishment of the Alliance for Progress and its network of institutions and organizations in charge of so-called U.S. aid are elements of a situation which we must go into.

We consider that the international conference should consolidate the new forms of relations in the world Communist movement, which at the present stage combine application of the principles of proletarian internationalism and Communist unity and solidarity with fraternal respect for each revolutionary contingent, for its autonomy and independence.

Experience tells us that the repeated attempts, encouraged from without, to cause division and disarray in our country, have in-

variably had an adverse effect, making still more difficult the already difficult struggle which is going on in Colombia and which has required untold sacrifice from our people—from both those engaged in the legal democratic struggle and those taking part in guerrilla warfare. This is why, in our case, to uphold the faithfully interpreted principles of internationalism, autonomy of the parties and non-interference in the affairs of others means carryin on a concrete and continuous fight against disruptio and a scornful attitude to the role of the Party.

Our delegation considers that the refusal of some parties to attend the international conference is no obstacle to convening it or to proceeding forthwith to prepare for it. The important thing is for the parties firmly advocating unity to be able to work freely for the convening of the conference and to form a nucleus that would operate in a fraternal spirit and with a view to bringing others into the effort.

In present conditions the proposed conference should be primarily a Communist meeting helping to consolidate the international proletariat and to promote its class action and its enlightenment. This is why we think all the Communist and Workers' parties should be invited, meaning those that attended the 1960 conference, those that for various reasons could not take part in it, and the new contingents formed since 1960.

Obviously, it is only through greater solidity that the Communist movement can win for unity and alliance numerous other groups of those fighting for peace, democracy and national liberation. Greater cohesion of the Communists would ensure the subsequent success of new anti-imperialist actions and so make it possible to bring together at a big world congress all the forces fighting against imperialism.

We are in favor of preparing for the conference in such a way as to guarantee the most democratic forms of collective participation by all Communist parties. Therefore, the proposal for a preparatory committee of representatives of the parties attending this Meeting seems reasonable to us. It is also necessary to afford the opportunity of participating in preparatory work to all the other parties which might wish to cooperate, without any discrimination whatsoever.

The success of the preparations for the conference will depend on the study and discussion of all the draft documents by the central committees and on the various attitudes to them being taken into account. If this is done we are certain the new conference will mark a decisive advance toward closer unity and cohesion of those who are building socialism and communism and are fighting for the definitive emancipation of the working class, for peace and national liberation.

REPRESENTATIVE

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARAGUAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Dear comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party we extend warm fraternal greetings to the representatives of Communist and Workers' parties who have assembled in Budapest and express our profound gratitude to the comrades from the HSWP for such a warm reception and for their efforts in creating excellent conditions for the Consultative Meeting.

We regard this meeting, in which Communist parties of sixty-six countries are taking part, as a success of great significance. In our view, this meeting reflects the determination of the fraternal parties to undertake new positive steps for defeating the aggressive, reactionary and criminal policy of imperialism, and shows that despite the difficulties existing in the world Communist movement the trend for the combat unity and cohesion of its ranks is coming into its own. We hold that the convening of an international conference of the Communist parties is a necessary and urgent task. Its chief aim should be to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement on the solid foundations of Marxism-Leninism, and the unity of action of all proletarian and non-proletarian revolutionary forces in the fight against imperialism, this common enemy of all peoples. We regard the holding of the conference as a necessary and urgent task with a view to developing and effectively consolidating the united front of the socialist countries, the entire world Communist movement and all the revolutionary-democratic forces of the world in order to defeat the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam and their global aggressive policy in other regions.

We agree with the proposal that the principal aim of the forthcoming international conference should be to formulate, in a positive and clear-cut way, on the basis of a thorough scientific analysis of the international situation and its trends, common tasks of all proletarian and non-proletarian forces in the fight against imperialism. The collective elaboration of anti-imperialist strategy and tactics will help the world Communist movement to follow an effective line of joint action together with the other revolutionary forces in the common struggle against imperialism. Consequently, in view of the common interests and needs of the international proletariat and all peoples fighting against imperial-

ism, for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, the aim of the conference is to work out a common platform of struggle which would serve as the basis for aid and mutual assistance which constitute the essence of militant proletarian internationalism.

We share the view that the conference cannot work out the srategic and tactical line of every party. Communist parties maintain their full independence in shaping their own program and political line in keeping with the concrete conditions in which each party works and taking into consideration the common tasks of the world Communist and revolutionary movement. The general line, the common platform of struggle of the world Communist movement does not prejudice or restrict the independence of an individual party in working out and implementing its program and political line on a national scale, including even international problems that affect only its country alone—if, of course, such problems exist. Naturally, the duty of every party is to creatively apply the general propositions of Marxism-Leninism in elaborating its program and political line in the concrete historical conditions of its country.

We are aware that independence is by no means an equivalent of irresponsibility. Every Communist party is responsible for its policy to the working class and the people of its country and to the world Communist and revolutionary movement. The mistakes and successes, defeats and victories of every Communist party influence, to a lesser or greater degree, the world Communist and revolutionary movement as a whole, whose interests are indivisible.

On the basis of this independence of each party and on the basis of conscious acceptance of the common platform of all parties making up the world Communist movement it is necessary, in our opinion, to strengthen the international discipline of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties in the consistent practical implementation of a collectively discussed, elaborated and adopted common line. Advancing, in opposition to this necessity, the principle of "independence" of every party means breaking with proletarian internationalism and sinking into the morass of bourgeois nationalism, this deadly venom with which the class enemy wants to poison the revolutionary parties of the proletariat. Parties which repudiate this necessary international discipline and depart from the general line of the world Communist movement in order to undertake adventuristic and splitting actions on the basis of their own line cannot hope that all the other Communist parties will follow them and their particular line. The danger and harmfulness of the bourgeois-nationalist, chauvinist, pseudo-independent concepts of this sort are particularly great when the matter concerns ruling parties. Naturally, the necessary international discipline of the proletariat

and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard in every country can be strengthened only on a conscious basis, as a result of sustained and consistent ideological struggle and practical actions based on a correct common platform and on the experience of the revolutionary struggle of millions of people, the experience of the Communist parties and the broad masses. We believe that special attention should be paid to the struggle against the manifestations of bourgeois nationalism in the world Communist movement as well as the manifestations of "continentalism" and "regionalism" which are equally alien to proletarian internationalism.

The changes that have taken place in the world since the 1960 Moscow Conference, the new problems that have arisen in the Communist movement, and the urgent need to unite the vanguard contingents, Communist parties, and all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism, necessitate holding the conference of the Communist parties already this year. Any delay will prevent taking immediate and urgently needed practical measures for coordinated and joint action against imperialism. By postponing the conference we shall give the enemy an edge in time in implementing his aggressive and criminal designs. In the meantime, the parties which expound national aloofness, those who refuse to share the responsibility of combat solidarity in the common struggle, the enemies of proletarian internationalism can cause still greater damage, even if a temporary one, because the world revolutionary movement will grow in scope and the unity of the Communist vanguard will be gradually restored in the interests of the struggle of the peoples for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

Numerous examples have been cited testifying to the growing aggressiveness of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular. We agree that imperialism's aggressiveness inherent in its class nature reflects its weaknesses, its own contradictions, its striving to contain the world revolutionary movement and reverse the march of history. In heroic Vietnam we are witnessing the most brutal manifestation of this criminal policy of U.S. imperialism. The Middle East remains an explosive zone as a result of the occupation by Israeli troops of Arab territories and the aggressive plans of the imperialists. Unceasing provocations are being organized against democratic Korea and socialist Cuba. In Latin America, the U.S. imperialists proclaim their "right" to interfere in the internal affairs of Latin American countries, dispatch their "green berets" to train the repressive forces of military and reactionary regimes, instruct torturers and murderers of patriots. They direct the policy of "gorilla" governments and oligarchies which sell out their countries. All these and many other facts have to be analyzed at the conference in order to counter the global strategy of im-

perialism with a global strategy of the world Communist and revolutionary movement.

The Paraguayan people, like other peoples, are a victim of the essentially aggressive nature of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular. Situated in the heart of the South American continent and bordering on the two biggest states of Latin America, Brazil and Argentina, Paraguay has been chosen as a junction of strategic ground and air communications and a base for suppressing revolutionary popular movements in other Latin American countries. In fact, the official press has recently confirmed the correctness of the facts, exposed by the Communist Party, concerning the imminent establishment, on the 135th kilometre of the strategic trans-Chaco highway, of a big base for large-capacity supersonic planes. This base is also to hold launchers of guided missiles with atomic warheads targeted on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. To ensure the security of this U.S. base, the same plan envisages the settlement in its vicinity, in a kind of security belt, of colonies of handpicked Cuban and South Korean traitor emigres. Alongside this, Paraguay is being converted into an "experimental laboratory" to test the "pilot plans" of "economic development and integration" which the U.S. imperialists are forcing through with the aim of creating the "infrastructure" of neo-colonialist economic, political and military domination over the whole of Latin America. Paraguay is becoming a strategic base in preparing new military conflicts and in the struggle against imperialist rivals for markets and raw material sources.

This makes it clear to us that the struggle for peace, against the aggressive plans and colonial wars of imperialism is a vitally important and integral part of the struggle of the Paraguayan people for democratic freedoms, progress and national liberation.

We think that the vast majority of the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world realize that the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence has nothing in common with class reconciliation, with "social peace" among the exploiters and the exploited, with "ideological coexistence or peace," with reconciliation between the imperialist oppressor and the oppressed peoples of colonial or dependent countries.

Just wars for the liberation of oppressed peoples, such as those in Cuba, Algeria, Vietnam, etc., do not contradict the policy of peaceful coexistence. The revolutionary struggles and victories of the peoples, peaceful or armed, weaken the forces of imperialism and war and strengthen the positions of the forces fighting for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which consistently pursue the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence are rendering vast and decisive aid to the Vietnamese people in their

heroic war for their national and social liberation. There is no contradiction between these two facts. On the contrary, they are inseparable aspects of a single clear-cut and consistent policy. The victory of the Vietnamese people will strengthen the cause of peace, and the same time the policy of peaceful coexistence will tremendously stimulate the struggle of all oppressed peoples for national and social liberation.

Proceeding from our own experience and the experience of the international revolutionary movement, we Paraguayan Communists are firmly convinced of the correctness of the militant Leninist policy of struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, an essential component of the general revolutionary line of the world Communist movement.

We hold that the 1960 Moscow Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties has greatly contributed to the consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist principles of the world Communist movement. We take cognizance of the fact that at present some of its aspects do not correspond to reality, but in its essence it remains entirely valid. The experience of our Party helps us appreciate the importance of the principles set forth in the 1960 Statement, for on its basis and on the basis of the Program of our Party we reached complete accord with groups outside the Party, while one of them, which had formed a parallel party, publicly declared its self-dissolution. As a result, the unity and cohesion of the Paraguayan Communists were strengthened.

We realize that the conference, far from excommunicating any party, will, on the contrary, make a positive contribution to the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. We favor discussing only one point: unity of the Communist parties and all revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, social progress and socialism. It is necessary to appoint a preparatory commission, with residence in Budapest, in which all parties will be represented irrespective of whether or not they are present here. As the venue of the conference we propose Moscow, where conditions for work are the best. The conforence should adopt one basic document to be collectively drafted at present, other complementary documents on solidarity with Vietnam, an appeal to the peoples. The application of correct, democratic and flexible methods will help ensure the participation of other Communist parties in the preparation and holding of the conference. It is necessary to invite all Communist parties, including the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. For reasons of principle we do not share the view that parallel parties should be invited, for such a decision would bolster the factionalists' positions and tend to diffuse the combat forces of Communists.

We hold that principled criticism of the policy of a party within the framework of appropriate norms is not a hostile action. On the contrary, it helps hammer out common positions and overcome difficulties. We fully share the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties that an end must be put to the public polemic between Communist parties, as well as to the splitting activities, which are based on a political line diverging from, or openly contradictory to, the general line of the world Communist movement. Understandably, today the public polemic cannot be ended unilaterally. If some parties which adhere to divergent positions do not stop the open polemic and continue their public criticism and attacks on the vast majority of the Communist and Workers' parties, the public polemic will not end. For example, we cannot keep silent in face of the insulting attacks of the Maoist leadership of the Chinese Communist Party on the Budapest Consultative Meeting. In this case, as we see it, an appropriate reply must be given. Likewise, if Marxist-Leninist principles were not defended, if the "left"revisionist deviations were not criticized on the plea of the need to rally the world Communist movement, if there were no adequate criticism of, and retort to, the supporters of such positions, that would facilitate the spread of bourgeois-nationalist ideas, "left" and right revisionist deviations and vile attacks which bring grist to the imperialists' mill.

In our country peasants say that the brightest light comes from the Soviet sputniks. It is the light of communism, of mankind's future. Therefore our people reject anti-Soviet calumnies and naturally identify anti-Soviet forays with the policy of anti-national tyranny and imperialism. Provocateurs of the Oscar Creydt type raise the anti-Soviet flag and proclaim, in the conditions of Paraguay, a policy of "reliance on one's own forces," a patently absurd policy aimed at isolating the Paraguayan revolutionary movement from the socialist camp and first of all from the Soviet Union, from all other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces.

The socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union, which is successfully building the material and technical foundations of the future communist society, are the centers where the most progressive and momentous revolutionary transformations of our epoch are being effected. The socialist countries, the national liberation movement and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries are three great currents merging into a single world revolutionary stream. There are no antagonistic contradictions between these three great forces of the world revolutionary movement. On the contrary, they have common interests and aims and, consequently, they need mutual assistance. The attempts to oppose them or to undermine their combat solidarity benefit only imperialism, the policeman of world reaction.

In conditions where there is no world center of the Communist movement the holding of the conference is, in our opinion, of special importance, for the new problems posed by life demand a profound and collective study aimed at working out a common platform of the struggle against imperialism, for social progress. Moreover, we consider that such conferences should be held more often and with a certain periodicity. We are aware that the enemy is seeking to mobilize all his forces, to coordinate his actions against the revolutionary movement of the peoples. And there will be nothing surprising if Communists, who are fighting at the head of all progressive forces, get together more often in order to study collectively the changing situation and the common tasks, to strengthen their solidarity, their ranks, their combat unity, which is a guarantee of success in the great emancipatory anti-imperialist struggle.

We are inclined to think that the forthcoming conference should be held with the participation of Communist and Workers' parties and that the next conference should assemble all forces ready to take part in the common fight against imperialism. We consider it necessary that clear-cut party distinctions be drawn between Marxist-Leninist and non-proletarian positions. If there is no unity of criteria and viewpoints in the Communist parties there will be no unity of the revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces. We think it would be more correct to apply efforts with a view to ensuring that the Communist movement really plays its role of vanguard so that the other political forces interested in the struggle against imperialism could take part in the broad united front of struggle against this mortal enemy of the people.

Comrades, allow me to express our deep conviction that we, inspired by our victorious Marxist-Leninist teaching, shall gradually overcome the present difficulties in the world Communist movement which give joy to imperialism and encourage it in its criminal plans, through conscientious efforts in this direction by the vanguard contingents—the Communist parties developing and consistently applying proletarian internationalism, which expresses the vital interests of the working people and all peoples.

JULIO LOPEZ

MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, GUATEMALAN PARTY OF LABOR

Dear Comrades,

Allow me to thank, on behalf of the Guatemalan Party of Labor, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for the satisfactory conditions and fraternal atmosphere created for the Consultative Meeting, and to convey our revolutionary greetings to the Hungarian people and sincerely wish them success in their constructive labor for the good of socialism.

We salute the fraternal parties present here and express our readiness to contribute our modest bit to the solution of the central and important problems under discussion.

The Budapest Meeting is a positive step towards the unity of the Communist and working-class movement. If in discussing the problems responsible for the present state of the Communist and working-class movement we proceed from the unitary revolutionary world outlook which inspires the delegations present here, we shall certainly consolidate our movement. Our meeting, in which sixty-seven parties are taking part, is a confirmation of readiness, good will and sincere desire to reach mutual understanding on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Therefore we, as the other parties, are pleased to assume historical responsibility in searching for, and finding, the best ways of attaining the aim which inspired the eighteen initiators of this meeting.

There exist objective reasons for all Communists to consider these ways. Communists should not only discuss topical problems but above all strive to find concrete forms of joint action against the common enemy—imperialism.

In the seven years since the 1960 Moscow Conference the counter-revolutionary actions of imperialism have assumed a character which not only compels us to sound the alarm but demands the readiness of Communists to jointly oppose such actions and defeat the imperialists' plans. Generally known events testify to the striving of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, to attain world domination through ruthless aggression. Its dirty war in Vietnam, the incessant provocations against Cuba and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the support of reactionary coups in Indonesia and Ghana, the aggressive actions in the Middle

East and in our Latin American continent—the brazen intervention in the Dominican Republic, the shameless support, training and financing of "gorilla" governments—all this depresses our peoples.

Pursuing a global counter-revolutionary strategy, imperialism has launched an offensive.

But in these conditions negative phenomena in the camp of communism and revolution have led to a split in the Communist and working-class movement. It is a fact that although the majority of the Communist parties of the world are present in Budapest, we do not see the other group of parties in our midst. We could hardly claim here that our viewpoints on a whole number of questions demanding the Communists' reply fully coincide.

In the world Communist movement as a whole we witness a split and disagreements, while on the national plane, in some countries, we witness split Communist parties and factional struggle. Availing itself of this, imperialism will step up its counter-revolutionary actions.

In view of this we consider that there is an urgent need for a new conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. We resolutely come out for holding such a conference.

We would like to state our opinion here. Some comrades regard the new conference as a topical replica, as a 1968 photograph of the 1957 and 1960 conferences in Moscow. Proceeding from the current situation in the world Communist and working-class movement, this is hardly possible. Reality compels us to reckon with reality and to limit our aspirations. The documents of the 1957 and 1960 conferences, which were programmatic, the "general line" of the movement, are truly of historical value now. But they no longer can serve as a model for restoring the unity of the Communist and working-class movement. Many of their propositions are already obsolete. Life has proved the inapplicability of some of them, others have been rejected by Communist parties which do not share such views. It is life itself, experience, that call in question the validity of some assessments contained in these documents.

We consider that the new conference should not endeavor to work out a document similar to those which were adopted in the past, for new disputed issues would arise and we would hardly reach common conclusions on an international scale. We do not say that because we oppose a discussion of such problems. On the contrary, we consider it necessary for carrying forward and enriching Marxist-Leninist theory. There are many problems demanding our analysis and elaboration of common viewpoints, but we do not think that such a problem could be solved at the level of an international conference of all Communist parties. Therefore, we should search for practical solutions in our approach to the problems requiring discussion. Bilateral, multilateral and regional

conferences, exchange of opinions on concrete problems in a frank, comradely atmosphere without any diplomacy (which remains a tradition), or other appropriate forms could help achieve agreement on issues on which our views differ.

Ideological discussion at the level of an international conference could lead to criticism of the internal and foreign policy of any party and hence to a split and not unity.

The agenda of the new conference should be limited to the discussion and elaboration of a common viewpoint on those problems on which we all hold the same views, and in this way we can unite for revolutionary actions against imperialism.

We consider that the conference should adopt an anti-imperialist platform with which all Communist and Workers' parties would agree and which would serve them as a weapon of struggle and a means of uniting all forces fighting against imperialism.

We Communists should strive to restore our prestige among the broad masses and exert influence on the revolutionary movements. The Communist and Workers' parties in the developed capitalist countries, with few exceptions, and in the developing countries, excepting known instances, are not the decisive force in the current revolutionary process. This is an obvious fact which we should treat in all seriousness. It is necessary that we stand at the head of the forces which, like we, are fighting against reaction and imperialist domination. Undoubtedly, the adoption of a revolutionary, anti-imperialist platform which would attract, inspire, mobilize the masses and arouse their revolutionary ardor would be a major step towards enhancing the role of the Communists and Communist parties in the revolutionary and popular movements. Such an approach would enable us to get together and hold a conference or congress of all the existing anti-imperialist forces. The new conference of the Communist parties should discuss and agree on the matter of convening such a conference. In this respect the Havana tricontinental conference in which a large number of representatives of the anti-imperialist forces took part was perhaps the most noteworthy experience in recent years. And although there were difficulties—and no one rules out their emergence in the future as well—the outcome of the conference was undoubtedly positive. In other words, conferences which set limited and concrete but vastly important aims, such as revolutionary actions against imperialism, attract and rally all forces honestly taking part in this battle.

It is anti-imperialist actions and solidarity with the embattled peoples that bind Communists together. There will be no justification of non-participation in a conference which will express readiness to support the valiant Vietnamese people in their striving for victory over the U.S. aggressor, and its indignation over the pro-

vocative and aggressive acts against Cuba and the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

Defense of the revolution in Cuba, the only country on the American continent where the socialist revolution has triumphed, has been and will remain a revolutionary stimulus for us in Guatemala. Its defense is the duty of all Latin American revolutionaries, all those who are fighting against imperialism on our continent.

The Guatemalan Communists invariably stand for unity of revolutionaries. We have been working persistently to promote joint actions and the creation of organizational forms necessary for developing, in unity, the revolutionary war which has been waged in Guatemala for several years now. The establishment of the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR) was a success which stimulated a considerable rise of the revolutionary struggle. Regrettably, a large-scale polemic has been going on in our revolutionary movement of late, a polemic which affects the unity of FAR and jeopardizes the development and consolidation of our movement.

The policy of reaction, the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie and imperialism is aimed at utilizing this stage of things for unleashing unprecedently ruthless and inhuman counter-revolutionary repressions. Never in our history or, for that matter, in any other country of present-day Latin America, has such a state of repressions and criminal actions existed which now is to be observed in Guatemala. The ruling pro-imperialist bourgeoisie directly aided by the U.S. government engages in counter-revolutionary terror which it regards as its chief political instrument in an effort to subdue our people, who have revolted and are fighting for their rights. The government and imperialism are out to terrorize the people into silence and inactivity. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain the atrocity with which patriots and revolutionaries are tortured to death.

When bodies bearing marks of torture are found in the mountains or on the roads, when human life is totally scorned and when special interest is evinced in an emphasized readiness to go still farther along the road of "pacification" in Guatemala, this makes clear the character of the regime in our country.

We are waging a struggle in which our people will triumph. Proceeding from the special conditions of Guatemala, we consider that backwardness, misery, counter-revolutionary violence and violation of elementary human rights in our country are the causes of the revolutionary struggle of the people, which is the only correct means, in the present situation, of carrying forward the Guatemalan revolution, unsaddling the counter-revolutionaries, accomplishing the agrarian anti-imperialist and popular revolution, and laying the foundations for the construction of socialism in Guatemala.

International solidarity and strict adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism are indispensable for restoring the unity of the world Communist movement.

In this sense the time has come to go over from words to practical deeds. It would be correct to pass from the almost exclusively unilateral to the multilateral character of material and moral aid to the revolutionary movements which are developing in the unfavorable conditions of the struggle against a ruthless enemy, U.S. imperialism and its local puppets. This material aid has to this day been magnanimously rendered us by the CPSU, the fraternal party of the Soviet Union, and some other parties.

We fully agree with Comrade Janos Kadar, who said in his opening speech that we, Communist and Workers' parties, "must act with ever greater resolution against imperialist aggression and must intensify the aid they are extending to the peoples who are the direct victims of attack."

Our attitude towards the matter of practical action against the common enemy, imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism, is the cornerstone of our unity. The other revolutionary forces and peoples are expecting from the Communist parties solutions to the problems which agitate them and prompt them to seek a way out of backwardness, poverty and oppression. They want us to be at their side in the fight for freedom, social progress, democracy and national independence.

The proposed conference or congress of anti-imperialist forces, to be held, if possible, immediately after the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, will open up vast possibilities for the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces and enable the Communists to conduct extensive work aimed at enhancing their role and assuming leadership of the revolutionary fighters.

On the other hand, such a congress or conference can be attended by representatives of highly diverse democratic and patriotic forces. Most African countries are not represented at this meeting, because there are no Communist parties there. This as well as other reasons explains the absence of many parties from the Asian countries. We are convinced that any efforts which will be undertaken for convening such conference or congress in the near future will greatly contribute to the consolidation of the unity of all revolutionaries against imperialist aggression.

In conclusion I would like to sum up the position of the Guatemalan Party of Labor.

We stand for preparing and convening a conference of *all* Communist and Workers' parties. We stand for setting up a preparatory commission. We support the proposal that the commission include representatives of all Communist and Workers' parties.

We are against—if we have correctly understood the spirit of

the Consultative Meeting and our intention to hold a new conference — censuring or excommunicating any Communist Party whose viewpoint differs from, or is opposed to, ours.

We agree that the international conference should be held in Moscow in November or December 1968, if the CPSU accepts this proposal.

We subscribe to the proposal that the agenda of the conference consist of only one point, namely, *the task of the struggle against imperialism.* We propose that the conference should adopt a revolutionary anti-imperialist platform which would unite the parties opposed to imperialism, and enable other revolutionary forces to unite in a worldwide front of struggle against imperialism.

We support the initiative for holding an international conference of anti-imperialist forces, to be convened with the consent of the participants in the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Expressing our confidence that the international Communist movement is mature and experienced enough to find ways and means of achieving unity, and taking into account the different conditions confronting Communist parties, we hope that the forthcoming international conference will come to satisfatcory conclusions in the interests of the struggle against imperialism, for democracy, socialism and universal peace.

MOHAMED HARMEL

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, TUNISIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communists of Tunisia fully identify themselves with the majority of the brother parties who think it necessary to begin actual preparation for an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

A conference on our pressing tasks in the anti-imperialist struggle has become an imperative necessity. In view of the increased aggressiveness of imperialism and the resulting threat to the independence of the peoples and to peace, the revolutionary forces of the world must counter the global strategy of imperialism with a united front based on the common interests of the peoples and capable of neutralizing the aggressiveness of imperialism and paving the way for new important gains. These gains will help to bring about further changes in the balance of world forces in favor of the anti-imperialist forces, the socialist countries, the national liberation movement and the labor movement in the capitalist countries.

No one can deny the tremendous role which the Communist movement as a whole plays in this respect, irrespective of the relative influence of this or that party in this or that country. Unity and cohesion of the Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a most important factor enabling it to perform its role as the tried and tested vanguard of all the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world. Conversely, division in its ranks limits the scope of the movement and lowers its efficiency. The manifestations of a split in the world Communist movement have had particularly ruinous repercussions in the third world.

We must not ignore the disruptive activity against the Communist parties of those countries, gross interference in their internal affairs, the unscrupulous encouragement of ultra-Left and adventurist trends, nor the attempts to discredit the Soviet Union.

The newly independent countries are waging a difficult struggle against imperialism, which has not given up its ambition to keep them under its economic and political sway. The imperialists are trying hard to prevent the peoples of these countries from drawing the line at imperialist domination and forging ahead along the road of progress. To this end they devise new forms of subversion, exert economic, political, ideological and even military pressure, and resort to conspiracies and coups.

The aggression launched by the reactionary and militarist rulers of Israel against the Arab countries, chiefly with a view to eliminating the progressive regimes in the UAR and Syria, was inspired and backed by the United States. U.S. imperialism persists in its barbarous aggression in Vietnam.

This situation calls for closer unity of the world Communist movement and for collective discussion of measures to foil the imperialist offensive. It necessitates an international conference of the Communist Parties, which would be a splendid demonstration of internationalism, that fundamental principle of our movement which we must uphold and carry forward in forms corresponding to the new conditions. The autonomy, independence and equality of each party, and its responsibility to the people of its country, imply unfailing loyalty to the principles of internationalism and an earnest effort to do its duty to the entire world Communist and labor movement. Judging by the passage quoted by MTI, the Hungarian news agency, the Egyptian newspaper *El Gumhuria* regards the Consultative Meeting as a telling blow to imperialist aggression.

According to *El Gumhuria*, "the leaders of the Communist parties assembled in Budapest have set themselves a task which will not be easy to accomplish but which they must accomplish. They must find a solution that will open a more correct way to historical development and enable them to stop the offensive of counter-revolution and to strike at it harder still."

This comment is an indication of the hopes this Consultative Meeting and the proposed world conference arouse among the anti-imperialist forces.

All the delegates of brother parties who have spoken here insist on furthering Communist unity and opposing a united front to imperialist plots. The only objection raised here to the convening of an international conference at a suitable date is that some Communist parties might stay away. It is an unconvincing objection.

It would be ideal, of course, if all Communist parties attended the conference, and we must strive for the participation of as many parties as possible. But would it be right to wait indefinitely until all of them agreed to attend? We do not think so. The Communist movement cannot regard unity as a goal that will be achieved automatically, and hence cannot adopt a stance of passive expectation. It must fight for unity and contribute to it by every means. Besides, unity today should not be seen as a single act but as a series of stages and situations and limited objectives whose achievement will help us to scale new heights. Only through steadfast and patient work over a long period, and only by fighting against imperialism, can we achieve higher forms of unity.

In this sense the international conference would be a valuable initiative toward unity. If held as the brother parties are planning it, determining its character and specifying its agenda, the conference will undoubtedly be very important as a unifying factor. What enhances its significance is that we do not regard the conference as an end in itself nor as the closing stage of the unification of the Communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles, but as an important milestone on this road. The eventual absence of some Communist parties should not paralyze our movement nor incapacitate us for solving our common problems collectively.

We are still faced with many difficulties. Nevertheless, the immense interest aroused by this Consultative Meeting and the preoccupation of the reactionary and imperialist circles, echoed by the bourgeois press, are evidence that we are on the right path and that the coming international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties will be a landmark in world development and a gain for the revolutionary and progressive forces..

On behalf of the Tunisian Communist Party I support the concrete proposals made here by the delegations of a number of parties, particularly the French Communist Party, regarding the agenda, place and date of the conference and the preparations for it.

As far as the agenda is concerned, we agree that it should be limited and that its main item should be our urgent tasks in the fight against imperialism.

Such an agenda would not preclude, as we see it, the possibility of the conference discussing other problems closely linked with the main issue, specifically the situation in countries of the third world, the new content of the national independence movement, its alliance and the forms of its links with the socialist countries and the labor movement. Nor should it rule out a broad exchange of views on the issues I have listed, any more than an exchange of experiences, which is necessary for enriching Marxist-Leninist theory and promoting the anti-imperialist struggle. This means, in our view, that it is very hard to set up a barrier, to draw a line, between analysis of our tasks in the anti-imperialist struggle and certain of its ideological aspects. There can be no absolute contradiction between these two sides of the problem.

The conference should certainly not seek to settle ideological controversies. It should avoid all that is likely to aggravate contradictions. Its principal object should be unity and our pressing tasks in the anti-imperialist fight. The conference should constantly bear in mind the unifying nature of its present and future aims. This does not rule out and, indeed, presupposes analysis of the international situation, new factors in it and the tasks arising from it. The differences which might develop in discussing this or that aspect of the situation, this or that item on the agenda,

should be kept within the bounds of the common fraternal effort and subordinated to the principal aim of the conference, which is to provide conditions for the unity of all Communist parties, for the unification of all anti-imperialist forces. I support the proposal for holding the conference in Moscow. That would be a tribute to Lenin's Party, the Party of the October Revolution, an acknowledgement of the primary role the Soviet Union and its glorious Party play in the anti-imperialist struggle.

It has been suggested here that a conference of all anti-imperialist forces be convened. That is an interesting idea. Speaking of the countries of the third world, there are progressive non-Communist political forces there leading the national liberation movement. These forces are not opposed to imperialism alone but to capitalism as well. They have embarked their countries on non-capitalist development and have to some extent drawn nearer to Marxist positions. They are the closest allies of the socialist system and the labor movement. Despite certain deviations and negative aspects, some of these forces are still capable of developing and could in certain conditions form new vanguard parties in common with the Communists. The Communist movement is striving to extend contacts with these forces, to use every opportunity for alliance, united action and fruitful cooperation, which is as it should be. But it is wrong to regard a conference of these forces as an alternative to a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. These forums have different tasks to fulfil but they do not exclude or replace each other. We think we should first convene a conference of the Communist parties. It would clear the ground for an eventual conference of the anti-imperialist forces or a meeting of delegates of the labor movement and the national liberation movement.

It is wrong to imagine that an anti-imperialist meeting would eliminate the difficulties that would be caused by the absence of some parties from the Communist conference, for it would merely breed still greater difficulties. Ideological and political prejudices, some of which are serious enough, still have strong roots in the progressive parties of the third world, for all the positive character of these parties. The evolution of these parties is nowhere near the end, and is a slow and contradictory process.

The Communist movement as such should be able to unite and to work out its own platform in order to promote the consolidation of all the other anti-imperialist forces. It is not a question of trying to maintain the purity of the Communist movement but of taking into account the peculiarities of the Communist movement and other progressive and democratic movements, which should unite but not merge.

In conclusion I would like to express our heartfelt gratitude to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for the warm reception accorded us. I also wish to greet the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties present here, who in their statements during the Consultative Meeting have given an accurate idea of the Communist movement, in which all parties, big and small alike, discuss their common problems collectively and democratically, on an equal footing.

IRADJ ESHKANDARI

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, PEOPLE'S PARTY OF IRAN

On behalf of the delegation of the People's Party of Iran I wish, first of all, to thank the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for its effort in preparing for and organizing this Consultative Meeting. As we see it, this Meeting constitutes an important stage in solving some problems which so far have prevented the convening of an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

We have carefully studied the report of the CC HSWP on the preparations for the Consultative Meeting and fully approve of it. We would like to express our especial satisfaction over the democratic method of preparing for and convening this preparatory meeting. We earnestly hope that the same method will be used in preparing for and convening the international conference of the parties.

We learned from the CC HSWP report of the regrettable attitude of some Communist parties toward this Consultative Meeting. We were amazed and outraged by the rude stance of the Communist Party of China on the measures adopted by the Hungarian comrades. A certain Liou, speaking for the Mao-Tse-tung group, went as far as to use unheard-of expressions about this meeting, which is attended by the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' parties of the world. History will never forgive the authors of that infamous slander against our parties, which it is only fair to describe as heroes of the great battle of our time against the forces of imperialism and reaction.

Throughout the recent period the People's Party of Iran has insisted that convening a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, especially at this stage in the evolution of the international situation, is of vital importance to the Communist movement.

The need for the conference is evident, not only from the general axiom that the working class cannot defeat international monopoly capital other than through a united front against it. This need flows from a number of concrete phenomena and problems that have developed both in the world Communist movement and outside it, on the world scene.

Mardom, No. 36, March 1968.

The necessity for restoring and consolidating Communist unity is beyond question. It is just as indisputable, however, that to solve this problem in present-day conditions is no easy matter because there are many obstacles to unity.

While we may affirm that the convening of a conference would not of itself remove the existing difficulties, there is still more reason to affirm that failure to call the conference would solve no problem at all nor further by an inch the fight for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement.

To be sure, an international debate on the substance of the controversial issues would be useless and untimely, or perhaps even harmful. But there is an imperative need to meet so as to search in common for practical ways and means of maintaining and strengthening unity, evolve common tactics and take specific and concerted action against the common enemy.

That is why our international conference should not seek to condemn anyone's position. Its purpose should be to plan united action that would re-establish international Communist unity.

The differences in the world Communist movement, no matter how serious, are not the main reason for convening a new conference of the parties. Unity of the anti-imperialist forces, particularly international Communist unity, against the more aggressive forces of imperialism, for peace and the independence and freedom of the peoples, has become the decisive condition for their success under the impact of external factors rather than for any other reason.

The increased aggressiveness of US imperialism, manifesting itself most strikingly in the Vietnam war, the tension in the Middle East brought about by the Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples, and open inroads on the democratic rights and the independence of the peoples in a number of other parts of the globe constitute a grave menace to peace and international security.

These developments, which have taken place since 1960, when we held our last conferecne, and the growing consolidation of the forces of peace, progress and socialism necessarily confront our movement with new problems calling for collective study and conclusions in the interest of united action by the Communist and Workers' parties.

This brief statement of our reasons in support of a new world conference shows that we are not thinking of anything like the 1960 conference, which culminated in approving a comprehensive general document, the Statement.

For all the differences in the interpretation of certain propositions of the 1960 Statement and in the implementation of its principles, and for all that some parts of it are outdated, we consider that the Statement is a valuable fundamental document and that there is

no need to revise its principles and the analysis it contains at this stage in international development.

However, we do not mean to say that the future international conference should merely register the various parties' views on the situation and the problems arising from it, without drawing proper conclusions, or that, rather than looking deep into the issues, it should limit itself to adopting a document containing generalities.

We think the conference agenda should consist of one item, which we propose putting as follows:

"Pressing tasks of the world Communist movement in the struggle against growing imperialist aggression, for peace."

The conference conclusions should specify these tasks in such a way as to equip our movement with an effective weapon for uniting and mobilizing on a broad basis for action.

It is true that there exist in the world forces and political organizations interested, as the Communist parties are, in fighting against imperialism and preserving peace. We do not believe, however, that our new conference could have a mixed composition—that it could bring together spokesmen of both the Communist parties and other anti-imperialist organizations.

Indeed, in view of the situation in our movement, we think it preferable for the Communist parties, the leading force in the fight against imperialism, to reach agreement among themselves on their tasks before they present those tasks to other anti-imperialist and democratic forces for judgment.

Organizing and convening an anti-imperialist world congress or conference could be one of the next tasks put forward by our coming conference to mobilize the masses against imperialism, in defense of world peace.

The new international conference with its limited agenda would be no more than a stage on the road to unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. Hence we think it would be useful to proceed, along with the preparations for the conference, to a collective discussion of some fundamental problems which give rise to divergences. This discussion could be organized, in particular, by the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* in the form of symposiums, theoretical forums and other meetings of a similar nature.

We think the discussion should be concerned with the following three questions:

1. Causes of the increased aggressiveness of imperialism and effective methods of resisting imperialist aggression within the framework of the fight for world peace.

2. The relationship between the principles of peaceful coexistence and the principle of solidarity with and assistance to the liberation movement of the peoples and their struggle for democracy.

3. Urgent tasks of the world Communist movement in connection with the peoples' fight for independence and democracy.

We think clarity on these issues would provide favorable conditions for bringing the various points of view closer together and could go a long way to consolidate the unity of our movement.

The delegation of the People's Party of Iran thinks it desirable that the world conference be held no later than the end of 1968.

We believe the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist parties founded since 1960 should be invited to the international conference and given an opportunity to take part in the preparations for it.

We think Moscow is the most suitable place for the world conference, both practically and politically.

Our delegation supports the proposal for a preparatory committee of the conference that would have its seat in Budapest and comprise all the parties without exception.

JALIL JANDAL

HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

Dear Comrades, delegates of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties,

Please permit us first of all to convey our Party's greetings and thanks to the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary for their initiative in convening this great meeting and for their hospitality in their glorious and beautiful capital, Budapest.

Ouf Party held its third Conference in December last year under full underground conditions imposed on our Party by the reactionary, military dictatorship. The Conference passed a resolution of gratitude to fraternal parties, particularly to the CPSU, for their international solidarity with our Party during its ordeal after the 1963 coup d'etat, for that unprecedented solidarity enabled our Party to stand again on its own feet so soon. Please convey our Party's greetings to your Parties and working peoples!

Our Party has wholeheartedly supported in the last few years the efforts made by the CPSU and other fraternal Parties to convene an international conference of the world Communist movement. In this connection we fully appreciate the self-restraint displayed by our Soviet comrades against various provocations in their efforts to re-establish and consolidate the unity of our movement. The presence here of more than 80 per cent of the delegations of the parties who attended in 1960 the International Conference, is positive proof of the initial success of this Consultative Meeting; we can turn this success into a lasting one by our joint and selfless efforts.

A unanimous rally of all Communist and Workers' parties is an ideal aspiration but in the present circumstances it is not a practical one, it is simply beyond the will of the overwhelming majority of our Parties. In the last few years this high aspiration for unanimity played a negative role, it hindered the early convening of a meeting like the present one. It may remain so in the near future as long as one or two parties refuse any meeting with us. So our Party is resolved to take an active part in the preparatory work for, and convening of, the next World Conference of International Communism, even if decided by a simple majority. We have attended this meeting just to take part in the actual preparation and convening of the next International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties and not for any other purpose. And we are firmly for hold-

ing it this year not later than November. Any delay would only encourage the rabid imperialist aggressors. Our Party is for holding the Conference in Moscow as a challenge to the imperialists who play on nationalist prejudices to split our movement. However, we are confident that Marx's slogan "Workers of the World, Unite" will triumph in this meeting, too. Our Party holds that our next International Conference, too, should be confined to Communist and Workers' Parties for we strictly adhere to the fact that only the Marxist-Leninist Parties are the genuine vanguards of the World anti-imperialist front. Events of the recent years have only reconfirmed this principle. A new upsurge of the anti-imperialist forces depends largely on the guide to action which we should formulate on the basis of our Marxist-Leninist revolutionary teachings.

We are for the proposition that this meeting should succeed in naming a preparatory committee and an agenda for the next conference and we agree with the propositions of Comrade Suslov in this regard.

While we firmly abide by the International documents of 1957 and 1960 in principle, we are fully for the formulation of a new document to be a genuine guide to action for our World movement for the visible future. We have to look forward, that is the main thing. However in order to find our orientation we are obliged to review our recent past in a Marxist, i.e., critical way. During the eight years (1960-1968) which would separate our two World Conferences we made giant strides forward in every sphere. We preserved world peace not for the lack of aggressive spirit on the part of the warmongers nor for the lack of ammunition; there are several times more than enough explosives to make a universal war, this in itself is an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of modern imperialism. However, the imperialists are more aggressive today than in 1960. On the other hand we have more untapped revolutionary potentialities we have to mobilize. The heroic example of the Vietnamese people is a case in point.

We don't believe that the ideal relations which should reign among our fraternal parties are those of diplomatic cordialities or "non-aggression pacts"; we are after militant unity, the unity of comrades-in-arms, which does not negate but presupposes criticism and self-criticism, not only through private correspondence between the parties concerned, but also on joint forums like the present one. Unfortunately this has not been the rule in recent years, which have witnessed the wildest campaign of anti-sovietism by the state apparatus of the most populous nation. In our opinion anti-sovietism in various forms, such as autonomism and with different degrees, is the most dangerous plague threatening the unity of our

World movement. and requires utmost vigilance and should be fought with utmost resolution.

We do not want to repeat the incident of dismissing the Yugoslav Communists from our international ranks by a decision. However we are duty bound to expose any deviation or violation of principles or harmful practices which may be committed by any Party or personality. Most of our Parties have exposed and condemned the distortions by Mao Tse-tung of our Marxist-Leninist teachings. But who is more competent than the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties to expose this dangerous deviation? So we cannot understand why we should not criticize, in a Marxist way, Maoism which replaces the Chinese Communist Party by a military demagogic organization of teenagers, which maltreats Chinese Communists and deprives them of any means of expression. To expose Maoism is an international duty even towards the Chinese Communists themselves. The new document of our movement should in our opinion contain a definition and and exposition of Maoism and its variants of recent years in the Western Hemisphere.

Then the speaker went on:

Our movement is duty bound to encourage communist elements, whatever their number may be, to organize themselves in an independent political party in any country where it does not exist yet. This practice prevailed even in those hard days of the third and fourth decades of this century. The organization of Communist parties in the newly-liberated countries is the prime necessity to win over petty-bourgeois revolutionary parties to scientific socialism, i.e, Marxism-Leninism in its entirety, not piece-meal. Events of recent years in Algeria, Ghana and the United Arab Republic reaffirmed this Marxist-Leninist principle. The draft of our new document should in this regard settle accounts also with the illusion that under the leadership and rule of an amorphous petty-bourgeois party it is possible not only to secure the revolutionary regime but even to build the socialist society, by-passing capitalism. This does not only contradict our revolutionary theory but is also not confirmed by life.

Speaking about the dictatorship of the proletariat the Iraqi delegate said:

Lenin's teaching concerning by-passing capitalism by ex-colonies is particularly distorted, so also the historic example (Mongolia) which could by-pass the capitalist stage of development only under a revolutionary democratic dictatorship led by a Marxist-Leninist Party. So the existence of an "International Dictatorship of the Proletariat" which means the World Socialist System, however an indispensable prerequisite for by-passing the capitalist stage of development, cannot replace the role of the internal dictatorship

and dispense with the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the country concerned.

If our movement does not warn against such dangers we shall pay for it through the nose.

Our movement has gone too far in appraising progressive regimes in newly-liberated countries. Marxist, i.e., constructive criticism of such regimes was almost tabooed during this decade. We treated their prominent leaders only with candies. Has such treatment helped Nasser, not to speak about Ben Bella and Nkrumah? If timely warnings to such personalities are of no avail, are we not responsible before the masses of the people to give due warnings, beforehand, to help to develop the revolutionary vigilance and political consciousness of the masses? We have to admit that we helped them to fall blindly in the snares of imperialism and its reactionary allies.

The fascist coup d'etat in Greece is another warning to our movement concerning one-sidedness in adopting forms of struggle, while Marxism-Leninism teaches us, and life affirms, that we should be ready and prepared to wage any and every form of struggle imposed on us by our class enemies, including armed struggle even in a country with old traditions of bourgeois democracy. This is not meant to reflect upon the policy of the fraternal Communist Party of Greece whose heroic and glorious struggle we admire and are proud of. We only try to draw a lesson, for we ourselves did not take due preparations against such emergencies before the coup d'etat of February 1963 for which we paid heavily.

We believe that proletarian internationalism will remain just a term unless it is translated into concrete tasks of the moment. In the present circumstances all of us acknowledge that solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam is the most urgent concrete form of proletarian internationalism at this moment. The disrupters of the unity of our international movement, i.e., the Mao Tse-tung group, are positively exposed on this score for they refuse any international rally of Communists to prepare for the defeat of U.S. aggression and they compromise the position of our Vietnamese comrades for they cannot attend such a rally for obvious reasons. This is well understood by all; however, it does not exhaust the examples of negating international solidarity. The German Democratic Republic is exposed to a great danger, the many-sided pressure and corruption of West Germany and world capitalism which have turned West Berlin into a NATO bastion. So if we do not firmly stand against the claims of Bonn in West Berlin we would not act in conformity with socialist internationalism. On the other hand we highly appreciate the international solidarity exercised towards the Arab peoples against the Israeli aggression, by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, Mongolia, Poland,

the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and the fraternal parties of Britain, France, Italy, etc.

The Iraqi Communist Party has been brought up since its foundation to be proud of the fact that it is an integral detachment of the world Communist Movement, whose vanguard detachment is the CPSU, and not to be proud of its autonomy. This does not mean at all that we lack autonomy. Never! We ourselves have always decided our own political line. As for our mistakes and shortcomings during the last ten years we may tell you that our Third Party Conference has ruthlessly exposed and made them public and we should be happy to enrich our International Communist Movement with our experiences both positive and negative which are by no means negligible for our Party was in the focus of attention of both friends and foes for not a brief period. We are ready to put such experience before the preparatory committee. At the same time we welcome any criticism from any fraternal party regarding the policy of our Party in such a forum or in bilateral or multilateral meetings, or correspondence; we regard such criticism as a demonstration of international solidarity with our Party. And finally, one can say that certain quarters suffer from prejudices against the vanguard position of the Soviet Union and of its glorious party of Lenin; it is sad, for such quarters often forget that that position is a historic development and more than that, it has entailed, and may entail in future also, untold sacrifices. They forget that the four years of the anti-fascist war cost the Soviet people 20,000,000 souls, that is as much as the present population, say, of Rumania or Yugoslavia.

It is not merely out of gratefulness that one should remember such sacrifices but also out of better calculation to find genuine and lasting friends.

Long live the militant unity of the International Communist Movement under the banner of Marxism-Leninism!

SANTIAGO ALVAREZ

MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

Comrades, may I begin with greeting, on behalf of our delegation, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and whole-heartedly thanking it for its hospitality and for the excellent conditions it has created for our work. We also salute the delegations of fraternal parties which are present here.

The CPS stand for convening an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. We have believed, and believe now, that if the conference is properly prepared—and that is the purpose of our coming to Budapest—it will help intensify the anti-imperialist struggle and strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement.

In our opinion, the chief aim of the conference should be struggle against imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, coordination and maximum development of this struggle against the policy of the United States in all fields. This calls for efforts to search for, and find, ways of restoring world Communist unity, and emphatically to reaffirm the international character of the Communist and working-class movement. The CPS is against censuring any party by the conference or "excommunicating" it from the world Communist movement.

Our Party is willing to apply maximum efforts in Budapest to ensure that complete unanimity of views on the holding of the international conference be achieved on the basis of these principles, with due regard to the positions of other fraternal parties.

The aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism is manifested as never before in its criminal war against the heroic people of Vietnam. Vietnam. Laos, Cambodia, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Cuba, Santo Domingo, the Middle Eastern countries and Greece could top an extensive list of the peoples, the Spanish people included, who are suffering as a result of the reactionary and aggressive policy of the policeman of world reaction. The aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism has increased following the weakening of the unity of the Communist movement; and this has affected the strength of the anti-imperialist forces. In Europe we are also witnessing growing aggressiveness of the Bonn revenge-seekers.

This state of things necessitates building the broadest possible alliance of all forces fighting against imperialism. It demands the unity and joint efforts of the socialist camp, the Communist move-

ment, the national-liberation movement, the working class and all democratic and progressive forces in the developed capitalist countries, all those who are fighting for socialism, democracy and the independence of the peoples, against nuclear war, for peace.

At present new possibilities are arising for this, possibilities connected with the positve trends manfesting themselves within Social Democracy and the progressive trends deveolping in the Catholic world. They are the result of the striving for deep social changes, progress and peace evinced by the younger generation. All this will help us to strengthen and broaden the anti-imperialist front which will be capable of successfully resisting the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and defeating it, and to promote the deepening of the crisis and contradictions which have been manifesting themselves in recent months and which are undermining the entire social system of imperialism. In this way we will be able to stimulate the world revolutionary process while avoiding the danger of mankind being drawn into a nuclear war.

Consolidation of the unity of the Communist and working-class movement is at the same time an urgent task for the anti-imperialist struggle. But in the present conditions this task is exceedingly complicated. To carry it out, we shall evidently have to work and fight for a fairly long time. We consider that the forthcoming conference will certainly constitute an important stage in implementing this task.

Besides, we hold that the conference should be regarded, to a certain extent, as a new development in the efforts of the world Communist movement to strengthen its unity. The conference should not necessarily be mechanically linked with conferences held in the past. The delegation of the CPS stands for inviting to the conference all Communist and Workers' parties without exception, and naturally for inviting them as soon as possible to take part in the preparatory work. This Consultative Meeting in Budapest can contribute to this and generally to the creation of better conditions for consolidating our unity. Therefore it will be useful if all the materials of our meeting and generally all materials connected with preparations for the conference are sent to all Communist parties. Other proposals should also be discussed. For instance, certain parties could be visited by delegations authorized by this meeting, or by the preparatory commission.

The chief aim of our work should be to see to it that all Communist parties take part in the conference or identify themselves with its tasks in one form or other. Obviously, the holding of the conference should not be made conditional on the presence of all parties.

In view of the present situation, of the different conditions in which Communist parties have to fight, etc., we think it would

be politically wrong to expect our coming conference to discuss all the political and ideological problems that agitate Communists, and to offer a common solution. Great possibilities for achieving a unitary position are connected precisely with the solution of the decisive political task, that of combating imperialism. Therefore we hold the view that the conference should limit itself to considering those problems which are closely related to this struggle and an analysis of which can directly or indirectly promote the unity of our movement. In this sense we think it necessary that the application of any exclusive criterion should be avoided. As we see it, experience proves that in the present conditions—as distinct from the processes taking place in every Communist party, where the principle of democratic centralism operates and should operate —in the international Communist movement this criterion cannot be applied for elaborating a line or achieving agreement. Everything that will not be resolved through a free democratic discussion and agreed upon on the basis of good will inspired by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and with due regard to the need to fight against imperialism and other tasks common to our movement, will be devoid of sense and ultimately will not contribute to our unity.

Every Communist Party is a component of the world Communist movement, and the interests of every party in its own country are closely associated with the common cause. No Communist Party can forget this great truth. If each of our parties shuts itself up within its national boundaries, this will considerably weaken joint actions against imperialism, and the Communist movement as a whole. In addition, it would signify that one of its basic principles is forgotten. The Communist movement, if it does not want its own negation, should preserve and accentuate its internationalist character, and the holding of the conference should help towards this. But practical solidarity inspired by socialist, proletarian internationalism and by the necessity to safeguard the revolutonary gains are common for us, above all such as the existence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is increasingly coming into its own, despite the disagreements which can arise between Communist parties at some stages, and regardless of participation or non-participation in some conferences. The Communist Party of Spain sees in these practical actions of solidarity, in their defense, a manifestation of socialist and proletarian internationalism which is absolutely necessary at the given stage, despite the temporary disagreements which can arise. In this connection we should like to add that our Party highly appreciates the solidarity of the Communist and Workers' parties and the entire international democratic and working-class movement, which has been, and is, of great help to the struggle of our people.

In view of the strenuous struggle our Party has been waging

during thirty years of fascist terror, we especially deeply realize the importance of being an integral part of the world Communist movement.

We consider that the unity of the Communist movement, which we want to restore and strengthen, cannot be the unity of the time of the Communist International or other past periods. Today there does not exist—nor, for that matter, can there exist—any international guiding center. This unity should rest on the equality of parties, on the recognition of the distinctness of every party and of its independence in shaping, in conformity with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its own line of development of the revolution, and in building a genuine anti-imperialist front, an alliance of forces capable of carrying out this tremendous task. This unity should always take into consideration the peculiarities of the concrete situation in which the various parties are fighting. Our Party regards this proposition as fundamental for the Communist movement. Only on this basis is it impossible to establish relations of complete equality and comradeship between our parties. And they are being established today.

It is obvious, however, that a statement of principle is not sufficient for the effective consolidation of this form of relations. It is necessary to prove this in practice. The various regional conferences and specifically the Karlovy Vary Conference of the majority of the European Communist Parties have been of great political significance in this respect, for the democratic and collective discussion of problems at these conferences is a very important factor of the new relations of unity between Communist parties.

We agree with numerous fraternal parties in that this collective and democratic method should be applied at this meeting, in consultations with the central committees of parties on issues we shal' have taken up in Budapest, in all activities connected with the preparation of the conference and at the conference itself.

Our Party holds that matters of procedure or date cannot be an obstacle to convening the conference. We also believe that it cannot be put off endlessly. Our opinion is that the conference should be convened within a reasonable space of time and that it should become, as we have said, an expression of the unity of the Communist movement, which will attain, through free democratic discussion, its principal aim—consolidation of unity in the fight against imperialism. We attach exceptional importance to the matter of building the broadest possible anti-imperialist front. Moreover, we consider that in order to attain this objective the conference we are preparing should be a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Without efforts to iron out the differences that have arisen in the Communist movement and in the community of socialist countries,

which is the main anti-imperialist force, it will be difficult to build an effective front of struggle against imperialism.

On the other hand, although reaffirmation of the vanguard role of the Communist movement as a whole and of every party in particular depends not so much on resolutions as on the ability of the parties to orient and mobilize the masses in the struggle, we consider that the international conference should emphasize this vanguard role as well as the internationalist character of our movement.

A conference which has this character and which will pursue this aim will certainly facilitate the holding, at a later date, of an international conference of all anti-imperialist forces.

We agree that the conference of the Communist parties should occupy itself with only one question, that of struggle against imperialism.

We also hold that the results of the possible debates on the present position of imperialism and on conditions for increasing the effectiveness of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples can and must be reflected in documents or declarations. These documents will serve us as general orientation for this struggle, especially the struggle against U.S. imperialism. In other words, the Communist Party of Spain is of the opinion that the conference could work out a kind of platform which, by being correctly oriented, could facilitate the coordination and the raising of the level of the anti-imperialist struggle, irrespective of the forms, peaceful or non-peaceful, this struggle may take depending on the conditions in every country and on the readiness of its people to carry forward, support and develop it.

We have assembled at a time when the indomitable Vietnamese people, aided by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and enjoying the moral support of all peoples, are scoring magnificent historical victories over U.S. imperialism. We think that at this moment we should express our active and profound solidarity. Convinced that we are expressing the sentiments of all those present here, we propose that a message of greetings from the participants in the Budapest Consultative Meeting be sent to the heroic Vietnamese fighters.

DAVID HENIN

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

Dear Comrade Delegates,

The Israeli delegation wishes to thank the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for the initiative and substantial help it rendered to facilitate the activity of this Meeting.

Our Israeli Communist Party has welcomed the initiative of the 18 fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties who prepared the grounds for this consultative meeting to take place in order to examine the convening of an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

On different occasions and in bilateral talks with fraternal parties our Party has expressed the need for convening such a conference.

Therefore, the Central Committee of our Party in its 19th Plenary Session on February 8-9, 1968 issued a statement supporting the initiative of the 18 fraternal parties for holding these consultations with the precise motive of preparing for a world conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

We are of one mind with all fraternal parties who believe that the course of developments and the objective situation prevailing in the world today call for making new efforts directed towards achieving closer unity in the international Communist and Workers' movement.

At the same time we consider that the time and conditions have matured for holding such a conference.

The unity of the world Communist and Workers' parties is growing in spite of negative factors that work at weakening this unity.

Closer unity was manifested against the barbarous imperialist aggression and escalation of war against the heroic people of Vietnam, and in other parts of the world.

It should be borne in mind that thanks to the united action of the Socialist countries and first of all the Soviet Union, it was possible to stop the war of last June in the Middle East waged by the Israeli ruling circles against the Arab countries and their progressive regimes, averting by this action a catastrophe in the Area.

Hederekh, March 20, 1968.

The people of Israel will realize sooner or later that the decisive action of the Soviet Union, the Socialist countries and all forces of progress to foil the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries served also the vital interest of the people of Israel to live in peace with their neighbors on the basis of respect of mutual legitimate rights.

These facts have demonstrated before all the forces of peace, before all progressive humanity, the decisive role that can be played by a consolidated and united Communist and Workers' movement in promoting peace and frustrating imperialist aggression and provocations.

The eyes, thoughts and hopes of millions are focused nowadays on this meeting we are holding in the beautiful capital of the Hungarian Socialist Republic. We should stand the test by reaching agreement to fulfil the primary task of these consultations: to decide on a world conference of the international Communist and Workers' parties. This decision creates better conditions for further unity. This unity of the movement is the main foundation for the unification of all working class, progressive and anti-imperialist forces and national-liberation movements.

Our delegation also welcomes the idea and initiative for such a conference of the whole revolutionary and progressive forces of our time. But only a new conference of the international Communist movement is a prerequisite step that can pave the way and create the necessary conditions for such a conference.

THE ATTITUDE TO SPLITTERS

The present difficulties in the Communist movement as a result of the split and discord caused by the activities of the Mao Tse-tung group — the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party had a detrimental effect on various Communist parties including our Party, as well as on the whole movement.

This situation encouraged nationalist deviations and opportunist elements to raise their hands against the unity of the Communist movement.

The Mikunis-Sneh group as in minority in our Party, taking advantage of this situation, caused a split in the ranks of our Party in 1965.

From the first moment of the split it became very clear that the opportunist elements who betrayed the internationalist line of our Party were exploiting the difficult situation in the Communist movement.

Mikunis, the leader of this group did not hesitate for a moment to vote for the military war budget and to support a bill for compulsory war loans. He made a vehement speech in support

of aggression in Parliament. Mikunis and Sneh did not hesitate either to claim that the June war is "a most just war in human history." This group has degenerated to extreme nationalism, whose banner is hostility to the Soviet Union, that opposed aggression, and against the anti-imperialist movement and our international Jewish-Arab party in Israel. This group joined the official bandwagon in opposing the retreat of the Israeli armed forces from the occupied territories of the Arab countries and brazenly stood for the conditions which the reactionary Israeli ruling circles are trying to impose on the Arab countries, contrary to the decision of the Security Council of the United Nations.

They themselves who turned against the party betrayed the principles of proletarian internationalism, thus divorcing themselves from our Party. Turning their backs on the real interests of the Israeli working class and on the struggle for peace, they were the ones who threw away the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

It is not the anti-imperialist struggle that concerns this group but how to cover up and justify the dangerous imperialist plot behind the last Israeli aggression. What concerns them is to rationalize the expansionist policy of the Israeli ruling circles, which is detrimental to the vital interests of the Israeli people and of peace in the region.

THE SOLUTION TO THE ISRAELI-ARAB CONFLICT

The real interests of the Israeli people are based on mutual understanding with the Arab peoples in the common struggle against imperialism, on respect of mutual legitimate rights; on the alignment with the Arab national-liberation movement against imperialism and not in alliance with imperialism against the Arab national-liberation movement.

This is the cornerstone in the general line of our Party, regarding the solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Palestine question, that Mikunis and Sneh have rejected.

Our Party fights to rally all peace-loving people in one front demanding the evacuation from all occupied territories; a front to fight for a peaceful settlement of the Israel-Arab conflict on the basis of the recognition by Israel of the national right of the Arab people of Palestine and above all the right of the Arab refugees in conformity with UN resolutions. Such recognition paves the way for the recognition of the national rights of Israel by the Arab countries.

Our comrades were thrown into jails because they opposed the war and not those who humbled themselves before the invasion. It has been glaringly proved that the demarcation line was unmistakenly drawn between the forces in Israel; between the forces

of peace and the supporters of war, between those who defended national independence and those who betrayed the peoples' interests. The demarcation line was not drawn between Jews and Arabs as the aforesaid group falsely claims.

We remained faithful to our working class, to the working people, by combining true patriotism with proletarian internationalism.

The fact that the fraternal parties of the socialist and capitalist countries expressed their solidarity towards our Party provides strength to the Israeli people, strengthens its belief in our program being an alternative program as opposed to the reactionary policy, and may serve as a tie between the Israeli and Arab peoples as well as a link with international forces of socialism and peace.

THE ATTITUDE TO WAR

With regard to the war in the Middle East we wish on this occasion to briefly expound our attitude to this crisis.

This war provided us with a new experience that local conflicts could be exploited and used by imperialists to precipitate aggression on national-liberation movements and national independence, like that which has happened in our region.

The severe blow which the imperialists intended to deal to the Arab national-liberation movement, with the help of the Israeli ruling circles — calls for analysis of the question by the conference of the movement in order to draw the necessary conclusions.

The aggression of the Israeli ruling circles against vanguard countries of the Arab national liberation movement, the UAR and Syria, explains the dangerous nature of the conflict aggravated by imperialist support of the aggression.

Our Party has correctly seen the nature of this conflict as a conflict between the imperialist forces on the one hand, and the anti-imperialist forces of progress on the other hand.

The war of last June, and continued aggression and provocation emphasize the impending dangers that may evolve as a result of the absence of a political-positive solution of the conflict. Chauvinistic statements of Arab nationalists helped in no small measure the Israeli ruling circle to find a pretext to attack the Arab countries.

Coordination of action and cooperation between all the progressive forces in the region and its Communist parties is an imperative necessity in the interest of all the peoples and peace to combat imperialist and reactionary counter-offensive. This will help us to mobilize new forces in our country to change Israel's official policy.

Only an internationalist approach can provide and guarantee working class interests and defend the just right of all peoples.

The major cause of aggressive war in the Middle East must be

sought in the interests of world oil monopolies, and above all in American, British and West German interests.

The nature of this war was determined by the struggle between the imperialist and anti-imperialist interests. It is, therefore, not accidental that the socialist camp, the world Communist movement, the world peace movement, federations of trade unions, women, youth and the Afro-Asian countries opposed the aggression of the Israeli ruling circles backed by American imperialism.

The struggle in the Near East is part of the global struggle between imperialism and anti-imperialist forces, between forces of war and those of peace. The line of struggle extends from Vietnam in Southeast Asia to West Germany in Europe, via Greece, Cyprus and the Near East.

Now it has been made clear that the war was a result of a collusion between the Israeli Premier Eshkol and President Johnson with a view to overthrowing the anti-imperialist Arab governments, disrupting the relations between these states and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to ensure and expand US, British and West German imperialist interests in the region. It is not in vain that revanchist spokesmen of the Kiesinger-Strauss Government expressed public delight at the Israeli Blitzkrieg.

By its adventurist and aggressive policy, the Israeli government endangers the security of our people. The Eshkol-Johnson talks last month foretell sinister intentions of continuing their aggression. Their talks revealed new coordination of policies with regard to the Middle East crisis disregarding the United Nations' framework. Johnson promised more active support by additional financial grants and military aid for carrying out "joint objectives."

Eshkol promised more active support by the Israeli government to the American aggression in Vietnam, in return for American support.

THE WAR AND ISRAEL'S ECONOMY

The results of this policy of allegiance to American imperialism have a ruinous effect on the economy of the country. The military budget was increased considerably this year on account of social services and wages.

The devaluation of the Israeli lira in 1967 is linked more with the huge war expenditure than with the devaluation of the English pound.

As a result of the war the real and even nominal wages of workers went down, whereas prices soared. The term of compulsory military service for men was extended from 2.5 to 3 years.

POLICY OF ESCALATION

The Israel ruling circles are complicating the situation by hindering a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

After annexation of the old city of Jerusalem they confiscated large areas in the city for Jewish settlement and expelled the Arab citizens. Similar steps were taken in other places too to prepare the ground for annexation of these territories.

Oppression was stepped up against the population in the seized territories, and new hundreds of thousands were rendered destitute refugees.

Persecution of our party has increased. Great numbers of communists and democrats who opposed the war are being persecuted in order to crush the development of popular front against aggression and the peaceful solution of the crisis.

Official organs and government spokesmen are already speaking about the necessity of a new "preventive war." General Dayan's circles claim that "a new round with the Arabs is possible in a not too distant future."

Our Communist Party regards its struggle against aggression and for peace not only as an internationalist duty, but a struggle to ensure the security and national independence of the people of Israel. The anti-national policy of the Eshkol-Dayan government is deprived of any perspective that would lead to peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

The war that broke out in the Middle East raises the urgent question to be discussed by the conference of the movement in order to draw the necessary conclusions regarding new imperialist tactics of local and regional wars, of the counter-offensive to crush peoples' national independence one by one.

FOR A NEW CONFERENCE

Conditions have matured for a new conference of the world movement. Our Party is of the opinion that the present world situation calls for a conference of world Communist and Workers' Parties.

We believe that indefinite postponement of a new world conference of the movement will not help to bridge the gap within the movement, on the contrary, it serves to widen the gulf or differences.

The necessity for holding a new world conference has increased of late, and among the reasons that necessitate urgency in convening a new conference in order to achieve closer unity, is the aggravation of imperialist belligerency and provocations especially the escalation of war against Vietnam and imperialist intrigue and aggression in the Middle East.

Facts of life have proved the validity of the general line of the movement drawn up at the consultations in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 irrespective of certain details.

The increased influence of the world socialist system creates new conditions for the progressive struggle all over the world. And in the world of today where American imperialism has become the mainstay of reaction and international gendarme of world monopolies against the people, this conference demonstrates before the whole of humanity the significance of the unity of the international movement of Communist and Workers' Parties as the guarantee for victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism.

WORLD RELATION OF FORCES

The world socialist system plays the role of vanguard in the contemporary revolutionary movement, and the main task which should be fulfilled to rebuff imperialist aggression against the peoples is by strengthening the three contemporary revolutionary trends, whose main base is the socialist camp. This task has been clearly and decisively demonstrated by the crisis of the Middle East, and in the struggle to eliminate the consequences of the last aggression and to find a solution to this crisis.

We are of the opinion that the present world relation of forces in favor of the forces of peace does not mean that imperialism has relinquished its aggressive character, but in many respects its ferocity and adventurism has multiplied, threatening to plunge the world into a global nuclear war, as we witness by the aggression in Vietnam and the provocations against Korea. This situation calls for extreme vigilance from the world communist movement to curb the aggressors in good time and to prevent war.

These new conditions, it seems, have not been clearly understood by certain progressive and anti-imperialist circles. This is the source of misunderstanding the importance of the role and efforts made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to frustrate imperialists' plans to unleash a world war and to curb imperialist aggression against the freedom of peoples.

Experience and facts of life have also proved the correctness of the general line adopted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and countries of the socialist camp.

The policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different political systems has contributed to strengthening the struggle of the peoples of the world for peace and liberation.

Thermonuclear war could not be an alternative to peoples' suffering. This fact is more and more inspiring greater forces in

the world to stand up against the imperialist threat of a war of genocide.

As a result of the growing might of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, greater forces in the world are joining the anti-imperialist camp, the camp of peace. Parallel to this, contradictions are growing within the imperialist camp and within the aggressive NATO bloc itself.

And we may add to this that the confidence in the vanguard contingent of the world Communist movement, in the Soviet Union and its correct policy, is greatly rising among the people of the world.

In the opinion of our Party the system of consultations and world conferences is a suitable form for cooperation and we are of the opinion also that such conferences should be systematic without overlooking the importance of bilateral and regional meetings between fraternal parties.

However, we believe that participation in such conferences should not be imposed on any party, but we are opposed to any one party having the right of veto against the common will of the collective.

As for us, we are for and respect the independence of each party, but we believe that there is a need to resist any attempt to place narrow interests of one party against the general interests of the whole movement.

PROPOSALS OF THE ISRAEL DELEGATION

The 19th plenary meeting of our Central Committee instructed our delegation to propose that the task of the present consultative meeting should be to call a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. As for the date of the conference we think that it should be held not later than the end of this year, and we believe that further delay is not in the interest of the movement. As for the place of the conference, we propose Moscow.

The aim of the conference that is to be held is not to condemn or excommunicate any Party, but to work out a standpoint summing up the problems of the anti-imperialist struggle.

We support the proposal of establishing a committee with the task of preparing the calling of the coming Conference. In the work of that committee all Communist and Workers' parties would participate which express their wish to attend the new Conference of Communist and Workers' parties.

As for participation in the preparation for the conference we propose the invitation of the Communist League of Yugoslavia and all other fraternal parties formed after the Moscow consultation of 1960. We oppose the invitation of so-called parallel parties and other groups. We express our deep regret that the delegation of

the Communist Party of Rumania ceased to take part in our Consultative Meeting and we give utterance to our hope that the Communist Party of Rumania will actively participate in the preparation of the forthcoming Conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The success of this Consultative Meeting is an important step in amalgamating the ideological unity of the movement, a thing which more and more isolates the splitters and their line.

We are of the opinion that after Budapest it will be necessary to take additional steps and make further contacts with parties that did not participate or did not respond to the invitation to this meeting, with the aim of persuading them and reaching agreement regarding their future participation in the conference and the preparations for it.

In this respect we propose that a party or a number of parties take upon themselves this task as part of the preparation for the conference.

In this respect also we wish to point out the importance of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* in contributing within its framework to the ideological unity by analyzing political and ideological issues, disseminating exchange of information, experiences of different parties and the movement as a whole.

We propose that it is the duty of every individual party to contribute its share to reinforce this organ of the movement. Our party also supports the proposal for setting up an information press service for the movement. In spite of difficulties that exist, such a press service is a valuable contribution.

In conclusion I would like to state that our Party considers a decision to hold a conference for the movement as an important stage in the efforts to consolidate the unity of Communists, in order to strengthen the world front against imperialism and for peace.

SPEECH* BY L. I. BREZHNEV

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AT 19th CONFERENCE OF MOSCOW CITY ORGANIZATION OF CPSU, MARCH 29, 1968

Dear Comrade delegates,

Permit me on behalf of our Party's Central Committee warmly to greet the conference delegates and, in your person, all Communists and working people in the capital and to wish Moscow Communists, all working people of Moscow, fresh successes in the struggle for the great cause of communism.

The Moscow city conference completes the report and election campaign in our Party. The reports and elections in primary Party organizations, the elections of district, city and regional committees of the Party were a big event, an important landmark in the life of our Party and all its organizations. The attention of all meetings and conferences was focused on how the resolutions of the 23rd Congress and the decisions of the plenary meetings of the Central Committee were being fulfilled, on the question of enhancing the role of the Party and all Communists in accomplishing the economic and political tasks and in successfully fulfilling the Five-Year Plan.

These meetings and conferences discussed questions of the fuller use of available reserves, of raising the efficiency of production, achieving growth in labor productivity, improving the quality of goods and reducing production costs. And this is very important, comrades, because these matters are of vital significance for our state, for raising its economic and defense potential, and for improving the welfare of the Soviet people.

The reports of Party committees to the Communists were in effect reports to our entire people, for the proceedings of the meetings and conferences were widely covered in the press and over the radio. Publicity, keeping the Party rank-and-file and all working people informed of Party activities, is a principle of our Party life and we strictly abide by this principle.

More than 12 million Communists attended the meetings of Party organizations. The reports were discussed by 2,700,000 people. This means, comrades, that practically every fourth Communist present at the meetings expressed his opinion on the policy of the Party and the practical activity of his organization, made remarks and submitted proposals. That is genuine democracy in action.

*Pravda, March 30, 1968.

The report and election meetings and conferences demonstrated with renewed force the unbreakable unity of our Party ranks; showed that they are solidly rallied around the Central Committee. All Party organizations unanimously approved and supported the foreign and home policy of the Communist Party, elaborated by the 23rd CPSU Congress and the plenary meetings of our Party's Central Committee and consistently implemented by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

The Central Committee highly values this support; it sees in it a reliable basis for unity of action by the entire many-million-strong army of Communists, a guarantee of fresh victories in communist construction.

The critical remarks and proposals voiced at the meetings and conferences are of great value for our further work.

It goes without saying that we have in mind principled Party and not philistine criticism. Party criticism, as Lenin pointed out, must be "comradely and frank criticism to which "diplomacy and petty considerations are alien." Its value is determined not by harshness of expression, but by truthfulness, cogency, the significance of the issue raised and the benefit it brings. The Party is vitally interested in having all Communists use the weapon of criticism correctly, in the Leninist way.

We expect all leading bodies to which critical remarks were addressed by conference delegates to examine them most attentively and draw the necessary conclusions.

It should be noted that at the meetings and conferences questions of development of inner-Party democracy were linked inseparably with problems of further consolidating Party discipline and observing the Leninist principles of democratic centralism. Special emphasis was laid on the Leninist principle that every Communist is responsible for the Party, just as the Party is responsible for every Communist. This is a matter of exceptional importance. The Communist Party is a Party of people who not only think alike, but also act alike. Unity of action is only possible if there is sound, conscious Party discipline, and all Party members act energetically and display a high sense of responsibility.

Anyone who thinks that Lenin's directive on the need for iron Party discipline is significant only for the period of direct revolutionary action and that it loses its urgency in the course of further socio-economic and democratic transformations is grossly mistaken. Experience irrefutably teaches us that the Party needs strong, conscious discipline when it leads the masses to revolution, when at the head of the masses it works to establish socialist society, and in the period of full-scale building of communism. This is one of the prime sources of the Party's strength, of its successes and victories.

Comrades, your conference is proceeding in a fine, comradely, Party atmosphere, and it demonstrates the unshakable loyalty of the Moscow Communists to the militant banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The comprehensive activities of the capital's Party organizations in accomplishing the tasks of communist construction have been reflected in the detailed report of V. V. Grishin and the speeches of delegates.

The Moscow Party organization has always been and remains a militant and glorious detachment of our Party, the true and reliable mainstay of the Central Committee of the CPSU. For 50 years now, that is, since the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the Party headed by Lenin moved to Moscow in March 1918, your Party organization has been the capital's organization. And we can say that it has lived up to this high and honorable position with credit.

The Moscow Party organization has played an outstanding part in the country's socialist industrialization, in the technical reconstruction of industry, and in the trainng of personnel for all sectors of the national economy. The working people of Moscow have initiated many remarkable undertakings which have greatly stimulated the creative energy of the masses. They marched in the van of those in the emulation movement for the early fulfilment of the first five-year plans. In the grim years of the Patriotic War Muscovites set examples of selfless labor and heroism. In the postwar years the working people of Moscow have frequently sponsored important undertakings in the technical re-equipment of industry, in raising the quality of goods, and have registered notable achievements in this sphere. Muscovites together with Leningraders started socialist emulation for the pre-schedule fulfilment of the current Five-Year Plan by November 7, 1970, and for observing the centenary of Lenin's birth in a worthy way.

Moscow industry holds a big place in the country's economy. Muscovites contribute more than one-third of the electric motors produced in our country, a quarter of the automobiles, a considerable amount of metal-cutting machine tools, instruments, radio and electrical equipment, and many other products.

Moscow is a generally recognized center of science, literature and the arts. Here thousands of eminent scientists, writers and painters, theatre and cinema artists live and work. Here ways for the further development of Soviet science and culture are charted in the Academy of Sciences, in art workers' organizations and in state institutions.

The working people of our capital by their selfless labor in all economic and cultural fields are contributing in a big way to strengthening our country's economic and defense potential, to furthering scientific and technological progress.

The Moscow organization is also doing much work in improving the face of our capital. And the capital is noticeably growing more beautiful and the living conditions of Muscovites are improving. Moscow symbolizes a city of a new, socialist type; a city without the social contrasts inherent in capitalist cities. The layout of Moscow is designed and building is done in such a way that all the city's residents will enjoy modern amenities.

In a word, comrades, Muscovites have scored quite a few successes. But we must look ahead, see the unsolved problems. And the report of the City Party Committee and the speeches of delegates, alongside achievements, rightly mentioned shortcomings and discussed unutilized reserves.

The Central Committee hopes that the Moscow City Party Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Working People's Deputies, the entire Moscow Party organization will take into account the proposals of the delegates to the conferences and of the participants in the meetings and apply them in order further to improve their work. You have lots of strength, good, experienced cadres and every opportunity to achieve still better results in developing the economy, science and culture, in carrying out organizational and political work.

Comrades, our Party enjoys tremendous prestige and confidence among the Soviet people. This prestige and this confidence have not come of themselves. They have been won in the crucible of battles and in constructive activity, in years of success and in periods of hardship, in the course of political, economic and social transformations undertaken on a huge scale.

Now that the Soviet Union is working on new historical problems the role and significance of the Communist Party are being further enhanced. This is natural and follows from the objective requirements of our society's development. Big and intricate problems arise in the course of communist construction, problems associated with building the material and technical basis of communism, improving relations in production, educating people, further developing friendship among nations. Science and technology are rapidly developing, essentially changing the entire mode of life. Socialist democracy is being extended. Big and complex tasks face our country in international affairs, above all in extending and promoting all-round cooperation with other socialist countries, supporting the world revolutionary and national-liberation movements, and strengthening world peace.

Only a party equipped with an advanced theory, Marxism-Leninism, can find a correct solution to these problems, exactly define the main, most vital trends of the country's economic and social development. Only a party, welded together by unity of views and action, a party which has much experience in political and organiza-

tional activity is able to impart to all the work of building communism a purposeful, scientifically-based and planned character. Only a party closely bound with the many-million-strong working masses is capable of rallying the forces of the people—the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia—for the successful accomplishment of both economic and political tasks.

The entire experience of our construction has confirmed the justice of Lenin's words that "the dictatorship of the proletariat would not work except through the Communist Party." Experience demonstrates that a socialist state of the entire people which continues the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat can successfully develop only given the leading role of the working class, under the guidance and the directing influence of the Communist Party. In the interests of the people, in the interests of communism, the Party will discharge its tasks as unswervingly and selflessly as it has done throughout its history, as the great Lenin instructed us.

In the course of Communist construction the Party gains strength, its ranks grow and the efficiency of its organization rises. In the two years which have passed since the 23rd Party Congress more than one million people have been admitted to the CPSU. The working class holds a leading place in this replenishment. Last year workers comprised 52.2 per cent of those admitted as candidates to the Party. We have not had such a large share of workers among new candidates in the last 35 years. Foremost representatives of the collective farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia are also joining the Party. Replenishing its ranks with the finest representatives of the working people and simultaneously ridding itself of those who do not live up to the high calling of a Communist, the Party is becoming still stronger and more solidly knit.

The CPSU now has 13,180,000 Communists. Actually, at present, there is not a single section of any importance, no collective without a Party organization. Our Party thus possesses tremendous opportunities for influencing the masses, all spheres of social activity. What is important now is to utilize these opportunities in full measure.

To enhance the role of the Party means to raise the efficiency of all Party organizations, to elevate the political consciousness of the Communists, to see to it that they actively participate in working out and implementing the Party's policy, that they march in the van of the struggle for the successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan and the tasks of Communist construction.

Our Party has trained and promoted to leading positions in various sections of Party and state activity and in the national economy highly competent, energetic men and women who are devoted to the cause of Communism and enjoy merited prestige and respect among the people. It may be safely said that we have

never before had such a competent body of leading cadres as today.

The importance of the proper selection and training of cadres is still greater in present-day conditions when we need better to combine centralization and local initiative, planning and economic stimulation, collective leadership and personal responsibility.

Great trust in cadres, a solicitous attitude to them, a more objective, comprehensive approach to assessing their activities have become common features in our country in recent years. This is very good, comrades. Trust inspires people, adds to their strength, and makes them more confident. But those who think that greater trust in cadres and granting them more independence imply lesser control of their activities are wrong. Trust in and respect for personnel must necessarily be combined with high exactingness. The Party, trusting its cadres, has held, and will hold, everyone responsible for the job entrusted to him, will call him strictly to account for violation of Party and state discipline, irrespective of position and past services.

A natural process of renewal and growth of cadres, and their replenishment is always going on in the Party, government and economic bodies. In this connection it should be said that we now have tremendous possibilities for replenishing all sections of the people—factory workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, with the finest representatives of our youth and women who have given a good account of themselves in practical work.

The role and responsibility of the Soviets, trade unions, Komsomol and other mass organizations of the working people also rise in the conditions of full-scale communist construction. The Communist Party, as the leading and guiding force of the entire political system of our society, unites and directs the activity of all state and public organizations. The Party considers it of prime importance that all the public organizations, within the framework of their rights and functions, should act boldly and confidently; that the Communists working in these organizations should regard their work with full responsibility and display greater initiatve and constructive effort. A greater leading role of the Party and the enhancement of the role of the Soviets, trade unions and Komsomol, of all the mass organizations of the working people, constitute an interconnected and interrelated process, reflecting the profoundly democratic nature of our socialist system.

Comrades, our Party has always attached prime importance to the economy as the foundation for building a communist society.

Successes in economic construction enable us to accomplish the main social tasks, to raise the living standards of the Soviet people. Economic progress determines immensely the country's defense potential and our influence on the development of the international situation in the interests of peace and socialism.

This year we are completing the transfer of industry, construction agencies and the transport system to the new management system. The new conditions make new demands on Party, government, economic and trade union organizations. Much has to be done to raise the economic efficiency of social production.

The working class, the collective farm peasantry, the Soviet intelligentsia, all the people of our country have been persistently working for more than two years now to carry out the assignments of the current Five-Year Plan.

In two years industrial output increased approximately 20 per cent, the country received 12,000 million rubles worth of goods over and above the plan. The key sectors — power engineering, metallurgy, chemistry and machine-building — developed at a high rate. Simultaneously, output of consumer goods rose substantially. The Party's line of bringing the growth rates in the output of consumer goods and the means of production closer together is successfully being implemented.

The situation in agriculture is improving. In the last two years the average annual agricultural output exceeded noticeably the average annual output in previous years. The material and technical facilities in agriculture are being consolidated.

At the same time we realize that we still have much to do to implement the decisions on agriculture taken by the 23rd Party Congress and the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee in May 1966. This is a big undertaking requiring the efforts of the entire Party, of all the people.

The development of social production after the 23rd CPSU Congress made it possible to raise real per capita incomes by more than 12 per cent. The better the situation in industry and agriculture, the greater the possibilities which open up for further improving the people's living standards.

The main characteristics of economic development at the present stage are acceleration of economic growth rates, better efficiency in production and steady advance in the well-being of the working people. This natural process is reflected in such a general indicator as the growth of national income. Let me recall that the average annual increase of national income between 1961 and 1965 was 5.7 per cent. In the first two years of the current Five-Year Plan the increase averaged seven per cent.

But properly assessing the achievements, we must clearly visualize the future tasks and the ways of accomplishing them. We have to consolidate and develop the successes of the first two years of the Five-Year Plan.

In future too we must concentrate mainly on raising labor productivity, on utilizing all potentialities of socialist production, and accelerating scientific and technological progress.

At this conference, just as at other Party conferences, much attention was given to questions of raising labor productivity. Indeed, concern for labor productivity, for improving the quality of goods and cutting production costs and for labor discipline must be in the center of all the political work of the Party. This is the main thing now.

Introduction of a five-day working week began in our country last year. Millions of factory and office workers now have two days off a week. Needless to say, it is more pleasant and convenient to rest two days in a row than one day. True, additional problems have come to face Party functionaries and economic executives, local Soviets and trade unions. The question is how best to organize the two-day rest, to make it most useful for health, cultural development and for the upbringing of children. All this is good and necessary.

But displaying needed concern for two free days, Party organizations and economic executives must devote unflagging attention to the five working days as well, to their most efficient use for promoting production. Organizational work aimed at further improving the operation of enterprises and offices and economic management assumes greater importance in the new conditions. Party bodies and economic executives have to display more initiative in this matter. It is necessary swiftly to solve all problems pertaining to the organization of labor under a five-day working week. Delegates here spoke on the matter, and spoke correctly.

The standard of work of Party organizations, the level of ideological activity must be judged above all by the way production assignments are fulfilled, by growth in labor productivity, by the state of labor discipline, and by the implacability displayed in the struggle against manifestations of poor organization and negligence. We must constantly be guided by Lenin's injunction that there is not, nor can there be, any communist education outside of conscientious labor and social activity.

Constantly fostering communist consciousness, we must properly combine material and moral stimuli to work. Under socialistm they are not opposite, they supplement each other. In our country work is not just a means of livelihood. It is becoming a spiritual requirement of Soviet people, their lofty duty to society. It would be wrong to reduce everything solely to material incentive, this would impoverish the inner world of the Soviet citizen.

The Soviet working man is the real master of production in our country. He takes to heart the operation of his shop, his factory, the honor of the factory trademark, his collective farm or state farm. Labor enthusiasm produces heroes of industry and agriculture and brings into being new forms of emulation, splendid undertakings and initiative. It is in the conscious attitude to work that the

ideological maturity of the Soviet people, their profound devotion to the Party, to the ideas of communism, are displayed.

It is the task of Party organizations, the press, radio, TV and cinema, of all our ideological establishments to raise ever higher the prestige of labor, widely to popularize new initiative of the working people, and to spare no effort to make a communist attitude to work the standard of every working man.

We need to raise the role of workers' meetings, which should discuss the vital problems of production and of strengthening labor discipline. There must be proper attention to proposals voiced at workers' meetings. It should be a rule for Ministries to summarize the proposals made at workers' meetings, so that practical conclusions are drawn from these proposals and the corresponding collectives are periodically and duly informed on the matter.

Comrades, the Party and economic bodies have in the last few years done much to raise the efficacy of production and to make fuller use of production reserves. There is no doubt that this work has produced no mean results. Nonetheless some enterprises still make inadequate use of their equipment and tolerate substantial losses of working time. As you know, such things happen in Moscow too; it is something we cannot ignore.

A good deal has also been done to boost the output-capital ratio. In this field we also have positive results, if we were to make, for instance, a comparison with the past five-year period. However, an analysis shows that we have all the opportunities for radically increasing the efficacy of social production, granted that we learn to use fixed production assets more rationally, if we ensure the timely commissioning of new projects and create the conditions necessary for their proper operation, if we make practical use of the latest achievements of science and technology.

It is the duty of Party organizations to look into the matter. However, this is a job not only of the Party organizations, but primarily of ministries, economic, planning and supply agencies, of all our specialists.

With the immense scale of production characteristic of our national economy, quite an important problem is the raising of the quality of produce. I shall not dwell in detail on this question, since all delegates, all Communists understand what this means. I shall merely say that better quality of all produce—automobiles, tractors, engines, machine tools, clothes or footwear—will help us save quite a lot and meet more fully the requirements of the population. Last but not least, this also means further increasing the competitive power of our goods and strengthening the Soviet Union's positions on the foreign markets.

One of the major problems of the national economy is that of capital construction. The scope of construction in our country is

immense. There have been great successes, but quite a few shortcomings, too. Not by a long way do we everywhere commission in due time industrial projects and utility and social establishments. There have been instances of scattering of means and of low-quality designing, and other drawbacks.

Recently the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers adopted a decision on measures to provide personnel for capital construction. Substantial aid is being rendered to the building workers, who make up a large detachment of the Soviet working class, a detachment that often has to work in difficult conditions. It is the duty of Party organizations to assume control over this important sector of economic development, and not only to criticize, but also practically to help improve capital construction more speedily.

There is one other question I cannot but mention. In our age of scientific and technological revolution an important condition for lasting success in economic development is the quick introduction of scientific and technical achievements in production, the utilization of the scientific and technical know-how of other countries, including the countries of the socialist community which have amassed quite a few useful things in the field of technical progress.

All the all-Union Ministries are concentrated in Moscow. Upon them and their Party organizations rests a great responsibilty for scientific and technical progress. The Ministries' organizational period is over, and the time has come to be more exacting in their work. The Ministries are responsible, first of all, for the technical level in the corresponding branches of industry.

The Academy of Sciences and the country's leading research and design institute are also in Moscow. These are called upon to solve quickly and effectively vital scientific and technical problems, to engage persistently in creative pursuits, to march ahead of practical experience, to create, if I may say so, such a scientific and technical reserve as would help qualitatively to improve production and ensure the attainment of the highest goals for the leading branches of industry.

The Party highly appreciates the work of our scientists, and does everything necessary to further successful scientific development. The Central Committee and the Soviet Government are now working on measures for further raising the efficacy of science and for strengthening its ties with production.

Naturally, we also have shortcomings in the development of certain branches of science and in the work of some research establishments. But the main thing is that many scientific discoveries and new features in technology are but slowly introduced into production. These things do happen. However, comrades, we also have something else happening. Speaking of scientific and

technical progress, some of our people obviously underestimate the scientifice and technical achievements in our country and in other socialist countries.

At the same time these people are inclined to overestimate the achievements of science and technology in the capitalist world.

Yet, the facts show that it is precisely socialist and planned economic management that provides unprecedented opportunities for the flourishing of science and the utilization of scientific and technical progress in the interests of the whole of society. Everyone is aware of the tremendous discoveries of Soviet scientists in the field of space research, the conquest of interplanetary space, in nuclear physics, mathematics and other fundamental sciences. Our scientists and scientists of the fraternal socialist countries have done much for improving various branches of production, especially metallurgy, chemistry, electronics and telemechanics. Naturally, scientists, designers and engineers in our country are still faced with big problems which should be tackled so that Soviet science does indeed become the most advanced in all its aspects and in all fields.

The incurable vices of capitalist economy stand out most clearly against the background of the rapid and steady economic development of the socialist countries and the stupendous achievements of the entire socialist system.

Incidentally, our scientists and propagandists specializing in international affairs ought to devote more attention to an analysis of the socio-economic and political processes which are developing in the capitalist world and which have brought it to a feverish state.

At present the capitalist economy is suffering serious upheavals in its major links—in Britain, the United States and the FRG. There is certainly good reason for this, for it is the consequence of all the preceding development of the world economy, and especially that of the USA. These upheavals reflect the growing instability of the capitalist economy, increased unevenness in its development.

The postwar period saw a growth of production and trade in the capitalist world. That is true. However, this fact is certainly not explained by the revival of capitalism's "viability," as bourgeois ideologists are trying to make out. It is connected with the peculiarities of the modern revolution in science and technology. Now this growth has given place to a series of crisis slumps whose proportions exceed anything known in the last quarter of the century.

The present currency-financial crisis is the concentrated expression of the crisis in the capitalist system. Recently there was a 14.3 per cent devaluation of the pound sterling. The significance of this event can, for instance, be adduced from the fact that the pound sterling is used in up to 30-35 per cent of all the international

transactions. No wonder that in the wake of the pound sterling currency was devaluated in more than 25 capitalist states. Now it is the turn of the U.S. dollar, whose devaluation has actually commenced. Compared to prewar, it is now two and a half to three times below value. Under these conditions one should not exclude the possibility of a deep economic crisis of the capitalist system. We already see a rapid growth of unemployment in America, Britain, France, Italy and the FRG. By the beginning of 1968, a total of six million were unemployed in these countries. This figure stands for living people, for human tragedies. Is this not testimony of the vices of capitalism? And we should speak of this, comrades, outrightly, for this is the truth, it is a convincing weapon in the ideological struggle.

Comrades, in the report of the City Committee and in the speeches of the delegates much attention was given to the study of Marxist-Leninist theory and to ideological questions. That is quite right. An acute ideological struggle is now taking place. The front line in this struggle, its dividing line, if I may say so, lies between socialism and capitalism, between the two opposing social systems.

Unable to stall the onward march of history and not daring a frontal attack on the world of socialism, imperialism is trying to weaken the ideological-political unity of the working people of the socialist countries. In doing so it stakes mainly on nationalist and revisionist elements.

Briefly, the ideological struggle today is the most acute front of the class strugle. There can be no political indifference and passivity here, no neutrality with regard to the aims the enemy is setting itself. Our Party has always given warning that in the field of ideology there can be no peaceful coexistence, just as there can be no class peace between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Our ideological adversaries understand that they cannot shake the moral-political unity of Soviet society. Yet, bourgeois ideologists still hope somehow to influence the world outlook of some groups of the Soviet population and to blunt their class consciousness.

All sorts of anti-Soviet organizations and agencies, established by the imperialists, are looking for morally unstable, weak and politically unenlightened people. In their traps sometimes fall people prone to self-publicity, people who wish to "assert" themselves as loudly as possible not by working for the good of the country, but by politically dubious means, without turning away from the praise of our ideological adversaries. The Soviet public severely condemns the disgraceful behavior of such double-faced people. These renegades should not count on going unpunished. Vivid testimony of this are the numerous letters of working people and the resolutions adopted at meetings of factory and office workers

at some of the enterprises and establishments of Moscow and other cities.

Our enemies in the imperialist camp seek tenaciously to make use of any manifestations of ideological immaturity and waverings in one or another representative of the intelligentsia. The imperialists are trying to use these phenomena in their own interests in the ideological struggle against the world of socialism.

However, everyone should know that Soviet men of art and culture, like all intellectuals in our country, have always been and will remain with their people, with Lenin's Party. Soviet intellectuals have always been and will remain loyal to the banner of our Revolution. Never will our enemies succeed in weakening the inviolable unity of the Soviet people and their Communist Party, a unity which is a guarantee of all our victories in the struggle for the great cause of communism.

Every Communist and every Soviet citizen knows well that in this unity lies the strength of our country, that it is the basis of our successes in economic development and in strengthening the country's defenses. This great unity is the basis of the durability of our friendship with the fraternal socialist countries and with Communists everywhere in the world. This unity is our invincible force in the struggle against imperialism. This unity is the source of our successes in the fight for world peace.

Comrades, when we speak of ideological work, we think first of all of the education of our youth. This is a matter of major importance for the Party and the state. In effect, it is a question of the future development of our society.

Our youth knows what labor means, it knows how to work, and can work. We see them on the country's leading construction sites, at electric power stations and plants, in the fields and in livestock breeding farms, at research institutes and laboratories. The merging of study with practical work found its expression in the formation of student building squads and in the participation of students in other useful undertakings. This has already become a fine tradition in our country.

In the course of communist construction the political, scientific and technical education of youth is becoming an ever more important and responsible objective.

In the first years of Soviet power Vladimir Lenin called upon Soviet youth to study, study and study. In response to this call the worker and rural youth of the Land of Soviets—and this is something which we all remember—began to attend courses for the elimination of illiteracy, other educational courses and workers' faculties. They mastered the ideas for the sake of which their fathers went into battle against the enemy on the barricades of the Revolution and in the trenches of the Civil War; they mastered the founda-

tions of the Marxist teaching, the ABC of communism, and at the same time received the initial scientific and technical knowledge they needed for the construction of socialism.

Now the opportunities for youth obtaining an education have increased immeasurably but alongside this there has grown immensely society's need for politically conscious, ideologically steeled, highly-skilled workers.

Nowadays there are more opportunities than ever before for systematic and profound study by the youth of the science of Marxism-Leninism, for extensive application of the Marxist-Leninist teaching to all the intricate processes of life and development of our socety. Science is invading ever more imperatively all spheres of life. At present there are practically no industrial branches whose development can be imagined without the use of electronics and cybernetics, without applying the achievements of biochemistry and quantum physics and many other summits of modern scientific knowledge.

These summits must be scaled by our youth. Showing daily concern for the Marxist-Leninist education of Soviet youth, we should at the same time see to it that the knowledge the youth obtains is used for the solution of the practical problems of communist construction, so that all the achievements of modern science are utilized for the good of the Soviet people.

It is necessary to draw young people more actively into scientific and technical endeavor. The Party, Komsomol and trade union organizations at institutions of higher learning and industrial enterprises should start working extensively to draw youth into scientific and technical societies, and scientific groups which can be set up at educational establishments, plants and factories, on state and collective farms, so that in these societies and groups young people are able to get a full idea of the latest achievements of science and of their application in production. A big part in this can and should be played by scientists, professors and teachers of educational establishments and by all our research workers.

That is an important task, comrades. The task is to organize a really mass-scale movement of youth for mastering the summits of modern science and technology. When politically mature and armed with the latest scientific and technical knowledge, our youth will be able to make an even more fruitful contribution to the nationwide cause of communist construction. And the Party considers it its duty to do everything so that our youth—our young factory workers and collective farmers, men of the Soviet Army and Navy, higher school students—take an ever greater and more active part in the country's public and political life.

Comrades, in these days our country and the whole world are marking the centenary of the birth of Maxim Gorky, the brilliant

proletarian writer, Lenin's friend and fighter for the happiness of the working people. His immortal characters, his passionate and militant publicism, his boundless heritage serve our great cause and lash out at the enemies of the Soviet Union just as mightily as in the days when he was alive. A great humanist and revolutionary, he had a feeling of burning hatred for the capitalist system, he tore down its hypocritical masks and exposed all manifestations of imperialist, fascist ideology.

Gorky was happy to see the mighty progress of the Soviet Union; he was proud of the constructive genius of the workers and peasants who had become masters of their destinies. He taught our youth to appreciate the poetry of labor, to have a feeling of attachment for, and a love of, labor. "You should love labor," he said. "No other force can make man great and wise as the force of labor—collective, harmonious and free labor."

Inheriting Gorky's traditions, our intelligentsia enriches with its works the spiritual world of Soviet man, it sings the praises of the heroism of the recent days of combat and of the present-day labor exploits of the people; it instils an attitude of irreconcilability to alien ideology.

All the finest works produced by our writers, artists and all men of art meet with a grateful response and the acclaim of millions. And when there appear ideologically and artistically weak works, and you know that such works unfortunately do appear in our literature, cinematography and the theatre, Soviet people assess them strictly and exactingly, calling a spade a spade.

A good deal of talk and misinterpretation appears in connection with professional setbacks and ideological reverses. Life shows that where the unions of creative workers and Party organizations show a principled attitude, where a frank and straightforward comradely discussion takes place in connection with shortcomings, there is a good atmosphere for successful creative work.

It is hard to overestimate the great ideological work which has been done by the Party in connection with the 50th anniverasry of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Many new interesting forms of work have also appeared in the Moscow Party organizations. And Moscow Communists, like other Party organizations, rightly summarize and consolidate the experience they had accumulated during those noteworthy days.

The country is now preparing for such important events for our Party and the entire Communist and working-class movement as the coming 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx and the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin. These great dates will undoubtedly cause a fresh upsurge of the Party's entire ideological activity; they will be a new important step in mastering the rich

heritage of Marxism-Leninism and in the further creative development of our revolutionary teaching.

These dates will be extensively marked also outside our country by the entire international Communist movement. We are deeply convinced that the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism will ensure the growing strength of the unity of the Communist movement, of all the anti-imperialist forces, and, no matter how much our enemies may fret and fume, the future is with the great ideas of Marx and Lenin, the future is with communism.

Then L. I. Brezhnev informed the conference delegates about the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, held in Sofia on March 6 and 7, and about the meeting of the delegations of the fraternal Parties and governments of six socialist countries in Dresden on March 23 this year. The conference delegates received this information with unanimous approval.

In conclusion, L. I. Brezhnev said:

Comrades, we are living at a time and in a situation that place an immense responsibility on our country—the world's first country of triumphant socialism; on our Party—the glorious Party of Lenin; on our entire people, marching in the vanguard of social progress. The country's workers, collective farmers and intellectuals—all Soviet people — realize this responsibility, and each is working in his specific field for the strengthening of the might of our great homeland.

Permit me, comrades, to express confidence that the capital's glorious Party organization, closely rallied around the Central Committee, will remain in the forefront of the struggle for the successful implementation of the tasks of communist construction set by the 23rd CPSU Congress.

Permit me, comrades, once again to wish the delegates of the conference and all Communists of Moscow every success in their future work.

URGENT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE CPSU FOR WORLD COMMUNIST UNITY

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC CPSU PLENUM, APRIL 10, 1968

Having heard and discussed the report "Urgent International Problems and the Struggle of the CPSU for World Communist Unity" presented by L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, the Plenum of the CC CPSU resolves *fully to approve the policy line and practical activity of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in the sphere of foreign policy and in the world Communist movement.*

The Plenum notes that thanks to the consistent implementation of the policy framed by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and carried forward at the December 1966 and June 1967 plenums of the CC, the foreign policy positions of our country have become stronger still, the growing power and prestige of the Soviet state are serving the interests of peace and socialism and the struggle against aggressive imperialist policies ever more actively, and an important result has been achieved, in close collaboration with brother parties, in promoting the cohesion of the Communist movement is to prement.

The Plenum fully endorses the results of the Budapest Consultative Meeting, an important event in the Communist movement and an embodiment of the principles of proletarian internationalism. The Plenum considers that the central task for the immediate future in promoting the cohesion of the Communist movement is to prepare for and hold the conference of Communist and Workers' parties due to meet in November or December 1968. It entrusts the Political Bureau with doing all in its power for the success of the new international conference in close contact with brother parties, on the basis of the agreed positions stated in the Communique of the Budapest Meeting.

The Plenum greatly appreciates and approves the activity of the Soviet delegation to the Sofia meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, and welcomes the decisions adopted by the meeting. The Declaration on the Threat to Peace Created by the Extension of the US Aggression in Vietnam is a new serious warning to the American aggressors. It demonstrates once again the international-

*Pravda, April 11, 1968.

ist solidarity of the socialist countries with fighting Vietnam. Assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to the Vietnamese people, in every form will be continued with a view to repelling the imperialist attack on that fraternal and socialist country and to achieving peace in Vietnam at an early date.

The Plenum unanimously endorses the common position adopted by the brother parties of six European socialist countries on the treaty of non-proliferation of nuclear arms. The speedy conclusion of this treaty would further the security of all the peoples of the world and all socialist countries.

The Plenary Meeting fully approves the active and varied effort of the Political Bureau to foster relations with fraternal socialist countries. It stresses the importance of the Dresden meeting of the party and government leaders of six socialist countries. It reaffirms the readiness of our Party to do all that may be necessary for the steady political, economic and military consolidation of the socialist community.

Noting the grave situation persisting in the Middle East as a result of the acts of aggression committed by the Israeli rulers with support from the US imperialists, the Plenum fully approves the measures taken by the Political Bureau and the Soviet government to eliminate the effects of the Israeli aggression, to bring about the evacuation of the occupied Arab territories, and to extend the fullest support to the progressive forces in the Arab countries.

The Plenum confirms the correctness of the policy of exposing West German revanchism and militarism, and stresses the importance of the CPSU and brother parties cooperating for the unity of the socialist countries and other peace-loving countries and all anti-imperialist forces against West German imperialism.

The Plenum notes that the present stage of historical development is characterized by a marked intensification of the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism. The entire vast machinery of anti-Communist propaganda is now geared to loosening the unity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement, disuniting the progressive forces and undermining socialist society from within. In view of grave upheavals and serious reverses in home and foreign policy, the imperialists, primarily those of the United States, as well as launching military and political ventures, are stepping up their political and ideological subversion against the socialist countries, the Communist movement and the democratic movement as a whole.

In this situation it is particularly important, and constitutes one of the main duties of every Party organization, to wage an uncompromising struggle against enemy ideology, to resolutely expose imperialist intrigue, educate the Party membership and all working people in a communist spirit and intensify the entire ideological

actvity of the Party. All Party organizations must carry on an offensive against bourgeois ideology and take vigorous action against attempts to smuggle in, through various literary productions, works of art and other works, views alien to the socialist ideology of Soviet society. They must direct all the available media of ideological education toward fostering communist convictions, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism in every Communist and every Soviet man and woman, toward building up ideological staunchness and the ability to resist bourgeois influence in any form.

The functions devoted to the 150th anniversary of Karl Marx's birth, and the preparations for the 100th anniversary of V. Lenin's birth should provide a powerful stimulus to ideological work and extensive propaganda of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The ideological activity of the Party organizations should be linked even more closely with the effort to stimulate the labor and social activity of all working people and with the actual contribution of every Soviet person to the fulfilment of production assignments and the five-year plan.

A task of primary importance for the Party and the Soviet people as a whole is to continue building up the political and economic might and defense potential of our country and ensure all-round development of our society, which under the leadership of its Leninist Party is paving the way for the triumph of communism.

The Plenum of the CC CPSU considers that the present international situation imperatively demands vigorous and united action by all the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation. The CPSU, for its part, will persevere in its policy of resolutely resisting imperialism and heading off world war, of strengthening the commonwealth of socialist countries, and consolidating the Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces.

A LETTER FROM ISRAEL

To the Editor:

"We have the honor to forward to you a declaration, asking you to publish it."

The declaration reads:

STOP THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ISRAEL AND IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES!

Details were published in the press about what is happening in Israel and in the occupied territories:

Confinement orders, limitations of free movement and arrests without trial were recently imposed on Israeli citizens, Jews and Arabs.

The imposition of collective punishments, like curfew and blowing up of houses, continues in the towns and villages of the occupied territories at an alarming rate. Families of workers and fellaheen, children, women and old people, remain without shelter and means of existence. The stream of refugees and escapers from the Gaza Strip and from the Western Bank of the Jordan continues unabatedly.

An increasing number of Arabs is driven out of the Western Bank by order of the Israeli military governor. Said a protest petition published in the Western Bank: "These methods are contrary to international standards and to the basic rights of the citizen to live in his home and on his earth. The enforced exile on political background reminds us of the British colonial rule."

Where do these methods lead if not into an abyss of hatred?

Acts like these will only strengthen the resistance and underground movement, will only fell victims on both sides, will only lead to another war, with the number of victims not to be foreseen.

The domination of another people exposes the subduing people itself to moral degeneration and undermines its democracy. Any people oppressing another one is bound to lose its own freedom and the freedom of its citizens.

Jewish citizen, remember those courageous gentiles who stood by us in times of distress! Now, that the distress has befallen the fraternal Arab people, do you deem fit to remain aloof and to keep silent?

88 signatures follow.

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contents

MEETING IN MOSCOW 5

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU FORWARD ALONG THE LENINIST ROAD TO COMMUNISM
Speech by V. Grishin 6

SPEECH BY WLADISLAW GOMULKA
at meeting with Warsaw Party workers 25

FOR WORKING-CLASS UNITY
Extracts from resolution of CC CP of Japan 50

THE SOCIALIST LEFT ALTERNATIVE
Article by C. H. Hermansson 63

SPEECH TO BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING
by Eduardo G. Mancera (Venezuela) 67

COMMUNIQUE OF MEETING OF PREPARATORY COMMISSION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES 73

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MEETING IN MOSCOW*

Leading representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Polish United Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union met in Moscow on May 8.

The following comrades took part in the meeting:

Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary, CC BCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRB;

Janos Kadar, First Secretary, CC HSWP;

Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary, CC SUPG, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR;

Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary, CC PUWP;

L. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU; N. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR; A. Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; K. Katushev, Secretary, CC CPSU.

An exchange of views took place during the meeting on topical problems of the international situation and the world Communist and working-class movement. The participants informed one another of the situation in their respective countries and expressed a firm resolve to continue fostering by every means relations of friendship and all-round cooperation on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The meeting proceeded in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

* Pravda, May 9, 1968.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU ALONG THE LENINIST ROAD TO COMMUNISM

SPEECH* BY V. GRISHIN

Comrades, today the Soviet people and progressives all over the globe mark the 98th birthday of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, brilliant thinker, greatest revolutionary and leader and teacher of the world working class, of all the workng people.

His entire life and his tireless activity were wholly dedicated to a struggle for the happiness and interests of working people, for their emancipation from capitalist tyranny, for their deliverance from poverty and wars, for peace and a bright future, for socialism and communism.

Lenin's name is associated with history's greatest revolutionary changes—the triumph of the socialist revolution in our country and the creation of the world's first socialist state, the formation of the world socialist system and the huge scale of the communist, working-class and national liberation movements.

Lenin's immortal teaching is an eternal source of revolutionary ideas and revolutionary action. The ideological heritage left by him is drawn upon to this day by millions of fighters for the socialist remaking of the world.

Many social theories have been evolved in the course of human history, but not one of them became a vehicle for the revolutionary remaking of society. Marxism was the only philosophy that turned socialism from a utopia into a science and proved the inevitability of the doom of capitalism and the triumph of communism.

Leninism is the natural continuation of Marxism, the highest stage of its development. Lenin's greatest service was that he not only upheld Marxism from opportunists and revisionists of all hues but also all-sidedly developed it in line with the new historical epoch, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Lenin generalized the experience of the world revolutionary movement, brought to light the law of the uneven, sporadic development of capitalism and drew the conclusion that socialism could triumph initially in a few or even in one country. He made a profound study of the laws of the socialist revolution, defined its

* **Pravda**, April 23, 1968.

motive forces and developed the Marxist teaching on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the forms of this dictatorship, and the further advance of the Soviet state towards communism.

He set a classical example of how to combine theory with practice, and created and moulded a Party of a new type, a Party of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, a Party of builders of socialism and communism.

Led by the Leninist Party, our country has registered impressive achievements. It has entered a new phase of its history and is confidently advancing towards communism.

GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR— TRIUMPH OF LENINISM

Comrades, this year we celebrate Lenin's birthday in an atmosphere marked by a tremendous upsurge of the creative activity of our people. Some months ago our country commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The celebrations of that anniversary were of enormous international significance. They showed the vast prestige enjoyed by our country and the growth of its influence on world politics and on the development of progressive processes in the life of mankind. They were a demonstration of the mighty forces of socialism, of the unity and solidarity of the peoples of our country, of their devotion to the cause of Lenin, to the cause of communism. The whole world sees that at the head of the working masses, the Communists have, as Lenin predicted, not only won Russia from the capitalists and landowners but turned her into one of the mightiest and most flourishing powers on earth, into a country that heads social progress.

The results of the Soviet people's half-century of struggle and achievement were profoundly analyzed in a speech delivered at the anniversary meeting on November 3, 1967 by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. These results convincingly prove that the cause of socialism, launched and implemented under the leadership of the Leninist Party, has triumphed in our country fully and for all time. The grandeur of the road that has been traversed and the monumental nature of the changes that have been accomplished become all the more striking if we bear in mind that our people had to surmount the grim heritage of economic and cultural backwardness, experience years of dislocation, famine, civil war and intervention, and bear the brunt of the war against nazism.

The difficult but honorable task of blazing the road to socialism fell to the Leninist Party and the Soviet people. Every step made by our country was a quest, and every advance was achieved in

bitter struggle against internal and external enemies. These conditions brought to the fore the daring and wisdom of the Party of Lenin, its ability to use the experience and creative energy of the working masses to determine and resolve the problems on which depended the revolution's development.

Fulfilment of Lenin's plan of industrialization was of paramount importance to the building of socialism. Lenin had pointed out that before the new society could be built there had to be large-scale socialist industry equipped with modern machinery. Using the advantages of the socialist system, the Party mobilized the masses for this task. Through the efforts of the Party and the people a versatile modern industry was built in our country within a short span of time. During Soviet years industrial output increased 73-fold. Today our industry is able to tackle the most intricate scientific, technical and economic tasks.

Implementation of Lenin's co-operative plan was a major gain of socialism. The collective-farm system changed the way of life in the countryside, remaking the labor and everyday life of tens of millions of peasants along socialist lines. It gave broad scope to the development of the productive forces in agriculture. The collective and state farms now have 1,700,000 tractors, hundreds of thousands of harvester-combines and large numbers of other modern machines. Since the establishment of Soviet power agricultural output has nearly trebled.

If the Party had not carried through a deep-going cultural revolution it would have been impossible to build socialism. The scale of the mammoth work accomplished in this field is shown by the fact that on the eve of the October Revolution nearly three-quarters of Russia's population were illiterate. Tody illiteracy is non-existent; more than half of the gainfully employed population has a secondary or higher education. As Lenin had foreseen, our country now occupies a leading place in the world for the level of education and culture.

Soviet science has reached great heights. The achievements of Soviet scientists in exploring and harnessing outer space and in promoting many important trends in mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology and other branches of knowledge have won worldwide recognition. Science is increasingly serving our country's economic development.

The cultural revolution created fertile soil for the blossoming of literature and art on the basis of a combination of communist ideals with artistic mastery. The finest works of Soviet writers, composers and artists mirror the cultural wealth of our people, further the communist education of the working people and are a valuable contribution to the treasure-store of world culture.

Industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution are

components of Lenin's plan of building socialism in the USSR. Materialization of this plan has brought about vital social and economic changes in our country. Ours was the first country in history to eradicate all forms of oppression of man by man and to build a social system founded on friendship and alliance between the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. A new type of democracy—democracy for the masses, for the working people—emerged, and unprecedented ideological and political unity of the Soviet people took shape.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, created with Lenin's direct participation, has welded together the peoples of our country into a friendly and indivisible family. The great Leninist ideas serve as the binding element of the Soviet peoples' fraternal co-operation. Our Party takes pride in the achievements of its Leninist national policy which in the process of building socialism and communism has united people of various races and of many nations and nationalities into one monolithic society.

The triumph of socialism brought the working people the joy of free and creative work, a sense of security, collectivism, comradeship and a steady rise of the living and cultural standard.

Today, when in our country socialism has matured, our Party, guided by Lenin's teaching, is directing the people's energy towards the building of communism. Economic development is the cardinal factor in the drive towards communism.

Drawing on the Leninist principles of socialist economic management, the Party is improving planning methods as well as the system of management and incentives in order to secure still faster rates of production growth, to introduce more efficiency in production, to speed up scientific and technological progress and, on that basis, to achieve a faster rise of the standard of living.

The decisions adopted at the 23rd Party Congress and at plenary meetings of the CC CPSU provide models of a Leninist, strictly scientific handling of urgent problems of economic development. They charted a new approach to economic management and the basic principles of economic policy at the present stage of our development.

The new system of industrial management, planning and material incentives has had a beneficial impact on our economy. This is shown by the results of the first years of the current five-year plan, the most noteworthy being the acceleration of the rate of our economic growth.

Industrial output has risen approximately 20 per cent during the first two years of this plan. The targets of the first three months of this year have been successfully reached. Output is growing faster than envisaged by the 23rd Party Congress's Directives on the five-year plan. Quality indices are also improving. Labor pro-

ductivity is growing faster than before in industry, building and transport, and the profitability of production is on the upgrade.

Major qualitative changes have been taking place in recent years in the technical equipment of our industry. Under the current five-year plan nearly 100,000 million rubles' worth of fixed assets have been commissioned; this is almost as much as has been put in operation during the two postwar five-year plans combined. In the past two years we have built and commissioned nearly 800 large factories fitted with the latest equipment. Power output in this period has grown by 80,000 million kwh; this is more than the country's entire power output in 1949.

Last year our industry designed and manufactured more than 3,000 new types of modern machines, equipment and apparatuses and nearly 1,500 types of instruments. The iron and steel industry has exceeded the 100 million ton mark in the output of steel, while the oil industry will this year produce more than 300 million tons of oil. This is evidence of the industrial maturity and might of the world's first socialist state, and it provides the basis for raising the scientific and technological level of Soviet industry still higher.

Our country is working on a huge program of capital construction. We are now able to build giants like the Krasnoyarsk Hydropower Station each of whose 10 turbines has almost the capacity of the Dnieper Hydropower Station, the Krivoi Rog blast furnace with an annual output capacity of 1,700,000 tons of pig iron, the longest gas pipe-line in the world, which runs from Central Asia to the Central regions, and mammoth engineering plants, oil refineries, chemical factories and textile mills.

The new approach to economic management has had a beneficial effect on agriculture. Compared with the previous five-year plan period, the average annual output of agriculture in the first two years of the current five-year plan has increased 17 per cent. The farm produce purchases plan is being overfulfilled this year. The Party is consistently pursuing its policy of bringing agriculture up to the level of socialist industry in labor productivity and technical equipment. The collective and state farms have been consolidated economically during the past few years as a result of carrying out the decisions of the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee. Conditions have been created for increasing the profitability of all branches of agriculture and surmounting the lag of the weaker farms.

It will be recalled that 1967 was not an easy year for tillers of the soil. Yet the collective and state farms grew a good harvest, giving the country about 150 millions tons of grain. There has been a growth of the output and purchases of meat, milk, wool, eggs and other produce.

The availability of modern machines and trained personnel in

agriculture is now enabling us to begin long-term programs of land reclamation and improvement, using more chemicals and enhancing farm efficiency. These are precisely the vehicles through which the Party aims to boost labor productivity in agriculture and to secure stable bumper harvests of all crops and a high productivity in livestock-breeding. The Party perseveringly works on the important social task of erasing the essential distinctions between town and country, consistently raising the material and cultural level of the rural population and bringing this level up to that of the urban population.

Lenin said that the "supreme goal of socialism is to ensure the well-being and all-sided development of all members of society," that only the transition to socialism gives rise to the possibility of really subordinating social production and the distribution of products to the interests of the working people on a countrywide scale.

True to Lenin's behests, our Party is tirelessly working to raise the people's standard of living. Economic progress has made it possible to take a further major step towards the solution of this important problem. The growth of branches of production directly satisfying the requirements of Soviet people has been considerably accelerated in recent years.

Per capita real incomes have risen more than 12 per cent during the past two years. This year the incomes of the population are to rise by a total of more than 6,000 million rubles as a result alone of the higher wages, the improved pension scheme and the wider range of allowances envisaged by the decisions adopted by the CC CPSU at its plenary meeting in September 1967. This increase nearly equals the state allocations for these purposes during the preceding five-year period.

The rate of housing construction has grown. More than 200 million square metres of living space have been built in 1966 and 1967 alone; this has allowed improving the housing of many millions of people.

Working conditions and facilities for recreation are being steadily improved. More than 75 per cent of the industrial and office workers have been switched to a five-day working week with two days off. This has made it possible to improve the organization of recreation and study and, at the same time, to improve the organization of labor and production.

All of us rejoice over these achievements in economic development and the standard of living. They embody Lenin's ideas, the will of our Party and the dedicated labor of the Soviet people. At the same time, there is still much to be done to consolidate and develop these successes and to carry out the plans charted by the Party. And these plans are not small. To implement them it will

require a fuller utilization of the potentialities of socialist economy and a further improvement of the work of all its branches.

In face of rapid technological progress we cannot, for example, tolerate a situation where the designing and use of new machinery are delayed or where the machines and equipment supplied to the economy do not always meet present-day technological standards. The building of industrial, cultural and service establishments is dragged out, investments are scattered on numerous projects and there are instances of low quality work.

The building of new enterprises and the commissioning of new capacities must be speeded up. We must increase investment returns, obtain the greatest possible returns from each ruble invested into fixed assets. Labor productivity must be steadily boosted, the management of enterprises must be improved and the achievements of science and technology must be introduced into production more quickly.

There are large reserves in agriculture. These can be tapped chiefly by making better use of the land, enhancing efficiency, achieving a growth of crop yields and of livestock-breeding and further strengthening the economy of the collective and state farms.

In all spheres of the economy the organization of production and labor must be improved and the most productive use made of the five-day working week. This will require more activity and a higher sense of responsibility on the part of every enterprise and of all Soviet people, and a higher standard of educational work among the working people.

Today when we are completing the economic reform more concern must be shown for improving work under the new conditions, for educating industrial and office workers in a spirit of a communist attitude to work, for raising conscious discipline and for combating every manifestation of disorganization and slackness. "The communist organization of social labor, the first step towards which is socialism," Lenin underlined, "rests, and will do so more and more as time goes on, on the free and conscious discipline of the working people themselves." (*Collected Works,* Vol. 29, p. 420.)

In conditions of profound economic changes a correct utilization of material and moral incentives in the assessment of labor acquires great significance. Under socialism these incentives do not clash but, on the contrary, supplement each other. The new reform and the achievement of a further upsurge in all branches of the economy largely depend on how they are combined.

It is necessary to foster in every Soviet citizen a sense of public duty, instil in him lofty ideals, and a feeling of responsibility for the common cause, for the fulfilment of economic and cultural plans. As it draws broad masses into active participation in the building of communism, and into the administration of state and

public affairs, the Party takes care to make every working man capable of taking part in political and state activity, and consistently develops and perfects Soviet democracy.

The Soviet man has matured and become steeled in the half-century of revolutionary changes. He has learned and acquired much. Communist conviction and revolutionary energy, high culture and moral purity, thirst for knowledge and public activity—are all embodied in the advanced Soviet man.

The working people of our country are steadfastly executing the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the Party. The mighty upsurge in the political and labor activity of the masses, their selfless work for the pre-schedule fulfilment of the five-year plan mirror the proprietory interest of the Soviet people in multiplying the wealth of their country, their lofty patriotism.

Lenin was absolutely justified in his belief in the revolutionary energy and creative capabilities of our people—the first builders of socialism who are now in the vanguard in the fight for freedom, peace and the happiness of all working people.

Today there is every reason to say that the road we have traversed in the past half century is evidence of the triumph of Lenin's great ideas of building a mighty Soviet state which is confidently advancing towards communism, the bright future of all mankind.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE CPSU FOR THE LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

Comrades, our Party's multifarious activity in guiding communist construction is closely bound with its foreign policy. It was Lenin who elaborated the internationalist principles and the main line of the CPSU foreign policy. The half century history of the land of Soviets shows that the CPSU is undeviatingly loyal to the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism. These principles have been and remain the basis of the foreign policy of our Party and the Soviet state.

Lenin trusted that the cause of emancipating the world proletariat, of all mankind, would be taken up and continued by the working class and the revolutionary forces of other countries, that socialism and communism would achieve a worldwide victory. Life itself has convincingly proved the correctness of his prediction.

Under the influence of Marxism-Leninism, under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution radical changes have taken place in the world. More than a third of mankind has already taken the socialist road. The colonial system of imperialism has crumbled and new independent states have emerged on its ruins. The working class movement in the capitalist countries is becoming stronger and

its influence is growing. As a result of all these changes it is no longer imperialism but socialism, the anti-imperialist forces that shape the principal content and the chief trend of social development.

Consistently safeguarding the principles of proletarian internationalism from attacks by all sorts of social-chauvinists and ultra-left doctrinarians, Lenin precisely formulated the strategical course aimed at achieving the international unity of the working class and all revolutionary forces. From these positions he elaborated the fundamental laws of the world revolutionary process and equipped Marxist-Leninist Parties with the theory of socialist revolution that conforms to the conditions of the contemporary epoch.

Today Lenin's ideas are embodied in the communist construction in the USSR, in the world socialist community, and in the revolutionary struggle of the anti-imperialist forces. The revolutionary transformations that have taken place in the world over the past 50 years strikingly demonstrate the triumph of the internationalist principles of Leninism.

The course of world developments is furnishing ever new proof that socialism, the anti-imperialist forces, are conducting an historical offensive. But it has to be taken into account that the balance of forces in favor of socialism is achieved and preserved by determined class struggle. No sooner is pressure weakened on one or another sector of the anti-imperialist front and revolutionary vigilance relaxed than there appears a real threat of reaction assuming the counter-offensive.

Developments of the past years leave no doubt that imperialism has no desire to surrender its positions. Here and there it carries out a "test of strength" in an effort to sound out a "weak spot" in our ranks. Having lost hope of getting the best of socialism through frontal attack, the imperialists, by effecting the so-called strategy of "rolling back communism," have not given up their aims and have only changed their methods of struggle. They do not shun any means to weaken individual revolutionary contingents, as can be seen from the US aggression in Vietnam, Israel's attack on Arab countries, the counter-revolutionary putsch in Greece, encouragement of the Bonn revanchists and imperialism's increasing intrigues in Asia and Africa.

An important place in the designs of the imperialist strategists is assigned to the plans of "building bridges" into socialist countries, as imperialism's supporters have christened the plans of ideological subversion against world socialism. The principal stake here is made on the revisionist, nationalist and politically immature elements. Bourgeois propaganda praises these elements, and portrays them as heroes. The ideologists of anti-communism admit

that this publicity is aimed at encouraging activity which could lead to the "erosion" of socialism, to disintegrate it from within and in the long run result in the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries.

There is no doubt that this aim of imperialism will be defeated like all the preceding ones. The Soviet people and the peoples of other socialist countries have firmly and for all time linked their future with socialism and communism. And they will let no one make them deviate from this road.

International reactionary forces are making enormous efforts to weaken the unity of the socialist system and the international communist movement. In this respect a special service is being rendered to imperialism by the anti-Leninist, nationalist, splitting course of Mao Tse-tung's group.

In view of this our Party considers it its duty to do all it can to strengthen the unity of all revolutionary forces and to frustrate the imperialist designs.

The building of communist society is our main contribution to the development of the world revolutionary process. The achievements of the USSR and other socialist countries in economy and culture, in raising the welfare of the people, multiply the force of attraction of socialism, of communist ideas. At the same time these successes increase our defense potential and provide the material means for bridling the imperialist aggressors and are a reliable mainstay of the peace-loving forces working to prevent another world war. Our Party faithfully fulfils Lenin's behest—to attain the maximum of what can be achieved in one country for furthering and promoting the cause of world socialist revolution. This Leninist internationalist line is precisely formulated in the decsions of the 23rd Congress of the Party and the Plenums of the CC CPSU.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union views the consolidation of the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, the strengthening of their friendship and fraternity as one of its most important political tasks. The Central Committee of the CPSU pays constant attention to fostering co-operation between the USSR and other socialist states which develops on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism and fraternal assistance, equality and sovereignty. In their creative work the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries are applying their accumulated experience and achieving ever new successes in the building of socialism.

Our Party believes that now, as never before, there is need for unity of the countries of the socialist community, for a combination of the national interests of each fraternal country with the common interests of the world socialist system and the international communist movement.

Life shows that today the economic, political and military might

of the countries of the socialist community and their joint efforts on the international scene are increasingly influencing the course of world developments. This was once again vividly manifested at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Countries which took place at the beginning of March.

The world public welcomed with satisfaction the Declaration passed by the Meeting concerning the threat to peace arising from the expansion of US aggression in Vietnam. Resolutely condemning the barbarous actions of US imperialism, the Warsaw Treaty countries once again voted their fraternal solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people. They reiterated that they will continue to render full support and all necessary assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The fortitude and heroism of Vietnamese patriots who have recently delivered new crushing blows on the interventionists have evoked the admiration of all progressive mankind. The great exploit of the Vietnamese people is yet another indication that in our epoch the cause of freedom and national independence is invincible.

The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, as is known, discussed all aspects of another important issue, that of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The signing by six countries of the Declaration on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is a substantial contribution of the socialist countries to the cause of easing world tension and a manifestation of their inflexible determination jointly with all freedom-loving forces to curb the forces of war and aggression.

An important event was the meeting of leading officials of Communist and Workers' parties and governments of six socialist countries held in Dresden a month ago at which the international situation and urgent problems of political and economic development of socialist countries were discussed.

This meeting is yet another demonstration of the singlehearted will of the fraternal parties to further strengthen the world socialist community of countries which build their relations on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our Party attaches particular significance to mobilizing the broad masses for a decisive rebuff to imperialism's aggressive actions. The Soviet Union is furnishing every political, economic and, if need be, military assistance to the peoples whose freedom and independence is threatened by imperialism.

Soviet people are determinedly supporting the peoples of the Arab countries that have have suffered from Israeli aggression. Israel's militaristic circles are fulfilling the infamous mission of mercenaries of world reaction which is endeavoring to overthrow anti-imperialist regimes and assert neo-colonialist practices. Developments in the Arab East show that by strengthening their fraternal

alliance with the forces of the world socialist system the Arab peoples are proving capable of safeguarding their independence, frustrating the revanchist plans of the colonialists and achieving fresh successes in the fight for social progress.

Our Party's policy of supporting the national-liberation struggle, of promoting all-round co-operation with the developing countries that are fighting against neo-colonialism, for independence and social progress, embodies Lenin's idea of uniting the international working class, the countries of the victorious proletariat and the revolutionary movement of peoples oppressed by imperialism.

Today, as never before, internationalism is closely connected with an active and resolute struggle for peace. Working for the unity of the revolutionary forces the CPSU is consistently pursuing the Leninist course of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. This policy, conforming as it does to the vital interests of peoples, is playing a tremendous role in mobilizing the broadest masses for the fight against imperialism.

One of the most important sectors of the campaign for peace is the struggle to safeguard European security. The CPSU together with other European Communist and Workers' Parties is putting through the program worked out by Communists at the 1967 Karlovy Vary Conference. Our uncompromising line with regard to Bonn's revanchist claims promotes healthy trends in international policy and strengthens European peace.

Comrades, imperialism's current policy aimed at dividing and splitting different contingents of the world liberation movement and inflicting local blows on separate sectors of the anti-imperialist front poses as the central task the issue of unity and coordinated actions of the revolutionary forces. This is a vast problem. Revolutionary contingents, operating in the most diverse conditions, differ from each other both as regards the composition of their social forces and the concrete tasks they are tackling. Therefore the forms of unity and co-ordination of action must be sufficiently flexible.

Equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory—a powerful instrument for scientifically analyzing reality—the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world can today provide the answer to the vital problems of the age, and help other contingents of the world liberation movement to find correct bearings and more effective forms and methods of struggle. Hence the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement, the vanguard in mankind's liberation struggle, is the major, the decisive condition for successfully repelling imperialism's counter-attacks and developing the offensive of all revolutionary forces.

From the very outset our Party has carried high the banner of international unity of the revolutionary forces of the working class. "We are proud," Lenin wrote, "that we settle the great prob-

lems of the workers' struggle for their emancipation by submitting to the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat with due account of the experience of the workers in different countries, reckoning with their knowledge and their will, and thus giving effect in deed . . . to the unity of the workers' class struggle for communism throughout the world." *(Collected Works,* Vol. 31, p. 269).

The CPSU, together with the other fraternal Parties, is actively working for closer unity of the communist ranks. It will be recalled that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been persistently advocating the convocation of an International Meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties. The results of the Consultative Conference in Budapest showed that this stand of the CPSU coincides with the stand of the overwhelming majority of the world's Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Consultative Conference was a striking expression and development of the main tendency in the international communist movement, the tendency to unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. A major practical step was taken towards convening an International Meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties. It is beyond doubt that the new Meeting will be an effective means for strengthening the communist movement, for rallying together all the forces of democracy and socialism.

The recent Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, having heard and discussed the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, on Urgent Problems of the International Situation and the Struggle of the CPSU for the Unity of the World Communist Movement, fully approved the political line and practical activity of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in international affairs and in the world communist movement. The Plenary Meeting highly assessed the results of the Consultative Conference in Budapest, the activity of the CPSU delegation at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Sofia and especially emphasized the importance of the Dresden meeting held by the Party leaders and heads of governments of six socialist countries. The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee stressed that the CPSU would continue the policy of resolutely rebuffing imperialism and preventing a world war, the policy of consolidating the socialist community and welding together the communist movement.

Our Party and the people warmly approve and support the decisions taken by the Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee, the foreign policy of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government and the measures for consolidating the unity of the socialist countries and the international communist

movement. Soviet men and women are responding to the decisions of the Plenary Meeting by new labor achievemnts.

The entire activity of the Central Committee of the CPSU in foreign affairs strikingly demonstrates that our Party is unswervingly adhering to the Leninist principles of foreign policy, to the Leninist ideas of the fraternity of Communists of all countries, to the great principles of proletarian internationalism.

THE LENINIST PARTY IS THE LEADING FORCE OF SOVIET SOCIETY

Comrades, the glorious fifty-year path traversed by the Land of Soviets conclusively confirmed an indisputable proposition of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine: the leading role of the Communist Party is the guarantee of all victories in the building of socialism and communism.

Lenin taught us that the new social system is created not spontaneously but by the conscious, purposeful work of the masses. However great the objective advantages of this system, they could not by themselves, automatically, without the correct policy of the Marxist-Leninist Party, ensure the victory of socialism and communism. Only a party armed with understanding of the aims and ways of struggle, with knowledge of the laws of social development, a party founded on the Leninist organizational principles, is capable of uniting the forces of the people for the successful accomplishment of economic and political tasks, of precisely determining the main trends of development and of imparting to all the work of building communism a purposeful, scientifically-based and planned character.

Today when the Soviet Land is tackling new historic tasks, the role and significance of the Communist Party are further enhanced. This is a natural phenomenon, which stems from the objective requirements of our society's development. The Communist Party, as behooves the political vanguard of the people, determines the most effective ways and methods of utilizing the advantages of socialism, puts on the order of the day the most urgent problems of building the new society and ensures their successful solution and rallies around its banner, around its program, the masses, many million strong. The working people of our country associate all their actions and thoughts, each step of their advance with the Leninist Party, with its general course charted in the Program of the CPSU, in the decisions of the 23rd Congress and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee.

The strength of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is above all rooted in fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, the greatest ideological banner of our epoch and the powerful instrument for the

revolutionary remaking of the world. Relying on advanced, revolutionary theory and creatively developing it as applied to the new conditions, the Party is cognizing ever deeper the laws of social development, is elaborating a realistic, scientifically-based policy to be applied in our country's economic, social and cultural life and also in the international arena.

Fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, irreconcilability in struggle against the enemies, clarity of aim and thorough knowledge of the ways of achieving it, a high sense of responsibility for the destinies of the people, the destinies of the country and profound understanding of its internationalist duty to all the working people of the world—this is what characterizes the CPSU. The intellect, honor and conscience of our epoch—this is what Lenin called our Party, and it has always creditably lived up to this high appraisal of its founder, teacher and leader.

The strength of the Communist Party is rooted in its vital and indivisible bond with the people, with the broadest working masses. Our Party, with the constant support of the masses and their active participation, traversed a great path from scattered Marxist groups and circles which appeared in Russia in the last decades of the 19th century, to the great organization which guides the first socialist state in the world. From a "kernel," as Lenin called our Party in the first Soviet years, it turned into a mighty force of our age which counts in its ranks more than 13 million Communists. The growth of our Party's ranks reflects its high prestige among the masses, their trust in its policy, the striving of Soviet people to link their life with the Party ideologically and organizationally, to dedicate themselves to the revolutionary struggle for the remaking of society, for the victory of communism.

The Communist Party is indefatigably strengthening the alliance of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry, the friendship of the peoples of our country and the moral and political unity of Soviet society. The unbreakable unity of the Party and the people is the reliable foundation of the Soviet system's vitality, of the prosperity of our great socialist Homeland and of the coming triumph of communism.

The strength of the Communist Party is rooted in the monolithic unity of its ranks, the high political consciousness, organization and discipline of its members. The Party scored, and is scoring, all its successes thanks to the strict observance of the principle of democratic centralism. The essence of this principle consists in that it organically combines democracy with centralism, the activity of the Party rank and file with firm discipline, the right of the Communists to discuss and decide all problems of Party life with the duty unconditionally to carry out adopted decisions. The Party acts on the principle that democracy and centralism are two sides

of a single and inseparable whole, that we must not tolerate either spontaneity, limitless decentralization and reducing the role of the Party to the level of a political educational organization or bureaucratic centralization, which signifies the abolition of inner-Party democracy and the undermining of collective Party leadership.

Faced with intricate political and organizational problems of communist construction, our Party is constantly improving the forms and methods of its activity and is advancing highly competent personnel devoted to the cause of communism to leading posts in various sectors of Party and state activity, is taking the necessary measures so that guidance of the masses measures up to the requirements of our time. The Party pays constant attention to the strict observance of the Leninist standards of Party life and principles of Party leadership, to raising the efficiency and improving the work of all Party organizations from top to bottom; it attaches great significance to the stimulation of business-like and principled criticism and self-criticsm.

Improving inner-Party democracy in every way, reinforcing the principle of collective leadership and stimulating the initiative and activity of the Communists, the Party at the same time constantly strengthens discipline within is ranks. It acts on the principle that real democracy expresses the will of the majority, that, allowing within the Party freedom of opinion in discussing some or other questions, "we are not obliged," as Lenin taught us, "to go hand in hand with active preachers of views that are repudiated by the majority of the Party." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 409.)

Unbreakable ideological and organizational unity of the Party is the fountain-head of its invincibility, a guarantee of the successful accomplishment of the great tasks of communist construction. This was demonstrated with renewed force at the meetings of Party organizations at the end of last year, at which reports were heard and elections were held, and at the district, city, regional and territorial Party conferences which took place recently. They were a militant review of our successes scored in the course of implementing the decisions of the 23rd CPSU Congress, they became a genuine school in Party democracy and turned into a report of the Party to the people. At the meetings and conferences the Communists defined the ways for further improving the organizational and political work of the Party organizations and outlined the tasks of raising their role in economic and cultural development.

The responsibility of Party organizations, of every Communist for carrying out the Leninist plans, for fulfilling the program of communist construction, is enhanced now as never before. The role of state and mass organizations of the Soviet people—Soviets, trade unions, Komsomol, creative unions of intellectuals and other societies—also rises considerably.

The entire experience of our Party shows that the theoretical training of Communists, their ideological schooling and conviction, are an indispensable prerequisite for the successful solution of the tasks of communist construction. Lenin attached tremendous significance to the political education of the Party members. "The purpose of political culture, of political instruction," he said, "is to train genuine Communists capable of stamping out falsehood and prejudices and helping the working masses to vanquish the old system and build up a state without capitalists, without exploiters and without landowners." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 368-369.)

Our Party constantly sees to the moulding of the scientific world outlook of Soviet people, educates them in the spirit of adherence to the communist ideals and communist conviction.

It is necessary constantly to bear in mind that the communist education of the working people is carried on in our country in an intricate international situation marked not only by economic competition of the two opposite social systems but also by keen ideological struggle.

Bourgeois propaganda is exerting desperate efforts to discredit the Marxist-Leninist ideology, to undermine the unity of the socialist countries and the world communist movement and to denigrate the social and state system of the socialist countries, of the Soviet Union above all.

Our ideological enemies plan to influence the world outlook of weak, morally unstable and politically immature individuals. In face of the historic success of the new system anti-communism does not always venture to come out in the open, it acts cunningly and in a refined way, and under the guise of "championing freedom and democracy" seeks to poison the minds of the people.

We must energetically oppose any manifestation of bourgeois ideology, resolutely rebuff its intrigues and expose its falsity. "We must," Lenin taught us, "overcome resistance from the capitalists in all its forms, not only in the military and the political spheres, but also ideological resistance, which is the most deep-seated and the strongest." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 370.)

Vigilantly watching the subversive activities of imperialist propaganda, Soviet citizens declare: never shall our enemies succeed in weakening the unbreakable unity of the people and their Communist Party, the unity which is an earnest of all our victories in the struggle for the great cause of communism.

* * *

Comrades,

Now that they have entered the second half-century of the Soviet states, our people continue to follow the historic path of struggle

and constructive endeavor, firmly confident of the complete and final triumph of communism. The Soviet people and the Communist Party draw this unshakeable faith, ideological conviction and titanic spiritual strength from the victorious, immortal Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Celebration of the 98th anniversary of Lenin's birth coincides with another memorable date: May 5 is the sesquicentennial of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, brilliant thinker, teacher and leader of the international proletariat and fervent revolutionary.

Tremendous changes have taken place in the world in the century and a half since Marx was born. Gone forever is the period in history when capitalism ruled the world undividedly. A new period has set in marked by the complete, final victory of socialism in the USSR, the formation and strengthening of the world socialist forces and the break-up of imperialism's colonial system.

"Since the appearance of Marxism, each of the three great periods of world history has brought Marxism new confirmation and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctrine of the proletariat, in the coming period of history." *(Collected Works,* Vol. 18, p. 585.) These words of Lenin, which have fully come true, ring out today as never before.

Vladimir Lenin, the great continuer of Marx's cause, embodied in his theoretical and practical activity the living soul of Marxism, its inexhaustible creative potentialities. Leninism has become for our Party, for the entire Soviet people a genuine science of victory, a reliable compass in solving urgent problems of communist construction.

The year 1970, the centenary of Lenin's birth, will be a historic landmark on our road to communism. All Soviet people, all progressive mankind, are looking forward to this memorable anniversary.

The working people of our country's cities and villages have raised aloft the banner of socialist emulation and are energetically working to meet the centenary of Lenin's birth in a worthy manner, to complete the five-year plan ahead of time, by November 7, 1970. This emulation is of exceptional importance for successfully carrying out the decisions of the 23rd CPSU Congress, for accelerating our country's economic growth rates and raising the might of the Soviet state.

The name of the great Lenin is close and dear to the hearts of the working people the world over. The fraternal socialist countries, the world working class and the national-liberation movement, are marching, together with us, in serried international ranks under the banner of Leninism. The forces of communism are inexhaustible,

life's truth is on its side, and ever new millions of energetic fighters are rallying under its triumphant banner.

Long live Marxism-Leninism—the immortal all-conquering revolutionary doctrine!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is confidently leading the Soviet people along the Leninist course, to the victory of communism!

SPEECH* BY WLADYSLAW GOMULKA

AT A MEETING WITH WARSAW PARTY WORKERS

Dear Comrades,

Important events have taken place in our country during the last ten days. A considerable part of the student youth in Warsaw and other university centers were misled, and forces hostile to socialism pushed them on to the wrong path. These forces sowed the seeds of adventurist anarchy among students and incited them to break the law. By organizing provocations, they worked up the minds of part of the youth and tried to bring about clashes and bloodshed in the streets.

The students' illegal meetings and street demonstrations made people everywhere wonder what was the matter—why the students were coming out against the state authorities.

Taking advantage of the confusion caused by demonstrations and other illegal student actions, hooligans came out into the streets almost at the same time. Their excesses in Warsaw, for example, have been reported by the press.

All this deeply agitated public opinion. A particularly sharp stand against those who disturb public order, against the inspirers and organizers of illegal student actions was taken by the working class. A wave of mass meetings and other gatherings swept the country, with thousands of workers, of inhabitants of town and country, demanding that those responsible for the existing state of affairs be unmasked before the people and that the guilty be severely punished. The state authorities and Party Committees are being criticized for tolerating anti-socialist, reactionary activities, for showing leniency to the enemies of our system.

At the same time university students are adopting resolutions which illustrate their state of mind and the level of their capacity for political thinking. When comparing the contents of the majority of the students' resolutions with the resolutions adopted by workers and by mass meetings of the working people one might come to the conclusion that there is a line of political division between the workers as a class and the students as a whole. But such a conclusion would be completely wrong. That is not where the dividing line runs.

In the events which have taken place in our country, the dividing line runs between socialism and every kind of reaction, between

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* **Pravda,** March 22, 1968.

the policy of Polish-Soviet friendship and the anti-Soviet policy of reactionary bankrupts, of the reactionary riff-raff, between the policy ensuring Poland the security of her frontiers and all-round development, and attempts to push Poland on to the road of ruin. The fundamental difference between the workers' resolutions and the resolutions adopted by students is that the workers were quick to see the real dividing line while some of the students let themselves be misled by a handful of reactionary, anti-Soviet individuals.

Things have gone so far that they must be fully presented to the public. Nothing may be passed over in silence now. Besides, we have no reason to dodge a public examination of the political phenomena that have arisen. Indeed, it is our duty. We must make these phenomena the subject of a public forum, must discuss them, must analyze and criticize them extensively. Only through such an operation can the ulcer of reaction be cut open.

The leadership of the Party, on whose behalf I am speaking, cannot yet pose, let alone develop, all the problems making up the phenomena in question. This requires time and a thorough analysis of developments. We shall certainly do this during the campaign of preparations for the Fifth Congress of the Party. But we must begin today, if only on a modest scale, since it is a question of appraising people's attitudes.

We want, first of all, to tell the people how these events began. I am going to draw on facts and documents. Taking things chronologically, I shall quote the main contents of the resolution adopted by a majority of votes at the meeting of the Warsaw section of the Polish Writers' Union. The resolution reads as follows:

"The Polish writers gathered on February 29, 1968, at a general extraordinary meeting . . . perturbed by the ban on further performance of Mickiewicz's 'Dziady' at the Teatr Narodowy, state:

"For a long time there has been increasing interference by the authorities exercising the guidance of cultural activities and artistic endeavor. This interference applies not only to the contents of literary productions, but also their distribution and to the reaction of public opinion to them.

"This state of affairs endangers national culture, hampers its development, deprives it of its authentic character and dooms it to progressing futility. The ban on 'Dziady' is a particularly obvious example of this."

The resolution ends with the demand that the performance of 'Dziady' be resumed. Out of the 431 persons who attended the meeting, 356 participated in the voting. The resolution was sup-

ported by 221 votes and the resolution moved by the Party organization by 124 votes.

According to the position taken in the former resolution, the ban on "Dziady" as staged by Kazimierz Dejmek is a glaring example of all the "deadly sins" that have allegedly burdened the conscience of the Party and the state authorities for many years in directing cultural activity. Hence there is a need for a public confession of this "deadly sin," for an explanation of this "particularly glaring example" of "coercing and hampering the development of national culture."

Let us look at the truth, at the facts.

In the post-war period, Mickiewicz's works have appeared in a total of about 9,000,000 copies. Last year, the third part of "Dziady" appeared in 150,000 copies and this year it is planned to issue four of Mickiewicz's works in a total of 400,000 copies. Since 1955, seventeen stagings of Mickiewicz's "Dziady" have been seen by the Polish people, including some excellent stagings on radio and television. The best stagings have had a record number of performances. In 1965 six theatres prepared new stagings of "Dziady" to mark the 200th anniversary of the National Theatre. At the beginning of 1966 several productions of "Dziady" were shown in Warsaw with the participation of theatre companies from outside Warsaw.

Such is the truth about this "glaring example" of the policy of the Party and the state authorities, a policy which "endangers national culture." Did not the writers who voted for the resolution in question realize what they were voting for? There must have been such people among them but I would not make this charge against the authors of the resolution and there were several of them.

It is now ncessary to reply to the questions why was Dejmek's staging of "Dziady" closed at the Teatr Narodowy? Why was it that so many other stagings ran without any obstacles being put in their way while Dejmek's staging gave rise to protest?

This is a field far removed from me. I simply do not know what a stage director may or may not do when he takes the material of a writer into his hands to shape it for the stage. I do not know whether a stage director has the right to introduce into the text spoken on the stage the dedication given by the author. I do not know whether a stage director may make the actors stand facing the audience from the footlights, against the clearly expressed instructions of the author of the play. Nor do I know whether anybody has the right to introduce into a play accents, particularly accents of great dramatic force, that are completely lacking in the work of the author. All this was done in Dejmek's staging of "Dziady". Let experts discuss these subjects. But even if some authority on the subject had stated that Dejmek had the right to

make all these changes in Mickiewicz's "Dziady," the authorities supervising cultural activity could not have closed their eyes to what happened at the performances of Dejmek's staging of "Dziady." For those performances of Dejmek's production became a springboard for political demonstrations of an anti-Soviet character.

We are not going to speak of the epoch in which Mickiewicz wrote his works. To understand a performance of Mickiewicz's "Dziady" well, especially as staged by Dejmek, one must feel the epoch, and must not only know the past but, above all, want to separate it from the present. An enormous role is played in this by the stage director, by the staging, and acting is a very suggestive factor. It depends on this whether one understands or misunderstands the following stanzas from "Dziady" as recited from the stage of the Teatr Narodowy:

> "They'll make me free — where the news came from I do not know, but I know what freedom means if granted by Moscow scum, they will just take fetters off my hands and feet but shackle the soul."

Or the words spoken by the Russian officer to the Decembrist Bestuzhev:

> "No wonder we are being cursed here,
> A century has passed
> And Moscow has been giving Poland
> Nothing but blackguards."

It is these stanzas, specifically staged, that were received by a part of the audience with demonstrative applause. The constant repetitions of these demonstrations could not but lead to the closure of "Dziady." For a situation in which the anti-tsarist wedge of "Dziady" is transformed into an anti-Soviet weapon in the name of an abstract freedom, and freedom of staging, cannot be tolerated..

Mickiewicz's poetry was born of the struggle waged by patriotic youth against tsarist oppression, and the attempt to use his poetry to slander People's Poland is a political ruse, for it distorts the most profoundly democratic and progressive meaning of Mickiewicz's poetry. Mickiewicz has never been and will never be a banner for the reactionaries. From the epoch in which he wrote we are separated not only by almost one hundred and fifty years but also by the Great October Revolution which abolished tsarist oppression and restored independence to Poland. We are separated from that period by the great liberation war against German fascism, a war in which, on our soil alone, nearly 600,000 Soviet soldiers gave their lives for our freedom and independence. And if Mickiewicz had his equal in our times he would undoubtedly be inspired to

write an immortal epic dedicated to those who by sacrificing their lives and their blood, shed on Polish soil, saved the Polish nation from annihilation by the nazis.

Today, when the alliance with the Soviet Union and friendship with the socialist Russian nation are and will remain the foundation of Poland's security, independence and development, it is our duty, without distorting history—for we have no reason to distort it—to extirpate once and for all from people's minds the remnants of that old antagonism which has gone never to return, and not to strengthen or foment that antagonism. Such is the call of patriotism and internationalism, two traits which are among the noblest traditions of the Polish nation and the Polish working class.

Mickiewicz, too, was a patriot and internationalist of his times. We shall never agree to Mickiewicz being made a banner for anti-Soviet demonstrations.

When speaking of the reasons why Dejmek's "Dziady" was closed, it is worth adding that the production was to be dedicated, and was put on as a tribute of the Teatr Narodowy, to the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Once a decision of such dubious value was taken, everything should have been done in the production of this great national drama to bring out, above all, those elements of the play that stress the friendship and co-operation of Polish and Russian revolutionaries and democrats in the struggle against tsardom. But such was not the case. The course of festivities commemorating the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution in our country was marred by Dejmek's staging of "Dziady," which was used to undermine Polish-Soviet friendship.

The last performance of "Dziady," on January 30 last, ended with a frankly hostile political demonstration in the Teatr Narodowy and later in the streets of Warsaw, in which a group of students took part.

From what I have said one might think that the closure of Dejmek's "Dziady" was the reason for the convening of the extraordinary general meeting of the Warsaw section of the Polish Writers' Union, which led off the series of events that followed. But the truth is quite different. The closure of "Dziady" only served various retrograde forces hostile to Poland as a pretext for their dirty actions.

The intentions of those who organized the meeting of the Warsaw section of the Polish Writers' Union were shown not so much and not only by the resolution adopted, but above all by the course of the meeting, by the contents of a number of speeches made there. Those who demanded the convening of an extraordinary meeting of Warsaw writers were by no means interested in having the closure of "Dziady" explained. Their aim was to orga-

nize a demonstration of writers, to create an atmosphere of agitation and unrest and spread it beyond the writers' milieu. They wanted to foment a struggle against the leadership of our Party, against the government, against the people's power. They concealed their reactionary aims by the deceptive slogan of defense of the national culture.

The course of the Warsaw writers' meeting will have to be made public. The atmosphere of the meeting and its political meaning were best exemplified by Kisielewski's speech.

Here are some excerpts from that speech:

"It would, of course, be ridiculous to speak of nothing but 'Dziady' today. I could put it in sharp terms and say that if somebody who has been getting slaps in the face for 22 years suddenly takes offence in the 23rd year, there is something strange about it . . . What kind of history do our children learn at school? They learn plain nonsense . . . They don't hear of such a historian as Pobog-Malinowski . . . Wierzynski and Lechon have disappeared . . . We have disowned Czeslaw Milosz . . . Nothing is said about Stanislaw Kot . . . Marian Kukiel does not exist . . . There is not a word about such a writer as Nowaczynski, for he is a Right-Wing extremist . . . Matters are in the hands of ignoramuses vested with absolute, monopolistic power."

At the same meeting Kisielewski came out in defense of a certain Szpotanski who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for a reactionary squib breathing sadistic hatred for our Party and the organs of state power. That libel also contains pornographic filth which can be produced only by a man from the gutter, a man with the morality of a souteneur.

"I was present at the trial of Janusz Szpotanski as unofficial counsel for that young man," said Kisielewski to the writers. "That young man wrote a political skit which he recited in company over a glass of vodka . . . Since Szpotanski got three years we here, the 400 of us, might just as well get 1,200 altogether."

Kisielewski concluded his speech by saying he was "for the resolution submitted by Kijowski, which presents matters as a whole against the background of this scandalous dictatorship of ignoramuses in Polish cultural life."

It is clear to everybody who knows the names, activities and political stand of the people mentioned by Kisielewski in his speech that his ideal is the restoration of a bourgeois, anti-Soviet Poland. The Warsaw writers received his speech calmly. It is difficult to believe that in their presence and with their participation Kisielewski included in the heritage of Polish culture the works of Adolf Nowaczynski, this rabid Jew-baiter, breathing hatred for the Jews. During the inter-war years he published some dozen

books dealing with the struggle against the Jews. Adolf Nowaczynski's anti-semitic books bear the following titles: *An Anonymous Power, My Journey in Palestine, Mountains of Sand, Chaff and Pearls, For Women Only, Know Poznan, Guard on the Warta, Jews in Caricature,* etc. Is it possible that the Warsaw writers do not know that?

Time does not allow me to quote statements by other writers. Those writers—and they were in the majority at the meeting—who adopted the resolution in question, submitted by Kisielewski, Jasienica and several other co-authors, vied with one another in a sordid demagogy of abuse slandering everything that has been done in people's Poland for the development of national culture. They fiercely attacked the influence and the role of our state in cultural progress. The did not say a word about the thousands of millions of zlotys spent by the state for cultural purposes. Last year, subsidies to the theatres alone were close on 700,000,000 zlotys, of which 14,000,000 zlotys were spent on the Teatr Narodowy. The state pays an additional sum of about 70 zlotys for each seat in that theatre. The fact that large sums are transferred to the writers by the state through their union was passed over in silence. There is no doubt that many a writer who voted for the resolution of Jasienica, Kisielewski and company, a resolution slandering and abusing the cultural policy of the state, benefits from the grants given to the Writers' Union by the state. These grants and subsidies are a result of the work of the nation, the work of those whom Kisielewski, that enlightened enemy of People's Poland, contemptuously called ignoramuses.

Pawel Jasienica played one of the key roles in the preparations for the Warsaw Writers' Meeting and its course, as well as in instigating and organizing the student youth to come out allegedly in defense of "Dziady" and Mickiewicz's works. His real name is different—it is Leon Lech Bejnar. What sort of an individual is he?

Pawel Jasienica was arrested in Cracow in July 1948. It was proved during the trial that he had belonged to the Lupaszko Band which he had joined after deserting from the Polish Army and of which he had been a member until August 1945, being first aide-de-camp and later deputy commander of the band. The band was active in the Voivodship of Bialystok carrying out armed attacks on posts on the Citizens' Militia, units of the Polish Army and on civilians suspected of sympathy for the Polish Workers' Party.

Evidence collected during the investigation showed that in April 1945 Jasienica at the head of a group had carried out an attack on the locality of Narewka, disarming several militiamen, stealing arms from the militia post, murdering four members of the Polish Workers' Party and looting a cooperative shop. In the

same month the band led by Jasienica carried out a death sentence on an inhabitant of a village near Bialowieska forest and attacked a 20-member group of the Union of Fighting Youth who were undressed and severely beaten up. Also in April 1945, Jasienica and his group attacked the militia at Bocki, in the district of Bielsk Podlaski, and killed several functionaries. Moreover, Jasienica took part in burning a village inhabited by Belorussians in the region of Bialowiesko forest. Somewhat later he participated in an attack on a cooperative shop at Siemiatycze and in two attacks on units of the Polish Army and the Soviet Army. Over a dozen soldiers were killed in these attacks.

In the course of the investigation Jasienica admitted that he had been a member of the Lupaszko Band and had committed the crimes he was charged with.

On May 3, 1949, the proceedings against Jasienica were discontinued for reasons well known to him. He was released from prison.

It should be added that Lupaszko and many members of his band were arrested and sentenced to death by the court.

The leadership of our Party is of the opinion that the activities and stands of people who in the first period of People's Poland raised their hands against her should not be brought to light. The overwhelming majority of those people have long ago realized the mistakes of their past. They now live and work peacefully for the benefit of the country, for People's Poland. If we have departed from this principle today with regard to Jasienica, we have done so because this man has not renounced his past and still thinks in the old political categories.

Jasienica was very active at the Warsaw Writers' Meeting. At the very beginning he moved that the voting on the resolutions should be secret. The motion was carried. Jasienica and the other organizers of the meeting were not interested in Mickiewicz, for whom no secret voting is needed, especially among writers. Their aim was to launch a struggle against our Party, against the state authorities, and so they chose secret voting.

Jasienica has ample experience in clandestive activity, he knows how to organize a struggle against an adversary, and what methods and tactics should be applied at various stages of the struggle. He knows well the patriotic enthusiasm and especially the gullibility of the student youth. He therefore established contacts with various students, among others with Michnik. Speaking at the Warsaw Writers' Meeting, Jasienica said: "Not long ago the Sejm received a brief protest from Warsaw students containing no more than two or three sentences. The protest was signed by 3,140 people . . . These young people who (on January 30 this year) demonstrated against the closure of 'Dziady' are good young people who show that

they are interested in something more than their personal career." Jasienica was well informed. The petition sent to the Sejm by the Student Irena Lasota-Hirszowicz on February 16 bears in fact 3,145 signatures, of which only 1,469 are legible.

The instigators and organizers of anti-socialist moves advised the writers to vote in secret on the resolution but the students were advised to put their signatures to the text of the petition in legible form. Why? For the very simple reason that a collective signature creates ties of collective solidarity. In order to lead to the events that were to follow the organizers of the events deemed it proper to create this solidarity. Their reasoning boils down to this: the more the students fall foul of the state authorities, the more scared they will be, especially those who have signed the petition. And that is why they asked them to sign the petition, even though the overwhelming majority of those who signed either did not know what they were signing or put down their signatures in the best of faith not knowing the intentions and aims of the instigators and organizers of the action.

On March 6, Jasienica sent a letter, dated March 3, to the Rector of the University of Warsaw in defense of the students against whom disciplinary action had been taken for disturbing the peace. I will quote the letter in full:

"Professor Dr. Stanislaw Turski, Rector of the University of Warsaw

"The ban on further performances of Mickiewicz's 'Dziady', staged by Kazimirez Dejmek, has deeply shocked and embittered that part of the community which is not indifferent to the fate of national culture. The declaration adopted by the Extraordinary General Meeting of the Warsaw section of the Polish Writers' Union, held on February 29, described these bitter feelings as justified.

"The student youth were the first to protest against the ban, thus manifesting their civic stand. We are convinced that their action will be a valuable contribution to the history of higher schools in Warsaw.

"We have now learned that disciplinary proceedings have been instituted against several students.

"We appeal to you to condescend, by the power you have as Rector, to discontinue the disciplinary proceedings against those young people who, even though they may have violated the rules of public order, have proved themselves faithful to national and universal culture.

"Please accept expressions of our esteem."

The letter was drafted by Jasienica and Jan Jozef Lipski and signed, apart from Jasienica by Antoni Slonimski, M. Jastrun, M.

Wankowicz, T. Konwicki, J. Andrzejewski, A. Wazyk and J. Bochenski.

On March 3, over a dozen people gathered together in Jacek Kuron's flat. They were mostly students of Jewish origin known for their revisionist actions and opinions. During that meeting the problem of organizing a demonstration at Warsaw University on March 8 was discussed. The choice fell on that date because it is Women's Day, and this was expected to make it easier to organize the demonstration and sow confusion. A resolution to be presented at the university meeting was adopted. It demanded annulment of the disciplinary sanctions taken against Michnik and Szlajfer, who had been expelled from Warsaw University. The letter sent by Jasienica to the Rector of the University concerned the same problem. The action was closely coordinated.

It must be added that what finally led to the expulsion of Michnik and Szlajfer was the late in the evening of January 31 they secretly met the correspondent of a Western newspaper and gave him false information which was later used for a slanderous propaganda campaign against Poland.

On March 8, some 1,500 students gathered on the grounds of Warsaw University without permission from the university authorities. The course of the meeting was reported in the press. I would only like to recall that the more active elements imparted to the meeting an aggressive, law-breaking character. Slogans of a hostile and demagogic nature were advanced. Irena Lasota, whom I have already mentioned, read a resolution protesting against the expulsion of Michnik and Szlajfer and supporting the resolution of the Warsaw section of the Polish Writers' Union. The participants then went to the seat of the Rector. Professor Rybicki, Assistant Rector, called on the students to disperse to dissolve the illegal meeting. The demonstrators did not heed his appeal and continued to shout hostile slogans.

It was in that situation that workers' activists entered the university grounds. They had been mobilized by the leadership of the Warsaw Party organization, which knew the intentions of the organizers of the meeting and had every reason to fear that this might lead to disturbances.

The workers were greeted by insults and provocative cries. The workers' activists did not suceed in persuading the students to leave. An aggressive group of ringleaders incited the youth and the workers were attacked. In this situation a group of the Workers' Voluntary Militia reserve was brought in. This infuriated the ringleaders of the broil still more. Incidents occured in which both students and voluntary militiamen were maltreated. The situation was becoming increasingly tense and dangerous. To bring it under

control, the leaders of a group responsible for public order decided to use the citizens' militia, which restored order.

The course of the events that followed is known to you, Comrades, from the report of Comrade Kepa, First Secretary of the Warsaw Committee, and from the press.

The instigators and organizers of the street disturbances did their best to cause bloodshed. With this end in view they resorted to dirty methods of provocation. On March 9, by means of leaflets, inscriptions and telephone calls they spread the provocative news that people had been killed in the street disturbances in Warsaw. I shall quote here several leaflets, inscriptions and appeals illustrating the methods used by those who resorted to provocation:

"Down with the Gestapo. A student has become their innocent victim. Maria Baraniecka, a student at Warsaw University, is dead. The funeral will take place at 12 on Monday. Take revenge for the girl they have killed. Take revenge for the blood of Polish students. Glory to the memory of Janina Brzoz, bestially murdered by butchers from Goledzinow in the demonstrations held on Friday by Warsaw students and youth for freedom of speech."

An appeal to the students of the Technical Institute read: "Our friend from the university is dead—she was a comrade in struggle of each of us and she will live so in our memory. The criminals from Goledzinow who have murdered a helpless girl with truncheons bring back to our minds the Stalinist terror of past years."

It would take me half an hour to read the statements that were printed such as "One of the girls, who was pregnant, died in the morning, having been beaten up, and the boy who tried to defend her is in a hopeless condition," "Our people's Gestapo have beaten a girl to death in the street. The funeral will take place on Monday. One of the professors is seriously wounded;" "On the walls of the Academy of Fine Arts an obituary was put up to the girl who has been killed. Another girl, granddaughter of the journalist Kozicki, is in hospital. One boy is fighting for his life, a few more have broken ribs, one person has lost an eye;" "The dead girl was a fourth-year student of pedagogy, she was four months gone with child. She was buried at night."

This accompaniment by the provocateurs was calculated to lead to bloodshed.

I could go on and on quoting the slogans of their leaflets and posters, etc., for example: "Down with the PUWP. To arms. Down with communism. Let's throw off the Moscow yoke. We survived the Swedish deluge, we shall survive the Soviet deluge too. Let's spare neither stones nor bricks on militiamen and other sons of B . . .

"Down with the USSR. Down with Gomulka's rule."

It is significant that these illegal leaflets did not as a rule mention

Mickiewicz's 'Dziady'. At that stage of escalation Mickiewicz's "Dziady" was simply no longer necessary to the instigators and organizers of the street disturbances.

I should like to mention here that on March 2, that is, before these events, the Warsaw Committee convened a meeting of Warsaw Party workers in connection with the Extraordinary Meeting of the Warsaw section of the Polish Writers' Union, which, as I have said before, was held on February 29. The Warsaw Party workers' meeting adopted an extensive resolution, the concluding passage of which reads:

"The social and political workers of Warsaw appeal to the Central Committee of the PUWP to enable representatives of the work places of Warsaw to see the banned production of Mickiewicz's 'Dziady' staged by K. Dejmek."

We agree to this proposal and are even of the opinion that the audience could be increased to include other segments as well.

Between March 8 and 15 a total of 1,208 people, including 367 students from various universities and colleges, were detained in the whole of Poland for taking part in illegal demonstrations and street excesses. Out of this number, 687 people, including 194 students, were released for lack of evidence against them. During the same time the courts passed sentences on 50 people, of whom 20 were students. Administrative measures were taken against 157 persons, including 47 students. The remaining cases were sent either to courts or to administrative tribunals, which by March 15 had not yet pronounced their verdicts. By March 15, during the intervention in all the excesses throughout the country, 43 workers, 31 functionaries of the Workers' Voluntary Militia Reserve, and 72 militiamen were injured or suffered bodily harm while restoring public order.

Comrades, the political meaning of these events is the main problem that disturbs Party workers, and it is our duty to explain this problem to the public.

It is the main task of our Party at present to show the whole nation, all workers, peasants and the Polish intelligentsia, as well as all young people—both those who work and study in disciplined fashion and with a full sense of responsibility and those who lent ear to false prophets—what the struggle is about, in the name of what political slogans the functioning of many universities and colleges was disorganized and the peaceful work and normal life of our towns upset.

To answer this question, it is not enough to analyze the slogans under which students were called on to attend meetings. It is obvious to anyone familiar with the laws of political struggle that the issue of the latest staging of "Dziady", the demands for a so-

called extension of freedom of culture and science, and even the protests against the actions of the militia are only a smokescreen behind which the instigators of the recent incidents in the universities and colleges are trying to hide their real aims. They expect that these seemingly innocent slogans will intoxicate the youth, mislead the scientific cadre and confuse a section of public opinion.

It is our duty to disperse this smokescreen, to bring out and show to the whole nation the real political aims guiding the instigators and organizers of the disturbances. During the last fifteen days or so they have done harm to Poland, to the Polish nation, which it will take a long time to put right. Their policy, if they had the strength and possibilities of putting it into practice, would be a policy leading to Poland's ruin.

We are one of the few nations in Europe which during the greater part of their modern history were not independent states.

The Polish state, which was powerful during the renaissance, was reduced to a dependent role in the 18th century and was later wiped off the political map of Europe for 130 years. Poland regained her independence in 1918, but twenty years later our country once again fell under foreign yoke, and our nation faced the danger of physical destruction.

A nation that has been subjected to such trials by history, if it wants to exist and develop, if it wants to consolidate its state independence, must draw the proper conclusions for itself from these historical experiences, must show not only dauntless spiritual courage and strength of feeling, but must also acquire political wisdom and the ability of realizing its vital interests.

Two hundred years ago the Poland of the gentry was brought to ruin by the selfishness and plotting of magnates. But the responsibility for the fall of that state also rests on other social strata that were in a position to shape the policy of the state but did not produce a program for saving the country, or did it too late.

The sources of the September catastrophe of 1939 was the thoughtless and — from the point of view of Poland's interests — downright criminal home and foreign policy of the ruling circles of that time, that is, the big landowners and bourgeoisie and the political forces representing them.

The September fall of bourgeois Poland was no surprise to us Communists. The burying of her independence began almost at the moment of her birth. The expedition against Kiev, the brutal bloody attacks on the revolutionary working-class and peasant movement, the fierce hostility of the ruling classes to the Soviet Union could not but bring the September debacle on our country. But the responsibility for that tragic defeat also falls on that part of the nation which supported the bourgeois governments, and especially on a

considerable part of the intelligentsia of those days who moulded the soul of the nation and its political thinking in accordance with the spirit of the policy pursued by those governments.

It was only the enlightened section of the working class that, in cooperation with the radical wing of the peasant movement and progressive groups of the intelligentsia, waged a consistent struggle against the pre-war reactionary "Sanacja" regime, the gravediggers of Poland. The party of the working class—the Communist Party of Poland, in spite of the mistakes it made, was the only political party in Poland that had a realistic program for saving our country from the September defeat.

In the night of the Nazi occupation all the Polish underground groups—except the so-called National Armed Forces—fought against the Germans. Our nation is proud of the fact that it did not give birth to Quislings. But among all the political groupings fighting against the occupant, it was only the Polish Workers' Party that drew the right conclusions from the experience of history and, unfortunately, it was only the Polish Workers' Party that had a correct program and only that Party showed the nation the certain road to independence and the rebirth of the state.

One must state with regret that historians, scientists, professors, a large part of the intelligentsia showed in practice in those days that they were politically blind and could not perceive where Polish national interests lay. The Polish national interests were seen only, to use Kisielewski's terminology, by those "ignoramuses" that represented the political wisdom of the Polish working class.

The political thought of the PWP was based on Poland's alliance with the Soviet Union as the decisive condidion for the recovery and consolidation of independence by Poland and on a socialist transformation of the social system as the only way of raising our country from backwardness. When setting up the National Home Council in the underground together with Left-wing Socialists and radical peasant activists and when taking over power in the liberated Polish lands in 1944, our Party did not yet have the conscious support of the majority of the nation. But it was historically right and that was its political strength. Thanks to the rightness of its stand, thanks to the determination and selflessness of its members the PWP won over the working class to its ideals and next secured the support of the majority of the nation.

Against the political thought and program of the Polish Workers' Party and against the entire camp of Polish democracy, the reactionary forces represented by the emigre government put forward their theory of two enemies, rabid hatred of the USSR, ambitions to break the anti-Nazi coalition and hopes for a third world war.

It is a good testimony to the political wisdom of the Polish nation

that in the most critical period of its history it did not listen to the reactionary forces, that it listened to the voice of the working class and its Party, that it entrusted its destiny to those "ignoramuses." It is these "ignoramuses" that based Poland's foreign policy on an alliance with the USSR and laid unshakable foundations for the independence of our state. It is to the policy of our Party that Poland owes her return to the Odra, Nysa and the Baltic. It is these "ignoramuses" that have put Poland on the road to economic development and solved the basic problems of national existence, problems which the propertied classes were unable to cope with for generations.

More than 15,000 workers and peasants, soldiers and intellectuals lost their lives in those days at the hands of Pawel Jasienica's political friends in the struggle for people's power, for the agrarian reform, for the nationalization of industry and the settlement of the western territories.

After 23 years, People's Poland under the leadership of the working-class Party has raised herself from backwardness, built a modern industry, developed agriculture. It is precisely this policy, condemned at the Extraordinary Meeting of the Polish Writers' Union, a policy against which the youth was instigated that has made it possible for every Polish child today to complete at least an eight-form school, while one-half of each generation gains a fully secondary education.

It is easy to imagine what the fate of the Polish nation would have been if instead of "ignoramuses" the "enlightened elite" had taken over power in 1944. We would have a Poland without the western territories, at loggerheads with the Soviet Union, a poor, backward and overpopulated Poland dependent on Germany, on the imperialist powers, a pawn in their game, counting for nothing, for there would be no place for such a Poland in contemporary Europe.

Since the Second World War, two fundamental conceptions have clashed in Polish political thought: our socialist conception, defining the general line of policy of People's Poland, and the other, expressing the interests and views of the reactionary forces.

The forces representing the second, reactionary line have limited possibilities of coming forward with their program here in Poland. On the other hand, abroad, as emigres, they can avail themselves not only of full freedom, but also of generous material assistance and help from the imperialist intelligence services. Abroad they publish dozens of periodicals and widely propagate their stand. If we analyze the contents of the publications representing the views of political coteries of all kinds who are rivals in the struggle for a share of the foreign purses, we find that all they have to propose to the Polish nation can be reduced to fanatical anti-Sovietism border-

ing on madness, to the idea of an atomic anti-communist crusade. In this respect, nobody can compete with the Polish reactionary emigre press, neither the West German press, nor any other anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda center.

One of the latest issues of *Jutro Polski,* organ of the remnants of Mikolajczyk's clique in London, is full of calls to "crush" the USSR, to bury it "deep in the earth and in the archives of history." For *Orzel Bialy* of May 1967, even the United States is not anti-communist enough, because instead of developing an armed "anti-communist crusade" in Europe, in Poland, it has undertaken it in Asia, in Vietnam.

Of course, the spokesmen of the reactionary forces can only come forward with such a mad policy for the use of the White emigres. In Poland, such a political conception will not be accepted by anybody. A frontal open attack against socialism and the Polish-Soviet alliance would only result in the unmasking of the reactionary forces in the eyes of even that part of our community that the reactionary forces would like to deceive and win over for their aims. This is also realized by the chief conductors of the international anti-communist choir from the American intelligence and subversive centers.

And this is why they finance not only *Orzel Bialy* but the Paris *Kultura* too, which represents a different trend of reactionary policy, more perfidious and better adapted to the real alignment of forces.

The most representative spokesmen of that trend is the leading journalist of that periodical, Juliusz Mieroszewski. In his publications he avoids primitive anti-Sovietism, and even justifies the necessity for a "revision of the traditional Polish policy towards Russia," because, as he admits, "that policy only brought us (that is the reactionary forces) defeats and disappointments." "Logically speaking," he writes, "we have only two solutions to choose from, either beat Russia or come to an arrangement with her. As we can't beat her, we must come to an arrangement with her."

So one could think that Mr. Mieroszewski is in favor of a Polish-Soviet alliance. But these are just appearances. He would like to "come to an arrangement" with the Soviet Union, but on certain conditions. "Soviet Russia must either be beaten or Europeanized," writes Mieroszewski. And by "Europeanized" this sworn European understands, of course, the overthrowing of socialism. An instrument of this "Europeanization" of the Soviet Union are to be the People's Democracies, particularly Poland, previously "Europeanized" with the help of revisionists. "If the Poles, Czechs and Hungarians had the possibilities of doing so, they would in time elaborate a compromise model of a system that would be neither Communism nor capitalism." In other words, "neither fish nor flesh, nor good red herring."

Why am I devoting so much space to the political deliberations of Mieroszewski, editor of the Paris *Kultura* financed by the American intelligence service? Above all, because there is a political and ideological kinship between the line taken by Mieroszewski and the slogans and political conceptions of the instigators of the recent disturbances.

Jasienica, Kisielewski or Slonimsky—like Mieroszewski—want to persuade the naive that they would also have an alliance between Poland and the Soviet Union, that the Poland in which socialism would be overthrown and replaced by "something in between" would be able to keep the alliance with the Soviet Union. In this way, they want to conceal from our nation the real danger with which their policy threatens us.

An alliance in politics is always based on mutual interests. Where there are no mutual interests, the alliance must cease to exist. Without the alliance with the Soviet Union, Poland would not be able to defend and preserve her western territories, she would not be able to stand up to German imperialism, she would not be able to exist as an independent state. Only a socialist Poland under the leadership of the Party of the working class is a dependable ally for the Soviet Union, a realiable ally which increases the strength of the socialist system in the struggle against imperialism.

It is above all our Party that is a guarantee of socialism in Poland and of alliance with the Soviet Union. Objectively speaking, everybody who starts fighting against our Party and the socialist system —whether he realizes it or not—is undermining the foundations of Poland's national existence. Those who today call for a struggle against our Party are not only enemies of People's Poland, they are the enemies of Poland as such. If they had succeeded in attaining their aims, they would have become the gravediggers of the independence of the nation, they would have prepared for the nation the same fate as the magnates did in 1794 and the bourgeoisie did in 1939.

Comrades, in order fully to fathom the present political situation in our country it is not enough to bring to light the instigators and organizers of the excesses in the writers' and student milieus. Nor is it enough to expose the deceptive character of the slogans which they addressed to the student youth or reveal the real political aims inspiring them. We must also answer the question: why did the seed of demagogy fall on fertile soil and bring fruits? How did it happen that the arguments and slogans of sowers of confusion found receptive minds among a part of the youth and induced them to take irresponsible actions and show disobedience to the university authorities?

It would be a mistake on our part if we failed to notice that it

was only a part of the studying youth that let themselves be lured by demagogic agitation and persuaded to take part in mass actions forbidden by the university authorities.

However, this was enough to disorganize the normal work of the university.

We think it is the duty of the Central Committee to make, as soon as possible, a detailed analysis of the shortcomings in our political and educational work among the youth in general, and especially among the school and student youth, and to find out why a considerable part of our youth have an inclination towards anarchist reactions and are liable to believe even the most fantastic political rumors.

Particular attention should be paid to the stand and work of the scientific and teaching staff of university schools. For university lecturers bear the main responsibility not only for teaching but also for bringing up the youth, for shaping their civic stand and teaching them social discipline.

In the course of recent years our Party and the highest state authorities have frequently drawn the attention of scientific workers to serious shortcomings in the work of character forming in higher schools and to the insufficient dedication of the scientific and teaching staff as regards this work.

The recent events in higher schools have revealed disturbing symptoms of a lack of discipline among students as regards the instructions of the academic authorities. These events have been a great test for these authorities and the entire teaching staff, as organizers of the life and work of the university schools and the educators of the youth. Less than ten years ago, with the active support of the deputies' club of our party, the Sejm invested higher schools with a large measure of autonomy, entrusting the professors and docents with the election of school authorities, making the policy of appointments and promotions dependent on their opinion, granting the scientific milieu wide powers as regards the teaching program and the working methods of the university schools. But much is demanded of those who have received much. The wide range of rights means at the same time a heavy weight of responsibility for keeping order at higher schools, for the undisturbed rhythm of the educational process, for the destinies of the young people.

The state authorities, the working class, the entire people are entitled to ask the teaching staff today how it has carried out this task.

We know that a certain group of lecturers, small in fact, but concentrated in several departments of the Humanities in Warsaw University, bears particular responsibility for the recent events. These people, such as professors Brus, Baczko, Morawski, Kola-

kowski, Bauman, who for years have been fighting against the policy of our Party from revisionist positions, deliberately and with premeditation infused hostile political views into the minds of the youth placed under their care, and they were the spiritual initiators of the disturbances. It was under the pressure of that group that the Council of the Philosophical Faculty of Warsaw University did not hesitate to state in its resolution of March 12, 1968 that "the University youth movement developing outside the framework of official organizations has for the last four days been an authentic mass movement uniting the overwhelming majority of students of Warsaw University."

It is quite clear to us that this group of political gamblers with high university degrees attempted to gain for themselves the right to legalized anti-socialist activity in our country and to set their group interests above the good of Polish science and the student youth. In fact they constitute a small group among the scientific and teaching staff in our university schools and nothing is further from our thoughts than to take them as an example in evaluating the whole of the teaching staff of the university schools in Poland.

But in the course of the quickly developing events, prepared and organized with considerable precision by a conspiring group, a part of those members of the teaching staff who have no reason whatever to be in solidarity with the political slogans of the instigators of the action, were also disorientated and not active enough. This disorientation and passiveness of a part of the teaching staff did considerable harm and became an essential cause of the disorganization of the work of higher schools.

Had the entire teaching staff from the very first adopted a determined attitude towards the trouble-makers, the work of the higher schools would not have been disorganized at all, or order would have been quickly restored. For there are eight students per one member of the teaching staff in Poland. At the biggest universities and technical institutes the proportion is even more favorable.

We highly value the creative efforts of our scientists, engineers, technicians, economists, teachers, writers and artists, specialists in all fields, and their contribution to the development of People's Poland. We attach great importance to the social role of the intelligentsia in our country. We see in the intelligentsia a force on whose creative work depend technological progress, the level of qualifications of all the working people, the development of the culture of the nation. Its stand has a great influence on the spirit of the nation, its consciousness and views.

Today's Polish intelligentsia has gained a better, fuller and more modern education than any generation before it. The political outlook of the intelligentsia, its attitude towards socialism, have also undergone a profound transformation.

A considerable part of the Polish intelligentsia has intellectually and emotionally completely identified itself with our system and is engaging all its energies and talent to build this system. A large part of this intelligentsia is in the ranks of our Party.

A numerous group among the Polish intelligentsia is also composed of people who are in favor of socialism, of the alliance with the Soviet Union, first of all for patriotic reasons.

Quite a large part of the Polish intelligentsia, both the old intelligentsia and that educated in People's Poland, is conscientiously and honestly carrying out its professional duties, but it is not socially or politically active. We respect its work and we are trying to increase its social dedication.

The technical intelligentsia is most closely knit with socialism. It is bound up with the new system by the nature of its vocational tasks, its great role in the social process of production and its direct everyday ties with the working class. This part of the Polish intelligentsia understands most deeply the real problems and needs of the country. It knows best what we have achieved in promoting Poland's development, but it also knows best how much we still have to do.

Also numerous sections of the humanistic intelligentsia—teachers, journalists, economists, the overwhelming majority of practising lawyers and numerous scientists—serve the cause of socialism sincerely and with dedication in their daily work and support the policy of the Party.

That is why the negativistic stand of a small group of university lecturers, writers and artists will not blind us to the truth about the stand of the whole of the Polish intelligentsia and will not succeed in driving a wedge between the intelligentsia and the working people and their Party.

Those people shrilly proclaim that they have started a struggle against the policy of our Party in the name of the freedom of science and culture which is allegedly threatened. In this way they appeal to the solidarity of the intelligentsia which, by virtue of its education and way of thinking, shows natural concern for free conditions for the development of scientific thought and culture.

An honest analysis of the actual state of Polish science and learning gives the lie to the accusations that there is a lack of freedom in our science and learning.

It is precisely in Poland that all the disciplines of science and learning, technical, scientific and humanistic disciplines have for many years enjoyed full freedom in their scientific work. No scientific worker or scholar in People's Poland has been dismissed from his chair because of his scientific opinions. Scientific discussions are the rule in our academic life. Every important school of learning

has its own scientific centers in the educational system or in the Polish Academy of Sciences, and its own publications.

Our Party and the state authorities supervising higher education have shown much—and, as experience has shown, unfortunately, too much—restraint and caution in interfering with the life of the scientific community for political reasons.

If there is any threat to the freedom of scientific research and discussions today it has been created not by the policy of our Party but by the actions of those political gamblers and individuals with university degrees who have abused this freedom in order to spread hostile, revisionist opinions and confuse young people's minds.

Our Party realizes that the really difficult problems of scientific work in Poland, problems which require a solution, are on a different plane. These are, above all, problems of creating such organizational and material conditions of development for the technical, mathematical and natural sciences which would conform to the needs dictated by the contemporary revolution in science and technology. These problems have for months been a concern of the leadership of the Party and the government. We want to discuss these problems in detail with the scientific community before the forthcoming congress of the Party and to do everything that is necessary and that lies within the possibilities of our conutry to create conditions for a further creative development of Polish science.

Comrades, an active part in the events that have taken place was played by a part of the student youth that are of Jewish origin. The parents of many of these students occupy more or less responsible and also high posts in our state. This was, above all, the reason why the slogan of struggle against Zionism, a slogan that was sometimes misinterpreted, emerged during these events.

Are there Jewish nationalists, adherents of the Zionist ideology in Poland? There certainly are. It would, however, be a misunderstanding to see in Zionism a danger to socialism in Poland, to her socio-political system. This danger—should it ever appear, which is very unlikely—can spring from various reactionary sources in the country, sources supported from the outside by centers of international anti-communist reaction.

But this does not mean that we have not got in Poland a problem which I would call self-identification by some of the Jews who are citizens of our state. A few examples to show what I have in mind.

Last year during Israel's June aggression against the Arab states a certain number of Jews manifested in various forms their desire to go to Israel in order to take part in the war against the Arabs. There is no doubt that this category of Jews who are Polish citizens are emotionally and intellectually linked, not with Poland but with the State of Israel. These are, without doubt, Jewish nationalists.

Can one blame them for it? Only in the way in which Communists blame all nationalists irrespective of their nationality. I suppose that this category of Jews will leave our country sooner or later.

At one time we opened wide our frontiers to all those who did not want to be citizens of our country and decided to go to Israel. Today, too, we are ready to give emigration passports to those who regard Israel as their Motherland.

Another category of people of Jewish origin are presented by Mr. Slonimski in his article published in the 35th issue of *Wiadomosci Literackie* in 1924 under the title "The Touchiness of the Jews."

As the article is extremely anti-Semitic I shall only quote its conclusion:

"Oh, if I could only feel myself a Jew," writes Slonimski. "But in my heart I belong to a small but noble homeland of people lost in the world, people scattered all over the globe, not tied down by any chain of recollections, people who have not struck roots in native land. Honestly speaking, I have no national feelings at all. I feel neither a Pole nor a Jew. It was not without a feeling of envy that I watched Jewish pioneers pitching their tents in the Sharon Plain and listened to their Hebrew songs round the camp fire in the evening, just as once, with a certain feeling of envy, I listened to a song sung by Polish soldiers marching to war in distant Russia."

Slonimski wrote these words forty-four years ago. It is difficult for me to say what feelings he has for Poland today. Only he himself can give us the real answer to that.

There is no doubt that at present too there are in our country a certain number of people, citizens of our state, who do not feel themselves either Poles or Jews. We cannot blame them for that. Nobody can instil in a person a feeling of belonging to a nation if this person does not have this feeling. But because of their cosmopolitan feelings, such people should avoid fields of work where national consciousness is essential.

Finally, there is a third, most numerous group of our citizens of Jewish origin, who have sunk all their roots deep into the soil on which they were born and for whom Poland is their only motherland. Many of them hold responsible state and Party posts and perform managerial functions in various fields of our life. Many of them, by their work and struggle, have rendered great services to People's Poland, to the cause of socialist construction in our country. The Party highly values them for this.

But regardless of what feelings Polish citizens of Jewish origin may have, our Party is decidedly against all manifestations tinged with anti-Semitism. We are combating Zionism as a political program, as Jewish nationalism, and this is right. This is something

quite different from anti-Semitism. It is anti-Semitism when somebody comes out against the Jews just because they are Jews. Zionism and anti-Semitism are two sides of the nationalist medal.

The only criterion for evaluating a citizen of our country is his attitude towards socialism and towards the vital interests of our state and nation. Each citizen defines his nationality according to his own consciousness. And he enjoys equal rights irrespective of whether he considers himself a Pole, a Byelorussian or a Jew. But the principle of loyalty to his country, to his motherland, People's Poland, is equally binding for all.

Comrades, all the problems and questions I have raised here require a broader development and clarification. The press is certain to return to them. We shall also return to them in our pre-congress discussion and at the Party congress itself. We have tried to outline them today in a concise manner, but in a manner sufficient for acquainting the people and the Party with the sources and the causes of the regrettable incidents which have harmed our country and become at the same time an alarm signal for the people, for those bringing up the youth, for our Party.

It is impossible for me to express from this rostrum the Party leadership's attitude towards the various demands contained in the resolutions adopted at meetings and gatherings throughout the country. But we cannot and we shall not ignore those resolutions. In a proper form, in a proper manner and in conditions of complete calm, we shall discuss first of all the resolutions passed by students at legal meetings, that is at meetings held with the consent of the university rectors. We shall discuss, either with students' representatives or with all students of a given higher school or its departments, or in the columns of the press, the various demands contained in those resolutions, because there are things that are just and unjust in them.

We have no doubts that the overwhelming majority of students support socialism and our policy of alliance, friendship and brotherhood between the Polish nation and the peoples of the Soviet Union. It is not against the students, but against the reactionary troublemakers that the workers of enterprises and staffs of insitutions adopted resolutions. It would be utter nonsense if anyone said that our party is trying, or intends to try, to set the workers against the students or the students against the workers. Today's students will tomorrow be working side by side with the workers and peasants to carry forward the cause of their fathers—the building of People's Poland, the consolidation of the strength and security of our socialist state.

We believe that the assurances along these lines contained in the resolutions of the students come from their deep convictions and reflect their political attitude.

Such questions raised in the students' resolutions as democracy, freedom of speech, meetings and manifestations, the meaning of the Constitution and so on, will call for explanations and discussion. The definition of democracy and freedom is not and cannot be an abstract definition. Freedom and democracy have always been concrete notions. According to us Marxists, according to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, according to the experience of history and the practice in our times, they are class notions. This must be explained to the students, and not only to the students. We must also explain to them the essence of the Constitution of the PPR as the fundamental law on which the entire legislative system rests. The same applies to the rule of law, whose essence is that nobody who has not violated law and order can be punished and that no offence can be committed with impunity. Its antithesis is lawlessness.

Our Party, the working class, the whole community, see in the student youth, in its political and social attitude, in the knowledge they are gaining, in the professional training they receive, particularly in the field of technology and the exact sciences, one of the basic elements deciding the future of the Polish nation. We are trying to create the best possible studying conditions for these young people. We are earmarking large funds for this purpose. The training of every higher school graduate costs the state 100,000 to 200,000 zlotys. Every day, every hour provided for in the higher school syllabus should be taken advantage of to the full.

The whole nation expects you, the student youth, to start fulfilling your duties immediately, it expects every student to join in the stream of normal study and work.

The leadership of our Party will also express, in the right form and at the right time, its attitude towards the demands contained in the resolutions of the personnel of various enterprises and institutions and the resolutions adopted at mass public meetings.

I should like, first of all on behalf of the leadership of the Party and on my own behalf, to thank warmly all workers and all working people who expressed in those resolutions their full support for the policy and position of the Party and the people's government.

We express our greatest appreciation to the Polish working class, to the millions of working people in our towns, who took a stand at the side of our Party and expressed, at meetings, attended by thousands, their support for the Party's attitude. This stand adopted by factory workers was the main force which barred the way to trouble-makers and put a stop to irresponsible moves.

It is there, in factories, among the worker masses, among the working people, that our Party has its chief mainstay, it is there that the life-giving spring of our political life spurts forth. The consolidation and deepening of the ties with the working class

should be a prime concern of our Party organizations. The stand taken in these days of March by the working class and, together with it, the working intelligentsia, shows that no reactionary forces will succeed in undermining the foundations of the system of our socialist country.

Factory and office workers, the working class, filled with just indignation against the reactionary instigators and organizers of street riots, should reject at the same time all unconfirmed reports which are born of imagination and gossip, or even of the subversive political activity of the enemy. Let us remember that throwing mud at innocent people is one of the weapons in the arsenal of the reactionary forces in their struggle against our Party, against our system. Before any public charge is made against anybody, it should be checked first with the proper Party authority. We shall not spare the guilty, we shall defend the innocent.

Our Party, the workers and social activists and the organs of state power should act calmly but with determination and at the same time enhance their vigilance. The enemy is not asleep, both the enemy who operates directly in our country and especially the enemy who is seeking to do harm to Poland from the outside, from foreign centers of propaganda, subversion and espionage.

We all know that the international situation is tense. The constantly growing American escalation of the war in Vietnam can lead to unforseen consequences. The continued occupation by Israel of the Arab lands seized during last year's aggression is aggravating the tension in the Middle East. Imperialist reaction, the enemies of socialism are appearing under various banners. They are acting in our country, they are acting in countries bordering on Poland, they are trying to weaken the ties linking the Warsaw Treaty states. Therefore we must be vigilant, each of us in his work place. At the same time we must normally fulfil our production tasks and our professional duties.

On behalf of the leadership of the Party I warmly greet those present here, the representatives of the working class, the intelligentsia, the working youth, the students, the citizens' militia, the Polish Army, all working people who loyally serve our socialist motherland.

FOR WORKING-CLASS UNITY*

Working-class unity depends in vast measure, not only on the organization and strengthening of the unity of action and the united front of the democratic forces, but also on unity of the trade union movement. By uniting on democratic class principles, the trade union movement of Japan can become one of the great strongholds of the struggle of the working class for vital rights against U.S.-Japanese monopoly capital, pro-American policies and the revival of militarism and imperialism in Japan. This is why the U.S.-Japanese monopoles are spearheading their offensive against the trade union movement.

The Communist Party of Japan must make a conscious effort to unite the trade union front, divided on central and local levels alike, on the basis of the struggle against exploitation and oppression by U.S.-Japanese monopoly capital, on the basis of complete trade union democracy, so as to ensure that the trade union front unites the unaffiliated workers on the principle "one union organization in each factory, one union organization in each industry, one central organization in the country." The Commuist Party must strive to ensure that the trade union front comes, in its capacity of a powerful organized contingent of the working class, to defend the latter's interests and to play an active and important role in the political and economic struggle of the people and the democratic forces of the nation.

To advance toward real unity of the trade union movement, it is necessary to fulfil four urgent tasks requiring the closest attention:

1. Removing all obstacles to the class unity of the workers and their unions, who are stepping up their efforts to strengthen the unions on a democratic class basis in every field of activity of Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions) Domei (Confederation of Labor), Chritsuroren (Connecting Council of Neutral Trade Unions) and other trade union federations. This means, first of all, lifting the restriction about "backing a definite political party," and introducing the principle of freedom of backing political parties and freedom of political activity for the unions.

2. United action by trade unions of different trends, on both national and industry or district level, based not on anti-communism but on the pressing economic and political demands of the workers.

3. Combating and defeating the views and activities of anti-Com-

* Extracts from resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the CC, CP of Japan, published in **Akahata**, March 6, 1968.

munists, splitters and all other forces advocating cooperation between labor and capital.

4. Uniting the mass of unaffiliated workers on democratic class union principles.

The most important of these tasks is to bring about the abolition of the so-called duty to "back a definite political party," for this "duty" contradicts the basic character and mission of the trade unions and is the greatest obstacle to working-class unity. The Socialist Party of Japan and the Democratic Socialist Party, which insist that Sohyo and Domei should automatically back one of them, are in effect Social-Democratic parties with anti-Communist programs despite the numerous important differences and contrasts their policies and activities show. The trade union organizations' duty to automatically back these Social-Democratic parties means:

First, flouting the fundamental character of the trade unions as a mass organization fighting in unity and putting forward joint demands irrespective of ideological and religious differences between the workers and the divergences there may be between them over backing this or that political party. It also means raising the main, decisive obstacle to working-class unity and a united front based on genuine defense of the labor unions of different trends.

Secondly, by subordinating the political positions of the trade unions to the policy of one of these parties, a barrier has been raised to real progress in the economic and political struggles of the working class.

Thirdly, this state of affairs has resulted in the trade unions establishing contacts with anti-Communist, sectarian trends in those parties and becoming, not a motive force of the united front of the whole people and the democratic forces, but a hurdle to the joint struggle of the democratic forces.

The mistakes of the Japanese trade union movement stemming from the principle of "backing a definite political party" are a very serious problem hampering the class development of the movement and the establishment of a genuine united front. If this principle is renounced by Sohyo, Domei and other central trade union organizations it will become possible considerably to improve the conditions for working-class unity on the basis of joint demands, even in the event of serious differences over the actual positions and policies otf the trade union movement.

The enormous harm done to the working class and the people by the split of the labor front by anti-communism is seen in the pre-war experience of the trade union movement in Japan. At that time, the movement could not organize united resistance to the war. It was drawn into the war and disbanded. Further evidence of this is the bitter experience of 17 years ago, when in a Japan occupied by the U.S. imperialists and with a war of aggression going

on in Korea, the trade union movement found itself virtually disarmed by brutal anti-communist repressions and disruptive attacks.

The principle of trade union freedom of backing political parties, the principle of freedom of political activity, is the road to uniting the workers and their unions. It has been adopted also on a world scale as a result of the complex long-time experience of the international trade union movement.

The "Line of the Movement in 1968," approved by the 30th regular congress of the SPJ, in January, speaks of the desire to reverse the "renunciation of political struggle in the trade union movement and the view alleging that the political parties are neutral in this movement." The trade unions' removal of the restriction about "backing a definite political party" is presented in the resolution of the 30th Congress of the SPJ in such a way as if it meant reverting to "political neutrality," which rules out political struggle. Yet this conclusion mixes up two entirely different problems: the problem of the unions' active participation or non-participation in political struggle and the problem of whether it is right or wrong to turn the unions into groups backing definite political parties. Hence the renunciation of the fallacious principle of "backing a definite political party" enables the unions, which will draw on the workers' class consciousness and demands, to carry on an active political struggle also as an organized contingent of the working class in the forefront of the people's fight for neutrality, democracy, peace and a higher standard of living and thus really to contribute to the unity of action and the united front of the people and the democratic forces.

To bring about working-class unity, the SPJ will fight with still greater determination, first of all in order to do away with the principle of "backing a definite political party" suggested by anti-communism and to establish the principle of freedom of backing political parties and freedom of political activity.

Originally working-class unity was built up on the principles of defending the real interests of the workers irrespective of their ideological or religious differences and of what party they backed. The purpose of this unity was to bring about a united front of the trade unions. It is obvious that the central trade union organizations, including now Sohyo, which are committed to the typically sectarian policy of "backing a definite political party," cannot in the present situation "father a united working-class front." "From the standpoint of the important objectives and principles of working-class unity, it is clear that in view of the serious restriction about 'backing a definite political party', that is, the SPJ—Sohyo itself cannot be regarded as the father of a united working-class front." (Resolution of the Fourth Plenum of the CC CPJ.)

The SPJ's "Line of the Movement in 1968," which deals with the

position of the Communist Party on working-class unity, points out that "the SPJ is striving to defeat the Communist Party's view on a 'united front advocating non-recognition of the existing national central organizations'." The SPJ misrepresents and wrongly criticizes the position of the CPJ. Our Party has declared that there can be no working-class unity if the principle of freedom of backing political parties is rejected. Unless the issue of trade union freedom of backing political parties is settled and if Sohyo goes on growing at the present rate, with the support of only the SPJ, it will reveal the erroneous and disputed opinion that working-class unity is making real progress. Obviously, this position does not raise the question of recognition or non-recognition of the "existing national central organizations." Indeed, the policy of a "united working-class front," which is expected to "exclude the CPJ," that is, the policy of a "united anti-communist front of the working class," demanded by the leadership of Domei, the Executive Committee of the All-Japan Union of Electrotechnical Industry Workers, the Federation of Iron and Steel Workers and other unions belonging to the Japanese Council of the International Federation of Metalworkers (IFM), runs counter to the efforts for genuine working-class unity. This policy, alleged to seek a "united working-class front," is designed to impose the frank anti-communism of Domei and other organizations on the trade union movement and to intensify the division and disintegration of the democratic forces. Aimed at reorganizing the movement with the aid of the Right-wing, it is a planned disruptive policy coordinated with the anti-communist attacks of the U.S.-Japanese monopolies. To camouflage its anti-communism, the Japan Council of the IFM calls for "non-partisan neutrality" and a "trade union movement independent of political parties." Yet this "neutrality" springs from anti-communism. "Independence from political parties," with anti-communism as its main content, is openly proclaimed by the top leaders of the Japan Council of the IFM. This is roughly the same as the position of the CIO, which under the slogan of "independence from political parties" backs from anti-communist positions the Democratic, Republican and other bourgeois parties and their imperialist policies. It is becoming ever more important for the workers and their unions resolutely to discard the disruptive anti-communist policy and to fight for the unity of the real working-class front, for the progress of the united front of the democratic forces.

Today the struggle for the vigorous fulfilment of the primary tasks facing the workers and trade unions in Japan, for the strengthening of the trade union movement on a class basis and for working-class unity, is one of the paramount tasks of the CPJ, vanguard of the Japanese working class. To accomplish it, our Party must carry on its struggle meaningfully and resolutely, invariably adher-

ing to the following principles tried and tested in struggle by the CPJ and the working class of our country.

ALL PARTY ACTIVITY SHOULD BE MARKED BY AN EARNEST ATTITUDE TO THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The congresses and CC plenums of the CPJ have repeatedly stressed that the position of the trade unions, organized contingents of the working class, is of decisive importance for the democratic and revolutionary movement in Japan. They have stressed that the CPJ should daily make an earnest effort to strengthen the trade union movement on a democratic class basis and to promote genuine working-class unity. This is an indication of the growing desire to overcome trailing behind events in the trade union movement. Nevertheless, the activity of the CPJ as a whole is still characterized in large measure by an underestimation of contacts between the Party bodies and the trade unions, and by a tendency toward virtually underestimating the trade union movement. Yet the task of building up powerful, unbreakable organizations of the Communist Party in the enterprises is inseparable from the task of strengthening the unions on a democratic class basis. The building up of a powerful Communist Party is the best guarantee of strong trade unions. On the other hand, it is clear that no solid Party force can be formed in the enterprises without vigorously strengthening the unions. To build up Party organizations in the enterprises and strengthen the unions by joint effort means correctly putting the "third overall plan" of the 10th Party Congress* into effect. The Congress, which described the main content of the "third overall plan" as ideological education, reinforcement of the Party, the strengthening and setting up of basic mass organizations of the various segments of the people, stated: "Developing a powerful working-class movement, a peasant movement and other mass movements of the working people of our country, a country of developed capitalism and yet dependent on U.S. imperialism, is of exceptional importance for the victory of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly democratic revolution. With these aims in view it is necessary, as well as strengthening and extending these mass organizations, to proceed on a planned basis to build up the basic mass organizations."

Acting on this resolution, the Party should immediately overcome all tendencies to underrate the trade union movement. It should also strengthen its influence if it is to demonstrate the importance of forming Party organizations in the enterprises that will work to strengthen the unions.

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*Tokyo, October 1966.—**Ed.**

Many industries and enterprises are introducing new, unprecedented methods of exploitation and oppression linked with the "modernization" of production facilities. The domination of monopoly capital over labor is becoming more brutal than ever. At the same time many unions are taken over by the Social Democrats. In this situation the Communist Party's effort to build up a powerful leading force in the trade unions is a duty to be fulfilled under all circumstances through painstaking and sustained work. All the Party organizations and nuclei should study the policy of the Party on the trade unions so as to take guidance from it, to surmount difficulties by concentrating the forces of the Party to the utmost, and really to participate in the work of the unions.

SUPPORTING THE LINE OF THE PARTY PROGRAM

The Program of the Communist Party, which creatively applies Marxism-Leninism in Japanese conditions, clearly shows the way to the emancipation of the working class and the people, to a socialist Japan, through a "revolution that will overthrow the anti-national, anti-popular rule of the forces led by U.S. imperialism and monopoly capital, and will achieve real independence and radical, democratic reforms in the political, economic and social spheres." The Program elucidates the principal issues of the struggle of the working class and the whole people. It shows up those who torture and are the chief enemies of Japanese people and against whom the struggle must be spearheaded. It shows those whom the working class must go with if it is to see independence, peace, democracy, a higher standard of living and other demands of the people realized. It indicates the direction in which the struggle should be pressed forward, and reveals the historic mission of the working class in the popular struggle and the united front.

It is highly important for the CPJ, whatever the nature of the mass struggle it leads, to uphold the line of its Program. In fact, most of the mistakes which were made in Party guidance and which told on the trade union movement after the war were due to the Party not having determined the line of its Program correctly. The mistake over the general strike on April 17, 1964, stemmed from the Party's adoption of the erroneous line of the "anti-American patriotic united front" announced by Mao Tse-tung. This experience shows that when the Party leadership departs from the right Program line it not only embarks the general development of the trade union movement on a wrong course but exerts adverse influence on the fulfilment of primary tasks.

It goes without saying, however, that to fulfil the Program does not mean mechanically imposing its line on the trade union move-

ment as a requisite of the struggle. It is important to show, relying on facts, the way to unity around the concrete demands and tasks of the broad worker masses actually coming out against exploitation and oppression by U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. It is important to show the road to the effective realization of these demands. That is what it means to defend the vital interests of the working class against oppression by U.S.-Japanese monopoly capital. Precisely this helps the working class to conscientiously advance, owing to its own struggle and experience, towards a united anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly front.

Along with the class unity of the worker front, another vitally important task in rallying and consolidating the united front is the establishment of a "class alliance of workers and peasants" (CPJ Program). In view of this it is essential that the CPJ, the vanguard of the working class, should build strong rural Party organizations, organize the peasant masses and unite them, under its leadership, with the working class in the struggle against U.S.-Japanese monopoly capital. Acting strictly in accordance with conditions in Japan, the CPJ should pay serious attention to the rapid proletarianization of the peasants, the large share of workers of peasant origin, the growing number of people leaving villages in search of a living or temporary employment, the problems of trade union assistance to and solidarity with the struggle of the peasants' and agricultural workers' organizations, the joint struggle of workers and peasants in the trade union movement.

INTENSIFICATION OF WORK ON THE BASIS OF SHOP ORGANIZATIONS

The factory Party organizations are faced with important problems now: how to effectively defend the interests of the workers in conditions when monopoly capital is systematically dealing blows at them in an attempt to set up a new system of oppression of the workers, to banish CPJ organizations, the trade union movement from the shops; now to strengthen the trade unions on the basis of shop organizations. It is precisely in the shop that capital exploits the workers. It is precisely the shop that is the center of the liberation struggle of the trade union movement and the working class. Consequently, the CPJ should tirelessly work, no matter how hard the conditions may be, to win the strongest possible positions in the shops and to turn them into formidable fortresses of the trade union movement of the working class.

The fierce offensive of monopoly capital is evoking growing discontent of the workers, who are advancing ever more insistent demands for higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions,

measures against industrial accidents and occupational diseases, democratic rights, etc. Conditions are increasingly ripening for unity round the immediate demands of the workers. On the other hand, however, factors are growing in magnitude which impede the establishment of labor unity: refined managerial methods breeding disunity, as well as deception, pacification actions, collaborationism of anti-communist trade unions set up by monopoly capital, the creation of an atmosphere of distrust in, and indifference towards, the trade union movement. In the shops where such adverse conditions prevail the CPJ should concern itself with the position, morale and demands of the workers if it is to build and strengthen their unity. It should resolutely organize the workers, constantly relying on their concrete common demands, and act at the head of the masses. Utilizing the experience of the masses and organizing democratic discussion, it should enhance the class, political consciousness of the workers, promote their spontaneous and creative initiative, and invariably support sincere positions.

The CPJ should organize joint actions in the shops "from below," on the basis of demands presented jointly, after overcoming political differences and securing the support of other parties. In this way genuine mass struggle in the shops can be organized. These unitary actions will create the indispensable mass basis for the progress of the trade union movement and for the class unity of the worker front.

Active resistance to managerial methods patterned on U.S. models is one of the important tasks in turning the shops into centers of struggle. These methods, camouflaged as "scientific management" based on "research," are employed to impose on the workers constant inhuman intensification of labor.

The leaders of the Japan Council of the International Federation of Metalworkers and other trade unions maintain that the trade unions should protest against such methods on the strength of their own scientific research. For instance, in the matter of wages they refer to what they call the technical method which, in their opinion, shows the difference between trade union "job evaluation" and evaluation by monopoly capital (the method of calculating wage differentials and "the degree of a worker's contribution to the enterprise" taking into account professional knowledge, skill, experience, responsibility, environment and other facts). What this boils down to is recognition of the "scientific" mechanism of intensifying exploitation by monopoly capital, i.e., acceptance of the American method. The CPJ should expose before the workers, with the help of concrete facts and experience, the real nature of the American "scientific" managerial methods as an anti-worker method of stepping up exploitation whose principal purpose is "to

squeeze out of the worker three times more labor during a working day of the same length as before" (V. I. Lenin, "A Scientific System of Sweating"). While continuing to criticize the trade unions for collaboration with those who are introducing the American managerial method, the CPJ should organize and develop the struggle in defense of the workers' rights and working conditions in the shops, relying on the discontent and demands of the workers that are the inevitable result of the growing exploitation and oppression. While uniting the workers and extending freedom of activity in the shops, it is particularly important today to avoid adopting an indiscriminately hostile attitude towards the whole of the management, to see the differences between its individual strata and, in keeping with the situation, treat them accordingly. Of late, in order to strengthen its grip on the workers in the shop, monopoly capital has been increasing in many enterprises the so-called lower stratum of management into which it includes one out of every three or five workers. The more such administrative nuclei are created, the more extensive strata of "lower" management will find itself in living conditions close to those of ordinary workers. This will inevitably lead to a contradiction expressed in the fact that the large stratum of "lower" management will have the same interests and demands as the workers. Until now this stratum has not been able fully to indentify itself with the struggle of the workers in the shops. But conditions are ripening in which it can adopt positive positions. Consequently, the CPJ, in its fight against the growing oppression of the workers by the management, should utilize those movements which can be supported proceeding from the interests of the working class, as well as the discontent of members of the "lower" management. In doing so it should strive to strengthen the unity of the workers in the shops.

As regards the privileged "upper" managerial stratum, which assists the capitalists in exploiting the workers and often constitutes the mainstay of the leadership of "social groups," the Party should, relying on the vital demands of the workers, step up the struggle for isolating it from the worker masses. In keeping with the American system, the system of "work superintendents" is being introduced in different branches of industry, especially iron and steel and ship-biulding. As distinct from the old system, the work superintendent does not take a direct part in production but concerns himself exclusively with maintaining discipline in the shop and organizing production. In addition to assessing the performance of individual workers, he visits workers' families, controls the time when the worker returns home, keeps an eye on husband-and-wife relations, workers' contacts with friends, religious attitudes, ideological orientation, and so on. Interfering even in the private life of

the workers, he tries to induce them to collaborate with the capitalist. Exposure of concrete facts of pressure on the workers and encroachment on their rights by job superintendents and others, organization of mass protest actions and defense of democratic rights in the shops are essential for strengthening worker unity in the shops.

CORRECTLY COMBINE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE

Great importance attaches to the ability to correctly combine economic and political actions in the course of the all-round development of the struggle of the workers and trade unions. It stands to reason that the CPJ pays serious attention to economic struggle, which aims at improving the conditions of life of the workers. In those instances where the workers and trade unions rise in a struggle for economic demands only, the Party also supports it as reflecting part of the vital demands of the workers, and strives to raise it to a higher level. In the conditions of Japan, demands for improving the life of the workers and the entire people, if they are correctly developed through resolute struggle, are bound to lead to a clash with two enemies—U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. However, the CPJ has invariably pointed out that the Japanese trade union movement, as an organized contingent of the working class comprising the core of the democratic forces, is duty bound to fight for the general political demands of independence, democracy and peace. The CPJ has been undertaking active efforts in this struggle. The fact that the workers and trade unions are rising in a large-scale struggle, advancing not only economic demands but also political demands connected with the former, further expands and intensifies the struggle of the working class and the entire people. This increases the strength of the blow at the U.S. Japanese ruling circles, which is of vast importance for the realization of the demands aimed at defending the rights and living standards of the working class.

The question of correctly combining economic and political struggle is the basic, fundamental question of the struggle of the working class. Politics is a "concentrated expression of economics" (Lenin), and therefore when the struggle stemming from the vital interests of the working class is developing in all respects it cannot but reach the level of political struggle around the question of ruling power and its policy.

". . . The Social-Democratic Party has always regarded the economic struggle as a component of the proletarian class struggle . . . The economic struggle can bring about a lasting improvement in the conditions of the masses of the workers, and a strengthening of

their truly class organization, only if this struggle is properly combined with the political struggle of the proletariat" (V. I. Lenin, *A Tactical Platform for the Unity Congress).*

"The task of the socialist is to further the indissoluble fusion of the economic and the political struggle into the single class struggle of the socialist working-class masses" (V. I. Lenin, Apropos of the *Profession de foi").*

This is important, even from the viewpoint of the main character and duty of the trade unions. They are a mass class organization uniting the broadest strata of the workers, an organization which fights on the basis of common demands, defending the rights and living standards of the workers regardless of ideology, and religion or party affiliation. It is natural therefore that the trade unions, being as they are the basic mass organization of the working class, should rise to the level of tasks of "struggle between labor and capital in all spheres" (Lenin), including not only economic struggle for the immediate interests of the workers, but also struggle for the political tasks which face the working class and the people. In addition, as the class consciousness of the workers grows, the trade unions should, in the perspective, play an important role also in the struggle for the abolition of the capitalist exploiting system, a struggle which is a historical mission of the working class.

"The immediate task of the trade unions was limited to everyday needs, to attempts to check the continuous onslaught of capital—in a word, to matters of wages and working time. Such activities of trade unions are not only legitimate, but also necessary. They are indispensable as long as the modern mode of production exists . . . Today, regardless of their initial aims, the trade unions should learn how to act consciously as organizing centers of the working class, aiming for its complete emancipation as their supreme task" (K. Marx).

It stands to reason that to mechanically impose political tasks upon the economic struggle of the trade unions, to regard the trade unions as political parties and their periodic political tasks as top-priority tasks, and underestimate the importance of economic struggle, means to breed left-sectarian mistakes. But serious attention should be paid now to pronouncements which restrict the tasks of the trade unions represented by the Japan Council of the IFM to "improving the conditions for the sale of labor power." Attention should be paid to the pronouncements against the participation of the trade unions in the struggle for political tasks. Serious attention should be paid to the talk that political struggle is to be waged by political parties in parliament and that it will be good if the trade unions support it. Serious attention should be paid to the trend which is rallying around the Domei leadership and which is hostile

towards mass political struggle for independence, peace and democracy, and also to the "theory of states," which does not negate political struggle as such but propagates transition from economic to political struggle. Serious attention should be paid to the fact that the mechanical separation of economic struggle from political struggle actually orients the workers and trade unions on economic struggle alone, and that "Japanese trade unionism" and similar trends doom the trade unions to merely passive participation in political struggle. To ensure the correct development of the trade union movement the trade unions should overcome these erroneous views and, proceeding from the demands of the situation and the demands of the workers, be active in "all spheres" of struggle against the forces of U.S.-Japanese reaction. This includes political struggle and the need to pay serious attention also to economic struggle.

THE SOCIALIST LEFT ALTERNATIVE*

C. H. HERMANSSON, CHAIRMAN, LEFT PARTY—
COMMUNISTS OF SWEDEN

Six parties are going to take part in next autumn's general election. Five of them consider that the existing socio-economic system should be preserved in its main features. Our Party—the Left Party—Communists—is the only one to seek the abolition of the capitalist system. We share this conviction with other socialist forces.

The transition from capitalism to socialism is a revolution. We have said long ago that Sweden has the material prerequisites of socialist production in the shape of highly developed and strongly concentrated productive forces. What is lacking is the political forces to lead the revolutionary action indispensable for the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Our contribution to the election campaign and our political work as a whole constitute that aspect of our activity aimed at forming socialist forces. We want to unite wage workers, women, young people, students in a solid bloc that will set about reshaping society.

Limited reforms, that is, the means now in use to which other parties want to confine themselves now as in the future, do not solve the problems facing large segments of the people. Solving the problem of employment and low-paid categories, and ending discrimination against women call for measures other than those being applied today. There is need for a new policy.

The fundamental policy followed by the Social Democrats in governing Sweden was, and still is, collaboration with big finance capital. The official Social-Democratic ideal is a so-called mixed economy, which they think already exists in Sweden. It wants most enterprises to be left in the hands of private owners, and the fact that the Social Democrats wield state power is expected to play the role of a balancing force.

We, however, describe such a social system as capitalistic. To imagine that the ideal of the labor movement could materialize within this system is an illusion. Recent years have also shown clearly enough that the policy of collaboration with big capital has a very adverse effect on labor. Three examples to illustrate:

A few years ago the government alleged that the problem of employment had virtually been solved and that crises and widespread unemployment need not recur. To prevent them, one had

* **Ny Dag**, April 26-May 2, 1968.

only to apply the economic technique devised by the Social Democrats.

Today tens of thousands of wage workers know by bitter experience that that is not true. There is considerable unemployment—an economic consequence of the current policy.

A few years ago it was maintained that the condition of the various strata of society was being adjusted on an extensive scale, and that the gap between poor and rich was closing fast. Some groups were still lagging behind, of course, but solving their problem through the policy of reform was merely a matter of time.

Today everyone admits that that was not true. The gap between rich and poor is widening. The distribution of incomes and fortunes is more uneven than ten years ago—a direct consequence of the current policy.

A few years ago Swedish society was said to be developing on consistently democratic lines, power and influence were supposed to be shared by all citizens and the class society was allegedly going out of existence.

Today even the governmental Concentration Commission says that economic power is still concentrated in the hands of 15 big capitalist families and the big commercial banks linked with them. The class society is still there and affects every walk of life—another direct consequence of the current policy.

Our Party wants to pursue a policy that will, instead, lead to socialist development. The main feature of this policy is the struggle to abolish big capitalist power. We cannot accept the fact that laws and institutions brought into being as a result and for the purpose of preserving a society based on capitalist exploitation prevent burning problems of today from being solved in the interest of the people.

There are certain basic questions which more and more people are asking themselves. Why is it that 15 capitalist families own so decisive a part of the economy? Why are there such great distinctions in incomes and fortunes? Why do we have unemployment? Why are women discriminated against? Why is taxation so cryingly unfair? Why is there a housing problem?

These problems exist because economic power after 35 years of Social-Democratic rule is still largely exercised by private proprietors, by big capitalists. They exist because political power, too, is wielded mainly by the big capitalists and the bourgeoisie, although state power is held by the labor movement. Our aim is to have all power transferred to wage labor, to the trade union movement, the consumers, the tenants—in short, to the people. It is through such deep-going changes in the power sphere that we can realize the necessary political demands.

The election program of the socialist Left for next autumn will

be approved through consultations between the cooperating organizations, this cooperation taking in many fields the form of a direct electoral alliance. It is early to speak of its content in detail but prominent in it will be, clearly, the following demands:

Hundred per cent employment. A law on the right to work. Protection from dismissal, six months' notice of dismissal to be served by the enterprise. A planned economy controlled by wage labor.

An end to low wages. Legislation fixing a minimum wage corresponding to the current basic amount under the tariff pensions system, that is, 17,100 kroner.

An end to price and rent increases. Measures to cut housing expenditures, rent, and so on.

A real wage increase as a result of the coming review of collective bargaining. A united front against the Employers' Union propaganda in favor of a wage freeze.

A democratic taxation policy. Easing the tax burden for wage labor and levying higher taxes on joint-stock companies, the big owners of real estate, and profiteers.

Equal right to work and pay for women and men. Extending the network of nurseries and other facilities.

Granting wage workers the right to look into the activities of the enterprise and to make decisions.

End militarization. Reduce military spending.

Adopt a different policy on the developing countries—a policy redeemed from capitalist interests. Support national and social emancipation movements.

Solidarity with the people of Vietnam. Recognize North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Stop all U.S. bombings, get the Americans out of Vietnam.

It is these and other demands of a similar nature that the socialist Left is striving to realize. A comparison with the policies and the election campaign of other parties shows how essential it is for the Left everywhere in Sweden to offer wage labor, women, youth, students a clear socialist alternative for which they could vote in autumn.

However, victory at the elections cannot be forged in a few tense weeks. In the four or five months separating us from the elections, the socialist Left and their supporters must vigorously bring their alternative home to the electorate—not only through propaganda but through action revealing the necessity for the changes we demand.

The bourgeois parties and big capitalists must be defeated in the elections. This calls for an active and radical policy demonstrating

the resolve and readiness of the labor movement to solve problems, to build a society of security, equality and solidarity. There is need for a policy that will arouse enthusiasm and inspire faith in the future. The socialist Left *has* such a policy.

EDUARDO GALLEGOS MANCERA

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

We cordially greet all the participants in the meeting on behalf of our Central Committee and all Venezuelan Communists who, united round their National Leadership and fighting in towns and villages, in prisons and underground, are undertaking efforts to correct their mistakes, reshape their political line and bring it home to the masses in order further to expand the front of struggle against imperialism, utilizing its various forms with due regard to the current situation and the national pecularities.

We express gratitude to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for its effective work which has greatly facilitated the holding of the Consultative Meeting.

We are taking part in the meeting on instructions from our Central Committee whose plenary meeting was held several weeks ago in strictest secrecy and in conditions of ruthless persecution by a government fully subordinated to U.S. tutelage. We have come to Budapest with a feeling of optimism, being convinced that our meeting will signify an effective step, even if a preliminary and limited one, towards the common aim of uniting our forces to give a more energetic rebuff to the offensive of imperialism and to inflict a decisive defeat upon it. We shall achieve this aim—this should be stressed—only if we ensure that the unification process develops in a fraternal and constructive atmosphere in the direction of that which can unite us, overcoming the existing difficulties.

We have come here with an open mind, without any previously elaborated rigid position, with an intention to accept any initiative, to vigorously support the right of all and each of the parties here to have its own opinion, and to stress, in our turn, the duty of other parties to respect these different viewpoints which have emerged and are bound to emerge in the future, considering the complexity of the situation.

The epoch of unanimity within the world Communist movement resulting from direct or indirect pressure or indicative of the immaturity of parties, is a thing of the past. Hence the need to strive persistently for unity of a new type as a correct reflection of the

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• Speech to the Budapest Consultative Meeting Feb. 26-Mar. 5, 1968.

will of all parties for joint efforts aimed at definitively defeating imperialism and securing the victory of socialism.

The Comintern of the twenties and thirties played an exceptional historical role and substantially contributed to the consolidation of the spirit of internationalism of the world proletariat. But in its later years it became an obvious impediment to the development of the Communist movement.

At present the principle of autonomy of every party is universally recognized and respected, which benefits our entire movement. And we Venezuelan Communists unhesitatingly declare it is an inseparable part of our principles.

Thus we are in Budapest imbued with the spirit of autonomy which is constantly gaining in force and vigor and which, far from contradicting the norms of proletarian internationalism, is being intertwined with them. Proceeding from this, we must resolutely declare that narrow nationalist positions, which have nothing in common with our conception and which inevitably lead to isolation, can never be reconciled to the international solidarity of the working class, to the need for joint struggle against the common enemy and for mutual assistance in defeating it on all fronts and levels.

This principle of autonomy, which has to be stressed, presupposes equality. Respect for this equality among the Communist and Workers' parties is testified to by the Budapest Consultative Meeting, at which an equal voice belongs to all parties, both big and small, ruling parties and those fighting for power.

The Communist Party of Venezuela hails this atmosphere of mutual respect and hopes that neither at this meeting nor during the preparation for the conference will this atmosphere change in any appreciable way, whatever divergencies and disagreements may arise.

Speaking of autonomy, we logically also speak of our firm will to continue to oppose any interference in the internal affairs of other parties, no matter where it comes from. We have conclusively proved our determination not to tolerate it. Nothing will make us change this stand. Therefore we consider it timely to recall the following propositions stated in the October 1966 letter of our Central Committee to the fraternal Latin American parties: "Elaboration of the national political line on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary experience of other countries is an exclusive responsibility of every Communist and Workers' party. The principles of mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of other parties must underlie our conduct in this sphere, which does not exclude but, on the contrary, demands exchange of opinions and experience, sound fraternal advice, and even constructive criticism."

The resolution on the problems of the world Communist move-

ment adopted at the 9th Meeting of our CC held recently in Caracas, stresses with utmost clarity: "We support and abide by the proposition according to which only the party concerned is called upon to solve problems of elaborating and implementing its political line and that any trend to impose, from the outside, a definite orientation means inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of that party."

It is common knowledge that our Party has been a victim of flagrant violation, by a fraternal party, of the norms of proletarian internationalism, of the principle of mutual respect we are talking about, of the inalienable right of every party to freely shape and reshape its internal line without any pressure from the outside.

In this connection we want to touch upon a problem of special importance, the problem of solidarity. If the Budapest Meeting and other meetings and conferences will stimulate moral and material solidarity with the peoples fighting against international monopolies and domestic reaction, a great step forward will be made. But this solidarity, we emphasize, should not be accompanied by any conditions, any pressure or hegemonistic aspirations. It should be fraternal. On this score, it was pointed out at the 9th Meeting of our CC: "Those whose solidarity is based on a desire to impose their will, are not rendering assistance, but buying submission."

An example of principles by which the fraternal parties, weak or strong, should abide in their relationships can be furnished by our links with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties of the socialist countries. We have received from them fraternal support, with no strings attached, both in the periods of uprise and in trying times, both when we were reaping the fruits of victories and when, after bitter defeats, we endeavored to correct our mistakes and to begin anew the onward march. And we state this in the interest of truth, in order to point to a valuable example which should be invariably followed. We want to make it clear once again that if this support had been made conditional on any form of subordination the Venezuelan Communists would have rejected it with the dignity which has always been our principle.

In relation to other important problems discussed in the world Communist movement our delegation, correctly interpreting the spirit of the resolution of the 9th Meeting of our CC, should like to state its viewpoint. There should not be any directing center. As some comrades have already pointed out correctly, the principle of democratic centralism, this Leninist norm which is the organizational basis of our parties, should be applied only on an inner-party level, and should be entirely excluded as a norm of the world Communist movement. We also consider that no party, regardless of its stand on the problems discussed, should be excommunicated, excluded or collectively condemned. Thus we leave open the possi-

bility and stress the necessity that those parties which for various reasons are not present at the Budapest Meeting should be able to join at a later date, in some form or other, in the work of the preparatory commission or take part in the conference itself. Therefore we support any initiative aimed at ensuring that the parties not attending this meeting should occupy their place among us, in this collective vanguard, in the great international army of the proletariat. We should not feel satisfied by the fact that the majority of the Communist and Workers' parties are present here, because we do not see among us precisely those parties which are directly under the imperialists' fire. We must apply maximum efforts to see to it that the forthcoming conference is attended by all those contingents of the working class which are guided in their activity by the theory of Marxism-Leninism and whose ultimate aim is communism. To this end we should instruct the preparatory commission which will evidently be constituted as a result of our deliberations to realize, with the help of sub-commissions established for this purpose, or by other means, all the necessary bilateral contacts with a view to achieving these aims. Unity of action against imperialism is the principal objective by which we should guide ourselves. No possibility should be underestimated in the search for it. In this sense we vigorously support the proposal, made by Comrade Komocsin on behalf of the Hungarian delegation, on holding a world conference of solidarity with the Vietnamese people with the participation of all Communist and Workers' parties as well as other parties, revolutionary and progressive movements, trade union, youth and women's organizations and public leaders who support heroic Vietnam and come out against the aggressor. We think that this proposal should be supported by all delegations and expressly stated in the program of action prior to and after the world conference. Any secondary problem should be dismissed for the sake of considering the question of rendering all-round support to the fraternal Vietnamese people which they deserve and require. All disagreements should be subordinated to this pressing task. Nor should we forget that while rendering this support to the Vietnamese people we express full solidarity with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, who are constantly threatened by the imperialists, with the people of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, who are subjected to U.S. provocations, the people of Cuba, who are courageously resisting the attacks of their rapacious neighbor, the people of the Dominican Republic, who are constantly threatened with new occupation, the peoples of the Middle East, who are victims of the maneuvers of international monopoly capital, and also the people of the United States itself, who are already rising against the monster in their land.

Another topical theme which we do not want to pass in silence

and which assumes special significance for Latin America, is the need to oppose those currents in the anti-imperialist movement which tend to deny the importance and historical role of the working class. We have already spoken about this, and we want to repeat once again: "The hegemony of revolutionary movements is not decreed, it is won. Leadership of the revolutionary process belongs precisely to Communist and Workers' parties by virtue of their historical mission, class structure and ideological clarity, of which their consistency is a result, and by virtue of the revolutionary experience acquired by them. All fraternal parties should strive to make this thesis a reality in every country."

In addition to the questions to which we have briefly referred, we should like to state the position of our Party on the matter of international relations. Our aim is to maintain and broaden fraternal contacts with all Communist parties without exception, regardless of their internal policies and of whether or not they are taking part in this meeting. We want to declare resolutely from this rostrum that if our relations with certain fraternal parties have worsened in some instances, this has not been our wish. We shall consistently strive to remove the difficulties that have arisen, but on the condition that this will in no way detract from our dignity and independence. We shall strive to avoid anything that may worsen the already grave situation in the world Communist movement. We shall consistently adhere to the letter and spirit of the recently adopted resolution of our Central Committee, which pointed out: "Our Party will avoid public polemic with other fraternal parties and will not interfere in their internal affairs. We proceed from the principle that in every country national movements shape and implement their political line and are responsible for it to the people of their country. In conformity with these principles, we refrain from publicly stating our opinion of the policy of other fraternal parties and movements."

Guiding ourselves by this resolution, we adhere to a position of non-interference in the polemic which developed at this meeting and which culminated in the departure of the Rumanian comrades, and thereby we remain loyal to the norms established by our Party.

This, in general outline, is our stand on the problems which particularly agitate us and which should be studied more thoroughly during the preparation for the forthcoming conference or at new bilateral or multilateral meetings between parties. It remains for us to state our attitude towards the proposals that have been made on ways of successfully completing the unification process started at the Budapest Consultative Meeting.

We stand for holding an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, which will promote, as was pointed

out at our CC meeting, unity of action in the fight against imperialism and its aggressive plans.

We share the opinion of other fraternal parties that the agenda should not be the same as that of the 1960 Conference and that, consequently, the conference should not adopt a general document such as the 1960 Conference adopted. We stand for the agenda to be limited and oriented principally on the most topical problems.

We unanimously support the proposal that the conference be convened at the end of 1968 and expect the preparatory commission, which will be set up, to hold consultations with various parties in order to ensure the success of the conference.

We fully share the opinion, expressed by the majority of parties, that the preparatory commission include representatives of all parties taking part in the Budapest Meeting and all other Communist and Workers' parties which may express the desire to take part in the conference and cooperate in preparing it. The preparatory commission should work out its order and plan of work so as to contribute to the success of the conference. Frequent contacts of the representatives of the parties with their central committees will ensure harmony and guarantee the necessary support of the decisions to be adopted.

We consider that the conference should be convened in Moscow, considering the great possibilities which the fraternal Soviet Party possesses for the successful holding of the conference.

We propose that during the preparatory stage the possibility be considered of holding seminars and meetings which, in addition to facilitating the general elucidation of pressing ideological problems, will contribute to the cohesion of the participants. We hold that one of the seminars or meetings should be devoted exclusively to the problems of Latin America, in which a profound interest has been evinced of late.

We stand for inviting to the conference and, of course, to the preparatory commission, all Communist and Workers' parties, regardless of whether or not they took part in the 1960 Moscow Conference. Although it is clear that the convening of the conference cannot be made dependent on universal participation, it would be useful if this Consultative Meeting recommended to the preparatory commission to exert maximum efforts to secure the participation of all fraternal parties.

COMMUNIQUE* OF A MEETING OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The Preparatory Commission of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties held a meeting in Budapest over April 24-28.

Representatives of the following fifty-four parties took part in the meeting: Communist Party of the United States of America, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Chile, Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece, Guatemalan Party of Labor, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of India, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Communist Party of Israel, Jordanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Colombia, Polish United Workers' Party, Communist Party of Lesotho, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxemburg, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Moroccan Communist Party, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany —West Berlin, Italian Communist Party, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto Rican Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, Communist Party of Spain, Swiss Party of Labor, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Sudanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Venezuela, and the representative of an illegal party.

In addition, another fifteen parties, which have already given notice that they will take part in the International Conference, have for various reasons been unable to send their representatives to the meeting of the Preparatory Commission.

All party representatives took part in the discussion, touching

* **Pravda,** April 30, 1968.

upon a wide range of problems of the struggle against imperialism, for the unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties and all anti-imperialist forces. Proposals were made regarding problems to be discussed at the Conference.

The Preparatory Commission fixed the date of the opening of the International Conference in Moscow—November 25, 1968.

The Preparatory Commission considered the question of the content and method of elaboration of draft documents, and other questions pertaining to the preparation of the Conference.

The Preparatory Commision set up a working group to draft materials for the conference.

Any party which so desires may take part in the work of this group.

The working group held its first session on April 28.

All proposals for the working group will be considered at the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission in September. Prepared materials will be sent to the central committees of all Communist and Workers' parties.

The Commission calls upon the Communist and Workers' parties which are not yet taking part in the preparation of the Conference to join in this work in the interest of promoting the unity of action of the Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against imperialism.

The Commission requests the parties which are unable to dispatch their representatives to take part in preparatory work to send to it their materials and proposals on points of the agenda of the forthcoming Conference.

The work of the Preparatory Commission, which passed in an atmosphere of comradely free exchange of opinions, demonstrated the growing striving of the Communist and Workers' parties for international cooperation in the fight for common aims.

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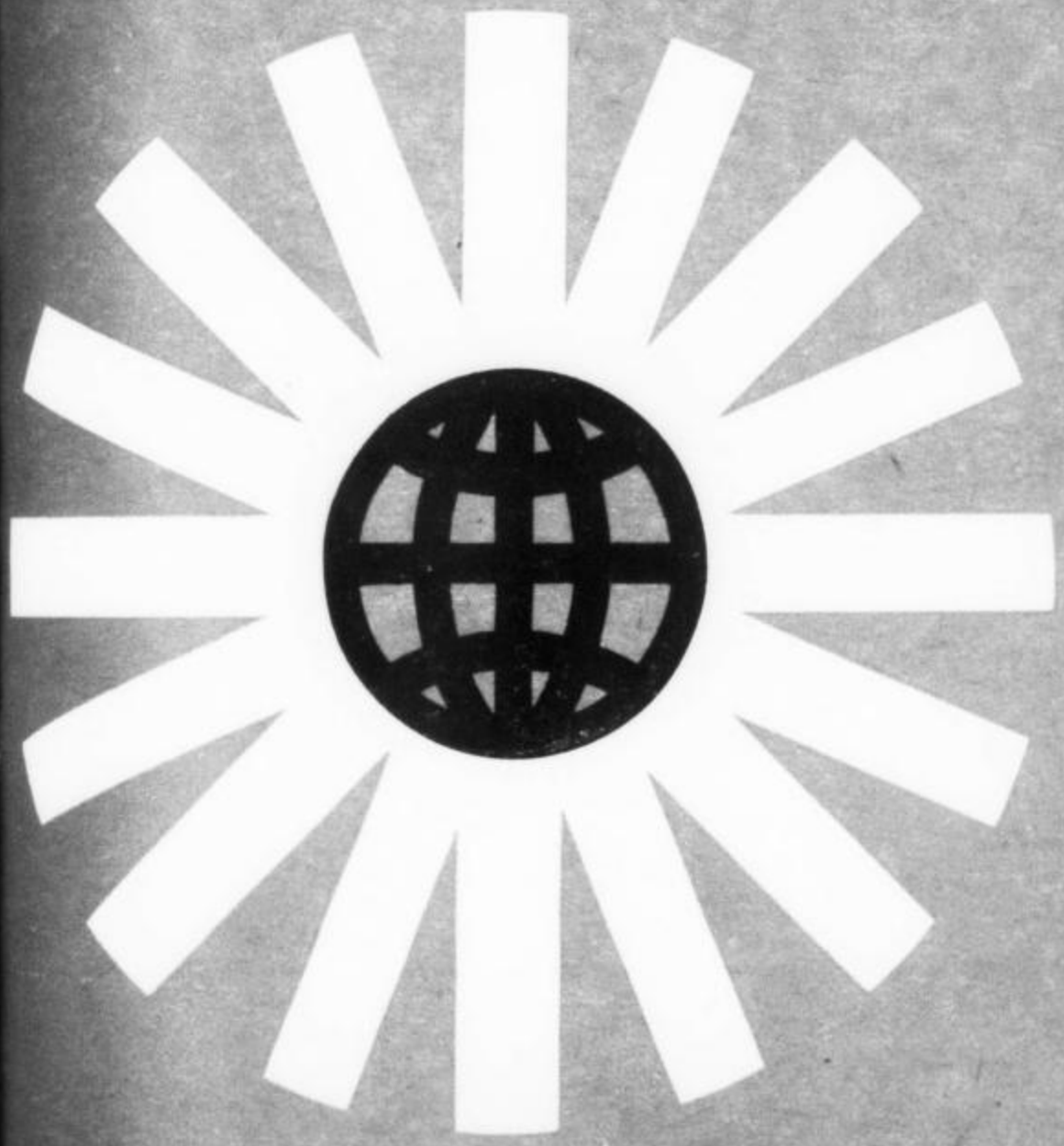

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In this issue

THE GUATEMALAN REVOLUTION: ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE

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contents

VALUABLE SUPPORT FOR VIETNAMESE PEOPLE
Editorial in **Nhan Dan** 5

RESOLUTION OF THE CC MEXICAN CP 7

THE GUATEMALAN REVOLUTION: ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE
Statement by CC Guatemalan PL 10

DOCUMENTS
Third national conference
Iraqi CP 26

STATEMENT
Political Bureau, CC Bulgarian CP 43

WHO'S GOT THE ANSWER?
Article in **The Worker** 46

STATEMENT
French Communist Party 50

COMMUNIQUE
Italian CP Leadership 52

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VALUABLE SUPPORT FOR THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

NHAN DAN EDITORIAL*, MARCH 11, 1968

The recently published Declaration on the Threat to Peace Resulting from the Escalation of U.S. Aggression in Vietnam which was adopted at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries reaffirms the determination of the fraternal socialist countries closely linked with our people to step up their aid to our people in their fight for complete victory over aggressive U.S. imperialism.

The Declaration notes the signal victories scored recently by the armed forces and the population in the South of our country, and stresses: "The latest events in Vietnam . . . testify that the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people has entered a new stage . . . The offensive of the liberation forces actively supported by the people of South Vietnam has thoroughly shaken the entire U.S.-Saigon military system. It has again vividly demonstrated the unity of the people and the National Liberation Front, the heroism and courage of the Vietnamese patriots, the revolutionary strength of the liberation movement which expresses the national aspirations of the people, their resolution to drive the aggressors from Vietnam." The participants in the meeting wholeheartedly congratulate the Vietnamese people on their tremendous successes and victories in the fight against the U.S. aggressors, successes and victories which are of great international significance.

The Warsaw Treaty states reaffirmed their resolute support of the known four-point stand of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Political Program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and the DRV government's demand for an unconditional cessation of air raids and all other acts of war against the DRV. They emphatically condemn the U.S. ruling circles and their hypocritical pronouncements designed to camouflage further war escalation.

They solemnly warn the U.S. government that it bears all responsibility for the continuation and expansion of the war in Vietnam, and urge it to cease immediately, definitively and unconditionally bombing raids and other acts of war against the DRV and the military intervention in South Vietnam, withdraw its troops and those of its allies and satellites from South Vietnam, and

*Information Bulletin of the international department of the CC SUPG, No. 9, 1968.

respect the right of the Vietnamese people to settle its own affairs.

The Warsaw Treaty states declared again their determination to increase assistance and aid to our people, who stand "on the front-line of armed struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression," and their intention to go on rendering our people "full support and all necessary assistance, including the dispatch of economic aid, means of defense, technical equipment and specialists." The Warsaw Treaty states reaffirm their readiness, should the DRV government so request, to enable their volunteers to go to Vietnam. The Declaration expresses firm conviction that "the Vietnamese people will win, and the just cause for which they are fighting will triumph."

The Declaration is a new striking proof of the firm support and important assistance which the fraternal socialist countries are rendering our people in their struggle against the United States, for national salvation. It stresses the combat solidarity and relations of mutual assistance and support on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism between the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the socialist camp. Thy have the same lofty ideal — socialism and communism — and they are fighting against a common enemy — aggressive and bellicose U.S. imperialism. By unleashing its war of aggression against Vietnam the United States committed a crime against the sacred national rights of our people, against the national-liberation movement, against freedom, peace and justice; at the same time its war of aggression against Vietnam is a serious provocation against all socialist countries. The socialist countries reply to this provocation with active support for the struggle of our people. The aid being given us by the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries enables our people to increase their economic and defense potential and intensify the struggle against U.S. aggression. The ever new successes scored daily by our people and their armed forces are closely connected with the help of the parties, governments and peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, the Communist movement, the working class and the peoples of all the world upholding independence and freedom. Our people appreciate very highly the assistance and support they are receiving from the fraternal countries and regard them as a factor of primary importance which enables them constantly to build up their forces in order to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Our people and their armed forces, inspired by their successes, are firmly resolved to score still more brilliant victories over U.S. imperialism in order to liberate the South, defend the North and contribute to the defense of the socialist camp and world peace.

FOR FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD WORLD COMMUNIST UNITY

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party, which met in plenary session on April 14 and 15, 1968, heard a report by the CC delegation to the Budapest consultative meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties and approved the position adopted by the delegation at the meeting. With regard to the results of the meeting and the problems of world Communist unity at the present stage, the CC MCP resolves:

1. Our Party was correct in deciding to attend the Budapest consultative meeting, whose convocation was initiated by 18 brother parties last November with a view to preparing for and holding a new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

2. The CC MCP considers that, in view of the intensification of the imperialist policy of aggression and the need to consolidate the front of the forces fighting for peace, democracy and socialism, it is a task really brooking no delay to advance firmly to the preparations for and the holding of a new international conference of the parties. In this respect, the Budapest consultative meeting was the first phase of the actual preparations for the conference and a very important step toward unity, for it approved a series of measures guaranteeing the convening of the conference within a specific time limit.

3. The meeting laid a solid basis for the advance to a new and more lasting unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties. The principal trend of the Communist movement is toward cohesion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The CC MCP holds that our Party should continue to contribute to this trend.

There are considerable differences in the world Communist movement between Communist parties over the estimation of numerous problems of the present situation and the outlook, differences due in large measure to the complex and contradictory nature of social development. Each party evolves its line in complete independence and carries on its fight according to the concrete situation in its country, combining national peculiarities and traditions with the interests of the international working class and its movement.

*La Voz de México, April 21, 1968.

The Budapest consultative meeting revealed the will and desire of most of the parties to rally the Communist forces in order to fight jointly against imperialism, the common enemy, and to win new victories for the forces fighting for socialism, peace, democracy and national independence.

4. The CC MCP approves of the conclusions of the Budapest consultative meeting—the agenda of the forthcoming international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, the objectives, date and place of the conference, and the measures and methods to be used in preparing for it. It is highly important that these decisions, contained in the final Communique of the meeting, were passed unanimously. This is clear evidence of the spirit of unity prevailing at the meeting and a convincing proof that the brother parties which attended the meeting were inspired by the firm resolve to take real steps toward the unity of the Communist movement.

5. The CC MCP regards as correct the decision of the Budapest consultative meeting to make the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and the unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties, of all anti-imperialist forces the central theme of the coming international conference. The fight against imperialism is the most pressing issue of today and can ensure best the unity of all the contingents of the Communist movement and the other anti-imperialist forces of the world.

The CC MCP considers that the coming Moscow conference should conclude by approving a political document which should, in our opinion, list the important aspects of coordinnated action by the Communist movement and its common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, as well as the principles of restoring and promoting the unity of the world Communist movement at the present stage of its development.

A document of this kind would play a decisive role in uniting the different streams of the world revolutionary movement and in bringing about on this basis new victories in the just struggle of the peoples against international imperialism and reaction.

The Central Committee believes that, in addition to the above document, the international conference will have to adopt a declaration of solidarity with fighting Vietnam and an appeal to step up the fight for world peace. We also declared for the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties helping to convene an international meeting of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces.

6. The CC MCP regards as proper the methods of preparing for the new international conference of the parties approved by the consultative meeting. The conference is not intended to excommunicate, condemn or criticize any contingent of the Communist

movement but to strengthen the unity of the movement against imperialism.

The CC MCP sees the international conference as a necesary stage in consolidating the world Communist movement, to be followed up by further unitary actions for which the conference will have provided new conditions.

The CC MCP is confident that the Communists of the world will devote their energies to solving in common the important and exacting problems which the situation poses before the world Communist movement. The Mexican Communist Party, for its part, will make every effort to contribute to the success of the new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Workers of all countries, unite!

Mexico City, April 15, 1968.

THE GUATEMALAN REVOLUTION: ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE

STATEMENT* BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, GUATEMALAN PARTY OF LABOR

The revolutionary process in Guatemala is at a most critical stage of its development. We must examine, with a keen sense of responsibility and objectivity, the present situation and the outlook for the future, their relationship with the international situation, the alignment of our forces, and the concrete possibilities of furthering the revolutionary struggle in general and the people's war in particular as the road leading to victory in our revolution.

Only the most exacting objectivity in estimating reality and the greatest calm, which is all the more necessary at a time when the Party has sustained blows, can provide us with a correct tactic and a clear perspective to press forward our struggle. In examining the situation, we cannot and should not proceed from only our wishes, our enthusiasm and resolve, from a one-sided appraisal of the blows we have been dealt, nor from our opportunities for struggle. To approach the issue from any one of these isolated angles, overrate the forces of the enemy and underrate our own forces, or vice versa, would lead us to subjective estimations of the shortcomings of our work and our revolutionary action.

In the present conditions of rugged trial, some comrades show negative tendencies. On the one hand, it is pessimism and defeatism which impel them to withdraw, giving up the fight, and on the other, despair, a tendency to make reckless moves without stopping to think of the objectives—a tendency to push on at random, to skip stages.

The importance of the action plans for last January lay in the possibility of proving the failure of the regime's "pacification year," in demonstrating our militant existence despite the hard blows we had sustained, and in showing the people and other democratic forces by deeds that we were committed to a people's revolutionary war.

The brutal assassination of Rogelia Cruz was a leap and a new form of terrorist repression used by the regime. The circumstances of this atrocious crime showed that the enemy was out, within its special war, to murder with impunity women and relatives of

*Abridged.

revolutionaries or of persons suspected of being revolutionaries.

The death toll taken by the Méndex Montenegro-Arriaga Bosque government exceeds 3,000 people. The tragic tide goes on sweeping away the lives of revolutionary patriots and innocent persons. The assassination of ex-Miss Guatemala created political conditions for hitting the enemy by means of denunciation and action.

We rallied our forces, proposed cooperation to other organizations and began to strike at military objectives or repressive bodies, to concentrate our blows in time, to strike and withdraw. Our actions proved successful.

The enemy's savage counter-blow was not long in coming. The Americans intensified their cooperation with the security service to crush the movement. Repressions were stepped up under the state of emergency. Our forces were hard hit. In addition to the fighters and valuable Party workers who fell in December, the new wave of repression claimed more fighters and outstanding national leaders, such as Major Leonardo Castillo Johnson, Professor Rafael Tischler and Cayetano Barreno, the labor lader, all three members of our Central Committee.

The enemy could not destroy us but our forces were affected. The situation is aggravated by the split in FAR (Revolutionary Armed Forces).

We must admit that our greatest weakness (we will deal with it further on) is that *our links with the masses are weak.*

MAIN FEATURES OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

Late in 1967 and early this year the government issued a survey of the nation's economy and finances, using undoubtedly doctored figures. These figures, derived from official statistics, show a reduction of *coffee prices* on the world market and since coffee is our basic export item and chief source of foreign exchange, this drop is in itself a telling blow to our economy. The situation is similar with regard to sugar, bananas, essential oils, chewing gum and other export products. A result of this and of failure to solve problems of the national economy, which is increasingly dependent on the U.S. economy, is that while in 1963 our balance of payments showed a deficit of 33 m., in 1967 the deficit stood at 75m.

The public debt has already risen to 200 m. To maintain its precarious balance, the regime persists in seeking loans at home and abroad. The chronic crisis of agriculture continues. This agricultural year the country will have to import, according to press reports, about 40,000 tons of corn, a staple foodstuff and a raw material required by some industries.

At the beginning of the year the government tried to put a new burden on the people. The five and 20 per cent increase, respectively,

in the sales prices of some consumer goods and luxuries sent the cost of living soaring. The people's immediate and violent reaction forced the government to retreat by suspending its decision and cutting budget expenditures. The reduction of some appropriations seriously affected the program of reform aimed at deceiving the people. Meanwhile *more and more is being spent on the armed forces and the repressive agencies.*

One does not have to go very deep to realize that the already unquestionable effects of the crisis of the country will tell on the working people, on the peasants and middle classes, impairing their standard of living still more. The cost of living goes on rising as real incomes and wages decline and unemployment mounts.

Banking and financial experts comment that should this situation persist, the quetzal is bound to be devalued as a predictable result of internal problems and, to a still greater extent, of the grave problems besetting the U.S. dollar, which is likewise seriously threatened and to which we are linked economically and financially.

Thus *the consequencves of being a backward, single-crop agrarian country depending on U.S. imperialism* are obvious to even the most hardheaded. Nothing but deep-going radical structural changes resulting from a revolutionary upsurge can resolve the crisis and the age-old problems of our people.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

In the political sphere, the principal trait of the government is its increasingly violent and criminal repressive character.

Despite its contradictions, the regime represents the interests of the dominant and exploiting classes in their totality and hence the interests and the policy of U.S. imperialism. With the coming of Méndez Montenegro to power, new social and political forces joined the military dictatorship, the real force in power, under the guise of a "democratic and constitutional" government. In this sense, the balance was tipped in favor of the counter-revolution.

The *internal contradictions* make themselves felt in the armed forces, the Revolutionary Party and the government itself. They tend to grow in step with the aspiration to the Presidency and may well touch off a military coup.

The revolutionary and popular forces, for all that they are right and wield potential strength, find themselves in a state of stagnation. After more than four years of armed struggle, active participation by the masses and support by the bulk of the people, who remain largely an onlooker rather than a participant in the drama of the revolution, have yet to be secured. While some comrades affirm that we are advancing with a fair wind, maintaining the initiative and striking blow upon blow at the enemy, we must face

reality. The principal battles are still fought by vanguard units. Our forces have been hard hit. The Edgar Ibarra Guerrilla Front (FGEI) has virtually been dislodged from its main positions in Sierra de las Minas. The strength of the 13th November Revolutionary Movement (MR13) has been noticeably reduced. We have suffered important losses. Discontent and opposition are growing but so far we have been unable to coordinate them and channel them in the direction of the main blow. The split in the revolutionary movement is making the situation still worse.

Our struggle has won sympathy among large segments of the population, and the politically more conscious and advanced elements have given us valuable help. But we have yet to establish solid links with the masses, and we do not yet respond properly to their vital demands, their problems and daily struggles. This explains why their sympathy is not active and why their awareness of the problems of revolution and war is faint.

Counter-revolutionary terror and demagogy have immobilized the trade union movement, led largely by opportunist elements with a syndicalist outlook. The working class is harassed by persecution and terror. The peasants' open fight for land is completely nullified for the same reasons. Even student activity has declined. To be sure, this is a temporary state of affairs but it is a reality none the less.

The greater our mistakes and weak points, the more telling the blows we are dealt. We must remember, however, that in this early stage of the people's war, while we are right and possess great potential strength, the enemy is stronger materially, has a larger military force and commands powerful economic resources, national or of foreign origin, and is directly aided by imperialism, the enemy we must ultimately defeat in every country.

We have said that *the balance of forces is still unfavorable to us.* This is a fundamental consideration in evolving strategy and tactics. We should not view the alignment of forces solely from the standpoint of our class interests and the interests of the counter-revolution, that is, the interests of the workers, peasants and middle classes, who make up over 80 per cent of the population, on the one hand, and the interests of imperialism and the bourgeois and landowner oligarchy, who fall short of 20 per cent, on the other.

When we examine the period since the defeat of 1954 we see that the revolution has been on the upgrade since 1961. Its culminations were the open mass struggles in March and April 1962 and the armed actions of FAR in 1966 whose significance and impact were nationwide. But it has not been a continuous ascent, a triumphal march, it has had its ups and downs. At present, after the blows we have been dealt and the split in our forces, we are at a low. For all the important actions that are carried out, the Guatemalan

revolution is in a state of stagnation at the moment, it is passing through a crucial period of reorganization, rallying and preparation.

As we look at the *international scene,* and more particularly at Latin America, we find that, despite certain important struggles and actions, there has been a period of ebb.

The world revolution as a whole, in terms of its potentialities and perspectives, is marching victoriously on. The balance of world forces is becoming increasingly favorable to the socialist camp and revolution. The socialist countries are making headway in various fields despite differences and problems.

In the imperialist camp, on the other hand, there are obvious problems, failures and contradictions: the independent position of France, the devaluation of the pound sterling in Britain, the progress of the Negroes' struggle for civil rights in the United States, the grave problems of the dollar, the important demonstrations against the aggression in Vietnam—in Europe and the United States itself.

The downfall of the colonial system and the rise of what is known as the third world, with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America gaining greater influence, tipped the international scales in favor of the revolution. Socialist Cuba staunchly holds its ground at the head of the Latin American revolution.

In *Southeast Asia,* Vietnam remains the crux of the international situation. The U.S. imperialists are suffering serious political and military setbacks. The January offensive of the glorious people of Vietnam wrested the military initiative from the imperialists and carried the war to a climax. It is clearly in Southeast Asia that U.S. imperialism is sustaining its worst reverses.

Nevertheless, *it would be wrong to overlook our own setbacks,* to shut our eyes to the ebb that has set in in some African and Latin American countries. Speaking of those that are nearest to us in space and time and have a more direct bearing on our struggle, we may say that despite important open actions by the masses and some actions of a military nature in Latin America, the struggle is at a lower level than two years ago.

There is a temporary ebb whose causes have to be carefully analyzed. The objective requisites of the struggle exist. We are certain that new and important battles are approaching for which we must prepare adequately. The revolution is marching on in the face of setbacks.

THE SPLIT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The split is a negative development benefiting the enemy. But unity for unity's sake, lacking solid principles and devoid of mutual confidence and unity of purpose, is just as negative. Our Party has always maintained, as a matter of principle, a unitary attitude

toward other revolutionary and popular forces, even though its policy has not always been successful.

Unity is very important for the revolutionary movement but not decisive in itself—it has to be linked with the process of struggle. In every revolutionary organization there must be freedom of discussion, ideological struggle and unity of action. Unity goes with struggle and vice versa, as in any process. Hence we do not regard the split as something fatal. We are convinced that sooner or later the revolutionary process will rally together its finest forces and range the whole people behind them.

Nevertheless, we are concerned about the split. More than any other political or social phenomenon, war demands unity. We are particularly concerned about the split in the present state of our struggle because it misleads the people and serves the enemy.

The revolutionary and popular forces of Guatemala have been divided for some time now. Important popular and democratic groups have withdrawn, and different concepts and methods have separated us despite the community of struggle against a common enemy. However, the gravest split is in the armed struggle. We succeeded in uniting to form the first FAR, then came the split into FAR and MR12. And now the MR13 shows a trend toward unity while FAR is divided.

We wish to deal briefly with the split in FAR.

FAR became the most authoritative and influential national organization, the unifying force of the armed struggle. All who made up FAR contributed to this development. No one can deny that the comrades of the FGEI led by Luis Turcios made an important and decisive contribution, but neither can anyone deny the considerable share we Communists have had in building up the prestige of FAR.

Some comrades, blinded by the split, say that we furnished ideas while they gave lives. It is unpardonable to flaunt the number of the fallen, for their venerable blood is the common patrimony of the people and revolution of Guatemala. We pay homage to their memory *with unfurled banners.*

An intense ideological struggle has been going on in FAR and the Party leadership for some time. The key issues are the conception of armed struggle and the form in which it should be waged, the role of the Party and the activity of the united front, working methods and other questions, such as international problems of the movement.

The Party conference early in 1966 renewed the Central Committee by almost half to admit new comrades directly in charge of the armed struggle. While the conference did not carry all the problems deeper, there was unanimity on the armed struggle as the road of the Guatemalan revolution, and on the necessity for the Party and its unity.

In June 1967, when the posts that had fallen vacant in the CC were filled, five new comrades were promoted, four of whom belonged to the FGEI or identified themselves with its position. By then the command of FAR had been set up, with César Montes as commander-in-chief. *In keeping with the concept of integrated leadership,* which met reality and prevailing conditions, *the comrades were never barred from leading posts.* Adhering to a unitary and flexible position, we made too many concessions. The comrades, rather than carrying on a principled struggle inside the movement, opted for forming a separate organization of a military character, bypassing the Party. The split became a fact in October 1967.

The comrades advance the thesis of concentrating all forces and resources at one point (focal point of the Cuban experience) so as to spread the struggle victoriously to the whole republic.

Concentration in space may for a passing moment make us stronger tactically. But it will prompt the enemy to mass his forces and will make us neglect the task of bringing the masses into the class struggle, so that in the long run we will be weakened strategically. If the thesis of the focal point was disputable before, it is more than disputable in the light of recent international (Bolivian) and national experience.

Furthermore, it is impossible to proceed seriously and with a sense of responsibility to concentration under the leadership of comrades who refuse to make an objective and self-critical assessment of the experience of the FGEI.

It is wrong to insist on all comrades going to the mountains and so to underestimate the role of the comrades who cannot go there for various reasons. The revolution and the war necessitate work everywhere and on all fronts. The Party cadres and its rank and file should be assigned to where they can be most useful. To insist on leaving the towns and other areas is not only wrong but utopian. It is not mere chance that some FGEI leaders are compelled to solve important problems of the struggle in the towns.

As regards the *role of the Party,* while the comrades recognized in the course of discussions its necessity, the need to adjust it to the exigencies of the struggle—points on which we agree—in reality they tried to combat it, to deprive it of importance and authority although some of them came from its ranks or were members of its leadership. It is true that our Party found it hard to adapt itself to the new forms of struggle and working methods. But we were aware from the first of the changing reality, the new problems and, above all, the vast importance of the new forces that were joining in the struggle, giving it a formidable impetus. It was not out of friendship or sympathy but for their unquestionable performance that many of them, who had been active in our

youth movement, were fast promoted to leading posts in the Party and key positions in the armed struggle.

And yet some comrades regard these facts as a maneuver by the Party designed to keep them under CC control and to profit by their prestige. It is clear that if we had proceeded differently they would now be accusing us of barring their way to the leadership.

The comrades failed to appreciate the limitations of the Party and to support its efforts. They viewed the successes of each Party member on their own merits, in isolation from the organization which had schooled him. They attribute everyone's mistakes to the Party, which they subject to destructive criticism.

At first the campaign was directed against certain comrades of the old leadership of the Party, then against the entire leadership, for which the term *mafia* was borrowed, and lastly, against the Party as a whole. Inspired by some theses of Régis Debray, whose work *Revolution Within the Revolution* synthesizes the Cuban revolution in its own way, they contend one-sidedly that the fundamental thing is guerrilla warfare, that the Party can wait, that it is not needed for the development of the armed struggle.

Despite the flexibility we have shown in tackling the problems of unity and integration and despite the concessions made on certain points, we have always upheld, as we uphold now, the existence and inner unity of the Party as the only guarantee of maintaining proletarian positions in the revolution. One cannot be a Marxist-Leninist and yet underrate the role of the Party. The effort to overcome the errors and weaknesss of the Party, to renovate the Party and adjust it in increasing measure to the needs of the war can be made only from the standpoint of our theory, from within, through constructive criticism.

In view of the agrarian character and the backwardness of our country, which has a large peasant population, and of the role which the peasants must play in the armed struggle, we regard the peasantry as the fundamental force. At the same time we see the working class as the most advanced of the exploited classes, the bearer of the seeds of socialism, the master of the scientific theory of the revolution, the leading force. The performance of its role by the working class can be guaranteed only through its vanguard party. We therefore reject every tendency to reduce the role of the Communist Party—the Guatemalan Party of Labor in this case—on any plea whatsoever.

There is a tendency to underestimate the working class because it is not numerous, because most of its organizations are immobilized by reformist trends and opportunist leaders subservient to the government and the employers, because it is difficult to draw it into the guerrilla movement, and so on. The particular is mistaken for the general. Certain manifestations are seen but not analyzed.

No account is taken of their development, their revolutionary meaning or their potentialities. Nor is it the first time in history that such tendencies have emerged.

The Guatemalan working class has a noteworthy battle record. The principal gains of the October Revolution have left their stamp on it. It refused to surrender to repression and resists enemy repression even now, despite its limitations.

The *criticism of working methods* has not been wholly unfounded. It must be pointed out that our activity has been handicapped by a certain rigidity, sluggishness and red tape. However, the criticism was used, not as a means of correcting these errors, but as a base for attacking the Party. Following that, not only bad methods were criticized, but such good methods and habits were abandoned as underground work, control over funds, etc. Worst of all, under the pretext of ensuring rapidity and efficiency the need for planning was forgotten, improvisation and haste were allowed to gain ascendancy, general discipline was weakened, and anarchy was to be observed in work.

The situation of FAR was really getting worse. Hurt feelings, doubts and apprehensions, as well as maneuvers round the struggle for control over the movement complicated work and killed any initiative. Open and frank discussion and renovation of the structure, launched with the establishment of the united command, constituted the correct way out. The comrades began to orient themselves on the creation of a separate apparatus under their complete control, apart from the Party, and ignored the integrated leadership and the command itself. Recognizing their right to the establishment of their own organization and wishing to avoid clashes, the CC meeting in December 1967 decided to remove from the Party and from leading posts those who stood on anti-Party positions.

For our part, we suggested turning FAR into a *united front* of all organizations fighting with arms in hand—MR13, the comrades of FGEI, and ourselves—and let this be known to the comrades from FGEI and MR13, who agreed with us in principle. The comrades from FGEI replied to us in a document signed in Sierra de las Minas on February 10, 1968, in which they insulted and slandered the Party, misrepresenting the path traversed by it.

They groundlessly accused the Party of capitulationism, abandonment of armed struggle and even collusion with the regime. There is not a single document or fact to which the comrades could refer in their unfounded assertions. Both the open and confidential documents of the Party from the moment of the split to this day fully confirm the line of the armed road of the Guatemalan revolution. The actions of January were proposed and launched by us. It is a tragic irony of history that at a time when we are accused of collusion with the government three comrades from our CC—Castillo

Johnson, Tischler and Barreno—and other comrades have been murdered by assassins hired by the regime. Does not the blood of these comrades serve as the best refutation of this slander?

The comrades represent a leftist, militarist and sectarian trend rooted in ideological immaturity and, from the class viewpoint, in the positions of the petty bourgeoisie. Nevertheless the comrades have played and can play a significant role in the development of the Guatemalan revolution. We recognize them as a revolutionary force of importance, and we highly value some of them as genuine revolutionaries. We have learned that they have united with the comrades from MR13 under the general command of Marco Antonio Yon Sosa, and that of late they have been conducting unitary work which we highly appreciate.

Under all circumstances we will support the position of unity and cooperation with the comrades. We will search for forms which would enable us to develop unity of action in the face of the common enemy—U.S. imperialism and the local oligarchy.

WE ADMITTED MISTAKES

We self-critically and openly admitted our mistakes. If it is true that we were flexible and that the comrades should be held responsible for the split, it would be uncharacteristic of our Party not to admit our responsibility for the development of the struggle and for its problems. In addition to the objective causes of the present situation of the revolutionary movement, there exist responsibilities and mistakes attributable primarily to the integrated leadership performing its functions since 1965. We disagree with throwing into one scale of the balance only the victories which some comrades ascribe to themselves, and into another, all the reverses and mistakes for which the Party is blamed. The integrated leadership, of which both we and they are members, is responsible for the reverses and blows sustained.

THE PERSPECTIVES AND THE ORIENTATION OF THE PARTY

Although the present situation favors the enemy, the latter is beset by serious economic and political difficulties. The contradictions in the camp of counter-revolution are sharpening. The ruthless terror launched by the regime has caused numerous losses and intimidated various strata of the population, but it has not achieved its aim, which was to defeat the revolutionary forces and subdue the Guatemalan people, who wrathfully oppose the bloody repressions. It is common knowledge that MANO, NOA, CADEG and other criminal anti-communist organizations constitute at the same time

the army and the repressive organs of the regime. The government has discredited itself in the international arena.

Heavy blows have been inflicted upon our forces, but we possess important bases and possibilities not only for resisting the enemy, but also for developing the struggle and achieving the ultimate victory of the Guatemalan revolution which *at the present stage is an agrarian, anti-imperialist and popular revolution* and which will pave the way for building socialism in the future. The facts of our reality are such that there is actually no other road for our people than that of armed struggle.

The road of armed struggle was chosen by us not out of predilection for violence, not out of romanticism or as a simple imitation of other revolutions. It was the counter-revolution with its systematic repressions, abolition of the rights and freedoms of the people, subordination of the country to foreign interests and trampling underfoot of national sovereignty, that finally compelled us to take up arms.

Proceeding from experience, our Party *substantiated the armed path of the Guatemalan revolution.* The 3rd Congress visualized this eventuality but it did not concretize it. The CC meeting in May 1961 substantiated the reasons for revolutionary violence in our country whose deep roots do not lie in the political contingency: the existence of an open military dictatorship or of a "democratic" government which is essentially an institutionalized military dictatorship. In practice violence transcended the bounds of our discussions. This is testified to by the situation that had shaped up before the rising in March-April 1962, the first attempted guerrilla action in Concua, where thirteen members of the Party were killed, and Peralta Azurdia's military coup in 1963. Having analyzed the current situation, the Political Commission of the CC pointed to the need to combine different forms of struggle, laying emphasis on armed struggle. The first FARs were set up. That took place before March 1965, when the CC, in its resolution on the revolutionary struggle of the people, indicated the armed road of the Guatemalan revolution.

The line of popular war provided our struggle with a firmed theoretical basis, but it was incomplete and had to be concretized and deepened in conformity with reality; also, as we said already, serious mistakes were committed in the course of its implementation.

The revolutionary war of the people has the following main features: (a) a protracted character; (b) active participation of the masses and the involvement, at a definite moment, of the entire people; (c) development through different stages whose principal features are determined by the current contradictions and by our objectives but which, however, generally flow from our initial ma-

terial weakness (strategic defense and tactical offensive)—development from a situation of equilibrium, created by the combination of different political, economic, social and military factors, towards an offensive on our part culminating, under all the existing conditions, in the conquest of power which can take place as a result of a military offensive and the uprising of the entire people. Imperialism's direct interference sooner or later becomes a factor which has to be reckoned with from the very beginning. The same applies to the influence of the correlation of international forces at the moment of its culmination.

It is necessary to stress the *protracted character* of the war, so that people should not expect a quick and easy victory; so that they should know that the enemy will resort to the most savage forms and methods characteristic of its special war; so that reverses and blows received do not give rise to defeatism; so that people should be aware of the need for thorough moral, political and military preparation. We should prepare for great sacrifices, for serious economic limitations. Communists and ali genuine revolutionaries should fight on all fronts, serving as a model of indomitable will, self-denial, self-sacrifice and absolute devotion to the cause of the people and the revolution.

The *participation of the masses*, their active involvement in the armed struggle is vitally necessary for the revolution. We shall not be able to win if the people are not convinced of the righteousness of our cause, which is their cause, of the correctness of the path that has been chosen, and if they do not participate in the struggle. The guerrilla detachments alone, without their basic network and without the sympathy and support of the masses in general, can be easily defeated or stagnate and cease to exist. The guerrilla war should not be counterposed to the struggle of the masses, it should be the most progressive expression of this struggle. It is quite understandable that the people do not always join in the armed struggle from the very beginning. They do so in measure as their revolutionary consciousness grows and as they find organizational forms. The masses cannot be won over by decree or by the mere appearance of armed people. It is necessary to become fused with them, to help them solve their most elementary problems.

The Indians, who comprise 53 per cent of the population of Guatemala, traditionally live apart from the life of the country, dwelling in the highlands. They are a potentially revolutionary force which is called upon to play a role of primary importance in the development of the struggle. But it would be a mistake to idealize their revolutionary preparedness in the present conditions. Serious and painstaking work must be conducted among them. There is no doubt that the war will awaken them, stimulate their active participation and turn them into a reliable basis of the revolution. Work

among them in the mountains requires great efforts. It is necessary to adapt oneself to their way of life, to learn their language, respect their customs, raise their own cadres and educate their own capable political and miiltary leaders.

At the same time we should promote political struggle both among the masses, in order to win them over definitively, and in the solution of national problems, pinpointing and combating the vices of the regime and the system. We should promote class struggle in all fields—economic, political and cultural—on the basis of a minimum program incorporating the struggle of the peasants for land and against evictions, the struggle against unemployment, for a general rise in the wages, against the high cost of living, against the crisis in the country, against the violation of the rights of man, for social freedom, in defense of sovereignty. We should support the concrete demands of the women, students and young people in general, support the popular forces in the conflicts that break out, and, above all, mobilize all strata of the population, organize them and draw them into the struggle.

Our admission of the material superiority and might of the enemy does not mean an admission of its invincibility. *The history of revolutions* shows clearly that despite the advantages the forces of counter-revolution may have at a given moment, ultimately they are defeated by the revolutionary forces. Tsarism appeared invincible, but it was destroyed by the Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin. The feudal regime in China, which had existed during several dynasties, was destroyed by the Chinese people led by the Communist Party and their people's army. In Algeria, the French had half a million troops when the struggle of its people headed by the liberation army compelled them to recognize Algerian independence. Few people believed that under the apparently strong Batista regime the struggle launched by Fidel Castro and other popular forces would make Cuba the first socialist country in America.

In these days we see how the small, 14-million-strong people of backward South Vietnam is fighting and inflicting political and military defeats upon the United States, the biggest industrial power of the world with the strongest and most modern army in the imperialist camp. *These historical events are not accidental,* they did not occur overnight and do not constitute a chain of consecutive victories. Years of preparation were needed to achieve the victories which changed the outlook and structure of these countries and of the world. There were serious reverses, and the blood of millions of people flowed in rivers.

The victory of the revolution had a common denominator in: (a) *a strong revolutionary organization* promoting the cause of the revolution and in most cases headed by the Communist Party; (b) *a*

correct general line which, proceeding from the interests of the people and the nation, correctly combined the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and war with concrete revolutionary practice; (c) *active and resolute support of the masses* and, at a certain moment, the joining of the whole people in the struggle.

The history of our people also shows how bloody tyrannies were crushed by the pressure of popular struggle. All people are alike, and in definite historical conditions they rise with fury, heroism and initiative which change the life of their country.

There are revolutonary organizations in Guatemala, there is a Marxist-Leninist party—the Guatemalan Party of Labor. We have found the road of the Guatemalan revolution, that of armed struggle, which, although incompletely, reflects the line of our Party. We are linked with the masses, and we must constantly broaden and strengthen these links. In other words, we have a basis not only for continuing the war but also for making considerable headway.

Clearly, the actions of the revolutionary forces do not always depend on us. The comrades from FGEI and MF13 possess greater fighting capacity and resources compared to ours, and they will act according to their own plans. Herein lies the importance of unity of action and cooperation between the two forces, which should be closer. But this does not mean that we should always act together. In some cases they will act, in others, we or other forces if they join in the struggle. In some cases we can act jointly. Last March it was the comrades from FGEI who acted. Along with actions which we criticized as unnecessary and of no political importance, such as bomb planting in Paquetaria and in central restaurants, and the terror against people for the mere reason that they are reactionaries, we must admit that the latest actions against the Cipresales tactical unit of the 4th Police Corps, the punishment of informers and policemen and the blows which did political and economic harm to the regime were not only correct but successfully accomplished.

In view of the fact that the *war is essentially a political phenomenon* reflecting a more acute degree of class struggle, any military activity should have its political consequences and any political work should facilitate the work of waging armed struggle. The opposition to separating the political from the military, which should be properly combined, was correct. Despite our limitations and weaknesses in the military sphere, we stress its importance, for war cannot be waged without the knowledge of the military science and without adequate technical preparation. But this under no circumstances means that political work and work among the masses can be forgotten. Only in this way can we avoid militarism.

The revolutionary war of the people is the road of the Guatemalan revolution. Definition of this road is the main strategic problem for us. Within this framework we must combine all organizational

forms of struggle. Along with promoting armed struggle we should display greater political flexibility in order to win over for the revolution, as was said in reference to the matter of the united front, a still greater number of forces, thus neutralizing the vacillating intermediate forces, aggravating the internal contradictions of the enemy and decomposing it. To search for alliance and temporary agreements with all forces and groups not connetced with the counter-revolution. To promote the struggle of the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and women for their specific demands.

SOME CONCLUSIONS AND GENERAL TASKS

The main efforts should be directed now at *reorganizing the guerrilla movement* and concentrated in such regions where the conditions are more favorable for the struggle against the enemy and for building the foundation of our future people's army.

Work in the mountains is for us work with a perspective designed for a long period. In conducting it we should take into account the experience of the past and have adequate plans envisaging the need to combine factors of the terrain and the population, to build a reliable rear and links with the masses, and to create conditions for efficient operation. Our guerrilla detachments should themselves procure most of their food, and our guerrillas should know their particular region both as a whole and in detail. It is necessary to set up a network of underground bases and to develop combat techniques in accordance with the already known guerrilla tactics and that which is given us by our own experience.

While the main strategic efforts are being undertaken in the mountains with a view to building our people's army there, the war, waged in the form of armed and generally revolutionary actions, continues in the capital and other regions of resistance. *It should be realized that at the given stage our war is of a defensive nature.*

As far as the Party is concerned, it is necessary to delimit its bounds and fully restore discipline, Marxist-Leninist methods of work and constructive criticism and self-criticism. To strengthen and promote the Communist spirit. To set up operative intermediate organs, "to study and to fight, to fight and to study." The 4th Congress of the Party should be the culmination of all this process of struggle and improvement of methods of work; it should signify a new stage in our revolutionary struggle.

—To provide all necessary assistance with funds, cadres and resources for the definitive reorganization of FAR as a revolutionary organization called upon to wage the war in which we are taking part along with other groups of the population. *The Party highly values the conduct of many fighters and leaders who, while not*

being members of our Party, have retained the unitary position and are ready to develop, together with us, the armed movement which should be reorganized on a new basis, utilizing the positive experience of previous organizations.

—Strictly to observe the *security rules*, to develop them taking into account the latest achievements and the technical means used by the enemy in repressions. To avoid, whenever possible, horizontal contacts. To define concrete responsibilities at all sectors of work and to ensure the proper safeguarding of ammunition and all materials which are the property of the organization.

—With regard to *work among the masses and with other forces*, to re-examine the situation and to promote work on the fronts of the workers', peasants', students', cultural and women's movements. To give proper attention to our international links.

We have endeavored to review in this document the main problems of the Guatemalan revolution at the present time, the situation of our forces and the tasks we have to carry out in order to fight back the fierce offensive of the enemy and stimulate the revolutionary struggle of the people. This document should be studied, discussed, enriched and combatively applied in practice by all Communists and all genuine revolutionaries. It should become the basis of all our work and struggle. We should know it and apply it in work with all our organizations, even in the worst conditions allowing the enemy to isolate us.

We are confident that despite the grave situation and the blows sustained by it, the revolutionary movement will not only advance but will win. We are also confident that our Party, the Guatemalan Party of Labor, the Party of Guatemalan Communists, will be at its post, on the frontline of battles. Give no respite to the enemy, forward to final victory!

March 1968.

GPL Central Committee

DOCUMENTS* OF THE 3rd NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The 3rd National Conference of the Iraqi Communist Party notes, with a feeling of deep gratitude, the exemplary internationalist solidarity which the CPSU and other fraternal parties demonstrated after the fascist imperialist coup of February 8, 1963, in Iraq. This glorious internationalist solidarity played an important role and helped towards the revival of the Iraqi Communist Party as a major political force in the country.

The internationalist solidarity with the Arab peoples displayed by the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, and by the entire world Communist movement during the imperialist-Zionist aggression in June 1967 was the main factor that prevented the realization of the ultimate aim of the aggression—elimination of the Arab national-liberation movement and progressive regimes in the Arab world. Precisely such was the aim of imperialism and its creation, Israel. This noble internationalist stand strengthened the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Arab national-liberation movement and the socialist camp, the world Communist movement. The anti-communist and anti-socialist ideas and policies received a telling blow.

* * *

The negative phenomena with which the world Communist movement is confronted and which find expression in a split in its ranks have caused harm and continue to weaken its vanguard role and the effectiveness of the contribution of the world Communist movement to the world revolutionary process whose ultimate objective is abolition of the world capitalist system and the building of a new world, the world of socialism and communism.

The split in the world Communist movement is fully and wholly on the conscience of the Mao Tse-tung group, which has seized leadership of the Communist Party of China and obstinately proceeds with its divisive policies. This group has distorted Marxism-Leninism and departed from it, embarking on the path of dogmatism. As a result of its activities the CPC has been divorced from the world Communist movement and the gains of the Chinese people

*Abridged from **Tariq al-Shaab**, January 1968.

are jeopardized. The barbaric methods and means employed by the Mao group to suppress and remove all the leading and internationalist cadres of the CPC who disagree with the opportunist course of the Mao clique have been condemned by the entire world Communist movement.

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The 3rd Conference notes the existence of a constant danger from the right. The right deviationists attack the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the theoretical foundations and principles of socialist revolution, militating with particular viciousness against the ideas of the hegemony of the proletariat and the leading role of the Communist Party. It is asserted that these ideas are not indispensable for the building of socialism and its development. At the same time, in other countries, the danger of dogmatism and isolationism is increasing (the danger from the left). All this is aggravated by manifestations of extreme nationalism, which adds to the deviationist danger and increasingly complicates measures to correct the situation.

All these trends, which are alien to Marxism-Leninism and its internationalist essence, have a common social and class basis—petty-bourgeois ideas and notions characterized by narrowly-understood patriotism, chauvinism and intolerance, which includes a hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union and its glorious Communist Party, exaggeration of the role of national and regional aspects, and scorn for the principles and fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

The Iraqi Communist Party, demonstrating its adherence to the healthy and principled relations between Communist parties which are clearly set out in the 1957 and 1960 documents of the Communist movement, reaffirms that it is a contingent of the international proletarian army. This is indicative above all of deep awareness of common responsibility for the unity of the world Communist movement, for the preservation of its purity and for uniting efforts to achieve the principal aims which are common for all the contingents of the international Communist and working-class movement.

While understanding the importance and special character of relations between fraternal Communist and Workers' parties in the Arab countries, the ICP will at the same time strive to make, jointly with these parties, its positive contribution to the defense of the unity of the world Communist movement and the purity of its principles, especially as regards petty-bourgeois ideology, to the defense of democratic freedoms, to the development and consolidation of the struggle of the Arab working people for eliminating the consequences of the Israel aggression, for democracy, social progress and socialism. The ICP resolutely comes out in defense of the legitimate national rights of the Kurdish people.

RESOLUTION ON THE OPPORTUNIST SPLINTER GROUP

In September 1957 the opportunist splinter group set about subverting the unity of the Iraqi Communist Party. It took recourse to anarchist and fraudulent methods, to individual terror. Its actions were undertaken after a campaign of malicious slander against the ICP and its Central Committee and were accompanied by divulgence of secret Party documents.

In its subversive work the splinter faction took advantage of the difficult situation in which the Party had found itself as a result of the faction's efforts to create ideological confusion. Factional activities were also facilitated by the insufficiently principled stand of the Party leadership and some Party organizations on matters of organizational work, and by the existence in the Party of opportunist elements who aggravated the ideological and organizational difficulties, contributed to the isolation of some organizations from the masses, and hampered the utilization of the possibilities for mass struggle.

The Iraqi Communist Party has fought, and continues to fight, against right-wing opportunism, regarding it as the main danger. At the same time it is fighting against isolationist opportunism (the left deviation). This struggle became especially necessary when isolationist opportunism had found expression in the establishment of an anti-Party splinter center, the pernicious ideas of this opportunism had begun to be spread, and subversive work had been launched against our Party and the revolutionary movement in Iraq.

The splitters concentrated fire on the CC ICP, seeking to weaken and isolate it from the Party. They planned to strike at the Party leadership, split the Party, pervert its basic aims and tasks and prepare conditions for seizing leadership of the Party.

Tolerance towards subversive activity against the Party leadership, and the attempts to discredit it, the setting of rank-and-file Communists against the leadership is incompatible with Communism, with the traditions of our Party. It creates a permanent danger to the Party. The disagreements of principle that may arise between members of the leadership or part of the Party are resolved in the process of work, with the help of legitimate methods. But tolerance towards a campaign to discredit the Party leadership is out of the question, for its breeds an unhealthy atmosphere, creates a harmful precedent and jeopardizes the Party as a whole.

The new splinter group does not differ from all other splinter groups the Party has known. They were petty-bourgeois in class essence and rooted in opportunist ideas. The fate of the new splinter groups will be the same as that of its predecessors. But it has a distinguishing feature—anarchist methods, violence which it has practised since its emergence. This confirms once again the need

staunchly and resolutely to defend the unity of the Party and its revolutionary policy. It is necessary strictly to abide by the Leninist methods and vigorously combat all liberal trends and the group spirit, for in the final count they lead to factionalism and split.

The 3rd Conference approved the measures the Central Committee took after its extraordinary meeting in September 1967 and its meeting in October 1967, thus carrying out its duty to defend the Party and its unity. Concrete principled decisions were adopted on expelling the leaders of the splinter group from the Party; its subversive divisive activities were condemned. These decisions are very important from the viewpoint of principle rather than of practical significance, for the factionalists had actually put themselves outside the ranks of the Party, which resolutely, from Leninist positions of principle, condemned their subversive anti-Party splitting activity.

The Walid-Ramzi group found an associate in the small "Nadji" group and began openly to settle accounts, taking advantage of the complicated position in the Party in an attempt to impose its conditions upon the leadership. A characteristic feature of this bloc is its anti-internationalist attitude towards problems of the tactics and strategy of the world Communist movement. Its leftism stems from petty-bourgeois adventurism. The Conference supports the leadership's decisions on expelling the leaders of the "Nadji" group from the Party.

The Conference expresses confidence that all Party organizations will continue to fulfil, resolutely and in keeping with principle, their sacred duty to eliminate the splinter bloc and root out liberalism in theory and practice: *firstly*, by waging a determined and consistent fight against the splinter bloc in the field of policy, ideology and organization, against tolerance towards the splitters. It is necessary resolutely to clear the Party of liberal elements, to combat laxity and strengthen proletarian party discipline. *Secondly*, by condemning erroneous views which threaten to weaken the Leninist principles of inner-party life and are conducive to group and splinter activities. Among these views, the following can be listed: a) "pressure of the masses on the leadership," which is a distortion of the Leninist conception of mutual party control; b) artificial division of the Party and the leadership into "revolutionaries" and "opportunists"; c) artificial division of the Party and the leadership according to social position; d) insistence on debates in the Party on all questions without exception.) *Thirdly*, by continuing contacts and meetings with erring elements who have sided with the splinter groups because of class immaturity and insufficient experience of inner-party work and struggle, which should be conducted on the basis of principle and should not be allowed to be turned into personal or factional struggle. The principled resolute

stand of the Party demands condemnation of splitting activity and unconditional dissolution of all opportunist factions. The question of sanctions against the members of these blocs should be decided by the Party. *Fourthly*, by observing the principles of our Party and pursuing its general line, maintaining the links with the masses and widely applying all forms of revolutionary mass struggle.

The 3rd Conference, adhering to a stand as resolute and principled as that of the majority of Communists and Party organizations, is positive that all forms of liberalism, which is alien to the principles of Leninism, will be eliminated in the name of strengthening the unity and organization of the Party, enhancing its militancy, justifying the confidence of the people and achieving its aims, above all the establishment of a revolutionary democratic regime.

RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION IN THE ARAB REGION

After the aggression of June 5, 1967 the situation in the Arab region remains unchanged:

1. Israeli troops continue to occupy large parts of the territory of Arab countries. The imperialist-Israeli plans for eliminating progressive regimes in the newly-free Arab countries have not been abandoned. The threat of renewed aggression has not been removed. The activities of reactionary forces, regimes and agents in the Arab countries are being stepped up. The difficulties and the situation resulting from the defeat facilitate the hostile forces' activities against the Arab national-liberation movement aimed at eliminating its gains and restoring colonial regimes.

2. But the Israeli aggression has not achieved its principal objective, that of overthrowing the progressive regimes in Egypt and Syria. The two fraternal countries are able to repel the Israeli attack, aided by world imperialism, thanks to resolute support on the part of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They have rapidly made good their military and material losses also owing to Soviet help. The extensive assistance the socialist countries provided to the Arab states and their vigorous international political activity have vastly facilitated the isolation of the aggressors and the preservation and consolidation of the Arab national-liberation movement.

3. The aggression failed to crush the Arab national-liberation movement. The struggle of Arab revolutionaries in occupied South Arabia that flared up in the days of the June defeat culminated in the expulsion of the British colonialists from that part of the Arab homeland and the birth of an independent People's Republic of South Yemen. The plans of the rightist and reactionary forces to seize power in fraternal Egypt fell through. Despite the intensification of the war against fraternal republican Yemen following the

withdrawal of Egyptian troops, the republican regime repelled the attack of the enemies and safeguarded its gains. At the same time, fraternal Algeria foiled a conspiracy against its progressive regime, and Arab resistance was stepped up on occupied territories.

4. The defeat was unprecedentedly instrumental in exposing the aggressive essence of imperialism, the racist aggressive nature of Israel. The treachery of the reactionary and dictatorial regimes existing in the Arab world was also laid bare. Profound changes occurred in the conscience of the broad masses, fortifying their revolutionary will. The defeat demonstrated once again the tremendous importance of the alliance of the Arab national-liberation movement with the socialist world camp, and also the need for departing from the policy of balancing between the socialist and imperialist camps covered up by the motto of "non-alignment."

5. The defeat shook the very foundations of the entire system of regimes, policies and erroneous views which predetermined it. There surged a wave of serious criticism helping to rectify shortcomings in the ideological system of the political regimes in Egypt and especially in Syria. The conscious masses came to realize that petty-bourgeois notions and ideas had seriously influenced the policy of the leaderships of the two fraternal countries, weakening their defense potential:

a) the conditions that existed in the fraternal countries had enabled rightist bourgeois and reactionary elements to seize key posts in the military, political and administrative apparatus and to play a dangerous subversive role which helped to bring on the defeat;

b) in this situation there appeared spurious ideological and political trends which manifested themselves both in the sphere of national policy and in inter-Arab and international relations;

c) a vanguard political party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory was not in existence or was debarred from power, from ideological and guiding activity. In Syria, political activity was concentrated and restricted within the framework of the organization. The same was true for the Arab Socialist Union in Egypt. The resulting weakness of political organization prevented mobilizing the masses prior to and during the aggression. The revolutionary theory of the working class and of a fighting people had been replaced by erroneous models of "socialism," "classes" and "state power." This principal element of the weakness of the regimes had disarmed the workers, peasants and soldiers, affecting the ability of the people to repulse the aggression.

6. The conscious Arab masses and their political vanguard forces consider that elimination of the consequences of the aggression and success in foiling the designs of imperialism, Israel and reaction demand cardinal changes in the structure, policy and ideology of

the regimes in the newly-free Arab countries and especially in fraternal Egypt and Syria, which bore the brunt of the fight against the enemy. These countries have to restore and fortify their defense potential. Serious changes have to be made in the army command and other spheres in Egypt. All this is indispensable for recovery from the defeat. What has to be solved in the first place, however, is the problem pertaining to a cardinal change in the attitude towards the fighting people and revolutionary political forces—establishment of popular democratic revolutionary regimes.

The experience of all progressive-minded Arabs shows that the actions of the people are made effective by a political regime under which the working class, through its party, performs a truly leading role; it shows that the way to making good the defeat, beating the enemy and achieving progress is the socialist way. There is the urgent need for a political party armed with the theory of the working class, the need to accept scientific socialism (Marxism-Leninism) as a guide to action, as an all-embracing theory of reconstructing society and the state. The freedom of all parties and political revolutionary forces is essential for mobilizing the revolutionary energy of the masses.

Under such regimes, it is possible to fight successfully against imperialism and Zionism on all political levels, in the economic, military and ideological fields; it is possible to build a national army equipped with a revolutionary theory, to strengthen the alliance with the friendly socialist camp and all the other freedom-loving forces of the world in the name of victory over the enemy and further progress along the road of freedom, social progress and national unity.

7. The way to the establishment of such regimes lies through the formation of coalition governments uniting Communist parties and other progressive national forces. Thus optimal conditions will be created for mobilizing the masses to eliminate the consequences of the aggression and frustrate the designs of the enemy.

The establishment of democratic fronts, of political and class alliances is a pressing necessity. It is demanded by objective Arab realities. What is needed for Iraq and other Arab countries is the formation of coalition governments uniting all forces of a democratic front based on a firm worker-peasant alliance.

8. Given such governments and fronts, a solid basis can be built for effective national solidarity which will help rally the national-liberation forces of the Arabs for recovering from the defeat and removing its consequences. This solidarity will enable the Arab national-liberation movement to beat off the attacks of imperialism, foil the Israeli aggressive plans, outline for the Palestinian people the way to restoring the rights of which it has been robbed, and help it exercise the right to self-determination in its own land.

Furthermore, it will create prerequisites for various forms of federation of newly-free Arab countries, for progress towards ultimate Arab unity.

9. This development hinges principally on the establishment of popular and democratic political regimes and national alliances and fronts, the forging of Arab solidarity on the basis of popular struggle and alliance with the socialist camp, for this is the beginning of success in making good the defeat, eliminating the consequences of the aggression and repelling the onslaught of imperialism and other hostile forces. Later on it will be possible to launch victorious struggles in the military, political and other fields.

Reducing the causes of the defeat to secondary factors would not help do away with its effects. Contrariwise, emphasis on a military or political solution alone bespeaks a lack of realistic appraisal of the situation and of a sense of responsibility for the destiny of the Arab motherland. The talk of a people's war as the only way, attempts by any Arab country to adopt a special attitude towards the matter of consolidating the efforts of all the Arab states can prejudice the actions of the Arab and other countries aimed at isolating the enemy and removing the aftermath of the criminal aggression.

The situation resulting from the aggression has so far been favorable for the hopes of the imperialists and Israel to proceed with their aggressive policy. The situation of Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt and other countries depends in large measure on the situation in the Arab world that shaped up after June 5, 1967. Hence the need to criticize isolationist trends and to expose the treasonous policy of the reactionary governments of some Arab countries and the demagogy of the Iraqi dictators.

10. The struggle against the Israeli-imperialist enemy provided the dictatorial rulers of Iraq with a pretext for a propaganda ballyhoo which helped them distort the principles of national-liberation struggle, Arab solidarity and Arab unity.

Their chauvinistic aggressive policy weakened the Iraqi army, which had been sent to fight the Kurdish people. Thousands of patriotic-minded officers and soldiers were imprisoned as a result of their reactionary policy, which further weakened the army. And when hostilities started, only symbolic contingents were sent to take part in the fighting. Instead of mobilizing the efforts of the entire people, the stress was laid on propaganda. By their policy the Iraqi rulers paralyzed the will of the people; they suppressed demonstrations by force and did not allow the people to arm themselves and take part in the struggle. It was only pressure from the people that compelled them to adopt a negative attitude towards the countries that aided the aggressor. Their conduct and policy were dictated by hostility towards the people, by oblivion of the

national interests, by their ardent desire to help the reactionary regimes in Arab countries and come to terms with imperialism and the rulers of the neighboring reactionary regimes associated with imperialism. Moreover, they took every advantage of the difficulties experienced by two fraternal Arab countries, Egypt and Syria. Utilizing the situation to strangle the will of the people, they launched an onslaught on the working people, raising the taxes, widely applying dictatorial methods and destroying national unity by their policy of violation of the national unity of the Kurdish people and suppression of the progressive forces. Those who are fighting against their own people cannot fight against the enemies of the people. Those who side with puppet reactionary regimes and cooperate with the imperialists and their agents exclude themselves from the national camp of struggle against imperialism and Israel, against all enemies of the Arab nation.

It was not a lack of mutual understanding with the imperialist countries but the force of circumstances that compelled the dictators to sever diplomatic relations with some imperialist powers or resort to a formal termination of the export of oil to them.

The oil agreement with a French company, the agreement on arms deliveries from France, the opening of the domestic market for French and Italian capital and other steps unmasked the real face of the dictators who were selling out national interests. It is legitimate and necessary, given support of the people, for an independent revolutionary country to exploit contradictions between imperialist powers, but it is abnormal for such a policy to be pursued by a weak dictatorial government divorced from the people, for this jeopardizes the independence of the country and opens the door to neo-colonialism. The Iraqi rulers' policy of expanding cooperation with France and Western monopolies means capitulation before an imperialist state, it is indicative of a search for a master to embrace. And this instead of genuinely equal cooperation with the friendly socialist countries.

The regime in Iraq cannot hold out for long. It is bound to be replaced by a coalition government of all patriotic progressive forces which will put an end to the shameful anti-national policy, destroy the traces of the dictatorial regime and enable Iraq to play a worthy role in the anti-imperialist struggle against Israel and the forces hostile to the national-liberation movement. The continued existence of the dictatorial regime isolated from the people is a large gap in the Arab front of national-liberation struggle. Imperialism is not necessarily planning to come down directly upon Egypt, Syria or Algeria. It will utilize the smallest loophole to infiltrate, to breach and weaken the Arab front in the course of its general offensive against the Arab national-liberation movement, to depose progressive regimes in a number of Arab states. Success in elimi-

nating the consequences of the aggression and in foiling aggressive plans against Arab states calls not only for changing and transforming the political regimes in the newly-free Arab countries situated on the frontline of the struggle against imperialism and Israel. As far as Iraq is concerned, it presupposes the rallying of all progressive national forces in a single front of struggle to free our country from the dictatorial regime and the establishment of a democratic coalition government. This will enable Iraq to form, together with all other Arab countries, a united front capable of fighting to recover the annexed lands, eliminate the effects of the aggression, victoriously repel imperialist attacks and foil plans of aggression.

RESOLUTION ON THE KURDISH QUESTION

The Iraqi Communist Party reaffirms its stand on the Kurdish question based on the Marxist-Leninist principle of the right of all nations, big and small, to self-determination, their right to fight against national oppression and for the creation of an independent organism uniting the entire nation.

The chauvinistic reactionary ideas on the solution of the Kurdish question which ignore the right of nations to self-determination and pervert the aims of the Kurdish liberation movement come not from the workers, peasants and other Arab working people, but from the reactionary ruling circles.

The imperialists, the oil companies, the imperialists' agents and accomplices in Iraq and neighboring countries are doing their utmost to nourish and fan the chauvinistic sentiments and aspirations current among the Arab classes and bourgeois liberal organizations, on the one hand, and nationalistic fanaticism and separatism among the Kurds, on the other. Some progressive nationalist Arab organizations have begun to adopt sound realistic positions with regard to the national rights of the Kurdish people, positions conforming to the interests of the Kurdish and Arab peoples. But some nationalist forces still continue to insist on their erroneous chauvinistic claims.

While fighting against Arab chauvinism our Party is at the same time fighting against the nationalistic fanaticsm whch is to be observed among the Kurds. It is fighting for greater unity and solidarity between the Arabs and Kurds and other minorities, proceeding from the principles of internationalist fraternity among all the working people of Iraq regardless of their nationality or religion.

Our Party consistently supports the road chosen by the Kurdish people in Iraq, a road of fraternal unity and struggle, jointly with the fraternal Arab people, against imperialism and reaction of all kinds, in the name of freedom and democracy for the Iraqi people,

for Kurdistan's autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi Republic, for the liberation of the Iraqi working people—Kurds, Arabs and people of other nationalities—from all forms of exploitation, for the building of socialism.

The national-liberation movement of the Kurdish people is part of the revolutionary democratic struggle in Iraq, it is an ally of the Iraqi proletariat in the fight for immediate and long-range objectives. There can be no just solution of the Kurdish problem under the present dictatorial regime, which is hostile to the entire Iraqi people and rules with the help of police terror.

The national unity of Iraq cannot be ensured until a lasting democratic solution of the Kurdish problem is found. The unity of Iraq, just as that of other multinational states, derives strength from mutual recognition by the two main nationalities, the Kurdish and the Arab, of legitimate national rights.

Despite the failure of all its previous attempts to crush the Kurdish revolution by fire, bullet and fraud, the reactionary chauvinistic regime refuses to reinstate the Kurdish people in their legitimate rights and stubbornly continues its bankrupt anti-democratic policy which is pushing the country to the brink of a precipice. This policy is fraught with a resumption of hostilites. The Iraqi rulers want to seize the initiative and, at an opportune time, to launch a new armed attack. They cannot reconcile themselves to dual power in Kurdistan, where the power of the regime and the power to the rebels exist side by side. Seeking to re-establish their full control over Kurdistan, they resort to deception and bribery to weaken the revolutionary forces. They maintain troops there and support the rightist group which committed betrayal back in the summer of 1966 and became an obedient tool of the chauvinistic dictators, who are rendering moral and material assistance to it.

Hence the need for the Kurdish revolutionary forces and their leadership to be vigilant and ready to fight back a sneak attack.

The main source from which the revolution can draw strength and on which it can rely for support is our people and their tremendous energy. The revolution enjoys the sympathy and support of real friends abroad, but there is also the need resolutely to oppose the maneuvers of the imperialists and reaction aimed at weakening and subverting the liberation movement. Correction of the mistakes of the Kurdish revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan will help strengthen the Kurdish liberation movement in Iranian and Turkish Kurdistan. Then the progressive forces of Iraqi Kurdistan will be able to fulfil with honor their national duty in helping the struggle of their brothers in the neighboring countries. Intensification of the revolution calls for eliminating the element of spontaneity, reconstruction of revolutionary organizations on the basis of a coalition of all forces taking part in the revolution, and elaboration, in the liberated

regions, of an adequate system of government by democratically elected organs, which will normalize life, defend the interests of the peasants and other strata of the population of Kurdistan, confiscate the holdings of feudals and landlords collaborating with the enemies of the revolution and distribute land among the peasants and the families of those killed in action.

The interests of the revolution demand that no single party should have a franchise on political activity, that possibilities should be created for the activity of all organizations and groups taking part in the revolution. To ensure unity of effort in ideological work among the masses and in combating the defeatism propagated by the enemies, no repressive measures should be taken against any organization.

The establishment of a political union organized on a common progressive platform will become the axis linking our Party with the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, a powerful instrument for mobilizing the energy of the Kurdish people, consolidating the revolution and guaranteeing its victory.

The revolution will be further strengthened when its organizations and armed groups are cleared of reactionary elements and all those who utilized their posts for self-seeking aims.

The 3rd Conference warmly greets the heroic Communists of Kurdistan, who hold high the banner of combat fraternity of the Kurds, Arabs and other nationalities. It expresses confidence that they will continue their tireless struggle for the democratization of Iraq and for Kurdistan's autonomy. The Conference supports the Appeal of the Party organization committee of Kurdistan to the leadership of the Kurdish revolution touching upon some problems of the revolution and indicating ways of their settlement. The Conference warmly greets all fighters against imperialism, reaction and the dictatorial regime in Iraq, for the national rights of the Kurdish people. It reveres the memory of those who have fallen in the fight for the just cause of their people.

The Iraqi Communist Party reaffirms its support of the just liberation struggle of the Kurdish people and their determination to continue it shoulder to shoulder with the other forces which are making their contribution to the revolution, striving to prevent a new armed attack by the reactionary dictatorial regime.

If the dictatorial chauvinistic regime decides to renew the war of aggression, the broad masses in Kurdistan will rise to defend their revolution and inflict a decisive defeat upon the aggressor. In this struggle they can count on effective and many-sided assistance from the broad masses in all corners of Iraq, from Arab and world public opinion. Long live Arab-Kurdish fraternity! Long live the struggle of the Kurdish people for their legitimate right to autonomy!

RESOLUTION ON THE NATIONAL FRONT

At the present stage great importance attaches to the problem of building class national alliances. A political alliance of patriotic and progressive forces will be an effective weapon in the struggle against the present regime, which is the chief obstacle to the triumph of the will of the people, to the realization of their democratic and national aims.

The new alignment of class forces since the revolution in July 1958 has assumed a particularly clear shape in recent years. Although the aims of the national democratic revolution were not achieved, great changes took place in the attitude of some groups of the middle national bourgeoisie. Some of them joined the reactionary camp, began to look for allies in it and set about working out a political program oriented on social reforms in the spirit of "free capitalist development" and liberal democracy.

The Iraqi Communist Party, empolying the Marxist method of analysis, came to the conclusion that at the present stage of Iraq's development a worker-peasant alliance should be the cornerstone of the national front for whose establishment the struggle is being waged.

The attitude to the parties and political organizations of the various classes with which an alliance has to be concluded is determined in the light of a clear understanding of the tasks of the present stage of the national movement and the tasks of the revolution, with due regard to the positions of the classes and their political organizations.

Our Party follows with great attention the development which is taking place in a number of organizations of the petty-bourgeoisie and which is connected with the character of our epoch, with the change in the content and trends of the Arab national-liberation movement, to say nothing of the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the broad masses of our people, the main factor in the process of noticeable positive changes in the positions of these parties and blocs. The latter applies particularly to some of their conceptions and their policy with respect to the Communists and democrats after the fasicst coup of February 8. This evolution creates prerequisites for and facilitates rapprochement and alliance between the Iraqi Communist Party and these parties, progressive and national forces. In this instance our Party proceeds from the need for a policy of class and political alliances to mobilize the forces and energy of the people in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and the dictatorship.

Our Party considers that there exist favorable conditions for building a bloc of progressive national forces with a view to realiz-

ing the objectives for which our people are fighting, above all such as the overthrow of the dictatorial regime and the establishment of a democratic national coalition government which will take the initiative in eliminating all vestiges and traces of the dictatorial regime, grant democratic freedoms to the people, in first place the freedom of activity of parties, give general amnesty to political prisoners, restore the rights of all those who were deprived of their rights and subjected to isolation, and eliminate the aftermath of the war in Kurdistan. Steps must be taken to ensure the rights of the Kurdish people, their autonomy. It is necessary to annul the amendments which the reactionaries introduced into the agrarian reform law, undertake resolute steps to restore our rights usurped by the oil monopolies and establish an independent national oil extracting and processing industry; to strengthen solidarity with the newly-free Arab countries in the fight against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for eliminating the results of the Israeli imperialist aggression, and in defense of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine; to broaden and strengthen relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist camp; to grant democratic rights to all progressive national forces, work out a law on democratic elections, hold, on its basis, elections to a Constituent Assembly, and prepare the transition of the country to democratic constitutional life.

If the Iraqi Communist Party and the other progressive forces succeed in building this political coalition, abolishing the dictatorship and establishing a provisional coalition government, the Iraqi Communists will unhesitatingly defend, both within and outside the framework of state power, the interests and rights of the working people, and resolutely insist on the solution of pressing problems and the mobilization of the people in the struggle against the plans of imperialism and the onslaught of the reactionary forces. The implementation of immediate tasks will facilitate the solution of other problems, above all the establishment of an Iraqi Democratic Republic.

The Iraqi Communist Party is sincerely ready to strengthen cooperation with its allies, to overcome temporary contradictions in a spirit of good will, proceeding from the vital interests of the working class and all working people. It will march forward together with its allies from among the progressive forces which identify themselves with the interests and aims of the working people. It resolutely comes out against imperialism and reaction and fights for a democratic Iraq free from national oppression and class exploitation.

RESOLUTION ON SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM, AGAINST THE DIRTY AGGRESSION OF THE UNITED STATES

For several years now the people of Vietnam have been waging in the south of their country a just liberation war against imperialist domination, for independence, freedom, progress and national unity. Flounting fundamental principles of international law and humanity, the United States involved itself in the war and applied a tremendous military force and monstrous means of destruction.

This war of aggression roused the indignation of all the peoples of the world, who hold up the aggressor to shame. A powerful wave of protests swept the socialist and other countries, which resolutely condemned this war and raised the banner of solidarity with the Vietnamese people and their heroic struggle. The U.S. invaders ignore the will of the peoples demanding the withdrawal of all enemy troops from Vietnam and the granting to the Vietnamese people of the right to decide their own destiny. They are seeking to expand the area of hostilities and spread it to the north of the country. The U.S. aggressors have carried out a series of barbaric air raids on peaceful towns and industrial and cultural centers as well as children's establishments. They are undertaking efforts to spread the war to other regions of Southeast Asia.

This aggressive policy exposes the world to an extremely grave danger, threatens universal peace, breeds the danger of nuclear weapons being used and can lead to a destructive war fraught with unforeseeable consequences for mankind and civilization.

The United States and the governments obedient to it have so far been able to defy the demand of the peoples for an end to the war and the withdrawal of troops primarily because of the serious gap which exists in the system of the socialist countries as a result of the Mao Tse-tung group's policy regarding unity of action of the socialist countries against the aggressors. At a time when all Communist parties have raised the banner of internationalist solidarity with the Vietnamese people and constitute the vanguard of the progressive forces and national governments opposed to imperialism, the Chinese leaders have not only prevented joint action by the socialist countries to put an end to U.S. interference, but obstructed in a most outrageous way the implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism—the delivery of aid by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which have been performing their lofty duty despite all difficulties and obstacles. These countries are rendering extensive assistance to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the revolutionaries in South Vietnam, who are waging a valiant struggle against U.S. imperialism and its army of cut-throats and delivering stunning blows at the

enemy on the territory of a small country with a small population.

We demand an end to the aggression, the withdrawal of the aggressor troops, and the granting to the Vietnamese people of the right to decide their destiny independently. It is clear that the way to the settlement of the Vietnamese problem is the way proposed by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the DRV government. It presupposes abandonment of the policy of escalating the war in Southeast Asia, cessation of the raids on the DRV and the withdrawal of U.S. occupation troops from South Vietnam.

On behalf of the Communists and working people of Iraq the Conference hails the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the American invaders and local traitors, and expresses confidence in the victory of the Vietnamese revolution and the defeat of the aggressors and their accomplices. The Conference urges the people of Iraq and all national and progressive forces to organize a campaign of solidarity with the people of Vietnam, against the infamous imperialist aggression.

RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL PRISONERS

For many years the prisons and concentration camps in Iraq have been filled with hundreds of the best revolutionaries and patriots whom our people know as sincere patriots and fighters for lofty aims, against imperialism and reaction. For many years the state security tribunals have been passing their unfounded sentences on thousands of revolutionaries who were devoted to the cause of struggle for the rights of the working people, opposed the anti-popular reactionary policy, fought against the dictatorial regime and its policy which spelled destruction for the country, and demanded a change of the regime which would help resolve the political and economic crisis of the country in the interests of the people.

Despite the demand of Iraqi public opinion for freedom to all political prisoners, for a general amnesty for them and for reinstatement in their rights of the thousands of persons deprived of their political rights because of their participation in the Kurdish revoluton; despite the demand of progressive world and Arab public opinion to respect the Declaration of the Rights of Man and to release the victims of fascist reactionary arbitrary rule, the Iraqi ruling circles persisted in their policy even in the critical situation in which the Arab nation had found itself as a result of the aggressive war unleashed by Israel with the active support and cooperation of imperialism. The freedom fighters continue to languish in prisons. Moreover, the rulers continued their policy of repressions and police terror against the democratic revolutionary forces.

The prisons themselves and the incarceration of freedom fighters

are a characteristic feature of the present dictatorial regime, which has since its coming to power in February 1963, been based on cruelty, oppression and persecutions, these disgraceful traits of a regime hostile to the people which testify to its weakness and infirmity.

The political intimidation, the persecutions, the brutal treatment of political prisoners, the repressions against Communists and other progressives will not deter our people nor weaken their determination to wage a national struggle for progress, for a democratic revolutionary Iraq where the people will enjoy freedom, democracy and equality. These repressions have only intensified the people's hatred of the dictators, butchers, enemies of their aspirations.

The imprisonment and inhuman treatment of Iraqi freedom fighters revolt all upright people of Iraq and call for protest, for a demand to release all prisoners and discontinue the police persecutions and repressions against freedom fighters.

All patriots in our country, regardless of their views, political convictions and national, religious and other differences, should fulfil their patriotic duty and rise together with the entire people in a demand for a general amnesty for all patriots and political prisoners.

The Conference, declaring its great respect for the fighters languishing in prisons, takes pride in them, in their determination, heroism and staunchness in the face of the persecutions to which the ruling dictatorship is subjecting them.

The Conference pays tribute to the memory of the fallen heroes, members of our Party and participants in the revolutionary movement, victims of the terror of the reactionary dictatorship, of revolutionary fighters butchered by the enemies.

In commemoration of these victims the Conference vows to continue the struggle for the lofty aims proclaimed by our glorious Party and, as one of its immediate objectives, for the liberation of all political prisoners and patriots.

STAND FIRMLY ON THE POSITIONS OF THE PARTY AND PEOPLE

STATEMENT* OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC, BULGARIAN CP

The Political Bureau of the CC BCP approved and hails the initiative of the Union of Bulgarian Writers to convene its congress. The congress will be a natural result of the development of socialist democracy, of the vigorous economic, social, political and cultural progress that is taking place in conditions of building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria. The convening of the congress is also necessitated by the development and successes of the Union of Bulgarian Writers as an organization of national importance having extensive international contacts.

The UBW, one of the oldest writers' unions in Europe, has for decades been upholding the professional and creative interests of its members and playing a major role in Bulgarian social life. Its importance has increased greatly in the years of people's power and especially after the historical April Plenum. Bulgarian writers were among the first to feel the beneficial effect of renovation that extended to all areas of life, liberating the creative forces of our men of letters and arts, of our entire cultural intelligentsia. Our writers, from the veterans to the talented young generation, produced dozens of significant novels, stories, poems, plays and critical reviews imbued with a lofty party and civic spirit and which enrich the treasure-house of our national literature and comprise part of the progressive culture of the entire world.

The Political Bureau notes with satisfaction the rich and varied activity of the Union of Bulgarian Writers in the past years, when it has established still stronger links with the life of the people and rallied the writers closer around the Party line mapped out by the April Plenum. The spirit of unity and confidence is gaining strength in the Union of Bulgarian Writers, class and Party criteria are strictly adhered to, a struggle is being waged against manifestations alien to socialist realism, literature is treated as a lofty vocation and civic duty. All this enhances the constructive role of the Union as a major factor of development and reconstruction of our cultural front along new lines. The Union's prestige is growing both in our country and among progressive workers of culture abroad.

In the present international situation, when foreign agents are

*Rabotnichesko Dyelo, April 21, 1968.

undertaking frontal attacks on the ideological front, when imperialist centers are spending vast sums to corrupt the cultural intelligentsia, when literature and art are becoming a field of battle between progress and reaction, Bulgaria's intellectuals stand firmly on the positions of the Party, the people, proletarian internationalism and Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, the positions of socialism. The Union of Bulgarian Writers can serve as a model of loyalty to the Leninist principles of socialist revolution; it is fulfilling with honor its national and internationalist duty. Its congress will contribute to the rallying of progressive writers in other countries, to the consolidation of our class and party positions, the positions of socialism and Marxist-Leninist ideology in artistic endeavor.

The Political Bureau highly appreciates the fruitful work being done by the present leadership of the UBW. Acting consistently and perseveringly, it has solved many important problems of a creative and professional character that faced the Bulgarian writers. It has initiated the drawing up of an extensive program to further stimulate the activity of the Union and to create new, still more favorable conditions for literary work. The Leninist principle of Party guidance of literature and art, the line of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its CC, underlie the activities of the UBW and its Board. The clear-cut principled policy pursued among the writers is producing good results which show convincingly that the closer the links with the Party, the greater the successes of our men of letters.

The CC BCP has always emphasized the role of the Union of Writers as the vanguard contingent of our cultural intelligentsia and displayed care for the attention to the writers who have honestly and loyally, with their pen and word, served and—it is deeply convinced—will go on serving the cause of the working class and all working people, the cause of communism.

The Political Bureau expresses confidence that the congress of the UBW will be held on a high ideological and creative level, in an atmosphere of businesslike and critical discussion of the state, problems and tasks of literature, that it will outline prospects of further development, point both to indisputable successes and to shortcomings of our literature and in the work of the Union, promote the further development of the Union as an active ideological and creative organization, strengthen its role as the leader of the literary process, enrich the many-sided activities of the Union and raise them to a still higher level.

The Party expects that the congress will give a fresh impetus to literary creative work, that our writers will produce new inspired works about the heroism of our time, about great events in our history, about the boundless prospects which communism opens up before Bulgaria. The theme of the main hero of our reality, the socialist working man, ardent patriot and internationalist, builder

of the people's happiness, will find an even more vivid embodiment in our prose, drama and poetry, in our entire art.

The Political Bureau is deeply convinced that the congress of the UBW will become a new vivid demonstration of the unity and cohesion of our writers under the banner of our Party, in the fight for socialism and communism, for peace and happiness.

WHO'S GOT THE ANSWER*

The United States of America is a society in crisis. Crises have arisen in every phase of our daily life, vitally affecting every American man, woman and child.

COUNT THEM!

Crisis of Foreign Policy. Example: Vietnam and mounting casualties.

Crisis in Monetary Policy. Example: The dollar and gold drain and creeping inflation.

Crisis of Fiscal Policy. Example: Escalating federal, state and city indebtedness and the tax bite.

Crisis of the Cities. Example: Growing hazards to life and health in traffic, air and water pollution, garbage and sewage disposal, food contamination, etc.

Crisis of Democracy. Example: the ghetto explosions, desperation of the Indians, growing deprivation of the Spanish-speaking peoples, increasing anti-Semitism, bureaucracy, police rule, disfranchisement.

Crisis of Morality. Example: Increase of assassinations, murders, rapes, official corruption, graft and swindling, looting by the monopolies, profiteering in mass murder (war) and preparations for mass murder (arms and "anti-riot" terminology).

Crisis of the Family. Example: Increasing rate of divorce, family break-up, child neglect and abuse, runaway youth.

Crisis of Education. Example: School and teacher shortage, deterioration of buildings and facilities, mediocre and inadequate curricula, propagation of false values and harmful ideas by textbooks.

Crisis of Housing. Example: Spreading slums, growth of dilapidated and uninhabitable structures, decline in rate of renewal and renovation.

Crisis of Culture. Example: Commercialization and prostitution of the arts, conversion of mass communication media into instruments of opinion manipulation and the sales effort.

Crisis of Science and Technology. Example: Increasing militarization of research and development, expansion of automation for displacing working people.

Crisis of Well-being and Welfare. Example: growth of hunger,

*The Worker, April 28, 1968

poverty, destitution and Appalachias; reduced outlays for assistance to the needy, disabled and infirm; orbiting living costs.

THESE ARE NOT ALL—you may count others.

WHO HAS THE ANSWERS?

Not the Johnson administration, nor the state, county and municipal administration. They're part of the causes of the crises.

Not the establishment press media, such as the New York Times, Chicago Tribune, Atlanta Constitution, Los Angeles Times, St. Louis-Post Dispatch, Time, Newsweek, Look, Life, the NBC, CBS and ABC systems on TV and radio. Their priorities of news and editorial content give a phony picture of reality, false values by which to live and strive for a better life. They, too, are part of the causes of crises.

Not the utopians, visionaries and radical-thinking romanticists without program and without knowledge of, or respect for, the deep-going humanism and creative potential of the million masses of America's working people. Themselves symptomatic rather than causative factors in the crises, their prescriptions for copping-out or suicidal adventures offer no real answer.

WHO HAS THE ANSWERS?

The people in struggle have the answers.

The millions of men, women and youngsters fighting for peace and a re-assessment and change of U.S. foreign policy.

The millons of black, brown, yellow and white men and women fighting to put democracy into practice and give reality to the promise of equality.

The millions of working people fighting to provide jobs and decent living and working conditions for all Americans who work and are able to work.

The millions of young people fighting for values with a content of truth and beauty and compassion, for quality education and the opportunity for creative lives, for a world in which all men can live in dignity and freedom.

THEY HAVE THE ANSWERS—the millions and tens of millions of Americans of all ages and all colors who are struggling to solve the crises.

Here are a few:

"In order to atone for our sins and errors in Vietnam, we should take the initiative in bringing a halt to this tragic war. I would like to suggest five concrete things that our government should do immediately to begin the long and difficult process of extricating ourselves from this nightmarish conflict:

"1. End all bombing of North and South Vietnam.

"2. Declare a unilateral ceasefire in the hope that such action will create the atmosphere for negotiation.

"3. Take immediate steps to prevent other battlegrounds in Southeast Asia by curtailing our military buildup in Thailand and our interference in Laos.

"4. Realistically accept the fact that the National Liberation Front has substantial support in South Vietnam and must thereby play a role in any meaningful negotiations and in any future Vietnam government.

"5. Set a date that we will remove all foreign troops from Vietnam in accordance with the 1954 Geneva Agreement."

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at the Riverdale Church, New York, N.Y. April 4, 1967.

* * *

"We know prejudice is not something that can be negotiated away at the bargaining table. It runs far beyond our union's jurisdiction. We must urge a coalition of all segments of society—management, religion, government and labor—to join in the massive frontal attack on racial bigotry. . . . We must find the way to lift up both whites and Negroes out of the ugly and degrading rat pits of depression and oppression and poverty in which many find themselves. We want an America in which every citizen is equal when he walks into the polling place to cast his ballot. We want an America in which every child is equal and has an equal educational opportunity. Ours must become a nation in which every citizen has equal job opportunities and the right to live in a decent neighborhood and in a decent home. We have arrived at a point in the history of our nation when we must fulfil the promise of 100 years ago . . ."

I. W. Abel, President, United Steelworkers of America, at the union's 13th constitutional convention in Atlantic City, N.J., Sept. 19, 1966.

* * *

"They (the police) are after us because of what we are after: full employment, better housing, a decent education, and a share in the wealth of this country—and that's what our people want. But these are denied to us as it has been demonstrated, America is denying these things to colored people around the world . . ."

From an interview in the People's World of January 27, 1968 with Huey P. Newton, former Defense Minister of the Black Panthers.

"We must work, not for ourselves, but for the unborn generations that will carry humanity and our people to new heights, to a world without racism, to a world of no more resistance, but only a community of concern . . . One may well speak of revolution, but unless there is day to day, block by block, city by city and nation-wide organization there can be no fundamental change in our lives."

James Forman, director of International affairs for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, at a Western Regional Black Youth Conference in Los Angeles, Calif., Nov. 23, 1967.

* * *

Every day somewhere in our country some of our fellow citizens engaged in struggle offer answers to the pressing problems that confront us.

Their answers should be heard and considered. That is the point. The people engaged in struggle need to be heard.

And they will be heard in the Daily World, the new Marxist daily paper now in the making.

STATEMENT* BY THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The workers' struggle is giving rise to new developments with every passing hour. It is an expression of the discontent accumulated in recent years against monopoly and big capital power.

The Communist Party reaffirms its unqualified solidarity with the working people who are fighting for their demands and with the students who are striving for a modern and democratic university.

More and more French people, victims of the policies of the present regime, are coming out against it. The conditions for ending this regime and establishing a genuine modern democracy in harmony with the interests of the people and of France are ripening fast.

The alliance of the Left, notably of the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left and the Communist Party, was largely instrumental in this evolution. The joint Presidential candidate of the Left, the agreement concluded on December 20, 1966, on the eve of the general election, the common stand in demanding the repeal of the social security decrees, and above all the agreement of February 24, 1968, which caused resentment in government quarters and at the same time provided a basis for unity of action of all labor and democratic forces, were so many positive factors helping the people to realize the actual possibilities of ending Gaullist power and bringing about the victory of a government of democratic alliance.

The joint support of the general strike of May 13 organized by the trade unions, the great demonstrations of solidarity with the students—victims of police violence and government repression—and the fight for a democratic university and the working people's demands confirm the importance of the Left alliance.

The evolution of the situation calls for corresponding progress in the relations of unity between the Left parties, particularly the Communist Party and the Federation of the Left. It is necessary to go beyond the stage attained through the February 24 agreement.

The Communist Party, just as the Federation of the Left, wants the present government and majority, against which it has never stopped fighting, to go. This implies offering an alternative solution and opening up a perspective for the millions of French people who seek a change but want to know where they are going. The Communist Party therefore considers it urgent for the Left parties and

*L'Humanité, May 18, 1968.

the trade union federations to reach agreement on an advanced social program that will be a majority contract.

This program should provide in precise terms—and we fully agree to this—for *"the necessary and immediately realizable structural reforms and social improvements."*

These deep-going reforms should lead to freeing the state from the grip of capitalist monopolies, working out an economic and social development plan meeting the requirements of the democratic future of France and making it possible gradually to satisfy the economic and social demands of the working people of town and country—manual and mental workers alike. The reforms should be aimed at giving the citizens a share in making decisions on the economic, political and cultural problems of the nation.

To reach agreement on these fundamental problems, the Communist Party earnestly desires to continue talks with the Federation of the Left.

Should the alliance of the Left parties open up a clear perspective tomorrow, the days of the regime of personal power would be counted.

Political Bureau, French Communist Party

May 17, 1968.

PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE*

COMMUNIQUE* OF THE ICP LEADERSHIP

The Leadership of the Italian Communist Party welcomes with deep satisfaction the election victory of the Party and the entire unitary alignment of the Left opposition on May 19 and 20 last. It stresses that the vote has created a new political situation showing that the Center-Left has neither the political prestige nor the moral strength to go on governing the country. The Socialist component of the Center-Left coalition was dealt a telling blow. The coalition, increasingly influenced by the conservative forces, has emerged from the elections greatly weakened.

The ICP has taken a new leap forward—in the north, center and south. After the signal success of 1963, this new success is due in decisive measure to the working class and the youth.

Important shifts occurred in favor of the ICP among the peasants, women, the middle strata and the population of the big cities. It was a highly qualified vote in favor of a change in political trend and alignment. The people expressed a strong and decisive desire for the transformation of the whole society.

The violent anti-Communist campaign unleashed by the Center-Left parties and the Rightist forces, with the massive backing of radio and television and the big capitalist press, failed ignominiously. The brazen abuse of the instruments of power and plotting behind the scenes could not block the will of vast sections of the electorate for renovation.

Along with the powerful advance of the ICP, the obvious success of the united Left candidates in the Senate elections, particularly of the independent and autonomous Socialist candidates grouped around Ferruccio Parri, and the general reinforcement of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity in the Chamber of Deputies proved the policy of Left unity correct and effective.

As a result of this policy and these gains, it is now becoming actually possible to provide an alternative to the Center-Left. The Christian Democratic Party lost votes on the left and made up for this loss through its conservative policy, by winning a fringe of the electorate on the right. On the whole it only retained or slightly improved its positions of 1963, when they were at the lowest since 1948. This happened in spite of the cover which its Center-Left

*L'Unita, May 23, 1968.

allies and, above all, the United Socialist Party (USP) afforded to it in fact even during the election campaign.

The USP is now paying—on behalf of everyone—for a failure resulting from the policy of the Center-Left. It is paying for years of concessions to the CDP and for the policy of splitting the Left. It is reaping the bitter fruits of an election campaign dominated by anti-Communist attacks and of opting for unscrupulous collaborationism in the government. Its Socialist wing suffers particularly from the disastrous effects of a merger with the Social-Democratic Party, achieved at the price of far-reaching political and ideological concessions and a deep split in what was the Italian Socialist Party.

The ICP Leadership directs an appeal to all Socialist forces embittered by the defeat which the Social-Democratic policy of the majority of the USP has brought on. No effort must be spared in striving for democracy and socialism. There is room in the unitary alignment of the Left opposition for anyone who wants to fight from advanced positions.

In any case, it is plainly necessary for the forces still committed to class and socialist ideals to break with Social-Democratic policy and leadership and to fight for a policy of Left unity and a new trend in foreign, home and socio-economic policy. This is also the time to carry on the dialogue and build up unitary relations between dissident Catholics and the Left opposition parties. Lastly, it is necessary for the left-minded Christian Democratic groups to discontinue all disastrous compromises and wage a determined struggle against the leading CDP group.

The Communist pledge themselves to do all in their power to promote the policy of unity already established in this past election campaign and to contribute to the formation of a unitary Left alignment based on a plurality of positions and contributions and on the autonomy of its diverse components.

The ICP Leadership does not regard the election results as an end in itself. These results provide more favorable conditions for developing powerful movements in the enterprise, the countryside and the university to solve vital problems of the working people and the country. The Communists will contribute to this to the best of their ability.

The ICP Leadership commits itself to take, by agreement with other Left forces and groups, every initiative of immediate political struggle to further democracy and social progress. The new Communist members of parliament will be convened as early as possible to examine the proposals to be submitted to parliament.

The ICP and the Left opposition owe their victory to the fact that they were able to take up the ideas of renovation inherent in the struggles that have developed in the country lately. And now France is furnishing us with a new inspiring example and a stimulus

to fight our way to democracy and socialism through a renewed unity of the popular and Left forces.

The ICP Leadership sends fraternal greetings to the leadership and members of the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity and to all left-wing leaders and groups who have contributed to the common success. It expresses heartfelt thanks to all Party organizations and members who contributed to the election campaign unstintingly and with the utmost devotion.

The Leadership is particularly grateful to the emigrant workers who returned with a will, at the cost of personal sacrifice, to reaffirm their faith in communism. It warmly greets the youth who contributed so much to the victory of the Party and calls on them to join the ICP and to help renovate and strengthen it.

The Party organization must assign key posts to the new energetic people who have proved their worth in the election battles of recent months. In the coming weeks we must launch a vast campaign to issue membership cards and recruit new Party members. We must carefully examine the election results and the work done so as to reveal and eliminate shortcomings.

The important victory achieved by the Party should by no means lead to anything like self-complacency or isolation but should prompt the Party to tackle with an open mind—even through discussion with non-Communist left-wing leaders and forces—problems of the subsequent renovation and development of the ICP, of its struggle and its unitary policy.

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contents

LABOR AND DEMOCRATIC UNITY
Speech by Waldeck Rochet 5

REPORT BY FRANK STANLEY
to meeting of EC, British CP 12

ON THE SITUATION IN CHINA
Lecture bp Frigyes Puja, HSWP 20

RESOLUTION
CC, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia 26

PROCLAMATION OF THE CP OF ISRAEL
on 20th anniversary of the State of Israel 44

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LABOR AND DEMOCRATIC UNITY

SPEECH* BY WALDECK ROCHET, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE FCP, AT A PARIS MEETING

Dear friends and comrades,

Our country is passing through momentous events.

A movement of exceptional scope and force is arousing the working people.

Ten years of Gaullist power, ten years of a policy entirely in the service of the monopolies and big banks, have filled our people with deep anger.

While capitalist profits never stopped growing, the workers' standard of living was at a standstill and often marked a drop.

Rising prices, taxes and rent, the gradual abolition of social security, and 500,000 unemployed are fruits of the anti-social policies of the Gaullist regime.

An outmoded educational system, notoriously inadequate educational and cultural facilities, tens of thousands of young workers and students having no job—this is what Gaullist rule has brought to French youth.

Today people in the factories, offices and universities say as one man: "Ten years are enough."

Nine million working people went on strike to insist that their most pressing demands be met at last.

They demand a general pay increase, guaranteed employment and earnings, shorter working hours without cutting wages, abolition of the decrees, the maintenance of social security, the recognition and extension of trade union freedoms in the enterprises.

At the same time students and the teaching staff have joined in a vast action for an educational reform on democratic and modern lines. They want a new university, with structure, content and methods adapted to the contemporary world and the needs of the nation.

The working class, with only 10 per cent of its children having access to higher education, fully identify themselves with these just demands of the students.

The peasants, too, express their discontent. They want to be able to sell their produce at a profit, and demand an end to an agricultural policy that deliberately exposes them to the competition of the big landowners and private banks.

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*L'Humanité, June 1, 1968.

The French Communist Party, which from the first has laid bare the disastrous nature of Gaullist rule, fully supports the demands of the workers, students and peasants. These demands far from being "excessive," are only fair and should be met.

The strength and cohesion of the strike movement are such that the regime and the employers were compelled to begin talks and to make some concessions.

However, they persist in turning a deaf ear to a number of important demands of the working people.

The factory and office workers have said they will resume work when they are convinced that the talks going on at the present stage of their struggle will bring them satisfaction.

We Communists fully support their resolve to have their legitimate demands met at last. We tell them: your resolve is all the more justified because the regime of big capital is in a predicament.

It has been steadily losing strength in recent years under the recurrent blows delivered to it by labor and democratic struggles in which the Communists played a decisive role.

Today this regime shows its complete inability to solve the urgent problems posed by the working people, by the students and peasants, by all the social strata that are victims of the monopolies, which have been crushing them for ten years.

For ten years the Gaullist regime has been doing all in its power to *end* all democracy in France, to prevent the French from having a say in the management of the affairs of the country, that is, of *their own* affairs.

That is why the point at issue today is Gaullist rule itself.

Unable to solve the problems that are posed, General de Gaulle in his latest speech declared a sort of war on the working people who have struck to support their demands, on the students and teachers who are striving for a democratic university, on the millions of French people who want a change of policy.

Here is the essential part of the declaration adopted by the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party immediately after General de Gaulle's speech:

"In opposing the working people, de Gaulle made a violent attack on the Communist Party, which has always defended the interests of the working class, inseparable from those of the nation.

"The attack on our Party is intended to disguise General de Gaulle's desire to impose his own dictatorship.

"It is a fact that the working class and its organizations have displayed remarkable self-control. They have been carrying on the fight for their demands and the mass political struggle, taking care to head off all provocations. This applies to both the factories occupied by the millions of strikers and the impressive street

demonstrations organized by the CGT and other trade unions and backed by the Communist Party.

"Scorning the entire mass of blue- and white-collar workers, the head of state did not see fit to say a single word about their demands.

"Now the primary condition for settling the immense conflict called forth by the nefarious policy of a regime in the service of the trusts is to satisfy the legitimate demands of the working people. This is the unanimous demand of the trade union organizations. It is also the demand of the French Communist Party.

"De Gaulle has announced his intention of resorting to new elections. The French Communist Party did not await that speech to demand that the people be enabled to express their will as early as possible.

"Our Party will go to the polls with its program for social progress and peace and with its policy of alliance of all the democratic forces.

"From this moment it calls on the millions of French men and women to put their trust in it, defeat the Gaullist regime and establish a genuine democracy serving the interests of the working people.

"It calls on the working people and all democratic forces to strengthen and carry forward their alliance in the interest of the people and of France.

"Despite the threats in de Gaulle's speech, the working people will not be overawed."

To remind his audience of what the trade union organizations want, Waldeck Rochet quoted the communiques issued immediately after de Gaulle's statement by the CGT, the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, and the Federation of Public Education.

The General Secretary of our Party then said:

Reaffirming its unqualified support of the demands upheld by the trade union organizations, our Communist Party intends to press forward its actions in the political sphere in order to end the regime of personal power and bring about a people's government of democratic alliance.

We have said, and say again, that we think Gaullist power has had its day. It no longer meets the exigencies of the situation. It must be beaten at the next general elections, in which our Communist Party will take an active part with its own candidates and its own program.

It is understood that the Left forces will rally in the second tour around the Left candidates who have placed best to beat the Gaullist candidates.

What the French people want today is not the replacement of

this or that minister but a complete change of policy and regime. They know that the choice is not between chaos and a face-lifting of a power which has failed, and that it is possible to establish a new, genuinely democratic regime which will thoroughly renovate the economic, social and political structures in accordance with the interests of the working people and the whole nation.

The only answer to the aspirations of the great popular movement on the rise in the country is, therefore, to replace Gaullist rule by a people's government of democratic alliance. This government should lean on the Left parties for support, to the exclusion of the Right, and should carry out a common program envisaging as an immediate task the satisfaction of the principal demands of the working people and the establishment of a modern and democratic university.

Some people say the demands of the working people cannot be met without jeopardizing the national economy. That is not true. The employer state can pay, the capitalists can pay.

What is true is that the economic policy of the Gaullist regime and the monopolies' effort to maximize their profits run counter to the interests of the working people.

We Communists say, therefore, that it is necessary to follow an entirely different policy, that an end must be put to monopoly omnipotence.

This calls for the gradual nationalization of the big enterprises owned by the monopolies in the key branches of the economy. At the same time all citizens should be ensured the right and the means to participate in the management of public affairs on all levels, for it is impossible to advance to socialism without tackling the omnipotence of the capitalist monopolies and without drawing the working people into the management of their affairs.

Lastly, a government of democratic alliance backed by the people's will could launch an economic and social development plan ensuring the growth of production, balanced finances and a higher standard of living.

Such a system would bring our country advanced political and economic democracy. It would be an important milestone on the road to a socialist France, which the working people want and will achieve.

We Communists have invariably proposed to other parties of the Left and to democratic and trade union organizations concluding an agreement on the basis of a common government program.

The CGT, which is playing a decisive role in the present struggle of the working class, has made it clear that it is willing to be a party to such an agreement. We regret to say that not all organizations have given their consent as yet.

Meanwhile the demands of the masses are gaining in scope. The slogan advanced by our Party — "For a people's government of democratic alliance" — was taken up by numerous people in the factories and offices and during the mass demonstrations that were held.

The problem of replacing Gaullism will be posed very emphatically in the coming elections.

All working-class, democratic and progressive forces must act together to bring about the defeat of Gaullism by joint effort and pave the way for the advent of a people's government of democratic alliance backed by the will of the people, a government in which the FCP, the party of the working class, will have a place and will assume appropriate responsibilities.

The Communist Party enjoys the confidence and resolute support of the mass of wage and salaried workers. It will not allow them to be thwarted or misled by false solutions.

To certain elements who pose as "ultra-revolutionaries" and whom we are far from confusing with the bulk of students—to the "Leftists" who would like to lead the popular movement astray by involving it in gambles and who are trying to revive anarchist ideas of the past—we have said and say now: it is by no means under the banner of anarchy and provocation that the labor and democratic movement in France will win. To the working class of our country, anarchism is not the last word in revolutionary science but old stuff which it combated and defeated long ago.

The banner under which the working class is fighting in the world of today is not the shabby black banner of anarchy but the red flag of socialism and at the same time the tricolor of the great French Revolution, the national flag.

These two flags intertwine in all our demonstrations and on all our public platforms, for the national flag is not the property of the big employers and the reactionaries pursuing a policy contrary to the interests of our country. It is the patrimony of the French people.

We Communists raise this flag aloft, for our battle for the interests of the working class, for socialism, is also a fight for the interests of our country. The sacrifices made by our Party for the liberation of the country and all our policy bear witness to that. We can say proudly: "We continue France."

Politically active workers and genuine revolutionaries have never been "wild men," nor will they ever be.

Some Leftists talk about forming a "revolutionary party," but surely one cannot form a genuine revolutionary party with adventurers and renegades.

The only revolutionary party in the true sense of the word is the

French Communist Party. This is why de Gaulle aims his blows at it.

Indeed, the Communists in any situation are people having a sense of responsibility, acting with lucidity and self-possession, and seeing to it that every decision or action they take effectively serves the interests of working men and women, of the people and the country.

Everyone today can see for himself the self-control, capacity for organization and discipline shown by the working class.

The highly responsible conduct of the working people in the factories they occupy is a powerful weapon in their fight against the regime and the employers.

Conversely, the pseudo-revolutionaries professing anarchism, Maoism or Trotskyism are objectively rendering a great service to the Gaullist regime, for their methods and their anti-communism are intended to split the working class, distort the revolutionary movement and democracy and thus dissociate the working people from their natural allies. They are playing into the hands of Gaullist power.

Indeed, it is by referring to their violence and by brandishing the spectre of civil war that the Gaullist regime is trying to rally behind itself the social strata which have every reason to break away from it and join in the great popular movement.

We will not allow make-believe or adventurism to foil the fight for democracy and socialism.

The only democratic way out of the crisis caused by the failure of the Gaullist regime is Left unity to establish a people's government of democratic alliance backed by the mass of our people and to carry out a common program for social progress leading to socialism.

In such a government, the FCP demands a place to which the confidence of millions of citizens entitles it.

We intend to assume in full measure the responsible role we must play in elaborating and applying a policy that will serve the interests of the working people and the nation.

This Communist participation in decisions bearing on the destiny of the working people of town and country, of the industrial workers and the intellectuals, of young and old, is what the slogan of "people's government" likewise implies.

The working people, the democrats refuse to give in to any political maneuver designed to clear the decks for a new experiment with a third force that would throw us back to the past, debar the working class and the Communist Party from managing the affairs of the country and put France back under U.S. tutelage.

In common with the millions of working people who are fighting,

we refuse to have the present regime replaced by another regime that would fail to satisfy the principal demands of the working people allegedly because they were outdated or exceeded the possibilities of the employers.

The French people know well that there can be no Left policy of social progress without active Communist participation.

Still less can anyone seriously claim that he is advancing to socialism without the Communists, let alone by engaging in anti-communism.

To pave the way for democracy and socialism, it is necessary:

—to continue the fight for the immediate satisfaction of the demands of the strikers and students;

—to bring about the definitive defeat of Gaullism in the coming elections;

—to replace the Gaullist regime by a people's government of democratic alliance including the Communists.

With a view to attaining these goals, the Communist Party calls on all labor and democratic forces to unite in action. The Central Committee at its meeting yesterday morning unanimously reaffirmed the will of the French Communist Party to persevere in the correct course of action it has decided on for the good of the people.

In conclusion, allow me to extend fraternal greetings to the thousands of workers, intellectuals, young people and women who in these past days have joined the French Communist Party and the Communist Youth Movement.

One of the best ways of contributing to the great transformation our people aspire to is to unite and to join the French Communist Party.

Down with the Gaullist dictatorship!

Long live the French Communist Party!

Long live the unity in struggle of the working class and all popular forces!

Long live democracy and socialism!

REPORT* BY FRANK STANLEY

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY, MAY 11, 1968

LOCAL ELECTION RESULTS

The appalling defeat of Labor candidates and the loss of control by Labor of authorities up and down the country—is the result of the disastrous policies pursued by the Labor Government.

While the elections have taken place on a smaller vote — the trend shown in recent Parliamentary by-elections has continued.

Mass abstention by tens of thousands of former Labor voters has continued, and with some transference of votes to Tory candidates.

As far as votes for our candidates are concerned — the overall picture indicates with all the unevenness, a small *upward trend— a significant departure from the former position, where the fate of our candidates has been more closely linked to that of Labor.*

Our Party has gained five seats and maintained its previously won seats, which now makes a total of 52 seats on local authorities.

Where persistent work has been conducted by our candidates and Party branches — we have had good results — not only in the places where we won seats but in: Southwark, and London generally; Liverpool, Sheffield, Wolverhampton—of significance!

RACIALISM

The timeliness of our last Executive meeting in making the issue of racialism a central feature on our agenda has been underlined by recent events.

The shameful Powell speech is the gravest example since the days of Mosley and fascism of using race as a political weapon of reaction and Toryism.

The deliberate provocation by the rabid Tory, Powell, is a conscious design, by presenting the colored sections of the community as a scapegoat, to divert the attention of the mass of the people away from the real reasons for the burning racial issues of the day, to split the working class, and it has been made possible because of the shameful retreats and betrayals of the Labor Government on this issue.

*Abridged.

The retreat of the Wilson Government before the Tory pressure on immigration and the Race Relations Act has inevitably led to the position in which some confused sections have reacted to the provocations of Powell and other openly fascist elements who have been encouraged to emerge.

This reaction has a clear relationship to the political and economic situation in the country consequent upon the growing difficulties of British capitalism and the increasing burdens being forced on the people. It is a result of the Government's policies, the fear by the people of worsening economic prospects, of low wages, high prices, increased rents and interest repayments, and growing unemployment.

These policies, pursued by the Labor Government, affect all sections of the working population irrespective of color or creed, and by united action, must be forced out of the way by the unity of all workers, white and colored, and replaced by policies which serve the people.

This position is one of the greatest challenges facing the labor movement.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

On the economic front we see the sharp contrast between the record increases in share prices—the increased profits for major companies; the ever-growing mergers and the huge concentration of capitalist wealth and power resulting from the Labor Government's policies, and the ruthless attacks on living standards and social services—increased rents and the incomes policy.

The Budget, added to devaluation and other previous measures, shows the determination of the Wilson Government to carry through its policy of deflation.

The reshuffle of Ministerial posts early in April was deliberately designed to push through the new drive to reduce living standards.

Growth in production will continue to be deliberately held down in order to maintain a constant pool of unemployed with the hope that this will act as a deterrent to those in employment.

Financial incentives have been provided by the Government to accelerate mergers over the entire range of industry, to strengthen the position of monopoly within Britain and in the international field.

The question of wages is a central issue for the economic policy of the Government. It is also a central issue of the economic and political struggle in the next months.

Following on the decision by the National Committee of the AEF —which also declared by overwhelming majority its opposition to

the incomes policy of the Government and the TUC vetting proposals—the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions has called for a one day token strike on May 15 and by the 2½ million engineering workers it represents. Following this will be consideration of some other form of decisive industrial action.

The lobbies of the Engineering Employers' Federation offices following meetings in workshops, factories and trade union branches have played an important part in the development of activity around the engineers' claim, as did the earlier national conference called by the Liaison Committee for the Defense of Trade Unions.

The significance of the claim being pursued by the engineering unions is that it comes from the traditional spearhead of the trade union movement, and represents the biggest, most powerful battalions of labor. The last time that such a challenge was made was 11 years ago, and the present challenge must be seen in the context of it being made against Government opposition.

Now that the decision has been taken for action in support of the claim, similar meetings in the workplaces and elsewhere will be vital in assisting the further development of the movement.

Other important sections are preparing to come into battle against the incomes policy and for specific claims, and involve seamen, railwaymen, teachers, builders, distributive workers and bus workers and agricultural workers.

Post Office clerks enthusiastically responded to the leadership of their union in taking direct action in support of their wage claim, while the support for complete withdrawal was shown by the overwhelming branch votes for this.

The movement for higher wages therefore is one of the most important developments that is taking place. There should be the utmost solidarity by every section of the organized movement.

Our Party declares its solidarity with all trade unionists in the critical struggles which lie ahead. This should be a major feature of our public campaign. We should get a mass distribution for our wages leaflet, and the biggest sale for the new wages pamphlet.

RENTS

Tenants of council houses have been particular victims of increased rents and the policies of successive governments with the heavy crippling interest charges in house-building.

Owner-occupiers repaying building societies are also yet again having to meet increased interest charges on their mortgages, while many have a never-ending mortgage. Tenants of private landlords will be confronted with new legislation allegedly to refurbish older properties, but with the real intention of ending rent control where it exists.

These attacks on tenants are meeting with growing anger and opposition, and have been the reason for the great development of organization and protest among council tenants up and down the country.

The Government, prompted by the sharp reaction, referred increases in rents of local authority housing to the Prices and Incomes Board, in an effort to take the steam out of the movement and at the same time to ensure that the PIB would justify increases in rents, although with different levels and phasing in an endeavor to make them more acceptable. In fact, the report of the PIB has done just that.

But it will not abate the movement to freeze rents. Recent marches and lobbies of Parliament and local authorities have shown the determination of tens of thousands to press their demands.

All possible assistance should be given to the development and movement of tenants' organizations, for support of the National Lobby on June 25, to win success for their immediate demands, and to secure understanding of the nature of capitalist usury at their expense.

We congratulate the many Communists playing a leading part in the movement and call for the creation of tenants' associations everywhere—for the freezing of rents and slashing of interest charges.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Vietnam: The Johnson announcement that he would not stand as presidential candidate and the subsequent arrangement of talks in Paris, are events of the greatest magnitude. They have come about as a result of the tremendous victories of the Vietnamese people, of aid from the socialist countries and of the great world-wide protest movement.

It is, above all, an indication that mass action can win results.

The movements of support for the Vietnamese people in Britain have also played their part in this, the most recent action being that of the 25,000 who assembled in Trafalgar Square at the conclusion of the Aldermaston Peace March at Easter.

The opening of talks between Vietnam and the United States is but the first step. It would be dangerous to think that we can now sit back and relax our efforts. On the contrary, now is the time for the British people to insist even more firmly that the British Government cease its support of the United States in Vietnam, and that the bombing be halted so that a settlement can be reached to end the war on a basis which freely allows the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs without external interference.

It is in this respect that the activities around he British Declaration for Peace in Vietnam must be given a new upsurge. Support for the Declaration by every labor movement and progressive organization in every locality is a vital activity that can be contributed to by every person.

The interests of the people of Vietnam demand this, as do the interests of the British people. The British Government can and must be compelled to take its stand behind the Declaration, to stop the American adventurism in Vietnam, and to help the people of Vietnam to rebuild their country in freedom and with independence.

Other forms of support for the Vietnamese people should also be expanded, including medical aid and material help, as well as political pressure on our own government. The campaign of the YCL to collect material aid for Vietnam is one that can be supported by every Communist Party branch. This particular campaign, which is being supported by other youth organizations, will culminate with a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on July 21.

At the same time, especially as talks have now begun, we need to make clear our full support for the Vietnamese people and the NLF and our resolve to continue to win public backing for their rightful struggle to achieve victory and independence.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The sharpest political problems are now being raised about the way forward for the labor movement as a result of the political crisis created by the policies of the Wilson Government.

The new and developing factor in the situation is the rising movement of opposition on the principal issues of concern—on Vietnam, wages, employment, rents and social issues. This movement shows that with further development, successes can be gained and that policy changes can be won by the very force of the movement.

The first task, therefore, is to drive forward on all these issues: step up the united movement on Vietnam, the great wages movement, the rent struggles, and so on.

This should be our major concern in the coming months.

The united movement on Vietnam, on wages, the Committees for Defense of Trade Unionism, the tenants' committees—should be strengthened and developed as fighting combative bodies.

The leftward movement in the unions, — in the AEF, the NUS and others, and the coming rules revision conference of the TAGWU should be nurtured into a broad progressive front of the unions advance and the balance of power in the labor movement which can be decisive for the next stage of advance.

We should seek to establish links and unity between the struggles of the students and the youth and the left forces in the industrial and political labor movement.

The question is now presented by events in a new way.

For a time, the question was being put about — "don't rock the boat" — "don't take any action which would endanger the movement."

The situation now is that the policies of the Government have produced a political position where its political defeat and downfall is almost certain unless the mass movement forces changes in policy and defeats those in the Government who are resisting changes in policy.

Almost everywhere Labor activists are discussing the way forward. There are great dangers of disruption, of attempts to write off the Labor Party as already finished—that it should be abandoned, and so on.

It is essential to warn against the elements of disorganization in the working class movement, who feed the confusion, who assist the passivity, by claiming that there is no possibility of change, that some kind of alternative but unclear form of socialist organization is the answer. Fragmentation of the labor movement will not only *not* help, but will contribute to the confusion.

Stopping payment of the political levy by individual trade unionists, and collectively, will not help the labor movement to be rid of wrong policies, but in withdrawing opponents from the fight, will worsen the position.

The right wing leadership in the Government, Labor Party and trade unions have been fearful of the developments that have taken place on the basis of unity on specific issues. This unity, first developed on questions of policy, and now moving to the field of action, has shown itself at the TUC and Labor Party conferences, and in the assemblies of individual trade unions and in the Vietnam campaign.

Of course it causes the right wing to fight back more furiously —they fear the changes both in policy and in leadership personnel that have been won in some unions and which will continue—they fear a similar fate overtaking them.

The present struggle is between right and left policies—the fight is about political power—and it is this fight that the left forces must join more relentlessly.

The real question is the outcome of the struggle between Left and Right and how can the left forces more and more take the initiative and compel changes in policy and win leadership in the labor movement.

The existing movement *has* the possibility of making striking

advances—it is already organized with membership numbering millions in the factories and major industries, in every town and city. Important and substantial sections are making the challenge at this moment.

It must be given confidence that it can win, and in the process of its fight, restore to its ranks those who have become embittered by the performance of the Labor Government.

UNITY IS THE NEED

Our Communist Party, through its leading committees, branches and members, meetings and actions, has made an important contribution to the united struggles that are now taking place. We have produced an excellent range of materials, leaflets, pamphlets, putting our point of view on the immediate issues of concern.

In all this, the *Morning Star* has been of invaluable service in its presentation of current news, commentary and reporting on the struggles taking place at home and abroad.

While expressing pride in its contribution, the Communist Party has always seen the necessity of united struggle to ensure the most effective fight for the advance of the people's interests.

The Communist Party believes that the issues confronting our people are so urgent and the possibilities so great, that the overriding issue for 1968 must be the further development of united left struggle. That united action around specific issues must be encouraged into a single struggle around a common program for the political change that Britain desperately needs.

The Communist Party has offered such a program to meet Britain's crisis — some elements coincide with connected demands presented by other important sections of the labor movement—including the famous Composite Resolution No. 6 adopted by the 1967 TUC.

These are the connected issues that need to be made the property of the organized movement in every workplace, in every locality. There is not an area in our country where a further important development of united action cannot take place around such a program. Conferences, forums, the undertaking of activities on specific issues, and on the entire range of questions concerning the British people are realizable possibilities, and in the process will give new heart, new strength, and victories for our labor and progressive movement.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A National Campaign was launched by our January EC to implement our 30th Congress decisions, and in this, our Communist

Party will leave no stone unturned to ensure the success of the united left struggle. Its fight to present the practical alternatives over the recent period has received a tremendous uplift through the fight of our 600 candidates in the local election campaigns in all of which our canvassers have been well received by the electors.

But to make a bigger contribution to the development of united struggle, the Communist Party itself must be strengthened, and thousands more men, women and young people brought into its ranks. The possibilities are becoming more apparent—applications for membership are coming into the Center at a higher rate than for a very long time.

The applicants are largely people whose only contact with our Party has been through receiving our materials — a leaflet, a pamphlet, or through reading the *Morning Star*.

An essential part of our summer campaigning must be the conscious reaching out to the thousands who will want to be with us, if they are given the opportunity.

Disillusion has developed in the minds of some, because their previous hopes about the future have been smashed by the policies of those to whom they have given years of loyalty.

It is our Party that can help that hope to live again, it is our Party that can play a leading part in seeing the realization of these aspirations.

The people need more materials from our Party, they need more meetings where they can hear and question our point of view, they need more opportunities to read the *Morning Star*—and above all, the people, the movements taking place, need more Communists.

We must direct our attention more to the main forces of the movement—to those who are making the challenge—to those who have the prospect of coming into the struggle.

Not a major factory—not a major industry—not a concentration of working people must be deprived of considering our point of view.

Meetings—in public halls, in homes, "teach-ins," are within the possibility of each of our Party organizations whatever their size.

The responsibility resting on our Party in 1968 is a great one, but the opportunities too are enormous, opportunities for taking our people out of the crisis, to make the challenge against this existing, rotten society, and move towards a socialist future.

The launching of our revised program will match the need that is being felt in the progressive movement for clear, realizable perspectives. The British Road deals with the future, but above all, makes clear that it is a program for action *now*, action which can decide the future for our people, and for our country.

Our mission, in association with others, is to take our people on the road to a socialist future—this is the pressing demand for 1968.

THE SITUATION IN CHINA*

FRIGYES PUJA, MEMBER, CC HSWP

Communists and progressives hailed the victory of the Chinese people's revolution. They prided themselves on the increased international prestige, influence and role of People's China. But for several years now they have been following the activities of the Communist Party leaders of China with concern. The home policy of Mao Tse-tung and his group and their disruptive international policy have upset the unity of the world Communist movement and the socialist world system. They reduce the effectiveness of the fight for socialism, progress and peace and are very harmful to the Chinese people and the cause of socialism and progress throughout the world.

No Communist can agree with the objectives and the splitting activities of Mao and his group. On the other hand, Communists must bear in mind that world Communist unity cannot be complete without the Communist Party of China. This is why they are trying to help bring about the return of the CPC and the People's Republic of China on to the right road.

Frigyes Puja then pointed out some of the special factors influencing the evolution and policy of the CPC. He said that when the Communist movement was taking shape in China and later, up to the victory of the people's revolution, China was a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country, exceedingly backward socially and culturally. Nor is it unimportant that the historical development of China provided an objective basis for the rise of great-power chauvinism.

Due to distinctive conditions, the Communist movement in China did not go all the way through the stages of development passed by the Communist movements of European countries. The Party was not steeled in battles against anti-Marxist ideological trends before it came to power.

The military element has from the outset played a big role in the Chinese revolution and Chinese Communist movement. In the initial period its role was positive, but subsequently military men who had become Party leaders fully transplanted into the Party army methods, the practice of giving orders, suppressing the opinions of those who disagreed, and so on.

The lecturer spoke of the shaping of CPC strategy and tactics

*Abridged text of lecture delivered at the Political Academy of the CC HSWP. **Népszabadsag,** May 18, 1968.

at various stages of the Party's history. With reference to the post-revolutionary period he said:

After the victory of the people's revolution the CPC was faced with the task of mobilizing the masses to remedy the ravages of war and then to lay the foundations of a socialist society.

Economic rehabilitation was essentially complete by late 1952. At the end of 1953 the Party CC decided on the general line of building socialism. Under the first five-year plan China made important progress in setting up a modern industry, and in developing agriculture and the economy as a whole.

The significance of the victorious socialist revolution and the economic achievements went far beyond the boundaries of China. After the October Revolution the victory of the Chinese socialist revolution was the greatest event of our era. It furnished vivid proof that, given correct leadership, the socialist revolution can triumph in even a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country.

The international policy of the PRC, for its part, won unanimous recognition with the peoples and revolutionary movements of the world. It earned the CPC and the PRC high prestige.

The value of the victories of world significance achieved by the Chinese Communists and people is in no way reduced by the fact that Mao Tse-tung and his supporters made certain mistakes in the early period of building socialism. These mistakes began to tell strongly afterwards, when they assumed a large scale, and they tell to this day.

In the first five-year plan period attempts were made to speed the growth of agriculture and industry by artificial means.

After the victory of the people's revolution some CPC leaders insisted that the experience and methods of their revolution be regarded as a model binding on all, or at least on the liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies, and that China become the main guiding center of the anti-imperialist national liberation movement. In the mid-fifties the Chinese leaders began systematically to undermine the prestige of the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

Although false concepts and tendencies had embarked the policy of the Party on a course of distortion, this policy, taken as a whole, was correct none the less. For all the complexity of development, the CPC was in a position to perform the role of leader of the people's revolution and socialist construction.

At the close of that period the Eighth Congress of the CPC passed decisions which strengthened and, indeed, carried forward to a considerable extent all that was right in the policy of the Party.

In May 1958 the home policy of the CPC made a volte-face. The second session of the Eighth Congress revised the home policy adopted by the first session and approved the policy of "three

Red banners," that is, "the new general policy, the big leap and the people's communes."

The Chinese leaders' concept of the "big leap" confronted the people of the PRC with the task of overtaking and outpacing the Soviet Union and the developed capitalist countries economically in a few years.

The formation of people's communes was a reflection of the same concept in agriculture. In 1958, in the course of a political campaign lasting several months, 740,000 production co-operatives comprising 99.1 per cent of the peasant population were associated in 24,500 people's communes.

A few years after the policy of "three Red banners" had been announced production began to decline sharply. In 1962 gross industrial output was only 54 per cent of the volume produced in 1959. A large proportion of the fixed assets in industry was worn out and the imbalances inside and between the various industries increased.

The grave mistakes that had been made and the hardships of the people gave rise to doubts among the Communists as to the infallibility of Mao and his group.

There was no consensus in the Party leadership regarding the long-range development of the country. The argument centered on how to turn China into a mighty world power and by what methods to build a socialist society—seen as a prerequisite, so to speak—as speedily as possible.

After the miscarriage of the "big leap," but above all after an incorrect policy and natural calamities had virtually brought agriculture to the brink of catastrophe and the Chinese people to the brink of famine, the policy of the Party was changed.

Early in 1961 the Ninth Plenum of the CC CPC, having looked into the situation, adopted the new economic policy of "rectification." It appears from what was published later on that Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping were among those supporting this policy. The only sign that Mao had stepped into the background was, as it became known afterwards, his renunciation of the Presidency of the PRC and his shift to "theoretical" work. The post of President went to Liu Shao-chi.

The new policy proved successful. It helped to make up for a substantial part of the damage caused by the policy of the "big leap" and the people's communes and to stop the downward trend in production. By the autumn of 1965 industrial and agricultural output had in the main reached the 1957 level. Paradoxically, this was one of the reasons for launching the "great proletarian cultural revolution," which was spurred by two factors.

Mao and his group considered that if the policy of "rectification"

were continued its success would cast a slur on Mao's concept and confirm that he and his group, far from being infallible, made numerous mistakes causing immense damage to the Chinese people.

The other imperative reason why Mao and his partisans unleashed the "cultural revolution" was the international position of the PRC and certain reverses sustained by the CPC in world politics.

Mao and his group took several years to prepare for the "cultural revolution." Late in 1962 they set about bolstering their position in the Party, the state apparatus and the Army as a force which they could use to achieve their ends if it came to the worst.

The preparations for the "cultural revolution" were also carried on by ideological means—between 1963 and 1965 the cult of Mao's personality was stepped up.

In carrying out the "great proletarian cultural revolution," Mao relied primarily on the army. He saw his other main prop in youth.

The "cultural revolution" began with a critical campaign by Mao and his group. The purpose of the campaign was to strike at the cadres active in the cultural field and the press who held correct views and criticized Mao, to bring the guidance of press and propaganda under their control and through them to start a campaign aimed at removing Liu Shao-chi and his supporters.

Mao and his group could not achieve their ends even with the aid of the "Red Guards." Thereupon the army, which was to help the Mao group impose its will, was brought to the fore.

The spring of 1966 saw the first wave of the "Red Guard" offensive. It hit the Party cadre first of all, and this apparently explains why Mao succeeded in putting the program of the "cultural revolution" through at the 11th Plenum of the CC in August 1966. The Plenum adopted the following important decisions:

1. It stated in no uncertain terms that the struggle must be spearheaded against the "hostile elements that have wormed their way into the Party," the "exponents of bourgeois views inside the Party" and those leaders who had taken a "capitalist" road. It called on youth boldly to attack and criticize the local Party and government leadership.

2. Lin Piao was elected Vice-Chairman of the CPC. Liu Shao-chi was made to criticize himself and was relieved of the duties of Vice-Chairman of the Party. (It is worthy to mention that nominally he is still President of the PRC.)

3. The Plenum raised the anti-Soviet policy which had virtually been pursued for years to the rank of official policy. It sanctioned the effort of the CPC to split the world Communist movement.

4. The Plenum decision, comparing the so-called revolutionary organizations and committees supposed to have sprung up spon-

taneously to the organs of the Paris Commune, proclaimed a hazy and contradictory concept of the commune.

After the Plenum the inner-Party struggle intensified, as might have been expected. Under growing pressure the elected Party bodies were paralyzed, the leading role of the Party decreased sharply, and the local Party committees and organizations were routed by the "Red Guards" and "revolutionary insurgents."

At the very outset of the "cultural revolution" it became evident that the Party cadre and membership were resisting the concepts of Mao and his group more strongly than had been expected.

Mao and his group failed to secure massive support from any class or stratum of Chinese society.

Mao began, therefore, to count on the army as a reserve force to be used in an emergency. In fact, the army established control over several provinces. But its political activity did not quite live up to Mao's expectations for all that.

The results of the "cultural revolution" are common knowledge. Mao's moves caused chaos, led to the disorganization and disintegration of the leading bodies of Chinese society and upset industrial and agricultural production, a development whose full impact will tell yet. The chaos paralyzes the political activities of the CPC and PRC at home and abroad, and has already dealt a severe blow at PRC prestige.

Summing up the past period of the "cultural revolution," Frigyes Puja said:

Whatever the outcome of the processes now taking place in China, it is certain that Mao's ideas ("Maoism"), which have turned out to be anti-Marxist, are mortally wounded and can never regain their one-time prestige.

The events in China warrant certain conclusions of fundamental importance to the entire Communist movement, specifically to the Communist parties of the developing countries. Frigyes Puja listed them as follows:

1. The distortion of CPC policy is also due to objective causes. Many millions of non-proletarians are being drawn into the revolutionary process today. This is a logical and essentially positive phenomenon, but it complicates the revolutionary process. These non-proletarians bring into the revolutionary movement their own special views of what a just society should be like and how it should be brought about. If the Communist parties and their leaderships firmly adhere to Marxism-Leninism and put it into practice, resisting the pressure of petty-bourgeois views, exposing and repulsing all attacks on Marxism-Leninism, they can prevent incorrect views from gaining the upper hand and stave off political distor-

tions. The tragedy of the CPC is that its present leaders cannot do that.

2. The Chinese leaders do not really understand the role and significance of the working class in the democratic and socialist revolution and in building socialism. They overestimate the role and significance of the peasantry, and some of them regard them as something absolute.

3. One of the important lessons of the events in China is that Chinese reality logically leads to the rise of ideas foreign to Marxism-Leninism and reflected in the policy of "three Red banners" and the program of the "cultural revolution," as well as in certain works of Mao, and that, on the other hand, the objective situation in China prevents the realization of concepts based on these ideas, nor do the Chinese people want it. This is precisely one of the important guarantees of the inevitable ideological and political failures of "Maoism."

4. An important lesson of the events in China is that in formulating Party policy it is necessary to take the prevailing realities into careful account and that voluntarist tendencies ignoring them are bound to be defeated.

5. The events in China show clearly that the greatest danger to the Communist movement today emanates from nationalism. The Chinese case indicates that the Communist parties must not for a moment give in to nationalist sentiments at the price of proletarian internationalism.

6. The events in China show that one of the principal conditions for building socialism successfully is strict adherence to the standards of Party and government life.

It came to the "cultural revolution" and to the routing of the Party organizations and the organs of people's power only because the fundamental principles of collective leadership were trampled underfoot and the necessity for strengthening socialist democracy and promotiong legality was not taken seriously. Mao Tse-tung exempted himself from the control of the collective leading bodies of the Party and proceeded to take arbitrary decisions.

7. The main reason for the erroneous, disruptive international policy of Mao Tse-tung and his group is that they do not understand the nature of our epoch nor the Leninist theory of the gradual development of the socialist world revolution, nor yet the role of the world socialist system.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND FURTHER ACTION OF THE PARTY

After the April plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, when the Action Program was approved, the government program worked out and a new government formed, and when the CC elected a new Presidium and Secretariat, a new stage set in in the development initiated by the January plenum of the CC CPC. Newly-elected Party committees are functioning in the regions and districts. The CC CPC considers that the priority task at this stage is to work extensively on executing the Action Program, to guide the entire Party toward implementing a common policy so as to increase and carry deeper the people's confidence in the Party policy won by the January plenum.

We have no reason to be fully satisfied with the evolution of the political situation in our country since the April plenum, for not all the goals set have been fully achieved. In the Party and in society there arise, along with a definite desire to support the consolidation process, certain misgivings about the further socialist democratic development of our country. On the one hand, the fear is voiced that the process of socialist democratic development may generate anarchic trends and allow scope for a threat to the very foundations of socialism, for attempts by anti-socialist or downright anti-communist forces to take the offensive. On the other hand, there are those who fear that this development may stop half-way and that attempts may be made to revert to the period before January 1968.

The CC CPC puts on record that negative trends in our internal political development giving cause for these fears do exist. The principal condition for greater socialist democracy in our country is, in our view, for the Party resolutely to build up its political prestige and seek support for its new policy from the working class, the cooperated peasants, youth, the intelligentsia and other working people, so as not to lose touch with the actual situation at this stage nor advance faster than the situation really permits.

The Party holds that the decisive task now is to achieve, strengthen and carry forward Communist unity on the basis of the new policy defined by the Action Program and to provide in the Party leadership all the guarantees of this policy being carried on clearly and consistently. The Party will conduct its policy in a way showing the working people, especially the workers, that there is in our

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*Resolution of CC CPC plenum (May 29 to June 1, 1968). **Rudé Pravo,** June 2.

country no returning to the class, property, social and political relations of the period before the February 1948 victory of the working people, that the Communist Party's guidance of society will be strengthened by new methods, that it will be more effective and will draw on the masses for support. This means, first of all, that the Party must dissociate itself—explicitly and in a manner obvious to all working people—from past distortions and state the fundamental position of the Party on present-day problems and issues, which have lately been an increasingly frequent object for speculation, are often misrepresented one-sidedly and warrant the fear that the working people are being made to distrust the Party leadership and its policy. The CC CPC regards it as a serious shortcoming that so far the Party, public and government bodies and organizations and the mass media of influencing public opinion—the press, radio and television—have not been properly readjusted to explain the new policy of the Party to the masses, especially the workers, in simple and positive terms, and that they have done little to ensure that their voice and opinion are heard by more and more people in our social and political life. This is creating a favorable atmosphere in which to spread distrust and uncertainty, to try to aggravate contradictions and conflicts whose implications would help disorganize our life and buttress the hopes of the anti-Communist forces, who would like to profit in one way or another by the process of socialist democratic development.

The important thing in the present situation is, as the Party sees it, to ward off a threat to the socialist character of power and the social system from any quarter—either from rightist, anti-communist trends, or from the conservative forces who would be satisfied with a return to the pre-January relations, which could not guarantee the progress of socialism.

The basis on which we stand foursquare is the Action Program of the Party. The policy of the Action Program should be discussed at the *Party Congress,* which *alone* is qualified to *form by democratic methods central bodies that will fully guarantee consistent implementation of the new policy*. This, and only this, can beat off the attacks on the Party made possible by distrust, by the inability of the Party consistently to dissociate itself from past mistakes and distortions, by the lack of faith in the unity of the Party and in its leadership. The new form of socialism to which the Action Program shows the way has yet to be created. It implies not only deciding a number of practical questions but solving certain theoretical problems. This ultimate goal of the development process we have initiated should be distinguished from the conditions and possibilities of the various stages of the advance from the past to the goal set. The actual policy of the Party in each particular period

should proceed from the conditions in each stage of this really possible transition. Party policy is injured, therefore, by the efforts of those comrades who do not see this necessity and confuse the ultimate requirements with the specific practical tasks of the present stage.

With a view to joint and politically effective action by the Party in the present political situation, in the period of preparations for the Party Congress, the CC CPC considers it essential for the Communists in every field of public activity—in the factories and in agriculture, on political jobs and in the press—to adhere in influencing public opinion to only the following main principles of Party policy:

1. *Ensure the political guidance of society by the Communist Party, foiling all attempts to discredit the Party as a whole, sow distrust of the Party and deny its moral and political right to lead our society, to be the decisive political force of socialist power.*

The Party has been leading our society in every respect since February 1948. It therefore shares in both the credit for the progress made in building socialism and the responsibility for the distortions which have tarnished the image of socialism. Some of the Communists themselves became victims of the distortions and crimes of the fifties, for which concrete persons and groups in the Party leadership bear the responsibility. The Communists were also those who initiated the campaign against these distortions, a campaign which resolved itself into the results of the January plenum of the CC CPC and into the Action Program which fully entitles them, both morally and politically, to seek the leading role in the subsequent course of socialist development in our country.

The CPC regards denial of this fact, the attempts to discredit the Party as a whole and the campaign against the Party becoming the decisive political force of socialist power as concrete anti-socialist and anti-communist tendencies of today. In a number of cases the Party has rehabilitated, and it continues to consistently rehabilitate, all those Communists and non-Communists who in the past were unlawfully persecuted. To question this means inviting people to distrust the Party. The Party is determined to relieve itself of all who are responsible for past distortions and holds that the guilty must be punished irrespective of rank. But the Party will proceed from legal and Party standards so that the extent of the guilt and responsibility of each may be established fairly. It is emphatically against attempts to work up an atmosphere of hysteria and general distrust of Party and government officials by methods contrary to the standards of justice and law and likely to benefit politically none but the anti-Communist forces and their schemes. Revolutionary measures—whether economic, political or state-power—

adopted against the bourgeoisie as a class after February 1948 shall not be subject to any "revision" whatsoever.

The CC CPC maintains that the consistent regeneration of the Party necessitates the *convening of an extraordinary congress of the Party—the 14th—early in September 1968,* for this is the only way to provide every guarantee of consistent implementation of the new policy within the Party itself. The Congress will:

(a) discuss development since the 13th Party Congress, especially since the January plenum of the CC CPC; it will analyze the fundamental trends of development in society and the Party; on this basis it will determine the policy of the Party for the subsequent period, including the line to be followed in deciding the political and legal (federal) structure of the CSSR and in developing the entire political system (especially the structure of the representative bodies as organs of state power, and the procedure of elections to them);

(b) discuss the results of the work done with a view to rehabilitating comrades who were persecuted without guilt and the extent of responsibility of the former political leadership for illegalities;

(c) adopt the new Rules of the CPC defining in detail inner-Party democracy and the methods of Party work;

(d) elect the new CC CPC and the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The CC considers it necessary to ensure rapid, earnest and comprehensive preparations for the extraordinary 14th Congress of the Party. All this work and the election of Congress delegates should, in the opinion of the Party, be carried out in such a way as to ensure that *the extraordinary 14th Congress of the Party convenes at the beginning of September* and that greater political activity in the autumn (congresses and conferences of all the components of the National Front, the constitutional structure (federal) of the CSSR, and the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of our republic) are preceded by an *offensive of the CPC as the leading political force in the country.*

Subsequently—early next year—it would be possible to constitute the CSSR on new, federal lines, determine the structure of representative bodies and discuss the new law on elections to the organs of state power at all levels.

The CC CPC regards as wrong certain views to the effect that the Party should dissociate itself from past shortcomings and create definite and solid guarantees of pursuing a new policy not through the early convocation of the extraordinary 14th Congress of the Party but by other methods.

The CC CPC considers above all certain opinions virtually calling for a split in the Party and the founding of a different Marxist

workers' party (these opinions emanate from people who consider themselves "progressive Communists" or, on the contrary, from Social-Democrats who would like to "revise" the historic act of merging the two Marxist workers' parties in 1948) precisely at this juncture, when it is a question of Party unity as the main guarantee of the new policy, to be expressive of a tendency whose political implications are, in the final analysis, downright anti-Communist.

At present the CPC is the only political force having a scientific socialist program. It is the chief guarantee of good relations between the CSSR and other socialist countries, and hence a guarantee of stability in the international position of our republic. It is the unifying force of both our peoples, the Czechs and Slovaks. It unites hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals enjoying personal respect and credit. It includes the vast majority of the best creative forces of our society—scientists, technicians, creative workers. In its ranks are people who won their prestige in the struggle against capitalism and Nazi occupation, people who initiated and organized the present process of regeneration of socialism and socialist democratic development. The Party cadre makes up a considerable proportion of the administrative and managerial apparatus of our society. All of this creates a *historical reality*—a situation in which genuinely democratic socialist development without conflicts, undesirable upheavals and a contest for power (and thereby for its genuinely socialist character) can take no other road but the one along which *the CPC, the most powerful organized political force in this country, will direct the entire process of development,* using, needless to say, the new means and methods which are clearly outlined in the Action Program of the Party and which the Party Congress will approve.

The CC CPC declares that if anti-Communist elements tried to assail this historic fact and divert the development of our peoples, the Party would *mobilize all the forces of our people and our socialist state, and would foil and suppress such adventurist attempts.* Of course, this would greatly endanger the whole of present development and the implementation of the Action Program line of the Party. The CPC will, therefore, take every step to prevent such a development.

The CC CPC considers that the anti-Communist forces in our country are in themselves small. They consist of insignificant remnants of former members of the exploiting classes; of individual exponents of the reactionary, rightist policies of the pre-February period who still refuse to give up their political hopes; of a handful of enemies who had sold themselves to imperialist forces, whom our state *justly* punished in the past and some of whom did not abandon their intentions after serving the prison terms justly

meted out to them, and others. While these anti-Communist forces have protectors abroad, they could gain serious political influence in our country only if they succeeded in taking advantage of discontent, causing chaos and disorganization and creating a state of conflict. To prevent this, it is necessary:

—that our policy express the interests of the workers and peasants and solve their vital problems. Working-class support of the policy of the Party is the decisive factor. It is primarily on the workers' attitude that the character and possibilities of the development of socialist democracy depend;

—that sectarian mistakes in the policy of the Party toward the intelligentsia and youth—mistakes leading to a state of conflict —do not recur; we must, furthermore, enlist the active support of these groups for the policies of the Party.

—to enable non-Communists to participate with full rights in the government and the guidance of society, and consistently to implement the policy of the National Front;

—consistently to eliminate all remnants of sectarian, bureaucratic and administrative practices in the Party and throughout society. It will not do to exercise political leadership by the administrative-directive methods of the past and so restrict the free expression of the diverse interests of people adhering to socialism (freedom of the press, and so on).

The CC CPC expects that all Party committees and organizations and every Communist will strive, in accordance with these principles, jointly and in organized fashion, to *promote the leading political influence of the Party* in society, especially now that the preparations for the Congress are under way in our society. It calls on all honest organizations and citizens adhering to socialist principles to help and support these efforts of the Communists.

2. *Ours is socialist democracy. It is a question of carrying forward socialism, of freedom for all workers and other working people.* To speak now of only the process of "regeneration" and democratization without clearly implying this content means misinterpreting the nature of the present state of development.

Socialist development is inseparable from the development of political democracy, of civil rights and freedoms. However, the actual possibilities of a free life for the workers and other working people are in the final analysis determined by the degree of economic development. The whole of our socialist democracy must ensure the *growth of public wealth*, the growth of production, the gradual building up of the base of economy and civilization along lines enabling people to enjoy in the future all the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution.

Socialist democracy does not deny the workers the traditional right to uphold their interests, including the right to strike. But

the Communists say openly that slogans calling on the workers to see the *main aspect of their freedom* in the right to strike, for instance, to see their freedom in counterposing themselves to the technical intelligentsia and to the necessary competent management of large-scale production (slogans setting the workers against the "technocrats") are so much *demagogy contradicting the real interests of the working class.* The technical intelligentsia is an inseparable component of the community of socialist producers and plays, together with the workers, the decisive role in developing socialism and furthering the perspectives of the scientific and technological revolution.

At the same time the CC CPC takes a critical view of the fact that the initiative taken in the Action Program in respect of setting up *democratic bodies for the management of socialist enterprises and work places* is being elaborated slowly, inadequately and hesitantly. Government and economic agencies and the trade unions do not yet regard this task as their own. *The CC CPC considers it politically necessary to decide these questions along with determining the status of the enterprises and their associations,* to have them discussed in not only managing bodies but *directly at the work places, among the workers and other working people.* The Party advocates consistent and speedy solution of the problem of democratic forms of managing the socialist enterprises (working people's councils or other bodies of a similar nature), a solution ruling out concomitant violation of plan assignments, disruption of economic links, and decline in labor discipline and in the authority of the management, for this would endanger the functioning of the economy and hence the provision of conditions for achieving a higher standard of living for the people.

Questions concerning democratic, self-government forms should, therefore, be so settled as to make the new system of management a reality this year. This will be one of the fundamental characteristics of our democratization process, which guarantees that the extension of socialist democracy will not be a falling back on the nominal political democracy of the bourgeois type.

The socialist character of democracy as democracy for the workers and other working people should express itself also in the content and methods of the entire economic policy of our society. Today we know that not even under socialism can we avoid certain logical effects of commodity production and the market, especially the pressure of economic profitableness and profit as the "motor" of economic and technological progress. Unless we allowed them we would be unable steadily and increasingly to meet the requirements of the working people.

At the same time, in this situation, certain short-range interests of the workers and other working people (their groups, different

trades or different territorial units, and so on) may clash with the long-range exigencies of economic development. The CC CPC makes it clear, therefore, that the necessary changes in our economy—such as changes in the economic structure, the elimination of ineffective production and the discontinuance of subsidies for unprofitable production (a form in which the workers and other working people in the better enterprises subsidize the worse ones), pricing according to market laws, etc.—must all be effected by the policy of the socialist state in such a way as to enable the working people, whose current interests and social guarantees are linked with these essentially unhealthy economic phenomena, to participate on a democratic basis in deciding these questions. However, this should not be done without agreement, without finding ways and means likely to satisfy public interests without at the same time damaging the vital interests of the worker as the capitalist method of solving such problems does. Nor must we depart from socialist principles. The CPC will uphold the long-range economic requirements of the whole state, but the manner of solution should accord with these principles of socialist democracy for the workers and other working people.

This applies to a number of specific questions, such as determining the perspectives of our mining industries, solving the problem of development in the lagging areas and the frontier regions, and so on.

3. The new political system should correspond to the development of socialism. It must not be merely a return to nominal political democracy.

The Party proceeds from the principle that unlike the nominal political democracy typical of bourgeois parliamentarism, under which the use of certain procedures and stratagems enables the state to pursue its policies against the vital interests of the workers and the majority of the working people, socialist democracy must allow nothing of the kind. State policy should unite, express and guarantee the interests of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, of every stratum and every group of socialist society. Precisely because our political system in the past did not really respect this principle, the CPC is setting out to reform the entire system of political democracy. To ensure that it results in genuine socialist progress, the CPC will implement the line of the Action Program as follows:

(a) all the forces *adhering to socialist principles* should participate in building a developed socialist society, in the organs of state power and administration. Real safeguards must be provided against such results as are produced by the monopoly of directive, undemocratic decision-making in the political sphere, preventing the diverse groups and strata of society from democratically ex-

pressing their diverse socialist interests, requirements and views, from achieving unity by democratic methods, and from *formulating their common interests as a policy;*

(b) hence a political unification platform should be drawn up *within the framework* of which the diverse components of our society will also deal democratically with contradictory interests, approaches and points of view, so that socialism may benefit as a result. We see this platform in the *National Front.* But if the Front is to perform its function, its development must meet definite conditions:

—the rise of an association of the *main political organizations* whose purpose is direct political activity, and the *separation* from it representing particular and not the principal socio-political interests (organizations of the type of the Czechoslovak Red Cross, special narrow-purpose organizations, interest unions, societies, and so on); this association should remain a member of the National Front in the broad sense of the word, as a second part of the Front;

—the unification of the *main political organizations* must under no circumstances be restricted to an association (coalition) of political parties but must fully represent the trade unions, the cooperated peasants, organizations of the intelligentsia, youth and women, the Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters, the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, national associations, etc. It is necessary, furthermore, to see that the interests of the intelligentsia or youth, for instance, are represented by organizations of the overall (federalized, etc.) type and not by separate organizations;

—with regard to membership of the main political organizations in the association it is necessary to work out within the framework of the National Front an agreement and statutes defining their mutual relations, their activities, their place in political life, their relationship with the state, and so on, on the one hand, and definite politico-programmatic principles *binding on all members,* principles whose infringement will preclude the possibility of sharing in political power and in government, on the other. These principles should express certain important (and at the same time constitutional) features of our socialist society against which no political force in our country can at this stage carry on legal political activity, for this would endanger the socialist character of social development: acceptance of the socialist class and property settlement of social relations, the prevention of anti-Communist, fascist political activity fanning racial or national antagonisms and giving rise to discrimination, and the prevention of political activity infringing the alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as the basis of our political and national independence.

(c) thus the Party advocates joint government by all the or-

ganizations adhering to the explicit political program of the National Front. However, at this stage of development, *it rejects on principle the formation of a political opposition organization (party) outside the National Front,* for in present conditions this would inevitably mean legalizing political forces opposed to the socialist political program and, in the broadest sense of the word, to the platform of the National Front.

The CC CPC considers that as early as *June* a clear-cut politico-programmatic and organizational basis should be elaborated by agreement with the main political components of the National Front for the activity of the National Front and that the National Front should present it to our public. The CC CPC will in due course take initiatives guaranteeing the implementation of these measures in the National Front. In the National Front, the CPC will unremittingly combat the tendency to "partyize" our public life, and will uphold the full and real possibility of the main social, national, age and other interests of people who *do not belong to any one of the political parties being expressed directly* as a politically influential force in the National Front and the state. The *trade unions* as a front-rank organization of the working class, the most powerful social force of our society, must be the foremost political factor in our democracy. They cannot ignore political issues bearing on the development of our entire political system. On the contrary, their policy must consistently seek guarantees of the workers and other working people being able directly to express their interests. It is just as important speedily to form a *Cooperative Peasant Union,* a socio-political organization whose full membership of the National Front the Party will support.

The CPC will adhere to these principles also as regards drafting new laws, especially the law of freedom of *association and assembly* (to be passed in the summer) and the *electoral law.*

As a guarantee of the socialist character of development, the CC CPC will submit to the Congress other proposals aimed at promoting our democratic organs of state power, so that the working people may exert *the greatest possible direct influence* on the elaboration of decisions on the state level. This purpose could be served, for example, by a concept according to which there would be elected—apart from the elected body of a general political nature (to be elected on the territorial principle from candidates of the member organizations of the National Front) definite auxiliary, correcting chambers with limited powers, made up of representatives of the working people elected on the production principle irrespective of their party affiliation. Working people employed in industry, agriculture and the public services—health, education, cultural organizations—should be directly represented in these chambers.

A *federal structure* of the CSSR on the principle of consistently furthering the equality of Czechs and Slovaks and of ensuring the national development of all the other nationalities in our republic is an inseparable component of the development of our political system. The CC CPC considers it politically indispensable for the preparations for a federal republic not to be carried on only through the special government agencies or only according to the political initiative of the Slovak national bodies. It is a question of the interests of both peoples, and as for the *Czech regions, it is necessary also to settle the political aspect* of these issues. Therefore, the CC CPC will form on the basis of the Party, from delegates of the regional Party committees of Bohemia and Moravia, a collective body to be entrusted, in connection with the preparations for the Party Congress, with analyzing and taking the initiative of elaborating political questions reflecting both the position of the Communists in the Bohemian regions on constitutional issues and the problems of the future development of the Party in a federal republic. At the same time the CC CPC recommends the government to establish in collaboration with the National Assembly, a political preparatory body of representatives of the Bohemian and Moravian regions on the state levels as well.

The *mass media of influencing the formation of public opinion and political position*—the press, radio and television—are part of the political system. The resolution of the April plenum of the CC CPC fully appreciated the positive role of these media after January 1968, when the Party went over to a new policy. The Party will continue fully to support Communist journalists who earnestly fulfil their complex mission. It will oppose attacks which Rightists and anti-Communists launch against Communist journalists, as well as against Communists active in other fields.

In the present political situation, the CC CPC sees the chief task of mass media in exerting a *positive political influence.* The Communists engaged in this field should strive for practical measures that will not infringe the positive policy line of the CPC program nor the present policy of the Party on individual issues set out in this resolution, but will help to implement them. The political impact of these media should translate itself into creating a political atmosphere conducive to strengthen people's *faith* in the present process of socialist democratic development, helping in concrete fashion to know the objectives and intentions of the Action Program, showing the way to its realization, and critically pinpointing the obstacles to the implementation of the positive policy of the Party in the new period.

Those who work in the press, radio and television are in charge of *public media.* Public bodies are fully entitled to insist that the effect of these media on the political consciousness of the popula-

tion be not directed against the positive aspirations of socialist society or its organizations. *The Communists active in this field are fully responsible to the whole Party* for preventing sentiments of distrust of the Party and its new positive program from being spread through the mass media, for seeing that the main interests of society do not center on what hampers, complicates and occasionally frustrates the initiative of the Party for carrying out the Action Program. It is necessary, particularly in the period of preparations for the Party Congress, to ensure that the mass media produce a political effect making it possible to concentrate the attention of all citizens on new positive proposals and to prevent anti-Communist forces from taking advantage of the settlement of *inner-Party matters* as a means of pressure.

The CC CPC regards it as a reasonable demand that the Action Program provision on the abolition of advance censorship be given legal form *as early* as June, so as to prevent sentiments supporting the press, radio and television workers' distrust of the binding character of the principles stated in the Action Program of the Party. The CC CPC considers it necessary that active Communist journalists and political writers be not only systematically informed of the political and tactical line of the Party but have the same real opportunity as active Communists engaged in other fields of taking part in policy-making *inside the Party, according to its internal principles.* However, it is incompatible with the principles of Party life and work—especially in the present situation, when inner-political relations must be consolidated—for individual Communists on editorial boards to regard themselves as autonomous makers of a "progressive Party policy" and fail to adhere, in exerting their socio-political influence on millions of people, to the politico-tactical line of the Party bodies, including the CC CPC, and to ignore the fact that our Party needs to prepare for the extraordinary Congress on the principles of inner-Party democracy.

The impact of mass media in contemporary society is one of the more important forms of exerting political influence on society in general. The development of this sphere, which is a component of the political system, must meet the same principles as the development of the entire system. It must further socialist relations, take a stand against allowing scope for excessive disintegration and anarchic trends, support constitutionalism and legal forms of promoting our entire political reform, actively counter the impact of anti-Communist trends and attempts to discredit the CPC and the positive results of socialist development in our country.

4. *Combating attempts to violate law and order and to disrupt the state apparatus* is, in the opinion of the CC CPC, a primary political task in the present situation. Socialist democracy in our country can progress only as an entirely *constitutional process*

fully respecting law and order. It goes without saying that the existing law and order must undergo qualitative changes specified by the Action Program of the Party. However, the principle that the laws which have not been rescinded and replaced by new ones are still valid must be respected. The CC CPC agrees with the criticism of sluggishness and indecision regarding such important legislative changes as the laws on association and the press, with the result that the uncertainty of the legal status causes nervousness, leads to growing distrust of the positive program of the Party and the government bodies, and at the same time creates conditions for a development of mass organizations that is not always healthy (for example, the rise of such organizations as the 231 Club, the extensive press propaganda of every "initiative from below" and of organizations virtually lacking a legal basis, etc.).

In keeping with these principles are the efforts to promote and improve the conditions for the activity of *every government agency* and every *national committee.* To relax their functions in the present situation means gravely endangering the necessary organized, democratic and legal character of development of our democracy.

The CC CPC is emphatically against all attempts to abuse socialist democratic development and indiscriminately to accuse and sow distrust of such *components of the state apparatus* as the armed forces, the security organs, the procurator's office and the courts. The attitude of the Party to these agencies as expressed in the Action Program fully stands and will be consistently upheld. The process of reorganizing and at the same time completing the ridding of the security organs, the procurator's office and the courts of people who are responsible for past distortions is going on and will be carried through to the end. It is impermissible, however, to allow the honesty of this action to be questioned only because a number of complex problems cannot be solved overnight and their solution will take time.

The CC CPC considers it also necessary for all Communists to oppose attempts to discredit the People's Militias. The People's Militias came into existence as an instrument of the workers and other working people in defending the gains of the socialist revolution, and today the Party will alter nothing in their status.

5. *The attitude to the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the world Communist movement* proceeds from the principle of internationalism and complete respect for the distinctive conditions in which the struggle for the common goals of the Communist movement is going on in each particular country and each particular phase. Our development today is a development meeting our present Czechoslovak conditions, and the Party was aware of its responsibility to our peoples when it took this road. This is why the CC CPC considers it necessary in the present situation to stress that

attempts to make out our development to be a "model" binding on all socialist countries are entirely wrong in content and politically harmful to us and to the development of our relations with allied socialist countries.

It is impermissible for Communists to forget that misrepresenting and exaggerating certain differences of opinion to the point of putting about false rumors about the "danger of military intervention" (as in the case of the troop maneuvers of the Warsaw Treaty countries) seriously injure our entire policy of today and play into the hands of certain quarters in the capitalist countries who are intent on disrupting the unity of the socialist countries.

The CC CPC declares that all the negotiations which have been or are being held at Party and government level with representatives of the Soviet Union produce positive results and afford opportunities of carrying cooperation deeper and rendering assistance which is highly important for overcoming certain of our current economic difficulties, and that the Soviet comrades have shown goodwill with regard to giving us this help.

Serious ideological contradictions over important issues of the further advance have been particularly marked in the international Communist movement in recent years. The CPC will contribute actively toward overcoming them according to principle and will advocate greater unity of action in the world Communist movement. The existence of differences between Communist parties should under no circumstances impair their mutual relations. In accordance with the Action Program, we will explain and maintain the view that our internal development is a sovereign affair of the CSSR, that we do not interfere in the internal political affairs of other countries and expect as much with regard to our party.

Unity of action of the whole Party in preparing for the Party Congress is a requisite of the further success of socialism and democracy in our country. Conceptually, this unity today is based on the Action Program of the Party. *To know, carry forward and give concrete expression to the Action Program* as an open political document on whose basis Communists in every sphere, in every locality and at every work place must pose and solve their specific problems is one of the principal exigencies of Party activity today. *Proceeding from their actual situation,* regional and district Party committees and local Party organizations *must look for problems whose solution is of key importance* for the further growth of the prestige of the Party and for gaining the confidence of people at the work places and in the localities in the Party and its actual policies.

Communist initiatives and proposals should not only come in time and come first, but should also be directed against cheap, purely action-type and hence doubtfully "popular" demands put forward by irresponsible individuals. *To tell people the truth,* meaning also

the bitter truth about the limited possibilities of our present economic situation is a principle of the new policy of the Party. Communists should truthfully warn against the possibility of demagogy, and win confidence by their sober and earnest approach. Let us point out that chaos, spontaneity and subjectivism in leadership are important causes of our present difficulties. If, however, democracy is conceived as the chaotic pressure of diverse unrealistic demands, it will be impossible either to improve the people's standard of living or to meet their other requirements.

The CC CPC considers it necessary at present to establish Party unity of action around the concept of the five fundamental issues of today as given in this resolution. Thus Communists in every sphere of political activity in society should, acting on this resolution:

1. strive in the spirit of the Action Program to strengthen the leading political influence of the Party, fight against the infiltration of anti-Communist tendencies, define the character of further development, and prepare for the extraordinary 14th Congress of the Party as the chief guarantee of reinforcing the prestige of the Party and of winning confidence in the consistency of its new policy;

2. strive to ensure that the working class in the socialist enterprises exerts influence on the management and contributes to the strengthening of the enterprises, and that the economic policy brings the immediate interests of the workers and other working people into harmony with the long-range needs of effective development throughout the national economy;

3. strive to ensure that the development of our political system is not mistaken for a return to the nominal political democracy of the period before 1948 or, indeed, 1938, but is in every respect—as far as the conceptions of the National Front, the role of the main political organizations of the people, the information media and national relations are concerned—a really new, a higher and socialist stage in the evolution of the political system;

4. strive to maintain law and order and to ensure that our democratic development is a constitutional reform and by no means a process in which anarchic trends will predominate and the state apparatus of the socialist power of the working people will fall apart;

5. strive to ensure that nothing impairs our relations of alliance with the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union and the entire world Communist movement while complete sovereignty is exercised in dealing with our internal problems.

Unity of action of the whole Party in solving problems should be brought about through organizing work in the Party. It is this work that since the January plenum has been one of the weakest points of activity from top to bottom. Hence the CC CPC considers it necessary:

(a) qualitatively to *reshape the Party apparatus*, so that in the new conditions it may fully serve, first of all, as an organizational guarantee of the policy of the Party. Indiscriminate attacks on the Party apparatus in present conditions tend in the long run to reduce the Party's capacity for action. We are not going to "liquidate" the Party apparatus but it is advisable to reorganize it. The fundamental condition is for the *Communists active outside the Party apparatus* —in government and other public agencies and organizations, in diverse spheres of public activity—to be able with active help from the apparatus systematically and collectively to discuss and solve in terms of Party policy problems of their political work in the given field. *The apparatus should serve the Communists implementing the policy of the Party in society, not invent various assignments for them.* Otherwise the overwhelming majority of Communists is eliminated from the process of framing the policy of the Party. Furthermore, it should be obvious that the Party apparatus, like the Communists active in various organizations and in other fields, take guidance in their Party work from the line and directives of the elected Party bodies according to the principles of inner-Party democracy and democratic centralism;

(b) to ensure better and more prompt *inner-Party information* of all the Party committees and all Communists from top to bottom, so that specific questions bearing on the political action and tactics of the Party may be made known to Communists before the Party proceeds to implement them. The CC CPC regards as incorrect a practice which has been in use lately and under which the Party committees, including the CC CPC, were deprived, as it were, of the right to inform and direct the Party and had to make all their views immediately known to the general public through mass media. The Party committees do not want to make any cabinet policies or conceal things from the rest of the citizens, nor are they going to do so. But they will inside the Party shape the political position of the Party on specific issues and first inform the Party membership and then uphold it in public, seeking support from the rest. This is a normal democratic practice in every organization and every political party.

At present the CC CPC considers it necessary very vigorously and extensively to use such methods of Party work as the prompt convocation, information and briefing (along with discussion) of active Party workers, from the Central Committee to the district committees. This should be done according to requirements, without resorting to bureaucratic patterns, distinguishing between needs (and questions to answer) with due regard to the types of organization concerned (industrial, rural and other spheres of social labor), and so on. *The CC CPC will use these forms in organizationally ensuring the political work of the Party immediately after this*

plenum and throughout the period of preparations for the Congress;

(c) actively *to further ideological work and political education* throughout the Party. It is necessary promptly and effectively to provide forms for the ideological education and, in large measure, re-education of the entire body of active Party workers to prevent dogmatic ideas systematically inculcated in Communists in past years from becoming an obstacle to the new lines and methods of the political work of the Party. The CC CPC will provide the necessary conditions for this by supplying appropriate propaganda material (pamphlets, etc.), so that in the autumn the whole body of active Party workers down to the local organizations may effectively carry on this work, especially in connection with the campaign devoted to the 50th anniversary of the founding of our republic.

The decisive task in the present situation is to achieve a rapid and effective turn in Party policy from the previous practice of channelling Party work into the Party organizations themselves to *open propaganda of Party policy among the working people.* We must *uphold the principles of our present line openly and in a united front, and the Party must by implementing this line influence society* and all working people. This, far from ruling out inner-Party discussions, implies them. However, their object and meaning should consist in uniting all Party committees and organizations in order to pursue the general policy of the Party, each doing so in its own field, as effectively as possible and in unity. Nor should Communists ignore newly-formed organizations (interest societies, unions, and so on). On the contrary, they should join these organizations and win their support for the policy of the Party, should advocate in them the ideas of the Action Program and build up people's confidence in the Party and its policies.

The CC CPC will do all it can to win greater confidence in its policy by consistently applying the principles of the Action Program. Through Communists in the National Front and the government agencies, it will strive to resist the pressure of the forces bent on discrediting the Party. The CC CPC will systematically work with Communists in the central mass information agencies, in the National Front and the central organs of state power to ensure that positive ideas are really put into practice and are not blocked, that there are no delays and still less attempts to generate distrust and anxiety, create an atmosphere of uncertainty and tension, and so on.

However, unless these efforts are supported by the initiative and political work of every Party committee, organization and individual member, we will not achieve complete success. There is no cause for nervousness or panic. But there are reasons for misgivings about our further progress. We are not fighting for power because we are in decisive force. But we are fighting for confidence, for greater confidence, for lasting and fuller support by non-Communists, by

the working people in the factories, the countryside and everywhere else. We need the confidence and support of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth and women, the confidence of both our peoples and the citizens of every nationality living in our republic. It is only this confidence that will reliably consolidate socialist power and the leading political role of our Party. And the result of this struggle of the Party for the confidence of the people depends, now as in the past, when we had to fight for the leading role among the people, on the independence, activity and initiative of every Communist, as well as on the fundamental political unity of the whole Party.

THE 20th ANNIVERSARY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

PROCLAMATION* OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

To the Working Class,
To the Citizens of Israel,

The people of Israel celebrate these days the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the State of Israel. National Independence Day is a solemn holiday in the life of every people.

For everyone that cherishes the future of our country Independence Day symbolizes love of the homeland and the desire for its development, prosperity, peace and security.

We treasure the memory of the sons and daughters who fell in the battles for Israel's independence, so that the people of Israel will be independent from the imperialist powers, so that it will be free in its homeland.

The best sons of the Jewish and Arab peoples of Palestine fought against the foreign British rule, for the national liberation and independence of both peoples.

The Communist Party of our country stood in the foremost ranks of the anti-imperialist struggle. On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the State of Israel we revere all the fighters against the colonial rule in our country, for freedom and national independence. The Communist Party of Israel stood in the forefront of Israel's struggle for independence, against the war which imperialism forced on the peoples of Palestine with the aid of its accomplices, with the object of annulling the UNO Decision of November 29, 1947 concerning the abolition of the British mandate over Palestine and the withdrawal of the British Forces therefrom, as well as the foundation in Palestine of two independent, democratic states—Jewish and Arab. Our Party, the Communist Party of Israel, participated in the struggle for the implementation of the UNO decision for the freedom of the Israeli people and the Palestine Arab people. The representative of our Party signed the State of Israel's "Declaration of Independence" and its members organized aid for the War of Independence.

The Soviet Union, People's Poland, People's Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries sided with the people of Israel in its struggle for national independence, sided with the independence of the two peoples of Palestine.

*Information Bulletin of the CP of Israel, No. 4, 1968.

The policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries was and remains a principled, Leninist policy which recognizes the right to self-determination of each and every people.

The Soviet Prime Minister, A. N. Kosygin, declared in February this year, in an interview with the American *Life*: "In the past we were among the sponsors of the foundation of the State of Israel and today too it is our opinion that Israel has a right to exist as a state." (*Re-tranlated from the Hebrew.*)

It was the U.S. rulers that attempted to annul the UNO decisions of November 29, regarding the foundation of two independent states in Palestine.

We, the people of Israel, must not forget that on the eve of the declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel, the American imperialists made frantic efforts in UNO in order to leave Palestine in its colonial status, in order to inherit the British by putting up on behalf of UNO, an international trusteeship, under U.S. hegemony.

On March 19, 1948, the U.S. representative stated in the Security Council that his government had changed its position and now proposed the calling of a special session of the UNO General Assembly in order to annul the November 29 decision, and in order to force upon Palestine an international trusteeship which would on May 15 take the place of the British mandate.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the State of Israel's foundation we remember and do not let it be forgotten that American imperialism made efforts to prevent the independence of the two peoples of Palestine, the Jewish as well as the Arab people. It was the Soviet Union which upset the American scheme.

American imperialism was then and is now the enemy of our two peoples. The Soviet Union was then and is now the loyal friend of the people of Israel and of the Arab peoples.

When the establishment of the State of Israel had become a fact, the government of the USA hurriedly recognized it de facto, and got active to exploit the State of Israel for the advancement of its own imperialist interests in the region. The first great power that recognized the State of Israel not just de facto, but de jure was the Soviet Union.

The rulers of Israel, after a very brief period of declarations about a policy of "non-alignment," quickly passed to a line of pro-imperialist policy, and mainly a distinctly pro-American one; they also started falsifying history.

Contrary to the national interests of Israel, the Ben-Gurion and Eshkol governments fixed as the base of their policy the alliance with the imperialist powers against the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples and against communism, the integration

to the global array of the U.S. in the international arena, directed against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and against the socialist countries.

The ruling circles of Israel, guided by the Zionist ideology of territorial expansionism, already during the course of the War of Independence, as reaffirmed these days by David Ben-Gurion, started fighting not just to secure the existence of Israel, but to expand its frontiers at the expense of the Palestinian Arab people, at the expense of the ruin of the Palestinian Arab people. Thus the Palestinian problem was complicated and there arose the grave problem of the Arab refugees, the principal victims of the imperialist policy of entanglement and intrigue, of the chauvinistic policy carried out by the Israeli rulers and of the bankrupt policy carried out by the Arab Higher Committee.

The alliance with imperialism and with the dark forces everywhere against the Arab peoples, against the Soviet Union and all progressive forces passes through the official policies of Israel like a scarlet thread.

This policy has thwarted any possibility of solving the fundamental problems of Israel, has missed many chances for achieving an Israeli-Arab peace, for strengthening the economic independence of the State of Israel, for the liberation from the dangerous dependence on the western powers, in particular the American imperialism.

On November 4, 1951, Moshe Sharet, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Ben-Gurion cabinet, officially declared in the Knesset that Israel was joining the endeavors made by the imperialist powers to set up a militarist, anti-Soviet bloc in our region "for the defense of the free world." The Foreign Minister stated that Israel "is obliged to raise even higher its concern with the fate of the whole region in case of a world war . . . to conceive the problem of our security and future with greater perspicacity and wider scope. Proceeding from such a conception the government has set its mind upon the plans of global defense of the Middle East which have for a considerable time occupied the Western powers' circles."

This is the historical truth. It was not the Soviet Union which turned anti-Israeli, but Israel's rulers who, even when Israel made its first steps, passed overtly and officially to a course of an anti-Soviet policy, and decided to participate in the West's military plans for the "defense of the whole region in case of a third world war."

This is the root of all of Israel's troubles: the policy of serving imperialism against the socialist world and against the Arab movement for national and social liberation. This is a policy which is absolutely contradictory to the national interests of Israel.

In spite of the Israeli rulers' anti-Soviet policy, the Soviet Gov-

ernment conducted a policy intended to prove to the Israeli people that the Israeli rulers, by their stand against the neighboring peoples, out of their aspiration to territorial expansion, and against the socialist world, out of their anti-communism, they first of all endanger Israel itself and move farther away the prospects of the Israeli-Arab peace; that there is another way, a way that will lead to peace and security.

The Soviet Union signed in 1954 and 1955 agreements with the State of Israel concerning supply of oil to the latter in exchange for citrus fruits.

At the congress held by the Asian and African peoples in April 1955 at Bandung, all the Arab states put their signature to the decision which calls for the solution of the Palestinian problem and of the Israeli-Arab conflict by peaceful means, based on the UNO decision. Thus the preparedness was demonstrated to recognize the right to existence of the State of Israel, on condition that the State of Israel would recognize the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, and first and foremost the rights of the Arab refugees.

But the Israeli rulers closed their ears and did not wish to hear and see Israel's true national interests. In every prospect of Israeli-Arab peace they saw a danger to their policy, which is based on the slogan "not one single refugee, and not one single handful of soil."

In 1956, when Abdul Nasser's anti-imperialist Egyptian Government nationalized the Anglo-French Suez Canal Company, the Ben-Gurion Government started intriguing with the French and British governments, started a war against Egypt, thereby deepening the trenches, moving farther away the prospects of an Israeli-Arab peace, and isolating Israel in the international arena.

The Suez-Sinai war caused the State of Israel incalculable damage, displayed it before world public opinion as a subservient state which carries out in our region the orders of the colonial powers, and which endangers the independence and freedom of the neighboring peoples. On the other hand, this constituted the neglect of a historic opportunity to side with the Arab peoples in their struggles for liberation from foreign yoke, to create a basis for understanding, trust and accord.

The June 1967 war represents the direct continuation of the policy of serving the imperialist powers against the Arab peoples. This time the main factor in the war was American imperialism, which, together with the British oil magnates and the West German rulers, had decided to put an end to the anti-imperialist development in Syria and Egypt, to detach these states from their policy of friendship with the Soviet Union and to turn back the process of progressive social changes within these countries.

The Communist Party of Israel, taking a stand against a policy

of war, solutions by military means, and in defense of peace, defends by this Israel's peace and honor, and carries aloft the banner of Israel's independence, the banner of peace and social progress. The communists wholeheartedly defend Israel's independence; they rejected and continue to reject any challenge to the right of existence of the State of Israel, to the just national rights of the Israeli people. The people of Israel are not to be put on a par with the government of Israel; one must not dispute the national rights of the people of Israel because of the anti-national, aggressive, pro-imperialist policy of the Israeli Government. The June war, which was organized with the American supply of arms, money and political backing, did not strengthen Israel, did not solve, but very much complicated, all its problems. The June war did not strengthen Israel's security, but shook it to its foundation.

The June war demanded a high price of blood paid by young Jews and Arabs. The people of Israel and the Arab peoples are interested in putting an end to bloodshed. The policy of repression in the occupied areas, the collective punishments, the blowing-up of houses, and the encroachment on the elementary human rights only strengthen the resistance and aggravate the general situation.

The June war proved even more distinctly that it is impossible to solve the problems in dispute between Israel and the Arab states by military means, by means of war and diktat, but exclusively by political means, by peaceful ways.

For 20 years the working people of Israel, its toilers and builders in town and country, have proved their creativeness and courage to a great extent. The intellectuals, the scientific and cultural workers have shown their great capabilities in various domains. Economic development took place in manifold branches.

However, instead of developing economy and science for the good of the working people and the economic independence of our country, Israel's rulers turned this country into a domain and paradise for the foreign monopolies at the expense of the working people's standard of living and social achievements. The economic development has been accompanied by processes which have deepened Israel's economic dependence, distorted the economic structure (the growth of banking and services at the expense of the development of productive enterprises), and brought about unemployment, rising prices and the devaluation of the Israeli Lira. The monstrous military expenditure, the militarization of the economy, the ever increasing penetration by foreign capital have brought about the continuous growth of Israel's external national debt (in addition to the internal one), which now amounts to more than 1.5 billion dollars and which per head of population is the biggest in the world. Israel's economic dependence on the USA is deepening; the

USA is Israel's biggest creditor. Israel owes to the USA 88 per cent of its external debt (excluding the "Independence and Development Loan").

The June war has badly shaken Israel's economy. The overt military budget, together with the "special reserves" contained in the budget, reaches already in the present budgetary year, the 20th year of the State of Israel, after the latest addition of another half billion I.L., the monstrous figure of two billion and 700 million I.L., i.e., 43.5 per cent of the budget. The growing militarization of the economy "solves" as it were, temporarily, the misfortune of unemployment, but it carries within itself the danger of economic collapse—at longer sight.

The June war brought a wave of terror and limitations to free movement for all opponents of the war. The June war and the continued occupation endanger all democratic freedoms in our country.

Never before has the State of Israel been so fully dependent on the favors of an imperialist power as it is now, being most dangerously dependent on American imperialism.

The American imperialists and their allies, Hitler's heirs in West Germany, cannot be the allies of the people of Israel.

The American imperialists' hands are stained with the blood of the murderous war made on the heroic people of Vietnam which fights for the liberation of its homeland from the foreign intruder, and for its freedom and independence.

In the State of Bonn nazis are ruling, who aspire to a nuclear revanchist war. The president of West Germany is the nazi Heinrich Luebke, an architect of nazi concentration camps; Bonn's Prime Minister is the nazi Kurt Kiesinger. Numerous nazi war criminals are living freely in the State of Bonn.

Let us not be in one and the same camp with Hitler's West German heirs. Our natural friends are the Soviet Union and all the socialist states, which conduct a principled and consistent policy of friendship with all the peoples, a policy of defense of peace.

The Soviet Union is a friend of the people of Israel, just as she is a friend of the Arab peoples. The opposition of the Soviet Union to the policy of the Israeli Government, to the policy of aggression and territorial expansionism, is not an anti-Israeli policy, but a policy that is directed toward securing the peoples' peace and independence, and towards saving Israel from the very grave dangers threatening her as a result of the continued policy of conquests, annexations and military adventurism.

The 20-year old official Israeli policy is bankrupt; it has brought to our people nothing but wars, suffering and lack of security in the future.

Instead of implementing the principles of the "Declaration of Independence" concerning the "full political and social equality of rights for all of its citizens regardless of their creed, race and sex" and "the development of the country for the good of all its inhabitants," Israel's rulers have conducted a policy of discrimination and repression against Israel's Arab population. Throughout the 20 years Israel's Arab inhabitants have lived in conditions of repression by the Military Government; they have been driven off most of their lands, and discriminated against in all domains of life.

Raising the banner of Israel's independence we struggle for a change of official Israeli policy, for a policy of peace, independence from the imperialist powers, democracy and social progress.

Raising the banner of Israel's independence we struggle for the implementation of the Security Council's decision of November 22, 1967, which calls for the Israeli Army's withdrawal from the occupied areas to the lines held on June 4; for the cancellation of the state of belligerency; for the recognition of the rights of all states in the region, Israel included, for the existence and security within recognized boundaries.

Raising the banner of Israel's independence we struggle for the cancellation of national discrimination directed against Israel's Arab population, for the implementation of the "Declaration of Independence" which calls for equality of rights for all of Israel's inhabitants.

Raising the banner of Israel's independence we struggle against the privileges of American and other millionaires, and for making Israel a home for the working people.

Raising the banner of Israel's independence we struggle for a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union and all socialist countries.

Raising the banner of Israel's independence we struggle for a new Israeli policy: together with the Arab peoples against the imperialists.

Long live the united struggle of Israel's working people, Jews and Arabs, for the defense of their interests, for their full national and social liberation, for a socialist future for the State of Israel!

Long live the unity of all the forces of national responsibility in the struggle for a new Israeli policy, a policy of independence, love of peace, neutrality and democracy, a policy which will bring Israel security and economic prosperity!

Long live the 20th anniversary of independence of the State of Israel!

Long live the brotherhood of the Jewish and Arab peoples!

Long live peace!

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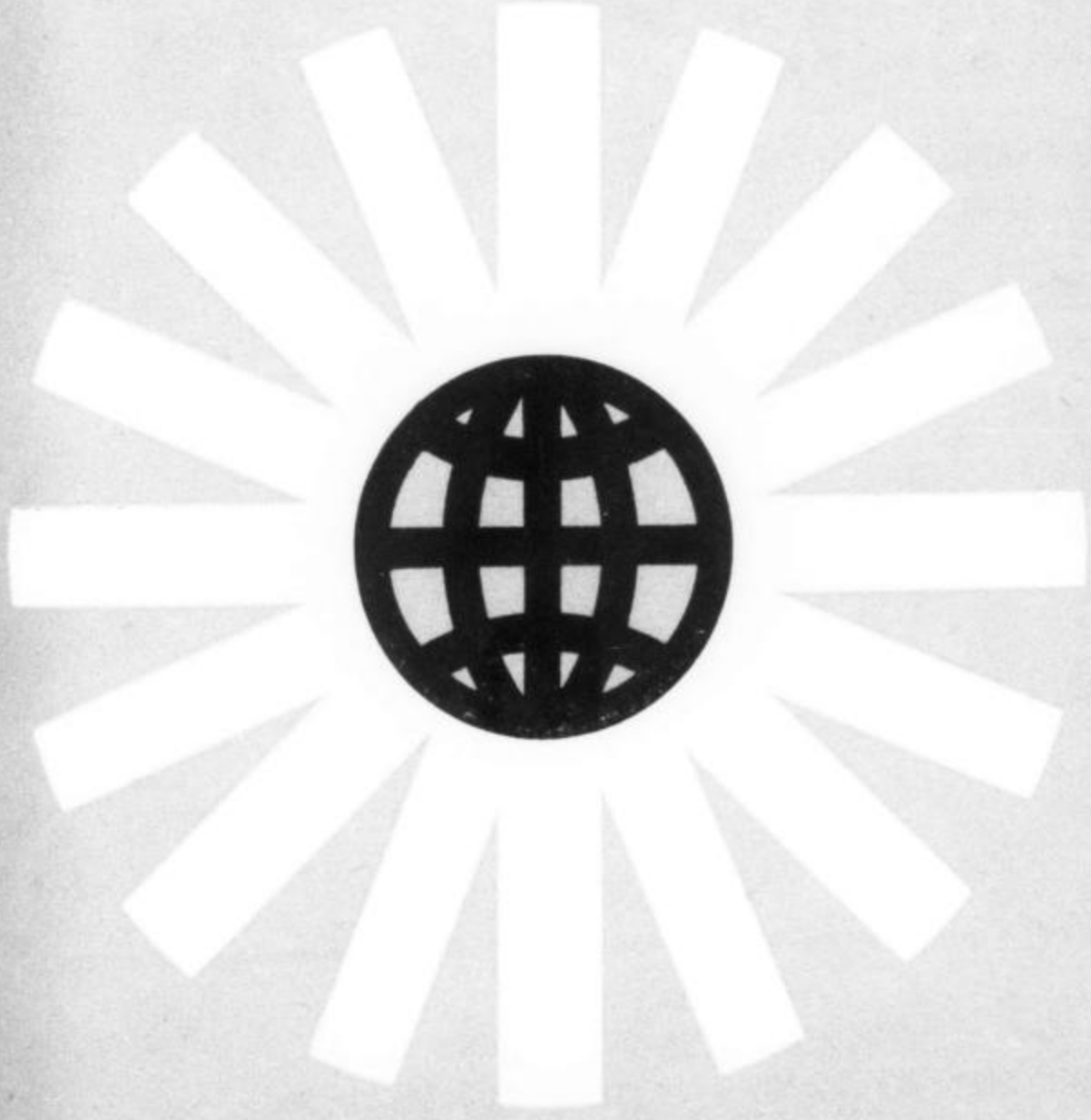

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In this issue

LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY
Speech by E. Honecker (GDR)

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Information bulletin — 12 (124)

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contents

COMMUNIQUE
of Working Group drafting materials for conference of Communist and Workers' Parties **5**

SPEECH BY WALDECK ROCHET
at meeting in Paris, June 10, 1968 **6**

LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY
Speech by Erich Honecker, GDR **14**

IMMUTABLE BASIS AND CHANGING FORMS
Villy Fuglsang, Denmark **28**

POLITICAL SITUATION
Statement of CC, Iraqi CP **33**

JOINT COMMUNIQUE
by South African Communist Party and Communist Party of Lesotho **38**

THE U.S. MUST STOP ITS AGGRESSION
Statement by South Vietnam National Front (June 10, 1968) **40**

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COMMUNIQUE

ON THE MEETING OF THE WORKING GROUP SET UP TO DRAFT MATERIALS FOR THE CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

A meeting of the Working Group set up to draft materials for the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Budapest over June 18-21. The meeting was attended by representatives of the following parties:

Communist Party of the United States of America, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labor, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of India, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Communist Party of Israel, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Colombia, Polish United Workers' Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, British Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Germany, Italian Communist Party, People's Party of Panama, Portuguese Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, Communist Party of Spain, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Sudanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Venezuela and the Communist Party working underground. The Rumanian Communist Party was represented by an observer.

Other fraternal parties that have agreed to participate in the International Conference were unable, for various reasons, to send representatives to the meeting of the Working Group.

The meeting discussed the content and the structure of the basic document of the Conference "The Tasks of the Struggle Against Imperialism at the Present Stage and the Unity of Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and of All Anti-Imperialist Forces." The meeting also agreed on the further activity of the Working Group. The atmosphere at the meeting was one of comradely cooperation and friendship in keeping with the internationalist traditions of the international Communist movement.

Budapest
June 21, 1968

SPEECH* OF WALDECK ROCHET, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

AT A MEETING IN PARIS, JUNE 10, 1968

The working people of our country have started a movement of exceptional power and scope. Not understanding the first thing about the working class, de Gaulle would have the people believe that one fine day our Party pressed a button and, lo and behold, 8-10 million workers downed tools.

This is a false explanation that has nothing in common with reality. And the reality is that workers, students, teachers, manual and mental workers went on strike because for ten years the Gaullist regime sacrificed their interests and aspirations to the big capitalist monopolies. Thus, the main responsibility for the present crisis and its consequences lies with the Gaullist regime, and none other.

In his recent statements de Gaulle, going to extremes in his demagogy, declared that he is an opponent of both communism and capitalism. But the workers of manual and mental labor are hardly likely to believe this when they know from their own experience that for ten years the Gaullist authorities rejected their every proposal and demand so as to ensure the big monopolies superprofits. Hence the key slogan in all the recent big demonstrations was: "Ten years—enough!"

It is thanks to their determination and cohesion—and least of all to the Gaullists—that millions of workers have won wage increases and other substantial gains. The government, meanwhile, refuses to meet the just demands of the workers of Renault and other plants, thereby prolonging the strike in the metallurgical industry.

We must, therefore, as the CGT urges, increase material and financial solidarity with the working people who are compelled to continue the fight because of the obstinacy of the employers.

In many sectors the state as the employer, the monopolies and big banks were compelled to make concessions they had refused to make over the past twenty years.

The workers won this victory thanks to their magnificent struggle, to the unity of their forces in the strike. Certain individuals prattled about the apathy of the working class. They have now

* **L'Humanité,** June 11, 1968.

been pressed to the wall. The working class has proved its fighting spirit as befits its splendid traditions. The workers won their victory thanks also to the broad solidarity movement they evoked by their composure, calmness and organization.

For two weeks or more hundreds of factories, offices, construction sites, government and public establishments were occupied by the strikers. There were no incidents. Nothing was plundered. On the contrary, order was scrupulously observed.

There is no doubt that the organizational abilities of the working class and the fact that it did not allow itself to be provoked by the employers and the government, and adventurist instigations, decided the success of the struggle. During the events we have just experienced, the leading trade union center, the General Confederation of Labor, once again proved its ability as organizer and effective leader of the struggle of the workers, employees and Civil Servants.

The CGT played a decisive role in the movement which rocked the world of labor, and its success. It reinforced its authority: more than 250,000 workers joined its ranks and more than 2,000 new union branches were formed.

For its part, the French Communist Party which throughout the past ten years has fought the pernicious policy of the monopolies and their power, gave its full support to the militant workers from the very first day. Communists actively sided with their workmates in the factory shops and offices, in the fight for their demands.

At the same time, our Party supported and continues to support the just demands of the students for a democratic and modern university reform. It called for solidarity with the student youth in the face of police repressions.

Thus, the working people once again saw for themselves that the French Communist Party is the real party of the working class, the champion of its present and future interests. Thousands joined its ranks. A large number of young people joined the Communist youth movement and the Communist Students' Union. We salute these new forces who have proved their mettle in the struggle and who joined us by the logic of events.

The first thing right now is to ensure that the commitments undertaken, the decisions wrested from the employers and the government are carried out. The latter did not make these concessions willingly, and they will try to take them back, the usual practice of the capitalists.

But the working people will not allow themselves to be duped, they will continue the struggle to consolidate the results achieved thanks to this struggle. They will not allow these results to be nullified directly, or through economic and financial measures such as price or tax increases which hit hardest at the masses.

Furthermore, a number of reforms have to be carried out. The basic problems of the educational system still await their solution. So does the problem of a democratic statute for radio and television.

As might have been expected, de Gaulle, Pompidou and their candidates are lavish with promises these days. De Gaulle has declared for the nth time that all will be fine . . . ten years hence. The spokesman for big capital even proclaims that he is a revolutionary!

But the working people know that they can least of all rely on de Gaulle and his cohorts if they are, in the words of these men, to "come to grips with social matters."

The working people know that in the great battle for social progress they can rely first and foremost, on the Communist Party. That is why they are anxious to consolidate the success and gains they have won by fighting side by side with the Party, by sending to the National Assembly as many Communist deputies as possible and, finally, by securing for the Party at last as big a vote as possible and thus enabling it to exert an ever more decisive influence on the life of the nation in the interests of the working class and the entire people generally.

Everywhere working people, democrats, are voicing the demand to fundamentally change the course of France's policy, to put an end to the policy of big capital, in other words, to the Gaullist regime. It has outlived itself. It no longer corresponds to the requirements of the times or the interests of our people. It has proved its total inability to resolve the problems facing the nation and the working masses.

That is why we say: "Let the people speak!"

The elections which the government has been compelled to announce can give the broad masses a chance to clearly express their will for change. They should also provide an opportunity for all democrats to inflict a new defeat on the Gaullist regime and reaction and to bring to power a people's government of democratic union in which the Communist Party will occupy a fitting place and assume the necessary responsibility.

During the recent events the people of our country saw for themselves that the Communists displayed a high sense of responsibility, that they are sincere and consistent democrats. And de Gaulle and his henchmen have the impudence to talk about the "totalitarianism" and the "subversive measures" of our Communist Party. It is truly a case of thieves yelling "Catch the thief!"

The government did everything to cause disorder, to create a climate of instability by deliberately dragging out the negotiations with the workers, organizing police provocations and a veritable campaign to poison the atmosphere in the country.

De Gaulle violently attacked the strikers. He threatened them

with a dictatorship. Under the guise of "civil action" he organized bands of ruffians, still further intensified the personal and authoritarian character of his regime.

It is this regime that is the prime organizer of the disorders.

The working people, however, responding to the call of the CGT and the Communist Party, countered this campaign with resolution and composure, thus upsetting the government's calculations.

In these difficult days the attitude of our Party made it possible to avoid violent clashes which the authorities had hoped for, and probably still do, as a means of ultimately imposing a military dictatorship. Conscious of our responsibility to the working class and the country we acted with decision and calmness, guided by one concern: to advance the struggle from success to success and prevent the government from crushing it at any moment. That is why we exposed and combated the demagogy, the political speculation and provocations of the "ultra-Left groups" supported by the United Socialist Party, and which spoke in the name of Maoism, anarchism or Trotskyism. Indulging in blind violence and hysterical declarations, these groups did everything to distort and discredit the great popular movement that is rising against the Gaullist regime.

By their provocations they wanted to sidetrack the movement, to involve it in forms of struggle which lead to adventurism and defeat, thus playing into the hands of the Gaullist regime. I repeat, the calculations of the Gaullist regime and the ultra-Left groups were foiled thanks to the commonsense of the working class, to the correct analysis of events made by the Communist Party and the sagacity of its policy, based on respect for democracy.

We have said, and repeat: we never identified and do not confound these Leftist groups with the student mass. Incidentally, the student body itself is turning away from them, for it realizes that these groups wanted to lead it into an impasse.

Declaring our solidarity with the students in their aspirations for a modern and democratic university, we call upon them to resolutely combat the adventurist gambles of the Leftist elements in their ranks and to continue the struggle jointly with the working class which is the real leading force in the great changes our country needs.

Meanwhile, these "groups" are busy. The adventurists, shady individuals and renegades in them seek to act as the mentors of the working people and want to teach them "to make revolutions." After their attempt to sidetrack the strike movement failed, they tried to sabotage the resumption of work at the plants where the workers' demands had been met.

These adventurist groups want to sow division among the working people, to scare the middle classes. They slander the CGT and

its leaders, direct all their blows against our Party, its activists and organizations. They are waging the battle not against the Gaullist regime and the monopolies, but against our Party and its policy of an alliance of popular forces. Thus, they are acting in unison with Pompidou and the Gaullist power which apparently want to use these groups for their own ends.

The slightest lenience towards this diversion can have very serious consequences for the democratic and socialist future of France. We therefore call on all working people, on all democrats to be on their guard and to repel all maneuvers, no matter what their source.

We, Communists, are not adventurists. We are the great French Communist Party in which millions of Frenchmen believe and place their hopes.

The Gaullists claim that they are the guardians and defenders of the national interest. They play on the patriotic sentiments of the men and women of our country, impress upon them that all "good Frenchmen" should cast their vote for the government candidates.

Of course, it is not the first time that the reaction is trying to take refuge under the flag of France. But how can the servitors of big capital, the Gaullist regime lay claim to being the spokesmen of the national interest, when they sacrificed the interests of the workers, peasants and youth, the interests of the vast majority of Frenchmen to a handful of billionaires? How can they represent themselves as the protagonists of academic reform when for a long time they kept the schools and universities of France in a deplorable state, leaving the immense potential of the people's intellect untapped?

How dare they present themselves as the patented defenders of the Republic and the champions of "national participation" when for ten years they tried to exercise power of a monarchist type, keeping the mass of citizens barred from any real participation in settling their own affairs and the affairs of the French Republic?

But the working people will not permit the representatives of big capital and the Gaullist regime to monopolize the country to suit their own ends.

The working people realize that they are the guardians of the national heritage. Their feelings for their country are not only those of love and pride, but also of responsibility. They aspire, as proclaimed in the Communist Manifesto, to constitute themselves as a nation.

We, Communists, have always ruthlessly combated national nihilism propagated by certain anarchists who pretend to be revolutionaries.

On the contrary, we are proud of the fact that we have returned

to the working class "the colors of France," as Aragon beautifully expressed it.

The Marseillaise is not the Gaullist anthem; it is the national anthem of the French people, their anthem of struggle against oppression and for freedom.

The Tricolor is not the private property of the patronat and its rule; it belongs to the entire people.

We, Communists, have not forgotten that the word "patriot" was born in the Great French Revolution.

We therefore indissolubly link the strains of the Marseillaise with the strains of the Internationale, the Tricolor with the red flag of the working-class struggle.

The representatives of big capital will not succeed in rewriting the history of France: the red flag of the Commune is the flag of liberation of the working people; but it is also the flag under which the Parisians resisted the capitulation to Bismarck.

The Communists passionately love their country: they showed during the Resistance that they are prepared to make the biggest sacrifices in defense of their country and to spare no efforts to restore it.

And because they love France they want to see her free, prosperous, peaceful and cooperating with all peoples, want to see her bring prosperity to her working people, to all who are the living reality of France—her workers, peasants, engineers, teachers, scientists, artists, youth.

If this is to be achieved France must free herself from the domination of big capital and the financial oligarchy. The republican state must be freed from the arbitrary rule of the monopolies, and a genuine democracy, a progressive political and economic democracy established which will ensure the participation of the people in the affairs of the nation and clear the way to socialism.

This socialism will, naturally, bear the features typical of the conditions, traditions, experience and genius of our people.

Such are the fundamental aims and ideals of the French Communist Party.

It is with a view to satisfying these great aspirations that our Party proposes to all French men and women at the elections on June 23 a program of social progress and peace.

In the social sphere the future government must assure the guaranteed purchasing power of wages, salaries and grants; gradual shortening of the work day; a lower retirement age; effective measures against unemployment; equitable remuneration for the peasant's labor; abolition of ordinances which affect social security; extension of rights for the unions at the enterprises.

Public education must be allocated a quarter of the budget and a fundamental reform must be carried out in education, one that

will lead, in particular, to the creation of a modern and democratic university.

The youth, all the young people of town and country, must be assured the right to knowledge, to a profession, suited to their tastes and abilities, the necessary cultural and sports facilities, as well as the right to vote at the age of 18.

An end must be put to the housing shortage by building 600,000 flats annually, including 300,000 cheap apartments.

It is not true that the realization of these reforms would jeopardize the economy. But it is true that if they are to be carried out the all-powerful capitalist monopolies must be resolutely attacked. That is why the Communist Party proposes gradual nationalization of the big enterprises belonging to the monopolies in the key sectors of the economy; a deep-going democratic tax reform that would hit out at the big fortunes and liquidate the privileges of the big companies; application of a democratic plan of economic and social development of the entire country.

The representatives of big capital and its technocrats will not, naturally, accept such a policy. The state must be wrested from the power of the monopolies.

All citizens, the entire people must, therefore, be assured the right and the means to intervene in the administration of public affairs at all levels. This will clear the way to a profound renovation of the structure of national life.

All these measures, aimed at establishing a progressive economic and political democracy in our country, can be carried out only given a strong and stable democratic government which will guarantee the realization of all democratic liberties and which will be responsible to a truly National Assembly that will have the powers to make laws and control the government.

Naturally, such a policy is inseparable from a foreign policy based on independence and peace, on cooperation with all countries without discrimination, on solidarity with the peoples fighting for their independence. I salute from this platform the heroic struggle which the people of Vietnam are waging for their independence and the victories they are winning over the aggressor—American imperialism. We resolutely demand the unconditional cessation of U.S. bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as the first step to reaching a political settlement that will ensure the Vietnam people the right to freely decide their future in conditions of independence and peace.

If this bold policy, which will lay the foundation for progressive democracy and clear the way to socialism, is to become a reality we must, in our view, form a people's government of democratic alliance, based on accord of the Left parties and on the active support of the people.

Such, in general outline, is our policy of social and economic progress, a policy of safeguarding freedom and defending peace.

The working people and democrats do not want a patched Gaullist regime or a "third force" as recommended by the ultra Georges Bidault, which would lead us to the instability and powerlessness of the past.

The French in their overwhelming majority want a change.

There is only one way to ensure the establishment of a genuinely democratic regime that would favor the advance to socialism and that is to unite all the workers and the democratic and progressive forces of the country. The French Communist Party has done everything, and will continue to do everything to this end to achieve accord of all democratic forces on the basis of a clear program that would serve as the basis for a government of democratic alliance in which the Communists would take their rightful place.

Evoking the specter of civil war and chaos and the notorious communist bogey, de Gaulle and his candidates resort to a gross maneuver.

The choice is not between Gaullism and the establishment of communism. The choice facing the country is clear. It is either personal power and clearing the way to a military dictatorship with its attendant reactionary and anti-social measures, or a new democracy based on an alliance of workers, democrats and progressives, of which the Communist Party is an integral part.

Unlike the Gaullist party which demands power only for itself, we, Communists, do not insist that the power belong only to our party. We declare that the building of a really democratic society in France is not the task of one person or of one party, including ours, but of the entire people. We therefore devote all our efforts to building the broadest alliance of all Left, democratic and progressive forces. We favor a people's government of democratic alliance, relying on all Left parties, on the will of the people, a government in which we will occupy a fitting place.

All French men and women know that there can be no really Left policy of social progress in our country without the active participation of the Communists. The French Communist Party therefore calls on you to vote and ensure mass voting already in the first round for its clear and honest policy of alliance, for its candidates.

Long live the French Communist Party!

Long live a democratic and socialist France to which the people of our country aspire and which they will build!

THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY, A CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR SOCIALIST SYSTEM*

ERICH HONECKER
MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CC, SUPG

In view of the exacerbation of the worldwide struggle between socialism and capitalism, between the forces of progress and reaction, every Marxist-Leninist party must specify its ideological and political position in this struggle. This is in keeping with the supreme responsibility of each party to its working class and its people and to the Communist and working-class movement as a whole. From this point of view the Political Bureau report presented by Comrade Hermann Axen is, to my way of thinking, of special importance.

Development in recent weeks has brought further confirmation of the Seventh Congress conclusion that the progress of socialism throughout the world is accompanied by growing contradiction in capitalist countries.

We are witnessing big revolutionary battles in France, sharper class struggle in Italy and increased activity by the West German extra-parliamentary opposition which in the face of political terror is waging a courageous fight against rampant neo-Nazism and militarism, for a radical turn in West German policy. All of this continues to change the balance of world forces in favor of socialism and in no way benefits the imperialists whatever they may claim, as Comrade Axen showed. Indeed, it indicates that the solution of new problems in building up socialist society has a positive effect on development in West Germany and other capitalist countries.

Under these circumstances it is very important that our Central Committee and its First Secretary, Comrade Walter Ulbricht, are calling on the Party to go deeper into the new problems of socialist development and bring leadership into line with requirements as they do so. Thus the problems contained in the Political Bureau report are an expression of the creative approach of the Party to the masses, and it is perfectly normal that PB reports should be among the democratic methods our Central Committee has used

* From a speech at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany. **Neues Deutschland,** June 8, 1968.

for years to inform the whole Party and all our citizens in detail about the work done, the execution of decisions and the new tasks facing us. In other words, pressing problems are posed before the entire public to be tackled in common.

I would like to draw attention to that section of the report examining the role and development of our Party and, in particular, the lessons of the elections to the Party committees. I wish to underline the passage in the report which states that in the period under review our Party has done much political and organizing work to consolidate and reinforce the worker-peasant state. Everyone knows that we do not go in for either varnishing reality or self-flagellation. We try realistically to appraise the headway made as a result of clear and meaningful decisions and sustained effort so as to decide on our next steps accordingly. Looking back on the period since the Seventh Congress of the Party, we can, even allowing for criticism, put on record that under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Ulbricht our Party has scored further political, ideological and organizational gains.

All the other parties of the bloc and millions of working people recognize that it is our Party—the party of the working class and other working people—that formulates ideas and proposals of decisive importance for our social development. There is probably no sphere of socialist construction to which our Party has not contributed guiding ideas and deeds. It is precisely the millions of full and candidate members of our Party that for more than two decades now have been leading the process of revolutionary transformation and social renovation—the greatest in German history—by creatively applying the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The fact that the ideological and organizational unity of the working class embodied in our Party has been the basis of the friendly alliance of all progressive forces in the National Front and has resulted in a high degree of moral and political unity of the population, which found expression during the referendum on our socialist Constitution, is a source of confidence not only to the membership of our Party. The millions of GDR citizens who were free to choose and who approved of the Constitution were prompted by their own experience which told them that the worker-peasant state always respects their interests and provides them with the right perspective.

It stands to reason that our achievements should give no cause for self-complacency. The developed socialist society we are striving for will require further serious effort. We need high-standard leadership and a structural policy adjusted to the needs of the scientific and technical revolution to attain a high national income through highly efficient socialist industry and agriculture. By carring forward our integral socialist system of education we must enable the

whole people to measure up to the growing exigencies of the coming decades. In the course of this development the promotion of socialist democracy on the basis of our Constitution is becoming an objective necessity in the same way as a higher standard of culture and steadily improving working and living conditions.

Thus our socialist system gives people real freedom, so that they can fully unfold their talents, consciously guide social processes and increasingly satisfy their material and spiritual requirements.

I have said that this will call for much more effort. We will have to remove numerous shortcomings and solve many complex problems. However, the policy we have been following in accordance with the Seventh Congress decisions is correct and has proved its worth. Our Party has evolved and tested the new economic system. We can now go on to new steps to improve planning and management in industry and agriculture and can on the basis of centralized state planning of the main processes introduce the principle of responsibility on the enterprise level. As we know, the single socialist system of education adopted on the initiative of our Party has not only led to proper training of the younger generation but has helped demonstrate the superiority of the socialist GDR over the state-monopoly system of West Germany in the decisive social sphere. The deliberations of this meeting have shown that the Party does not tolerate stagnation anywhere, for it would mean lagging in socialist construction and hence in the fight against West German imperialism.

I could list other examples of the creative effort of our Party, such as the progress made in culture, the third reform of higher education, labor legislation, the new family law, and lastly, our socialist Constitution. Social reality in the GDR shows that, unlike previous generations, the working people of the first socialist state of the German nation no longer need merely hope for a better future, for they can enjoy the fruits of their labor *now*.

When asked how we succeeded in discerning at their inception and in time the social problems that had been shaping over many years and in mustering the strength to solve them and thus ensure continuous socialist progress, we answer, according to our own experience, that we could do that because our Party, being the vanguard of the working class and being equipped with scientific socialism, fulfilled its function as the leading force of socialist society. Surely no one will seriously question the postulate that a socialist system is inconceivable without the leadership of the revolutionary party which is the strongest numerically and is most closely associated with the decisive political, economic and social processes. This is a historical law of our time which in turn necessitates, as Comrade Axen correctly stressed, a social force expressing the interests of the working class and the whole of socialist

society and capable of effectively defending these interests. This force is our militant alliance of like-minded people, united according to the laws of inner-Party democracy and on the inviolable basis of democratic centralism.

I wish to stress, therefore, that it is not through formal declarations but by deeds that our Party has been playing its leading role, and that only for its achievements in two victorious revolutions—anti-fascist-democratic and socialist—and in building socialist society do the whole people esteem and recognize the Party.

Allow me, comrades, to enlarge a little on this subject.

The Party as a great collective body and the hundreds of thousands of its members and functionaries daily set an example of building socialism. And I think they deserve to be mentioned specially at this important meeting of the Central Committee. After all, the only privilege the members of our Party enjoy is that the greatest demands are put to them. It is they who by their consistent political position, their exemplary work, their courage in grappling with new problems, their solidarity and their readiness to help have won the esteem and confidence of their fellow-citizens for themselves, the Party and our republic. They are real innovators who give their all to consolidate the socialist state, so that what has been created by joint effort during the past twenty years may be defended against any attack and carried forward.

Small wonder that Western propagandists, alarmed by our achievements, spearhead their attacks against our Party, against its members and functionaries. According to an old custom current in the working-class movement, we would have to ask ourselves what mistakes we had made if the situation had been different, that is, if, say, Kiesinger, let alone Rockefeller, had praised us. In any case, that kind of praise would have seemed very suspicious to us. Our Party sees its task in winning the esteem and recognition of the workers, cooperated peasants, intellectuals, women and youth, of the international working class and the forces of peace and progress.

When speaking of the activities of our Party, the work of its functionaries and members, we respectfully imply the hundreds of thousands of Party members who make an important contribution to the overall progress of our society irrespective of whether they are ministers or ordinary employees, or whether they are civil servants or are engaged in the economic, scientific, cultural or educational sphere. We feel that we are linked with them just as we are linked with the full and candidate members of our Party whose exemplary conduct daily earns the Party greater confidence on the part of the mass organizations—the Association of Free German Trade Unions, Free German Youth League, Democratic Women's League of Germany, German Sports and Athletics League, Young

Pioneers' Organization, Cultural Union, the unions of writers, composers, stage workers and film-makers.

This is a reflection of the internal development of our Party and its cadres over many years. If we ask our comrades to tell us their life stories, we will discover that they did not seek functions for themselves nor did anyone impose any functions upon them. It is simply that they have been doing their job well and have shown sterling qualities. As a result, they have become delegates or been elected to key posts and are now in a position to take part in implementing the leading role of our Party in society for the good of the whole people.

Why do I stress these facts at this meeting? Because I think it will be very useful for our subsequent progress to examine the relations between the Party and the population so as the more effectively to foster the existing relations of confidence. Secondly, it is useful to watch from time to time how our "special friends" in Bonn change the forms and methods of their activity against us in order better to achieve their goal, or so they hope, that is, to penetrate into the GDR and above all to undermine the positions of cur Party among the masses.

For all the gains our work has brought and will yet bring us, we must never forget the environment in which our republic is developing. In the conditions of our struggle—and this is a point on which we are at one with the CPSU and the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries—it is particularly important to heighten the vigilance of all the forces of socialism and peace, as the communique on the Soviet visit of the Party and government delegation led by Comrade Ulbricht points out, to close their ranks and wage an uncompromising ideological struggle against every imperialist attempt to undermine the socialist countries.

It has lately become fashionable to offer us advice—which comes, of all places, from West Germany—on how we should build socialism or, to be exact, how we should "improve" it. Let no one take it amiss if we view the advice of admitted enemies of socialism with due distrust. Of course, we are aware of the striking interest in socialist development in the GDR shown not only by parties and the relevant Bonn ministries, but by a wide range of people, from Herr von Puttkammer, editor-in-chief of the Social-Democratic *Vorwaerts,* to Herr Springer, that public opinion boss of West Germany. In the case of gentlemen like von Puttkammer, we may allow for some vestiges of socialist ideals even though socialism, which in 1945 was announced to be the order of the day, has long since been written off by the Social-Democratic ministers as unsuitable. The case of Herr Springer is different, of course, and there should be no doubt that he is a spokesman of West German big capital, an arch-reactionary pure and simple.

But what are they driving at, over in West Germany, when they declaim about "new models" of socialism and about socialism having to be "incorporated" with democracy? Not everywhere has it sunk in, it seems, that this prattle is accompanied by a powerful offensive against the guiding role of the working class and its party. Yet that is how international capitalism wants to "better" socialism, to rob it of its strength in a crucial area and pave the way for an attack against it. It wants our Marxist-Leninist theory and practice revised in its most vital aspect—the question of political power—in accordance with a pre-fabricated long-term plan. Knowing that a head-on armed collision is hopeless, the imperialists have attuned themselves chiefly to psychological warfare, which they conduct intensively and shrewdly, and in doing so they are eager to enlist the services of nationalist and revisionist elements.

To grasp the situation, we should above all learn the adversary's strategic aim, and never lose sight of it, no matter what tactical maneuvers he may employ. Strauss, the future "strong man" of West German imperialism, has defined this aim lucidly in his "Project for Europe," in a way the "Mein Kampf" of present-day West Germany. Speaking on behalf of the financial groups and generals, he calls for a dynamic policy to tilt the scales in Europe for the capitalist West. The East—I quote Strauss—has to be "undermined" and the East European peoples, like those of Southeastern Europe, should be won for Western Europe by cultural and economic contacts. Bonn policy (this conception was published a few years ago) should encourage the developments already burgeoning in some European countries and "carry them to a point of no return." Herr Strauss associates this aim with prying away individual socialist countries from the Soviet Union, a scheme to be promoted at all levels, until, ultimately, the countries in question "again become a part of Europe, at least in the sense of a temporary intermediate Europe."

Since socialism is increasingly the main perspective of our century, the imperialists no longer appeal obtusely to the socialist countries to jettison socialism. They work on a psychological plane in their cold war from conceptions legitimately popular in the community of socialist states, their object being to mislead gullible people about their true intentions. For example, they exploit the concept of "socialist democracy." Is this done out of sympathy for socialism? But we know that the imperialists are making futile attempts to shore up their state-monopoly system of exploitation, even to extend it by conducting dangerous expansionist policies. Or have the imperialists suddenly opened their hearts to democracy, that is, to genuine people's rule? Yet we see them at this very time adopting emergency legislation in West Germany against the will of the people, against democracy. Reactionaries in West Germany,

the United States and France are carrying forward their terrorist dictatorship against the people. These days, the whole world is witness to the fact that imperialism and bloody terror are two sides of the same coin.

Or have the imperialists suddenly opened their hearts to democracy, and "socialism," which he hypocritically advises to be "incorporated," to create an opportunity for himself to penetrate into the socialist countries with his hostile ideology and counter-revolutionary policy. That is why we are always mindful of who speaks of socialist democracy. For our worker-peasant state socialist democracy is a principle, even more: it is a compulsive need, because our socialist state is based on the active cooperation and participation in planning and administration of increasingly larger sections of the people.

The Political Bureau report says rightly that socialism and democracy are a single whole and that, therefore, the socialist democracy carried forward by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the highest type of democracy in all history, because, in contrast to bourgeois democracy whose purpose it is merely to camouflage minority rule, it puts power at last into the hands of the majority under the leadership of the working class.

For the enemy, on the other hand, the concept of "socialist democracy" is just a catch phrase, a weapon in his arsenal of psychological warfare and an element, particularly, of his theory of convergence. According to that theory a "convergence of the two social systems" is to come about in the conditions created by the technological revolution. And by way of an "argument" the socialist countries are told that in the long run, under latter-day capitalism, following the socialist example, the capitalist countries are adopting the planned economy that they have been condemning and rejecting for decades.

Please yourselves, gentlemen, though no amount of planning will save capitalism. But if we are expected in return to abdicate political power, and then to repeal the socialist relations of production, the latter-day capitalists have another guess coming. The crucial issue of property relations is judiciously omitted from their propaganda. Their stand is, as it were, one of "change through convergence," meaning that while, say, the West German imperialists concentrate their governmental, economic and financial resources on the technological revolution, we and the other socialist countries should liberalize and decentralize our economies and our political power. While they fan nationalism, chauvinism and anti-communism more intensely than ever, paving the way for neo-nazism, we are recommended to embark on de-ideologization and ideological coexistence. Their fondest wish is for socialism to conclude an ideological peace with capitalism, which would give

them a better chance to fight socialism. In the final analysis, however, they reckon without the master. The class struggle in Western Europe shows once again that capitalism has no future.

Since we have said at our Central Committee meeting that we shall continue to strengthen socialism, we should on no account side-step ideological clashes with the theories of our enemy. As we know, no area is free from ideology. And those who peddle de-ideologization merely want our socialist ideology to give place to the bourgeois, to rob us of our science, our compass for building socialist society. As valid as ever is the principle: where our ideology is absent there we see bourgeois ideology spread, confusing and disarming the people politically. That is why I should like to dwell on a few more of the arguments presented in relation to the ostensibly newly-invented model of socialism.

Our foes ask hypocritically: "isn't there anything new that makes socialism 'different', namely, less socialist?" And the answer they give is cut to measure: the technological revolution detracts from the Party's leading role and makes centralized guidance of social processes by the socialist state no longer so essential.

But take the problems raised in the Political Bureau Report. Put aside all theoretical discourses and ask a chemical worker or a young engineer specializing in computer techniques, or the head of a factory that is being fully automated, whether they need the Party less or more nowadays in coming to grips with the new problems. Or take a student and professor involved in the third higher school reform, take a teacher or a school councillor who have to introduce curricula with new, higher demands, or the member of a farming cooperative employing industrial methods and organizing cooperation between farming and the food industry. Wherever work is done to advance the socialist system in the GDR, people put higher demands on the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party. It is now clearer than ever that the leading role of the working class and its Party follows from the very essence of the socialist system. Whoever denies that, denies the source that lends strength to the socialist state and makes it superior to capitalism.

Scientific and technical development, which has so profound an influence in our time and truly revolutionizes the productive forces, bears out our stand. Firstly, because working-class political power and the people's ownership of the means of production guarantee that the fruits of the technological revolution are used to meet the people's needs and do not fall to a handful of tycoons in the form of super-profits. As Comrade Ulbricht said at the recent international symposium on the 150th birthday of Karl Marx, the crucial question is: in the interests of which class is planning production carried forward?

Further. The propagandists of "new communism" cannot deny

the fact that the technological revolution invades all spheres of social life. Therefore, social forecasting has to be all-embracing. Who can make it so? None but the working-class Party equipped with Marxism-Leninism.

In our socialist environment, the working-class Party produces a large contingent of thinkers and practitioners closely linked with all sections of the people. The Party is the vehicle of the objectively necessary guidance of social processes. Those who speak against this function, speak against social progress. Throughout history every leading class created its own political representation and guiding force. The same is true of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. With the very substantial difference, however, that the working class, being the biggest and most revolutionary section of the people, most consistently and continuously expresses the common interests of the people. So why all this talk about separating the Party from power and from guidance of the state, economy, science and culture? That is an outright attack on the foundations of socialism and worker-peasant government.

The same holds true for the thesis recently put forward by various West German authors that the dictatorship of the proletariat has ostensibly completed its historical mission because antagonistic classes no longer exist in the socialist countries. They go even farther and identify proletarian dictatorship with past erroneous methods of guidance, violations of socialist democracy and legality, and with other subjective mistakes. But by doing so they stand the facts on their heads.

Naturally, we should not cling to outworn concepts, but neither should we tolerate anything that waters down the central issue of our world outlook. And we know that from the beginning Marxists and revisionists fell out primarily over the question of power.

True, proletarian dictatorship has in the form of the socialist state gone through many stages. We in the GDR can see from our own experience how the economico-organizational and cultural-educational functions of the state came into bolder relief as a result of the conscious moulding of our society. However, in substance, our worker-peasant state is a state of the working class led by the Marxist-Leninist Party in close alliance with the peasants of the farming cooperatives and all working people. Rightly, the Manifesto of our 7th Congress said: "A remarkable thing has been done under the leadership of the Party of the united working class, thanks to its scientific anticipation, to the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to specific historical conditions and thanks to the deep trust prevailing between the Party and the people, the people and the Party."

Our stand is clear and incontestably accepted far outside the Party by millions of people in our Republic. However, we should

not rule out the possible effects of incorrect theories and, all the more, should not overlook them.

Any attempt to prejudice the position of the socialist state and the role of the working class and its Party is dobuly dangerous in the specific conditions created by the class struggle on German soil. After all, we are building socialism alongside another state with a different social system, which, being a state of monopoly capital, aims at eliminating the socialist GDR. We have every reason to speak of the national question as of a class question. And we have no right ever to allow this objective fact of the class struggle on German soil to escape our field of vision. We must treat it and all its consequences as the basis for our work at home and in foreign policy.

Our experience after the 7th Congress shows that the growth of our economy, naturally associated with the moulding of a developed socialist system, puts a high demand on the politico-ideological work of the Party organizations and their leading bodies.

Our further economic measures are designed to promote the interests of the German Democratic Republic on the basis of the state plan through the work of socialist enterprises based on individual responsibility and aimed at achieving high economic effectiveness. The economic measures needed for this, such as elevating the role of long-term planning, planning related to production carrying forward our structural policy, economic rates for the rational use of production resources, etc., have now been clearly outlined. The measures adopted by the State Council are orienting our workers, engineers, scientists and economists on high achievements in the drive for a high technico-scientific level, high quality and low cost in the interest of the enterprises and of society as a whole.

However, all these aims in the basic public interest will not come about by themselves. It is the task of the Party organizations at enterprises to impress the content of the new issues on all people and to promote creative initiative based on growing political consciousness, to explain the connection between the economic position of their enterprise and the tasks set them by the state.

It is clearer than ever that our long-term economic solutions and the expansion contemplated in the future should guide our activities already at present. The national income will not increase to any palpable extent unless people prepare for the future tasks of a developed socialist system, prepare production for the future, work out new techniques and, at the same time, always fulfil the plans. This political responsibility must be assured without formalistic delays through purposeful ideological work based entirely on the substance of our 7th Congress decisions.

In the Political Bureau Report Comrade Hermann Axen spoke

at length about the conclusions drawn from the elections to Party organs. I should prefer not to repeat anything here. However, I feel I must draw the attention of the Central Committee to the fact that the implementation of Congress decisions prompted 84,531 people, chiefly workers, to join the Party. No such growth was registered in the past six years. Yet in the first four months of 1968 as many as 29,142 people, notably young men and women, applied for admission to the Party. Most of them said that Comrade Walter Ulbricht, our First Secretary, whose 75th birthday we shall soon celebrate and who has been active in the German working-class for six decades, is a model for them in their revolutionary battle for a socialist Germany.

What will further strengthen our Party is the admission to its ranks of a large number of workers with creditable production records. Among the probationary members admitted after the 7th Congress are 54,209 workers, amounting to 64.1 per cent of the total admitted. The Dresden regional organization registered the best results in this respect, workers making up 75.1 per cent of its newly admitted members. This also applies to the Karl-Marx-Stadt region, but some regions are still somewhat behind.

Cooperated farmers admitted to the Party after the Congress total 3,983, or 4.7 per cent of the total admission, and intellectuals comprise 11.7 per cent. It may be of interest to note, too, that among the newly joined are 28,545 women, i.e., every third probationary member is a woman.

The influx to the Party of young people is, we hold, a highly welcome development. Young workers and students comprise more than half of the newly-admitted Party members, with students alone totalling 6,594. They ranged themselves firmly behind our worker-peasant state and declared that they wanted to fight for socialism alongside the 1,800,000 Party members.

They made their political decision whilst young people in West Germany and other capitalist countries are battling the existing capitalist order and protesting against the outworn and ossified pattern of capitalist exploitation and social injustice.

A host of public opinion investigators has been put to work in the capitalist countries to find out why the youth rebels. And nearly all of them have come to the conclusion that dressing up the façade of latter-day capitalism is no longer sufficient to disguise the rottenness and the man-hating character of the capitalist system. The war against the people of Vietnam, the support given to the fascists in Greece, the spurious talk of democracy and freedom and the nauseating satiety of the wealthy—all this has revolutionized the youth in the capitalist countries, though it may at times follow the wrong tack. The young people there, and notably in West Germany, feel that they have been deceived and robbed of

their chance, that the imperialist system can offer them nothing, and this deep-going opposition to the system will continue and become still more acute.

We are often asked why our younger generation is so enthusiastic and acquits itself so well politically in building socialist society. As noted by the recent conference of our shock workers and by the Halle Congress of Working Youth, active cooperation and participation in socialist reconstruction is a revolutionary cause; the society we are building here in the GDR has none of the senility of the old bourgeois regime, and, what is more, has cast overboard capitalism with its crises and wars. Socialism stands for both the old revolutionary ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity, and for the scientific, technical, cultural and social demands of our time.

Our young people know what we have and what we are going to have. And, more important still, they are doing their bit in this great revolutionary reconstruction. They share responsibilities in the People's Chamber, the government, at the socialist enterprises and at universities—wherever socialism is being translated into reality by bold, audacious people. Last but not least, the young have no love for the hesitant; they like those who know what they want, who think clearly and act firmly. That, I think, is the reason for the respect enjoyed among the youth by our militant Marxist-Leninist Party and its Central Committee headed by Walter Ulbricht.

A word about our close cooperation with the Soviet Union in training technical personnel. As we learn from the Political Bureau report, practical steps have been framed jointly at the negotiations held by our Party and Government delegation in the Soviet Union to secure close cooperation with the Soviet Union in personnel training. This applies mostly to branches crucial in the drive for higher scientific and technical standards. Our agreements have a strong political bearing on the building of a developed socialist system in the German Democratic Republic. Studying and applying the foremost Soviet scientific and technological experience is decisive for the technological revolution in the GDR.

A socialist industrial state, the GDR trains its own personnel for many important industries. However, like the Soviet comrades, our delegation agreed that needless duplication should be avoided in future through rational division of labor and cooperation in research. In the decisive fields of science and technology the Soviet Union is for the GDR the most important and most attractive partner. For research and technology Soviet conditions are more favorable than in any, even the most highly industrialized, capitalist country. Its more than 700,000 scientists constitute a gigantic research potential.

The results of Soviet research and their use in production are of the highest order in the decisive areas of scientific and technical

progress. This applies, among other things, to economic and technical cybernetics, designing of electronic computers and automation. The progress made in developing raw and other materials, such as high polymers, augurs radical modifications in the raw materials pattern. Soviet technical achievements in, say, the processing industry have brought into being new highly productive methods. Considerable headway has also been made in developing new electronic building techniques. Soviet power resources are being extended on a vast scale to achieve these results, and Soviet advances in nuclear physics are among the highest in the world.

In other areas, too, fruitful efforts are in evidence, with research greatly concentrated. We should like to stress that planned economy in the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic makes this high degree of concentration possible, providing fertile soil for harmonious, planned cooperation between our countries in line with the high standards prevailing these days in industry and research.

It is now up to us to make the best use of, and further extend, these opportunities for cooperation, raising the proficiency of our researchers and training new scientists. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government agreed to expand cooperation and research, scientific progress and the training of scientists, above all in those areas decisive for attaining the highest possible scientific and technical level. This will enable us to build up jointly a scientific potential in certain fields.

That is what makes these broad opportunities for training young scientists so attractive for the GDR. Our first trainees will go to the leading Soviet institutes before the year is out and will stay there for a year or two.

They will be used chiefly in the decisive spheres of knowledge, spheres of the greatest importance for the building of a developed socialist system in the GDR. We appreciate the fraternal aid of our Soviet comrades in crucial areas of science and technology, and particularly in training and re-training personnel.

For many years the Soviet Union has given us extensive, selfless help in science and technology. But the latest agreements offer us far greater opportunities and augur far bigger results.

According to the agreements training and re-training will have a long-term perspective based on forecasts. Attention will be concentrated on the basic issues of the technological revolution in the two countries. It should also be stressed that personnel training and re-training in the Soviet Union will be on a much larger scale. This is of crucial importance for our future.

The agreements with the Soviet Union show once more that GDR scientists and technicians are getting strong, decisive stimuli from

their cooperation with our Soviet friends in carrying out the technological revolution.

We should also like to say that in view of the extensive opportunities for turning the latest scientific achievements to good use, a clear stand in regard to the Soviet Union and its scientific potential is a necessary pre-condition for rapid scientific and technical advance. It is incompatible with any one-sided and uncritical orientation westward in any shape or form and incompatible, too, with ignoring Soviet scientific progress. This is an essentially political issue concerning the position and responsibility of the scientists vis-à-vis our socialist state.

Fulfilment of the agreements we have concluded with the Soviet Union puts a high demand on the Party organizations and on administrators. Now we must begin putting the agreements into effect with a sense of deep political responsibility. People to be trained in the Soviet Union have to be carefully selected, with the existing needs serving as a guideline in our choice. Once selected, they should be prepared for their stay in the Soviet Union, with a working knowledge of the Russian language being an important requisite. Their subsequent employment is likewise important, because it should yield the highest possible economic benefit. Also important is to place them in such areas of our economy, our educational system and in research where they could pass on the foremost Soviet experience to the biggest number of specialists.

As we see from the objective conditions of building a developed socialist system, the Socialist Unity Party faces new important tasks. Our Central Committee meeting will go a long way to elucidate and put them into practice.

IMMUTABLE BASIS AND CHANGING FORMS*

VILLY FUGLSANG, MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CC, CP OF DENMARK

The capitalist and the socialist social system, like the transition from one system to the other, have their own characteristics and are conditioned by definite factors.

Capitalism is a class society in which the land, factories, transport and other means of production are owned by a small capitalist minority. This minority regulates social production in such a way as to make maximum profit. In the enterprises the capitalists have the exclusive right to direct and distribute work and in society as a whole they exert a decisive influence on legislation, administration and justice. Such organs of state power as the police and the armed forces are instruments for defending capitalist interests.

On the other hand, the majority of the population, the working people, have no independent livelihood. True, unlike the slaves or serfs of the past, they are personally free. But as they have no means of production of their own, they are compelled like an "army of hungry slaves" to work for the capitalists, who exploit them.

Now although capitalism has a definite economic and political basis, its structures and management methods vary greatly, to which we certainly cannot be indifferent. Politically, capitalism takes different forms ranging from more or less democratic government, as in northern Europe, to fascism, as in Franco Spain, the Portugal of Salazar or the Greece of the colonels. This also means that capitalism is not invariable in either its economic or its political forms.

Limited Democracy. Capitalism is no longer what it was in Marx's day. At that time it tended to concentrate and consolidate economic and political power in the hands of fewer and fewer people, which Marx described as a law of capitalism. However, this process did not yet suppress the original freedom of competition nor the liberal basis of capitalism. When, 50 years later, Lenin was studying contemporary capitalism the latter had already become imperialism, even though the big national and international monopolies went on talking about liberalism to mislead people. Banking and industrial capital had merged into what Lenin called financial capital. Lastly, in works he wrote immediately before the revolution—

* **Land og Folk,** May 15, 1968.

The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It (October 1917) and *The State and Revolution*—Lenin showed that capitalism, which was trying, in particular, to make a total contribution to the world war, had entered the stage of development he called state-monopoly capitalism. This stage was characterized to a still greater degree by unlimited monopoly power and by direct connection and fusion of the monopolies with the entire machinery of the bourgeois state. This meant that the diverse echelons of the state apparatus were becoming subordinate committees, so to speak, whose function was to defend monopoly interests, interfering in every aspect of public life, establishing their control over it and thus putting, in effect, far-reaching restrictions on democracy. On the other hand, this resulted in corresponding changes in the political struggle in economic and political democracy, and in the premises and possibilities of socialism.

It is necessary to know and remember that state-monopoly capitalism and its institutions regulating production and the whole economic life of society and the distribution of the national income have different forms. At the same time, however, it must be borne in mind that these forms, for all their diversity, always meet monopoly interests. There are highly developed capitalist countries in which one-third or more of the economy is nationalized. After the war this led—in France, for instance—to attempts to apply economic planning as in the socialist countries, by planning the development of specific geographical regions and the development of the whole country with constant regard, needless to say, to the interests of capital and monopoly. In such countries as Britain or Denmark the ruling classes are at pains to leave the sacred principles of private property intact and to maintain monopoly interests by controlling and distributing through direct and indirect taxes, the policy on credits, bank rates and so on.

While the external forms of capitalism have changed as a result of nationalization and government interference, it is still capitalism. Its economic basis is still private ownership of the means of production and its production stimulus, profit. Nationalization in itself is not yet socialism by far. So long as the monopolies directly or indirectly control the state, the public sector will be controlled and used in their interests. The fact that nationalization, like other forms of interference and control, connotes, given certain conditions, new opportunities for democratic and socialist development, is a different but very important matter.

Socialism too is developing. Unlike capitalism, socialism is developing toward a classless society.

The economic basis of socialism is socialist, that is, the people own the means of production. Economic and political power is in the hands of the working people, who organize and control produc-

tion on the principle of strengthening socialist society and raising the living and cultural standards of the population.

Within this framework, however, socialist society takes different forms depending on the conditions and traditions prevailing in the country concerned and on the experience of the working class. These factors, too, are subject to evolution and the changes resulting from it. It must not be forgotten that the working class of the socialist countries had to begin building socialism when it lacked experience, and that it had to do it in continuous ideological and often physical struggle over a more or less long time, especially at first, against internal enemies and a strong and aggressive international capitalism.

It is this experience, going as far back as the Paris Commune, that necessitates a replacement of the state apparatus controlled by the capitalists and used by the monopolies, with a new one that will uphold and carry forward the economic and political gains of socialism, that is, with one form or another of what Marx called the dictatorship of the proletariat. But here, too, we come across both different forms and a continuous development of the dictatorship, varying from, say, the one-party system in the Soviet Union to several cooperating parties in the People's Democracies and the future forms of cooperation between parties and population groups in the struggle for socialism and socialist development. We must bear in mind that unity and cooperation with other forces, as, for instance, during the transition of our country to socialism, will take distinctive forms.

The basis and the forms of the latter should constitute a very important theme of the debate on socialism.

Democracy and socialism. Obviously, the transition from one social form to another always requires definite conditions and is always a revolutionary transition. This means in any case a radical and fundamental change in property relations and the alignment of forces, which are of decisive importance. It should also be clear that a revolution of this kind involves the issue of power and struggle. There is no justification whatever for the notion that the capitalists will relinquish their power or special privileges of their own free will, any more than that the capitalists will reconcile themselves to the new state of affairs irrespective of how the transition is effected or how great is the majority opposing the capitalists.

The bourgeois revolution which signified the triumph of capitalism over feudalism was accomplished in France in 1789 as a forcible revolution. It triumphed at a time when the capitalist economy had defeated the feudal economy in the decisive spheres. It had been ideologically prepared, in particular, by the great French philosophers of the time. In its wake came long years of wars of interven-

tion waged by holy alliances of neighboring kings and emperors, and internal schisms resulting in the retreat and advance of new policies.

Denmark won its bourgeois-Democratic Constitution 60 years later, in 1849. We obtained it without a revolutionary struggle comparable to the one in France, but our former rulers refused to give up their privileges of their own free will, and besides, we too suffered a reverse, for the Constitution was curtailed in 1866 and subsequently the Estrup landowner dictatorship was set up. Now, too, we must defend democracy and link its defense with the struggle to extend and renew it.

To defend and extend democracy today means combining these actions with the fight for socialism. Lenin said that in the twentieth century one could not be a revolutionary democrat in a capitalist country if one was afraid of advancing to socialism.

The transition from capitalism to socialism is always a revolutionary transition, but revolution and revolutionary war cannot be automatically equated. Revolution too takes different forms depending on the actual conditions. It is these conditions that make it very important for the party, as Lenin, in particular, said in July 1917, to be able to put forward correct slogans meeting the changing situation and winning the confidence of the masses.

Old and new forms of transition. Socialism in Russia won in 1917 as a result of an armed uprising followed by years of bloody and devastating intervention war and decades of the existence of Russia as the only socialist country, one encircled by hostile capitalist countries. But in the development of even the Russian revolution there was a period—February 27 to July 4—when Lenin considered peaceful development possible "not only in the sense that nobody, no class, no force of any importance, would then . . . have been able to resist and prevent the transfer of power to the Soviets," but "even in the sense that the struggle of classes and parties within the Soviets could have assumed a most peaceful and painless form . . ."

Later on other countries effected revolutionary changes in society in other conditions, and they have been building socialism in other conditions and forms. Today the existence of a capitalism that is weaker in many respects (if still strong and dangerous), on the one hand, and of a strong socialist world camp, the liberation of the third world and the existence of strong and influential Communist parties, on the other, provide the requisites for new forms of transition. Nevertheless, this transition will never take the form of a peaceful growing in. Socialism still involves active and conscious class struggle, and the inspiring words in the *Communist Manifesto* should not be forgotten as a basis for this: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. . . .

Oppressor and oppressed stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes."

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

STATEMENT BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, which met in plenary session in the middle of May 1968, discussed the political situation and came to the conclusion that the course of events since the Third Party Conference (December 1967) had proved the conclusions of the Conference and the policy of the Party to be correct. The CC concerned itself with the more important aspects of the political situation.

* * *

On the international scene, the upsurge of imperialist reaction against the world revolutionary movement and of imperialist aggression against the peoples fighting for freedom are meeting with resolute resistance. The Vietnamese people's great victories over the American aggressors, the reverses they have inflicted on the armed forces of the U.S. and the latter's forced negotiations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam constitute a substantial contribution to the fight against imperialist aggression.

The victories of the Vietnamese people, who are supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and by world opinion, the struggle of the American people, and Negro action against racial discrimination in the U.S. have strengthened the positions of the revolutionary forces in every country.

On behalf of our people, who want freedom, democracy, progress and peace, the Party CC hails the Vietnamese people, who are fighting in the South and the North and with whom we are linked by a common struggle and common goals. It calls on the masses and all the progressive and revolutionary forces of the country to extend their solidarity with the people of Vietnam in various forms and to contribute to the mounting struggle against the U.S. aggressors, for an end to the bombing of the DRV, for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Vietnam and for enabling its people to shape their own fortunes.

The Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Budapest in February 1968, was a big step toward closing the ranks of the world Communist movement. Great importance attaches to the decision to convene an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow at the end of this

year and to the agreement on the conference agenda, which includes the issue of stepping up the fight against imperialism and promoting the unity of the Communist movement and the progressive forces of the world.

The CC approved the activity of our Party delegation to the Consultative Meeting and reaffirmed the Party decision to contribute actively to the success of the coming world conference.

* * *

A year has passed since June 1967, when Israel, backed by the U.S., British and West German imperialists, began its aggression against three Arab states, with the result that large areas belonging to these states were overrun and the majority of their inhabitants expelled.

The Israeli-imperialist aggression aroused worldwide anger over the action of the Israeli aggressors and the imperialists and made for greater proletarian solidarity, which expressed itself in support for the fight of the Arab peoples and states against the aggression. The continuous Israeli attacks on Jordan, as in April 1968, and the brazen declaration about the annexation of the occupied territories increased the indignation over these aggressive expansionist aspirations.

On the other hand, the Israeli-imperialist aggression strengthened the resolve of the Arab peoples to intensify their fight against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and heightened the revolutionary and progressive forces' awareness of the need to take steps guaranteeing that the effects of the aggression will be made good, the occupied territories freed and the rights of the Palestine Arabs restored.

Our Iraqi Communist Party appreciates the importance of the measures of the free Arab states to re-equip their armed forces and increase their fighting efficiency with the aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. However, the Party, expressing the sentiments of the mass of the people, calls for a bigger effort to bring about radical changes in the political regimes of these countries, such as will enable them really to express the Arab peoples' desire for democracy and progress; for more vigorous action against the reactionary governments and regimes in the Arab world which facilitated the aggression—action to call a halt to their maneuvers; for mobilizing all Arab peoples and free Arab states against imperialism, Zionism and reaction; for completely eliminating the effects of the Israeli aggression and firmly repulsing threats of further aggression.

The CC ICP admires the struggle of the Palestine people, of the national and resistance forces in the occupied territories, and calls on our people and their progressive forces to identify themselves with the Palestine people on the anniversary of the aggression

(June 5), intensify their common effort to spread and realize the slogans of the fight against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

* * *

The isolation of the reactionary, despotic regime of Iraq has increased, the masses resent its policy and its acts of terror more than ever, and there is a growing desire to do away with it. The antagonisms among the ruling clique, which has broken up into groups fighting for a share in the booty, have gone much deeper. This is reflected in the increased conflict between present and past rulers and in the fact that other groups representing the former regime have become more active.

The rulers continue their policy of persecution and terror against the people and their national forces, and counter student and peasant strikes and other actions with bullets and arrests, refusing to meet the lawful demands of the masses. They step up treacherous police attacks in the rural areas of the central and southern parts of the country, refuse to restore people to their former jobs for political reasons, and keep hundreds of fighters in prisons and prison camps.

Although the taxes introduced last year on the pretext of national defense and the floods were abolished, and although oil extraction was resumed, taxes are still a heavy burden on the working people, as well as on tradesmen and officials whose incomes are limited. The poverty of these segments of the people is aggravated by the preservation of the high prices of necessities.

The Constitution was recently amended under the false promise of holding general elections within two years. The real purpose of the amendment is to legalize the dictatorship and personal military power. The rulers' commitments on the time limit of revoking the state of emergency have been removed from the provisional Constitution. The rulers have announced that they intend to appoint members of the "Legislative Council" from hangers-on and backers of the dictatorial reactionary regime.

This has increased the discontent of the masses and the national forces, including certain quarters who pinned hopes on the abolition of this situation because they saw no alternative to it nor ways in which the revolutionary struggle could be carried on.

For months after the Israeli aggression of 1967 the dictatorship bent its energies to establish closer ties with reactionary governments and imperialist agents in the area. It searched for an excuse to resume political and economic cooperation with the imperialist countries and their monopolies at the expense of national interests.

This flirting with reaction over the policies and moves of the regime was not taken by the masses and the progressive forces lying down. On the contrary, the people have in recent months intensified

their struggle in reply to the rulers' use of force.

The popular movement used diverse forms of active struggle, which found expression in the heroic student strike in the universities of Baghdad and Basra, the victory of the progressive forces over the Rightists and reactionaries in the elections to the lawyers' union, the teachers' joining in the election campaign, the victory of the progressive forces in some provinces, stormy mass demonstrations of protest in Basra against the assassination of Abd Ar Razzaq Muslim, a Communist fighter, and in the celebration of national and proletarian holidays by various segments of the population.

Vast national forces protested emphatically against the rulers' attempt to ignore Iraqi interests with regard to the oil-fields in the northern part of Ar Rumaila, an attempt which could have resulted in new plunder by the oil monopolies. This home opposition forced the rulers to decide on exploiting the Ar Rumaila oil-fields and on declaring them a national oil company. The situation calls for greater effort to ensure that this decision is carried out and that the nation's resources are rid of the control of U.S., British, French and other monopolies.

* * *

The situation in Kurdistan is going from bad to worse. The rulers persist in their chauvinist policy. Far from meeting the national demands of the Kurdish people, primarily the demand for autonomy, they refuse to fulfil their own promises to the spokesmen of the Kurdish revolution, stated, in particular, in the declaration of June 29, 1966, which announced the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of an armistice on that basis.

The government has strengthened the position of its troops in Kurdistan despite popular demands that the troops be moved out of the area to assist in repulsing the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. On the other hand, the government has been trying to undermine the revolution from within through reactionary and Rightist elements and through instigation and bribery.

The reactionary regime of Iraq, like the Iranian reactionaries and other circles hostile to the Kurdish people, is trying to take advantage of the weak points of the revolution, to provoke and deepen discontent among the Kurdish people in order to weaken the revolution and prevent solution of the Kurds' national and social problems.

The vital interests of the Kurdish people and the demand for concrete gains appeal to the people and win sympathy and allies for the Kurdish people at home and abroad. They make it necessary carefully to watch imperialist and reactionary maneuvers and attempts to influence the revolution under the pretense of "sympa-

thizing" with the national sentiments of the Kurdish people.

A policy of effective cooperation of the national forces in Kurdistan, an end to the persecution of Communists, to which elements posing as supporters of the revolution resort from time to time, more energetic joint action by the masses for an agrarian reform and a higher standard of living will strengthen the positions of the revolution, enhance its significance in the eyes of the Kurdish and Arab masses, and increase the numbers of its friends in other countries.

* * *

Our Party considers, as it always has, that the victory of the progressive forces in our country and more vigorous joint action to overthrow the reactionary dictatorial regime can solve the political crisis in the country in favor of the people and of satisfying urgent national demands. This is the only way to stop attempts by the extreme reactionaries and Rightists to use the crisis for their own ends and check the progress of the popular struggle.

More active struggle by the Iraqi people for their vital demands and democratic rights, against the policy of poverty and terror, will help them to attain the principal goals of their movement.

It is now the duty of all national and progressive forces and all the enemies of imperialism and reaction among the Arabs and Kurds to take the initiative of setting up a front of the progressive forces to wage a common fight.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

ISSUED BY MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LESOTHO

Recently representatives of the South African Communist Party and the Communist Party of Lesotho met and had friendly discussions. The delegation from Lesotho conveyed fraternal greetings to the brother Party from the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Lesotho, Comrade J. M. Kena, from the Central Committee and all Basotho Communists.

The CPL delegation informed the South African comrades about the general political situation in Lesotho, the neo-colonial character of the present Leabua Jonathan regime and particularly the sinister plans of the fascist Republic of South Africa to turn Lesotho into its exclusive neo-colony, a Bantustan of a new type. Vigorous efforts were being made by the Basotho Communists to build the CPL into a mass party, capable of playing a vanguard role in the struggle against neo-colonialism, for true independence and National Democracy.

The South African representatives in their turn informed the Lesotho delegation of the Party's attitude towards the new stage in the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa from the fascist and colonial regimes of Vorster, Smith and Salazar. The South African Communist Party warmly welcomed the fighting alliance of the African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African People's Union. It would participate with all its strength in the South African Revolution to overthrow fascism and white domination on South African soil, and win the just demands of the people's Freedom Charter.

Both Parties recalled the long tradition of revolutionary cooperation and solidarity between the brother peoples of Lesotho and South Africa, which had originated in the Seventeenth Century wars of resistance against colonial-settler expansion in Southern Africa, had developed in the course of the national liberation movement, and would continue in the common struggle against the common enemy—South African imperialism—and for a common destiny—national freedom, self-determination and socialism.

Both delegations re-affirmed the fact that the relations between the South African Communist Party and the Communist Party of Lesotho have always been normal relations between fraternal

Marxist-Leninist Parties, relations of independence and sovereignty of each Party, of mutual and fraternal cooperation and cohesion on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Both Parties expressed their determination to maintain and further develop and strengthen their brotherly relationship, in the cause of national independence, national democracy and socialism.

Both delegations noted with satisfaction that there existed a similarity of positions between the South African Communist Party and the Communist Party of Lesotho on the present international situation and the International Working-Class and Communist Movement. Stressing the need for world anti-imperialist unity, and paying tribute to the inspiring resistance of the heroic people of Vietnam against U.S. aggression, the participants in the joint meeting expressed the resolute determination of their respective Parties to promote the success of the forthcoming International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties to begin in Moscow on November 25, 1968.

Representatives of both the brother Parties consider their meeting to have been a great success and an important step in the way of strengthening the fraternal relations between the Communist Party of Lesotho and the South African Communist Party in the interests of the oppressed and working people of both countries.

THE U.S. MUST STOP ITS AGGRESSION

STATEMENT*

of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the
South Vietnam National Liberation Front (June 10, 1968)

For nearly a month, at the official conversations in Paris between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States, the American representative has repeated extremely fallacious allegations, covering up the aggressive designs and acts of the United States, impudently distorting the sacred resistance of the South Vietnamese people against American aggression for national salvation, eluding the determination of the unconditional cessation of the U.S. bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation deems it necessary to voice the indignation of the entire South Vietnamese people at the obdurate position of aggression taken by the United States and to categorically reject its misleading contentions.

The hard facts over the past 14 years have clearly shown that U.S. imperialism is the aggressor in South Vietnam, the saboteur of the independence, peace and unity of our Fatherland, the saboteur of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, the Enemy Number One of our people. The United States has rigged up in South Vietnam a most ruthless stooge administration which has carried out bloody repressions against the people's movement there for the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland. Confronted with an energetic rebuff from the South Vietnamese people, it has dispatched troops across the Pacific to wage a "special war," then a "local war." Over half a million U.S. and satellite troops, together with half a million puppet troops, have been using thousands of aircraft and warships and all kinds of modern weapons, millions of tons of bombs and shells, toxic chemicals and poison gas to sow destruction and death, thus perpetrating bloody crimes throughout South Vietnam, from the countryside to the towns, from the Demilitarized Zone to Ca Mau Cape. Obviously, this is the most atrocious war of colonial aggression in history, a war waged in an attempt to subdue the South Vietnamese people, to turn South Vietnam into a neo-colony and a military base of the

* **Information Bulletin** of the Representation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam in the CSSR, June 1968.

United States, to perpetuate the partition of our Fatherland, eventually to invade our whole country, to sabotage the peace, security and independence of the Indochinese peoples, and pose a threat to peace in Asia and the world.

The Saigon puppet administration is merely a tool for aggression illegally created by the United States; it does not represent anybody, it is opposed by the entire South Vietnamese people and held in contempt by the whole of progressive mankind. Were it not for the U.S. dollar support and the protection of U.S. arms, the Saigon puppet administration, from Diem-Nhu to Thiou Ky, could not have survived more than one day in the face of the wrath of all social strata in the South. The U.S. "commitment" to the puppets is a commitment between invaders and traitors, it is completely null and void, and cannot in any way camouflage the U.S. features as an impudent aggressor.

The South Vietnamese people are the masters of their own destinies. The United States having embarked on an aggression in South Vietnam, the South Vietnamese people have to fight the aggression. Under the leadership of the National Liberation Front, the broad masses of the people in South Vietnam are waging a sacred resistance war with a view to defeating the U.S. war of aggression, overthrowing the stooge administration, achieving the goals of independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and prosperity, and proceeding towards the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland. This is a legitimate self-defense fight consonant with international law and the basic principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. The big victories of the general offensive and simultaneous uprisings of the South Vietnam armed forces and people since early this spring, the coming into existence of the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces of Vietnam and other patriotic forces, have proved more eloquently than ever the national character of the resistance struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation in South Vietnam.

Vietnam is one. The Vietnamese people are one. The U.S. imperialists have embarked on an aggression in the South and a war of destruction in the North. Then, the people throughout Vietnam have the sacred duty and the legitimate right to join forces and fight shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy. In the cause of liberation of the South, the South Vietnamese people who rely mainly on their own forces have a right to receive all-round aid from their Northern brothers. The United States has unleashed the aggression against South Vietnam, it must then stop this aggression. The United States has undertaken bombing raids against the North and encroaches upon the independence and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, it must then stop these acts of war without posing any condition whatsoever. It is still

less entitled to demand, under the cover of "reciprocity," that the Vietnamese people stop fighting the aggressor.

The South Vietnamese people's resistance struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation is an integral part of the struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. It enjoys approval, support and aid from the whole of progressive mankind, including the progressive people in the United States. The South Vietnamese people express warm thanks for the mighty support and great aid extended by the socialist countries, and the friends all over the five continents to their resistance struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation. In the future as in the past, the South Vietnamese people reserve the right to call for, and to receive, aid in all fields from their friends in the world, including aid in terms of weapons and volunteers.

The South Vietnamese people are winning big victories; the United States is suffering big defeats, the rotten Thieu-Ky puppet administration is collapsing. No desperate efforts, no Machiavellian maneuvers can save the Americans and the puppets from a total defeat.

The South Vietnamese people are deeply attached to peace; but this must be peace in independenc and fredom.

The United States must stop its aggression, withdraw all American and satellite troops from South Vietnam and let the South Vietnamese people settle their own affairs, in accordance with the Political Program of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, without foreign interference. So long as the United States persists in its aggression, the South Vietnamese people will fight on with the firm resolve to gain at any cost their sacred national rights.

The people of South Vietnam and the National Liberation Front fully support the sound, just position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as expounded in Minister Xuan Thuy's statements at the Paris conversations. This position reflects the aspirations and sacred rights of the entire Vietnamese nation. The South Vietnam National Liberation Front sternly condemns the obdurate, round-about U.S. attitude, and firmly demands that the United States stop unconditionally the bombing raids and all other acts of war throughout the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

On behalf of the Southern people, the National Liberation Front conveys to the 17 million Northern compatriots and the overseas Vietnamese the expression of their deep gratitude for the efforts and sacrifices they have made in a spirit of fraternity to contribute substantially to the sacred cause of liberating the South.

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front strongly supports

the statements of the Royal Cambodian Government and the Neo Lao Haksat representatives protesting against the U.S. attempts to raise the problems of Cambodia and Laos at the conversations between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States, and pledges active contributions to strengthening the unity bloc of the Indo-Chinese peoples against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front calls on all the armed forces and people in the South to unceasingly enhance their determination to fight and their vigilance, to rush forward powerfully in the momentum of their victories, to launch continual attacks and generalized uprisings, to win total victory for the glorious cause of liberating the South, defending the North, advancing towards the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, and contributing to the defense of peace in Asia and the world.

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front earnestly calls upon the peace-loving governments, organizations and peoples in the world and progressive people in the United States to support and help still more actively and vigorously in all fields the South Vietnamese people's resistance struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

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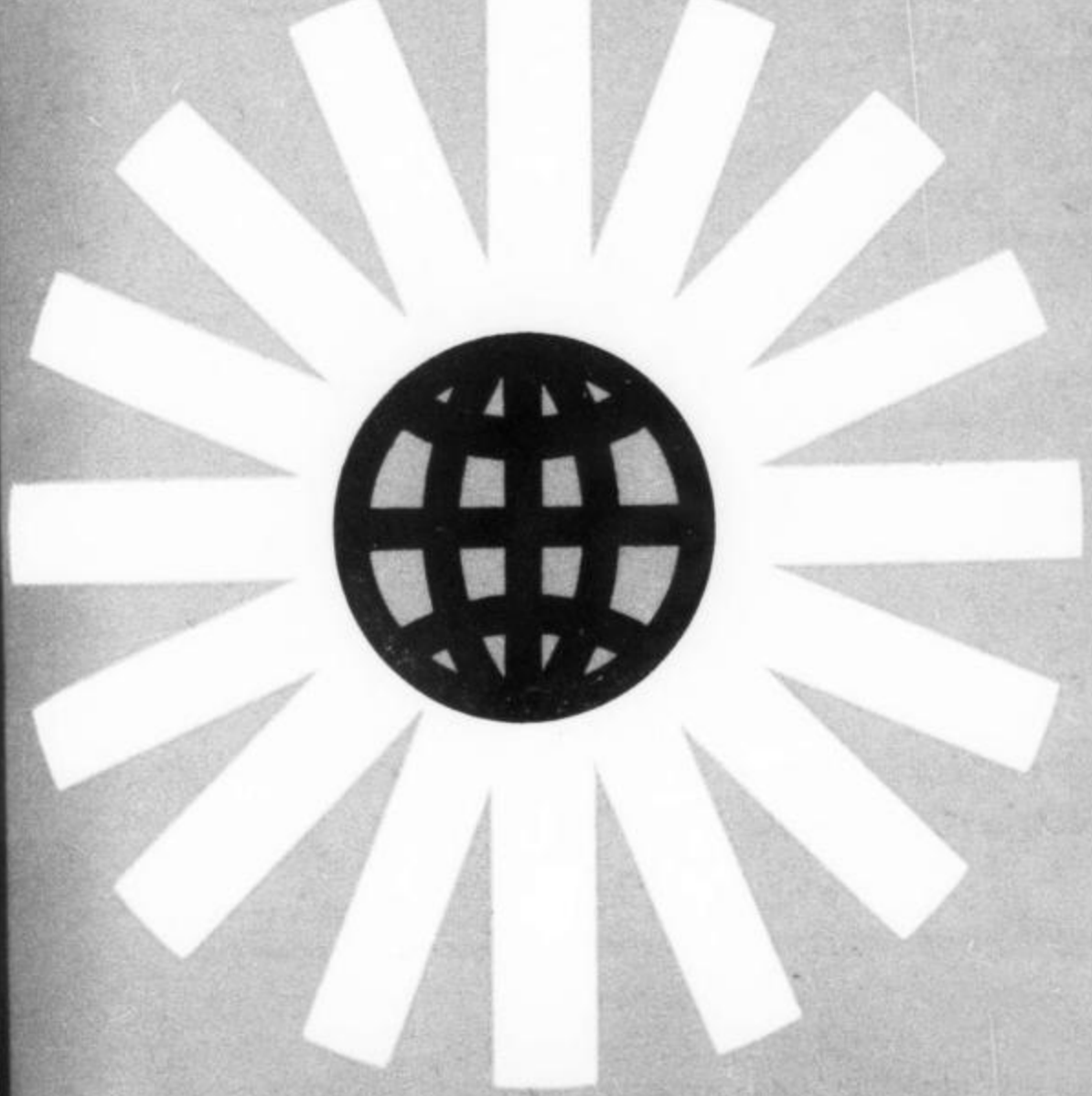

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In this issue

AGONY OF THE CENTER-LEFT
Report by Luigi Longo (Italy)

13 (125) • 196

information bulletin — 13 (125)

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contents

THE DOMINANT TREND FOR UNITY
Editorial in **Kommunist,**
No. 9, June 1968 **3**

THE AGONY OF THE CENTER-LEFT MUST NOT AFFECT THE PEOPLE
Report by Luigi Longo
June 20, 1968 **13**

STATEMENT
Political Bureau, French CP **29**

REPORT BY V. DIAZ
CP of Chile, May 29, 1968 **30**

STATEMENT
Executive Committee, CP of Spain **40**

MEIR VILNER INTERVIEW
with **l'Humanite,** June 5, 1968 **48**

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THE DOMINANT TREND FOR UNITY*

This year promises to be an important landmark in the fight to consolidate the world Communist movement.

In February-March the participants in the Budapest Consultative Meeting expressed themselves in favor of holding an international conference of Communist and Workers' parties at the of the year in Moscow. The same Meeting proposed that the basic item on the agenda of the forthcoming conference should be: the tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and the unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties, and of all anti-imperialist forces.

As the Budapest discussion and also the subsequent comments in the world communist press showed, this is the common problem of the world Communist movement, one which concerns all fraternal parties alike, irrespective of the differences in the conditions of their activities, and therefore offers the greatest opportunities for strengthening unity. The truly revolutionary forces of our time are concerned most with how best to defeat the imperialist plans. "The agenda adopted in Budapest fully accords with this concern of ours," noted the April plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party in its report on the results of the Consultative Meeting. It will enable the Conference to analyze the situation and various aspects of imperialist policy, examine the pressing problems involved in the battle for national independence and peace, promote international working-class solidarity with the national-liberation movement, provide the best conditions for coordinating the anti-imperialist struggle of all the parties, and strengthen world Communist unity." That the item on the Conference agenda is one of general concern is evident also from the comments of other parties which note that its discussion will create the needed basis for promoting the international unity of Communists and all other anti-imperialist forces. The attitude of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was clearly expressed in the resolution of the April plenary meeting of its Central Committee, which states that "the central task for the immediate future in promoting the cohesion of the Communist movement is to prepare for and hold the conference of Communist and Workers' parties . . ."

The agenda of the forthcoming Conference underscores the positive character of its objectives, and leaves no grounds for all kinds of conjectures, for the allegation that somebody wants to use the Conference for censuring or "excommunicating" certain parties.

*Kommunist, organ of the CC CPSU, No. 9, June 1968. Editorial.

The constructive, democratic nature of the future Conference is also evident from the fact that all Communist and Workers' parties, irrespective of whether or not they attended the Consultative Meeting, are invited to attend on an equal footing. Such invitations have been sent to 88 parties, including the 81 parties that participated in the 1960 Meeting, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and to the six new parties formed after 1960 in countries which have won political independence. The absolute majority have already accepted these invitations, some parties have still not finalized their position, whereas the leaders of the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor, in keeping with their line, flatly turned down the invitation.

The agreement reached at the Consultative Meeting has dealt a telling blow at the prophecies of the pessimists and at the calculations of the imperialist circles who are openly staking on dissension in the Communist movement and who fear the consolidation of its unity and solidarity. On the other hand, the success of the Consultative Meeting has enheartened all sincere supporters of unity, all who cherish the principles of proletarian internationalism. Evidence of this is the redoubled efforts on the part of most of the fraternal parties to consolidate unity, the unanimous approval by their leading bodies of the results of the Budapest Meeting and emphasis on the collegiate approach to issues of common interest.

The work begun by the Consultative Meeting is successfully being continued by the Conference Preparatory Commission. This Commission includes the representatives of all the Communist and Workers' parties who wished to participate in it. It has been instructed to consider and summarize, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, all the proposals submitted by the fraternal parties and other materials relating to the Conference, and to draft its basic documents. The work of the Commission is organized in such a way as to take into maximum consideration all constructive opinions and suggestions made by the parties and make the preparations for the Conference a truly joint matter.

At the end of April the Commission held its first meeting, as planned, at which it comprehensively discussed questions relating to the struggle against imperialism and for unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties and of all anti-imperialist forces, exchanged views on issues that merited attention at the forthcoming Conference. The discussion was held in a friendly atmosphere and reflected the growing desire for international cooperation in the fight for common aims.

The Commission decided on November 25, 1968 as the opening day of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' parties. Picking the opening date is, needless to say, not a purely technical matter. Preparations for the Conference have entered a

concrete stage. Having picked the most convenient time for all, and having given sufficient, though limited time, for preparing it, the fraternal parties thereby showed that they consider the new International Conference most timely and brooking no delay.

Of basic and practical importance is the Commission's decision to create a Working Group to prepare the Conference materials and draft the corresponding documents. In its work the Working Group proceeds from the same broad democratic principles that underlie the Conference preparations. All the parties who wish to do so can take part in its work. In this way the conditions are created for making the Conference documents the fruit of collective Marxist-Leninist thought and for incorporating in them the valuable experience of the entire Communist movement.

The formation of the Working Group, which held its first meeting in April and continued its work in June, is dictated by the same desire of the fraternal parties to put the Conference preparations on a practical footing as soon as possible. The sooner, therefore, the Communist and Workers' parties submit their proposals and documents to the Working Group, the better.

On the question of how the results of the forthcoming Conference discussion should be put on record, the participants in the Consultative Meeting favored adopting a basic document which would summarize the extensive work carried out by the Communist movement. Furthermore, they were of the opinion that there was no need to elaborate a detailed ideological document at this Conference, something in the nature of a general theoretical program for all the Communist and Workers' parties.

The general line of the international Communist movement, set forth in the well-known documents of 1957 and 1960, has stood the test of time and there is, therefore, no need to duplicate them. At the same time, many new problems have arisen in the years since, which call for joint consideration. A Marxist-Leninist analysis of the problems of the anti-imperialist struggle at the present stage, the elaboration of practical proposals on unity of action of the Communist parties, on promoting solidarity of the international working class and all other anti-imperialist forces would be highly useful and timely.

Naturally, it is the Conference, and it alone, that will have the final say as regards the character and content of the basic document (or documents). But there is evidence that most of the fraternal parties are of the opinion that the main content of the Conference document should be political conclusions following from the contemporary world situation and the specific features of the revolutionary process. What the Communist movement wants is just such a political document, one permeated with the spirit of struggle

against imperialism, with the spirit of unity of all revolutionary and democratic forces.

A document defining the main directions and the most effective forms of struggle against imperialism, and showing the perspectives of this struggle would be, apart from being of the greatest organizational significance, an inspiration not only to Communists but also to all other forces opposed to social oppression and who champion peace, democracy and national independence. But in order to chart the direction of the struggle and make it most effective, it is necessary to correctly assess the contemporary international situation and balance of world forces, know one's class enemy—imperialism and especially American imperialism—and fully understand his aims and methods. This can be done only given a principled Marxist-Leninist analysis of the contemporary international situation and the tasks following from it. Hence the great and responsible role of the forthcoming Conference of Communist and Workers' parties. There is no other political movement in the world better equipped for carrying out this mission, that has such an all-embracing scientific theory as Marxism-Leninism, that possesses such rich political experience and the ability to express the interests of the masses.

The future of the world and progress will depend in large measure on the scale and energy with which the struggle will be waged against imperialism. To defeat the imperialist plans means removing the danger of a world thermonuclear war, creating favorable conditions for accelerating the world revolutionary process, destroying the remaining colonial regimes, dooming to failure neo-colonialism and consolidating the independence of the newly-free countries, foiling reaction's offensive on the democratic rights of the working masses. The key to accomplishing these most important tasks is to consolidate the unity, first of all, of the Communist movement and also its alliance with the other progressive forces of our time, to strengthen the united anti-imperialist front.

Of course, as long as the U.S. dirty war continues in Vietnam, all-round aid to the heroic people of Vietnam remains the focal issue in the anti-imperialist struggle. As stated in the Message of Solidarity, adopted by the fraternal parties in Budapest, "the epic of the Vietnamese people is a model and stimulus for all peoples fighting for liberation. It is also a powerful factor of unity of action of the anti-imperialist forces." The Communists will continue to regard solidarity with embattled Vietnam as their vital internationalist duty. They will continue their efforts until the just cause of the Vietnamese people triumphs.

The Communists consider it their immediate task to frustrate the aggressive actions of imperialism on the world arena, to beat back its attacks. This means, first and foremost, to stop the U.S. aggres-

sion against Vietnam, to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East. All this is imperatively dictated by reality, by the interests of the struggle for peace and the security of peoples. The solution of these vital tasks is also indissolubly linked with the struggle for the ultimate objectives of the Communist movement—to end monopoly capital rule, to ensure the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

Imperialist propaganda would have the public believe that the Communists want unity for purely transient, tactical considerations. Thus, the *New York Times* wrote in its April 28 issue that solidarity with battling Vietnam is allegedly the only support for unity, and that certain "authoritative communist circles" therefore fear that peace might deprive the Moscow Conference of the most powerful factor of unity—joint condemnation of American aggressive imperialism. Needless to say, this is totally untrue. Although American aggression in Vietnam is the most repulsive manifestation of U.S. imperialism's aggressiveness, it is not an isolated act of aggression. The struggle against America's imperialist policy will therefore require unremitting efforts even after the American interventionists are driven out of Vietnam. As for peace in Vietnam, far from "fearing" it, as the press organ of the U.S. monopolies slanderously alleges, the Communists are doing everything in their power to achieve the end of the war on the just terms advanced by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Life shows that the desire for unity is the dominant trend in the Communist movement. Independent elaboration of their political line by the fraternal parties is not a sign of weakness; it speaks of the strength of the contemporary Communist movement, given the condition, of course, that this line is based on the bedrock of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and that all the Communist and Workers' parties constantly and voluntarily coordinate their actions against the common enemy. One of the main objectives of the forthcoming Conference is to decide on the forms and means of such coordination.

It is noteworthy that many of the fraternal parties are of late giving thought to developing and perfecting forms of cooperation in the Communist movement which would ensure, without impinging on the independence of the parties, close contact and cooperation between them. Thus, in an article published in the May issue of *World Marxist Review*, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, raises the question of the need for a new, modern, professionally competent progressive Communist press service. "The communist newspapers," he writes, "even the poorest of them, could become overnight the most authoritative, most informative papers of their countries if they had the services

of such a press service. They could become the source for a new sense of internationalism." Gus Hall suggests discussing also the question of having international commissions that would exchange views on current issues, in particular, on the growth of petty-bourgeois radicalism in the capitalist countries and the underlying cause for this, on nationalism and racism, on the situation in the trade unions, etc. These thoughts are undoubtedly prompted by reality.

The preparations for the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' parties are proceeding in a turbulent international situation.

Despite the incantations of the adherents of the capitulationist theory of the "dying down of the class sruggle," class battles of unprecedented scope are sweeping the developed capitalist countries. "Red May" in France when 10 million workers downed tools . . . the election success of the Italian Communists and crisis of the Center-Left regime . . . the protest movement of the West European youth who have had enough of the musty social atmosphere in the "advanced" capitalist states . . . the march of the poor to Washington and the new crimes of American reaction . . . the incessant blows struck the American interventionists and their puppets in Vietnam . . . the continuous tremors rocking capitalism's financial system . . . such are only some of the features of the contemporary international situation, that speak of capitalism's growing instability.

The events in France are particularly noteworthy. The swift and acute exacerbation of the class struggle in this country sparked strike and other mass actions unprecedented in scope and which the ruling classes least expected. The world witnessed the determination and strength of the French working class, the explosive force of the accumulated social conflicts and contradictions. Characteristic in this respect is the speed with which the mass movement of the working people which began with economic demands grew into a political struggle that shook the very foundations of the regime of personal power. It should also be noted that the situation in France reflects the processes under way today throughout the capitalist world: the sharpening of social contradictions everywhere, the discontent of the working people at the growth of unemployment, the high cost of living, and monopoly rule. Taking all this into account, the papers of many fraternal parties stress the need to study the experience of the struggle of the French working people and to draw the necessary lessons.

The present stage of historical development is characterized by an acute sharpening of the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism. To cover its serious failures in home and foreign policy, imperialism—and U.S. imperialism in the first place—is intensifying its subversive political and ideological struggle against

the socialist countries and the Communist and democratic movements. It is trying particularly hard to cause a division in the socialist community, to undermine the socialist society from within. In this connection imperialist propaganda is beating all records for hypocrisy and perfidy. The racists and cut-throats in the United States, who have made political assassinations a way of life, have the temerity to teach the Communists "democracy" and "respect for the individual." The West German revanchists who have just promulgated emergency laws in their own country, see fit to lecture their eastern neighbors on "liberalization." Political bankrupts who are responsible for the fact that Britain is up to her ears in debt to international banks, dispense advice to the socialist countries on how to "improve" their economies. . . .

A big stake is being put on mounting nationalist sentiment. Thus *The Indian Express*, organ of the big Indian monopolies, recently carried an article in which it went so far as to assert that there is no longer a united Marxism, that communism continues to be the basis, but nationalism is the superstructure. Although imperialist propaganda is quite clearly indulging in wishful thinking, the ballyhoo it has raised once again shows how dangerous are the nationalist tendencies that have surfaced in some sections of the Communist movement, how urgent it is in the present conditions that the Communist parties combine national and international tasks.

World imperialism is redoubling its efforts to split and weaken the working-class and democratic movement in the developed capitalist countries. Along with intensifying repressions and allowing the reappearance of fascist organizations in different guise, reactionary circles are giving encouragement to all kinds of pseudo-revolutionary groups who are operating in the name of anarchism, Maoism and Trotskyism. The bourgeoisie is not in the least perturbed by the strident "ultra-revolutionism" of all these elements; on the contrary, their malicious anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, their provocative activity in the working-class and student movement suits the bourgeoisie. The recent events in France laid bare the splitting activities of the groups which want to resurrect the old anarchist ideas and by their senseless actions alienate the natural friends and allies of the working class. At the same time, these events demonstrated the political maturity and restraint, the courage and staunchness of the working class of France and its vanguard—the Communist Party, a revolutionary party in the full sense of the word. Its General Secretary, Waldeck Rochet, had all reason to say on June 1 that for the working class "anarchism is not the last word in revolutionary science; it is old junk which the working class discarded long ago." Naturally, the Communists do not confound the anarchist elements with the entire youth whose fervor and just demands they support. The Communist parties see

it as their task to help the youth master the correct and effective methods of struggle of the revolutionary working-class movement.

And so, ideological diversion and adventurism in the military and political spheres are the weapons imperialism is employing against the forces of peace, democracy and progress. Its target was and continues to be, besides the socialist countries and the Communist movement, the so-called Third World which is waging a national-liberation struggle. No matter how much U.S. imperialism professes its sympathy for the oppressed peoples, it essentially remains true to its role of world gendarme. Some two years ago, when the United States had high hopes for its escalation policy in Vietnam, U.S. General Creighton Abrams Jr. stated that in general the purpose of the U.S. Army is to wage a struggle against the national-liberation movements no matter where. In the same speech he boasted that the U.S. Army is being reorganized for the purpose of crushing "the forces of world revolution." Regarding American intervention in Vietnam, he said in another speech that its sole purpose was "to defeat the Communists." And this was said not by some irresponsible retired officer; at the time General Abrams was deputy Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army; he has now been appointed the new American Commander in Vietnam in place of General Westmoreland.

The purpose of the forthcoming Conference of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow is to give a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the current tasks in the struggle against imperialism, to chart the ways of strengthening the solidarity and unity of action of the Communists and all anti-imperialist forces.

At all stages of its development the Communist movement has shown its ability to establish unity in forms best suited to the prevailing situation and the tasks of the moment. There is no doubt that it will display the same ability also now, although, of course, the many difficulties will not be removed at once, and considerable effort, patience and understanding will be needed to find solutions acceptable to all.

The defense of peace, democracy and socialism against the intrigues of the reactionary imperialist forces imperatively calls for cohesion of the Communist ranks on an international scale. This cohesion is just as imperative for the perspectives of the struggle for the lofty aims of the Communist movement, and these perspectives have never been more favorable and thrilling than they are today, in our epoch.

THE AGONY OF THE CENTRE-LEFT MUST NOT AFFECT THE PEOPLE

REPORT* DELIVERED BY LUIGI LONGO, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, TO A JOINT MEETING OF THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION, **June 20, 1968**

Our joint meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission gathered to examine the results of the parliamentary elections, which were a big success for our Party and the united Left forces.

To begin with, a few words about some of the basic tendencies indicated by the elections. The first is that the 8,555,000 votes polled by us represent 26.9 per cent of the electorate. The increase since 1963 is 787,000 votes, or 1.6 per cent. We have made steady progress throughout the past 20 years. The number of Communist votes has risen 8 per cent compared to the lowest figure at the beginning of 1946. Conversely, the Christian-Democratic Party lost 9.5 per cent compared with its top mark in 1948. In physical terms, we have nearly doubled our votes from the lowest mark of 4,356,000 to the highest of 8,555,000. The CPD, on the other hand, polled fewer votes than 20 years ago, its total dropping from 12,713,000 in 1948 to 12,428,000.

We have gained 4,200,000 votes in 20 years, while the CDP lost nearly 300,000, despite a big growth of the electorate. In 1963 we were the first party in 17 provinces; today we are that in 21, and the second party in most of the other provinces, having moved up to second place wherever we had been third after the SDP-SP.

The shift leftward, the shift to our Party, is countrywide, and particularly marked and constant in the north and center of Italy, where our gain amounted to two per cent. As for the south, we have retained our 1963 position there in percentage terms.

It should be stressed that, by and large, we have recovered the losses suffered in the provincial and regional elections after the 1963 parliamentary election in the southern areas. In fact, we are in a stronger position both in percentages and in physical figures compared to the 1964 elections in all parts of Italy without exception. No other party can say the same. Admittedly, however, in

*L'Unita, June 21, 1968. Abridged.

some of the southern areas the voting differed from place to place.

The Left opposition owes its success to the policy of our Party, to our unitarian action, and to a considerable extent to the agreement concluded shortly before the elections between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, the accession to this agreement of Parri and the group of Independents, who had agreed to run with us in the Senate elections and in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies.

I should still like to emphasize here the dimensions and the decisive significance of our Party's election campaign. Here are a few figures: all in all, we held 17,000 branch meetings, 24,000 film showings and 40,000 meetings, of which 1,400 unitarian and 2,200 at factories, attended by nearly 7,000,000 people. Also, we sponsored 6,000 branch meetings, lectures, round-table discussions and 11,000 residential meetings.

The center and the various federations issued 106,000,000 units of propaganda material, the number of public speakers was 5,200, and we made use of 3,000 loud-speaker cars.

As many as 214,000 Party activists (14 per cent of our membership) were mobilized for the election campaign, including 54,000 young Communists and 1,356 "constructor" comrades commandeered from their jobs for more than a month. The Party federations held collections netting 661,000,000 liras, exclusive of the sums that went to the branch organizations.

This effort would have been inconceivable without cohesion and discipline, and the lively democratic activity of our organizations. This enabled us to make the most of the spirit of readiness for action among the youth and working people. It was this tangible and organized contact with the activists and the country based on discussions in framing action programs and assuring unity that lay, among other things, behind the mounting confidence displayed in our Party by the youth, the working people and the electors.

Analyzing our success from the social angle, we see that the decisive contribution was made by the workers, peasants, women, youth, pensioners and emigrants, but especially by the workers and youth. Our success was incontestable, sometimes even sensational, in all the industrial centers, whether old or new, large or small, in the north, in the center, in the south and on the islands.

The voting was also good, by and large, among the peasants, especially in zones where share-cropping predominates and where we not only extended our already considerable strength, but made headway, such as Umbria and the zones of advanced farming, particularly Mantua, Cremona and Fucino. Even in those southern areas where we were having certain difficulties, our results were also better.

The contribution made by the youth was a decisive one. Many

more young electors cast their votes for the Communist Party than heretofore. In fact, 43 per cent of the young electors, their general average being 31.4 per cent, voted for the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, whereas in 1963 only 23 per cent of the young, with a general average of 25.3 per cent, voted for the Communists. As many as 1,400,000 additional votes were polled in the Senate elections and by Communist Party and SPPU candidates to the Chamber of Deputies.

In the face of these eloquent figures, the CDP thought best not to boast about its 0.8 per cent gained over the 1963 mark. Clearly, some former CDP followers had voted for Left candidates. In fact, the Right forces lost 2.2 per cent, while the CDP gained only 0.8.

Generally speaking, the CDP is still holding its ground, drawing strength from the preserves of the Right, but is losing its traditional strongholds. Where it managed to retain and gain strength was in the places that were under strong Right influence in 1963.

The United Socialist Party suffered a crushing defeat everywhere, contrary to the predictions of its leaders. Compared with the joint 1963 results of the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties, the USP lost 1,500,000, or 5.4 per cent, of its votes. It is safe to say that this loss, comprising almost a majority of followers of the former SDP (Nearly half the followers of the former SP in the north and 40 per cent of the followers of the two parties in the center), is due to Social-Democratic policy and leadership.

USP losses in the south were less considerable, though their trend was also downward compared to the provincial and regional elections of 1964 and later years.

The shift of the electorate towards the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity is obvious, and borne out by the following facts: the CP and SPPU gained 6.1 per cent compared with 1963, while the united SP and SDP lost 5.4 per cent in the same period.

It is untrue, therefore, as Tanassi (a USP leader—*Ed.*) would have us believe, that USP losses were due to the establishment of the SPPU. On the contrary, the facts show that the Communist Party made a 1.6 per cent gain over the provincial and regional elections, while the SPPU's gain was 1.5 per cent. Another indicative fact is that the USP lost fewer votes in communes where it had remained in the Left giuntes (local administrations—*Ed.*). A study in the more than 40 communes of Milan administered by the Left revealed, in fact, that the USP lost far less ground there than in communes with Center-Left giuntes.

All this leads up to the present political situation and the outlook for the 1969 administrative elections. We must lose no time concentrating on them, with the following clear-cut task: our advance must continue, we must overcome all the negative features of

municipalism that often in the past prevented us retaining all the votes gained in the preceding parliamentary election.

Riding the wave of success and, above all, broadening our unitarian policy, enlisting Independents to run with us, we must see to it that we lose no ground and that, on the contrary, we extend our success.

The impressive gains we made in the parliamentary election over the preceding administrative elections confront our organization with the task, even now, of preparing for the administrative elections next year in order to retain our positions and gain new ground.

The USP is shedding bitter tears, but the CDP, too, has no reason for joy. In his brief address to the new CDP deputies, Rumor remarked on four separate occasions that the situation was grim and delicate. The balance on which the CDP based its power in the past five years is badly impaired; furthermore, the CDP is conscious of the voices of reproach raised against it by the United Socialists. In the Catholic world, too, ferment runs high after Ecumenical Council's proclamation of the principles of peace and social justice reflected in the latest Papal encyclicals, giving rise to public disagreement and outright opposition to the Christian-Democrat leadership.

The dissent has spread of late, though it is not as intensive yet as it promises to become in future. Many Catholics are gathering around the dozens of journals and circles that express this dissent. It may safely be said, therefore, that the main common factor for all is their categorical rejection of the myth of Catholic political unity under the CDP. True, the circles and journals differ greatly as yet. It is up to us to discuss many of the prevailing problems with them, and particularly the problem and forms of Left unity, which some people would like to dissolve in a large Left party of no definitive social and ideological pattern. However, at this point we should emphasze that the rapid growth and consolidation of these circles and journals is a clear sign not of a superficial, transient or local "dissent," but of considerably more profound division, division that is growing steadily and embracing all aspects of our national and international reality.

What surfaced in the election campaign and came out in bolder relief as time went on was something much bigger than mere dissent, namely: a shift towards the policy of renovation and social progress pushed by the Left forces, a shift to direct participation in this policy with the ultimate perspective of a united bloc of all Left forces, lay and Catholic.

This trend is generated by the grave social and political conflicts in the country, involving the front of the Left forces that have entered the election campaign hand in hand and by the pressure of the tens of millions of electors who cast their votes for our Party

and Left unity. In the absence of a Right alternative, against the setting of the Center-Left system that has suffered a mortal blow, the CDP is in an extremely difficult position likely to end up in an explosion within its own ranks and in an advance for the great democratic alternative which all the secular and Catholic Left forces may produce jointly with full respect for the independence of both.

In the circumstances, considerable responsibility devolves on the Left forces in the CDP. For them the hour of re-appraisal has come, the hour when they must show that all their more or less progressive utterances of recent years have not been mere words, not camouflage or apology for conservative policy, that they reflect the burgeoning of a new consciousness geared to the big social and political problems of our time.

Also, in the circumstances, considerable responsibility devolves on our own Party, for we should realize clearly that henceforth the journals and circles of dissident Catholics, like the Left Catholic leaders and groups, will be an important element on our scene, active participants in political discussions and a strong influence on the orientation of the Catholic world and the formation of Italian public opinion.

It is therefore essential to multiply contacts, exchanges of views and discussions with them, seeking points of agreement that would, among other things, enable us to carry through joint actions and initiatives in the context of respect for each other's independence.

First and foremost this should be done in relation to the USP, so badly hit by the May 19 elections that its leaders, contrary to intentions proclaimed in the election campaign, admitted that "conditions for a government coalition with the CDP are non-existent at present." Yet this admission was half-hearted and in many respects ambiguous, indicating that the new majority in the USP has not entirely rejected the Center-Left policy and hopes that a revised version of it may still be put into effect.

The admission was doubly ambiguous because accompanied by a renewal of the old anti-Communist polemics and the drive to split the Left forces, which had brought about the USP setback in the election.

The deep-going contradictions created by the attitude of the USP leadership, the canker that affects the USP—all this came to the surface for the first time at the recent meeting of its Central Committee. Most of the speeches contained elements of the very criticism and reproof that we had levelled against the Center-Left and the participation of Socialists in the Moro government.

However, although the May 19 voting precipitated a critical, albeit conflicting and limited, re-appraisal in the USP, the forces eager to continue the pernicious Center-Left policy, a policy split-

ting the working class and the popular movement, have not been silenced. They are active, employ all possible means and resort to all possible dodges to make the USP modify the attitude it adopted at the latest meeting of its Central Committee, at which it rejected any new Center-Left formula.

Whatever the plans and expectations of the USP leaders, it is obvious that the May 19 elections have dashed to the ground many of the claims and ambitions that appeared under the effects of their jubilation over the unification of Social-Democrats, and whereby they tried to obscure, first, the significance and political weight of the SPPU and, second, the significance of the autonomous Socialists, the Parri appeal and the misgivings and reservations of many Socialists in general.

We have already noted that the decisions of the Socialist leadership contain elements of ambiguity and maneuver. It is up to us, by actions and exposures, to elucidate matters and to foil their stratagems. The policy of Left democratic unity which we counterpose to the Center-Left policy, and the prospect of a single working people's party which we counterpose to the Social-Democratic unification of the Socialist and Social-Democratic parties—those are two different but closely interwoven trends in our tactics and strategy, more important and timely today than ever before.

That is why we shall attach to this policy of workers' and democratic unity increasing weight, and shall work to consolidate and extend the already existing forms of unity at factories, between trade unions, in local institutions, in cooperatives, all public organizations, all militant movements in the country and in parliament, and even in sports and recreation organizations, which are important by virtue of the increased weight attached to the problems of leisure and sport. Also, we shall work to extend the front of Left forces by enlisting not only the "socialist elements that had believed in the effectiveness of the Center-Left and which today," as the joint statement of Parri, the Communists and the SPPU said after the election. "in face of the collapse of this policy feel the need for a positive outlet for their ailments and for helping to create a Left alternative," but also all those groups and sectors of Left Catholics which want to advance from their position of disagreement with the conservative CDP policy to positions of agreement and active participation in our struggle for a new and clear democratic alternative.

We tied in our election campaign with the problems of our people and country. This enabled us to foil the Center-Left plan of facing the electorate as victors. What is more, it enabled us to compel the Center-Left parties to admit the big rift between the Moro government's policy and the vastness of the problems confronting Italy.

Forced to fight back, the Center-Left parties hoped to put us in a difficult position by shifting the accent from home affairs to the problem of Czechoslovakia and the preliminary talks in Paris between North Vietnam and the United States. But it was easy for us to show the contribution we made to the struggle for peace in Vietnam, on the one hand, and to indicate how closely to heart we take the full development of socialist democracy in socialist countries, on the other.

The government parties expected to split us by propaganda means, exploiting the scandalous abuses of the Italian radio and television, which transcended all tolerable bounds. Yet their resounding defeat in the elections compelled even the *Corriere della Sera* to observe ruefully that "something more is required" to defeat the Communists. That the entire bourgeois big press showered praise on Moro and Nenni yielded no better results. To hear them talk, the Center-Left was the only possible and conceivable formula. Italy never had it so good, they said, and this thanks to that formula.

We recall this in order to impress on the Party the need constantly to elucidate to the public and the people that the so-called informative press does nothing but misinform and, secondly, to stress that we responded to this campaign with a powerful counter-offensive. And we must keep it up, first, by stepping up the campaign against the radio and television and, second, by increasing the circulation of our press and making good use of all our propaganda facilities.

It is with satisfaction that we note the increase in *l'Unita's* daily circulation by 100,000 in the course of the election campaign. This shows that the votes we won were not a gift from above, that we won them by our own efforts. For this reason, our election success did not come as a surprise, as some believe, but as a just reward for our policy, for our Party work and for the dedication of Communists, young people, friends and sympathizers, who helped us and to whom I extend the warmest gratitude from this rostrum on behalf of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission.

Now, the hostile press has no choice but to admit what it originally denied, namely, that the Center-Left disappointed and betrayed the country's hopes. "To achieve progress," says *Stampa*, "an anti-Communist crusade is insufficient. Italians refuse to seesaw eternally between the alleged Communist threat and the alleged Christian-Democratic shield." The increase in Communist votes, the Turin paper said, means that "the country refuses to mark time and wishes to advance."

Leaders of the CDP, the Republican Party and the USP want to sidestep the political problems generated by the May 19 voting and ignore the emergence of a new situation. Yet facts are facts: the

results were more than amere USP setback, they struck at the Center-Left coalition, at its formula and policy. No longer does the coalition have the political and moral prestige to lead the country because, among other things, the various components of that coalition are no longer able to express the common will, to produce a government acceptable to each of them.

We condemn the attempt to resolve the crisis by means of a "vacation," for the country would lose valuable months after the five years already wasted by the Center-Left. A provisional government is impotent, a government that could not tackle the country's problems. Precisely due to this inability, any such government would be continuously tempted to resort to police violence in combating the people, their craving for renovation and progress.

That is why a provisional government would only add to all the elements of tension. It would be an act of defiance in face of the mass sentiment that the country can no longer continue in this way, that words and promises are not enough, that it is no longer possible to procrastinate, that change is necessary and must come at once.

That is the purpose of the struggle of the workers, peasants, pensioners and students—it began some time ago, it is being fought today, and will continue. The ruling classes in the economy and politics must realize that masses of workers, peasants, students, middle strata and the poor who have realized in the course of the election struggle and the elections that they have rights and that they constitute a force which should be reckoned with, have grown considerably in recent months.

The dangers besetting the country are great due to the policy of the parties of the former coalition, which refuse to understand that the old Center-Left way is no longer valid and that new paths indicated by the electorate have to be blazed. Acting on these demands, the leaders of the Communist parliamentary groups have indicated to the President of the Republic the need for other possible solutions to replace the Center-Left formula. That is the direction in which all Left, Catholic and secular forces should now act in order to tear down the old patterns whereby certain elements still hope to entrammel the country.

We fully support a reform policy whose aims, timeliness and strength, in the words of Parri, are in line with Italian reality. And today there are very favorable conditions for the implementation of such a policy, especially with the election victory of the united Left opposition. In a joint statement our Party, the Proletarian Socialists and Parri issued immediately after the elections, we say that everyone prepared to fight for democracy and socialism can find a place for himself in our united Left front.

We Communists do not regard the process of critical re-appraisal that has now begun in the United Socialist Party with contempt or

indifference. We believe, as we always have, that even after the Proletarian Socialists left the party, even after its merger with the Social-Democrats, which led to a new split, there are still in the United Socialist Party people capable of joining the active class struggle and working for labor unity. And it is to these Socialist forces that we address our appeal. We also appeal to Left trends in the Christian Association of Italian Workers, the Christian-Democrat Party and the Catholic movement in general, because they, too, are combating all manner of fatal compromises and consistently oppose, in their own ranks and beyond, the conservative policy of the Christian-Democrat leadership and advocate Left unity.

That is why the task we set ourselves and the Left forces generally, is fully and finally to break through the artificial barriers which for 20 years have divided Italy and its Left forces. We have set ourselves this aim because we believe that, in cooperation with these forces, we can find the form and policies that accord with the requirements and opportunities for political and social expansion of the united movement.

We should set aside our differences with many socialist groups that openly or covertly oppose participation in the Center-Left coalition. We must maintain fraternal contacts with them and together explore opportunities for agreement and cooperation, even if only on a partial and temporary basis, in the popular struggle, in mass organizations, in local government and in parliament. The urgency of the tasks confronting us and the scope of the impending struggle demand agreement and cooperation between all the forces prepared to tackle these problems and solve them in conformity with the needs and expectations of the masses.

And it is in the course of the struggle and on the pressing issues of today that we should be able to build among these forces, patiently and perseveringly, regardless of what place they hold in the political spectrum and how they fared in the last parliamentary elections, a wide Left front to give a new scope and positive orientation to the struggle of the working people and the democratic masses and to show the way of establishing a government capable of concerting the efforts for a realistic policy of renewal and social progress. We shall thereby provide a concrete alternative to the moderate forces which still cling to the illusion of a Center-Left coalition and look to the Right for help and support.

The Center-Left government objected to every economic demand we advanced—for more investments, industrial and agricultural developments, more government spending on the social services, higher wages, higher education standards. It argued that our demands were unrealistic, that Italy did not have the necessary economic resources, that every available lira must be used to give our economy more efficiency and more competitive power.

But the fact is that, in the present situation, after five years of Center-Left government, there is a widening gap between rapidly growing productivity and wages. In fact, for a very long time wages have lagged far behind productivity. And it is also a fact that the speed-up is growing and technological progress is used to increase exploitation, not to make things easier for the worker. On the other hand, employer tyranny has reduced to a dangerous minimum the freedom of the worker in the factory. The right to organize, demonstrate and strike is being reduced to nought by factory police, black-listing of trade union and political activists, threats of sacking and gross police interference.

It is these conditions that are giving rise to a broad mass movement, which latterly has extended to every part of the country, and in many cases has wrested major concessions from employers. The struggle now taking place in different sectors of the economy aims at defending the worker against the more harmful and dangerous forms of exploitation; it aims at protecting his health and safety and maintaining and increasing his earnings. The struggle is being waged also for shorter working hours, for a five-day 40-hour workweek, for improved medical care and for reform of the social insurance system. The struggle is being waged to defend the worker's rights in the factory and to give him a greater say in questions that concern him and his fellow workers.

Things are more difficult still in the rural areas. The outlook this year is truly dramatic. The fight of the farm-laborers, share-croppers and tenant farmers for a fairer wage, for legal possession of the plots they cultivate, has spilled over into more general issues and is no longer restricted to certain categories of the rural population. It is a struggle for a radical change in agricultural policy, which has proved ruinous for the peasants and excessively expensive for the national economy.

We emphasized that the elections would produce more favorable conditions for the development and success of the mass struggle. And we believe that the election results have indeed created such conditions. That is why we feel that it is our duty, the duty of all our organizations in every sphere of activity, to support the struggle now being waged by the working class and the poorer sections of the Italian people. And there should be a closer tie between the working class struggle and that now being waged by the new forces that have emerged from the powerful sweep of the student and university movement. This can be achieved on such issues as the demand for a new democracy, for renewal of all representative institutions, and new forms of participation in the administration.

We feel there is a need for closer and more clearly expressed contact between the struggle for university and educational reform and the struggle for the socialist refashioning of society. It would

be wrong, we think, to accept the view of certain student groups that the university issue should be made the pretext for a "global challenge," for an artificial appeal to "overthrow the system." These two aims can and should be treated only in their interrelation.

In the election campaign we promised to introduce several legislative bills as soon as the parliament met. We have kept that pledge. At the very first meeting of the new Senate we tabled a bill on the status of the workers, and at the first meeting of the Chamber of Deputies we tabled several bills—voting rights for 18-year-olds, investigation of the SIFAR case, and pensions.

In the coming months our unremitting efforts should be directed at safeguarding freedom and democracy in Italy. There is no guarantee, of course, against a new SIFAR, and no guarantee against attempts at reactionary coups—we had a good enough example of that in 1964, when a coup d'etat was being engineered. The only guarantee against this is the strength and organization of the worker masses, our vigilance and our readiness to rebuff, by all means at our command, any attempt to hold back the free process of democratic struggle.

In a developed and organized capitalist society such as Italy, it would be the height of folly to believe that the system can be "overthrown" by the simple device of occupying, for a day or two, Town Halls and police stations, or radio and television centers. The overthrow of a developed capitalist system strongly entrenched in the vital services—economic, administrative, political, police, military—can only be the result of a very wide and very vigorous struggle, attended by sudden leaps forward, but also by patient waiting and even by temporary retreats.

Lenin's law of the maturing of the revolutionary struggle takes into account not only the maturing of the forces determined to give history a new direction, but also the maturing crisis of the ruling class, which, as a result of popular struggle, is plunged into crisis, does not react to orders from above, does not fulfil its function. The recent events in France have clearly shown the imbalance in the maturing of these two processes: subjective, that is, the mass struggle with its big leaps forward, and the crisis of the "system" in which—leaving aside a certain amount of indecision and dismay at the top—we have not seen a single symptom of breakdown, and certainly not a single crack in any of its vital elements.

It is within the framework of this French reality—even when the tension was at its highest—that we should judge the policy of the French Communist Party. And we believe it was a wise policy, one fully in keeping with realistic opportunities. The Party's position was very aptly expressed by Comrade Waldeck Rochet in the following words: "We were guided by a single aim, to create the conditions that would assure the victory of the working class

and would deny the government the means to stifle that victory."

And again, regarding the situation from the standpoint of French realities, I consider it absolutely right and fully according with the opportunities of the moment that our French comrades decided to take the most active part in the parliamentary elections. The French Communists saw in this a means not only of keeping the tension of the struggle alive, but also of advancing the struggle and capturing new positions, from which further efforts could be made to accelerate and deepen the political crisis of the power structure and thereby open the road to the overthrow of the government and its replacement by a government of democratic alliance.

I have already had occasion to remark that we can draw many valuable lessons from French experience if we get rid of surface impressions and hasty, unfounded comparisons and understand all the complexity of reality, its positive and negative aspects.

The times we live in are characterized not only by major battles in countries fighting for freedom and national independence, but also in developed capitalist countries like France and Italy, where socialism is appealing to millions upon millions of people as the objective prerequisite of peace, freedom and progress. Many myths have been demolished in these past months. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has dispensed with the myth of American superpower. Johnson has been obliged to announce that he will not seek re-election. America's leaders have had to make the first step towards the conference table, but they still refuse unconditionally to stop the bombing and other acts of war. It is therefore necessary that public pressure be increased until it forces the Americans to stop the bombing, for that is an essential condition for the beginning of serious negotiations towards a settlement of the Vietnam conflict.

We must insist that the Italian government use its allied rights to pressure the American leaders and, for its own part, recognize the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It should also be pressured to recognize the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic and the Korean People's Democratic Republic. This would help to reduce world tensions. It would be a contribution to world peace. There are still dangerous seats of tension in the Middle East and also in Europe, where there is a definite threat of a nazi revival in West Germany. Our task, therefore, can be formulated as follows: more support for the Arab peoples in their fight for national independence, more effort to compel the Italian government to follow a policy of peace, a policy aimed at overcoming the division of Europe and mutually-opposed blocs and creating a European security system—a policy of active cooperation with all countries.

More than the myth of American superpower has been destroyed.

The myth of a prosperous America, of an America that symbolizes freedom and democracy, has likewise been demolished. The assassination of Robert Kennedy, of John Kennedy, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King have brought out for all the world to see the tragic features of American society. For these are all political crimes perpetrated under surprisingly similar circumstances and by surprisingly similar methods; so much so that they are becoming an accepted method of political struggle.

The inability to explain these crimes and to expose their instigators, is one more aspect of the crisis of American society, one more manifestation of its intrinsic injustice and oppression. Both have been gruesomely demonstrated by the policy of force throughout the world, from Vietnam to Latin America, and by the inhuman exploitation of more than 22 million American Negroes and millions of the American poor.

It has to be said that there is also a positive aspect to this crisis of American society. I refer to the mounting movement of resistance to Johnson's policy in the United States itself.

Together with the myth of America there has been destroyed in Western Europe the myth of Social-Democratic reformism and the myth of neo-capitalism, which, we have been told all along, would remove all the injustices of the capitalist system. And still another myth that has gone by the board is the myth of class collaboration and all the bogus theories of "integration" of the working class. Mythology has given place to stark reality, to the very serious problems that now face capitalist society. The crisis of Social-Democrat policy is now evident in all the leading West European countries. There is a growing crisis in the Social-Democrat parties in Britain, West Germany and Italy.

In the capitalist countries, the workers are confronted with new problems of orientation and struggle. In contrast, socialism is increasingly proving its superiority over capitalism. In the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, it has rescued the people from poverty and exploitation, and has made for rapid progress in the economic, scientific and cultural fields. And only in a society that has banished exploitation of man by man can the people attain the cherished goals of freedom and democracy. Only in such a society can they build a more humanistic way of life, free of poverty and ignorance.

Throughout the election campaign we clearly stated that we were fighting for a socialist society, for developed socialist democracy, for a young and modern socialism to which everyone can make his contribution, a socialism that would inherit, and put to good use, all the achievements of a multiform economy. In other words, we are fighting for socialism, with all its intrinsic features of freedom, humanism and democracy.

In these past years and months we have witnessed spirited political and ideological discussions concerning the various phases and aspects of the struggle. This intertwining of action and discussion is, of course, only natural. For only in this way can theory be combined with practice, the one becoming a component part of the other. To complain about it is to slide into the worst kind of bureaucratism. For new values and new forms of progress are forged precisely in such periods of tempestuous development. However, recognition of the constructive value of action and discussion does not mean, and certainly should not mean, that we must remain passive onlookers, showing complete indifference to the ideas and new methods advanced. On the contrary, discussion always presupposes confrontation of ideas, attitudes and experience.

And in participating in such discussions we should use all our ideological wealth, our skill in interpretative generalization of experience, without only paternalism on our part, without any claim to a monopoly of the truth. Rather, we should enter the discussion prepared to examine every attitude and to accept everything that is positive, everything in the arguments and attitudes of others that could be put to good use. But at the same time, we should determinedly reject everything erroneous and false, always firmly opposing hostile views, everything that contradicts the ideals of progress and socialism.

Our relations with all groups in the labor movement should be the same we now have, or intend to have, with groups, say, of dissident Catholics, autonomist Socialists, the Christian Association of Italian Workers. I think we can define this type of relations as a "dialogue." And the purpose of this dialogue should be not merely to confront views and positions, but also to explore issues on which we can maintain political contacts and organize joint action and cooperation. That is the only way we can fulfil our function of ideological and practical leader of the workers, the popular and democratic movement.

Upholding the unity and combat capacity of our Party means keeping in touch with reality and always consistently carrying out our basic concepts and policies. This does not mean that we must always begin from Square One. What it does mean is that we must back our policy with convincing arguments and see to it that our attitudes are always in keeping with all the problems and all the aspects of changing situations.

The election campaign was further proof that our Party differs from others not only in policy and aims, level of consciousness and consistency of action. It differs also in the enthusiasm, devotion and self-sacrifice of its activists, in its morale, in its political unity and the solidity of its organizations. Our enemies often affirm that

the Party has withdrawn into its own shell, is going through a crisis, is torn by political and personal antagonisms.

But what other party save ours appeared before the electorate so strong, united, purposeful, free of personal rivalries and never kowtowing to the voter?

For the two leading "respectable" parties the elections were an occasion for a manifestation of personal ambitions, of keen rivalry, for nominations, for the advantages of a seat in the Senate or the Chamber of Deputies. There was jockeying for position to prevent the other man from getting on the ballot.

Millions, indeed hundreds of millions, some say billions, of lire were spent by other parties, primarily the Christian Democrats, to win the election.

We will go on being an "other kind of party." That, is the kind of party we need, the kind of party Italy needs. We want a party that will always be up to the heightened responsibility devolving on it due to the growing confidence and support of the workers and the people generally in every part of the country. We want a party which, while safeguarding its continuity of policy and action, is in constant process of renewal. We want a party that increasingly answers to the requirements of the masses, the problems and opportunities of given situations. In short, we need a party in which everyone will find a place for himself—worker and peasant, office worker and artisan, intellectual and poor man.

But we want a big party, a party strong in its democracy and in its ability to mobilize all the forces of the people, their hopes and aspirations, at the will needed to transform Italy and place our national life on a new path. We need a party in which the youth will see its own organization, in which it will be the main driving force, the inspirer of its renewal and progress. We need a workers' party, but also an Italian party, the symbol of which is the Red Flag and Tri-color standing side by side. This is the real expression of our Party's class origins and nature, of its national characteristics and of its socialist goals.

And we can be proud of our Party, of its policy, its unity. But let us not slide into complacency and isolation. That would prevent us from seeing what we still have to accomplish, the tremendous tasks that lie ahead, the shortcomings and drawbacks that have to be overcome. They were revealed in the election campaign, even where our results were satisfactory or very good.

Our success at the elections must inspire us to take up the work of renewal, of developing our Party and adapting it to the new needs and opportunities. And there is much that has to be improved and renewed in our organizational structure, methods and style of work. For we must eliminate everything that is obsolete and no longer accords with the need for broader and more flexible contacts

with mass movements and all the active forces of Italian society.

But first of all, we must intensify Party recruiting, notably among factory workers, women, the youth in town and country, intellectuals and students. We must train a new cadre of activists and leaders, and we must appoint to responsible positions young people and students, who in these last few months, especially in the election campaign displayed such enthusiasm.

We must not reject out of hand every suggestion to appoint a young comrade to a responsible position on the grounds that he is still too young and still has a lot to learn. Youth should be regarded as an asset when it is a question of appointing a comrade to a responsible party post. Maturity will come in the course of the work itself; we should not wait long years for the man to grow up, until he is too old and has lost his enthusiasm.

Our election success is success for our Party, for the policy it mapped out at its 11th Congress. The elections confirmed our theoretical concepts and policies. They signified a success in our long years of struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. They enhanced the Party's prestige, won more support for its ideals and policies. We can therefore advance with much greater confidence in developing our initiative for united action, in keeping with the trust and demands of the masses. We can go forward with the renewal and strengthening of our Communist Party.

STATEMENT* OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY POLITICAL BUREAU

At its meeting on July 1, the French Communist Party Political Bureau analyzed the results of the parliamentary elections and developments over the past two months. The analysis will be continued in depth by the Central Committee when it meets for its plenary session on July 8 and 9.

One of the main features of the recent period was the united strike action of the working class, which led to the satisfaction of major demands. Another feature was Gaullist maneuvering in an attempt to precipitate a clash which would enable the government to drown the labor movement in blood. The Communist Party's realistic and courageous policy foiled that plan, which relied heavily on the disorders provoked by pseudo-revolutionary groups.

However, de Gaulle was able to exploit the situation created by the violence of the police and the Civil Action groups. He used the spectre of civil war to win many more votes. The second round reaffirmed, and also partially strengthened, the shift to the Right started in the first round, on June 23.

The new National Assembly has an overwhelming Gaullist majority entirely controlled by the government. This represents a very clear and grave danger to the conditions and democratic freedoms of the French people. The Gaullist government will make every effort to take back the gains won by the working people in the recent struggles. It can be relied upon to move towards more tyranny and dictatorship.

The Political Bureau emphasizes that retention of the imperilled gains and democratic freedoms depends upon united action of the workers and the broad masses generally. The Political Bureau calls for unity to defend the people's interests and rights in a spirit of respect for republican legality. It reasserts the Communists' determination to work for an agreement with all the Left forces, based on a progressive joint program that could win the support of the majority of the French people and open the road to renewal.

Backed by the four and a half million votes polled by the Communist candidates in the first round, the Communist members of the National Assembly will be true and staunch champions of the people's interests, their demands, their struggle, and their legitimate hopes.

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*L'Humanité, July 2, 1968.

REPORT* OF VICTOR DIAZ,

MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION, CC CP OF CHILE, AT A PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, CPC

May 29, 1968

The law on wage increases for the current year came into force last week, seven months after it was submitted for approval. This procrastination was due to the attempt of the reactionary element in the government to impose anti-labor legislation. Since October 1967 the working class and the people of Chile have been fighting hard over the bill.

As a result, the ruling circles failed in their attempt to impose a compulsory economy. The workers retain the right to strike. One and a half million workers employed at private enterprises and not covered by collective agreements have secured a 21.9 per cent wage increase as from January 1.

At this plenary meeting the Communist Party conveys revolutionary greetings to the working people of our country who in the last few months have been carrying on highly important class battles, which laid bare the position of all circles and the depth of the crisis insoluble by any half-measures.

The government wants to avoid responsibility for the delay in wage increases and for the continued heroic strikes called to force the government to meet the urgent demands of the working people. Acting in the interests of the reactionaries, the government decided to shift the burden of financing wage increases on those who are to benefit from them. It decided to raise taxes, including the turnover tax, and refused to act on the problems affecting broad sections of workers and office employees. It became clear, however, that the plans of the government to freeze wages, ban strikes and impose a compulsory economy were unrealistic and contradicted the existing relation of forces in Chile. To bring the government to its senses, the working people had to call a general strike on November 23 and a strike of civil servants on March 27 and 28; during the former seven people were killed while resisting police and many more wounded in Santiago; the Trade Union Center rallied to its banners all unions of workers, office employees and peasants.

The actions of the Communists conformed with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people and helped to

*El Siglo, May 30, 1968.

create better conditions for the struggle against government measures that infringed on the interests of the people.

The approach to the problem by the people's parties differed. Moreover, the People's Action Front (FRAP) also lacked unanimity. After Senator Rafael Tarud's efforts succeeded, the Socialist Party assumed a stand different from ours. Similarly, the Popular Socialist Union and the Radical Party were in favor of rejecting the bill on wage increases. The Social-Democratic Party and several independent Senators took a stand coinciding with ours. Had the Communist members of parliament voted against the bill after Article 66 had been removed, they would have injured the interests of the working people, though it would have created the impression that the government had suffered a setback. Our determination was a serious obstacle to a regrouping of the reactionaries and created better conditions for united action by all democratic and progressive forces, irrespective of their attitude to the government.

As regards the difference in the positions of the Socialists and Communists, Comrade Rodriguez said that we represented two different parties and that it was quite possible that we would therefore act differently on some issues and in specific circumstances. That is a fact. Each party, therefore, is independent and autonomous. However, we are disturbed by the fact that anti-Communist trends have appeared in the Socialist Party. Things have gone so far that anti-Communist calls were made at a meeting organized by the Socialist Party a few days ago. Comrade Rodriguez said also that the FRAP would not split and that the Socialist Party would never do anything in that direction. We are glad to hear it. But the facts mentioned above can lead to exactly the opposite of what the General Secretary of the Socialist Party says and wants.

The developments of the seven months since the last meeting of our Central Committee are a reflection of the struggle in different spheres between the supporters of change and progress and their opponents.

As the world advances, it is the historical mission of the popular forces to ensure, through their struggle and by united action, that Chile should not fall behind. The anti-imperialist struggle, the actions of the masses for their demands, the movement of the working people and the social struggle of diverse forms—these are the motive forces of progress in our epoch, ushered in fifty years ago by the October Revolution, an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism.

Those who assume that it is impossible to end the subservience to U.S. imperialism should give thought to the vast changes in the world.

The Johnson administration, which suffered a crushing moral, political and military defeat in its criminal attempts to enslave the

heroic people of Vietnam, has been compelled under pressure of severe internal political, social and financial convulsions to restrict the bombing zone in the DRV and to accept peace talks, which, it is true, it intends to drag out by sidestepping any specific discussion.

The failure of escalation in Vietnam proves that a small country can with the support of progressives in the world, the socialist countries and, above all, the Soviet Union, defeat the most powerful imperialist state. The war in Vietnam is bound to change the political situation in all Asia and affect the world situation. No one can remain a passive onlooker. In the interests of Chile we should step up the campaign of solidarity, demanding an unconditional end to the bombing and other acts of war against the DRV, the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Vietnam and recognition of the right of the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs.

The financial crisis exploded the optimistic forecasts that imperialism can overcome crisis phenomena through state-monopoly regulation. The depreciation of the dollar is the result not only of the military gamble in Vietnam, but of the overall structural process with its far-reaching consequences and implications. The imperialist contradictions are another contributing factor. The anti-monopoly struggle of the working class in the developed and semi-developed capitalist countries and the national-liberation movements are hitting out at imperialism in different forms and in different areas. All sections of the people yearning for progress, culture, peace, democracy and prosperity come to realize sooner or later the nature of the present contradictions and the bankruptcy of capitalism as a social system, and become hostile to imperialism.

In these conditions united action and greater unity of all contingents of the world Communist movement are particularly important. Our Party attended the Budapest Consultative Meeting last February. It is also taking part in the work of the Commission preparing for the Conference scheduled in Moscow November 25, 1968. We are prepared to make the maximum contribution to ensuring its success and strengthening the Leninist positions.

The unity and solidarity of fighters against imperialism are imperative, for the peoples in the capitalist countries are mounting important actions against the financial oligarchy.

The recent general election in Italy saw a considerable increase in votes cast for Togliatti's Party. The Communists polled a record 8.560,000 votes, dealing a shattering blow to the anti-Communists. The people of France, its working class, the students and peasants are engaged in a gigantic battle, a real fight for genuine democracy, shaking the very foundations of the one-man rule established by the monopolies.

In Latin America, where in recent years imperialism bolstered its positions by engineering coups d'etat and installing military

dictatorial regimes, the process has gone into reverse. The ground is burning under the feet of the dictatorships of Ongania, Costa e Silva and Barrientos. The trade union movement is gathering strength in Argentina, Uruguay, Ecuador and many other countries. The democratic forces are regrouping in the fight against the oligarchies and imperialism.

Social conflicts in our country are growing more acute and the situation calls for a political revolution to do away with the economic backwardness, dependence on imperialism, the crippling effects of monopoly rule, the vestiges of latifundism and the poverty of our people.

The President of our republic has expressed his satisfaction over the fact that in the second half of 1967 the unemployment rate was 5.1 per cent. Some time ago he spoke about the need to press unemployment down to four per cent. Actually, unemployment is greater than 5.1 per cent. Indeed, the Institute of Economics of Chile University admits that its method of inquiry did not produce a precise unemployment figure. On the other hand, the President was compelled to state: "We must admit that unemployment areas exist in three or four zones. In some areas unemployment is difficult to eliminate, because meagre natural resources do not permit us to establish new and sound economic branches there." These unemployment areas were discovered wherever the inquiry was conducted.

In 1964, 10,920 workers and 6,010 office employees were engaged in saltpeter extraction. Today the industry has only 7,043 workers and 3,189 office employees. In other words, employment dropped by 6,698. Since 1964 employment in iron ore extraction has gone down 3,588 and 1,532 for workers and office employees respectively, in coal-mining—753 and 390, and in the cement industry—596 and 161. The mining industry alone registered a drop of 13,650 compared with the time when the President took office. Official estimates place unemployment in building at 16.3 per cent, transport 6.7 per cent and mining 6.1 per cent.

At this critical time, imperialism continues its plunder, wrecking havoc on our economy. In 1967, Chile allocated $986 million, i.e., its total receipts for exports, to meet economic requirements and for industrialization. But more than 35 per cent of this sum settled in the safes of the Wall Street bankers as tribute for the imperialist domination of our economy. Last year, foreign monopolies pumped out $132 million in profits and another $64 million was paid in interest on loans; $115 million was shipped out as depreciation deductions and $40 million in the form of depreciation costs of foreign capital investments. Our country is enriching the U.S. to the tune of one million dollars a day.

Every time the government announces a 150-peso increase in the

value of the dollar, it is as if money is taken out of our pockets or deducted from our future wages. Devaluation prevents the housewife from filling her shopping-bag with the same quantity of products as before. Hence the drop in sales and the consequent cutbacks in production, for manufacturers make goods not to store them but to exchange them for money. In 1967 our shrinking purchasing power brought on greater unemployment, causing extreme poverty and hunger for hundreds of thousands of families.

The hopes of our people were dashed. Government policy has not changed. The agrarian reform, though positive in itself, is being effected half-heartedly. True, new schools have been built, the number of university instructors has grown, and admission is increasing. But the situation in education is still grave. Chile's foreign relations have expanded, without, however, any substantial expansion of foreign trade. The policy of the Foreign Ministry still suffers from lack of independence in all the essential issues. In short, the Christian-Democratic government has not given the country what it wanted and failed to secure any advance.

There is every reason to say that the economic, social and political crisis is growing into an institutional one. In his message, the President said that only the blind would fail to notice the grave dangers to democracy in Chile.

Indeed, the obstacles to the growth of the productive forces, the economic slump, the refusal to satisfy the just demands of the people and delays in adopting fundamental solutions create a nutritive medium for fascism, for anti-democratic ventures and for carrying through anti-Chilean military schemes originating with the CIA, that world center of political terror.

It is the duty of revolutionaries to prevent a *coup d'etat*. It is not the Frei government or the bourgeois system that we must defend, but the gains and rights of the working people, the present and future interests of the popular movement.

The ultra-reactionaries are raising their hands, fanning revanchism and attempting to regain political power by any means.

The landowners oppose progress in the countryside and resort to force to prevent the implementation of the land reforms. And they have succeeded in misleading a section of the peasants.

Army marauders act on the basis of a large-scale press campaign against the democratic regime. What are the main theses of the putschists? First of all, they intend to take advantage of the legitimate discontent over the wages of the armed forces. At the same time, they speciously contend that the choice is between the armed forces and the Communists. On the other hand, they use the common trick of traditional reactionary propaganda, presenting in rosy colours the trampling underfoot of the rights and liberties won by the people.

The statement of the Political Commissions of the Socialist and Communist parties on May 2 issued a timely warning against attempts to fish in troubled waters. On May 4, the Communists, Socialists, Social-Democrats and Radicals signed a document in defense of the democratic system. The Party met with the leaders of the Popular Socialist Union and the ruling Social-Democratic Party to examine the grave situation. We have constantly exchanged views with the Radical Party and our joint statement was published recently. The communication of our Political Commission of May 7, the denunciation in *El Siglo* and the speeches at a mass rally on May 12 have fully exposed the aims of the putschists and proved that they are Chile's enemies, trying to call the army out of the barracks, use it for their own self-seeking ends and throw it against the people. The Trade Union Center's warning that the moment the putschists try anything the country will be paralyzed, with the working class taking action against the putsch made a tremendous impression and stayed the hand of the plotters.

The political balance is beginning to change according to the general situation in the country and on the basis of this struggle. Today one can clearly distinguish between the reactionaries and the revolutionaries, the conservatives and the supporters of change. The traditional method of the reactionaries to gauge forces according to whether they support the government or oppose it is not valid any more. This old criterion is giving way to a more realistic, clearer political and class criterion. It is evident that the reactionaries may either support or oppose the government and that progressive forces exist both within the opposition and the government party.

The President wanted to reduce the economic, social and political conflict in the country to just the formal problem of constitutional clauses. But it goes much deeper. Solutions depend not on the constitutional mechanism but above all on who is in power, what social classes are at the helm, whose influence is gaining ascendance and what measures are being taken.

The overwhelming majority are for real change. This change should be reflected in specific measures ending the omnipotence of imperialist and local monopolies and securing the utilization of national resources, now plundered by U.S. monopolies, in the interests of the country. Furthermore, it is necessary forthwith to take effective anti-latifundia measures and to implement an agrarian reform. Once this is done, control over foodstuffs and raw materials will be secured and a rapid process of industrial modernization will begin.

Participation of the working people in administration at all levels is a salient feature of democratization. Christian-Democrats do not even mention the fact that the reform of management

should give the working people access to appropriate knowledge and grant them the right to send representatives to the boards of joint-stock companies and other enterprises in order to verify actual costs and profits. As an initial step we propose that simple and effective laws be enacted without delay, giving representatives of workers and office employees the right to participate in the leading bodies of state-run companies.

The failure to meet the demands of the majority has turned the economic and social crisis into a political and even institutional one. The fundamental problems linked with imperialist domination and the latifundia system spring, among other things, from the obsolescence of our institutions, the backwardness of our constitution and the anti-democratic character of the presidential regime. The situation is aggravated by what could be called political opportunism, demagogy, policy dabbling and personalism, which are in evidence in almost all parties and in parliament. If the country is to advance, a way should be found out of the present crisis. To this end, in addition to economic and social measures, democratic reforms should be carried out, the need for which is making itself felt and on which there is a measure of agreement.

The President suggested that the constitutional reforms to solve the conflicts between the legislature and executive power could come into force only after his term of office ended. This we can agree with. In that case it would be desirable to have a high-level public discussion at which all political forces would define their positions, submit their proposals for the judgment of the electorate at the general elections next March and pledge themselves to seek in the new Congress agreements that would lead to concrete constitutional reforms. The Communists hold that the Chamber of Deputies and Senate should be replaced by a National Assembly.

We want all problems examined democratically, and urge changes desired by the majority of the population; the people should have the opportunity of participating on a broad scale in the work of the leading state and economic organs.

Chile has accumulated a vast store of experience, but so far this has not led to the establishment of a genuinely popular government. None of our governments has broken its ties with imperialism, none has seriously encroached on the interests of landowners and local monopolies, none has given the people any decisive say. Now it is a question of ending this vicious circle in which individuals alternate and one group of the bourgeoisie is replaced in power by another. Chile needs a government of a new type, a government in which working-class participation will guarantee a fundamental turn in the destiny of the country.

To ensure successful development of the popular movement, the Communists do not reject *a priori* any of the popular forces,

nor are they guided by prejudice or subjective evaluations. Steadfastly and invariably they seek to isolate those who oppose solving the problems and implementing social changes. We want to drive the agents of imperialism and the oligarchy into a corner by uniting with all who in practice support the popular demands and advocate revolutionary change. At the same time, we want to prevent the still misled sections of the population from being used as tools for establishing a revolutionary regime.

The need in Chile is for a popular government with the participation of forces guaranteeing that the badly-needed changes will be implemented. There is a broad trend in the country embracing the majority of the people and favoring change, and another trend opposing it. It is necessary, through concrete actions and mass struggle, to unite forces with a view to isolating and defeating the reactionaries.

The FRAP, i.e., the Communist and Socialist parties, is the center of the broad trend fighting for reforms. But it is obvious that there are forces standing for a policy of change outside the FRAP. This is supported by the Popular Socialist Party, the Social-Democratic Party, a majority in the Radical Party and a large section of the Christian-Democratic Party. Speaking concretely, we would welcome all these forces coming to terms at an opportune time with a view to forming a popular government.

Of late, the policy of our Party is being distorted both at home and abroad. It is said to sympathize with certain presidential candidates, such even as Radomiro Tomic, that avowed spokesman for the pro-imperialist policy of the Christian-Democratic government.

Some observers go so far as to assert that we are inclined to enter into alliance with the Frei government. A few months ago the same observers, going by the by-elections which brought victory to Baltra, claimed that we were in favor of the Radical candidate. The Communist Party wishes to declare that neither now nor for a long time to come does it intend to make any statements in support of this or that presidential candidate.

Some believe that a policy can be imposed on the Communist Party from outside. You are wrong, gentlemen! The Communist Party charts its own line.

For the people to win power, it is essential to form a broad coalition. This process of joint action in the fight for common aims is under way. It may lead to broad mutual understanding and an agreement on specific principles of common action to secure definite changes and transformations, to establish a popular and democratic government that will ensure the country's advance in the direction that accords with the strivings of the overwhelming

majority of our countrymen. And to fail to reach this mutual understanding is to make a gift to our enemy.

Clearly, it is not a matter of merely electing a new President; what we need is a new government in which the President will perform important functions but will no longer be the sole ruler, for it is the people who should be sovereign, not some man or group of men. Therefore we propose that the forces favoring change should come to terms first of all on the multi-party character of a democratic coalition government which we shall propose to the country, as well as on the participation of the working class and the people not only in electing it, but also in its work.

In short, we stand for the unity of the Socialists and Communists, the unity of the FRAP, for mutual understanding between the Socialists and Communists, on the one hand, and the contiguous political forces, the Popular Socialist Union and the Social-Democratic Party, on the other. We stand for mutual understanding among all progressive trends in the country.

As I said earlier, the Communists advocate the unity and cohesion of the working class, the motive force of the revolutionary process. The Trade Union Center is holding its fifth congress this year, one of particular importance, because the trade union movement is the core of the anti-imperialist forces. In the struggle of the past few months, the Center gained fresh influence, acting as a genuinely united organization embracing all working people. It is not easy to coordinate trade union actions, and the Center encountered all sorts of difficulties. But it lived up to the confidence placed in it by the masses.

One of the lessons gleaned from the recent trade union battles is that we need different labor trends operating democratically with a proper sense of responsibility in the Trade Union Center. Its last national conference rightly called for conditions to make the coming congress as representative as possible and to renovate the methods of its work, so that its central leadership should represent all groups in proportion to their strength and in keeping with their class character and militancy.

The national conference of the Communist Youth League held at the end of January outlined the new prospects for mutual understanding among young people who advocate change. The conference supported the idea of forums and round-table discussions of young Communists, Socialists, Social-Democrats, Popular Socialists, Radicals and Christian-Democrats. Each organization has its own face, and that is good. A fruitful discussion is on among the youth, of the nature of a creative and intense ideological contest. Each position should be put to the test in mass actions. This concerns the university and student movement, as well as the young workers and farmers.

Another important sector of the popular movement, one in which the alliance of the working class with the masses is being forged, are the towns and city blocks. Women play an important part. Housewives are joining the struggle, devoting more and more time and energy to it. The prospective adoption of the law recognizing the legal rights of unions of townsmen, mothers' centers, centers of fathers and heads of families, cultural centers, sports clubs and other local organizations may serve to eliminate parallelism, help to mobilize these strata and cultivate a militant spirit among urban residents, homeless families and women on a new and higher level. But for this it is necessary to enhance the influence of the working class and its policy in these organizations and explain the importance of more resolute demands.

The parliamentary elections in March 1969 will be a fresh step in this struggle.

A Communist member of parliament has nothing in common with his counterparts from other parties. The Communist Party nominates candidates who meet Dimitrov's criteria for revolutionary leaders. A Communist parliamentarian does not conduct private campaigns or individual propaganda; he is not a caudillo, nor has he a voting clientele. In discharging his duties, he takes guidance from the Party Political Commission and works in cooperation with the regional committees. He receives not the remuneration of a member of parliament, but the salary of a Party functionary. He gives all his time to the popular movement, to struggle inside and outside parliament. In March next year we must give battle within the framework of the general struggle against reactionary policy, for the demands of the people and the satisfaction of the long-standing requirements of the provinces and all areas.

We are holding our plenum at a time when all progressives in the world are observing the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism. His critical, anti-dogmatic, dialectical and revolutionary thinking is being creatively carried forward as the working class, the builder of the new, free society, scales new heights. If we, the Party of the working class, are to fulfil our duty and bring the Chilean revolution to completion, we must always remember that the ideological front is one of the main fronts of struggle. We are constantly affirming the principles of Marxism-Leninism by pursuing a political line aimed at isolating and defeating the enemy and really advancing towards the changes demanded by the overwhelming majority of Chileans.

STATEMENT* OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

On April 30 and May 1, Struggle Days were held in our country organized by the Workers' Commissions in support of economic demands and democratic rights. National in scope, these days met with response throughout the country.

Hundreds of thousands of workers, students, intellectuals, peasants, officials and representatives of other sections of the population—particular mention should be made of the active role played by the youth and women—participated.

Strikes, meetings and demonstrations—although not all on the same scale—were held in many parts of Madrid, in Mieres and various centers of the mining area of Asturias-Gijon-Oviede; in Barcelona, Cornella, Badalona, Sabadell, Tarrasa, Mataro, Lerida and Tarragona; in Bilbao and its industrial area, in Ondarrea, Marquina, Vitoria, San Sebastin, Renteria, Villarreal, Zumarrage, Mondragon, Eiber, Vergara and Zaraus; in Pamplona; in Puertollano; in Segovia, Seville and various areas of the province; in Cadiz, Jerez de la Frontera, Sanlucar de Barrameda, Puerto de Santa Maria, Cordova, Malaga and other big towns of Andalusia; in Badajoz, Valencia, Sagunta, Alicante and other parts of this region; in Murcia and other parts of this province; in Santiago, El Ferrol and Vigo; in Saragossa, Santander, Leon, Valladolid, Las Palmas in the Grand Canaries and in many other places.

The Communist Party salutes all Spaniards who, undaunted by the considerable police force on the streets and the brutal repressions by the government, took part in the Struggle Days; this applies particularly to the working and student youth who were in the forefront of these actions.

In the weeks preceding the Struggle Days, despite the arrests of hundreds of leaders of the Workers' Commissions and despite the intimidations by the government and the police surveillance, thousands of meetings were held, which discussed how to realize the decisions taken by the Workers' Commissions. Also brief factory gate meetings and talks in the shops were held and, despite the closing down of the universities in Madrid and other cities, student "free assemblies." Millions of leaflets, pamphlets, statements, inscriptions on the walls of buildings and agitation in other forms drew the attention of the population to the importance

*Mundo Obrero, No. 12, June 1968.

of and the need for Struggle Days. In this way we were able to awaken the political consciousness of the broad mass of Spaniards on a much broader scale than before.

Because of large police forces patrolling the streets and army units being stationed in many parts of the country, hundreds of thousands of Spaniards were unable to hold mass demonstrations.

However, the government was unable to prevent the Struggle Days becoming nationwide and being militant, anti-Francoist and democratic in spirit. This was their principal feature.

In these conditions the people who participated in the street demonstrations repelled the forces of repression and in many other instances clashed with these forces and showed themselves to be the militant vanguard of the worknig class, student body and the democratic movement generally. It is the most advanced anti-Franco contingent and enjoys the sympathy and moral support of millions of Spaniards. This vanguard should be able in the near future to carry along with it the greater part of the working class and Spanish people to participate in new and more important battles.

The Workers' Commissions once again proved in the Struggle Days that they represent a new movement of the workers, one permeated with the spirit of unity and showing high political consciousness, a movement which defends the vital interests of the masses and of all democratic forces. That is why this movement is winning increasing prestige in the eyes of the masses and democratic forces, why it is able to stimulate their solidarity and draw them into action. Evidence of this authority is the fact that the recent Struggle Days were supported by a number of new political groups.

The Workers' Commissions also evoke the admiration and solidarity of hundreds of thousands of Spanish workers abroad and of the international working-class movement generally. They have won the recognition of the Social-Democratic and Christian trade unions, the respect of leading cultural figures and democratic trends in many countries.

The actions of April 30 and May 1—which once again showed the importance of the alliance of Communists and progressive Catholics—prove that despite the repressions against the prominent leaders of the Workers' Commissions, the latter frustrate the attempts of the ultras to force the new movement of the workers to retreat to the "catacombs"; they prove that during the past few months these Commissions have achieved significant success in their development and in coordinating their actions on a national scale. This indicates the enormous forces and mobilizing energy latent in the new movement of the workers, of its capacity for

organization and action, of its dynamism which enables it to establish contact with students, intellectuals and other social and democratic groups.

During the Struggle Days the alliance of the forces of labor and culture made new progress which will be continued and consolidated in future actions.

Beginning with Madrid, where the struggle was the most militant, and ending with the outlying provinces the key slogans were "Long Live Liberty,!" "Down with Franco,!" "Democracy—Yes, Dictatorship—No!," thus underscoring the anti-Franco and democratic character of these actions. The demonstrators expressed the most cherished wish of the bulk of the people in hundreds of other slogans and streamers, carrying aloft the immortal symbol of the working people—the red flag.

For a political alternative. These militant actions of the mass of Spanish working people are influenced by the big changes in the world balance of forces. The magnificent successes of the heroic people of Vietnam have contributed to mobilizing new and powerful forces against imperialism. In France we see a powerful strike movement of workers, students and other sections of society, who debunk the reformist thesis about "neo-capitalist stability" and reveal the new revolutionary perspectives opening before our continent. These changes on an European and international scale create more favorable conditions for the struggle against the Franco dictatorship.

On a national plane, the crisis in the country has been exacerbated since the actions of April 30 and May 1. The regime whose uselessnness and corruption are becoming increasingly patent, is incapable of grappling with, let alone resolving, the pressing problems in the various spheres of national life.

In an economic situation that has become intolerable not only for the working people but also for other broad sections of society, the government, confronted with the insistent demand to put an end to the despotic and fascist structures and restore juridical norms, and also human rights and freedoms; confronted with the crisis in the universities and the educational system generally; with the demand to carry out fundamental structural reforms, voiced by the most diverse sections of the population—to all this the government has but one "policy," that of repressions, police actions, the sentences passed by the Tribunal of Public Order the very existence of which is already a violation of legal principles. However, repressions will not resolve the many problems; they cannot check the scope of the mass actions.

In the diplomatic sphere the Franco government has announced its new capitulation to the United States on the question of bases. This decision is all the more anti-national, shameful and anachron-

istic considering that it is taken at a time when particularly strong anti-American trends are under way in Europe and the Mediterranean.

The struggle of the workers and popular masses has accelerated the process of political awakening among the broadest sections of the population, including sections which only yesterday supported Franco and even sections which are still a part of the machinery of state. They are beginning to realize that things cannot continue any longer the way they are, that political change is essential, that ways must be found for establishing a regime of democratic freedom.

These sentiments are reflected in certain press organs, even though timidly and insufficiently. The conflicts inside the ruling groups now frequently become public. Centers which only yesterday were the pillars of inertness, for example, the municipalities or the Cortes commissions, are now becoming arenas of struggle where the internal corruption of the regime is becoming glaringly evident. This situation is having its repercussions also in the Army which has lost its homogeneity and where the tendency is crystallizing among officers — some of them speak of this openly — to consider a political solution reflecting the will of the country. The contradictions between the ultras and the evolutionists have grown much more acute. Influential groups of these representatives of the big bourgeoisie are turning away from the regime more and more, and are even taking steps towards opposition activity.

In this situation the Communist Party of Spain considers that if the democratic opposition elaborates jointly with the evolutionist groups *a political alternative* it will be possible to put an end to the Franco dictatorship in a relatively short time.

Such a political alternative would not only rouse to action powerful social forces, whose interests are infringed by the present regime; it would also channel all the fermenting protest, discontent and latent fear in the machinery of state and the armed forces. This, in turn, would create more favorable conditions for the transition from dictatorship to democracy

The Communist Party stresses the enormous responsibility that rests on all political forces that voice the opinion of the country, and on each one of them individually. The prevailing situation calls for immediate joint elaboration of a political, democratic alternative.

The Communist Party intends with all the means at its disposal to redouble its political efforts, through bilateral and multilateral discussion, and by persistent, firm and flexible efforts contribute towards the elaboration of such an alternative. In this sense we reaffirm the position, already defined by our Party, that we are prepared to cooperate with an interim government that pledges

to carry out a program that will include — apart from urgent measures to resolve more immediate social problems such as unemployment, dismissals, wages, etc.—the following points:

Restoration of democratic liberties without any discrimination.

A general amnesty for all political prisoners that would allow exiles to return and end all the consequences of the civil war.

Respect for the national aspirations of Catalonia, the Basque Provinces and Galicia.

Convocation of a sovereign Constituent Cortes which would determine the future regime of Spain.

The Communist Party does not make its participation in the Cabinet of Ministers a condition for cooperation with the government that will put such a program into effect.

The Communist Party is ready to study and discuss all proposals that might be made by other political forces. It is convinced, however, that it is possible to elaborate, proceeding from the aforementioned points, a political alternative that could end the dictatorship and open the way to Spain's democratic development.

In the event the bourgeois forces take a negative attitude and thereby bar this way out of the present situation, the revolutionary process in Spain will continue nonetheless. The masses will intensify the struggle and the alliance of the forces of labor and culture will produce the political alternatitve that will give the people freedom and democracy.

The movement of the masses. It is clear from the above that the principal task of all vanguard forces is to continue to broaden the movement of the masses.

In the present conditions it is possible to draw into the struggle many thousands of people who, although they sympathize with the Workers' Commissions and passionately want the triumph of democracy, are still undecided because they do not clearly see their own strength or the corruption of the dictatorship.

This dictates the need to carry out intense and systematic explanatory work through oral and written propaganda; to study the experience of the discussions at meetings in various sectors and among diverse sections of the population.

The fact that people loudly scanned democratic slogans on the streets should not incline us to think that the mobilization of the working masses and of other social sections is possible without concrete formulation and defense of their economic demands. If every enterprise is to become a fortress of democracy and backward sections of the workers are to reach the level of the politically advanced workers, it is not enough to just put forward general economic and political demands. This has to be accompanied by a concrete list of demands for every enterprise, for every group of enterprises, for every branch of industry. When

elaborating the corresponding demands and setting up new commissions, use should be made of the deep discontent among the working people caused by low wages, the climbing cost of living, unemployment and other problems. In other words, it is a question of uniting these working people and organizing them in concrete actions.

Today, more than ever before, it is important to strengthen solidarity between the working people. Moral and material solidarity with all victims of repression, and also with their families —this is the sacred duty of all Spaniards with a clear conscience, irrespective of their views and social status. If the militant workers and labor leaders recently arrested are to be wrested from the prisons and also the people who are serving long prison terms, if the doors of Spain are to be thrown wide open to the political exiles, we must step up the fight for an amnesty, for abolition of the tribunals of public order and all other emergency judicial organs, for dissolution of the notorious and hated politico-social brigade, for freedom and democracy.

The action of April 30 and May 1 once again showed the important role the Workers' Commissions are playing not only in organizing and directing the actions of the working people, but also as an example inspiring other social forces to defend their interests. The forces of labor and culture are grouping around the working class and its commissions on an ever bigger scale.

It is essential to continue to reinforce the Workers' Commissions at the enterprises, to create such where none as yet exist, to perfect their methods of work, coordinate their activity and initiative on a local, provincial and national scale. But before all else, it is essential to prevent their present broad democratic and independent character being altered in any way. At present all efforts, ours and those of others, must be centered on consolidating the unity of the working class movement in its commissions, on strengthening the democratic movement generally.

We note with gratification that fighting on our side are militant Catholics who are loyal to the working class, who sincerely want to see an end to the dictatorship and to the exploitation of man by man. We welcome the fact that socialist groups in the country have called for support of the militant actions of the Workers' Commissions and for reinforcing them. The same applies to the national groups—the Catalans and the Basques.

The experience accumulated in the course of earlier actions helps us to improve on the tactics of the working-class struggle; in our opinion there is a possibility of carrying out a national campaign, more powerful than the one of April 30 and May 1, which might begin—not necessarily on a pre-arranged date— in

some important center or at a group of enterprises and subsequently spread throughout the country.

The new movement of the workers, peasants, students and Spanish intellectuals may find in the powerful movement now sweeping France a tremendous stimulus to their own struggle.

Consolidation of the alliance of the forces of labor and culture is decisive to winning democratic liberties and advancing to socialism. Such consolidation presupposes:

—expansion of the Workers' Commissions, working youth commissions and residential area commissions;

—development of the movement of commissions of peasants and agricultural laborers.

Wherever possible these commissions should rely on the cooperatives where ladowners should be ousted from management by the poor peasants; here the possibilities existing in the "brotherhoods" should be used not in order to confine oneself to their "legal" bounds but, on the contrary, to go beyond these bounds and launch a determined struggle for a radical agrarian reform which would give the land to those who till it, for fair prices for agricultural products, for real social security, for lower taxes, etc., and for democratic liberties.

Having, as a result of their struggle, won their demand that the Minister of National Education and the rectors of Madrid and Barcelona universities resign, the students should now foil government machinations to split their ranks and isolate their vanguard from the student mass. To this end they must strengthen their unity, consolidate their trade unions and orient on convening democratic congresses in the respective districts and on a national scale, and also on close and friendly cooperation with the Workers' Commissions.

Consolidation of the alliance of the forces of labor and culture also presupposes:

—promoting the democratic movement among professionals, intellectuals and technicians;

—creating civil commissions or similar organizations where the forces of labor and culture could meet and discuss joint actions.

Also persistent and systematic work by all democratic forces is now essential to compel the army and the police not to oppose the popular will, to respect this will and recognize the sovereignty of the nation of which they as well should feel they are citizens.

Strengthening the Party. In the present conditions we should open our ranks to all revolutionaries and fighters who have proved their calibre.

During the militant actions the local Party organizations and their members once again demonstrated their selflessness, firmness and political conciousness. Tens of thousands of men and women,

young workers and students fought side by side with us. No insurmountable political or ideological barriers exist between us and them. The fact that they are not in our ranks is due not only to the difficult conditions of our life and the most brutal persecutions; it is also due to the fact that in our relations with them we ourselves have not concretely raised the question of drawing them into our ranks. Our duty is to help them realize that their place is in the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League.

Once broad circles of women become militant it would be wrong to wait until they themselves decide to ask to be accepted into the Communist Party; we must help them take this step by explaining to them what we, Communists, want and what we are fighting for.

Initiative in winning new members means not waiting until those who want to join the Party knock at our door; it means that we ourselves should go to them, look for them at the enterprises and wherever else they are working, on the campus, in the daily struggle, that we should judge them not only and not so much by what they say as by what they do.

However, such initiative does not exclude revolutionary vigilance. We must, on the contrary, continue to be vigilant and even redouble this vigilance, remembering that in the struggle against our Party Francoism combines repression with the utilization of agents provocateurs.

The strengthening of the Communist Party is one of the conditions for destroying the dictatorship, establishing real freedom and for ensuring the development of democracy and the advance to socialism.

Executive Committee, Communist Party of Spain

INTERVIEW* WITH MEIR VILNER

Question: There is a serious danger in the Middle East one year after the June war. What are the main causes of this situation?

Answer: Yes, it is true that a year after the June war the situation in the Middle East remains tense, blood is still being shed and there is the continuing menace of another war.

That no political solution of the crisis in our area has been found up to now is due chiefly to the policy of the Israeli government. It refuses to abide by the November 22 decision of the Security Council, which calls for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied areas and condemns the annexations resulting from the war.

If there were even a grain of truth in the primitive official position of the Israeli rulers that they had to start the June war because they had no choice, because, allegedly, there was the danger of annihilation of the Israeli people—if there were a grain of truth in that, they would readily accept the Security Council decision. For it guarantees, after an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, liquidation of the state of war with Israel and recognition of the right to existence and security for all countries of the area (including Israel). Moreover, the United Arab Republic and Jordan have officially stated that they would immediately carry out the Security Council decision if Israel did the same.

There need be no doubt that if there were no drive for territorial annexations, an immediate way out of the present crisis could be found and the road thus cleared for a peaceful and realistic settlement.

The evidence is plentiful. On January 19 Defense Minister Moshe Dayan said in an interview with the newspaper *Haaretz*:

"Possibly, Nasser would be prepared to enter into negotiations with us on the condition that we withdraw our troops to the June 4 frontiers. Possibly, in exchange for such a withdrawal Nasser would declare the end of the belligerency, allow free navigation in the Eilat Bay and make certain promises on Suez. By withdrawing to the June 4 frontiers, we would solve largely Egypt's problem."

The *Haaretz* correspondent asked Dayan: "And do you favor that?"

Dayan replied: "No, I am categorically opposed."

General Haim Bar Lev, Chief of the General Staff, told a conference of military correspondents after the February operation against Jordan that the purpose of the operation was to "impose immediate

*L'Humanité, June 5, 1968.

negotiations on the Arab states with the aim of adjusting the conflict . . . We can impose on Jordan an agreement, and we are dexterously using our military strength to compel King Hussein to seek negotiations . . . We can dictate our terms of settlement if we compel him to seek it, because he will have no choice in the matter. But we can do that only if we remain on the other side of the frontier (the armistice line)."

That statement appeared in the newspaper *Maariv* on February 19, 1968.

This is tantamount to an outright admission that Israel wants to impose on Jordan political negotiations and a separate agreement by means of military pressure. And that is one of the chief reasons for the continuing tension on the armistice line between Israel and Jordan.

It should be perfectly clear that the attitude of the Israeli leaders cannot be separated from that of the United States government. The Israeli leaders would never have ventured to unleash the war without the military, economic and political support of the United States. Now, too, they need that support to continue the occupation.

Israeli Finance Minister Sapir recently announced that the June war had cost Israel more than three thousand million Israeli pounds. Today Israel is more dependent upon American imperialism than at any time in the twenty years of its existence.

The June venture was a political setback for America's policy-makers. The aims they had set in this war were not achieved and its results were the very opposite of what they expected. Far from having collapsed, the United Arab Republic and Syrian regimes have been strengthened. Progressive and profoundly anti-imperialist changes are taking place in Egypt. Relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have become stronger. In Jordan, too, the situation is not developing in favor of the imperialists.

It should be noted, that in addition to the main factors engendering this dangerous situation in our region, traceable to the U.S. imperialists and the Israeli leaders, there is also the factor that some Arab circles obstruct a settlement by refusing to support the Security Council resolutions and casting doubt on the possibility of a peaceful accommodation. By so doing, they complicate the search for a political solution in which both the Arab nations and the Israeli people have a stake.

Question: What is the reaction to this state of affairs in Israel?

Answer: Mounting differences have appeared in Israel as a result of this sustained tension. The ultras have become more aggressive and conduct a strident campaign "against retiring from the liberated territory of the historical motherland," attacking all who voice the slightest doubt regarding this hard-headed government policy; they want a bigger military budget that would press down the living

standards, and call for more repressions against the population in the occupied territories.

In the meantime, certain elements are waking up to the realities. They are beginning to think. No longer is our Communist Party in sole opposition to government policy as in June 1967. Many people want peace and no annexations.

In a public opinion poll by the Dahaf Research Institute in April, 76 per cent was "yes" to the question: "Is peace with the Arabs a crucial condition for our existence as a state?" To another question, "What is Israel's security situation," 57 per cent replied "disquieting" and 13 per cent "grave." Only 19 per cent said "encouraging" and 6 per cent "tranquil." These results are evidence of a process of disappointment stemming from the June war and of mounting fears for the future if no peace with the Arabs is achieved. This does not mean that the majority is clear about the obstacles to peace. For example, 80 per cent of those questioned thought that the government was "doing what has to be done to achieve peace in the region."

Opposition to the prevailing reckless line, to the policy of conquest and annexation, is growing, and many people are coming out against it openly and courageously. Dr. Isaias Leibovitch, professor of theology at Jerusalem's Jewish University, declared on April 12 in reply to a question by the newspaper *Yediot Ahronot*: "Annexation? That is disastrous, it breaks up the state, destroys the people, tears down the social foundation and corrupts people. . . . What, then, is the alternative? To give up governing one and a half million Arabs and go back to the status quo of June 5. . . . Some speak of federation. But federation imposes colonialism, it imposes new quislings. It is worse than annexation—it is occupation coated over with hypocrisy." This declaration evoked a broad response in the country.

Ex-Premier David Ben-Gurion, too, admitted in his speech to the Knesset on the 20th anniversary of the State of Israel on May 6, that the "international political situaion of Israel has never been as bad as it is today."

Police Minister Eliahu Sasson acknowledged at a conference of the Israeli Labor Party leadership that time is working against Israel and called for a more realistic policy.

Question: What do you think about the actions of the Mikunis-Sneh group?

Answer: This group, which enthusiastically acclaimed the June war in 1967, went even farther when the Israeli army made its bloody raid in Jordanian territory on the Karameh refugee camp on March 21, 1968—a raid that caused many casualties on both sides and was even denounced by pro-government circles; the Security Council condemned it unanimously.

In an editorial in *Kol Haam* on March 22, 1968, Dr. Sneh excused this aggressive act on the grounds of it being a "defensive compulsion."

Question: What is the situation in the occupied territories?

Answer: A general policy of repressions prevails in the occupied areas—demolition of houses with explosives, wholesale punitive measures in towns and settlements, and wholesale arrests.

The occupation has bred resistance. And increased repressions generated still greater resistance. Our heart bleeds at the sight of Jews and Arabs killed almost daily. There is no other way to end this sad situation but to fulfil the Security Council resolutions of November 22 in order to achieve a political solution terminating the occupation and, consequently, resistance to the occupation.

This policy of repressions, this violation of the most elementary human rights, is not only damaging to the people living under the invader's boot, but also to Israeli society, the upbringing of the younger generation, for it upholds the "might is right" principle. A fascist breeze is blowing in Israel, which cannot be ignored.

Question: What policy does the Communist Party of Israel recommend to clear the way for lasting peace in the Middle East?

Answer: In the present circumstances, we hold, the first thing is to resolve the crisis by peaceful political means in accordance with the Security Council resolutions. This would liberate the Arab peoples from Israeli occupation, relieve the Israeli people from the state of war with the Arab countries, and Israel's right to exist as a state will no longer be questioned. The agreement recommended by the Security Council covers these mutual undertakings.

In a relaxed and free atmosphere a solution could be found with international help on the basis of the Security Council resolutions in accordance with a principle of equality for the principal issues: stable boundaries between states, the problem of Arab refugees, freedom of navigation for Israeli ships along the Suez Canal, allocation of common sources of water, and the like.

All these issues must be resolved on a basis of respect for the just and legitimate national rights of the Israeli people and those of the Palestinian Arabs. Lasting peace and cooperation between Israel and its Arab neighbors for the good of all nations could be achieved along these principles.

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contents

MEETING
of Party and government leaders
of socialist countries 5

LETTER
of five Communist and Workers' Parties
to the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia 7

SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV
at a Soviet-Hungarian friendship meeting
Moscow, July 3, 1968 15

SPEECH BY JANOS KADAR
at a Soviet Hungarian friendship meeting
Moscow, July 3, 1968 26

SPEECH BY WLADYSLAW GOMULKA
to the July plenary meeting
CC, Polish United Workers' Party 37

REPORT BY WALDECK ROCHET
to Central Committee, FCP 45

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MEETING OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

HELD IN WARSAW, JULY 14-15, 1968

Party and government leaders of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics met in Warsaw on July 14 and 15 this year.

Those taking part in the meeting were:

Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRB; Stanko Todorov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC BCP; Boris Velchev, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC BCP; Pencho Kubadinsky, member of the Political Bureau of the CC BCP, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRB;

Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the GDR State Council; Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the CC SUPG, Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Herman Axen, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SUPG;

Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Jeno Fock, member of the Political Bureau of the CC HSWP, Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government;

Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party; Marian Spychalski, member of the Political Bureau of the CC PUWP, Chairman of the PPR State Council; Jozef Cyrankiewicz, member of the Political Bureau of the CC PUWP, Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers; Zenon Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC PUWP;

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; N. V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; A. N. Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; P. Y. Shelest, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine; K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CC CPSU.

The participants in the meeting discussed questions of mutual

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*Trybuna Ludu, July 13, 1968.

interest and expressed their firm will for the further all-round development of fraternal relations and the consolidation of the socialist system, its unity and cohesion on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the course of the meeting views were exchanged on the most topical problems of the international situation and the safeguarding of peace and security in Europe, and problems of the world Communist and working-class movement. Strong emphasis was laid on the need for rallying the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces in the face of continued acts of aggression, especially in Vietnam and the Middle East. The representatives of the parties and governments of the fraternal countries called special attention to the increased activity of the aggressive imperialist forces seeking to undermine through subversion the socialist system in separate countries and to weaken the ideological and allied ties binding together the socialist states.

The meeting participants exchanged in the spirit of proletarian internationalism information about the situation in their countries and about the development of events in Czechoslovakia, and sent a joint letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Warsaw meeting of Party and government leaders of socialist states took place in a fraternal atmosphere of sincerity, complete unanimity and friendship.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' parties of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union, we are approaching you with this letter, dictated by sincere friendship based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as well as by concern for our common matters, for the strengthening of the positions of socialism and of the security of the socialist community of nations.

We are deeply disturbed by the course of events in your country. The offensive of reaction, backed by imperialism, against your Party and the foundations of the social system of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, threatens in our deepest conviction to push your country from the road of socialism, and thereby threatens the interests of the entire socialist system.

We expressed these misgivings at the meeting in Dresden, during a number of bilateral meetings, and also in letters which our parties have recently addressed to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Recently we proposed to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPC to hold a new joint meeting on July 14, 1968, in order to exchange information and views on the situation in our countries, including the development of events in Czechoslovakia. Alas, the Presidium did not take part in this meeting and did not avail itself of the possibility of a collective comradely discussion on the situation that has been created. This is why we have deemed it necessary to present to you in this letter our common stand with all sincerity and frankness. It is our wish that you should well understand us and that you should properly appraise our intentions.

It was not and it is not our intention to interfere in matters which are an internal matter of your Party and your Government, to infringe on the principles of respect, independence and equality in the relations between Communist parties and socialist countries.

We are not approaching you as representatives of yesterday who would wish to hinder you in correcting errors and shortcomings, including the infringements of socialist legality that had taken place.

We do not interfere in the methods of planning and management of the socialist national economy of Czechoslovakia, in your mea-

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Pravda, July 18, 1968.

sures aimed at perfecting the structure of the economy, at promoting socialist democracy.

We shall welcome the settlement of relations between Czechs and Slovaks on the sound foundations of fraternal cooperation within the framework of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

We cannot consent, however, to hostile forces pushing your country off the road of socialism and creating a threat of tearing away Czechoslovakia from the socialist community. This is no longer only your concern. This is a common concern of all Communist and Workers' parties and of states united by alliance, cooperation and friendship. This is a common concern of our countries which have united in the Warsaw Treaty in order to ensure their independence, peace and security in Europe, to erect an insurmountable barrier against the schemings of the imperialist forces of aggression and revenge.

The peoples of our countries paid the price of tremendous sacrifices for the victory over Hitlerite fascism, for their freedom and independence, for the possibility of marching forward along the road of progress and socialism. The boundaries of the socialist world shifted to the center of Europe, to the Elbe and the Sumava Mountains. We shall never consent to see threatened these historical conquests of socialism, the independence and security of all our nations. We shall never consent to imperialism making a breach in the socialist system, by peaceful or non-peaceful means, from the inside or the outside, and changing the alignment of forces in Europe in favor of imperialism.

The strength and lasting character of our alliances depends on the internal strength of the socialist system in each of our fraternal countries, on the Marxist-Leninist policy of our parties which are fulfilling the leading role in the political and social life of their respective nations and states. The undermining of the leading role of the Communist parties leads to the liquidation of socialist democracy and of the socialist system. Thereby a threat is created to the foundations of our alliance and the security of the community of our countries.

You know that the fraternal parties treated with understanding the decisions of the January Plenum of the CPC bearing in mind that your Party, firmly holding in its hands the levers of power, would direct the entire process in the interest of socialism, and would not allow anti-communist reaction to utilize it for its aims. We were convinced that you were going to defend as the apple of your eye the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. To ignore any of the sides of this principle, both democracy and centralism, leads inevitably to the weakening of the party and its leading role, to the transformation of the party either into a bureaucratic organization, or a discussion club. We have spoken of these matters more

than once during our meetings and received assurances on your part that you were aware of all dangers and that you were fully determined to rebut them.

Alas, events have taken a different course.

The forces of reaction, taking advantage of the weakening of the Party leadership of the country, abusing demagogically the slogan of democratization, unleashed a campaign against the CPC and its honest and devoted cadres, with the obvious intention of liquidating the leading role of the Party, to undermine the socialist system, to set Czechoslovakia against the other socialist countries.

Political organizations and clubs formed recently outside the framework of the National Front have in fact become headquarters of the forces of reaction. The Social Democrats stubbornly demand the creation of their own party, organize underground committees, strive to split the working-class movement in Czechoslovakia, to take hold of leadership of the country with the aim of restoring the bourgeois system. Anti-socialist and revisionist forces have gained control over the press, radio and television and transformed them into a tribune for attacks on the Communist Party, for the disorientation of the working class and all working people, for an unbridled anti-socialist demagogy, for the undermining of friendly relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and other socialist countries. A number of organs of mass information is systematically conducting veritable moral terror with regard to people who are coming out against the forces of reaction or express their misgivings at the course of events.

Despite the decisions of the May Plenum of the CPC, which pointed to the threat on the part of the Right-wing and anti-communist forces as the main danger, the intensified attacks of reaction met with no resistance. This is precisely why reaction obtained the possibility publicly to appear before the country, to publish its political platform under the name of "Two Thousand Words," which contains an open appeal to a struggle against the Communist Party and against the constitutional authority, an appeal to strikes and disturbances. This appeal constitutes a serious threat to the Party, the National Front, the socialist state; it is an attempt to implant anarchy. In fact, this statement constitutes an organizational-political platform of counter-revolution. No one should be deluded by the assurances of its authors that they do not want to overthrow the socialist system, that they do not want to act without the Communists, that they do not want to break the alliances with the socialist countries. These are empty phrases aimed at legalizing the platform of counter-revolution, at lulling the vigilance of the Party, the working class and all working people.

This platform, widely circulated in the crucial period preceding the extraordinary congress of the CPC, not only was not rejected,

but even found open supporters within the ranks of the Party and its leadership, who support the anti-socialist appeals.

The anti-socialist and revisionist forces defame the entire activity of the Communist Party, conduct a slanderous campaign against its cadres, discredit honest Communists devoted to the Party.

In this atmosphere attacks are also being made on the socialist ceptable to a socialist country.

In this atmosphere attacks are being also made on the socialist external policy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, against the alliance and friendship with socialist countries. Voices are heard demanding a revision of our common-agreed policy with regard to the German Federal Republic, in spite of the fact that the West German government conducts invariably a course hostile to the interests of the security of our countries. Attempts at flirtation on part of the GFR authorities and West German revanchists are finding a response in the leading circles of your country.

The entire course of events in recent months in your country shows that the forces of counter-revolution, backed by imperialist centers, have unfolded a broad offensive against the socialist system without meeting an indispensable counter-action on the part of the Party and the people's power. There is no doubt that centers of international imperialist reaction are taking part in these events in Czechoslovakia and are doing everything to exacerbate and render more complex the situation, inspiring with this aim in view the actions of anti-socialist forces. The bourgeois press, under the pretext of praising "democratization" and "liberalization" in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, conducts an incitement campaign against fraternal socialist countries. Particular activity is shown by the ruling circles in the GFR, which attempt to utilize the events in Czechoslovakia to sow discord between socialist countries, to isolate the German Democratic Republic, to carry out their revanchist schemes.

Do you, comrades, fail to see these dangers? How can one remain passive in this situation, and confine oneself to verbal declarations and assurances as to faithfulness to the cause of socialism and allied obligations? Do you fail to see that counter-revolution is taking away from you one position after another, that the Party is losing control over the course of events and retreats still further under the pressure of anti-communist forces?

Is it not with the purpose of sowing suspicion and hostility towards the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that the press, radio and television of your country unleashed a campaign in connection with the staff exercises of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty? Things have come to a point where joint staff exercises of troops, customary for military cooperation, with the participation of several units of the Soviet Army, are being utilized

for groundless accusations of violation of the sovereignty of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. And this is occurring in Czechoslovakia, whose people revere the memory of Soviet soldiers who gave their lives for the freedom and sovereignty of this country. At the same time maneuvers of the armed forces of the aggressive NATO bloc are taking place in the vicinity of the western frontiers of your country, in which the army of revanchist West Germany is taking part, and not a word is being said about that.

The inspirers of this hostile campaign evidently want to confuse the consciousness of the Czechoslovak nation, to disorient it and undermine the truth that Czechoslovakia can preserve its independence and sovereignty only as a socialist country, as a member of the socialist community. Only enemies of socialism can speculate today with the slogan of the "defense of sovereignty" of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic against the socialist countries, against those countries the alliance and fraternal cooperation with which creates the most solid foundation of independence and free development of each of our nations.

In our conviction a situation has arisen in which the threat to the foundations of socialism in Czechoslovakia endangers common vital interests of the other socialist countries. The peoples of our countries would never forgive us indifference and complacency in the face of such a danger.

We live in a time when peace, security and the freedom of nations calls more than ever before for the unity of the forces of socialism. International tension is not slackening. American imperialism has not renounced its policy of strength and open intervention against nations fighting for freedom. As previously, it is engaged in a criminal war in Vietnam, supports the Israeli aggressors in the Middle East, impedes the peaceful settlement of the conflict. The arms race has not been checked in the least. The German Federal Republic, in which the forces of neo-fascism are growing, is attacking the status quo, demanding revision of frontiers, and does not want to renounce either the striving to annex the German Democratic Republic or the claim for access to nuclear weapons, and comes out against disarmament proposals. In Europe, where tremendous means of mass destruction have been accumulated, peace and the security of nations are maintained above all owing to the strength, cohesion and unity of socialist countries. We are all responsible for this strength and unity of socialist countries, for the destinies of peace.

Our countries are linked with one another by treaties and agreements. These important mutual obligations of states and nations are based on the common striving to defend socialism and ensure the collective security of socialist countries. Our parties and nations bear the historical responsibility of seeing to it that our revolutionary gains should not be lost.

Each of our parties bears responsibility not only before its working class and before its nation, but also before the international working class, the world Communist movement, and cannot evade the obligations arising therefrom. This is why we should show solidarity and be united in the defense of the conquests of socialism, of our security and of the international positions of the entire socialist community.

This is why we consider that a decisive rebuff to the anti-communist forces and a determined struggle for the preservation of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia is not only your task, but ours as well.

The cause of the defense of the power of the working class and all working people, of the socialist conquests in Czechoslovakia demands:

—a determined and bold offensive against the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces, a mobilization of all means of defense created by the socialist state;

—a cessation of the activity of all political organizations coming out against socialism;

—the taking over by the Party of media of mass information—the press, radio and television—and their utilization in the interests of the working class, all the working people, socialism;

—cohesion of the ranks of the Party itself on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, close observance of the principle of democratic centralism, struggle against those who aid by their activity hostile forces.

We know that there exist forces in Czechoslovakia capable of safeguarding the socialist system and of defeating the anti-socialist elements. The working class, the working peasants, the progressive intelligentsia—the overwhelming majority of the working people of the republic are ready to do everything necessary in the name of the further development of the socialist society. Today's task is to give these sound forces a clear perspective, to rouse them to action, to mobilize their energy for the struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces in order to preserve and consolidate socialism in Czechoslovakia.

In the face of the threat of counter-revolution, the voice of the working class should resound with full strength in response to an appeal of the Communist Party. The working class together with the working peasants made the greatest efforts in the name of the triumph of the socialist revolution. The preservation of the conquests of socialism is dearest precisely to them.

We express the conviction that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, conscious of its responsibility, will take the necessary measures to bar the road to reaction. In this struggle you can count

on the solidarity and all-round assistance on the part of the fraternal socialist countries.

For the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party

Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

Stanko Todorov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC;

Boris Velchev, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC;

Pencho Kubadinsky, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

For the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic;

Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic;

Herman Axen, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC.

For the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC;

Jeno Fock, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government.

For the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party

Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC;

Marian Spychalski, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, Chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic;

Josef Cyrankiewicz, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic;

Zenon Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC.

For the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC;

N. V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

A. N. Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

P. Y. Shelest, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine;

K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CC.

Warsaw, July 15, 1968.

SPEECH* BY LEONID BREZHNEV

AT A SOVIET-HUNGARIAN FRIENDSHIP MEETING

Moscow, July 3, 1968

Dear Comrades and Friends,
Esteemed Muscovites,

Our capital again welcomes the guests from fraternal Hungary warmly and sincerely with the traditional Moscow cordiality. On behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, and on behalf of all the Muscovites gathered in this hall, I heartily greet our dear Hungarian friends, Comrade Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Comrade Jeno Fock, Chairman of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, and all the members of the Party and Government delegation of Hungary. We regard your visit to the Soviet Union, dear friends, as a new important stage in the promotion and extension of fraternal relations, friendship and cooperation which unite our Parties, our states, and our peoples.

Comrades, the talks we have had with the Hungarian delegation have reaffirmed complete unity of views of our Parties and governments on the basic problems of world affairs. These talks also enabled us to discuss a number of important questions relating to Soviet-Hungarian relations and to exchange experience in solving certain current tasks of internal development in our countries.

The Communists of the Soviet Union and all our people rejoice over the big successes in building socialism achieved by the Hungarian People's Republic under the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Hungarian industry turns out ever more commodities that accord with world standards. The living standard of the population is rising. Much work is being performed in connection with the transfer to the new system of economic management. Socialist democracy continues to be improved, Hungarian culture is being enriched. The activity of the Hungarian People's Republic is steadily growing in the international arena.

All this is a result of the inspired and stubborn efforts of the Hungarian workers, peasants and intellectuals, a result of the Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. All this is convincing evidence of the successful

*Pravda, July 4, 1968.

fulfilment of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the HSWP by the working people of Hungary, their confident advance along the road of completely building a socialist society. The Soviet people know perfectly well and highly value the big services rendered by the leadership of the Party and the Government of fraternal Hungary in achieving these successes, by our dear guests present here, Comrades Janos Kadar and Jeno Fock.

Our respect for the big achievements of new Hungary is all the greater because we know and well remember the trials the Hungarian Communists and all the working people of your country had to experience 12 years ago during the furious offensive on the positions of socialism in Hungary by the forces of internal and international reaction.

In that complex situation firmness and resoluteness, courage and principledness were required of the vanguard of the Hungarian revolution, of the Party of the Hungarian Communists, in the struggle for the interests of the working people, for the cause of socialism. And the Communists of Hungary, relying on the support of the working class and majority of the people, on the fraternal international alliance with other socialist countries, were able to give, and gave reaction a fitting rebuff, and defended socialism.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party rallied around itself the working class, the peasantry, and the intellectuals loyal to the cause of socialism, and led the entire people to further victories on the fronts of socialist construction. In grave trials, in clashes with the class enemies and in the years of peaceful constructive effort, the Communists of Hungary have indeed shown themselves as the real political vanguard, as the leading force in the country's social development enjoying the complete confidence of all sections of society. Honor and glory to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, organizer and inspirer of the wonderful achievements of socialist Hungary!

Comrades, last year the Soviet people, together with the working people of the world, celebrated the half century jubilee of the Soviet state. The Communists, all Soviet people, relying on the great achievements of the past years, are making a big effort to carry out the plans and tasks of communist construction.

The consistent implementation and the further promotion of the Leninist principles of socialist economic management and the encouragement of the creative initiative and activity of all workers have opened fresh possibilities for accelerating the rate of growth of production. During the five months of this year Soviet industrial production rose by 9.5 per cent and labor productivity by 6.5 per cent, as against the same period last year. We have every ground to believe that the five-year plan will be fulfilled ahead of time.

Changes for the better have also taken place in agricultural

development in the past few years. Many facts attest to this. The output of farm and livestock products has increased markedly. State plans for the purchase of these products are fulfilled and overfulfilled from year to year. The economy of the collective and state farms has been consolidated substantially. All this makes for a better satisfaction of the needs of Soviet people in foodstuffs and of industry in agricultural raw materials.

The advance of the socialist economy also made for a considerable growth of the real incomes of the working people. Suffice it to say that cash income of the population went up 10.6 per cent during the five months of 1968 as against the same period last year.

Our Party attaches great importance to the raising of the political activity of Soviet people in every possible way, the promotion of socialist democracy in all spheres of social life, and the strengthening of legality and law and order. We do not regard this merely as a campaign. It is carried out efficiently, quietly, without undue fuss. It can be said that this work permeates the everyday practice of the Party organizations, Soviets and economic management bodies.

Not a single more or less important question is solved in our country without consulting the people. As you know, a little while ago the people widely discussed the draft of the fundamental law on marriage and the family. This is a question which affects the interests of the entire population of the country. Taking into account the results of this discussion, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted a few days ago a corresponding law which will undoubtedly have a beneficial influence on one of the most important spheres of human relations.

The Supreme Soviet also discussed such an important question as medical aid to the population and measures for its further improvement. The measures approved by the Supreme Soviet for the promotion of health services are fresh confirmation that the Communist Party persistently implements the principle: everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man.

The successes of the Soviet people are indissolubly linked with the activities of the Leninist Communist Party. The policy of the Party enjoys the full support and trust of all strata of society: the working class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia. The Communist Party selflessly serves the people and purposefully directs their creative energies to the building of communism. The great Lenin counselled us to carry aloft the banner of the Communist Party, the leading force of the Soviet land. Soviet Communists are true to this behest of Lenin and will never betray it.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party regard close and all-round cooperation of fraternal socialist countries as an important condition for suc-

cessful socialist construction. Our Parties actively work, in close contact, to strengthen the unity of the socialist community and the world Communist movement. Our states closely cooperate on the international arena.

Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Hungary successfully develops in all spheres of the life of their Parties and states. Our economic relations expand, and their forms are improved. During the last seven years the volume of trade doubled and useful experience has been accumulated in the cooperation and specialization in a number of industries. I could mention as an example the division of labor being established in the manufacture of buses, diesel trains and other labor-consuming products, and cooperation in the production of aluminum.

In a word, comrades, much has already been done, and much is being done. However, quite a lot still remains to be done. And we hope that the visit of the Party and government delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic to the Soviet Union will lead to a further expansion of cooperation between our countries. Allow me to assure you, dear friends, that the Soviet Union will firmly and consistently follow this road in the future.

Comrades, the constructive activity of our peoples is developing in a complex international situation. A tense struggle is going on between the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, on the one hand, and the forces of reaction and imperialism, on the other. And, like any class struggle, it demands of the working class, the working people and all Communists maximum vigilance, organization and energetic coordinated actions aimed at curbing imperialist reaction.

Recent events show that the capitalist system has entered a new stage of serious upheavals. The drive of the working class fighting for its political, economic and social rights, the drive of broad masses, coming out against racialist discrimination and all forms of oppression, the drive of the working people, protesting against the policy of militarism and aggression, make ever more apparent that the capitalist way of social life is doomed.

Social conflicts, economic contradictions, political battles shaking the capitalist world — all these are a manifestation of the general crisis of capitalist society. These are symptoms of the chronic disease which afflicts the very core of capitalist society and leads to the aggravation of class contradictions and the further polarization of social forces.

The United States of America, the citadel of modern capitalism, is torn by social and racial conflicts. The whole world saw the fiasco of the attempts of the American leaders to build in the USA the so-called "great society." The "general well-being" promised to the Americans turned into rampant racialism, a growth of

violence and terror, a policy of military gambles which have already cost the American people many thousand lives.

The state, which has made violence and terror the main principle of policy, is paying with the lives of its political leaders. The assassination of Martin Luther King, one of the leaders of the struggle of American Negroes for their rights, the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy, who came out against the war in Vietnam, are a disgrace for modern America—the America of monopolies. The social and political system which breeds political banditism, evokes a feeling of contempt and revolution the world over.

"Decaying society," "degrading society," "disintegrating society" —that is how the United States of today is called by those who recently praised the American way of life. Yes, monopolistic America is degrading. Yet a different America, an America of working people, will inevitably come to take its place. We see this America growing stronger and raising its head, we see the growing movement for civil rights. We hear the ever louder voice of the working class—the future masters of the future United States.

The major capitalist countries of Europe have also come up against serious difficulties.

In the FRG, where the forces of militarism and revanchism are growing more active, the same political customs flourish as in the USA.

The ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany have banned the activity of the Communist Party and offered ample scope for the neo-fascist National Democratic Party. With the direct connivance of Bonn's authorities, revanchist organizations and unions, like the so-called fraternity of Sudetenland Germans, are continuing their criminal activity; territorial claims are being openly made to the land belonging to other states.

A new step in restricting the political and social rights of the working people, suppressing progressive parties, trade unions, public organizations, was the adoption of emergency laws in the FRG, a major act of an anti-democratic and militarist nature, an act which ranks on a par with the laws which nazi Germany used for putting the country's life on a war footing.

Mass protests against the policy of militarism and revival of fascism, against "emergency laws," the meetings and demonstrations sweeping West Germany indicate that the working class and all the progressive forces of West Germany do not want a repetition of the tragic times of the Hitler Reich.

France has become the arena of acute class battles of unprecedented scope. Ten million working people in that country came out in defense of their rights. This struggle was headed by the

French working class, by the Communist Party of France. In May the general strike actually paralyzed the country. The struggle went beyond economic and social demands and assumed the nature of an open political combat.

The reactionary forces maneuvered and resorted to demagogy and blackmail, wishing to preserve their positions in the country. The monopolies were forced to make concessions to the working people. But the social problems of France, like those of the other capitalist states, are still awaiting solution.

Great Britain is in the grip of an acute financial crisis. The working people of Britain wrathfully protest against solving economic difficulties at their expense; they demand a cut in the military budget and freedom from U.S. dictate.

In Italy, the so-called Center-Left coalition, which came into being a few years ago as a result of the conciliating policy of the Right-wing Socialists, has gone bankrupt and fallen apart. The recent elections brought fresh victory to the left forces, the Italian Communist Party in the first place.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union expresses its fraternal solidarity with the Communists, the working class and all the working people of the capitalist countries. We wish our friends and brothers fresh success and victories in their just struggle for the interests of the proletariat, for the interests of the working people.

Comrades, even in the countries which used to boast of their "democratism," the monopoly bourgeoisie, in an attempt to retain power and save capitalism, is revising constitutional norms, resorting to the assistance of the military, activizing fascist elements and intensifying reprisals and police terror. But neither the political terror, nor the assassination of the fighters for peace and the rights of the working people, nor the legal persecution of the opponents of criminal wars will stop the march of history. The growth of the political activity of the working class, of the working people in the developed capitalist countries is a sign of the times. It shows that the affairs of capitalism are going from bad to worse.

Besides suppressing the democratic forces and implanting totalitarianism the ruling circles of the imperialist countries are looking for a way out in ventures outside their countries, in the aggravation of the international situation.

In Vietnam, U.S. imperialism still stakes everything on the use of force, on settling the issue by war. Only a few months ago the U.S. leaders announced their readiness to start a search for political forms of settlement and to this end to send their representatives anywhere and at any time. But when the possibility of talks became real Washington started to bargain over the place of the talks. Now, when owing to the far-sighted and flexible policy of the

DRV Government contacts are already established, the United States is doing all to drag out a concrete discussion on concrete steps to peace.

If the United States makes an attempt to disrupt the talks, it will once again expose the aggressive nature of its policy in the eyes of the world and will lead to new, more serious defeats of the United States on the battlefield.

Together with all the progressive forces, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have been and will be on the side of heroic Vietnam in its just struggle for freedom and independence. We will continue to render the necessary assistance to Vietnam in its struggle against the imperialist aggression, for the right to build their lives as the Vietnamese think fit.

The situation remains tense in the Middle East as well. Responsibility for this rests with the Israeli extremists who enjoy the support of the imperialists of the United States and other capitalist countries. Tel Aviv still refuses to understand that the adventurist policy, provocations against the national-liberation movement and annexation of Arab lands is a dangerous course which may lead to new grave complications and boomerang against Israel itself.

Our Arab friends may rest assured that we will continue to render them necessary assistance and support. The truth is on the side of the Arab peoples, their just cause will triumph.

Guided by the decisions of the Twenty-Third CPSU Congress, the decisions of the Plenary meetings of the Central Committee of our Party and proceeding from the interests of the people, our Party and the Soviet Government use all means and possibilities for opposing the aggressive policy of imperialism, for bringing about an international situation best conforming to the interests of the construction of socialism and communism, the interests of the national and social liberation of the peoples. The Soviet Union is carrying out a consistent policy of asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations, of developing mutually advantageous cooperation of states with different social systems. But our country never reconciled itself, nor is it going to reconcile itself, to the attempts of imperialism to engage in international brigandage and interfere in the affairs of others. The Soviet Union will continue to give a fitting rebuff to the instigators of war and render support to those struggling for peace and international security, for the freedom and independence of the peoples, for democracy and socialism. This is our line and we will carry it out persistently and purposefully.

The struggle for ending the armaments race, for delivering mankind from the threat of a world nuclear war is one of the main components of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

We can say today that we have reached a new important landmark on this way. The non-proliferation treaty—a fruit of the long years of the efforts of states—was approved by the majority of countries and has been open to signing since July 1. This is an important success of our Leninist foreign policy.

The main significance of the treaty is that it raises a barrier to the proliferation of nuclear weapons and ensures necessary international control over the fulfilment of obligations by states in this field. It is a document of peace aimed at reducing the danger of nuclear war, at strengthening the security of the peoples.

We call upon all states to place their signatures under this important document and to do everything necessary to bring the treaty into operation as soon as possible so that it serves peace and progress.

True to its policy of strengthening world peace, the Soviet Government several days ago sent a Memorandum to all countries on certain urgent measures to end the arms race and on disarmament. Agreement has also been reached on an exchange of views between the Soviet Union and the United States concerning the comprehensive restriction and reduction of systems for delivering nuclear offensive strategic weapons and anti-ballistic missile defense systems.

Our country's stand on all these questions is clear and consistent. The struggle against the arms race, for strengthening international peace and security has been a firm tradition of our policy throughout the existence of the Soviet state. And in this struggle the Soviet Union invariably relied on the support of all peace-loving forces the world over.

The setting up of an effective system of collective security in Europe with both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany as its full-fledged partners, is of great importance for the Soviet Union as well as for all European states. It is generally known that lately the GDR has taken a number of measures aimed at further strengthening her sovereignty. These measures have caused irritation in the FRG and in certain other countries. Certain quarters there refuse to reconcile themselves to the fact that the German Democratic Republic, just as any sovereign state, has the full right to protect her borders, her territory. They completely fail to realize that Bonn's revenge-seeking course, even when dressed up as a "new Eastern policy," is doomed to failure. However difficult this may be, some quarters will nevertheless have to recognize this fact.

Comrades, life demands that the united front of world imperialism be confronted by a powerful, united, anti-imperialist front of all champions of peace, democracy, national independence and social progress. The core of such unity is the world socialist system and the international Communist movement.

The cohesion and unity of action of the countries of the socialist community acquire especially great importance under present conditions. This is why the Soviet Union, the Hungarian People's Republic and other fraternal countries show tireless concern for strengthening this unity. The meetings and talks of the leaders of fraternal Parties and countries, regular contacts between statesmen at all levels provide an opportunity comprehensively to discuss and collectively to elaborate our common line on the main questions of today.

The socialist countries cooperate most closely on matters concerning the security of the socialist community. The Warsaw Treaty Organization plays a big role in this. The main aim of this alliance is to safeguard peace against the bellicose attempts of imperialism. While the aggressive NATO bloc exists the Warsaw Treaty Organization—this militant political and military alliance of the socialist countries in Europe—will be preserved and further developed. May all know that the Warsaw Treaty Organization has sufficient opportunities for reliably defending the positions of socialism, for ensuring the security of all its members.

Along with military and political cooperation problems of economic cooperation occupy a substantial place in the relations between the fraternal socialist countries. We strive to use to the utmost all the advantages provided by socialism in this sphere. In this connection we, just as the other member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, attach great importance to the forthcoming summit conference of representatives of the socialist countries, agreement on which was reached at the Dresden meeting.

The world of socialism is leading a full-blooded life, is in a state of continuous progressive movement. Naturally, this is an intricate and most diverse process. In the course of their development a number of countries encounter complications, experience difficulties. Problems also arise in the relations between socialist countries. Communists see these difficulties, see these problems and strive to solve them on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism.

A correct understanding and the upholding of these principles are of major importance.

History develops in such a way that individual socialist countries embark on the building of the new social system under different conditions, at different levels of economic and cultural development, with different national peculiarities and traditions. The result is that although they have a common economic and sociopolitical basis, the concrete road for building socialism, the concrete forms of socialist social relations, may differ in certain features.

There is nothing surprising and nothing unexpected in this, Com-

rades. Back in 1916, Lenin wrote: "All nations will arrive at socialism—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."

We become convinced in practice today how true Lenin's foresight was. The more socialist countries that appear in the world, the greater will be the variety of the methods of upbuilding a new society, the richer will be the variety of concrete social forms, in which the socialist way of life is realized.

But the socialist countries are united by the same principles, by the social, economic and political basis that is common to them all. For all the variety of forms, for all the specific national features of one or another country, this basis will always remain the same, for there can be no socialism without it. There is no, and cannot be, any socialism without public ownership of the means of production. There is no, and cannot be, any socialism without the participation of the widest masses of the people in running society and the state. There is no, and cannot be, any socialism without the guiding role of the Communist Party, equipped with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We Communists are building socialism and communism in our respective countries, and we regard this as our paramount duty. But, at the same time, we, by the essence of our convictions, by our education, by the command of our heart, are internationalists, and the destinies of socialist construction in other countries, the common cause of socialism and communism on earth cannot be and never will be indifferent to us.

We have to say this today when the apologists of the bourgeois system are ready to don any pseudo-socialist guise in order to try, under the mask of "national forms" to undermine, to "soften," as they say, socialism, to weaken the fraternal ties between the socialist countries. Therefore, today, as never before, the task arises of intensifying efforts in our offensive against bourgeois ideology, of fostering communist conviction, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism among the working people.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always attached, and continues to attach, prime importance to the internationalist cohesion of the fraternal Parties, the organization of a united political front in the struggle against imperialism. The new International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, which will take place in Moscow this year, is called upon to play a big role in the solution of these tasks. The Conference preparations, in which more than 60 Parties are participating, have already shown the keen interest of the Communists in a joint discussion of urgent

problems of modern times. There is every reason to believe that the Conference will be an important stage in the strengthening of the solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist Parties.

I would like particularly to stress today the big role played by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in the preparations for the International Conference of the Communist Parties. The present efforts of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, its active work aimed at consolidating the Marxist-Leninist Parties, convincingly reaffirms the principled stand of the Hungarian comrades, their whole-hearted devotion to proletarian internationalism.

Comrades, the friendship which has developed between the Soviet Union and People's Hungary, between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is near and dear to each one of us. This friendship is our common gain. It is of vital importance not only for our countries but for the international positions of socialism as a whole. The Soviet people are fully resolved to further strengthen this fraternal alliance. We ask you to convey our ardent communist greetings to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Government and the State Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Communists, all working people of your fraternal country.

Long live the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party!

Long live the Hungarian People's Republic!

May the inviolable Soviet-Hungarian friendship live on and flourish!

Long live communism!

SPEECH* BY JANOS KADAR

AT A SOVIET-HUNGARIAN FRIENDSHIP MEETING

Moscow, July 3, 1968

Dear comrades,
Dear Soviet friends,

We wholeheartedly salute you, the presiding board and all the participants in the friendship meeting. Many thanks to Comrade Brezhnev for his warm words about the activity of our Party, about the labor of our people, about the sincere fraternal relations between our countries.

Our delegation has already spent a week in the Soviet Union, some of it with pleasure in hospitable Moscow, where we met several times with leading Soviet comrades in talks about our common affairs. Then we went to Volgograd and paid homage to the memory of the heroes of the Battle of Stalingrad, and visited Tallinn, capital of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

We are satisfied with our visit and talks and highly value their results. We are deeply moved by the fact that wherever we went we felt respect for the Hungarian Communists, and for the Hungarian people building socialism, and witnessed the sincere friendship of the Soviet people.

Thank you for all this. On behalf of the members of the Party and Government delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic I once again thank the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government for the invitation. We thank Soviet people for the friendly reception and the hospitality they accorded us. May I use this occasion to extend to you Muscovites and to the entire great Soviet people, builders of communism, warm comradely greetings and good fraternal wishes from the Hungarian Communists, the Hungarian working people.

Dear comrades, the purpose of our visit was to broaden our contacts and cooperation and further to strengthen the friendship of our peoples. We think we have achieved this aim and successfully carried out our task—in large measure due to the fact that the Soviet comrades had the same intentions. Our work was facilitated above all by the strength of our unity, the inviolability of Hungarian-Soviet friendship, the community of ideas, interests and aims. The friendship of our peoples is developing constantly, and it is stronger today than ever before.

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*Pravda, July 4, 1968.

The foundations of our friendship were laid fifty years ago by the immortal Lenin, by his Bolshevik comrades-in-arms and the first Hungarian Communists Bela Kun and Tibor Szamueli. The efforts of whole generations and blood shed by many people have helped strengthen it. This friendship, once proclaimed only by the most sagacious and far-seeing leaders, has now become a vital cause of millions of people in our countries. The realization of common aims, the consolidation of the friendship and cooperation of our peoples are facilitated by the spirit of mutual confidence that permeates our relations with the Party and Government leaders of the Soviet Union. The Hungarian people have a deep feeling of affection and respect for Comrades Brezhnev, Kosygin, Podgorny and all others vested with the tremendous responsibility of guiding the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state and society. This is understandable to all who know the important role the CPSU and the Soviet state play for the present and future of mankind.

Conducting talks with representatives of the Soviet people on the development of friendship and cooperation, our delegation acts in keeping with the interests, aspirations and will of the Hungarian working class, all working people of Hungary.

Tens and hundreds of thousands of people are working to deepen our cooperation. Soviet-Hungarian friendship has become truly the friendship of our peoples which is cherished and constantly strengthened by millions of people.

Comrades, friends, the Hungarian people are following with great sympathy the remarkable selfless labor of the Soviet people and highly appreciate their world-famous achievements. Our visit has enabled us to see again with our own eyes how rapidly the Soviet national economy is developing, to see on what a remarkable scale construction work is going on in Moscow, Volgograd, Tallinn, all Soviet cities. Many branches of Soviet science, space research, the defense industry, occupy leading positions in the world. In the past seven years industrial output in the Soviet Union has increased by 80 per cent. Housing construction in the Soviet Union is growing at a rate hardly equalled anywhere in the world. Soviet agricultural production is developing successfully on the basis of recently adopted important decisions.

Even the most biased bourgeois faultfinders in the West are compelled to admit the superiority of the Soviet system of education and public health, the extensive development of social security, the constant growth of the standard of living. On behalf of our people we wholeheartedly congratulate you on your successes. We Hungarians sincerely wish that the Soviet people, fulfilling the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, should score, under the leadership of the Party, ever new successes in communist construc-

tion for the good of the great family of Soviet peoples, to the glory of the socialist system.

The 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was marked by the entire progressive mankind. The Hungarian people joined the peoples of the Soviet Union in celebrating the jubilee of the first socialist state, its great successes and victories scored in the past fifty years. As a result of the heroic struggle and selfless labor of the Soviet people the Soviet Union has become a power possessing a mighty economy, a highly-developed culture and an invincible military potential. The whole of mankind thirsting for social justice and peace looks to the Soviet Union with hope. Hundreds upon hundreds of millions of people wish the great Soviet people further successes in their irresistible progress in communist construction.

Comrades, friends, the people of our Hungarian People's Republic are confidently doing the great job of completing the construction of socialist society. A little over ten years ago, at the height of the counter-revolutionary rebellion of 1956, few people could think that the Hungary of 1968 would be characterized by order, stability and tranquillity resting on firm socialist relationships. But that is exactly the case, primarily because the Party, having won the support of the working class and the entire people, put an end to dogmatism and revisionism and politically isolated and defeated the counter-revolutionary bourgeois forces.

The Party is working in close unity with the masses. In keeping with the spirit of our policy of alliance with all the laboring strata of the population, in the interest of achieving a common aim, socialism, the movement of the Patriotic Popular Front embraces and rallies all the creative forces of our society. Owing to this unity our people have achieved signal successes on the wide front of socialist reconstruction. Since Liberation our industrial output has grown sixfold, doubling in the last ten years. In the course of ten years—during the socialist reconstruction of agriculture and in the subsequent period—we increased agricultural production by 25 per cent. Having consolidated our system, we have built the foundations of socialist society and achieved great progress in all fields of constructive endeavor.

The 9th Congress of our Party outlined the tasks we have to carry out in the present stage of socialist construction. Early this year we set about introducing the economic management reform drafted on the initiative of our Party. We are in the process of fulfilling our third five-year plan. The aim of the reform is to raise the efficiency of production within the framework of a socialist planned economy, to improve the utilization of the productive forces and accelerate the rate of development.

The results of the first five months of 1968 justified our expecta-

tions. Output in the state-owned industry went up by six per cent, with the metal-making industry registering an increase of 7.5 per cent and the chemical industry, 11.6 per cent. The other indices also conform to or exceed the plan. Our socialist agriculture has been strengthened and is making headway; work in the fields proceeds successfully despite the severe drought this year. Considerable successes have been attained in the development of science, education, culture and the public health system, in raising the living standard of the people.

Conditions for further socialist development have been created in our Republic. We cannot say that we have no unsolved problems, no troubles. Some of these problems are the legacy of the past. In the twenty years of the existence of the socialist system since Liberation our people have done away with the age-old backwardness. However, much still remains to be done.

We were flung backwards by grave mistakes committed in the course of socialist construction, and by the damage caused by the counter-revolutionary rebellion. In addition, life has often posed new and not infrequently difficult problems.

The HSWP, being as it is a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party, pursues a consistent, clear-cut policy. Our policy has been invariably stable for more than ten years now, but the Party sees it as its duty to constantly analyze the situation, the course of social development, and to offer correct solutions to the new problems posed by life. That was how the Party acted when, having safeguarded and consolidated power, it raised and, when the conditions allowed, solved the problem of the socialist reorganization of agriculture. That is how the Party is acting now, having taken the initiative in effecting the economic reform. Our Central Committee regards it as its duty tirelessly to perfect the Party as the leading force in society, to pay constant attention to questions of ideology and culture, to promote democracy in Party and social life, doing all this in keeping with our class aims, with the demands of socialism. In this the Party relies not only on the Communists but on the entire people. We are confident that our Party, our working class, armed with Marxist Leninist theory and considerable revolutionary experience, will successfully carry out, with the support of the people, the tasks that are facing us. Together with the progressive forces of the entire world, the Hungarian People's Republic will go on marching along the socialist road.

Our Party, the Hungarian working class, our people, were the first to follow the example of the Great October Socialist Revolution and set up, in 1919, the Hungarian Soviet Republic. But the first Hungarian workers' power was strangled by the armed interventionist forces of international imperialism. A ruthless counter-revolutionary regime was installed. However, despite the efforts of

our class enemies, socialism ultimately triumphed in Hungary.

The Soviet army of liberation brought our people freedom and the possibility of building a new life. Later on, too, the Soviet people always helped us, being invariably on our side in our struggle and constructive work. They shared in our joys and sorrows. The Soviet Union is a model of internationalism; we see in it the most loyal ally and the true friend of the Hungarian People's Republic. Our people know what they owe to the Soviet Union, and they will never forget it. We have a common road, a common destiny. We are convinced that our unity and cohesion will grow even stronger in the future.

Dear comrades, Hungarian-Soviet friendship permeates the whole life of our society.

Our close and fruitful contacts are developing in accordance with the spirit of internationalism, which is characteristic of our relations, helping us in our socialist constructive labor. We are highly satisfied with our inter-party, inter-state, economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

In the past few years trade between our countries has been growing at an annual rate of 15 to 20 per cent. Considerable progress has been made in cooperation between separate industries, specifically in the manufacture of aluminum and buses, and in other branches, which have been mentioned by Comrade Brezhnev.

Constant fruitful contacts, new forms of cooperation are developing also in the cultural field. Along with the systematic exchange of achievements of Hungarian and Soviet culture, our people have been acquainting themselves, within the framework of annual festivals, with the distinct cultures of the separate Soviet republics. Good experience has been accumulated by a new organ set up by our countries—the Hungarian-Soviet inter-government commission for cultural cooperation.

In the course of the present talks we have exchanged with our Soviet comrades views on many important problems and discussed the experience of socialist and communist construction in our countries and topical problems of our bilateral relations and of the international situation. These talks were cordial and friendly, and both sides could record with satisfaction that on all main problems under discussion our views and aspirations coincide and that the positions of our parties and governments are identical.

The talks will give a fresh impetus to the development of our cooperation. Last September, in Budapest, we signed for another twenty years the important Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. Our common efforts during the current visit conformed to the stipulations and spirit of this treaty. It is our firm intention to go on expanding, by joint effort, all-round cooperation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet

Union, to do everything for the unity of our parties and peoples, for Hungarian-Soviet friendship to grow ever stronger, to be eternal and inviolable.

Dear friends, problems of the international situation, the course of events in our complicated world are, for obvious reasons, an object of close attention on the part of our parties and peoples. International events reflect the clash and influence of the mutually opposed forces of progress and reaction. Temporary turns and reverses can and do occur, but history continues along its course. The world forces of progress are growing. The irreconcilable contradictions of international imperialism confront the capitalist system with serious and growing problems. Different capitalist countries have to do not only with a government crisis, but also with a deepening social crisis.

In the United States, realistically-minded public leaders and journalists point out that the growing discontent with the war in Vietnam, the unsolved problems of the Negro population and of the White poor, the monstrous crime rate, have led their society to a grave crisis. The struggle of the working masses against monopoly exploitation is mounting in France, Italy and Britain. The spontaneous rebellion against the inhuman capitalist ruling regimes is manifested also in mass actions by young people which are still often of an anarchic nature. Grave financial problems are arising in the leading capitalist countries, as is testified by the instability of the pound, the dollar and of late also the French franc. Even retaliatory blows by the Right forces, or renascent fascism in some capitalist countries are of no help to imperialism.

We fully side with our class brothers fighting against capitalist exploitation, with the peoples fighting for their national independence, against imperialist oppression. In their attempts to overcome the crisis the imperialists often look for a way out in adventurist actions. This demands of the socialist countries, the progressive movements in the capitalist countries and the newly-free peoples of Asia and Africa special staunchness, vigilance and activity.

The facts show that in recent years the imperialists, enraged by the collapse of the colonial system and frightened by their own working class, the toiling masses, by the successes of communism, have been stepping up their aggression in different parts of the world.

Many thousands of kilometers away from their borders, the U.S. imperialists are waging a destructive war against the people of South Vietnam and have for a number of years been committing acts of armed aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The valiant struggle of the Vietnamese people, their determined resistance to the colonialists and their puppets are recog-

nized and admired the world over. The peoples of the socialist countries, the Hungarian people included, have been and will go on rendering, to the best of their abilities, every necessary aid to the fraternal Vietnamese people.

In a staunch heroic struggle the Vietnamese people are defending their country, their freedom, the right to self-determination. We unreservedly support the struggle of our Vietnamese brothers and their just demand that the American aggressors immediately and unconditionally discontinue the bombing and all other acts of war against the DRV. The initiative in all fields is in the hands of the Vietnamese patriots, and the obvious fact is that the policy of the U.S. government has led to a crisis, driven into a blind alley. Despite this, the U.S. imperialists are trying to stall even at the Negotiations in Paris. The world's progressive forces should undertake new energetic efforts to help the Vietnamese people and expose and isolate the U.S. imperialists so as to put an end to their war of aggression.

The peace forces should also do everything to ease the tension in the Middle East. A year ago, supported by imperialist states, Israel committed aggression and since then, in defiance of the U.N. Security Council decision, has been stubbornly trying to appropriate the seized Arab territories. The Prime Minister and other Israeli leaders even now continue to threaten aggression. Condemning these aggressive actions, the Hungarian People's Republic acts in the international arena on the side of the Arab countries that were the victim of attack. We support the Arab countries upholding their independence and territorial integrity, and try to help eliminate the consequences of the aggression and achieve a political settlement of the conflict.

A matter of direct concern to the Hungarian people is European security. The chief obstacle to it is the militarist and revanchist policy which the ruling circles of the German Federal Republic pursue with the support of the U.S. government. Bonn is trying to maneuver in the field of diplomacy and inter-state relations. It would like to present the GFR as a democratic peace-loving state. But there is a deep gulf between its words and its deeds, exemplified by the suppression of the progressive forces and the ever greater freedom of activity for the neo-Nazi forces.

Not long ago the Bundestag adopted the so-called emergency laws, which spell first of all enslavement for the working people and, in addition, serve the interests of the cold-war policy against the German Democratic Republic.

The future of the entire German people is represented by the society which is developing and gaining in strength in the German Democratic Republic. We express solidarity with the people and government of the GDR and support the struggle they are waging

in close alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in defense of its sovereignty, against West German militarism.

Anxious to strengthen peace and security in Europe, we support all progressive forces on our continent. In our opinion, the governments and parliaments of the European countries should also discuss common tasks which concern only these countries. We are convinced that constructive exchanges of opinion, sober appraisal of the situation, reasonable agreement, and resolute and concerted action by the peoples of Europe can lead to the solution of the problem of European security.

Our Government supports the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This policy has been proclaimed by the socialist countries; they are fighting for its implementation and have achieved considerable successes. Its force of attraction and popularity among the masses are so great that even imperialist aggressors speak about it while trampling underfoot the rights of other peoples and attacking peaceful countries. The policy of peaceful coexistence proclaimed by us guarantees to the peoples security and national independence. Communists do not need war to propagate their ideas.

They wish the peoples peace and tranquility. In keeping with this, our Government too is doing everything to eliminate the danger of war hanging over mankind.

The Soviet Union and other socialist states have more than once come forward with constructive proposals aimed at easing international tension and ruling out the possibility of war. Among such initiatives we list the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. We always advocated it, and have just put our signature to it. Since only four countries voted against it at the general discussion in the UNO, we hope that, in view of the significance of the treaty, it will be acceded to by more and more states, including those which for various reasons have so far refrained from signing it.

Dear comrades, in our times the unity and internal stability of the socialist countries, their relations with the Soviet Union, are of exceptional importance which bears upon the entire international life. Even the imperialists have realized this. They are spending vast means on a propaganda war against us. They are setting up special "research" institutes whose purpose is to cause ideological disorder and thus disrupt links between socialist countries, cause confusion among the forces of progress and prevent the rallying of the anti-imperialist forces of the world. To undermine the unity of the socialist countries, they strive above all to whip up nationalist sentiments and sow national strife. Their chief objective is to detach these countries from the Soviet Union and set them against one another. In the face of all these hostile plans we should wage a consistent ideological struggle, strengthen and improve

the organizations of the socialist countries and all forms of their bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

The Central Committee of our Party and our Government consider that in the present situation it is our central common task to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries, which also includes consolidation of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

The Warsaw Treaty states have stated repeatedly their readiness to discontinue the operation of their defense organization if the imperialist powers disband NATO. But as long as the aggressive imperialist military bloc exists, threatening the peace of the peoples, it is our internationalist duty to strengthen and perfect our joint defense set-up organizationally and militarily and to increase its effectiveness.

The development of our countries is facilitated by their cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. We consolidate and develop the results achieved thanks to this cooperation. Regarding it as our important pressing task to enhance the effectiveness of the economic cooperation of the CMEA countries, we are taking part in the work of the Council and doing our best to strengthen it. In our opinion, possibilities exist not only for promoting the development of the independent national economies, but also for the further consolidation of international economic contacts and cooperation. We approve every reasonable step which serves the interests of our peoples and countries, facilitates their economic development and raises cooperation to a higher level.

Our experience convinces us of the need to wage a tireless struggle against any bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and anarchical attempts to advocate the building of socialism in any country in isolation from the socialist countries or even without Communists. History has proved on many occasions that just as there does not exist anti-Soviet communism, so there cannot be any socialism without Communism.

In the present international situation special historical responsibility develops on the group of Chinese leaders who have sunk into nationalism and whose advocacy of petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionary ideas and splitting subversive activities are objectively playing into the hands of the imperialists, doing great harm to the progressive movements in the world. Petty-bourgeois revolutionism combined with nationalism which has become fashionable again, cannot be equated with proletarian revolutionism. The "cultural revolution" in China has nothing in common either with culture or with revolution and is nothing else but the unleashed evil spirit of nationalism, anarchy and destruction.

It is the duty of the true supporters of socialism, proletarian

internationalism and Marxism-Leninism in every country to defend the policy and ideology of the Party against all Right and "Left" distortions. It is equally necessary to combat petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionism, nationalism, national aloofness, chauvinistic enmity and all kinds of hostile views.

We have our strongest weapon in our world outlook, our Marxist-Leninist theory. In the socialist countries, even while being in power, we rely principally on ideological means in the pursuit and defense of our policy. But if our class enemies resort to organized and violent actions in attacking the foundations of the socialist system, it is our right and duty also to use the power that we hold in order to safeguard the cause of socialism, the cause of the working class.

Political and ideological struggle for socialism, for the hearts and minds of people, is developing between the two social systems as well as within the socialist countries. We reject the thesis that the victory and further development of socialism is automatically accompanied by the aggravation of the class struggle. But our own struggle and the experience of other socialist countries show that in certain conditions this struggle can grow in acuteness and assume more complicated forms. Wherever this struggle may flare up, our Party expresses its complete solidarity with the Communists, with those who stand up to defend the power of the working class, the socialist cause against the encroachments of dogmatists, revisionists, the class enemy. We understand the essence of this struggle, and we are ready to render all-round internationalist assistance.

Dear comrades, the striving for unity has been growing in the world working-class movement of late. A vivid testimony of this was furnished by the February Consultative Meeting of fraternal parties in Budapest, at which agreement was reached to convene next November, in Moscow, an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The participants in the Consultative Meeting agreed that it is necessary to work for the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement on the principal problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. Later on, the preparatory commission assembled in Budapest and the working group for drafting materials for the international conference held its first session.

Our Party has always striven and will continue to strive to contribute to the restoration of the unity of the working-class movement. It is our profound conviction that the Moscow Conference will become an important milestone on the road to unity, that it will make it possible to broaden and activate the worldwide anti-imperialist front and will thus serve the cause of socialism, progress and peace.

Dear friends, our visit to the Soviet Union, abounding in vivid impressions, is drawing to an end. Having consistently fulfilled its duty, our delegation is returning home, to the socialist Hungarian People's Republic.

We came here with the lofty task of further strengthening our contacts. We are deeply moved by the countless manifestations of the fact that the idea of friendship of our peoples is rooted in the heart of the fraternal Soviet people. We have had numerous and varied occassions to see that the Soviet people love and respect the Hungarian people, understand their problems and support their aspirations.

There is no corner in the world where people do not entertain feelings of gratitude to the Soviet Union, the mainstay of mankind's progress, the powerful bulwark of peace. There is no corner in the world where people do not respect the Soviet people, who have won admiration, esteem and gratitude with their heroic labor and oustanding achievements, with their high sense of responsibility for the destinies of other peoples, and their tremendous sacrifices in the name of mankind's progress.

It is gratifying to realize that we can regard the Soviet people as our real friend and loyal ally. We cherish and strengthen this friendship, regarding it as our great international asset. Friendship with the Soviet people is the firm foundation of our national existence, freedom, independence and socialist future, the guarantee of our development.

Bidding farewell to you, I want to thank once again the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Soviet Government as well as our immediate hosts—the residents of Moscow, Volgograd and Tallinn—and the entire Soviet people for the feeling of sincere affection, for the warm reception, for the friendship which we have invariably felt throughout our stay in your country.

We once again wish our brother party, the CPSU, our true friend and ally, the USSR, great successes and new achievements in communist construction, and in the international arena—in the fight for world peace. We sincerely wish the Soviet people great successes, happiness and peace.

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the great Soviet Union, and may it prosper!

May the brotherhood and unity of our peoples, Hungarian-Soviet friendship, flourish and grow stronger!

SPEECH* BY WLADYSLAW GOMULKA

AT THE JULY PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

This meeting is to approve the draft Theses for the 5th Party Congress. Their publication will launch the pre-congress discussion in the Party and the public at large and, consequently, the decisive stage of the preparations for the congress, which will adopt a new program of the Party and map the Party's general line for the new period.

The pre-congress discussion is an expression of inner-Party democracy in the broader meaning of the world, discussion within the framework of which every Communist and every Party organization can influence the decisions of the congress and the shaping of the Party's policy.

The Theses are obligatory for all Party organizations only as material for discussion. Every organization and every Communist has the right to submit amendments to them.

The congress alone will state the definitive attitude towards the Theses and all proposals made during the discussion.

We want the Party organizations to take the most active part in this discussion, display as much constructive initiative as possible and thereby make their contribution to the decisions which will lay guidelines of Party policy in all spheres of its activity.

Exceptional importance attaches to the fact that in the course of the discussion our organizations enjoy the democratic right to share in working out the political line of the Party. It is important that they take the most active part in elaborating the general line of the Party, in drafting its program which they will have to carry into reality after the congress. In discussions opinions often diverge. Communists may differ on particular issues. This is their right, which they should exercise, and this is an expression of the essence of inner-Party democracy, the rock-bottom principle of the Party's creative activity.

The decisions of the Party congress, which will culminate the discussion, will be obligatory for the Party, for all its organizations and members, no matter what views they will have expressed during the pre-congress discussion. That is the essence of democratic centralism, this main condition for the unity of action of the Party and its fundamental organizational principle.

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*Trybuna Ludu, July 13, 1968.

Proposals which are incorrect or simply unrealistic in our conditions can be made during the pre-congress discussion. Unfounded criticism of some or other aspects of the policy of the Party can be voiced. We should not be afraid of this, for everything can be clarified and explained. If a person is guided by the interests of the Party he can be persuaded that he is not right, that his criticism even has a positive aspect, serving as a starting point for elucidating issues, which raises the level of Party organizations in every respect.

It is an unhealthy phenomenon and one which is harmful to the Party when correct or incorrect criticism is voiced, not at Party meetings and in Party organs, but in backstage private talks. The Party organs and organizations should keep this in mind as they prepare for the congress.

The problems dealt with in the Theses concern all our citizens. This follows from the leading role which our Party plays in the life of the people, in the building of socialism in Poland. The Theses as a Party document are thus of nationwide importance. Therefore participation in their discussion—with the exception of purely Party affairs—should be of the same character. The discussion is open to representatives of other parties and publc organizations affiliated with the National Unity Front, and to every one who wishes to state his constructive, even if critical, opinion on a particular question.

Ideological matters were the most important subject in the discussion on the Theses, and I think that the speakers adopted a correct approach to these fundamental problems of the activity of the Party. The weakness of our Party's ideological front is known to all of us, and it is no accident that these problems were in the center of discussion at this meeting.

But it seems to me that we have not given an exhaustive answer to a highly important question, namely: what explains this weakness? This is not a new phenomenon. I would say that throughout the Party's activity and the period since Liberation, since the formation of People's Poland, there have been weaknesses in our ideological work. What is the cause of these weaknesses?

An exhaustive answer can hardly be supplied. These are fairly debatable matters to which we have not given sufficient thought. The answer should be sought in a rather distant past. The causes stem in large measure from the traditions of our people and from the specificity of its history.

Now, in the pre-congress discussion, every one will have an opportunity to speak his mind on this question in connection with the 50th anniversary of the restoration of Polish independence, the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Poland and other

significant dates. I shall limit myself to brief comments on this debatable and certainly controversial question.

In the Theses we speak about the last fifty years during which we have lived through three historical periods: the period of the establishment of independent bourgeois Poland which began in 1918 after more than 130 years of our country's partition and which ended in 1939; the period of Nazi occupation, and the current period of People's Poland which began 24 years ago. Note should be taken of the position which the forces of reaction, the propertied classes held in these past fifty years, both in bourgeois Poland as well as during occupation and after Liberation. The propertied classes of all countries have always been hostile towards the revolutionary working-class movement, the Communist parties, socialism. In addition, the attitude of the Polish reactionary circles has been characterized by exceptional hostility towards socialism and especially the Soviet Union.

As early as 1918, during the rise of the bourgeois Polish state, the reactionary forces in power, driven by their hatred for the USSR, put Poland on a suicidal road. That is not a hypothesis but a fact of history confirmed by the defeat in September.

During occupation the attitude of the Polish reactionaries and London emigres towards the Soviet Union, the progressive movement and the Communists was, again, perhaps more hostile than in any other country.

We know what consequences this had after Liberation. Much time passed before we were able to win over some of the people who were influenced by the reactionaries for the building of new Poland, and to neutralize others. It is an indisputable fact that some of the supporters of the London camp have actually retained their attitude to this day.

Under what slogans did the propertied classes want to restore Poland in 1918?

In a somewhat simplified manner, I would say that in 1918 the bourgeois forces, standing on the platform of independence of the Polish state, wanted to restore *status quo ante,* to return to the *"Recz Pospolita* of three nations," for what else can explain Pilsuldski's march to Kiev or Zeligowski's to Vilnius? The groups that had won influence in independent Poland seemed to have forgotten about the century and several decades that had passed since Poland's partitions, and wanted to restore the Poland of the nobility. But that just could not be achieved. In the period between the two world wars Poland's propertied classes and leaders seemed ignorant of the changes the October Revolution in Russia had wrought in the world correlation of class forces, in the consciousness of all peoples. With large territories of the Ukraine and Byelorussia included into the Polish state, the Polish propertied classes imme-

diately found themselves in the position of colonialists. They had to resort to national oppression in order to keep their grip on the Ukrainian and Byelorussian population, for the latter's loyalty was highly questionable. That was one of the main causes of the weakness of the Poland of that period.

All that met with approval among the middle strata, especially among the intelligentsia. In this spirit the people were educated. Such was the tradition that prevailed in the social and political life of our country throughout the twenty inter-war years.

Who opposed this tradition? It was opposed only by the revolutionary labor movement and the relatively small part of the intelligentsia which was among its ranks or adhered to resolutely progressive positions. What, in fact, was demanded by the reactionaries in Poland and among the London emigres during occupation and after Liberation?

They demanded restoration of the *status quo,* i.e., the Poland of 1939. That was demanded by the London government. Thus, more than 150 years later, they again refused to reckon with the facts, with the new socio-political phenomena, with the national requirements of other peoples. They wanted to keep them under the yoke.

All these traditions weighed upon the conscience of a large part of our intelligentsia and partially continue to weigh upon it today. Such is the specificity of our historical development. The twenty-four years of people's power have certainly forced the way for a new tradition, removed and corrected many things and evoked among the overwhelming majority of the Polish people friendly feelings for the peoples of the Soviet Union. A particularly important role has been played by the changing of the western frontiers of Poland, for which our thanks are due above all to the Soviet Union. Our people have duly appreciated this.

What would have happened to Poland if at the moment People's Poland was formed in 1944 the correlation of class forces on the national and international scale had been different and power had been taken by the London group, which had a great advantage over us, possessing a large apparatus, cadres and material means—millions of dollars, as against our own modest forces?

What would have become of Poland then? That is not an abstract question. Our country would have remained without the western lands and the eastern lands. It would have become something like the Warsaw duchy. Poland would have been nothing. Why didn't a different idea germinate on a large scale in the minds of our intelligentsia then, the idea of resisting the policy of the London camp, which sought to restore bourgeois Poland? This position of approval, or at best neutrality, towards this stillborn idea still weighs, in a sense, upon the conscience of many people.

It would be a grave error to believe that this problem has been eliminated, that it has been definitely resolved. It made itself felt during the events of last March. It turned out that all this historical past affects the positions of certain groups of the intelligentsia and first of all those working in the field of the humanities, that it is rooted in their sub-consciousness, if not consciousness, and prevents them from adopting the correct positions.

Such is one of the essential causes of our weaknesses on the ideological front.

The ideological front is fairly strongly connected with the position of the intelligentsia, it is based on it. Workers in the humanities play a leading role in the ideological activity of the Party. From whom else if not from the intelligentsia engaged in the social sciences should we expect initiative and correct activity on the ideological front?

The working class is the main force of socialism, the carrier of the ideas of socialism. I would say it the fountainhead of socialist power. Not a single step can be made without the working class or contrary to its will. Without the support of the working class not a single socialist country, not a single party, would have been able to materialize its ideas. The working class expects the intelligentsia to act in the spirit of socialism.

The percentage of intellectuals in our Party is sufficiently large, and yet the ideological front remains weak.

What are the reasons? We say that the Party's ideological work among the youth has been inadequate. Why? Who ought to have conducted ideological work there in the first place? Scientists, pedagogues, teachers, of course.

The moulding of the civic and ideological make-up of man is also a duty of secondary and higher schools. Regrettably, this duty is not discharged the way it should be. We still have serious shortcomings in this field. In many districts the correct decisions of the 13th and 8th plenary meetings of the CC are either not carried out at all or approached in a highly superficial way. This is a consequence of positions people have adopted. During the March events scientists, professors, sent letters to us and to the government which bespeak a complete failure to grasp the essence of the events.

The traditions of the past weigh down in some measure also upon scientific workers who are members of the PUWP.

There is not the slightest doubt that Comrade Zolkiewski has for a long time been an exponent of revisionist views. I would say that today's speeches of two Central Committee members, two professors—Comrade Zolkiewski and Comrade Schaff—contain the answer to the question why a part of the youth went out into the streets to demonstrate against people's power. For, if they repre-

sent the views with which we have just been acquainted in this room (and that is precisely the case), how can they propagate correct views among the youth? What kind of ideological make-up will these young people have?

There are non-Party scientific workers who take a different view of these problems and treat them with a high sense of responsibility. Therefore the part of the youth that took an active part in the events was relatively insignificant.

True, the March events presented no danger to socialism in Poland, although they could have done great political harm. The main thing, however, is that this younger generation is being educated in the spirit of spurious political and ideological views. For it is you, comrades professors, who have taught these young people. Don't you feel responsible for their world outlook, for their future, for their contribution to socialist construction in our country?

I am looking for an explanation why some of our scientific workers do not have this sense of responsibility. What weighs down upon their minds? Why—leaving aside the attitude towards socialism and proceeding from purely patriotic and national positions—do they fail duly to perform their patriotic duty?

Efforts should be undertaken to clear up some fundamental problems. Failing to do this, we shall be constantly confronted with difficulties on the ideological front.

It is hard to agree with what Comrade Schaff said here by way of justification, although he cannot be put on the same level with Zolkiewski. There is certainly a great deal of revisionism in your position, Comrade Schaff. What is most important, however, is that neither you nor Comrade Zolkiewski attempted to state your opinion of the situation obtaining in the higher schools or of the position of the youth which led to the March events. But that was your principal duty as members of the CC.

Zolkiewski said our youth demand a program of democratization, that is, of socialist democracy. But what does he think of that as a member of the Central Committee? He has told us nothing on this score here. Or rather he considers that the Theses do not contain a program of socialist democracy. To my mind, however, the Theses are conclusive enough. To be sure, if what is meant is democracy of a different type, liberal-bourgeois democracy, it would be pernicious for us; on no account will we have this kind of democracy in our country.

Reality is perhaps more complicated than one may think it is. We live in a definite world, in conditions when a war is being waged in Vietnam, when imperialism is interfering in the affairs of many peoples. We live in conditions when imperialism is carrying on large-scale subversion against the socialist countries, when all kinds of separatist trends are active in the Communist move-

ment, when West German revanchism has made claims to our borders a permanent element of Bonn's policy.

The situation, therefore, is highly complicated. Do not think that we in our country can allow the enemies of socialism to launch an attack against socialist power. We will never do that sort of thing.

A few comments on a subject the comrades have already broached fairly widely here, the subject of Zionism. The Political Bureau stated its opinion on March 19 this year, but not all understood it. On many occasions things have been pushed too far, which should be most emphatically condemned. There have also been cases of revisionists being labelled as Zionists. We must fully and wholly expose revisionism and not cover it with the concept of Zionism.

The matter of Zionism has been cleared up fully enough, and there is no need to deal with it so extensively as has been done up till now. Certain quarters of world Zionism want to be talked about. They brazenly attack us, presenting every administrative transfer as persecution of the Jews. For example, Comrade Nazskowski was transferred from the Foreign Ministry to *Nowi Drogi*, and, sure enough, the Zionist press called him a Jew.

Zionism is a component of the anti-communist front. The Zionists want by their anti-communist campaign to create a certain atmosphere in our society, to present all Jews as Zionists. This, on the one hand, facilitates their anti-communist sallies and on the other, is to increase the number of immigrants to Israel, even from among non-Zionists. They only think of cannon-fodder and of settling the seized Arab lands. Israel is simply short of people with whom to settle the annexed territory. Lacking candidates in the Zionist circles in the West, they have launched a campaign of slander against Poland.

Our counter-offensive against this slander generates among the Polish people a certain inimical attitude towards Jews in general. And this, in turn, provides new pretexts for attacks on Poland. In these conditions we have decided not to reply to these provocations of world Zionism, not to pay so much attention to them. For it is not Zionism that is the main danger, but the reactionary revisionist, clerical forces as a whole—a symbiosis of many forces hostile towards socialism. The task is not to look for the main danger where it does not exist, and not to lose sight of the really dangerous adversaries.

Comrade Jendrychowski mentioned the exceptionally important problem of administration. The pre-congress discussion provides a particularly favorable occasion for a broad debate on this problem. The management system and the pace at which some changes are being effected are an object of criticism in the press which is sometimes correct and sometimes is not. It is necessary that in

the course of the discussion the people who have something to say on this matter should state as broadly as possible all the existing relevant concepts, both in the Party organizations and before the public at large. All the more so since we have more experience now—both our own and that gained by other socialist countries.

Comparatively little has been said here about economic matters. Nevertheless, economic matters will continue to occupy the central place in the pre-congress discussion and in our everyday work. The strength of our political superstructure depends on the development of the economic basis of our country. The workers' pledges, the initiatives displayed by them in this pre-congress period testify that the working class understands this. We are confident that this campaign will go on gaining momentum right up to the opening of the congress. We attach great importance to this.

Taking this opportunity, I should like to extend already now, from this rostrum, heartfelt thanks to all our workers, engineers and technicians for their selfless labor, for honoring their pre-congress pledges. The leadership of the Party is confident that they will strive fully to meet these engagements.

In conclusion, I should like to express deep satisfaction over the unanimity of the participants in the debate towards the directives contained in the Theses. This unanimity is to be observed also in the Political Bureau. To be sure, during the elaboration of the Theses, just as other Party documents, there were certain disagreements in the leadership regarding the solution of some particular problems. But then, such things are bound to happen, for otherwise there would be no creative discussion. The fact that viewpoints on some problems sometimes differ does not at all mean that there is no common position on the general line of the Party, on all fundamental issues.

REPORT* OF WALDECK ROCHET

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, FCP

The events that took place in our country in May and June required a detailed and profound study by our Central Committee. The success of the powerful strike of nine million working people demonstrated the tremendous potential of discontent accumulated among the masses, the might of the trade union movement and the working class.

The working people have seen that their strength lies in unity. The need for working-class unity is felt today more distinctly than ever. The working class resolutely expressed its will to achieve satisfaction of its demands, social progress and democracy.

Nevertheless, an obvious paradox is conspicuous. Despite the exceptionally broad strike movement of workers by hand and brain, the elections have been characterized by a marked shift to the right. The overwhelming majority of National Assembly seats belongs to Gaullists. From now on it will merely be a chamber for registering government acts where the voice of the opposition will be hard to hear. The fact that a single party, the Gaullist party, monopolizes power is a serious threat to democratic freedoms and also a dangerous step towards fascization of power.

Such is the outwardly contradictory and, at first glance, disheartening situation we have to analyze. We should remain calm in the face of facts and reality. Lessons should be learned from the period remarkably rich in events and rebounds in political activity in order to pass a substantiated judgment on the past position of the Party and determine its tasks for the future.

Chronologically, the period of intense political activity which we experienced was begun by the student movement. This movement should be regarded in two aspects: on the one hand, it was an expression and result of deep and legitimate discontent in regard to which the FCP has always displayed sympathy, understanding and solidarity, stressing its natural convergence with the workers' struggle; on the other hand, this discontent had from the very outset been utilized by Leftists headed by irresponsible and shady elements.

It is pointless to dwell at large on the roots of the students' discontent and the university crisis. Without doubt, the student movement has revealed the gravity of the crisis of the French university and the need for a deep-going reform.

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*L'Humanité, July 10, 1968. Abridged.

The Communist Party, for its part, continued creative quest. Several months ago it produced a complete and detailed program for reorganizing the education system, its foundations, its cadres, programs and methods.

In the first place, the higher education system is not democratic as far as the composition of the student body is concerned. Whereas workers and peasants make up the majority of the population, they account for only 12 per cent of the total number of students.

All forms of participation in the organization and administration of education are inaccessible to students. Gaullism has even barred them from co-managing university affairs. Naturally, they demand the right to take part in managing universities. They are concerned over unemployment and the lack of guaranteed employment after graduation.

The students are justly indignant at the fact that the system of education does not correspond to the demands of the time and at the obsolete pedagogical methods, a state of things further aggravated by the shortage of lecturers and means.

Therefore the student movement is developing in that direction and responds to those impulses which coincide with the struggle for democracy and the aims of the democrats.

The problems of renovating the university were often posed by the students in a very interesting way; we are on the side of the student youth, because we know that the matter concerns young people who want to join in the struggle, who constitute a true democratic potential.

At the same time, this student youth, coming from bourgeois or petty-bourgeois milieus, does not immediately or necessarily adopt the positions of the working class. Even when it militates against the reactionary university structure, even when it criticizes class education, which it receives in most cases, it easily succumbs to the temptation of opportunism, especially its Leftist version.

To understand what has happened one should not abstract oneself from the social composition of the student milieu and regard as obsolete the relevant teachings of the classics of scientific socialism. Marx and Lenin repeatedly warned us about the inclination of the petty bourgeoisie and especially petty-bourgeois intelligentsia towards the ultra-revolutionary, anarchist and pseudo-romantic phrase and pose.

This can explain why the groups acting on behalf of anarchy, Maoism, Trotskyism and "Guevarism"—although they are a minority—were able to win over thousands of students for their demagogic positions.

The government's attitude was to systematically provoke the exasperation of the students. For instance, it ordered the police

to occupy the Sorbonne and to suppress the demonstrations. This gave rise to the escalation of violence which the government expected to evoke the fear and revulsion of broad strata of the population which, in turn, was to turn to the authorities for salvation.

Thus it came to the appearance of spectacular barricades of burning cars. These night riots which were of no benefit to the student movement could not perturb the Gaullist regime. On the contrary, they only brought into action, in its favor, "the machine for stoking up fear."

As an old saying goes, to find the evil-doer, find out who benefitted by the evil. The working class knows from its own bitter experience what enormous role provocateurs have played in the history of the proletarian and democratic movement. We know now, for instance, to what degree the police had infiltrated the anarchist movement at the end of the 19th century. Hitler, too, came to power in 1933 through a plebiscite after setting fire to the Reichstag and putting the blame on the Communists.

To present itself as the restorer of order and the savior, the Gaullist government needed burning barricades set on fire by politically inexperienced young people recruited and manipulated by shady characters.

In any case, the French working-class movement knows from experience what "Leftism" is and what harmful influence it exerts. All the leftist groups supported of late by the United Socialist Party had been formed to harm the Communist Party, and they can do the same to the working-class and democratic movement.

Our Party has been and will go on reminding the students as well as the working people that the main thing in politics, in a genuinely mass movement, is not the phrase and the gesture, but real orientation of action, the knowledge who ultimately benefits by this or that action or this or that line: the oligarchy and the reactionary government or the cause of the working people and democracy.

It has been said that the student movement detonated the powerful strike movement of workers, technicians and office employees. Let us note that to speak of "detonator" means to admit the fact that inflammable materials have accumulated in the working class.

We know, however, that if one event precedes another this does not mean yet that the former is the cause of the latter.

The cause of the recent strike, unprecedented for its magnitude, is not at all mysterious: it is the policy the authorities have been pursuing for a decade. It is the cynical indifference of the ruling circles towards the most vital needs of the working people and the appropriation of all the fruits of the scientific and technological progress by the oligarchy. And the working class did not wait for

the events in the Latin Quarter to express its discontent. Is there any need to recall the 35-day miners' strike in 1963? Or the big actions by the working people on February 1, May 17 and December 13 last year? Or the impressive force of the May Day demonstration this year? Was not the agreement of the French Democratic Confederation of Labor with the demands presented by the General Confederation of Labor an expression and result of the will for mass struggle?

On the electoral plane, the weakening of the positions of the authoritarian regime had continued since the beginning of 1962. This is testified to by General de Gaulle's defeat in the first round of the 1965 presidential elections and the elections of a large number of Communist and other democratic candidates in last year's elections, when the number of votes for the Gaullist party shrank to 38 per cent. The recent by-elections confirmed, on the whole, the same trend, with the resulting disagreements and reservations in the camp of the parliamentary majority. Among the people, on the contrary, the striving for change had been growing, and despite the maneuvers aimed at undermining labor unity the rapprochement of the organized Left forces had been making certain headway, reinforcing the hopes of the masses.

Signs auguring an explosion had indeed been accumulating. And the responsibility for this rests with none other than the government, which had for ten years been sacrificing the interests and aspirations of the working masses to meet the rapacious demands of the capitalist oligarchy.

Not long before the outbreak of the strike, in April, it was officially announced that in ten years industrial output had risen 63 per cent. That signified a great increase in the national wealth. Nevertheless, the working people and their families were only confronted with increased difficulties. The surplus product was not for them.

The single mechanism uniting the monopolies and the state apparatus served to promote the enrichment of the bourgeoisie and the plunder of the working masses. The notorious amelioration of the economy, the raising of the competitive ability of the French industry, presented as necessary in connection with the existence of the Common Market and the opening of the frontiers, were prepared exclusively through accelerating the rate of capitalist accumulation and sacrificing the living standard of the working people. Production expansion was achieved only at the expense of the vital interests of the masses.

We live in an epoch of unlimited technical possibilities. The government has the means to do away with poverty and to satisfy the requirements of every one—and yet it is known from statistics

that 12 million French men and women—one out of every five—live in very strained circumstances.

The richest stratum, making up 10 per cent of the population, receives an income 74 times higher than that obtained by the poorest stratum also accounting for 10 per cent. The government has the means to give every one a good education and employment conforming to his abilities. Yet what hundreds of thousands of young people get is deformed education and unemployment.

One million working people suffer from partial unemployment. The number of fully unemployed, not counting young people who have never yet worked, reaches 500,000. And now the economic press predicts, as a near perspective, an increase in that figure to 700,000. Capitalist concentration envisaged on such a scale that in the course of ten years 15 per cent of all industrial enterprises are to vanish is throwing workers into the street. Whole branches of the national economy, whole regions of the country are afflicted with depressive atrophy.

At the same time, real wages had been reduced by rising prices and growing taxes and rent. Four million working people receiving less than 600 francs a month were utterly unable to make both ends meet. The working week was the longest among all developed countries.

For the countryside, every year of existence of the Gaullist regime signified liquidation of 50,000 small farms and the mass exodus of rural residents (160,000) doomed to unskilled jobs in building or metallurgy, if not to unemployment.

Such were the sources of the accumulated discontent. They had nothing in common with the student movement as such.

What is true, however, is that the powerful strike of solidarity with the students subjected to repressions, held on May 13 on the initiative of the GCL, and the simultaneous mammoth demonstrations enabled the working people to become keenly aware of their strength and combat potential.

That is why, in subsequent days, the workers responded to an appeal of the GCL by presenting their demands, started laying down tools and seizing enterprises. The movement rapidly grew in scope, assuming a nationwide character. The decisions on such actions were adopted everywhere following democratic discussion, and soon eight to nine million workers, office employees, technicians and civil servants became involved.

The strikers demanded solution of the most burning economic and social problems: they wanted higher wages, guaranteed employment and means of subsistence, shorter hours without wage cuts, a lower pension age, abolition of ordinances affecting social security, full respect for trade union freedoms in the factory. At the same time the working class expressed its solidarity with the

lecturers and students fighting for a democratic university reform. It voiced its support of the peasants demanding a change in agricultural policy which exposed the rural working people to blows from big landowners, banks and monopolies.

The vigorous actions of the GCL, the magnitude and discipline of the strike movement, the active support of the trade union organizations by the Communist Party, compelled the big employers and the government to agree to wage increases and other substantial improvements for millions of working people. The unity and strength of the labor movement forced the government and the employers into the joint talks which they had been stubbornly rejecting for twenty years and which will remain known as the Grenelle talks.

The initial successes were recorded in the "Grenelle protocol." Whereas the government had for many years been adding only tiny bits to the minimum guaranteed wages, which had remained ridiculously low, now they were raised by as much as 35 per cent. Still bigger was the increase in the minimum wages in agriculture —more than 56 per cent. Thus substantial improvements were won for the lowest-paid working people. For instance, shop assistants, whose wages were below the minimum, got a rise of 72 per cent.

The results of these weeks of struggle, from which the working people emerged with head held high, are a big success for the working class.

In their propaganda, both the Gaullists and the "Leftist" elements are seeking to belittle the significance of the workers' gains, to sow doubts as to the importance and effectiveness of their everyday struggle against capitalist exploitation. But the working people remember Marx's warning: if they digress from the road of everyday struggle they will become a passive mass for which there will be no persepctive; the finest revolutionary phrases, the most sonorous words will prove useless.

Some working people were temporarily deluded by the enemy propaganda. Some might have thought that the strike had cost them too much; others probably imagined at a certain moment that "everything is possible." But upon reflection all of them will come to appreciate the two most important results of the May and June movement: on the one hand, they will see that materially it was the biggest success since liberation; on the other, they will duly appraise the growth of the material might and moral authority of the trade union organization, the consolidation of labor unity and militancy. In the course of this great movement the GCL, which played the decisive role, was joined by 400,000 new members and set up thousands of new branches.

The remarkable conquest, wrested in difficult conditions from the authorities and the big employers, became possible due to the

organization, composure and discipline of the working people.

Their considered and responsible conduct in the factories, shops and offices occupied by them, their care for the machinery and their striving to avoid any damage and sometimes to brush aside irresponsible advisers from the outside—all this was an important factor of success. The workers occupied the plants, but they also guarded them. Even the hostile press noted this fact.

For its part, our Party made its substantial and active contribution to the struggle of the workers, technicians, office employees and civil servants for their demands, just as to the university battle for a modern and democratic system of education.

But the significance and results of this powerful labor and democratic movement are not limited to this. Although its chief aim was to win better living and working conditions, it also acquired a political importance, for it came up against the Gaullist government, the caretaker of the monopolies.

It enabled broad masses of our people to voice loudly their striving for a cardinal change in the policy that has been pursued for the last ten years. It posed, with a force unprecedented since 1958, the question of democratic replacement of Gaullist power.

It was this striving for democratic change that the working people expressed when they demanded replacement of the one-man regime by a popular government of democratic alliance with the participation of the Communists.

In this matter, in keeping with the line determined by its congress, our Party was constantly guided by two essential tasks:

1. Actively to support the struggle of the working people for the immediate satisfaction of their economic demands which they are entitled to expect.

2. To build on the clear basis of a common program an alliance of all forces taking part in the struggle so as to proceed, within the framework of republican legality, towards the replacement of Gaullist power by a genuinely democratic regime, by a government of democratic alliance.

We invariably adhered to this line and never lost composure.

We did our best to come to agreement with the Left parties and the trade union organizations on a common, socially progressive program offering a democratic alternative to Gaullist power and opening up a new prospect before the millions of French men and women who aspire for a change but want to know where they are going.

We never ceased stressing the urgent need for such a program, but, regrettably, we encountered resistance.

The leaders of the Left Federation and especially the leaders of the French Democratic Confederation of Labor proved unprepared to accept the idea of a genuine common program, refusing to take

part in any conference concerned with a common program of the Left parties and the trade union organizations.

Because of the absence of agreement between all the Left parties on the basis of a clear-cut program, at some point we saw something resembling a convergence of opinions of non-Communist Left leaders and Leftist groups, which was reflected, especially, in the demonstration at the Charléty Stadium.

Combinations and plans were being elaborated in various circles based on the illusion that power was open for bidding, that de Gaulle was prepared to step down.

Even today Rocard, USP Secretary, asserts in *Nouvel Observateur* that in May power was vacant but that the Communist Party did not dare or wish to take it.

In reality, and regardless of the USP Secretary's discourses on ways of seizing power, it is not true that power was vacant in May, that peaceful pressure from the people by way of a strike would have sufficed to bring down the regime and install a Left government.

De Gaulle and his government evinced no intention of vacating the place; moreover, on May 30 the President reaffirmed his determination to hold out by every means, i.e., right up to appealing to General Massu's army for help.

Incidentally, long before May 30 a whole military formation equipped with many armored vehicles had been stationed in the proximity of the capital, ready to intervene.

This means that the pronouncements by people like Sauvageot, Rocard and Barjonnet to the effect that power could have been taken last May are irresponsible if not provocative.

In reality, the choice in May was as follows:

Either to act in such a way so that the strike would lead to the satisfaction of the main demands of the working people, and at the same time to continue political efforts aimed at bringing about the necessary democratic changes within the framework of legality. Such was the position of our Party.

Or to go in for a test of strength, i.e., a rebellion, with the use of armed struggle to topple the government. Such was the adventuristic position of some ultra-Left groups.

But since the military and repressive forces were on the side of the existing power and since the immense mass of the people was absolutely hostile towards such a gamble, it is evident that to act in such a way meant bringing on a massacre of the working people, wishing the defeat of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

We did not fall into the trap, although that was the real plan of the Gaullist government.

Indeed, the reckoning of the authorities was simple; having

found themselves faced with a crisis caused by their anti-social and anti-democratic policy, they hoped to utilize it for dealing a decisive and telling blow at the working class, our Party and the entire democratic movement.

This plan was designed to provoke the striking workers, to force them to react violently to provocations, and ultimately to push the labor movement and our Party into a bloody armed clash with the police and the army.

The big reactionary bourgeoisie would have thus succeeded in stifling the struggle of the working class for a long time, eliminating the vestiges of democratic freedoms and establishing a military dictatorship in the country.

We have every reason to believe that precisely this kind of operation—and not only, and not so much, the preparation of simple stereotypes of anti-communist propaganda—was devised by the initiators of the anti-communist campaign decided upon at the Lille congress of the UNR late last year.

They expected the May events to provide them with a possibility of realizing their plans. But our Party foiled their criminal schemes owing to the correctness of its policy, owing to its sense of reality and its sense of responsibility before the working class and the people.

That, without doubt, was the greatest service of the Party and its leadership during the hard battle of May and June.

Our Party remained calm despite pressure and calls from "Leftist" elements of all hues.

We did not want the French working class to suffer a tragedy similar to that which was inflicted upon it in June 1848, nor its battle song to become the "funeral march" Marx spoke about after the defeat of the Paris Commune.

We did everything for the working class to have its basic demands met, and strove at the same time to avoid the bloodshed the authorities craved for.

Sizing up the situation, we were able to ensure impressive economic and social benefits for the working people.

We preserved and improved the conditions for continuing the struggle for social progress and democracy, and at the same time we avoided a gamble which would have resulted in a heavy and lasting defeat of the working-class and democratic movement.

That is why, from the very outset, we resolutely exposed the adventuristic slogans of the Leftist groups whose attempts to draw the working people and the democratic movement into a violent clash with the government played exactly into the latter's hands.

It is true, of course, that the magnitude and content of the strike movement reflected a considerable change in the correlation

of forces in favor of the working people fighting against big employers and the monopoly power.

But it had to be remembered that the mass of the working people fought first and foremost for better living and working conditions and not for imposing political power through an uprising.

Some people wanted us to go "further," i.e., beyond the objectives for which the working class had gone into action.

We acted according to Lenin's counsel, fighting against these adventuristic and essentially anti-labor conceptions.

The Leftist elements declared that there had arisen a "revolutionary situation" making it possible to overthrow capitalism and establish a workers' power, but the Gaullist government, although weakened, remained able to suppress the labor movement by force; in addition, conditions were still lacking for a solid alliance on the basis of a program of the Left parties and the trade union organization.

Resolutely continuing our struggle for the working people's demands and for the realization of our objectives of democratic replacement of the Gaullist power within the framework of republican legality, we frustrated the Gaullists' plan to crush the labor and democratic movement.

We have supported and will continue to support the idea that the Gaullist regime of monopolies should be replaced by a government of democratic alliance resulting, not from subversion, but from a clear and democratic expression of popular will.

For this is the only prospect which at present conforms to the interests of the workers and the entire people, the entire country.

And for this prospect to materialize we rely, not on gambles, but on political struggle, on peaceful struggle of the broadest masses.

It is precisely this policy that our Party had been pursuing in the recent period with a definite measure of success. But it seriously alarmed the men of the Gaullist regime, representatives of the big bourgeoisie. That is why they wanted to check the rise of the democratic movement, to try, with the aid of Leftist groups, to lead it into the trap of illegality, violence and adventurism. Fortunately, our Party exposed this plan.

But since our Party avoided the test of strength the authorities wanted, de Gaulle decided to exploit the situation in a different way, announcing on May 30, the dissolution of the National Assembly and hastily appointing the new elections for June 23 and 30.

He believed, not without reason, that skilful and prompt utilization by official propaganda of the Leftist riots, the identification of the irresponsible Leftist groups with the French Communist Party, adroitly supported by the same propaganda, and the atmos-

phere of fear created among a certain part of the population would harm democracy and benefit the authorities.

The results of the elections have shown that the Gaullists' calculation was precise. They do testify to an impressive victory of the Right. The Gaullist party, the party of the authoritarian regime, obtained in the first round about 44 per cent of the votes, five per cent more than before. Its 358 seats give it an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly.

The reactionaries from the notorious "center," who also resorted to blackmail and relied on anti-communism as their chief weapon, have not won anything, for they are short of one-sixth of their previous vote. They have no prospect of success.

The Left, on the whole, has moved back. The vote for the Left Federation has shrunk considerably, especially in the cities. In the first round the number of votes cast for it dropped from 18.7 to 16.5 per cent. It now has 57 deputies instead of 118.

The United Socialist Party, having nominated 315 candidates as against 110 in 1967, was bound to poll a bigger vote on a nationwide scale, but nevertheless it cannot boast an increase in influence, for the number of its votes in the electoral areas where it ran candidates in 1967 has decreased both physically and proportionally. It has lost several parliamentary seats.

The Communist Party obtained in the first round 20.2 per cent of the votes as compared with 22.4 in 1967. One voter out of every five expressed his confidence in our Party. Because of the extreme injustice of the electoral law it received only 34 seats, whereas under the proportional system it would have gained 93 seats. Anyway, with 4.5 million votes, it remains the most powerful, the most impressive force of the opposition.

Communist influence, even in the countryside and in small towns, has not diminished despite the rabid anti-communist propaganda. Half of the voters won by our Party in 1967 have remained loyal to it.

The important question, however, is why the powerful strike and democratic movement in May was followed, in June, by election returns favorable for the Gaullists. Our political Bureau gave the first answer to this question on June 24, stressing that the chief reason was fear of a civil war exploited by the Gaullist regime.

The civil war blackmail was all the more effective since the events purportedly fraught with civil war were now taking place in France, in Paris itself, and not in Algeria.

As is known, in their election campaign the Gaullist leaders played on the apprehensions caused among a large part of the population by the blind violence, barricades and fires organized

by the Leftist groups posing as "anarchist," "Maoist," "Trotskyist" or "Guevarist."

Thus these so-called revolutionary groups, often manipulated by the authorities, rendered a tremendous service to the Gaullist regime by lending a semblance of verity to the civil war blackmail of Gaullist propaganda.

It is necessary to stress the particularly pernicious role which the USP played in this Gaullist mystification.

Supporting the actions of the Leftist groups, slandering and insulting the GCL and our Party, the USP began to interfere with the resumption of work at the enterprises even after the workers' demands had been satisfied.

We should not conceal the fact that the Gaullists' electoral success presents a grave danger to the social gains, to democracy and freedoms, to France's future.

The overwhelming majority of the men and women who voted for the Gaullists this time did so with no intention of endorsing the anti-social and anti-democratic policy the government is pursuing and intends to pursue.

Their protest against this policy is bound to resound again. Soon they will re-enter upon the road of struggle for social progress and democracy, and our Party will support them in this.

In this situation the political tasks of our Party are clear. We must first of all safeguard and consolidate the social gains of May and June, fight for the demands of the working people and resist the attempts of the government and the big employers to dispossess the working people, in one form or other, of their gains.

Already the government and the big employers are intimating that the wage increases won by the working people will inevitably lead to an increase in prices, tariffs and taxes.

This means that the Gaullist regime will, in fact, resort to price increases and inflation rather than renounce the enormous expenses of which the *force de frappe* is a symbol.

The notorious vicious circle of wages and prices is being invoked again. We should tirelessly explain that the government can and must avoid inflation and the growth of prices.

Today, as a result of the rise of productivity due to the rapid technological progress, wages account for but an insignificant part of production costs in modern industry.

What contributes most to the growth of prices on the market is the colossal profits of the big employers and the excessive taxes extracted by the state.

Hence it is not the workers and their families who have to "pay" for the wage increases but the big employers and the Gaullist state!

But since Gaullism cannot be expected to infringe upon capitalist

profits, it is already preparing a revenge of capital over the May strikers by sanctioning price and tax increases.

That is why the demanded sliding wage scale is not only a necessary guarantee for the working class but the best barrier against the growth of prices and the devaluation of the national currency.

Our second task is to defend democratic freedoms against the growing authoritarian and fascist trends.

During the elections Gaullism tried to pull in its claws; it talked about enlarging the majority and about "participation" and endeavored to appear in a less reactionary garb. In his June 29 speech General de Gaulle even issued a mealy-mouthed appeal to Frenchmen to "rediscover," "respect" and "draw nearer to each other."

But that was only an election maneuver, because Gaullism, which no longer has opponents from the right, has become even more reactionary than before.

The struggle for peace remains a central task of our Party. Specifically, we shall strengthen solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam; we hail their glorious successes in the battle against U.S. aggression, for freedom and independence.

But the struggles against the authoritarian regime, for social progress, for freedom and peace should have a common political perspective.

That is why our Political Bureau considers that the Central Committee should reaffirm the determination of the Communists to fight for the unity of all labor and democratic forces on the basis of a common progressive program which the majority of the French people would support and which could open a prospect of renovation.

The absence of a common Left program supported by the big trade union organizations was a major trump of the authoritarian regime in the recent elections.

The attempts to split the Left forces and set up some third force, which have been made of late, have also played into the Gaullists' hands.

Public opinion can be won over only by showing it the prospect of new and genuine democracy which will have the support and approval of all the Left forces united for the realization of a definite program. We shall strive to ensure that the leaders of the non-Communist Left reply positively to the repeated proposals of our Party aimed at working out a genuine common policy on all essential issues.

The events of May and June have shown that our Party should be more active in explaining to the masses its objectives, its pro-

gram of struggle for genuine democracy and its views and prospects as regards the struggle for socialism in France.

This is all the more necessary in view of the Gaullists' and reactionaries' campaign of lies and slander to misrepresent the policy and aims of our Party.

It is known that our principal aim in the present stage is, and will be, to replace Gaullist power as the power of monopolies by genuine democracy, by progressive political and economic democracy opening the way to socialism.

As regards the transition to socialism in France, our 18th Congress adopted new theses which, while taking into account the experience of the world working-class movement, make it possible at the same time to charter an original French mode of transition to socialism under the multi-party system in conditions of socialist democracy. And I consider that these theses as laid down by the 18th Congress remain fully valid.

To be sure, today one cannot say how socialism will be built in France tomorrow, but our theses—and that is the main thing—make it particularly clear that the French Communist Party strives to direct all its efiorts at creating favorable conditions for a peaceful transition to socialism, one under which the realization of the socialist ideal would be a result of a democratic movement of all working people.

Success depends above all on the militant unity of the working class and the rallying, around or near it, of the broadest urban and rural strata.

Success of the peaceful road depends on the ability of the working class, arising out of a correct policy of alliance, to unite in the struggle for socialism superior forces and thus prevent the big bourgeoisie from resorting to civil war against the people.

From this viewpoint it is clear that the road to socialism in France does not lie through anarchist disorder and violence or the guerrilla war preached by some people. The methods which would isolate the vanguard—should this vanguard ever adopt them—are pernicious methods which can only lead to defeat and play into the hands of the reactionary forces.

Obviously, rejection of a blind gamble, of erroneous violent actions, does not mean recognition of parliamentary activity as the only form of struggle, it does not mean making a fetish of parliament.

Struggle even in a parliament with a more favorable composition (which cannot be said about the present National Assembly) will never adequately replace popular struggle with all the variety of its forms. To forget this means to succumb to "parliamentary cretinism."

Consequently, it is necessary first of all to organize the working class and the broadest strata in all kinds of actions. Experience in recent weeks has confirmed the remarkable capacity of the worker masses for initiative. The Party will attach ever greater importance to the social and economic struggle of all strata of the working people and the middle urban and rural strata. It will preoccupy itself with the crucial problems of construction, whether it concerns houses or schools. Collection of signatures to petitions, public assemblies, meetings, manifestations in different forms—all these means of struggle should be employed within the farmework of legality, depending on circumstances and possibilities.

It follows from this that the Party organizations should conduct tremendous explanatory and organizing work among the working class, which more than ever constitutes our principal base, among the intelligentsia, peasants and other social strata suffering from the policy of the monopolies, so that our program, our decisions, our combat slogans, our initiative, should be approved by the workers and technicians, office employees, peasants, civil servants, intellectuals and above all young people.

As the Communist Manifesto pointed out, the victory of socialism can only be the result of the struggle of the vast majority in the interests of the vast majority.

The events of June and May have also shown how correct our Party was in its general activity, expressing devotion to the national interests and national independence.

We Communists have always irreconcilably fought and will continue to fight against national nihilism preached by pseudo-revolutionary groups.

The lessons of the recent events point to the urgent need to launch and systematically wage a large-scale ideological struggle.

Already in the Central Committee's report to the 18th Congress we stressed the importance of the struggle of ideas. I mean precisely struggle of ideas and not their simple confrontation.

The Party's correct policy has never been so attacked, misinterpreted and distorted, as today. Hence the need for more active, more agile and more dynamic ideological work.

Above all we should explain the role of the various classes and social strata in the light of the recent events.

The might of the strike movement has demonstrated once again the decisive role of the working class. Tons of paper have been wasted by bourgeois ideologists and opportunists of all shades, above all Leftist elements, to "prove" the apathy, torpidity and embourgeoisement of the working class, its integration into "neo-capitalism."

But a convincing refutation of this has been witnessed by all.

The great movement of protest against Gaullism, for social

progress and democracy acquired all its strength the moment the mass of the working people went, in an organized way, into action.

The vigor and scope of the workers' struggles in the recent period show that it is the working class that is the main revolutionary force of our epoch.

Another factor enhancing the role of the working class is that the possibilities for its alliance with other strata of the working people have become more real than ever before.

In this connection it should be pointed out that many more engineers, specialists and technicians than in the previous period actively participated in the struggle at the side of the factory and office workers. This is an indication of their clearer understanding that their interests as wage earners and their creative function call for their solidarity with the working class. This presents new demands to us.

All or propagandists, all who speak and write on behalf of the Party should oppose any theoretical impoverishment, and distortion of the leading role of the working class, which has so vividly demonstrated its activity and determination.

It is necessary to refute, on the basis of facts, the "theories" of all petty-bourgeois ideologists who contend that the leading role in the social movement no longer belongs to the working class, that it is now played by either young people from the intellectual milieu or by the peoples of the third world countries.

It is impossible to enumerate all the articles of bourgeois sociologists and revionists which, following the latest fashion, were to "prove" that "the student vanguard is becoming the revolutionary vanguard of the entire society" and to proclaim the replacement of the proletarian revolution by the "revolution of the young."

These pseudo-revolutionary theories are being peddled on a particularly wide scale in France by propaganda generously subsidized by the Mao Tse-tung group, and by Trotskyists and other groups whose ideas are also alien to genuine Marxism.

To restore the Marxist truth about the role and interaction of the principal progressive forces of our epoch, we should step up our struggle against the fallacious concepts propagated by these Leftist groups.

We have stressed the role of the working class, but confirmation of the fundamental truth about its historical mission does not and must not lead to negating the important role of the intelligentsia and the student youth in the social movement.

As we noted already at the 18th Congress, this is a new fact which shows that the alliance of the working class with the intelligentsia is assuming primary importance.

France has today more than 600,000 students, and it should have

800,000 to 900,000 to reach the level of other countries and possess as many scientists, engineers, doctors and teachers as it needs. In addition, the 1962 census shows a 40 per cent increase in the number of intellectuals over 1954. Together with students, they will number about three million. Simultaneously, the roles of their particular categories have changed.

Along with the "classical" intelligentsia, there is an increase in the number of intellectuals engaged directly in production. New relationships are being established between scientific research and production. One can say that science is more and more becoming a direct productive force.

In consequence of this, most intellectuals are becoming wage earners who dispose only of their knowledge, brain and talent.

They are subjected to exploitation, and their number is so great that, in order not to jeopardize their profits, the monopolies constantly have to bring pressure to bear upon their salaries and working conditions.

To be sure, our Party has no reason for complaining that numerous intellectuals and students are revolting against this.

Thus there emerges an objective basis for closer solidarity between the intelligentsia and the working class.

On the other hand, monopolistic capitalism, subordinating everything to the law of profit, is hampering the development of the material and human productive forces. The intelligentsia ever more keenly feels the contradiction between its creative aspirations and the policy of the monopolies.

As was stressed in the May 12 appeal of our Political Bureau to the intelligentsia, we have found out, on the basis of analysis, "what can unite workers by hand and brain in a struggle against a regime which denies them any participation in the economy, in shaping policy, in creating a living culture."

Building this alliance calls for great political and organizing work: our Party should address itself actively to every category of intellectuals, it should have in its ranks large numbers of intellectuals who have decided to fight for the communist ideal.

One of the principal lessons of the recent events is, without doubt, the need to have a truly revolutionary party. These events have shown that the French Communist Party is to play an irreplaceable role in this grim and complicated struggle abounding in all sorts of maneuvers on the part of the Gaullist power and all enemies of the working class.

The Political Bureau, which held daily sessions throughout the past period, has embarked on an honest study, seeking no self-satisfaction.

We consider that our Party acted correctly in a great and difficult

battle. We resolutely pursued the correct political line charted by our 18th Congress.

The pursuit of this line enabled the working people to wrest major concessions from the employers and the government and at the same time made it possible for the labor and democratic movement to avoid falling into the trap—a bloody gamble—set up by the authorities.

The members of our Party fought courageously. They were in the front ranks of the strike movement and spared no forces during the difficult election campaign.

Of course, the results of the elections have somewhat disappointed the activists. Surely the Communists, who know that they fought courageously, did not spare their forces throughout days and nights and were constantly in the front ranks, should feel disappointed!

But if a certain disappointment is understandable and if it is quite normal to ask questions, our task is to help every Party member to acquire clarity, to grasp the situation, to analyze, in particular, the state of things we are in and to see what has to be done.

We give some basic answers to these questions in the part of the report I have just presented on behalf of the Political Bureau.

Incidentally, whenever the Party experiences a setback some people tend to claim that the Party is wrong, that it has committed mistakes.

In 1958, after the referendum which gave 80 per cent of the votes to General de Gaulle, Maurice Thorez thus rejected this one-sided view:

"It is impermissible to forget about the adversary. It would be indeed queer on a strategist's part to imagine that it is sufficient to work out good plans to be able to settle everything and to go from victory to victory.

"We are in a state of class struggle—this should not be forgotten—and in this class struggle we are not always successful. Nowhere has it been written and proved yet that the struggle of the working class is on a constant uprise. People who lack firmness, whimperers will say: it is the line of the Party, its leadership that is to blame. They will propose a change in policy. Oblivion of objective conditions is the principal feature of opportunist argumentation: The situation is bad, we have suffered a setback; consequently, this is the fault of the Party, neither more nor less."

And Maurice Thorez added: "Do I need to repeat that the policy of the Party is correct, that the fact that some of the voters have abandoned us does not speak against the Party and its line?"

We think these remarks are eminently valid today, considering that the present situation is much better than in 1958.

Indeed, in May and June the conditions of the struggle were highly favorable for the development of the labor and democratic movement, but from the moment the Gaullist government was able to exploit the absence of a Left alliance based on a clear-cut program, and at the same time to play upon the facts of violence and disorder in order to make the public believe that there exists a danger of civil war, the conditions became less favorable in the mass of the French population, which was reflected in the elections.

I have received a letter whose author claims that the Communist Party was not right in criticizing the Leftist groups and that, on the contrary, it should have joined them.

I reply that if our Party had not disassociated itself from the methods of the Leftist groups and had not condemned publicly their blind and useless violence, it would have lost many more votes, not mentioning the risk of becoming involved in a bloody gamble.

We shall certainly have to remind some people that the Party is a free association which does not compel any one to join it and remain in its ranks if one systematically disagrees with the policy and principles of the Party.

In any case, we shall resolutely defend the correct line of the Party and, relying on Party unity, continue to march forward, and the bawling of the enemy will make no impression on us.

Our Party emerges from this battle united, firmly resolved to continue the struggle, confident of the future.

Since May 13 it has been joined by 23,000 new members, and since the beginning of the year, by 48,000.

The only guarantee that genuine democracy and then socialism will be established in our country is that among the Left parties is one which is a great revolutionary party enjoying the confidence of the progressive working class. It is the French Communist Party.

During the May and June events we saw demagogues and adventurers do their dirty work abusing the beautiful words Revolution and Socialism.

Being a revolutionary party in the true meaning of the word we do not and shall never act as adventurers or maniacs.

Ours is a revolutionary party because it proposes to the masses at the head of which it is waging daily struggles, to replace the capitalist regime based on exploitation of man by man by the socialist system free from any exploitation and providing for the active participation of the working people in leadership and in deciding state affairs.

Joining up with the anti-communist campaigns of reaction, the

Leftist elements would like us to change our doctrine, methods and form of organization.

Our doctrine is being enriched and will go on being constantly enriched with new data of the present world and with conclusions drawn from experience, but it remains loyal to the principles of Marxism, and we certainly shall not renounce it in favor of the adventuristic rantings of the Maoist, Trotskyist and anarchist groups.

Our methods of struggle are tried and tested but not rigid. We shall go on perfecting them in keeping with the possibilities and the needs of the moment and the social environment, but we shall not change them in favor of methods à la Cohn-Bendit, i.e., in favor of mean police provocations.

The organization of our Party rests on democratic centralism, which ensures the broadest democracy and also conditions for the unity and effectiveness of the Party.

Democratic centralism is known to presuppose, on the one hand, free discussion and intensive democratic life of all Party organizations, from the cell to the Central Committee and, on the other, disciplined realization of decisions adopted in the Party by the majority after a discussion has been held.

I stress that our Party has always striven, and will continue to strive, to see to it that democracy in the Party is broadly exercised within the framework of principles.

But in the recent period, when anarchism became the vogue, we have witnessed an intensification of attacks on democratic centralism. We have witnessed in recent weeks the flourishing of a whole literature aimed against "apparatus" "bureaucracy" and "structures." More often than not it was aimed against our Party and its organization.

In a word, we are reproached for being too organized; they would like to split us, to divide us into half-a-dozen trends, as is the case with the United Socialist Party.

And all this is presented to us as an innovation, as the command of our time.

In reality these are old theses which were current at the beginning of this century and which the revolutionary working class movement had fought for a long time before defeating them.

Hostility towards organization, towards the existence of leading organs, Lenin said, is an aspect of anarchism, of haughty anarchism.

Let the Leftist elements and Right-wing opportunists, whose positions converge, not feel offended, but we have no intention of renouncing democratic centralism.

For we regard it as proved that a party which calls itself a

workers' party but which has neither unity of views nor unity of action and in which every one is pulling in his own direction and doing whatever he thinks fit, cannot be the leader of the working class and the masses and lead them to victory.

Our Party will continue to develop in a struggle on two fronts: against Right-wing opportunism and against so-called Left-wing opportunism.

The Leftists contend that concern for the everyday needs and for the satisfaction of partial demands of the working class is out of place nowadays. They express sectarian scorn for the struggle for higher wages, echoing the worst Rightist theories which circulate the fable about the vicious circle of wages and prices.

The Leftists call for the exclusive use of violent methods and do not spare revolutionary phrases. They totally ignore the objective conditions and the stages of the movement, and do not analyze the real state of things. They are ready for any gambles, even if they end as tragically as the provocation for which the Communist Party of Indonesia fell in its time.

"An empty phrase," "vociferation instead of the revolutionary spirit," "replacement of extensive and comprehensive work by the issue of slogans," "a caricature of communism"—this is how Lenin characterized the petty-bourgeois Leftist elements who after 1905 wanted to give up parliamentary activity and any possibility of utilizing legal forms in Russia.

The "theory of offensive" is not new to us, either. It was discussed and rejected by the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921, when some Communists, in particular German ones, asserted that the Communist Party would go opportunist if it refused to practise offensive in any conditions.

Lenin argued that the Bolsheviks had mounted a revolutionary offensive only when having on their side the majority of the Soviets and a half of the army.

Four years after the October Revolution Lenin warned against impatience and haste.

Lenin wrote: "The greatest, perhaps the only danger to the genuine revolutionary is that of exaggerated revolutionism, ignoring the limits and conditions in which revolutionary methods are appropriate and can be successfully employed. True revolutionaries have mostly come a cropper when they began to write 'revolution' with a capital R, to elevate 'revolution' to something almost divine, to lose their heads, to lose the ability to reflect, weigh and ascertain in the coolest and most dispassionate manner at what moment, under what circumstances and in which sphere of action you must act in a revolutionary manner, and at what moment, under what circumstances and in which sphere you must

turn to reformist action. True revolutionaries will perish (not that they will be defeated from the outside, but that their work will suffer internal collapse) only if they abandon their sober outlook and take into their heads that the 'great, victorious, world' revolution can and must solve all problems in a revolutionary manner under all circumstances and in all spheres of action. If they do this, their doom is certain."

And Lenin added: "What grounds are there for assuming that the 'great, victorious, world' revolution can and must employ only revolutionary methods? There are none at all. The assumption is a pure fallacy."

Only struggle for genuine democracy, i.e., for profound social transformations even before the establishment of the power of the working class, makes it possible to utilize the anti-monopoly revolutionary potentialities of all forces of democracy, to mobilize the energy of not only the workers and the toiling peasantry, but also the broad strata of the intelligentsia which feel the need for social change. Only this struggle opens up a prospect which is at once positive and realistic.

Therefore we shall continue along the road traced by our 18th Congress, displaying ever greater initiative and working ever more actively in all spheres. Only the increasing, bold and confident activity of every organization and every member of our Party can ensure growth of the influence of the French Communist Party among the masses, among all the anti-monopoly strata of the population.

The Leftists are slandering our Party when they speak about its passivity. One should not confuse activity with blind violence and senseless bustle. Activity is everyday work in all forms, from the most modest to the most large-scale ones, to rouse the masses against one-man rule, for democracy and social progress.

It stands to reason that to combat Leftism successfully we should fight with equal determination against the revision of our principles and our policy by Right-wing opportunism. One of the manifestations of opportunism is the trend to concentrate attention on current matters, without ever mentioning that our ultimate aim is socialism.

It is essential that the working people see clearly what our Party really is, and what distinguishes it.

No matter what concrete problems may attract the attention of the FCP, it is doing its utmost to ensure that the struggle for the immediate demands should not obscure the socialist perspective, that, on the contrary, it should facilitate advance towards a new society and bring out more clearly the possibilities for achieving this, for convincing the masses of the superiority of socialism.

Communists do not forget that the ruling classes will never renounce power of their own free will. Only the conquest of political power by the working class and its allies, the abolition of relations based on exploitation, can pave the way for more advanced social relationships. That is why Communists see it as their task to organize the masses for revolutionary struggle in order to facilitate the birth of the new society. They remain what they have always been—revolutionaries.

The ultimate objective of the united front, the ultimate objective of the alliance of democratic forces is to draw ever broader masses, including strata which will prove for a time to be the least advanced, into the struggle against the monopolies and their regime.

The necessary flexibility of the policy of the Party, which searches for the most reliable paths to socialism, those best conforming to the conditions of the epoch, is quite naturally combined with absolute observance of principles, with boundless devotion to the ultimate objectives of the revolutionary labor movement. Marxism-Leninism demands unity of adherence to principle with tactical flexibility, a unity which guards us against both Leftist doctrinairism and Right-wing revisionism.

Far from precluding, this struggle on two fronts presupposes directing the main effort against the most serious danger—Leftism.

It is necessary to combat the ultra-revolutionary pharse and petty-bourgeois demagogy, schematism and pedantism, doctrinairism which will mechanically apply inappropriate and unreasonable methods and slogans to the peculiar French situation.

Inasmuch as Leftism disrupts the unity of the working class and its alliance with the middle classes, it presents a provocative policy which tends to confront the labor vanguard with the greatest possible number of enemies and rob it of the greatest possible number of its friends.

The need to intensify our ideological work predetermines quite concrete duties as regards strengthening our means of education and expression: to intensify considerably educational work in the network of Party schools; to increase the circulation of Party publications, including factory newspapers; to step up the work conducted in the form of talks, even if modest ones, lectures and seminars; to encourage study and reading among all members of the Party.

Fighting for the purity of the line of the Party, all Communists will redouble their efforts in the coming period in order to strengthen the opposition to the Gaullist regime and unite the majority of the people in a struggle against one-man rule and its anti-social and anti-democratic policies.

They will uphold, by every means, the demands and rights of

all working people, all victims of the monopolies, thereby erecting the strongest barriers against anti-communism preached by the de Gaulle government.

To live up to its responsibility, our Party will constantly enrich the forms and methods of its activity. It will further strengthen its links with the masses. It will raise its ideological level still higher. The firm unity it has demonstrated during the recent grim battle is an earnest of success in our struggle for a democratic, prospering France before which prospects of liberating socialism will open up.

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REPORT BY
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to
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contents

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES
(Bratislava) **5**

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON MEETING OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC CPSU AND THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CC CPC
(Cierna nad Tisou) **11**

REPORT BY GUS HALL
to Special Convention, CP USA **12**

RESULTS OF ELECTIONS TO UPPER CHAMBER
Statement of presidium, CC CPJ **38**

RESOLUTION OF CC, CP OF FINLAND **41**

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CORRECTION:

In No. 14 (126) the second paragraph from top on page 10 should read:

In this manner a situation has arisen which is absolutely unacceptable to a socialist country.

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STATEMENT*

OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

A conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Hungarian People's Republic, German Democratic Republic, Polish People's Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Czechoslovak Socialist Republic took place in Bratislava on August 3, 1968. The conference was attended:

For the Bulgarian Communist Party, by T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC, BCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the BPR; S. Todorov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the BPR; S. Todorov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC BCP; P. Kubadinsky, member of the Political Bureau, CC BCP, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the BPR.

For the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, by J. Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP; J. Fock, member of the Political Bureau, CC HSWP, Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government; Z. Komocsin, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC HSWP.

For the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, by W. Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR; W. Stoph, member of the Political Bureau, CC SUPG, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR; E. Honecker, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC SUPG; H. Matern, member of the Political Bureau, CC SUPG, Chairman of the Central Control Committee of the SUPG; G. Mittag, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC SUPG; H. Axen, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC SUPG.

For the Polish United Workers' Party, by W. Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC PUWP; J. Cyrankiewicz, member of the Political Bureau, CC PUWP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR; Z. Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of CC PUWP; A. Starewicz, secretary of the CC PUWP.

For the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU; N. V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR; A. N. Kosygin, member of the Politi-

*Pravda, August 4, 1968.

cal Bureau, CC CPSU, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU; P. Y. Shelest, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, First Secretary of the CC, CP of the Ukraine; K. F. Katushev, secretary of the CC CPSU; B. N. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC CPSU.

For the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, by A. Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC CPC; O. Cernik, member of the Presidium, CC CPC, Chairman of the Government of the CSSR; J. Smrkovsky, member of the Presidium, CC CPC, Chairman of the National Assembly of the CSSR; V. Bil'ak, member of the Presidium, CC CPC, First Secretary of the CC CP of Slovakia; J. Lenart, alternate member of the Presidium, CC CPC, secretary of the CC CPC. On the Czechoslovak side, L. Svoboda, President of the CSSR, likewise took part in the conference.

Proceeding from the fact that the complicated international situation and the subversive activities of imperialism against peace and the security of nations, against the socialist cause, call for closer unity of the socialist countries, and bearing in mind that the development of socialism poses new tasks whose solution necessitates further pooling of efforts of the socialist countries, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries found it necessary to convene this conference in Bratislava.

In the spirit of established traditions and in an atmosphere of frankness, allegiance to principle, and friendship, the brother parties discussed urgent problems of the struggle for socialism, further consolidation of the socialist community and the cohesion of the world Communist movement. They exchanged views on problems of the present international situation and intensification of the fight against imperialism.

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties discussed ways of strengthening and promoting the fraternal cooperation of the socialist countries.

In the years which have passed since the defeat of fascism and the establishment of working-class power, the peoples of the European countries that have taken the socialist road have achieved victories in all spheres of public life. In these years the parties, overcoming difficulties and steadily improving their work, have in each country ensured the establishment of a powerful industry and the transformation of life in the countryside; they have brought about a steady rise in the people's standards of living and attained a flourishing national culture. Millions of working people have been roused to conscious political activity. Particularly important progress in building socialism and communism has been made by the Soviet Union. The international influence of the social-

ist countries and their role in solving important problems of world politics have grown immensely.

To maintain, consolidate and safeguard these gains, won through heroic effort and devoted labor by every people, is a common internationalist duty of all socialist countries. This is the unanimous opinion of all the participants in this conference, who expressed their unshakable determination to carry forward and uphold the gains of socialism in their countries and to score new successes in building socialism.

Historical experience has convinced the brother parties that they can advance along the road of socialism only if they strictly and consistently guide themselves by the general laws of building socialist society and, first of all, by enhancing the leading role of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist parties. In so doing, each brother party takes into account national peculiarities and conditions, as it creatively solves the problems of further socialist development.

Unswerving loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, education of the masses in the spirit of the ideas of socialism and proletarian internationalism, and uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideology, against all anti-socialist forces, are an earnest of progress in consolidating the positions of socialism and in foiling imperialist intrigues.

The brother parties firmly and resolutely counterpose their indestructible solidarity and a high vigilance to all the attempts of imperialism and other anti-communist forces to weaken the leading role of the working class and the Communist parties. They will never allow anyone to drive a wedge between the socialist states, to undermine the foundations of the socialist social system. Fraternal friendship and cohesion in this sense are in line with the vital interests of our peoples and constitute a reliable basis for solving the socio-economic and political problems on which the Communist parties of our countries are working.

The brother parties regard it as their duty to strive continuously for greater political activity on the part of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, all working people, for all-round progress of the socialist social system, the further development of socialist democracy and improvement of the style and methods of Party and government activity on the principles of democratic centralism.

The manifold tasks of building socialist society in each of our countries can be fulfilled much more easily given mutual help and support.

Fraternal contacts expand and multiply the opportunities of each socialist country. The participants in the conference expressed their firm resolve to do all in their power in order to deepen all-round

cooperation of their countries on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence, territorial integrity, fraternal mutual assistance and solidarity.

The Communist and Workers' parties consider it a task of the first importance effectively to exploit the vast natural resources of their countries, using the latest achievements of science and technology and perfecting the forms and methods of socialist economic management, and thereby to carry forward the economy and improve the working people's standard of living. An effective method of achieving these noble objectives is to promote economic cooperation between the socialist countries on a bilateral basis. It is becoming ever more important to perfect the activity of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid and to extend cooperation and specialization in production among the socialist countries, which makes it possible to make fuller use of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor.

In this connection, the urgency of an early econimic conference at top level was reaffirmed.

The participants in the conference consider it their duty to call the attention of the peoples to the fact that as a result of the imperialist policy of aggression the international situation remains complicated and dangerous. In these conditions the brother parties of the socialist countries, prompted by the interests of the struggle to strengthen universal peace and the security of nations, to organize determined resistance to the imperialist policy of aggression and uphold the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, reaffirm their readiness to concert and coordinate their actions in the international arena.

The working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, all working people crave for peace and tranquility for their countries, for all men on earth. The socialist countries have been doing and will do everything for these innermost aspirations of the peoples to be fulfilled. Our parties declare that in accomplishing this noble task they will continue to cooperate with all the Communist and Workers' parties, with all the progressive forces of the globe in the struggle for world peace, freedom, independence and social progress.

The Communist and Workers parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia again solemnly declare their unshakable resolve to continue supporting the heroic people of Vietnam and to render them the necessary aid in their just fight against the U.S. invaders.

We are concerned over the fact that the situation in the Middle East remains tense as a result of the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of Israel. Our parties will do all in their power to ensure that the effects of the Israeli aggression are made good on

the basis of the resolution of the UN Security Council of November 22, 1967 and that the Israeli troops are withdrawn from the Arab territories they occupy.

Upon assessing the situation in Europe, the participants in the conference note that the growing activity of the forces of revanchism, militarism and neo-Nazism in West Germany directly affects the security of the socialist states and endangers world peace. We will continue to implement consistently a coordinated policy on European affairs, in line with the common interests of the socialist countries and the interests of European security, and will resist all attempts to revise the results of the Second World War and to violate the frontiers established in Europe; we will continue to insist on invalidity of the Munich agreement from the beginning; we will resolutely support the German Democratic Republic, the socialist state of the German working people which upholds peace; we will constantly support the Communist Party of Germany and all the forces fighting against militarism and revanchism, for democratic progress.

The Communist parties of the socialist countries express their resolve to work for guaranteeing European security, and reaffirm the principles of the Bucharest Declaration and the Statement of the Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties. They are willing to do all that may be necessary for convening a congress of European nations to maintain peace on our continent. To prevent a violation of peace in Europe is decisive for preserving world peace. All our joint efforts will be aimed at attaining this goal, which bears on the interests of all nations.

Now that the imperialist forces of the USA, the FRG and other countries are engaged in aggressive activities and persistently attempt to weaken the socialist community, the representatives of the brother parties consider it necessary to re-emphasize the special importance of the Warsaw Treaty. This Treaty, concluded by socialist countries in reply to the joining of NATO, the aggressive imperialist bloc, by a revanchist West Germany, has been, and remains, a powerful factor for peace and the security of the European nations. It is an insurmountable obstacle to all who would like to revise the results of the Second World War. It reliably safeguards the achievements of socialism and the sovereignty and independence of the brother states. Its purpose is to consolidate European security and preserve world peace.

The present situation demands of us unflagging efforts to increase the defense potential of each socialist state and of the entire socialist community, to strengthen political and military cooperation within the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The participants in the conference regard it as their duty consistently to work for closer unity of the international Communist

movement. They note that lately important work has been done to prepare for the new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The brother parties highly appreciate this work and express their conviction that the coming conference will be a success and will make an important contribution to the consolidation of all the revolutionary forces of our time.

We are certain that the common Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the role of the Communist and Workers' parties as the vanguard and the guiding force of society, and the socialist foundations of the national economies of our states will continue to serve as effective factors for closer unity of the socialist countries, for their unity of action in the struggle for great common goals.

The parties attending the Bratislava Conference make this Statement being deeply convinced that the positions and views expressed in it are in keeping with the interests of all the brother countries and parties, with the cause of indestructible friendship between the peoples of our countries, with the interests of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

For the Bulgarian Communist Party—*T. Zhivkov, S. Todorov, P. Kubadinsky.*

For the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party—*J. Kadar, J. Fock, Z. Komocsin.*

For the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—*W. Ulbricht, W. Stoph, E. Honecker, H. Matern, G. Mittag, H. Axen.*

For the Polish United Workers' Party—*W. Gomulka, J. Cyrankiewicz, Z. Kliszko, A. Starewicz.*

For the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—*L. Brezhnev, N. Podgorny, A. Kosygin, M. Suslov, P. Shelest, K. Katushev, B. Ponomaryov.*

For the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—*A. Dubcek, O. Cernik, J. Smrkovsky, V. Bil'ak, J. Lenart.*

JOINT COMMUNIQUE*

ON MEETING OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC CPSU AND THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CC CPC

A meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the Presidium of the CC CPC took place in Cierna nad Tisou from July 29 to August 1, 1968.

The meeting was attended:

for the CPSU, by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU; G. I. Voronov, A. N. Kosygin, K. T. Mazurov, A. J. Pelse, N. V. Podgorny, M. A. Suslov, A. N. Shelepin, P. Y. Shelest, members of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU; P. N. Demichev, P. M. Masherov, alternate members of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU; K. F. Katushev, B. N. Ponomaryov, secretaries of the CC CPSU;

for the CPC, by A. Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC CPC; F. Barbirek, V. Bil'ak, O. Cernik, D. Kolder, F. Kriegel, J. Piller, E. Rigo, J. Smrkovsky, J. Spacek, O. Svestka, members of the Presidium of the CC CPC; A. Kapek, J. Lenart, B. Simon, alternate members of the Presidium of the CC CPC; M. Jakes, Chairman, Central Control and Auditing Committee.

On the Czechoslovak side, the meeting was attended by L. Svoboda, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

During the meeting there was an extensive comradely exchange of views on questions of interest to both sides.

The participants in the meeting exchanged detailed information on the situation in their countries.

The meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the Presidium of the CC CPC proceeded in an atmosphere of complete frankness, sincerity and mutual understanding and was directed toward searching for ways of developing and strengthening still further the traditional friendly relations between our parties and peoples based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In the course of the discussions the two delegations decided by mutual agreement to propose to the central committees of the Communist and Workers' parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR and Poland the holding of a multilateral comradely meeting. These brother parties accepted the proposal.

The meeting of representatives of the BCP, HSWP, SUPG, PUWP, CPSU and CPC will be held in Bratislava on August 3, 1968.

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*Rude Pravo, August 2, 1968.

REPORT* OF GUS HALL

TO SPECIAL CONVENTION, CP USA, JULY 1968

The explosive mass upheavals of this, the most revolutionary turning point of history continue to dominate the world scene.

The rising militant mass movements, currents and trends have now become an irresistible force that propels and sculptures human events in the capitalist world.

These upheavals are a reflection of a new sense of values, a new mass mood, a new level of expectations by the oppressed. There is a rebellion because of a deterioration in the lot of the people in the capitalist world. There is dissatisfaction and unrest even with the status quo.

This is an epoch when the masses will not accept or tolerate even things as they are.

There is a new level of expectations which capitalism will not satisfy.

This results from a sharply growing contradiction between how masses sense what is the potential of the new level of technology and the sciences, and their own stagnant or deteriorating conditions. This is an epoch where man will not accept poverty and affluence as passive neighbors. Many factors are contributing to this new mass mood and consciousness about the gap between what is possible and what is.

There is the growing example of the world socialist system that is closing the gap between what is possible and what is. There is the example of the newly liberated countries. It is a mass reaction to the ever sharper polarization of the rich and the poor in the capitalist world.

It is a reaction to the leaps in technology that in the hands of the capitalist turns into an automated destroyer of their economic and social security.

This mass knowledge and new consciousness is heightened by the greatly expanded mass means of communication. It is a rebellion of the exploited—the poor—the oppressed—the hungry.

It is an epoch when the oppressed smell victory in the air. Capitalism and imperialism and their institutions of oppression do not now appear omnipotent and all-powerful. It is the epoch of transition from capitalism and colonialism to independence and socialism.

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*Abridged.

In trying to explain to reporters why he withdrew from the race for the presidency—just for a fleeting moment, and obviously inadvertently—President Johnson raised the curtain of deception just enough to express a thought that increasingly must haunt and strike a note of terror in the control centers of monopoly capitalism.

Johnson said he withdrew from the race because he had a sense that his world was falling apart. He withdrew he said—because he saw "catastrophe all around him." Because his world was in "turmoil and divided."

I know it is not difficult to conclude that Johnson may think the world is his, but in all honesty one must conclude that when he used the expression that the "President's world was falling apart," etc., he was in fact referring to the world of U.S. imperialism—and not his world! It was a reflection on the setbacks U.S. imperialism has suffered. It was a flashback on the American Century—*iost*. But in that moment he reflected an objective truth. For that flashing moment the credibility gap closed.

He reflected a historic truth—a historic truth that is propelled by the force of the unalterable laws of social development. The handwriting that flashed on the wall is in the firm grip of the progressive forces of this epoch. It is the dialectrics of this moment that, which for the spokesman of capitalism appears as a "catastrophe," as "falling apart," for the forces of progress it is the promise of a great new day. Like an old structure it must come down to make room for the new. This is a moment when the stability of a status quo is, not the middle of the road, but a roadblock to progress. *Fortune* magazine, the classy voice of monopoly capital, this week editorially reflects on this moment:

". . . we are in the midst of a Time of Troubles—one of those periods in which the disintegrative forces in society seem at least temporarily more powerful than the integrative."

The "disintegrating" forces are forces of decaying monopoly capitalism.

This is a moment when the forces of progress are not in a defensive holding action. We are now witnessing a new wave of struggles in the capitalist world. We are in a moment of new advances, new victories against world capitalism.

What is more significant is that this new sweep of struggles—struggles against U.S. agression in Vietnam, the struggles around economic demands, struggles for democratic controls, is being paced by the movements in the industrial heart of world capitalism. The new level of struggles in France, Italy, West Germany, Japan, Brazil, Venezuela and of course in the USA, add a new quality to the upheavals of this new wave.

This brings into the forefront of struggle, the working class

with its class understanding. Because the working class is the only consistent revolutionary force,these new waves of struggle can be expected to develop a closer relationship with the issues in the transition to socialism. The rebellions will tend to become revolutions, the rebels and the radicals will tend to become conscious revolutionaries. We are in the rising tide of this new historic wave.

Our Draft Program states "There is a crisis and talk of crisis."

The sharpest expression of this crisis is the crisis of the U.S. military aggression. In Vietnam the U.S. policy of imperialist military aggression has come up against the realities of this epoch. There it has dramatically met a sector of the forces of national liberation, and a sector of the forces of world socialism. On a world scale it has come up against the forces of anti-imperialism and peace. These new forces of progress are the victors. The crisis has deepened because U.S. imperialism has suffered a historic defeat. Their plans of conquest are floundering.

This was a part of the handwriting on the wall that LBJ saw right before he threw in his presidential towel.

The full meaning of such a historic defeat is now easily predicted. Each defeat of imperialism weakens imperialism. While it can and may result in acts of desperation, it may also mean that U.S. imperialism will have to retreat from other fields. French imperialism was forced out of Indochina; then a few years later, out of Algeria. The handwriting on the wall may mean that U.S. imperialism will be forced out of Latin America!

Such is the nature of the present moment.

In our land this new wave is dramatically represented in the Poor People's Campaign. In Resurrection City the black rebellion in the ghettoes exploded the myth of U.S. capitalist democracy. The Poor People's Campaign is exploding the myth of affluence and equality. This is a movement of momentous significance. It is in the first place a coalescence of the working class poor. It is sparked by the oppressed national minorities and groups who are the victims of two layers of oppression—class oppression and exploitation, and of racial and national oppression.

The June 19 Washington, D.C. demonstration was a historic united action. It was an action of the poor from all sectors, but it was also a new high in bringing together the oppressed minorities and in the first place Negro America, and a meaningful sector of the trade union movement. It is the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the trade union movement that must get the credit for turning the action into a mass action. This was not a student based action. This was above all a working class action. The new wave of struggle is represented in the large peace actions of April. The task now is to move the forces for peace out of the momentary period of inaction.

The new wave is represented in the ghetto rebellions. In the demonstrative mass reactions to the murder of Dr. King. It is reflected in the new militancy of our working class—in the strike struggles—in the new sectors of the working population who are organizing unions and hitting the bricks on picket lines, particularly among the lowest paid workers—the Sanitation workers in New York, Memphis, and now in Florida.

It is dramatically reflected in the grass roots electoral revolt. It was this new wave that swept Johnson out of the Presidential race.

It is reflected in the nature of the movement around the candidacy of Senator McCarthy as it is in the election of Negro Mayors and Congressmen.

It is represented in the emergence of the new Left-radical electoral formations in a number of states—in the Freedom and Peace parties.

It is reflected in the emergence of a new broad people's independent political formation—made up of movements that are frozen out of the Democratic Party by the encrusted machines. At no other moment in our political history has the fraud of the two-party system been so exposed to the millions as is being done in these very days.

The new wave and the electoral experiences of the past year have now placed the question of a mass breakaway from the two-party system on the political agenda. The possibility of this breakaway has resulted in new maneuvers and new demagogy by the political power centers. This exposure, this breakaway is taking place because of the independent movements within the Democratic Party.

The new wave is reflected in the nature of the struggles in the colleges. It is now a demand for a basic restructuring of the colleges.

This new wave is reflected in the growing influence of our Party and in our ability to participate in these movements. And it is reflected in the important beginnings of Party growth from among the working class.

This new sweep developing in the capitalist world had its reflection in the calling and in the deliberations of the world Communist conference at Budapest. Its influence will continue in the growing unity of the world Communist movement as it prepares for the coming world conference in Moscow this coming November 25.

* * *

As is the case in all turning points of history, this one also presents the dialectical opposites. There are present simultaneously the great advances in social progress. There is the great promise—

the explosive potential—and on the other hand there are present serious dangers and pitfalls.

At such moments there is always the danger of not seeing fully the new possibilities of the new sweep as well as reacting prematurely not in keeping with reality.

At moments like this the class relations sharpen. Reaction, sensing the tightening noose, moves to head off defeat by increasing its demagogy and by introducing fascist measures against the people. There is the carrot and the club of reaction.

It is therefore a moment of victories and new confidence—but it is also a moment when the masses must keep a watchful eye on the moves of monopoly capitalism.

Our draft program is our reflection of this moment.

Our draft program is a program for this turning point in history.

Our program does reflect the new waves of struggles.

Our program does rest on the promise and potential of this moment.

Our program does warn against the pitfalls and dangers.

The program is our assessment of the moment. It is our concept of the path ahead. It is our guide to victory.

THE PROGRAM

The first discussion on the nature of our program took place five years ago. It was adopted by our 18th Convention. The first draft was enthusiastically received by our Party. It was welcomed and discussed by a large section of the Left and radical movements. We sold 50,000 copies of the first draft. Requests for more copies and letters discussing the program continue to come into our national office. The program has become an important document in the dialogue between our Party and important sections of our people.

Our draft program has stimulated many other parties in the capitalist world to writing their own programs. In many parts of the world our program has served as basic material for studies about the USA.

In this overall sense the first draft of our program served our Party well. It was an important factor in re-establishing our Party as a viable component of our country's political life. And, contrary to many fears, we have been able to produce the first draft, conduct the discussion and produce the second draft without diverting from the mass struggles and our responsibilities in the mass movements. We have adjusted some of our work—but in the long run, we have improved its quality.

* * *

It is the overwhelming consensus of our Party, expressed through

the pre-convention discussion, that this new draft before you is a very much improved document. It has been the subject of a lively discussion. Over 50 articles were written as a result of this discussion.

The improvements in this new draft are in response to the criticism and suggestions made in the discussion of the first draft. For over two months we have had a discussion of this new draft. Part of this discussion is reflected in the written proposals for further improvements suggested by the program committee. The task of this convention is to make further improvements and make provisions for its editing and publication.

The present draft is a further development of our program in many ways. It is shorter. The language has been brought closer to the people. The thoughts are expressed in shorter and simpler sentences. Many of the political and theoretical weaknesses have been eliminated.

The writing of this draft program is a historic achievement for our Party. It has greatly added to our Party's influence. Besides the expected gains, there are many important fringe benefits from producing a program.

The five years of discussion have forced us to think about, and to formulate stategic concepts. It has forced us to become more concerned about the specific historic and present U.S. realities. We have had to think about the relationship of today's movements and mass actions to the struggle for socialism. The discussion has deepened our understanding of the inter-relationship between theory and tactics of mass movements, between policy and tactics, and the nature of the relationship between strategic concepts and the struggles and movements of today. For many in our Party, some of the ideas have been discoveries. For all—it has been a refresher course in Marxism-Leninism. We are a better party because of our work in putting our thoughts on paper.

* * *

We have not yet resolved all of the questions. In fact, we never will. A program should not be viewed as a finished document—for all times. Some have argued that we should not adopt the draft program because we should have more discussions. There is no contradiction here. We can and should do both.

The adoption of this draft does not and should not end the discussion. We will make provisions to continue the discussions. The areas that need more discussion have now become pinpointed. In general they are: the anti-monopoly concept, black liberation —and the role of the working class.

Each national convention of the Party has the authority and

the responsibility to review the program and to amend it or to rewrite it.

And when reality has changed to the point that it calls for a new set of strategic concepts, then the Party will have to write a new program.

But it is the opinion of most that this present draft is a reflection of today's reality. It is a good draft. It is a revolutionary—it is a Marxist-Leninist document. And so this draft will continue where the first left off—adding credits to our Party.

We must be realistic about some of the problems. A program of necessity must deal with strategic concepts. And we must accept the fact that it is not always possible to formulate, definitively and concretely, a strategic concept. Strategic concepts are an assessment of future developments, of what the movements, forces and developments will look like when they have developed to a new level, and have helped to create a new objective reality.

There are times when we have to be satisfied with a less concise formulation. Sometimes we have to wait until further developments take place, when forces have developed to a higher plane, and when we can have the benefit of further experiences, before we can cross all of the t's.

Because strategic concepts are a projection of developments in the future, however, is not a license for the presentation of ideas that are speculative, and unreal. Strategic concepts are not policies for an imaginary world of unreality.

The realities of today must provide the source and the justification for strategic concepts.

The longer range outlook of strategic concepts does not release us from a tactical responsibility.

If we are not yet able to clearly project how one or another trend will develop, it is not a crime to present it in less definitive terms. The weakness would be either to present it in speculative terms or not to do so at all. Because we have difficulties in some formulations cannot be an excuse for not writing a program. We can rest our considerations on the foundation that there is agreement on our overall approach on most questions.

Any idea that because there are still some weaknesses in our draft program, therefore we should not adopt this new draft must be rejected. With this kind of logic we would never adopt a program—because we will never have a perfect program. Such a move would be a serious setback for our Party. There is no contradiction in adopting our draft program and continuing our discussions on specific areas—and continuing to make improvements. I would not get hung up on whether we should continue calling it a draft or not. Either way is alright.

We are not writing our program in a vacuum. Let us keep in mind that we are not the only ones putting out a program. There are a number of groups within the radical-Left circuit also writing and adopting draft programs. Some elements in the Socialist Party are working on new programs. Most of these efforts are a direct response to our Party's program. They are being presented as a challenge to our program. In fact they are being presented as a replacement, as a substitute for our program—and for our Party. There are some folks who are for these Left groups getting out draft programs—but are against our Party doing so. We cannot by inaction or postponements fail to meet these challenges.

These other programs are a challenge to our program—not because of some difference in facts or because of a word or a formulation here or there. They are not variations of our outlook. They do not just represent tactical differences. They are a challenge because they present a different basic concept. Thus, they are a challenge to the basic concept of Marxism-Leninism.

We will value and understand our own program better if we understand more deeply the nature of this challenge. We reject—we attack the concepts of the challenge because they are harmful to the revolutionary movement. We reject them because they lead to dead end corners. A defense of Marxism-Leninism, a defense of our Party is a defense of the working class revolutionary movement.

And in today's world, socialism based on Marxism-Leninism is the only revolutionary reality. It is not an abstraction. It is the social system and ideology which is relevant to world and domestic developments. While we do not equate a footnote on a single page with a chapter of history, we must go beneath the glitter of a phrase in these concepts and probe deeper to see what it is that gives rise in them to a programmed, computer-like repetition of similar abstractions and phrases.

It is that *in one form* or another, they all reject the *centrality* of the *class struggle as a basic concept.* Some ignore it—others openly challenge it. Thus, they all rest on a wrong premise. This is the key question for all groups. It is the central question for our Party—for our Program. It is the rudder for any revolutionary movement. Without it a movement will be aimless, directionless, at the mercy of subjective winds.

Some say that in this epoch the "class struggle" has been replaced by a "social struggle." It is clear—there is a class struggle —there are the antagonistic opposing classes and so one gets stuck with the old working class. In the bodyless, odorless concept of "social struggles" one gets away from the ugliness of a class reality. Being a spokesman for "social struggles" it is not necessary to use words that grate the sensitivities of liberals or others

who are trying so hard to hide the reality of classes and the class struggle. Who can not be for a "social struggle"?

There are dozens of variations of Marcuse floating around, who is himself only a variation of a hundred and fifty years of anti-working class, pretty-bourgeois radicalism. Petty bourgeois radicalism has always tried to get around and away from dealing with the class structure of capitalist society.

Before going into some of the ideas of the challenge, I want to make a general observation.

In order to conduct an effective struggle, we in the Party must not confuse—radicalization, militancy, the radical spirit of not accepting the status quo—with petty-bourgeois radicalism. One is a healthy rebellion on which the revolutionary movement builds. The others are attempts to mislead the militancy into anti-working class channels.

Our attitude towards radicalization in all sectors of the population must be positive and enthusiastic. In fact, our struggle with petty-bourgeois radicalism is for the right of leadership. There are two kinds of errors within our Party related to this question. Both arise out of an inability to separate the two questions.

There are some who accept or are influenced by these wrong concepts. This influence is expressed in confusion. It is expressed in a resistance to taking up the challenge. Some feel that if red-baiting and slander against our Party, or if anti-working class ideas come from the left, we should not say anything. Others think that if we take up the challenge, it gives our Party a conservative image. Does this not arise from confusing the two separate factors.

There is the other weakness also. It expresses itself in a lack of appreciation of the positive nature of the radicalization. It shows up in an impatience in being only critical—especially with the radicalization of the youth.

We must correct both errors.

We welcome and fight to lead the new militancy while we reject the concepts of some to mislead.

We cannot win the right to lead, unless we accept the challenge and win against non- and anti-working class concepts.

It is also necessary to note—petty-bourgeois radicalism does not hold its audience. Because of life's experience most serious workers very quickly pass through and move into other movements, and many join our Party.

One variation concludes that "Only those *outside of the production process* can be a force to change the order of things." This of course, rules out the 65 million workers in the U.S. "production process" and their families who make up the majority of our people. But in a basic sense it rules out exploitation at the point of

production, as the heart, as the incubator, as the factor that gives rise to classes and the class struggle. In fact petty-bourgeois radicalism now speaks about "neo-capitalism" in which exploitation in production is not the root of its evil.

But in their books this is no problem. On the contrary, for them this is proof, this is the theoretical explanation for their main contention—that the working class cannot be a revolutionary force, in fact it has gone over to the enemy.

There are many variations of this concept also. Some say, "in an industrial society, the working class has lost its revolutionary spirit and therefore also its historic progressive role." Others say the "working class has become a part of the establishment." Others add that "the working class has become a partner and an affluent recipient of the loot of imperialism." Still others speak about the "new working class," but in such terms that, to say the least, it leaves the door open for an intepretation that the changes are so fundamental, the new working class is so different, that one should, to say the least, have some doubts and questions whether it can fulfill its historic mission. They make a slight concession and say there are may be not questions about the world working class in general, but as a starter there must be at least some doubts about the U.S. working class.

It is necessary to say a few special words about the concept of "neo-capitalism" put forth by Marcuse and others, and now peddled by sections of SDS, the Guardian and other sectors of petty-bourgeois radicalism, as big new discoveries.

What is this so-called neo-capitalism?

It is a kind of Christmas goose capitalism. They say it is forced to stuff its people—to force feed them—like a Christmas goose.

Why does this neo-capitalism do this? Because it produces so much and needs an internal market. They call it "compulsive consumption." They say that is why Santa Claus is the symbol of this neo-capitalism.

They say the new technology now forces capitalism to stuff its people.

What are the instruments of this stuffing, this forced feeding?

The trade unions—with their economic demands—with their collective bargaining.

This leads to their conclusion—and I quote:

"The new technology of automation and cybernation . . . create a new set of relationships which transcend the traditional conception of the exploitation of labor as the basic motor of class conflict and revolutionary consciousness."

It leads to a "one dimensional society" and not the dimensions of two classes.

It leads to the "elimination of cyclical crises of overproduction."

It leads to where neo-capitalism "does not need foreign markets" —therefore an end to imperialism.

Because neo-capitalism "can only pursue the upward spiral of increasing commodity production—by promoting an upward spiral of increasing compulsive individual consumption."

But what are the central aims of these theories? Like all the others they are anti-working class.

The trade unions and strikes become instruments of stuffing the goose. It is obvious that if one, to any extent, accepts this concept, he will lose all enthusiasm for strikes, and really be against strikes, because he will see them only as a means for "stuffing the goose."

Thus, they say it is no longer possible to speak of the working class as a "revolutionary force." And they draw further conclusions:

"The black power movement is in the direction of black capitalism . . . In fact it has become increasingly clear that at the present time there is little basis for the development of a class-conscious mass movement in opposition to capitalism. The basic demand of the ghetto insurrections for goods (consumption) . . . reveals the movement to be neither class-conscious nor revolutionary."

And even further:

"Trade unions which fight only for higher wages (consumption) are engaged in a conservative, if not reactionary struggle. . . . That is why students have become the vanguard of the new left. That is why other social strata—industrial workers and the poor—have been incapable of developing a struggle relevant to the current era."

And because of this the Communist Party and the "old left" "has become at best irrelevant—at worst a destructive and a reactionary influence." That their neo-capitalism has nothing to do with reality does not seem to bother its authors.

Such is the path of petty-bourgeois radicalism. It is not difficult to argue against it when it is stated openly. What is more difficult is to detect that which is covered. Or to fight against its influences.

But make no mistake about it—we have the choice of accepting the challenge or being engulfed by it.

It is an anti-working class reactionary concept, sugar-coated by left phrases.

This same thought is expressed in the concept that the road to victory against imperialism, against capitalism, is through the encirclement of the urban working class areas by military forces made up of people who are from the "outside of the production process."

There are many influences of this thought. Some place questions in a manner that inadvertently gives substance to these theories.

Some are satisfied by just tagging the working class as corrupt and hopeless. Others stretch the concept of "labor aristocracy" so that it covers the workers of the organized mass production industries. And because workers are organized they can be ruled out as not being interested in broader "democratic struggles." Such over-simplified concepts open the door for anti-working class ideas. No amount of verbal gyrations can erase the fact that the roots of capitalism and the propellant for a socialist revolution and the molder of the revolutionary force is the "productive process" of capitalism.

Our program must stand four-square on the centrality of the class struggle. Our program must rest on the concept of classes and the role of the working class. Our Party is not a party *for* the working class. Our Party is a working-class party. Our program is a working-class program. This is the foundation for our concentrated efforts, for our tactics, policies and strategic concepts. This is a Marxist-Leninist approach to the struggle for human progress.

We are not reluctant to discuss changes that are taking place in the make-up of the working class. We do and will discuss the effects of these changes. But we reject any concept that is based on a rejection of the class approach.

We will discuss what is new in the ranks of the working class, but we reject the concept of a "new working class" that is so "new" that it has lost its place in history.

We work with, give leadership to and hail the movements and struggles of masses who are "outside of the production processes." We value their role, but we reject all concepts that these sectors are now the bases of the revolutionary movements. The movements and struggles of forces outside of the "production processes" can be victorious only if they are allied with the struggles and movements of those within the production processes.

Our outlook—our very being as a political force rests on our convictions that the forces of progress can be victorious only if they are allied with and base themselves on the struggles of the working class. That the battle-scarred roadway of class struggle is the only pathway to human progress.

* * *

In our discussions about the U.S. working class there has been much said about the influences of opportunism, the role of a labor aristocracy, about the level of social developments, about the level of political consciousness, the level of class consciousness, and the

level of socialist consciouness. These are all important matters. They are all closely inter-related questions.

These are very important questions for us. Our strategic concepts must rest on how this consciousness develops. The development of these higher levels of consciousness is a central responsibility of our Party.

But they are not theoretical abstractions. To pin an ideological label on the behavior of a class is no solution.

One cannot assess or understand the U.S. working class, or its ideological level of development without taking into consideration its historic development and the historic development of U.S. capitalism. The successes of our working class in economic struggles is a many-sided development. It is related to its origins, it is related to the abundance of nature's riches in our land, to the period when capitalism developed in the United States. It is related to the position of U.S. capitalism in the two world wars, to the development of U.S. imperialism.

It is wrong to make abstract assessments of the ideological currents as if these historic conditions did not exist.

Our working class struggles have taken place in a specific set of historical circumstances.

It is the struggles in this set of circumstances that have propelled us to our present level of development.

It is therefore in this context that we must consider all problems, including the ideological developments of our working class.

It is for this reason that a simple comparison of wage scales with some other country cannot be the yardstick of who are or are not "labor aristocrats."

Some have taken Lenin's remarks about the opportunism of the Social Democratic parties and mechanically used the quotations in discussing weaknesses of the U.S. working class.

What is interesting is that there is a close similarity in the way the comrades who misuse Lenin and the Social Democratic leaders whom Lenin criticized, in the manner that both deal with the role of the working class.

What is wrong with this mechanical adaptation? Why will this transplant fail?

Because Lenin was speaking about the opportunism of leaders of political parties. Lenin was speaking about a conscious, deliberate betrayal of the class by leaders of political parties. Of course, there is a relationship between the two—but they are not the same.

This is opportunism on a different level.

You simply cannot mechanically use such remarks and apply them to discussing the influence of opportunism within a class.

But there is one other objection I have to this shallowness.

When Lenin spoke about the reasons for the penetration of

opportunism in the Second International, he pointed to the bourgeois influences of the petty-bourgeois elements, about the petty-bourgeois and the non-working class origins of the Social Democratic leaders.

Any discussion about influences of opportunism in leading bodies that hides the role of the petty bourgeois element is itself opportunism.

* * *

We hear much about what is the over-all or central thrust of a document. How does our program stand in overall thrust in regard to the working class?

I think it can stand some improvement.

The greater part of the section on the working class deals with the negative features of the working class and the trade union movement. This, I think should be corrected.

But I am more concerned about the overall thrust of some of the discussion material that has taken place.

If one were to add up the list of suggested shortcomings, crimes, and sins of our working class that has come into the program committee, it would be a volume by itself. The pre-convention discussion material is witness to the influences of petty bourgeois radical, anti-working class influences within our Party .

In the material on the section dealing with our working class written by members of our Party, there are phrases like "they (the working class) become bourgeois in their mode of life—in the size of their earnings." How is this conclusion sustained? By giving figures of general per capita income. It seems to me any average class-conscious worker would know that the per capita income formula is history's worst fraud. It is specifically designed to mislead, to hide the nature of capitalist society and to give the impression of overall affluence.

Let us see how it works. In 1965 the general per capita income —after taxes—was $2,232. Two years later it went up to $2,393. Each year there was a gain of about 3½ per cent in the overall per capita income.

Now let us look at the 44 million wage earners' family per capita income.

In 1965 when the general per capita income was $2,232 the wage earners' per capita income was $1,021. That's about 41 per cent of the general per capita income. But it is even worse. During the two years when the general per capita income went up annually about 3½ per cent the per capita income of the wage earners went down 3 and 2 per cent during the two years.

Do these facts sustain any idea that the workers are "bourgeois in their size of earnings"? I don't think so.

Classless statistics and classless economics lead to classless politics, classless concepts.

The "labor aristocracy" formula is used by some in our Party to level every possible slander against the working class, including that it is the working class that is responsible for anti-communism.

One article by a Party club asks, "What about membership in trade unions, sporting clubs, cooperatives and religious organizations? Have these organizations reflected this trend toward increased power of the labor aristocracy?"

And they answer, "In terms of sporting clubs (they mean athletic clubs), cooperatives and religious organizations, these groups have expanded—coops had over 32 million members (how frightening) —sporting clubs, especially for such sports as softball, bowling, golf and motor-boating have definitely increased. Religious organizations have grown."

And to add to this crime of labor, they say "The number of people voting has increased from 49.1 per cent to 63.7 per cent in 1960.

And so this party club concludes: "Thus it should be clear that the labor aristocracy (as an ideological tendency) has grown in size and effectiveness since World War II."

Lenin spoke about the influence of coops and religious organizations in a country where there were no trade unions and where the church and state was one reactionary mass.

Is this not an example of a mechanical transference of a phrase?

The task of Marxist-Leninists is not transference of a phrase but the application of the method of our specific conditions.

Without this approach there would be no limit to ridiculousness.

But to make sure who they are talking about—they are critical because the draft program directs its fire at the leadership of trade unions and not on the overall "aristocratic working class."

One must ask: What are the limits of the logic of this petty-bourgeois, radical, anti-working class negativeness in our Party? There are no limits—unless we as a party put limits on such concepts.

One of the articles gives a part of the answer: "In the absence of a principled Marxist leadership to turn this tide against their policies, the opportunist can become the *dominant and the potential fascist leaders of the future.*"

Such is the logic of a wrong class position. The main enemy becomes the working class. It becomes the basis of fascism! This same thought is expressed in some other literature as follows: "We must see to it that the working class does not become the face of fascism."

Such conclusions are imbedded in the logic—in the very nature of petty bourgeois radicalism. It does not have a class rudder.

It is a subjective response to the evils of capitalism. It is a classless rebellion. It is not programmed against the enemy.

When the working class does not respond in accordance with its subjective reaction—in line with its individual anger—this brings on a sense of frustration—and it turns into a negative attitude toward the working class, and in the end the working class becomes the enemy.

Sometimes I am asked, "Why don't you more often discuss the weaknesses of our working class or the trade unions?" It's a fair question.

I think it is a law of a working class party that we cannot and we will not discuss or probe the weaknesses of the working class within an overall negative or anti-working class framework. A first responsibility is to fight the overall anti-working class attitudes. We can meaningfully discuss weaknesses only in an overall positive partisan framework.

This is a fundamental difference between our program and the other programs on the Left. This is a fundamental difference between Marxism-Leninism and petty bourgeois radicalism.

Whether a Party maintains a class orientation, of course, must be measured by its theoretical position.

But much more important is whether it is reflected in the everyday application of policies. What are its daily priorities in time, emphasis, and resources is an important yardstick. The discussion around the program has brought to the surface serious theoretical weaknesses. But the real depth of this weakness can only be seen in the daily work of our Party. There is a need to reconstruct our party as a working-class party—as a working-class party of Negro-white unity.

There is much talk about the need to struggle against the wrong policies of trade union leadership. But how many of our comrades —whether in shops or not—are active in building rank-and-file movements? How many of us are active in selling the paper or literature or distributing leaflets at shop gates? What leadership have we given nationally or what leadership do the Districts give to industrial concentration? How many of our young comrades are trying to or planning to work in industry?

More than anything else the working class movement, our Party and the revolutionary movement need "doctorates" based on first-hand exploitation in a steel mill. We need Communists with Masters' degrees in first-hand experience in the speed-up of an automobile factory. We need bachelor's degrees in automated coal-mining, in the attrition of a sweatshop in textile, machine-building or rubber. We need comrades who are in post-graduate work in shop leadership on raising class consciousness, socialist consciousness. We need experts on how to fight racism at the point of production.

A working-class party above all else needs workers from the basic industries, from the mills, mines and factories, in its membership and leadership councils. Among delegates to a convention like this working comrades from the shops should have the first priority.

Above all else our program must be directed to achieve this end.

* * *

There is a third and a final similarity in the positions and programs of most of the Left groups that is basically different from ours.

Behind the phrases about achieving black and white unity under socialism they have in fact given up the struggle for unity. For us the concepts of Negro-white unity, unity of the working class Negro and white, the concept of an alliance of the Negro people's movement and the labor movement as the foundation for progress are basic.

As these groups try to avoid coming to grips with the centrality of the class question, so they try to avoid coming to grips with the question of racism.

Our program can serve as a guidepost—as a marker in the stream of political and ideological currents.

Our program is a correct reflection of the realities of this moment. It does not opportunistically skirt difficult questions. Our concepts are based on a correct understanding of how the laws of capitalist development operate on the American scene. It is the product of the application of Marxism-Leninism to our specific reality.

BLACK LIBERATION

One section of our draft program has created more discussion than any other. It is the section on black liberation. Much of it has been rewritten.

As the question of Negro freedom is crucial for our country it is a crucial question for our program. It has a bearing on and a relationship to all other sections of the program.

It is understandable why we are having some difficulties in formulating this section. When there is continuous struggle, motion and daily change it is more difficult to generalize the experiences.

There are some differences in the estimation of exactly what are the main trends, where some of the present mass currents will go, how they will develop, etc.

But the basic reason for some of the difficulties is that black oppression in the United States has a number of unique and distinct

features. It is a special system of oppression within a special set of circumstances.

It is a system of special oppression of a people within a nation. The oppression is racial. The oppression is of a nationality. The oppressed by and large are of the working class. Being exploited at the point of production determines this class status for the great majority of black Americans. Thus the main economic issue is not land. The main economic issues are within the structure of U.S. capitalism. It is a special system of oppression interwoven into the fabric of capitalist exploitation.

The struggle is for national expression but the struggle is also to break down the walls of segregation and discrimination. The struggle is both for national identity and for equality and freedom as a part of the nation.

The struggle to break the chains of the special oppression have developed movements toward both integration and separation. What is important is that they are both movements of struggle. They are both directed at the system that creates inequality.

They are not tendencies of resignation to accept a status quo or defeat.

The present tendencies in the Negro community are a reaction to 300 years of struggle to break the chains of a special oppression.

They are a reaction to 300 years of efforts to break the barriers that hold the Negro from the mainstream of national life.

They are a reaction to 300 years of violent resistance and indifference by the majority of white Americans to the efforts to break down the walls of segregation and discrimination.

They are reactions to 300 years of cruel persecution, indignities and injustices.

Therefore the future developments in the struggle for black and white unity—working class unity, and how the trends and struggle of the 22 million Afro-Americans will develop will in large part be determined by how fast white America, and especially white working-class America, will move to break down the walls, the system that oppresses 22 million of its fellow Americans. It depends how quickly white America realizes that this is necessary for its own self-interests. It depends to a large measure on how quickly white America extricates itself from the net of racism.

This is why the question of struggle for Freedom is an American question. This is why it is a crisis of the nation. How this crisis is solved will be a big factor determining how the trends will develop.

* * *

How the program should state the question of the right to self-determination has come up in our discussions.

It has been said: "We must stand unalterably for the right of self-determination." This again is one of those statements that leads one to ask, "Just how do you mean that?"

If it is a restatement of our basic Leninist position as regards the liberation of oppressed nations, or developing nations, then it is a statement of a truth—and in this case an obvious truth. Of course, that is our position. And as far as I know, no one in our Party has challenged it.

No one challenges the correctness of the position on self-determination. But the application of this Leninist principle to the unique situation arising from the oppression and the struggles of 22 million black Americans is already a different matter.

Therefore it is always important for us to determine whether we are all using terms and words in the same manner. New experiences can, and often do change the meaning of old expressions, of old concepts. But when we use old expressions in a new context giving them a new meaning, we have to say so.

The concept—"the right of self-determination"—has an accepted political meaning. The accepted meaning is very closely related to relations between nations and states. It is a demand for a nation to have the right to decide for itself its own affairs, and what relationships it will have with other nations—and especially what relations it will maintain with the nation that has oppressed it. Above all it includes the right of separation or the right to some other form of relations, such as, an equal in a federation of nations and states.

This *accepted* meaning of the concept of separation is of necessity linked to the realities of a common territory and a separate economy, expressed in a political and state structure.

This is the accepted usage of the concept of the right of self-determination.

If we want to change or expand on its meaning, then we have to say so. But when the flat statement of, "We must stand for the right of self-determination" is followed by such expressions as—"We did not foresee that the issue of self-determination would rise again and this time in the North," then one is forced to draw some conclusions.

One, that the obvious was not stated for obvious reasons. Two, that the expression is used largely as it was used in the thirties by us. Because there is nothing to indicate that it is used differently.

In that context it is used incorrectly. It is wrong because it is an over-simplification of a very complex question, a reality with many very unique features. The reality of black oppression does not fit that generalized concept. Our strategic concepts must flow from our reality. If our reality does not fit into some generalized

concept drawn from other experiences, then we must create our own generalized concepts.

There are many similarities in the reality of black oppression to other experiences. To the extent that there are, we should draw on them. I will deal with this in a moment.

Strategic concepts are an estimation of trends. Therefore we have to ask: On the basis of present-day trends and currents, can we conclude that the Afro-American community is developing in the direction of a separate territory and a separate economy? I don't think the trends would sustain such a conclusion. It would be overdrawing on the separatist tendencies that do exist.

On the other hand it seems to me that from this correct assessment of today's reality we therefore should not conclude, or write a program on the basis that such a development could never take place.

There are enough facts on hand that dictate the need for a sense of flexibility, the need for us to keep some doors open to the possibility that if not in full scope, that some specific element, or feature, of such a path may develop.

Amongst these factors the class question is very important.

In a basic sense black Americans are working-class Americans. By and large they are victims of exploitation in the production process. They view the solutions to the economic problem they face both as a result of racial oppression and class exploitation within the class structure of our society.

In considering strategic concepts based on realistic trends, one would have to ask: How would Negro steel, auto, rubber workers or coal miners respond to the slogan of the right of self-determination in the accepted usage as a solution to their problems? They are tied down to the production process of U.S. capitalism. This is the arena of their struggle for Freedom and equality.

Our program must start and end with the thought that to fight for black liberation is to fight against racism.

To speak about some abstract concept of self-determination and not to conduct a daily struggle against discrimination and chauvinism would be a hollow gesture.

Our approach to the concept of black and white unity is a struggle against chauvinism, against all forms of discrimination. Ours is not only a moral plea. It is an argument based on the reality that social progress is only possible by black and white unity based on a struggle against racism.

Our program must be a witness to the unique quality of our Party. It must speak about and for *a working-class party* uniting black and white.

* * *

One of the new and very positive developments on our political

landscape is the upsurge of struggle now emerging among others of national minorities who, to one degree or another, are victims of special forms of oppression. There are important political and trade union developments among the five million Mexican Americans. They are setting the pace in the organization of the migratory and agricultural workers of our country. Through their own political organizations, in alliance with others, they have become an important factor in the struggle for social progress. The American Indian nations are now emerging on the scene of battle. The government reservations—the oldest of American ghettos, the oldest of America's second-class caste systems, the oldest attempts at genocide, the victims of brutal oppression, since the first invasions, are now also saying: We want our freedom, our equality.

The Puerto Rican community of millions has emerged as an important political factor on the scene. Concentrated in the industrial centers, largely forced to live in the slums and working in the lower-paid jobs—they are also now emerging as a militant factor in the trade unions of mass production industries.

This upsurge has been stimulated by the sustained and heroic struggles of the Afro-Americans.

Our program must not only reflect this new upsurge. It must reflect the qualitative shift that is taking place as a result of the class relationships developing between the different sectors of oppressed Americans.

We are witnessing a melting pot of struggle that is coming to a boil.

* * *

MONOPOLY

Another general theme of the draft that has produced a lively discussion is the projected anti-monopoly concept. The discussion stretches from thoughts on how to state the problem better, how to eliminate possible misinterpretations, to proposals for replacing the concept altogether with some other generalized proposition. For example, there is a proposal to replace the anti-monopoly concept with an anti-imperialist concept. Many of the thoughts on how to improve on the draft are very good and should be accepted. This includes thoughts on how to close some doors that may give an opening to the interpretation that monopoly is something different from capitalism. This will strengthen the section.

The proposal to improve the concept should be accepted and the ideas that move in the direction of basically changing or eliminating the concept should be rejected as unsound.

Our Party has a history of changing our attitude toward the

anti-monopoly concept. It is a history of "off again and on again."

It has also been a matter of debate in the world Communist movement. The Mao group in the leadership of the CPC has been against it. Their special attack on the C.P. of Italy was centered against the anti-monopoly position of the Italian C.P. This, in spite of the fact that the Chinese Party has a long history of using similar strategic concepts. The Mao concepts generally are a denial of the history of the Chinese revolution.

One's attitude toward this concept of struggle also determines one's attitude toward alliances—united fronts—the struggle for democracy—the struggle for reforms generally.

If one either rejects the need for this concept or sees the mass movement for it limited to those convinced of socialism, then of course it would determine one's attitude toward all alliances—including electoral alliances. And of course this concept can also come from a very negative estimate of the power of the masses and an overestimation of the strength of monopoly power.

The idea of intermediate strategic goals is that we walk with, talk with and unitedly fight with masses for an objective that we have to reach anyway before we reach our goal of socialism. We do so with people who are not now ready to start the march for socialism. In fact most of them are convinced that they will part company with us when the halfway goals are reached. But as I said, because we understand the inner logic of struggle—we talk, as we walk, about the system and about socialism—we can be so meaningfully only if we walk with them. Whenever possible we should have Left contingents but as a part of the march. We should have a party contingent—but as a part of the march, far enough in front to lead the way, close enough to the mass so as to be able to talk and walk with them. We can be close enough only if we can say: We are with you in our united efforts in reaching the first goal. We can say that without our tongue in our cheek because it is a fact of life—that it is the only way we are also going to reach the goal of socialism. We can reach it only *with* the people who have so far agreed to only go half-way. So that is where the anti-monopoly concept fits in. It is an intermediary strategic goal.

In considering the practical side of a strategic concept, we have to answer the following: Are there masses who will move into struggle against the special oppressive role of monopoly before they understand capitalism or move as a conscious anti-capitalist or pro-socialist force? That's the key question. Are there such masses? If there are, then we have to make provisions for leadership to these masses. Or we have to ask the following question: Is it easier to expose capitalism as a system

with masses who are in struggle but who are not anti-capitalist, by exposing the special brutal, inhuman nature of the monopoly feature of capitalism? I think it is. This is the very purpose of strategic or tactical positions. Tactical and strategic positions are to provide exactly *for* this problem. If we say: to socialism, you don't need a strategic concept, you do not need intermediary concepts.

Now let us consider some of the questions that have been raised in the discussion.

Why an anti-monopoly concept? Why not anti-something else? Because in our opinion, it provides the best possible objective—best possible vehicle to get the greatest numbers of people walking. The nature of monopoly capitalism dictates this.

Masses are in the struggle against monopoly oppression who do not yet see it as a part of a system and therefore are not consciously fighting the capitalist system.

Why is it the best objective? Because the development of monopoly capitalism is the polarization of the super rich. There is a fierce drive by the top financial-industrial dynasties for ever greater control and domination, for ever greater polarization. The anti-monopoly concept is the growing crystallization of the opposition to this domination. There is no other capitalist country in the world where the anti-monopoly struggle has as deep a meaning as in the USA. For the simple reason that nowhere else has it reached such a level of development.

Anti-imperialism is a very basic concept of struggle. The crisis of the U.S. imperialist war policy has greatly expanded the base of anti-imperialism in the USA as well as in the world.

Anti-imperialism in other countries—especially when it is projected as a struggle against the policies of U.S. imperialism—can be and is a very broad issue. For us it is most important but it is not the same kind of a mass issue. Monopoly domination affects people differently. Therefore, anti-imperialism cannot replace the issue or the concept of anti-monopoly. It should not be placed in opposition or as a substitute. Anti-imperialism has its own very special significance. We must convince our Party and the Left of the crucial importance of developing a broader anti-imperialist consciousness. When we walk with those who are for peace for other reasons, we must talk about imperialism. Again, we can do so only if we do walk with peace marchers who are not yet conscious of anti-imperialism.

It has also been stated that the struggle against monopoly is a struggle against capitalism and the struggle against capitalism is a struggle against monopoly.

This is one of those formulations that lends itself to many

interpretations. Because in one sense it is true. But, for example, if they are the same—some may conclude why separate them, why not say "Down with capitalism and be done with it"? It would simplify matters.

* * *

We as a party cannot skip stages in our concepts, in our program—for the very stubborn reason that masses will not skip stages. This leads us to the question: What is the relationship of the anti-monopoly struggle to anti-capitalism or to the struggle for socialism?

Here again we must be clear—precisely what is our point of reference? Is our point of reference the historic relationship of how the struggle against monopolies is a feature of the anti-capitalist struggle and this leads to socialism? If this is our point of reference the answer is obvious: there is an important relationship. But because of this relationship, can we therefore now describe the "anti-monopoly movement as being close to being socialist"? Or that "it is unthinkable to effectively curb monopoly power without resorting to socialist measures"?

I think such an assessment tends again to eliminate the strategic concept. It sees the anti-monopoly movement in too narrow terms. An anti-monopoly movement is democratic in its broad sweep. I don't think it is necessary for us to now speculate how far this movement will go along democratic lines—before it is forced into socialist measures. Even if we were convinced now that curbing monopoly will take socialist measures, would it argue for giving the *movement* a socialist context? We would like to but life moves along its own laws.

It is easy to put into a resolution things "that must be." It is especially easy if one is not seriously concerned about organizing or leading real people—and concepts for some imaginary folk in some fantasy land. Anti-imperialism cannot be a condition for an anti-monopoly movement for the same reasons that it cannot replace it. In fact, it is a proposal for replacement. Again, it is too narrow.

The forces of monopoly and imperialism are by and large the same forces. Just how masses are victims of its oppression determines how best to move them into action.

In tactical and strategic matters a Communist must in all seriousness view ideas from the point of reference, of leading masses in struggle.

Also our concepts must be tested with past experiences. For example, in view of experience it is possible to state—"that there is nothing that can be done about the aggressive armed forces of

imperialism until the grip of monopoly is smashed at home."

It is true the questions are closely related—in fact they are a part of one question. But one should at least make some study of how these matters developed when the old imperialist empires were forced to retreat. The monopolies are still there, while the imperialist empires have been largely destroyed.

* * *

Now what about the military-industrial complex? Why not an anti-military-industrial complex concept instead of the anti-monopoly concept.

Is there substance to the military-industrial complex?

These are questions that have also come up in our discussions in many different ways. Eisenhower, who popularized the phrase "military-industrial complex" used it in a narrow sense, to describe a danger from the combination of the military brass and the arms industry. He also talked about the influence of the military in government counsels.

I think the popular usage of the phrase remains as a description of that narrow area—the military and the arms industry. I think it is clear that it is not a phrase which describes either monopoly capitalism or state monopoly capitalism.

It leaves out the role of the state and the role of monopolies and places the military as something separate from both.

Therefore it cannot be a substitute for the anti-monopoly concept.

It tends to blur class lines—and class concepts. We must always inject the class nature of the military and the class role of the state. It is not just industry that is involved. It is the development of monopoly capitalism that has brought on state monopoly capitalism.

It is a phrase that describes a feature of state monopoly capitalism. That is how the program very correctly deals with it.

There is nothing wrong with its popular usage. But it is not a substitute for describing class forces as they are in the USA today.

Some have also raised the question of how the program deals with the possibilities of an anti-monopoly government.

I think this is one of those areas where we are not in a position to round out a concept. Therefore the draft deals with it in general, as a possibility. I think we should leave the question on that level. To project in definitive terms the concept of an anti-monopoly government does leave the impression of a stage. And it is possible that an anti-monopoly struggle may not result in such a government.

The concept of intermediary strategic goals is good common sense. But more, it is common sense that has been verified by experience. There is no revolution on record that has not passed through some such way stations.

They are not stages in the mechanical sense because in the process there is an overlapping of trends. The element of anti-capitalism is already in the anti-monopoly movements and there are conscious anti-capitalist sectors in it. The length of time also can vary from days to years.

The anti-monopoly movement may or may not take the form of a crystallized organized alliance. At this stage it is a movement of many forces, of many forms. The area where it will crystallize into an alliance most likely will be in the electoral arena. We should not blueprint it. Our program should keep it on the level of an overall concept of struggle. Each level of struggle will give it its own specific forces and forms.

The root source of the development of monopoly capitalism is exploitation of our working class at the point of production. This is the source of its accumulated profits.

Therefore the anti-monopoly movement must rest on the class that faces monopoly at its base. Any idea that there can be a successful struggle against monopoly capitalism without the active role of the working class makes a fatal mistake.

So when we give thought to the nature of an anti-monopoly movement—above all else we have to give thought to what is the best possible way of walking with, talking with and fighting together with our working class.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE UPPER CHAMBER, JULY 1968

STATEMENT* BY THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN

1. The latest elections of the Upper Chamber of parliament preceded the "revision" of the Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty (due to expire in 1970.—*Ed.*) by two years. They were important in having a direct bearing on the future of Japan.

2. Kawata, the Communist Party candidate, was elected in Kyoto District for the first time and another three candidates—Iwama, Ogasawara and Watanabe—won the election as national candidates. Thus the Party secured four seats instead of the former one. More people voted Communist throughout the country. The total of votes cast locally exceeded 3,500,000, or eight per cent, topping by one million the number of votes won at the previous elections. This is the greatest number of votes obtained by the Party in postwar general elections. In the Tokyo electoral district the CP candidate was defeated by a narrow margin. However, thanks to a resolute campaign, he collected more votes than Nosaka, the Party Chairman, who won the majority at the previous elections. In Tokyo and nine local districts—Osaka, Kangawa, Nagano, Aichi, Saitama, Chiba, Hyogo, Fukuoka, Hiroshima—the CP candidates placed second as established by the law.** The Party made appreciable headway providing a basis for subsequent elections.

Our Party owes its success at the polls to a vigorous campaign supported by a large body of partisans and sympathizers. This success shows that in spite of strong anti-Communist attacks by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the parties taking their cue from it, many more ordinary people have come to back the Communist Party and its policies, which paves the way for an end to the Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty, for national independence and security, and a new democratic policy meeting the aspirations of the people.

The Party expresses its gratitude and appreciation to the numerous supporters and sympathizers who intrepidly backed it in the face of bitter anti-Communist attacks. We wish to thank all who voted unhesitatingly for our candidates.

3. The LDP failed once again to win the majority but it retained

*Akahata, July 9, 1958.

**When the office of a deputy falls vacant the runner-up moves in.—Ed.

almost all its seats. This is not to say that the anti-popular and anti-national policy of this party, and first of all its policy of "holding on to the Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty," have won popular recognition and support, as that party claimed after the elections. A number of recent polls show an unquestionable uptrend in public criticism of the LDP policy of keeping down the people's standard of living and by bolstering the Japanese-U.S. military alliance, which forces Japan to follow in the wake of the United States. And while there are, objectively speaking, sufficient opportunities of striking blows at the LDP, one of the reasons why this party retains its standing is that on such important and urgent political problems as national security, the Socialist Party (SP) was unable to take a firm stand against LDP policies, which serve the reactionary forces of America and Japan. Another important reason is that the SP failed to produce a clear perspective of overthrowing the LDP cabinet of Sato and of framing a new democratic policy. It is primarily on the issue of Japanese security that the SP, while stressing the importance of the problem, refused to join up with the democratic forces fighting against the Security Treaty. Instead, it urges an unprincipled unification of the "anti-Sato" forces, including those who accept the Treaty, and a "supra-party" diplomacy on the Chinese question. There is no question that in both theory and practice, the evasive attitude of the SP, which is careful not to oppose the principal political trends of the LDP, helps the latter to carry on its policy. Nor does their attitude permit the SP to dissociate itself from monopoly capital.

As a result of the SP's loss of eight seats in Parliament and the drop of the number of votes supporting that party, Komeito regained four seats, and several seats were won by the Democratic Socialism Party. The latest elections, like last year's elections to the Lower Chamber, revealed an increase in the share of the so-called "middle course" parties in the alignment of political forces. This is a result of the Socialists' uncertain stand on LDP policies.

With due regard to the election results, we must exercise greater vigilance toward the intrigues of the LDP, which advocates a bloc with the "middle course" parties and considers anti-communism and preservation of the "Japanese-U.S. security system" to be a prerequisite, as Prime Minister Sato declared during the election campaign. We must be more vigilant toward the anti-Communist "popular alliance" suggested by the Democratic Socialism Party and meeting LDP schemes.

4. It is a fact that ever since the elections to the Upper Chamber the LDP cabinet of Sato has been stepping up its policy of making the Japanese-U.S. military alliance based on the Security Treaty more aggressive and of undermining the people's standard through higher prices and heavier taxes. This situation indicates that the

task of uniting the democratic forces opposed to the Security Treaty is gaining in urgency. The Communist Party invariably stressed this during the election campaign. Reinforced by its electoral success, our Party is marching in the van of the democratic forces and the people as it intensifies its struggle against the anti-national and anti-popular policies of the Sato cabinet. It comes out with determination against the Security Treaty, against higher prices and corruption, implementation of the policy promised during the election campaign. At the same time the Party will strive with still greater energy, through the united front of the democratic forces opposed to the Security Treaty, to defeat LDP policy and clear the decks for a new democratic policy.

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

At an enlarged plenary meeting on June 15-16, the CC CPF summed up the results of the discussion on the situation in the Party.

In the course of the extensive discussion, held in spring, the overwhelming majority of district and primary Party organizations approved the CC resolution on Party unity. The district committees and almost all primary organizations voiced support of the Central Committee's policy based on the decisions of the 14th Party Congress.

Many proposals and wishes were expressed aimed at improving the Party's political and organizing activity. The Central Committee instructs the organs concerned to make a careful study of these proposals and take them into account.

The discussion has reaffirmed the basic propositions on ways of restoring unity contained in the CC resolution of April 8. In view of this the Central Committee has decided to keep this resolution in force and urged the Party organizations to act upon it in solving problems of developing the government policy, cooperation of the working people and inner-Party activity.

The discussion has helped dispel many misunderstandings among some Party members as regards the Party's recent policies. What is particularly important, the Party members have been able to discuss the situation in the Party on the basis of a special CC document which refuted groundless allegations and rumors and thereby helped create an atmosphere of greater confidence.

However, the internal difficulties have not been overcome yet, while the disagreements in some organizations have grown in acuteness. Nevertheless, the Party members are now better informed about the nature of the disagreements and are thus in a better position to find correct ways of resolving them.

The Central Committee regrets that its resolution should have been interpreted one-sidedly, as a result of which even in the course of the discussion Party members in some organizations have been unable to gain a clear view of the situation in our Party and its policy on the basis of the information provided by the Central Committee and of their own reasoning. In some cases it developed

*Kansan Uutiset, June 18, 1968.

that not all Party members had been issued the resolution of the Central Committee.

The Central Committee insistently demands that the Party organizational workers guilty of biased interpretation of its resolution and policy abandon this course of action, which has aggravated the disagreements and the danger of a split. In future the Central Committee will in every instance take measures to preserve Party discipline.

The Central Committee instructs the Political Bureau to see to it that objective information is supplied to these organizations which do not have it at present. If necessary, lecturers should be dispatched to explain the political line of the Party. Representatives of the Central Committee should be able to go directly—with the knowledge of the district committee—to primary organizations. This is particularly necessary in the case of the Turku and Uusimaa districts.

The CC resolution and the situation in the Party were given additional treatment during a discussion in the popular-democratic press. Whereas the overwhelming majority supported the CC resolution, some party members avoided a businesslike discussion, resorting, instead, to uncomradely personal accusations and inconcrete criticism of the Party leadership's policy, and trying to sow distrust in it. In some cases not the slightest attempt was made to discuss in earnest cardinal problems of Party policy.

Many questions directly pertaining to our practical Party work arose during the discussion in both the Party organizations and the press. Correct observance of the principles of democratic centralism is one of the central problems of our Party activity, and many primary organizations called attention to it in their statements.

It is absolutely correct and necessary that Party decisions should be adopted following the broadest possible exchange of views, and that the rank and file should take part in drafting them. But in conditions of political struggle it is impossible to put up all matters for discussion by all Party members prior to adopting the decision. At times the leading Party organs have to take a stand on important issues without having the time to submit them for discussion by district committees.

It should be stressed, however, that once a decision has been taken all Party members should unfailingly abide by it. Otherwise unitary Party activity is unthinkable. Expression of a divergent opinion or non-participation in adopting a decision does not relieve a Party member from the duty to comply with it. Observance of these principles by members of the Party leadership and organizational workers is particularly important. The difficulties that have

arisen of late are to a very large degree the result of a failure to adhere to these principles of democratic centralism.

In its effort to restore Party unity the Central Committee has purposefully striven to iron out the disagreements in comradely talks. But the Central Committee points out that if Party work is to be effective possibilities should be provided for in the Party apparatus for the necessary replacement of functionaries. It would be wrong to regard this as administrative sanctions or persecution of the differently-minded.

The Central Committee states that despite the efforts of the Political Bureau the situation in the Turku district organization has not been developing positively. The negative attitude of the district Party leadership towards a number of CC decisions and the policy pursued by the Party is reflected in its guidance of primary organizations, some of which have disassociated themselves from CC decisions.

The stand of the leading party organs and organizers in the Turku district is based on the assertion that the Party leadership does not pursue a principled class policy and that this results in mistakes, specifically in the government policy. It is suspected and even alleged that persons seeking to lead the Party in a non-communist direction are to be found in the Party and even in leading Party posts. It is also claimed that some central points of the Party draft program are revisionist. These mistaken notions explain the existence of a great deal of distrust in the Party leadership. The disagreements have led to a fall-out between the editorial board of the newspaper *Uusi Paiva* and the leadership of the Turku district committee, and to activities against the leadership of the district organization. The tension was heightened, among other things, by the pamphlet, "The True Face of Splitting Activity" which was published by the Turku district committee and which obviously runs counter to the principles of organizational activity. As a result of this stand of the district leadership some primary organizations announced discontinuation, in token of protest, of payment of membership fees to the district organization and asked for permission to remit them directly to the Central Committee pending normalization of the state of things in the district.

The Central Committee calls upon the Turku district committee and all Communists in the district to start serious talks on removing the disagreements and restoring unity and, should they find it necessary for the purpose, to consider measures for reorganizing the district leadership which would help towards unity of the entire district organzation. The Central Committee supports all measures aimed at restoring unity and issues a serious warning about the danger of a split.

In view of this the Central Committee approves the decision of the Political Bureau urging the primary organizations which have decided to discontinue payment of membership fees to the district organization to resume the normal procedure envisaged in the Rules and, as far as possible, initiate measures to normalize the relations between the leadership of the Turku district organization and the *Uusi Paiva*.

Topical problems of the ideological struggle were also taken up during the Party discussion.

The decisions of the 14th Congress and CC resolutions stress that the struggle against bourgeois ideology, for the working-class world outlook remains the order of the day, because intensification of the offensive of reactionary bourgeois ideology is apparent on an international plane as well. Along with calling for more vigorous struggle against bourgeois ideology and any distortion of Marxism-Leninism, it is appropriate to stress that the teaching of Marx and Lenin is winning ever new supporters both internationally and in our country and is a victorious ideology.

The most important task of the ideological struggle at present is to elaborate a new program which would determine the principal political aims and ideological line of our Party as opposed to bourgeois policy and ideology, and chart the road to socialism for our people.

The rapid succession of often unexpected events in the world, the new phenomena in the world Communist movement demand of our information organs more effective coverage of international events. Our Party invariably strives to maintain good relations with all fraternal parties in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to contribute to the preparation of the new international Communist conference and to promote the rallying of the international Communist movement.

The Party discussion has revealed serious shortcomings in the information work in our Party. Party resolutions and decisions should be explained more effectively so as to preclude the emergence of rumors and suspicions.

The Party's government policy was the central issue in the discussion. The CC resolution says that in the coming period the Party will pursue an active and radical working-class policy and will strive, relying on the support of broad strata of the population, for still better results in its government policy.

Almost all Party organizations approved the general line of the government policy and submitted many concrete proposals designed to step up the political activity of the Party.

The discussion over, attention should be concentrated on topical tasks. Concrete political struggle is also a means of overcoming

the differences. Mobilization of the masses in a struggle against unemployment, against the growth of prices and for other topical demands of our Party pertaining to the government policy, and preparation for the municipal elections require the attention of all Party members. The Central Committee calls upon all primary organizations to discuss current issues of political struggle in the light of the tasks set by the Political Bureau.

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contents

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON MEETING OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC CPSU AND THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CC CPC
(Cierna nad Tisou) **5**

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES
(Bratislava) **6**

COMMUNIQUE ON SOVIET-CZECHOSLOVAK TALKS
(Moscow, Aug. 23-26) **12**

RESOLUTION OF THE CC CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA 15

ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN
(Decision of the CC CPSU) **16**

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JOINT COMMUNIQUE*

ON MEETING OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC CPSU AND THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CC CPC

A meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the Presidium of the CC CPC took place in Cierna nad Tisou from July 29 to August 1, 1968.

The meeting was attended:

for the CPSU, by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU; G. I. Voronov, A. N. Kosygin, K. T. Mazurov, A. J. Pelse, N. V. Podgorny, M. A. Suslov, A. N. Shelepin, P. Y. Shelest, members of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU; P. N. Demichev, P. M. Masherov, alternate members of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU; K. F. Katushev, B. N. Ponomaryov, secretaries of the CC CPSU;

for the CPC, by A. Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC CPC; F. Barbirek, V. Bil'ak, O. Cernik, D. Kolder, F. Kriegel, J. Piller, E. Rigo, J. Smrkovsky, J. Spacek, O. Svestka, members of the Presidium of the CC CPC; A. Kapek, J. Lenart, B. Simon, alternate members of the Presidium of the CC CPC; M. Jakes, Chairman, Central Control and Auditing Committee.

On the Czechoslovak side, the meeting was attended by L. Svoboda, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

During the meeting there was an extensive comradely exchange of views on questions of interest to both sides.

The participants in the meeting exchanged detailed information on the situation in their countries.

The meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the Presidium of the CC CPC proceeded in an atmosphere of complete frankness, sincerity and mutual understanding and was directed toward searching for ways of developing and strengthening still further the traditional friendly relations between our parties and peoples based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In the course of the discussions the two delegations decided by mutual agreement to propose to the central committees of the Communist and Workers' parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR and Poland the holding of a multilateral comradely meeting. These brother parties accepted the proposal.

The meeting of representatives of the BCP, HSWP, SUPG, PUWP, CPSU and CPC will be held in Bratislava on August 3, 1968.

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*Rude Pravo, August 2, 1968.

STATEMENT*

OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

A conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Hungarian People's Republic, German Democratic Republic, Polish People's Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Czechoslovak Socialist Republic took place in Bratislava on August 3, 1968. The conference was attended:

For the Bulgarian Communist Party, by T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC, BCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the BPR; S. Todorov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the BPR; S. Todorov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC BCP; P. Kubadinsky, member of the Political Bureau, CC BCP, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the BPR.

For the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, by J. Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP; J. Fock, member of the Political Bureau, CC HSWP, Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government; Z. Komocsin, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC HSWP.

For the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, by W. Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR; W. Stoph, member of the Political Bureau, CC SUPG, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR; E. Honecker, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC SUPG; H. Matern, member of the Political Bureau, CC SUPG, Chairman of the Central Control Committee of the SUPG; G. Mittag, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC SUPG; H. Axen, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC SUPG.

For the Polish United Workers' Party, by W. Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC PUWP; J. Cyrankiewicz, member of the Political Bureau, CC PUWP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR; Z. Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of CC PUWP; A. Starewicz, secretary of the CC PUWP.

For the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU; N. V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR; A. N. Kosygin, member of the Politi-

*Pravda, August 4, 1968.

cal Bureau, CC CPSU, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU; P. Y. Shelest, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, First Secretary of the CC, CP of the Ukraine; K. F. Katushev, secretary of the CC CPSU; B. N. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC CPSU.

For the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, by A. Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC CPC; O. Cernik, member of the Presidium, CC CPC, Chairman of the Government of the CSSR; J. Smrkovsky, member of the Presidium, CC CPC, Chairman of the National Assembly of the CSSR; V. Bil'ak, member of the Presidium, CC CPC, First Secretary of the CC CP of Slovakia; J. Lenart, alternate member of the Presidium, CC CPC, secretary of the CC CPC. On the Czechoslovak side, L. Svoboda, President of the CSSR, likewise took part in the conference.

Proceeding from the fact that the complicated international situation and the subversive activities of imperialism against peace and the security of nations, against the socialist cause, call for closer unity of the socialist countries, and bearing in mind that the development of socialism poses new tasks whose solution necessitates further pooling of efforts of the socialist countries, the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries found it necessary to convene this conference in Bratislava.

In the spirit of established traditions and in an atmosphere of frankness, allegiance to principle, and friendship, the brother parties discussed urgent problems of the struggle for socialism, further consolidation of the socialist community and the cohesion of the world Communist movement. They exchanged views on problems of the present international situation and intensification of the fight against imperialism.

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties discussed ways of strengthening and promoting the fraternal cooperation of the socialist countries.

In the years which have passed since the defeat of fascism and the establishment of working-class power, the peoples of the European countries that have taken the socialist road have achieved victories in all spheres of public life. In these years the parties, overcoming difficulties and steadily improving their work, have in each country ensured the establishment of a powerful industry and the transformation of life in the countryside; they have brought about a steady rise in the people's standards of living and attained a flourishing national culture. Millions of working people have been roused to conscious political activity. Particularly important progress in building socialism and communism has been made by the Soviet Union. The international influence of the social-

ist countries and their role in solving important problems of world politics have grown immensely.

To maintain, consolidate and safeguard these gains, won through heroic effort and devoted labor by every people, is a common internationalist duty of all socialist countries. This is the unanimous opinion of all the participants in this conference, who expressed their unshakable determination to carry forward and uphold the gains of socialism in their countries and to score new successes in building socialism.

Historical experience has convinced the brother parties that they can advance along the road of socialism only if they strictly and consistently guide themselves by the general laws of building socialist society and, first of all, by enhancing the leading role of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist parties. In so doing, each brother party takes into account national peculiarities and conditions, as it creatively solves the problems of further socialist development.

Unswerving loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, education of the masses in the spirit of the ideas of socialism and proletarian internationalism, and uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideology, against all anti-socialist forces, are an earnest of progress in consolidating the positions of socialism and in foiling imperialist intrigues.

The brother parties firmly and resolutely counterpose their indestructible solidarity and a high vigilance to all the attempts of imperialism and other anti-communist forces to weaken the leading role of the working class and the Communist parties. They will never allow anyone to drive a wedge between the socialist states, to undermine the foundations of the socialist social system. Fraternal friendship and cohesion in this sense are in line with the vital interests of our peoples and constitute a reliable basis for solving the socio-economic and political problems on which the Communist parties of our countries are working.

The brother parties regard it as their duty to strive continuously for greater political activity on the part of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, all working people, for all-round progress of the socialist social system, the further development of socialist democracy and improvement of the style and methods of Party and government activity on the principles of democratic centralism.

The manifold tasks of building socialist society in each of our countries can be fulfilled much more easily given mutual help and support.

Fraternal contacts expand and multiply the opportunities of each socialist country. The participants in the conference expressed their firm resolve to do all in their power in order to deepen all-round

cooperation of their countries on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence, territorial integrity, fraternal mutual assistance and solidarity.

The Communist and Workers' parties consider it a task of the first importance effectively to exploit the vast natural resources of their countries, using the latest achievements of science and technology and perfecting the forms and methods of socialist economic management, and thereby to carry forward the economy and improve the working people's standard of living. An effective method of achieving these noble objectives is to promote economic cooperation between the socialist countries on a bilateral basis. It is becoming ever more important to perfect the activity of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid and to extend cooperation and specialization in production among the socialist countries, which makes it possible to make fuller use of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor.

In this connection, the urgency of an early econimic conference at top level was reaffirmed.

The participants in the conference consider it their duty to call the attention of the peoples to the fact that as a result of the imperialist policy of aggression the international situation remains complicated and dangerous. In these conditions the brother parties of the socialist countries, prompted by the interests of the struggle to strengthen universal peace and the security of nations, to organize determined resistance to the imperialist policy of aggression and uphold the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, reaffirm their readiness to concert and coordinate their actions in the international arena.

The working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, all working people crave for peace and tranquility for their countries, for all men on earth. The socialist countries have been doing and will do everything for these innermost aspirations of the peoples to be fulfilled. Our parties declare that in accomplishing this noble task they will continue to cooperate with all the Communist and Workers' parties, with all the progressive forces of the globe in the struggle for world peace, freedom, independence and social progress.

The Communist and Workers parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia again solemnly declare their unshakable resolve to continue supporting the heroic people of Vietnam and to render them the necessary aid in their just fight against the U.S. invaders.

We are concerned over the fact that the situation in the Middle East remains tense as a result of the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of Israel. Our parties will do all in their power to ensure that the effects of the Israeli aggression are made good on

the basis of the resolution of the UN Security Council of November 22, 1967 and that the Israeli troops are withdrawn from the Arab territories they occupy.

Upon assessing the situation in Europe, the participants in the conference note that the growing activity of the forces of revanchism, militarism and neo-Nazism in West Germany directly affects the security of the socialist states and endangers world peace. We will continue to implement consistently a coordinated policy on European affairs, in line with the common interests of the socialist countries and the interests of European security, and will resist all attempts to revise the results of the Second World War and to violate the frontiers established in Europe; we will continue to insist on invalidity of the Munich agreement from the beginning; we will resolutely support the German Democratic Republic, the socialist state of the German working people which upholds peace; we will constantly support the Communist Party of Germany and all the forces fighting against militarism and revanchism, for democratic progress.

The Communist parties of the socialist countries express their resolve to work for guaranteeing European security, and reaffirm the principles of the Bucharest Declaration and the Statement of the Karlovy Vary Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties. They are willing to do all that may be necessary for convening a congress of European nations to maintain peace on our continent. To prevent a violation of peace in Europe is decisive for preserving world peace. All our joint efforts will be aimed at attaining this goal, which bears on the interests of all nations.

Now that the imperialist forces of the USA, the FRG and other countries are engaged in aggressive activities and persistently attempt to weaken the socialist community, the representatives of the brother parties consider it necessary to re-emphasize the special importance of the Warsaw Treaty. This Treaty, concluded by socialist countries in reply to the joining of NATO, the aggressive imperialist bloc, by a revanchist West Germany, has been, and remains, a powerful factor for peace and the security of the European nations. It is an insurmountable obstacle to all who would like to revise the results of the Second World War. It reliably safeguards the achievements of socialism and the sovereignty and independence of the brother states. Its purpose is to consolidate European security and preserve world peace.

The present situation demands of us unflagging efforts to increase the defense potential of each socialist state and of the entire socialist community, to strengthen political and military cooperation within the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

The participants in the conference regard it as their duty consistently to work for closer unity of the international Communist

movement. They note that lately important work has been done to prepare for the new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The brother parties highly appreciate this work and express their conviction that the coming conference will be a success and will make an important contribution to the consolidation of all the revolutionary forces of our time.

We are certain that the common Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the role of the Communist and Workers' parties as the vanguard and the guiding force of society, and the socialist foundations of the national economies of our states will continue to serve as effective factors for closer unity of the socialist countries, for their unity of action in the struggle for great common goals.

The parties attending the Bratislava Conference make this Statement being deeply convinced that the positions and views expressed in it are in keeping with the interests of all the brother countries and parties, with the cause of indestructible friendship between the peoples of our countries, with the interests of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

For the Bulgarian Communist Party—*T. Zhivkov, S. Todorov, P. Kubadinsky.*

For the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party—*J. Kadar, J. Fock, Z. Komocsin.*

For the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—*W. Ulbricht, W. Stoph, E. Honecker, H. Matern, G. Mittag, H. Axen.*

For the Polish United Workers' Party—*W. Gomulka, J. Cyrankiewicz, Z. Kliszko, A. Starewicz.*

For the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—*L. Brezhnev, N. Podgorny, A. Kosygin, M. Suslov, P. Shelest, K. Katushev, B. Ponomaryov.*

For the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—*A. Dubcek, O. Cernik, J. Smrkovsky, V. Bil'ak, J. Lenart.*

COMMUNIQUE ON SOVIET-CZECHOSLOVAK TALKS

Soviet-Czechoslovak talks were held in Moscow from August 23 to 26, 1968. Participating in them were:

For the Soviet side—L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU; A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU; N. V. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU; G. I. Voronov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU; A. P. Kirilenko, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU; D. S. Polyansky, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU; M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU; A. N. Shelepin, member of the Political Bureau of CC CPSU, Chairman of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions; P. Y. Shelest, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, First Secretary of the CC, CP of the Ukraine; K. F. Katushev, secretary of the CC CPSU; B. N. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC CPSU; A. A. Grechko, Minister of Defense of the USSR; A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

For the Czechoslovak side—L. Svoboda, President of the CSSR; A. Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC CPC; J. Smrkovsky, Chairman of the National Assembly of the CSSR, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC; O. Cernik, Chairman of the Government of the CSSR, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC; V. Bil'ak, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Slovakia; F. Barbirek, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC, Deputy Chairman of the Slovak National Council; J. Piller, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC; E. Rigo, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC; J. Spacek, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC; O. Svestka, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC; M. Jakes, Chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CC CPC; J. Lenart, alternate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CC CPC; B. Simon, alternate member of the Presidium of the CC CPC; G. Husak, Deputy Chairman of the Government of the CSSR; A. Indra, secretary of the CC CPC; Z. Mlynar, secretary of the CC CPC; Colonel-General M. Dzur, Minister of National Defense of the CSSR; B. Kucera, Minister of Justice of the CSSR; V. Koucky, Ambassador of the CSSR in the USSR.

During the talks the participants discussed — openly and in comradely fashion — questions relating to the present development of the international situation, the intensification of imperialist intrigues against the socialist countries, the situation in Czechoslovakia in the recent period and the temporary entry of the troops of the five socialist countries into the territory of the CSSR.

Both parties expressed firm conviction that in the present situation the important task is to implement the joint decisions adopted at Cierna nad Tisou and the postulates and principles formulated by the Bratislava Conference, as well as consistently to realize the practical steps flowing from the agreement reached during the negotiations.

The Soviet side declared that it appreciates and supports the position of the leadership of the CPC and CSSR, which intends to proceed from the decisions taken by the January and May plenary meetings of the CC CPC with a view to improving the methods of leading society, promoting socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist system on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Agreement was reached on measures aimed at normalizing the situation in the CSSR as speedily as possible. The Czechoslovak leaders furnished information about the measures which they have planned to this end for the immediate future.

The Czechoslovak side stated that the entire activity of the Party and government bodies in all lines of leverage will be directed toward carrying out effective measures serving socialist power, the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party, the development and consolidation of friendly relations with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole.

The Soviet leaders, voicing the unanimously expressed desire of the peoples of the USSR for friendship and brotherhood with the peoples of socialist Czechoslovakia, reaffirmed their readiness for the broadest and most sincere cooperation on the principles of mutual respect, equality, territorial integrity, independence and socialist solidarity.

The troops of the allied countries, which have temporarily entered into Czechoslovak territory, will not interfere in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Agreement was reached on the conditions for withdrawal of these troops from Czechoslovak territory with the normalization of the situation in the CSSR.

The Czechoslovak side announced that the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces had issued appropriate orders to prevent incidents and conflicts that might break peace

and public order. He had also instructed the military command of the CSSR to keep in touch with the command of the allied troops.

In connection with the discussion of what is called the situation in Czechoslovakia in the U.N. Security Council, the representatives of the CSSR declared that the Czechoslovak side had not asked the Security Council to put that item on the agenda and insists on its being struck off the agenda.

The leaders of the CPSU and the leaders of the CPC reaffirmed their determination steadfastly to pursue in the international arena a policy of promoting the solidarity of the socialist community and of maintaining peace and international security.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia will continue resolutely to repulse the militarist, revenge-seeking and neo-Nazi forces bent on revising the results of the Second World War and on violating the integrity of the frontiers existing in Europe. They reaffirmed their determination unfailingly to honor all their commitments under multilateral and bilateral treaties between socialist countries, strengthen the defenses of the socialist community and heighten the effectiveness of the defensive Warsaw Treaty.

The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of frankness, comradeship and friendship.

RESOLUTION OF THE CC COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ON THE RESULTS OF THE MOSCOW TALKS

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, meeting in joint session with the Central Control and Auditing Commission, with representatives of the delegates to the 14th Congress from all regions participating, heard a report by Comrade Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC, on the talks between the Presidium of the CC CPC and the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU in Moscow on August 26, 1968, a report by Ludvik Svoboda, President of the Republic, on these talks, and the record of the talks. On this basis the plenary meeting resolves:

1. To approve the stand taken by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPC at the Moscow talks and to agree with the stand taken by the Party leadership under Comrade Dubcek during these critical days.

2. To oblige all functionaries and members of the Central Committee, the Central Control and Auditing Commission and their agencies to be guided consistently in their political work by the conclusions reached during the talks, conclusions which are a condition for gradually normalizing the situation in the CSSR and relations with the five socialist countries of the Warsaw Treaty.

3. To instruct the Central Committee Presidium to prepare and submit a principled appraisal of post-January development with a view to preparing for the 14th Congress. The plenary meeting expressed complete confidence in the policy that has been pursued so far to promote socialism in our country, and is convinced that the Party leadership has the strength to bring the complicated situation under control.

4. To instruct the Central Committee Secretariat to prepare more extensive information as a basis for political work and to convey it to the activists of the Party, including those of local Party organizations.

5. To empower the CC Presidium to do everything to ensure the earliest possible withdrawal of foreign troops and to provide all the necessary conditions for implementing the post-January policy.

ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN

DECISION* OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

In April 1970 the Communist Party, the Soviet people and the working men of all countries will mark the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

The whole of modern history is inseparably connected with the name of Lenin. Lenin is the great successor to the revolutionary teaching of Marx and Engels. He is the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the leader of the greatest social revolution and the builder of the world's first socialist state. Lenin's ideas had and continue to have the most profound influence on the entire course of world development.

The name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin is immortal—just as his ideas and his achievements are immortal. Lenin devoted his whole life to the noble cause of serving the proletariat, the working masses, and to the revolutionary rejuvenation of the world. Lenin voiced the aspirations and the hopes of the working class and the working people, and found answers to vital problems which were imperatively posed by life. Guided by Lenin, our Party led the working class and all the working people in the struggle for the overthrow of the system of exploitation, for a better life, for socialism.

Leninism is associated with the most outstanding revolutionary achievements of the 20th century—the Great October Socialist Revolution, which marked the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind, the establishment of the socialist world system, and the stupendous liberation battles and victories waged and won by the working class and working people over capitalism. Lenin's name became the symbol of proletarian revolutions, socialism and progress, the symbol of the communist transformation of the world.

In the struggle for the triumph of communism we constantly draw strength and inspiration from Lenin's ideas. The Communist Party, the Soviet people and the working men of all countries cherish feelings of boundless love and respect for Lenin. They turn to him their finest thoughts and aspirations.

Lenin has gone down in history as a brilliant theoretician of the proletarian revolution and the socialist transformation of society. In him the wisdom of a thinker was combined with knowledge of

*Pravda, August 10, 1968.

the life of the people, a thorough comprehension of Marxist theory with an understanding of the vital requirements of the workers' movement. On the basis of new historical experience and the study of the struggle of the international working class and the national liberation movement of the peoples, Lenin, at the border between two historical eras, creatively developed and enriched the teaching of Marx. Leninism constitutes the Marxism of the new historical era, the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, and of construction of a communist society. Leninism is an eternally living source of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action.

All the component parts of Marxism—philosophy, political economy and scientific communism—have been enriched and made more concrete by the works of Vladimir Lenin.

Lenin's teaching about imperialism as the last stage of capitalism, about the party of a new type, about socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat in its various forms, about socialist democracy, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and all the working people, about questions concerning the nationalities, the agrarian problems, about the ways of building a socialist society —all these treasures of Lenin's thinking are a reliable weapon of our Party and of the world revolutionary liberation movement.

Lenin was uncompromising in championing the positions of dialectical and historical materialism; he provided a profound philosophical generalization of the latest discoveries in the natural sciences and enriched social thought with new ideas and conceptions whose correctness has been brilliantly confirmed in social practice and by the successes of modern science. The invaluable works of Lenin remain valid for today's world. Leninism constitutes the theoretical foundation for the solution of the most complicated problems of the revolutionary struggle and of the construction of a new society.

Lenin regarded theory not as a dogma, but as a guide to action. The unwaning strength of Lenin's ideas lies precisely in the creative development of Marxism. Lenin's attitude to theory represented a combination of revolutionary creativity with loyalty to the principles of Marxism, of theory with life, with revolutionary practice.

Lenin's thought was invariably turned to the interests of the working people.

Lenin consistently defended the purity of Marxism and was irreconcilable in his fight against revisionist and dogmatist distortions of the revolutionary theory. History has shown that any departure from the principles of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, from its internationalist essence, any attempt to replace scientific theory with the bourgeois-liberal or pseudo-revolutionary phrase inevitably

leads to an insoluble conflict with the historical goals of the international working class and the vital interests of socialism.

Marxist-Leninist ideas live on and triumph in the stupendous transformations accomplished by the Soviet people under the guidance of Lenin's Party. They live on and triumph in the achievements of the peoples of the socialist countries, in the successes of the world Communist movement, the international working class and the national-liberation forces. The revolutionary theory is being constantly enriched by the theoretical activity of the CPSU and the fraternal parties, by the collective thought of the world Communist movement.

Lenin has gone down in history as the greatest leader of the proletarian revolution, the founder and leader of the Bolshevik Party—the vanguard of the working class, a party of a new type, the party of socialist revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party of the construction of socialism and communism, the highest form of socio-political organization.

Lenin's life and activities are inseparable from the struggle of the working class and the Communist Party. He saw clearly that without a revolutionary Marxist party it was impossible to win victory in the socialist revolution, or to build socialism and communism.

Life has confirmed Lenin's idea that the role of the leading fighter can be carried out only by a party guided by a progressive theory, a party capable of ensuring sound political leadership. Lenin taught the Party to proceed from the actual conditions and to boldly take the initiative, to use flexible and diverse tactics, and to employ various forms and methods of class struggle. The Party and Lenin worked out a program of democratic and socialist revolutionary transformations; they politically organized the working class and the working masses for overthrowing autocracy and capitalism. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the history-making gains of socialism constitute the greatest victory of the strategy and tactics of Leninism.

Lenin comprehensively substantiated the leading role of the Communist Party not only in the seizure of power, but also in the construction of socialism and communism. He defined the great aims and the historic mission of the Party over a long period. "By educating the workers' party," he pointed out, "Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat capable of assuming power and *leading the whole people* to socialism, of directing and organizing the new system, of being the teacher, guide and leader of all the working and exploited people in organizing their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie."

The Communist Party, uniting in its ranks the finest representatives of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, acts as the

guiding political force in socialist society. In solving new complicated problems arising in the course of communist construction, our Party proceeds from the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and from the extremely rich experience of the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries and the world Communist and Workers' movement. The Communist Party is developing and enriching Marxism-Leninism, the science of socialist and communist construction. A profound analysis of the objective processes of the socio-economic and spiritual life of society and an all-round assessment of the correlation of class forces and of the concrete features of each historical period form the basis for the development of Marxism-Leninism and for working out the Communist Party's domestic and foreign policies.

Lenin attached great importance to the unity of ideas and actions of the Party, to the strengthening of conscious discipline and to the cohesion of its ranks, to the development of inner-Party democracy and to the constructive activities of Party members. He worked out, on a scientific basis, the standards and principles of Party life, which have enabled our Party to achieve outstanding successes. The might and invincibility of our Party lie in its strong and extensive ties with the working class and all the working people, and in the constant process of self-criticism conducted by the Party.

The documents of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU reflected the very important demand for the further strengthening of the Party ranks, for the development of inner-Party democracy and consolidation of Party discipline, for raising the efficiency of local Party organizations, for improving the work of selection, appointment and education of cadres and of checking the implementation of Party resolutions, for a scientific approach to Party work. In carrying out the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, Party organizations succeeded in considerably livening up their work and broadening the activities of the Communists.

Lenin has gone down in history as the founder and leader of the world's first socialist state—a state of workers and peasants. Lenin carried forward the Marxist teaching on the state, and made a profound analysis of the historical significance of the Republic of the Soviets—a state of a new type which is immeasurably more advanced and democratic than any bourgeois-parliamentary republic. He emphasized that the working people, united by the Soviets, could and should run all the affairs of the state. Lenin considered that the constant strengthening of the Soviets and of the socialist state was the main and indispensable condition that would ensure reliable protection of the interests of the working class and all the working people, and the transformation of society's life on socialist principles.

Mankind, Lenin emphasized, cannot achieve progress without

taking steps towards socialism. Socialism is the realization of the objective requirements of social development; it is the expression of the interests of the working class and of the broadest possible sections of the masses. Only the socialist organization of society can channel the development of the economy, science and culture so that they will serve the good of the people, encourage working men to engage in free labor and creative endeavor, and open vast vistas for the all-round development of the talents and abilities of human beings. Socialism means rapid and continual progress in all spheres of society's life and of human endeavor.

Lenin emphasized that the only possible foundation of socialism was large-scale industry set up according to the latest standards of science and technology. Only a highly developed industry can lighten the labor of workers and peasants and provide an abundance of the good things of life. The only kind of construction, Lenin pointed out, worthy to be called socialist is that which is conducted according to a comprehensive general plan with the aim of making efficient use of economic and material resources.

It was on Lenin's initiative and under his direct guidance that the GOELRO Plan was developed—the first uniform national economic development plan whose realization marked an important stage in establishing the material and technical base of a socialist society. The industrialization of the country, launched under the first 5-year plans, was a giant battle waged by the Soviet people for socialism. It provided a stable basis for the development of all branches of the national economy, and for raising the living standards of the people; it ensured our country's defense capacity, and brought our homeland to the forefront of scientific and technological progress. The half a century of experience of socialism has confirmed the soundness of Lenin's policy of building up a large-scale socialist industry.

In order to do away with the age-old backwardness of the peasantry and build a firm economic foundation for socialism in the countryside, it was necessary to effect profound socialist transformations in agriculture on the basis of Lenin's cooperative plan. Lenin pointed out repeatedly that small-scale farming was no road to eliminating poverty, that the foundation of communist agriculture could be built only through stupendous technical evolution.

The voluntary mass-scale joining of peasants into collective farms, the expropriation of the kulaks—the last exploiting class, and the organization of state farms marked a cardinal social turn in the life of the peasantry leading to modern large-scale agricultural production which changed the entire countryside. Collectivization put the countryside on the socialist road of development and strengthened the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The half-century experience of socialism has confirmed

the soundness of Lenin's Party policy in the socialist reorganization of agriculture.

Lenin said that socialism means active creative endeavor of the people, when the working people themselves are building a new life and using their experience for solving the extremly difficult problems of socialist organization. Herein lies the real democracy of socialism. Socialism arouses to active socio-political life millions of workers and peasants and offers extensive opportunities for their participation in running society's affairs; it provides material and political guarantees of the rights and freedoms of the working people.

In the process of communist construction there take place improvement and further development of socialist statehood and democracy. An important place in the life of Soviet society, in promoting the political and labor activity of the masses, belongs to the bodies of people's power—the Soviets—and public organizations—the Soviet trade unions, the Leninist YCL, cooperatives and other organizations. Our Party sees its task in continuing to promote in every possible way the activtiy and initiative of the Soviets, trade unions, the YCL and other public organizations. The indispensable political condition for strengthening and developing socialist democracy is the leadership of the Communist Party as the representative of the interests of the working class and the entire people.

Freedom for working people means above all freedom from exploitation, from social, political and national oppression, from backwardness and ignorance. Lenin said that the question of freedom should be considered in the concrete historical aspect: freedom for whom, for what class? Freedom from what? Freedom in what?

The interests of socialism, the interests of the people demand protection of the gains of socialist democracy from the intrigues of imperialism, from anti-social, anti-socialist elements.

Further development of socialist democracy and personal freedom presupposes the cultivation in all members of society of an irreconcilable attitude towards all enroachments on the principles and standards of behavior in a socialist society.

Highly important for strengthening socialism, for the good of the people, is the correct understanding by each member of society of his responsibility for our common cause and of his civic duty to his socialist country. Freedom is unthinkable unless each member of society is responsible to society. Lenin emphasized that it was impossible to live in society and at the same time be free of society.

The construction of socialism, Lenin stressed, is impossible without a whole historical stage in the cultural development of the masses. The October Revolution and Soviet power created the

necessary conditions for the education and the conscious constructive labor of the workers and peasants. The cultural revolution in our country brought the Soviet people education and enlightenment, the flourishing of science; it created a people's intelligentsia, affirmed socialist ideology in all spheres of the spiritual life of society and helped to preserve and enrich the treasures of world culture. Literature and art, inspired by the ideas of the socialist revolution, became a part of the cause of the entire proletariat, of the nationwide struggle for the victory of communism. The half-century experience of socialism has confirmed the soundness of the policy of Lenin's Party in the field of cultural development.

Lenin's genius provided the theoretical and practical solution for the nationalities question. Lenin emphasized the need for establishing an alliance of liberated nations based on complete trust and on a clear understanding of the importance of fraternal unity in the struggle for socialism and communism. The establishment of the inviolable brotherhood of the peoples of the USSR, the flourishing of the economy and culture of our country's socialist republic, their firm unity, convincingly confirm the soundness of Lenin's teaching and of the Party's policy in the solution of the nationalities question, as well as the triumph of the ideas of proletarian internationalism.

Inseparably connected with Lenin's name is the founding of the Soviet Armed Forces, their heroic history. Lenin accomplished the historic task of providing a scientific basis for the military program of the proletarian revolution and for the development of the teaching on the defense of the socialist homeland. Throughout the history of the Soviet state our Armed Forces carried their colors with honor in the struggle against the enemies; they defended the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland and saved the peoples of the world from fascist enslavement. The Soviet people and its Armed Forces always remember Lenin's behest: to be vigilant and to be always on guard against the intrigues of the imperialists.

The Party and the Soviet people, following Lenin's behests and overcoming immense difficulties and the ferocious resistance of the survivals of the exploiting classes, managed to turn our country, in a historically short period, into a mighty socialist power based on the inviolable alliance of the working class and the peasantry and on the fraternal friendship of all the peoples of the USSR.

The Party defended its general line of communist construction against Trotskyism, "left" and right opportunism, national deviationists and other anti-Leninist groups which tried to push the Party off the correct road indicated by Lenin.

The complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR and

the transition to communist construction constitute the embodiment of Lenin's ideas in practice and a triumph of the policy of the Communist Party. Socialism has shown the whole world its great transforming power and indisputable superiority over capitalism. The victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, the routing of fascism, the most vicious enemy of progress and civilization, was a convincing confirmation of the invincibility of the Soviet state and of the loyalty of the multinational Soviet people to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The results of the fifty-year development of the Soviet Union are irrefutable proof of the correctness and vitality of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the correctness of the road along which our people are advancing under the guidance of the Communist Party.

Lenin has gone down in history as the recognized leader of the world proletariat, of the international Communist movement. He contributed vastly to the elaboration of the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement based on the generalization of the experience of three Russian revolutions, of the struggle of the international working class. Lenin tirelessly fought for strengthening the unity of the proletariat. He regarded the unity of the working class as the paramount condition for successful advance towards the desired goal.

Lenin held high the banner of internationalism, he educated Communists and all working people in the spirit of international solidarity. "Capital," Lenin explained, "is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed.

"We are opponents of national enmity, of national strife, of national isolation. We are internationalists."

The Communist International, organized on Lenin's initiative, played an outstanding role in rallying the revolutionary forces. With a revolutionary passion that was characteristic of him, Lenin combated opportunism, adventurism and nationalism in the international working-class movement, he warned the Communist parties against their danger for the future of the revolution and socialism.

History has fully confirmed Lenin's analysis of world development and of the reactionary essence of imperialism, his appraisal of the Great October Socialist Revolution as a turning point in the development of mankind, as the beginning of the world communist revolution.

The international Communist movement has traversed, under the combat banner of Marxism-Leninism, a truly heroic road—from a handful of revolutionary fighters to a powerful army of tens of millions of Communists. The Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' parties, existing in almost all countries of the world, are

in the vanguard of the revolutionary movement, making their contribution to the common treasure house of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist parties, the working class and all working people have attained outstanding victories in the struggle against imperialism, for liberation from the class oppression of capital, for the destruction of the infamous system of colonial enslavement. The epoch-making victories of Marxism-Leninism are marked by the advance of the international working class and of the socialist world system to the center of contemporary world developments and by the successes of the national-liberation revolutions. Lenin's prophecy is that no matter how the imperialist bourgeoisie may rave in its fury, the victory of the new socialist system is inevitable, is proving true.

Imperialist reaction, attempting to cope with economic and political upheavals and to find a way out of the blind alley of insoluble social contradictions, resorts more and more to military adventures and provocations. Imperialism threatens to destroy millions of human lives and the fruits of civilizations and cultures. U.S. imperialism, which has become the main threat to world peace and the security of peoples, is intensifying its criminal actions in various parts of the world. The forces of reaction are encroaching on the independence and freedom of the peoples. As in the past the imperialist bourgeoisie more and more frequently resorts to methods of fascist dictatorship. Therefore Lenin's call for the unity of all revolutionary, progressive forces in the struggle against the imperialist piratic policy, for the cause of democracy, socialism and peace, sounds particularly urgent.

An acute struggle of two ideologies—socialist and bourgeois—is taking place in the world, a struggle reflecting the irreconcilability of the class positions of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, of socialism and capitalism. Lenin stressed that "our task is to overcome all resistance of the capitalists, not only military and political, but also ideological resistance, the deepest and most powerful." The imperialist bourgeoisie is counting on nationalist, revisionist and leftist elements and is attempting to blunt class consciousness, to weaken the ideological and political unity of the peoples of the socialist countries,

There can be no neutralism, no compromise in any form, in the struggle against bourgeois ideology: class principles cannot be reconciled; they triumph in struggle. To expose bourgeois ideology is a revolutionary duty of Marxist-Leninists.

The working people of the world are rallying under the banner of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against imperialism, against the imperialist policy of military adventures and international provocations, for peace, democracy and socialism, for national inde-

pendence and the freedom of the peoples. The teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin are all-powerful because they are correct.

Lenin has gone down in history as a passionate champion of the freedom and happiness of the working people. He selflessly fought for the victory of socialism. "That is a great cause," he wrote, "and to that cause it is worth devoting one's whole life." And Lenin devoted his entire life to the cause of the working class and all working people, to the cause of the revolution, to the cause of communism. Lenin was irreconcilable towards enemies, principled in politics, flexible in his approach to concrete problems. Inseparably linked wtih the masses, attentive and considerate towards people, modest and demanding of himself and of others—such is the unfading image of our leader and teacher.

There is nothing loftier and nobler than to follow Lenin, to selflessly fight for the cause to which he devoted his life. Workers, peasants, the intellectuals, the entire multinational Soviet people are true to Leninism; with Lenin's name they live, work and achieve successes. Loyalty to Leninism, to the cause of communism is manifested in the conscientious work, in the creative activities of the masses. Lenin's great ideas and thoughts are embodied in the achievements of the Soviet people. Throughout its glorious history our Party has followed the Leninist general line of communist construction. The Party Program and the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU define further tasks in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the perfection of social relations and the cultivation of high political consciousness, in Soviet people.

Lenin attached tremendous importance to communist education of the youth, to their active participation in the revolutionary struggle and in building the new society. He stressed the importance of moulding in young people an integral revolutionary world outlook, of mastering the rich experience of the older generations, the ability of applying communism as a guide to practical work. Lenin pointed out that an enormous and lofty but at the same time difficult task confronted the youth—the task of fighting for socialism. Lenin wrote that the edifice the foundation of which we have laid, will be even more zealously built by our children. Lenin made a passionate appeal to young people: "Intensify your work in this field, my young comrades, so that you can apply your fresh, young forces to the building of a new and brighter life."

Our youth, starting their conscious life under the guidance of the Party, are advancing along the road of their fathers; they are continuing the revolutionary traditions and increasing the material and spiritual wealth of our society. The Communist Party, the Soviet people are proud of the heroic fifty-year history of the Leninist YCL, the valiant deeds of our youth who at all stages of

the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction have manifested boundless loyalty to the ideas of communism. Under the leadership of the Party the Leninist YCL has become a remarkable school of public life, political training and communist education for the younger generation.

Under the guidance of the Party the Soviet people have achieved great successes in all fields of communist construction. Our people are implementing with great enthusiasm the political, economic and organizational measures elaborated by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and the plenary meetings of the Central Committee aimed at increasing the efficiency of social production, raising the material and cultural standards of life of the working people, and further strengthening the moral and political unity of Soviet society. The development of the economy is marked by accelerated industrial production. Matters are improving in agriculture. The standard of living of the people is rising. All this inspires the Soviet people in the solution of new great tasks.

The Party will continue to advance firmly and steadfastly along the Leninist road.

To advance along the Leninist road, to work for carrying out Lenin's behests means to do this:

—do everything necessary for building communism, increase through selfless work the material and spiritual wealth of the socialist homeland;

—build the material and technical basis of communism, secure steady growth of industrial and agricultural production, raise the material and cultural levels of the people, improve methods of economic management, increase labor productivity, work tirelessly for faster scientific and technological progress, cultivate respect for the working man;

—further strengthen the moral and politcal unity of the working class, the peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the fraternity and friendship of the peoples of our country—the guarantee of all our victories;

—strengthen the Soviet state, develop socialist democracy, enhance the role and responsibility of the Soviets and public organizations in our entire life, draw more working people into the work of administration of the state, educate the new man, the active fighter for communism;

—constantly cement the ranks of the Communist Party, safeguard the unity of the Party and the people, strictly observe the Leninist standards of Party and state life, strictly adhere to principle, feel responsible for one's work, be modest and attentive to people, improve discipline and organization, combat anti-social acts, resolutely expose and correct shortcomings;

—guard the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory, creatively enrich it in accordance with the concrete historical conditions of social development, wage a principled, irreconcilable struggle against any and all manifestations of bourgeois ideology;

—work constantly for growth of the defense potential of the country, maintain a constant state of preparedness of the people and the army for repelling imperialist aggression, for defending the socialist motherland;

—sacredly fulfil our internationalist duty, strengthen international proletarian solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, support in every way the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against capitalist enslavement and oppression; strengthen the might of the world socialist system, the cohesion of the international Communist and Working-class movement.

Our Party, the working class, the entire Soviet people, were the first to take the road of socialism and communism. Soviet people are aware of their high historical responsibility and devote all their energies to ensuring the victory of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The Central Committee of the CPSU resolves:

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, the territorial, regional, city and district Party committees, the primary Party organizations, the Central Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, the political organs of formations and military educational establishments will launch large-scale political and organizational work in preparing for V. I. Lenin's birth centenary, and will regard this as a task for the entire Party, as a cause of the entire people.

The Party organizations, jointly with government bodies, public organizations and the political organs of the Soviet Army and Navy will draw up concrete plans in preparation for V. I. Lenin's birth centenary for the given republic, territory, region, area, city and district, for every enterprise, state farm and collective farm, for military units and warships.

The Central Committee of the CPSU considers that the best way to mark V. I. Lenin's birth centenary is to concentrate on carrying out the stupendous plans of economic and cultural construction facing the Soviet people. The main efforts should be directed at solving the urgent economic, socio-political and ideological tasks set in the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

The Central Committee of the CPSU notes with satisfaction that on the initiative of the personnel of many enterprises in industry, transport and construction, collective farms and state farms, a socialist emulation movement is being widely developed to mark this red-letter day—the birth centenary of our leader and teacher

—by successfully carrying out the five-year plan for the development of the national economy, as an expression of boundless love for Lenin and of the activity of the masses in the effort to carry out his behests.

Drawing on the experience gained in preparing for the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, to launch propaganda and mass political work among all sections of the population, with emphasis on demonstrating the struggle of the Party and of the entire Soviet people for the implementation of Lenin's great behests, on showing the importance of Marxism-Leninism for revolutionary transformations, the historical role of Lenin as a great thinker and revolutionary, the founder of the Communist Party and of the first workers' and peasants' socialist state in the world, the leader of the international Communist and working-class movement; on explaining the importance of the Marxist-Leninist teaching for building socialism and communism in our country, for developing and strengthening the socialist world system, and the world revolutionary movement.

Political work should be aimed at educating Soviet people in the spirit of loyalty to Lenin's behests and of communist conviction, irreconcilability to capitalism and bourgeois ideology, at further developing the social and labor activity of the Soviet people, at cultivating patriotism and internationalism, at strengthening in every way the economic and defense potential of our country.

In connection with the preparations for this red-letter day the Central Committee of the CPSU regards it as a major task to carry forward creatively the theory of Marxism-Leninism—the powerful ideological weapon of our Party in the struggle for the victory of communism.

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee, the institutes for the humanities of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the social science chairs of the institutions of higher learning will concentrate efforts on the elaboration of urgent problems of Marxist-Leninist theory—the economic problems of building communism, the development and strengthening of socialist democracy, communist education, theoretical generalization of the processes of the revolutionary liberation movement and the entire world development.

Profound study and propagation of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin constitute the basis for the ideological activity of Party organizations in the communist education of the working people. Preparing for Lenin's birth centenary, Party organizations should work more actively in the sphere of Marxist-Leninist education of all Communists, in organizing the profound study of revolutionary theory by the masses of Communists and non-Party people.

To recommend to the Central Council of Trade Unions to work

out measures for the participation of the trade unions in preparing for Lenin's birth centenary, measures aimed at promoting the initiative of the masses in the socialist emulation movement for communist work, raising labor productivity, for stepping up activities in the organization of the labor, the living conditions and the leisure of the working people.

To recommend to the Central Committee of the Leninist Young Communist League to draw up a plan of activities for YCL organizations in connection with the preparations for Lenin's birth centenary, with devoting special attention to the education of YCLers and all Soviet young people in the spirit of loyalty to Leninism, in the spirit of selfless struggle for the great ideals of the Communist Party. To cultivate in young people will-power, the readiness and ability to live and fight as Lenin did, is a lofty task of the YCL. Our young people, the YCL are called upon to go on carrying out perseveringly Lenin's behest — to study, to master profoundly and creatively Marxist-Leninist theory, the latest achievements of science, engineering and culture, to steel their will and character in conscientious and disciplined work.

The editorial boards of the newspapers *Pravda, Izvestia, Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta, Selskaya Zhizn, Sovetskaya Rossia, Trud, Komsomolkaya Pravda* and *Krasnaya Zvezda,* the journals *Kommunist, Partiinaya Zhizn, Politicheskoye Samoobrazovaniye* and *Agitator,* TASS, and the editorial boards of central and local papers and magazines will draw up plans for the publication of materials devoted to Lenin's birth centenary, to his life and many-sided revolutionary activities, to the theoretical wealth of Lenin's ideas, the struggle of the CPSU and of the entire Communist movement for the realization of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The Committee for Broadcasting and Television of the USSR Council of Ministers is to ensure extensive coverage of the preparations for Lenin's birth centenary, a vivid and profound presentation of Lenin's image, his life and revolutionary activities, the wealth of his theoretical heritage, as well as the efforts of the Party and the people in implementing the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The USSR Ministry of Culture is to organize contests for the best theatrical and musical productions, thematic concert programs, festivities under Lenin's motto "art for the people" in Moscow, Leningrad and the capitals of the Union Republics, art festivals in cities connected with the life and activities of V. I. Lenin, and art exhibitions.

The Committee on Cinematography of the USSR Council of Ministers is to ensure production of feature and documentary films devoted to Lenin and to the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, a wide showing of the best feature, documentary and popular science films on Lenin.

The boards of the USSR Writers' Union, the USSR Artists' Union, the USSR Composers' Union, the Novosti Press Agency and the USSR Architects' Union are recommended to draw up plans for their participation in preparing for V. I. Lenin's birth centenary.

* * *

The Central Committee of the CPSU calls upon workers, collective farmers, the intelligentsia and Soviet servicemen to mark Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's birth centenary with new successes in the realization of the plans for communist construction mapped out in the CPSU Program, the resolutions of the 23rd Party Congress and the documents adopted in connection with the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Our Party, our people, steeled in revolutionary battles and in the struggle for building a new society, are firmly resolved to steadfastly carry out the great behests of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, their leader and teacher.

Let us in the future as well work and live the Lenin way, erecting a splendid monument to Lenin—the edifice of communism, the great and worthy embodiment of his immortal ideas. Let us rally our ranks still more closely, displaying greater persistence and selflessness, discipline and organization! Let there be greater initiative on the part of all participants in communist construction! Raise higher the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist banner of struggle for communism!

Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

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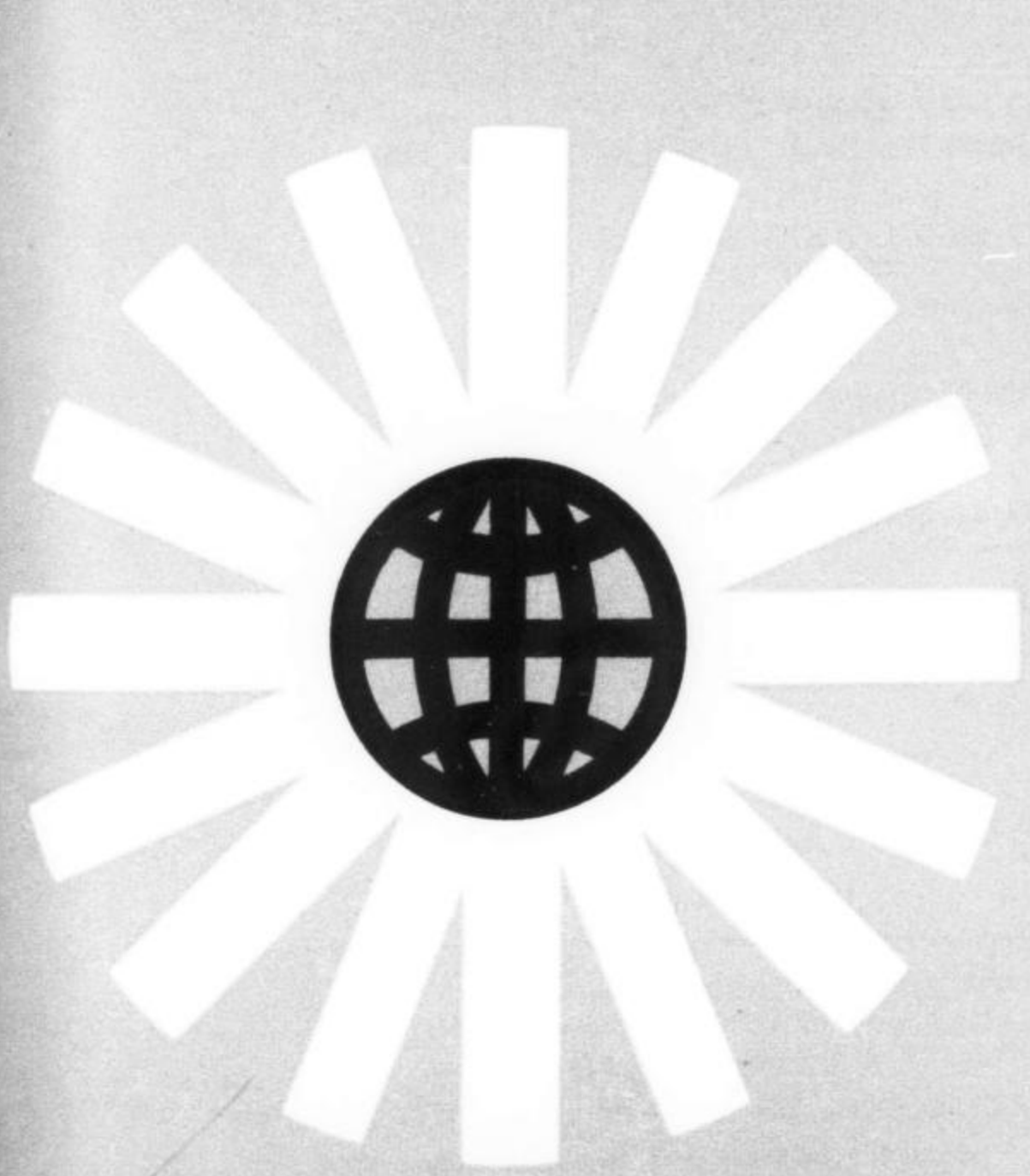

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contents

DOCUMENTS OF CONFERENCE OF ARAB COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES 5

THESES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY 23

THE PARTY LINE IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT
Resolution of the CC
People's Party of Iran 46

RESOLUTION
of the Political Bureau
Communist Party of Greece 49

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DOCUMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE OF ARAB COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

A CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF TUNISIA, JORDAN, LEBANON, SYRIA, MOROCCO, ALGERIA, IRAQ AND THE SUDAN WAS HELD IN JULY 1968

ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW IN NOVEMBER 1968

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of Arab countries exchanged views on the present situation in the world Communist and labor movement. They consider that the fight for its stronger unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is becoming the chief task demanding constant and close attention on the part of all Communist and Workers' parties. The representatives of the Arab Communists believe that the international conference of Communist and Workers' parties, to be convened in Moscow on November 25, 1968, will constitute a milestone on this road, a contribution to the further rallying of the Communist, labor and national-liberation movements.

The representatives of our parties, who are actively participating in the preparation of the conference, will continue to work energetically jointly with all the fraternal parties, helping to ensure the success of the Moscow conference. The Arab Communists consider that the participation of representatives of all the Communist and Workers' parties is vitally important; it is a duty dictated by proletarian internationalism. It should be added that the entire preparatory work, the organizational measures, the drafting of the documents, are conducted in the spirit of the broadest democracy, on the basis of complete equality of fraternal parties, big and small alike. This enables every party to make its full contribution to the preparatory work.

The international conference in Moscow is rousing the concern of the imperialists and their henchmen, who are trying more and more actively to hamper the preparation and misrepresent the aims of the conference. But their attempts are doomed to failure. The Communist and Workers' parties the world over see clearly how dangerous a split would be to the world Communist and national-liberation movements; they realize that it would play into

the hands of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. Therefore our parties, loyal to their internationalist duty, will go on strengthening their fraternal ties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They consider that the conference in Moscow will be an exceptionally useful step along this road.

URGENT TASKS OF THE ARAB NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN ELIMINATING THE AFTERMATH OF THE IMPERIALIST ISRAELI AGGRESSION

After preliminary consultations the representatives of the Arab Communists exchanged opinions on problems of the general situation in their countries resulting from the perfidious imperialist Israeli aggression against the UAR, Syria and Jordan. They consider that the Israeli aggression continues, being coupled with the growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, with the escalation of its dirty war against the heroic Vietnamese people whose valiant struggle in defense of their freedom and independence merits respect, admiration and imitation.

Throughout the past year Israel has continued to raid the neighboring Arab countries, especially Jordan. Israel's Zionist rulers resort increasingly to brutal, fascist methods against the Arab population in the occupied territories. They pursue a deliberate policy of driving Arabs from their homes, with a view to resettling the land belonging to Arabs with Jewish immigrants. They more and more frequently advance all kinds of territorial claims, spurning the U.N. and Security Council resolutions, world opinion and international law.

The conference participants consider also that Israel would never have perpetrated its criminal acts without the support of the United States. These acts endanger the Arab national-liberation movement and gravely imperil peace in the area and in the rest of the world. In the opinion of the conference participants, the basic urgent task that these acts pose before all the Arab countries, before the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of the Arab world, before every sincere patriot and upright champion of freedom in the Arab countries, is to eliminate the aftermath of the aggression and compel the invader to return to the line from which he launched his perfidious attack.

Proceeding from this, and being aware of their historical responsibility for the destinies of their peoples and countries, the representatives of the Arab Communists address all the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces in the Arab states, all those who cherish the future of their countries, all those who strive for the complete liberation and progress of these countries, with an appeal to pool their efforts, to act concertedly in carrying out this

task. Its realization will accelerate the solution of the national democratic, progressive problems facing our countries and peoples, and the advance along the road of social progress, towards socialism.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE SITUATION IN THE ARAB WORLD AT THE TIME OF AGGRESSION. THE CHARACTER AND MOTIVE FORCES OF THE AGGRESSION

The aggression loosed on the Arab countries on June 5, 1967, was neither accidental nor isolated. It took place at a time when imperialism had mounted a series of direct and indirect attacks on the freedom and independence of many Asian, African and Latin American countries, in the wake of the fascist coup in Greece and the stepped up subversive activities against the socialist countries. The Israeli aggressors and their imperialist masters took advantage of the favorable situation, which they had created in collaboration with pro-imperialist Arab reactionaries by provoking internal conflicts and clashes in some Arab countries. In Yemen, for example, they encouraged and provided arms to those trying to overwhelm the Republic and restore the monarchy. In Iraq, they endeavored to complicate the solution of the Kurdish question, advocating a policy of repressions against the Kurds who were fighting for their legitimate national rights, including autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi Republic. By their projects of an Islamic pact they provoked and intimidated the progressive forces, and intrigued against them by inciting differences between them. Also, they made the most of the shortcomings in the Arab countries, the gaps in their fronts and the weaknesses of the progressive regimes.

To justify the aggression in the eyes of the world, the imperialists and the Israeli rulers exploited the unrealistic approach of some nationalist groups to the Palestine problem, the excesses and irresponsible statements of individual leaders and certain Arab information media.

Imperialist and Zionist propaganda has been frantically trying to present the imperialist aggression as a move forced on Israel, whose existence was said to have been endangered. The facts show clearly, however, that the aggression was a deliberate act against the Arab national-liberation movement, prepared and encouraged by U.S. imperialism with the collaboration of West German and British imperialism. As for Israel, it was the tool used in executing it. The aggression was a new dangerous feature in the general pattern of imperialist policy, aimed at subverting the progressive growth of the Arab states and halting the Arab struggle for liberation. It was also a serious manifestation of the increased aggres-

siveness of imperialism, notably that of the United States, and a Part of the general strategic line of direct and indirect interventions followed by the United States in recent years.

The Middle East events were, in substance, a collision between the imperialist forces striking at the Arab national-liberation movement, and the Arab forces aspiring to independence, democracy and progress and striving to defend their existence and extend the achievements of their peoples, eliminate the imperialist positions still extant in the Arab countries and regain possession of the sources of wealth that are rightfully theirs.

THE AGGRESSION AND THE ARAB LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The fact that imperialism resorted to arms in the Middle East is indicative of the hatred the imperialists and their servitors in the area have for the Arab national-liberation movement, and of the fear which is roused in them by the victories of this movement and by the broad prospects which have opened up before it, especially in the past decade. Despite the imperialist policy of political and economic pressure and the staging of coups, the Arab national-liberation movement has scored considerable political and economic successes in that period. On the one hand, direct colonial domination has been eliminated and political independence has been established in all the Arab countries with the exception of Bahrein and the Persian Gulf zone, where a heroic struggle for independence is being waged. On the other hand, Egypt and Syria have set out on new paths, striking out against the remnants of feudalism and against big business, and effecting deep-going economic and social reforms which, given the proper subjective and objective conditions, can provide the basis for the transition of these countries to socialism in keeping with the general principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The successes of the Arab national-liberation movement, highlighted by the emergence of progressive regimes in the Arab world, prove irrefutably that the social content of the movement has deepened and that its national and political tasks are interlaced with economic and social tasks of a distinctly anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist complexion. These successes were attained by virtue of the specifics of our time, characterized by the transition from capitalism to socialism. They were attained by virtue of the emergence of the socialist world system, by virtue of its strength, and because it exerts a great power of attraction and serves as an inspiring example to all people of labor. They were attained thanks to the struggle of the working class and its Communist and Workers' parties. They also stem from the fact that the capitalist way cannot resolve the problems of developing countries. It should

be stressed, too, that all the victories were won in an environment of peaceful coexistence.

The emergence and development of progressive regimes in Egypt, Syria and other countries make them allies of the socialist states, notably the Soviet Union. This alliance has by now transcended merely moral relationships and developed into growing political, economic, military, cultural and technical cooperation, a source of still broader and still more effective aid for the Arab national-liberation movement. Furthermore, the alliance has given added weight to the movement in the world revolutionary process as part of the world-wide movement for national liberation. Besides, it has forged the Arab liberation movement into a more effective element in the joint struggle against colonialism and imperialism, for peace, and has redoubled its efforts to resolve the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, the main contradiction in the modern world, in favor of socialism.

These victories, backed by all the forces of freedom, progress and socialism, were among the main reasons that prompted international imperialism in general, and U.S. imperialism in particular, to aid Israel in its aggression.

TRUE AIMS OF THE AGGRESSION

The main concrete purpose which the colonialists and their Zionist agents pursued in committing the June 5 aggression was to overthrow the progressive regimes, because they feared that the prospects for their development and consolidation had become an inspiring example for the masses in all Arab countries, which threatened to undermine the colonialist and neo-colonialist positions and the reactionary pro-imperialist regimes in other Arab states. The routing of the progressive regimes was to have constituted the first step in a total onslaught aimed at strangling the Arab national-liberation movement and organizing counter-revolution, which would strengthen the positions of the imperialist agents, who are materially and morally dependent on the preservation of colonialism in the region. The main reason for the aggression was the desire to regain the positions which imperialism had lost in this strategically vital area, to preserve the remaining positions so as to ensure the future of the oil monopolies and continue the plunder of the tremendous oil wealth belonging to the Arabs.

What the colonialists also aimed at was to undermine Arab-Soviet friendship, always the foremost factor in the growth of the Arab national-liberation movement, both from the viewpoint of the intensification of the struggle for complete political independence, and from the viewpoint of achieving economic independence and advancing along the road of social progress through the realization

of the tasks of the national-democratic revolution.

Along with conforming to the general context of the organic and historical link between Zionism and imperialism, this colonialist plan fitted in with Israel's craving for territorial expansion, for building a Greater Israel at the expense of Jordan, the Gaza strip, the Golan Heights and other neighboring Arab lands and settling the Palestinian problem in Israel's interests, against the interests of the Arabs, particularly those of Palestine. Israel's agggression and its subsequent policy only bear out the aggressive essence of Israel and show that it has been an imperialist tool throughout its history. In 1948, not content with the territory it received under the 1947 U.N. decision, Israel committed aggression, in which it was encouraged by the U.S. and British imperialists, and seized large territories of Palestine, depriving about one million Arabs of their land and homes. The Arabs who remained in their land became victims of oppression and discrimination, being treated as the colored population is treated in South Africa. In 1956, when Egypt realized its legitimate right to the nationalization of the Suez Canal, Israel was the first to launch the tripartite aggression against it, thus gravely endangering world peace.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE AGGRESSION. THE COLLAPSE OF THE AGGRESSORS' PLANS

Although the aggression had serious negative consequences for the Arab countries (the seizure of new extensive Arab territories by the invader, the strong blows suffered by the Arab armies, the considerable material and moral damage leading to the emergence of grave economic and social difficulties), the aggressors failed in their ultimate aim—the overthrow of the progressive Arab regimes. What prevented them from succeeding was above all the role played by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Despite all the attempts of the propaganda machinery of imperialism, Zionism and reaction to misrepresent and vilify this role, the Arab masses realized its importance from the very beginning. Equally decisive in preserving the progressive regimes was the powerful upsurge of the struggle against imperialism and Zionism, which blocked the road to reaction, especially in the UAR, where certain circles strove to change the form of government and the internal and foreign policy of the country in the interests of imperialism and its agents.

THE DEFEAT. ITS DIRECT AND INDIRECT CAUSES

There is no doubt that only Israel and the imperialists backing it are fully responsible for the aggression. But the rapidity with

which the aggressors and their masters achieved results, and a number of glaringly negative facts which were manifested in Arab countries, show that the defeat of the progressive regimes was not the result of military mishaps alone. The defeat clearly indicated that the subversive and espionage activity which imperialism and Zionism had been for many years conducting against the Arab countries, the concentration and mobilization of Israel's military potential aided by the U.S. brass-hats, and Israel's technical superiority and ability to use modern weapons, were countered by the Arab side with ignorance of, and disregard for, the enemy's condition, and disdain for its military strength, which was reflected in the absence of strategic and tactical plans, the inability to use the modern weapons which the progressive regimes possessed, the low standard of military leadership, the presence of reactionary, suspicious and treacherous elements. The defeat laid bare considerable shortcomings and deficiences in the progressive regimes, which, however, does not detract from their importance as a major gain of the Arab national-liberation movement. In addition, the policy of the reactionary rulers of some Arab countries, who act in unison with imperialism, and the policy of conciliation with colonialism conducted by other Arab rulers, had led to the break-up of the front of Arab states, to tension in relations between them, which had made it easier for the enemy to strike the treacherous blow.

These defects and shortcomings manifested themselves in the following:

1. IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES WITH PROGRESSIVE REGIMES

a) The socio-economic measures and deep-going changes, in which the working class was primarily interested, were not backed up with appropriate political steps; as a result, the people, above all the working class, who stood to gain the most, were deprived of the opportunity to participate actively in either political leadership or control of production.

b) Restriction of democratic freedoms, the ban on progressive political organizations, above all the Communist Party, complicated political and social cooperation between these forces in some acceptable form.

c) The machinery of state inherited from the past was not purged thoroughly enough of extreme reactionary and mercenary elements, and of people belonging to the feudal class or the class of big capitalists; this complicated and prejudiced many measures, leading to the growth of bureaucracy and corruption, and encouraging anti-democratic and anti-popular trends. It also affected military affairs, especially in the United Arab Republic, where

plotters hostile to the progressive policy retained important posts. These elements formed the nucleus of the military bureaucracy that played a disgraceful role, displaying weakness and incompetence, some of them behaving treacherously in the June actions and, after the defeat, organizing a reactionary plot against the existing regime.

d) A guarded attitude still remained with relation to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which support our national-liberation struggle and are the most loyal and sincere friends of the Arabs. Some hesitation was observed in establishing durable and extensive economic, cultural, political and military ties with these countries.

2. IN THE OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES

a) In the past the Arab countries with reactionary regimes, such as Saudi Arabia, coordinated their policy with that of the imperialist states; there was ceaseless plotting against progressive regimes and interference in the affairs of other Arab states, aimed at entangling them in imperialist alliances and plans; that interference sometimes took the form of armed interventions against the national-liberation movement (as in the case of Yemen); all this made the countries in question a factor that facilitated the aggression and the defeat.

b) The pro-imperalist policy of the rulers of Arab countries not directly dominated by imperialism, the policy of persecuting or restricting the progressive national forces, especially the Communists, prevented these countries from mobilizing their potential and fulfilling their role in the common struggle.

Imperialist hostility towards the progressive regimes and the Arab liberation movement in general, the influence exerted by the imperialists on the rulers of Arab states with reactionary regimes, and the intrigues of world Zionism—this, in the aggregate, was the main reason why the differences between Arab countries were acute, hindering Arab solidarity in the fight against the aggression and the aggressors.

AFTER A YEAR: ISRAEL ISOLATED, ARABS RECOVERING

The Israeli rulers and their imperialist masters imagined that their military victory would be followed by victories in other areas. But this illusion was short-lived. The defeat, which brought on bitter disillusionment of the Arab peoples and which the enemies have been exploiting to bring these peoples to desperation, has not only failed to break their will, but has fortified their determination to resist and hold out, to fight till the complete elimination of the aftermath of the aggression.

All the efforts of the Israeli rulers, similar to those of 1948, to effect a forcible emigration of Arab citizens from captured lands and whip up defeatist sentiment, have failed. All their violence and oppression, aimed at preventing popular resistance to conquest and occupation, have equally failed.. The resistance is acquiring an increasingly organized character under the leadership of the National Front in which the fraternal Jordanian Communist Party is playing an active role. All attempts to crush this resistance will fall through, for resistance is offered by a people from whom the enemies have taken away their land and who, relying on their legitimate rights and acting in conformity with the demands of objective reality, are using all the means at their disposal to resist the invader and liberate their land.

In Jordan, the object of endless aggression, the tenacity of the people and the growing spirit of resistance prevent the aggressors from achieving their aims, centered on compelling Jordan to bow to the imperialist and Zionist plans.

In other parts of the Arab world, the peoples reaffirm their determination to stand their ground, to prevent a new defeat and to eliminate the consequences of the aggression. They are agreed that the way to achieve this is for the progressive national forces to concert their actions, to learn from past experience, and without delay to tackle the defects, weaknesses and obstacles revealed during the sneak aggression, thus creating the conditions necessary for eliminating its consequences. Although some positive steps have been taken in this direction, first in the UAR and then in Syria, it is necessary to adopt resolutely and promptly many other measures, above all in the various areas of domestic life.

The international situation last year did not develop in favor of the aggressors and their masters. The Security Council repeatedly condemned the Israeli aggression in the Al Karama district of Jordan. It also condemned the military parade the Zionist rulers arranged in the Arab part of Jerusalem. International democratic organizations extensively expressed themselves against the perfidious aggression and in support of the Arab countries that fell victim to it. A number of states in different continents began to come out against the aggression and its perpetrators. Israel has been contributing to its isolation in the world by its brutal methods of dealing with the population in the occupied areas, by its undisguised expansionist aims and by its disregard for the United Nations and Security Council resolutions and international law.

The activities of the representative of the U.N. Secretary-General have shown that Israel and its imperialist masters are fully responsible for the failure to implement the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, especially after the UAR, Jordan and other Arab countries had voiced their agreement with the

resolution. Only Israel and its imperialist masters are to blame for the tension in the region.

The stand of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, of the forces of progress and socialism led by the Communist parties including the Communist Party of Israel, helped to expose Israel's aggressive nature. Israel and its patrons found themselves in a quandary. Also helpful in revealing the truth about the aggression is the flexible realistic policy now adopted by the United Arab Republic. The other Arab countries, despite the differences in their policy lines, should also follow this course and support it.

The developments in the Arab countries, especially after the aggression, confirm the correctness of the objective scientific study of classes and social strata in the Arab countries, their role and the role of the various political organizations. They show the growth of the role which has historically and politically devolved on the working class and its parties in the Arab world as a whole and in each Arab country.

The working class, despite its young age and numerical weakness stemming from the economic backwardness of the Arab countries, has contributed, in the person of its Communist and Workers' parties and in cooperation with the various national progressive forces, to the common fight of the Arabs against colonialism and neo-colonialism, against reaction and Zionism, for national independence and democracy. The independent role of the working class in this fight grows parallel with the growth of the working class and its growing realization of this role, it grows parallel with the consolidation of its Marxist-Leninist parties.

The struggle of the working class and its parties has played an important role in injecting a new social content into the Arab national-liberation movement.

The economic and social achievements and changes attained or underway in some Arab countries, and the events taking place in the world, offer the working class, its Marxist-Leninist parties and its other organizations extensive opportunities for participating on an ever growing scale in resolving the Arab problems, extending the scope of the progressive social measures, and leading their countries forward to socialism. This will broaden and consolidate the role of the other progressive strata.

TWO DANGEROUS TRENDS

The military defeat, which had a staggering effect on many national and all-Arab forces, revealed numerous deficiencies in the Arab progressive regimes and political and organizational weaknesses of some all-Arab progressive organizations, and showed clearly to the broadest Arab masses who is the enemy and who

is the friend of the Arab national-liberation movement. All this made it imperative for these organizations to define anew and specify their political positions, and determine the prospects of their activity with due regard to the experience of the military defeat and of the period that preceded it, in the light of the tasks for the future and the responsibility for it.

The military defeat and its consequences are a new important factor in the political and social differentiation now underway in the Arab world. Two dangerous trends have appeared in this context in the progressive all-Arab movement, and if either of them wins, it will, in effect, emasculate the mass movement and obscure its progressive social and national tasks.

The first is the romantic and reckless course advocated by progressive national patriotic elements of the petty bourgeoisie, horrified by the military defeat, as a result of which, lacking a scientific theory of social development, they have lost their capacity to see the future in clear perspective; their political organizations have fallen apart and their faith in the masses, in their revolutionary activity, has diminished. They have begun to put forward slogans negating the importance of organized mass struggles; as an alternative to broad political action and the use of all forms and methods of struggle, they offer but one method, while some of the extreme reactionary and doubtful elements encourage this adventurous trend materially and morally in the hope of inhibiting the mass struggle. The Mao Tse-tung clique is exerting itself to encourage and nourish this pernicious adventuristic trend.

However, despite the patriotic sentiment that impels the vast majority of its exponents, this trend does not take fully into account the designs of imperialism and Israel against the Arab peoples, although it attaches due importance to the Palestine problem. Therefore, from the standpoint of the national and revolutionary movement in the Arab world and from the standpoint of the Palestine problem as well, the call of the exponents of this reckless trend to separate the Palestine issues from the Arab national-liberation movement is entirely incorrect, and, consequently, so is the slogan that Palestinians should fight their battles alone on the lame pretext that the Palestine movements are independent and need no "patronage." Although the Palestine problem concerns chiefly the Arabs of Palestine, it also concerns the peoples of all the Arab countries, because it is part of their common struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

On the other hand, while denying all other forms and concentrating on just one method of struggle, while ignoring the situation and the correlation of forces, especially after the defeat, this trend enables the imperialists, the Israeli rulers and the pro-

imperalist reactionaries to undermine the progressive regimes, to hit out at the entire Arab national-liberation movement, and this after it had stood its ground thanks to the consciousness of the masses, to their struggle, to the concerted effort of the world's progressive forces, to the material and political support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Our experience since June 1967 shows that our various forms and methods of political struggle are anything but outdated, that they have been, and will be, of great use to the Arab national-liberation movement, both as concerns aiding the progressive regimes economically and militarily and mobilizing the people, and isolating Israel and its patrons in the international arena, or marshalling support for the just Arab cause among the broadest possible sections of democratic world opinion.

The second dangerous trend is a rightist defeatist tendency rejecting progressive social reconstruction on the plea of "national survival." In effect, this plea is merely a screen for the class interests of social groups either already affected by progressive social measures or anticipating their detrimental effects for them should the United Arab Republic and Syria continue along the chosen path. Exponents of this trend obscure the fact that national tasks, including that of eliminating the consequences of the aggression, and the social tasks of the modern Arab national-liberation movement are two sides of the same revolutionary process and that any attempt to abandon tasks related to either of the two sides will prejudice the revolutionary process as a whole.

Exponents of this trend are inclined to justify mutual understanding with U.S. imperialism, to come to terms with it on the excuse that the United States holds the key to the Middle East crisis. They are inclined to vindicate the aggressive policy conducted in concert with the United States against the Arab countries by West Germany and Britain, which are rendering material, political and military aid to Israel.

Some rightist elements exaggerate the implications of the stand in the Middle East crisis of the French rulers, who, after all, represent monopoly interests. They impede a proper appreciation of the French position in the context of the growing contradictions between the imperalist powers which the Arab liberation movement can and should utilize to its advantage. They want cooperation with France to prejudice relations between the Arab countries, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and other socialist states, on the other. Some progressive Arab forces fall into the trap set by this political dodge.

Both these trends, the reckless and the defeatist, no matter how far apart their sources may be, are detrimental to the national-

liberation movement and to the social progress of the Arab states.

TASKS IN ELIMINATING THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE AGGRESSION. DEFENDING PROGRESSIVE REGIMES AND DEVELOPING THE ARAB LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The Communist and Workers' parties of the Arab countries consider that, in the light of all the above-stated facts, the immediate and long-range tasks of all the genuine national and progressive forces can be formulated as follows:

Elimination of the aftermath of the aggression makes it necessary:

1. To step up the struggle against imperialism and Zionism in all political and economic areas by eliminating imperialism's economic, political and strategic positions, including the dismantling of military bases and withdrawal of the U.S. Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean, by exposing and combating the plans and alliances of neo-colonialism. To work for greater solidarity between the Arab national-liberation movement and all peoples fighting against colonialism and imperialism, against direct and indirect aggression, and especially for greater solidarity with the valiant people of Vietnam fighting for the independence of their country and its territorial integrity, against the American aggressors, their allies and henchmen, for an end to the aggressive war waged by the United States against Vietnam.

2. To work for the implementation of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, as an important step towards settling the Middle East conflict and achieving a just peace securing Arab rights in Palestine, including the rights of the refugees.

3. To expose the crimes committed by Israel, encouraged by U.S. imperialism, against the civilian population in occupied Arab territory; to expose the aggressive plans still nursed by the Zionist rulers with the object of continuing their expansionist policy at the expense of the Arab states; to appeal to democratic world opinion in order to strengthen solidiarity with the Arab peoples and compel Israel and its masters to retreat and fulfil the U.N. resolution calling for the withdrawal of troops from territories occupied as a result of the June 5 aggression.

5. To enable the masses of people, particularly the workers, to play their part in the struggle; to lift all restrictions on the democratic and trade union rights of the people; to afford all national and progressive forces, without discrimination, the opportunity to pursue political and organizational activities in rallying the people and guiding them in the struggle to eliminate the consequences of the aggression.

In the situation now prevailing in the Arab world, the problem

of granting democratic freedoms to the masses and above all to the working class and its political spokesmen assumes vast national and all-Arab importance. It is intolerable that any national or progressive forces should stick to a negative or indifferent attitude towards this problem. The prime task facing all national and progressive forces, not just Communists, in this connection, is to counteract imperialist and reactionary efforts to carry on the anti-communist policy, the policy of discrediting and slandering the main and the stoutest contingent of the Arab national-liberation movement.

This calls for determined efforts to end the policy of arrests and reprisals against the Communists and other national and progressive forces in Iraq, Algeria, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and other countries, to secure the release of political prisoners, that is, patriots and progressives, including Communists, so that they can, together with their people, participate in the fight against imperialism, Israel and reaction. Freedom of action by Communist parties is essential to strengthen the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist movement and to ensure the removal of obstacles hindering the advance of the Arab national-liberation movement along the road of progress.

It also calls for ending the policy of suspicion and hostility towards Communist and other progressive forces in the countries with progressive regimes; ending the policy of keeping Communists and progressive forces out of the national fronts and out of political activity; ending the policy of persecution and ideological quarantine.

This will create favorable conditions for cooperation by all national and progressive forces, for rallying all forces with a stake in national independence and social progress in each Arab country and in the Arab world as a whole.

An objective basis for an alliance of national and progressive forces is provided by the coinciding interests of the classes and social strata from which they come in carrying out the tasks of the national-democratic revolution, that is, in effecting radical reforms, particularly agrarian reform in the interests of poor and middle peasants, with the latter's support and participation, in advancing along the road of social progress.

The Communists of the Arab countries, who have always taken guidance in their policy and practical work in the supreme interests of their respective countries, will continue to act in unison, with still greater vigor and effectiveness, in organizing bilateral and multilateral meetings with other political, national and progressive forces and organizations, to hammer out agreement on the key problems facing our peoples.

5. To invigorate to the maximum political, economic, cultural

and military cooperation with the Soviet Union, which has restored the military potential of the progressive Arab countries by making up for all the losses they suffered. To strengthen friendly ties with the other socialist states which have at all times stood firmly by the Arab peoples and, especially, during times of trial; to recognize the friendly German Democratic Republic, which supports the just Arab cause and plays an important role in the fight for lasting peace and security in Europe and the rest of the world, against the revival of the nazi peril; to strengthen ties with the world's democratic and peace-seeking organizations, above all with the parties which, by adhering to internationalism, played an outstanding role in mobilizing world opinion in support of the just Arab cause.

6. To support all that has been done in the UAR and Syria to purge the machinery of state of reactionary and corruupt elements, and work for deepening and expediting this process; to remove members of the reactionary classes, saboteurs and bribe-takers in these two countries and in Algeria from posts of leadership in the nationalized enterprises of the state sector, and to replace them by progressives concerned about the growth of these enterprises and their effective contribution to the development of the national economy. The trade unions should be afforded the opportunity to control these enterprises. It is equally essential to modernize and improve legislation, repealing all regulations that impede the free development of national and progressive forces or obstruct progressive political, economic and social growth.

Furthermore, every encouragement should be given to progressive national development in the Syrian Arab Republic, strengthening it and combating all reactionary activity and plotting; it is necessary to strengthen and extend in all spheres and at all levels cooperation between the Baath Party, the ruling party in Syria, and the Syrian Communist Party. Also important is cooperation by all national forces, groups and elements in a broad progressive national front, because, as the facts shows, a national front is the best form for securing unity of action and cohesion in the fight against colonialism, imperialism and Zionism, in defending national and popular gains and continuing the advance to social progress.

7. To combat all conservative and reactionary trends, which endeavor to obstruct the progressive regimes in their economic activity and to unify their economic and social gains. The process of building strengthens the progressive regimes, adding to their political, economic and military might as opposed to the designs of world imperialism and Israel. It is essential, therefore, to rely more firmly and extensively on the class forces which are more

than others interested in revolution, particularly the working class, the peasant masses and the revolutionary intelligentsia.

8. To work for full political, economic and military coordination between the UAR and Syria, for stronger Arab solidarity to utilize all possibilities available in the Arab countries for eliminating the consequences of the aggression.

9. To purge the armies in the Arab countries with progressive regimes of reactionary, suspicious and defeatist elements, members of the feudal class and the class of big capitalists; to enhance the military skill and educational level in the armies; to promote political education in a spirit of hostility to imperialism and reaction and a spirit of devoted service to the country and defense of national and social gains.

10. Jordan, by virtue of its geographical position and of the fact that a considerable part of its territory is occupied, and also because it is more closely associated with the Palestine problem and continuously raided with the aim of compelling it to surrender, is especially important in the fight of the Arabs to effectively rebuff the aggression and in eliminating the consequences of this aggression. In Jordan it is essential to work for a government of national unity, whose principal tasks would be to grant democratic rights, arm with Soviet help, and strengthen Arab solidarity against the occupation, imperialism and Zionism. Jordan needs a government which would by its structure and policy stimulate and support the fight of the people in the occupied areas.

11. The Arab Communist and Workers' parties, proceeding from the interests of Iraq's national development, interests of the Arab national-liberation movement, support the stand on the Kurdish problem of the Iraqi Communist Party, which demands an end to the national oppression of Kurds and restoration of their lawful national rights based on autonomy within the Republic. The Arab Communist and Workers' parties call on all progressive and national forces in the Arab world to support this line in order to strengthen the front of national-democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces in Iraq, so that its fraternal people may contribute fully to the efforts aimed at eliminating the consequences of the aggression.

12. To continue and step up the fight against the reactionary and dictatorial regimes in the Arab world, for establishment of democratic, national forms of government opposed to imperialism, reaction and Zionism.

13. Rebuff the ideological offensive of neo-colonialism and the reactionary forces allied with it, which utilize the various information media (press, radio, television) and cultural organizations to vilify the progressive regimes and progressive national forces, to slander their policy and undermine their prestige, to fasify the

history, culture and cultural heritage of the Arab peoples, and to propagate resignation, submission and defeatism. To fight for banning such imperialist organizations and for placing education and the information media at the service of Arab national liberation.

While combating in every way this frantic imperialist ideological offensive, the Arab Communist and Workers' parties expose trends which distort Marxist-Leninist theory, both those of the Right opportunist elements and those of adventurous "Left" elements who spread anarchist and neo-Trotskyist views and slander the world Communist movement and the Arab Communist parties.

14. To expose and combat the Zionist movement from scientific positions, in cooperation with all Communist and Workers' parties and all progressive forces, fighting against colonialism and imperialism. This is an urgent task more important than ever. The treacherous imperialist aggression by Israel only proves the immensity of the danger of the Zionist movement which, clothed in the garb of a vehicle of progress and freedom and pretending to be the sufferer, has spread its tentacles.

The Zionist movement, as its history shows, thrives on chauvinism and nationalism, merging thereby with the nazi concepts of racial and national exclusiveness. It strives to divide the labor movement and to separate Jewish workers from workers of other nationalities. It is an organic part of imperialism and serves as a tool of world imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, which directs it, both immediately and by means of its ties with Israel, against the Arab and world national-liberation movement, utilizes it to split the international working-class movement, and resorts to assisting it in subversive and provocative actions and espionage against all socialist countries.

The Arab Communist and Workers' parties, aware of their responsibility to their peoples, to the working class, to the forces of social progress and socialism in their countries, have noted shortcomings and problems and determined, in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory, the main tasks which, in their opinion, face the Arab national-liberation movement today. Our parties consider that the problems raised by them can serve as the basis of a common national program for agreement and for joint work with all the national forces and elements. Mindful of the interests of the entire revolutionary movement in the Arab world, they are prepared to work jointly with representatives of many strata on the basis of a more progressive program. They will not spare forces in facilitating rapprochement between all the contingents of the progressive, national Arab movement, in mobilizing all the sound forces for the realization of the principal urgent task of the national movement,

namely, elimination of the consequences of the Israeli imperialist aggression. They will utilize all their fraternal ties with the Communist parties of the world to fulfil this sacred task, to open up before our peoples new vistas on their road to independence, democracy, socialism and peace among nations.

THESES* OF THE CC FOR THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE PUWP

The 12th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, held in Warsaw on July 8-9, 1968, unanimously decided to convene the 5th Congress of the Party on November 11, 1968.

The Plenum also unanimously adopted the Theses of the Central Committee for the 5th Congress, which contains the following chapters: "International Situation," "Social and Political Situation in the Country," "The Tasks of the Party in the Economic Field," "The Tasks in the Field of Development of Scientific Research, Education and Culture," "The Tasks of Public Organizations," and "The Party as the Guiding Force of the State and Socialist Construction."

Information Bulletin reprints, in abridged form, the first two chapters of the Theses.

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

1. The struggle between the socialist and the capitalist systems permeates all domains of the social life of nations.

In the period since the 4th Congress of our Party the socialist states, whose economic, scientific, technical and defense potential has been constantly increasing, have been conducting a consistent policy of the defense of world peace, counteracting imperialist aggression in various parts of the world, and lending support to peoples fighting for their freedom, independence and social progress. The world forces of socialism, which are lead by the Communist and Workers' parties, have intensified their struggle against imperialism and reaction, against the domination of monopoly capital and neo-capitalism, coming out as the spokesman of all the oppressed and exploited, as the natural ally of all liberation movements.

At the same time the aggressiveness of the imperialist forces, first of all the United States which acts as a gendarme at the service of the entire capitalist system, has increased. The aggressive policy of American imperialism is the main source of the persisting international tension. Having no chances for a victory in a global atomic conflict, American imperialism tries to adapt its strategy and tactics to the new situation. World domination and struggle against the world socialist system and the progressive and national liberation movement remain its chief aims. In its striving to stifle the freedom and democratic aspirations of the peoples the United

*A Polish Press Agency release, July 1968.

States is waging an interventionist genocide war against the Vietnamese nation, supports the Israeli aggression against Arab nations, inspires coups d'etat by reactionary brasshats in Latin America, in Asia, in Africa, and also in Europe. Imperialism imposes a costly and dangerous arms race on the world. In intensifying psychological warfare and anti-communist subversion it tries to undermine the positions of socialism and take advantage of the split between China and other socialist countries to weaken the anti-imperialist front.

The alignment of world forces in recent years is indicative of a deep crisis of the American cold-war strategy which is built on aggressive military blocs and designed to break up the socialist system. This strategy has been undermined by the Soviet Union's scientific and technical achievements which deprived the United States of its superiority in modern weapons, by the active peace policy of the Soviet Union, Poland, and other socialist countries, as well as by the fall of the myth about the "communist menace."

The adventurist policy of local wars by means of which American imperialism tries to check the progress of the liberation movement of nations, is also breaking down. The experience of the many years long war in Vietnam has shown that the mightiest imperialist power is today no longer able to break the heroic resistance of a nation which, making use of assistance from socialist countries, is staunchly defending its rights to independence and sovereignty.

Poland, together with other socialist countries, defending the principles of freedom of nations, lends and will be lending resolute support and assistance to the Vietnamese nation in its struggle against the American invaders.

Neither has imperialism succeeded in the Middle East in attaining the main aims of the Israeli aggression, which was to overthrow progressive Arab governments. We condemn the Israeli criminal aggression and support and will be supporting the Arab countries' just demand for the elimination of the results of the aggression and above all the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories.

The position of the United States as the main imperialist power laying claim to world domination, has been considerably weakened. The impetuous expansion of U.S. capital, based on the economic and technological superiority of big monopolies, is meeting with growing resistance. The international position of the dollar has been deeply shaken by the enormous costs of the policy of armed aggression and intervention, causing a permanent deficit in the United States balance of payments.

As a result of the breakdown of the U.S. global strategy, the Atlantic Pact, the main military bloc under American hegemony, has entered a period of crisis in recent years. On the one hand, the

tendency has appeared among some European member states of NATO to get rid of their military obligations towards the United States for fear of being drawn into war ventures in the name of interests which are alien to them. They want to get rid of the political and military tutelage of the United States and their economic dependence on American monopolies and banks. A road to strengthening their independence is seen by the spokesmen of this tendency in the normalization of relations with socialist countries on the basis of recognition of the results of World War II and of economic cooperation. This tendency, which accepts peaceful coexistence as a realistic alternative, is appreciated by Poland and other socialist countries. Our country will continue to conduct an active policy in favor of European security and develop its economic relations and scientific and cultural cooperation with states whose social and economic systems differ from ours.

On the other hand, the German Federal Republic, the principal ally of the United States in Europe, tries to continue its revanchist course, adjusting its tactics to the new situation and the detente tendencies in the world. The GFR wants to preserve the aggressive character of the Atlantic Pact and strives as before to bring to naught the results of the anti-Hitler coalition's victory and to revise the post-war frontiers. This policy of the West German militarists and revanchists is the main source of the threat to peace. Liquidation of the GDR, the first peaceful worker and peasant German state, and restoration of the Greater Reich within the frontiers of 1937 remain the strategic aim of the German bourgeoisie. The foreign policy of the "grand coalition" government does not differ, in essence, from that of the previous GFR governments. The so-called new eastern policy is above all designed to sow discord among the socialist countries, to isolate the German Democratic Republic and prepare conditions for the annexation of this socialist German state under the signboard of German reunification. These aims are served by the attempts to make a breach in the common front of socialist countries.

As long as the GFR government sticks to its policy of hostility to the socialist countries and dangerous to peace in Europe, all proposals regarding the normalization of relations with socialist countries cannot be treated otherwise than tactical moves designed to undermine the unity of socialist states. The socialist countries can under no circumstances, without damaging their interests, give up their demand for recognition of the status quo in Europe. First of all we demand recognition by the GFR of the existing frontiers, including the frontiers on the Odra and Nysa, and of the frontier between the GFR and the GDR, recognition of the Munich Agreement as null and void *ab initio*, recognition of the fact of the

existence of two German states, renunciation of the claims to representation of the whole German nation and of the illegal claims to West Berlin, as well as renunciation once and for all of the striving to gain any form of access to nuclear weapons.

2. The correlation of forces between socialism and capitalism is determined not only by the proportion of forces of the socialist and imperialist states, but also by class and national conflicts which are accumulating in the capitalist system between the working class and the bourgeoisie, and between industrialized states owing their wealth to colonial exploitation and the undeveloped, dependent countries.

The military and political control imperialism exercises over most of the non-socialist world is encountering increasing difficulties and continues to give rise to new tensions and conflicts. A number of newly-formed states have strengthened their sovereignty and embarked upon the road of progressive development. At the same time, however, numerous newly-free states are subjected to intensified penetration by neo-colonialism and to the political, military and economic pressure of the imperialist forces, above all the United States, which is trying to halt the process of national emancipation and progressive social reforms. Young states continue to be dependent on international capitalist monopolies and are exploited by them, and the disproportion between the economic level of the industrialized capitalist states and the rest of the non-socialist world is growing from year to year. Life proves that capitalism does not give the peoples of those countries any prospect of overcoming this disproportion and liquidating backwardness, poverty, and ignorance. It is only by going along the road of democratic reforms and progressive economic and social transformations, by developing and strengthening their cooperation and solidarity with the forces of socialism and progress all over the world, that African, Asian, and Latin American countries will be able to solve their problems and difficulties which are a heritage of the centuries-long domination of colonialism.

3. The recent years have been characterized by a permanent though uneven growth of productive forces stimulated by the scientific and technical revolution. A rapid process of capital concentration and of big capitalist monopolies growing into one with the state and its main force— the military apparatus — is taking place in highly developed capitalist countries. The working class and the working masses in general benefit but slightly from the scientific and technical revolution. The main benefit goes above all to the propertied classes in power, which deepens the disproportions and the injustice in the distribution of national income and aggravates social conflicts.

By allocating vast means for armaments and military adventures,

state-monopoly capitalism ignores the most urgent social needs, maintains mass unemployment and intensifies the internal social and political tension.

This assumes the most striking forms in the United States, which claims for itself the right to leadership in the so-called free world. The policy of strength and violence conducted by the USA externally is accompanied by violence used inside the country, it generates social upheavals and political crimes against the background of economic and racial discrimination.

The working class in the capitalist countries refuses to put up with this situation. Its parties and trade union organizations are deprived of influence on the government, the economy, and the policy of their own countries. This arouses a well-grounded protest on the part of the masses, particularly in countries like France and Italy, where the Communist parties enjoy broad support of the working class and all working people, possess a relatively numerous parliamentary representation and broad influence in the trade unions. That is why the present forms of government in capitalist countries more and more often enter into sharp conflict with the democratic aspirations and the social and economic demands of the masses, and particularly with the aspirations of the working class, the main social force, and of the younger generation, which cannot find a place for itself in the capitalist community.

In view of these new and growing social and political contradictions, the appeasement policy of social democratic parties is breaking down. In departing sometimes even formally from the principles of socialism and coming out against communism, these parties have accepted cooperation with bourgeois parties and subordinated themselves to the interests of the capitalist state. As a result, these parties are losing their influence, which is proved by the results of elections in certain Scandinavian countries, in Italy, Britain, and also in the GFR.

The crisis of political structures in the capitalist world, which the bourgeoisie is unable to resolve, revives the spectre of fascism, and not only in the GFR, where neo-Hitlerism is becoming a real political force already today, or in Greece, where the fascist dictatorship of a military clique was established last year, but also in Italy, where a military plot has been uncovered recently, as well as in the United States, where political murder has become a method of action of the most reactionary, aggressive and racist forces.

Only the Marxist-Leninist Communist parties are able to offer a solution to these problems generated by social development and class conflicts in the capitalist countries. It is only they who indicate to the working masses the prospect of gaining power by the rallying round the working class of all the forces of democracy against the domination of monopoly and reaction.

Only the Communist parties, as a consistent anti-imperialist force offer to the nations the constructive peaceful alternative of liberating Europe from American hegemony, of liquidating the threat on the part of West German imperialism and of replacing the division of Europe into mutually opposed military blocs by a collective security system. The program of struggle for peace and security in Europe, worked out at the conference of Communist and Workers' parties at Karlovy Vary last year, remains a guide to action for the entire European working-class movement.

Our Party supports the fraternal Communist parties' struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, and cooperates with them in the effort to eliminate the threat of war and to insure security and international cooperation.

4. Close alliance and all-round cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, and above all with the Soviet Union, is vital for our security, for the inviolability of our frontiers and the peaceful development of the country. This alliance constitutes one of the pillars of peace in Europe. Polish-Soviet relations, which have their juridical and political expression in the new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, are based on the most lasting foundation, on the community of the most vital interests of the peoples of both countries, on cooperation between our parties which are linked by common views and stands on all essential matters.

The Polish-Soviet alliance, which is the cornerstone of our foreign policy, has confirmed its historical importance at every stage of the development of our country. No efforts of imperialism and reaction can undermine the Polish people's feelings of friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union and their confidence in the inviolability of the alliance which, cemented in the brotherhood in arms in the struggle against Nazi fascism, has been for a quarter of a century the lever of the renaissance of our country.

The unity and cooperation of socialist countries, based on the community of ideology and aims, on the principles of equality and respect for sovereignty, is a class alliance — a premise of the further development of socialism in the world. The realization of this unity in common action multiplies the forces of the socialist community and of each state belonging to that community and creates the most reliable guarantees of their peaceful development.

In view of the persisting threat on the part of the imperialist forces of aggression it is our sacred duty to strengthen the defense potential of our motherland and to increase our contribution to the defense might of the Warsaw Treaty. The defense forces of the socialist countries united in the Warsaw Treaty constitute, above all owing to the rocket-nuclear might of the Soviet Union, an insuperable barrier to the imperialist expansion and spirit of con-

quest, capable of nipping in the bud any encroachment on the independence and sovereignty of any of the Warsaw Treaty states.

Constant development of economic cooperation and expansion of economic links between the socialist countries is indispensable for their lasting unity.

5. Our Party, guided by the principles of internationalism, comes out decidedly in favour of unity of the Communist movement. The international solidarity of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle against the common enemy — imperialism, capital and reaction — has been and remains the main source of the strength of the world Communist movement. The effectiveness of this struggle depends on the cooperation of all Communist and Workers' parties, and above all on the unity of the socialist community of nations.

The split in the socialist camp and the weakening of the unity of the international Communist movement are utilized by American imperialism in its policy of provocations and armed interventions against the forces of democracy and socialism, against the liberation strivings of nations. Communists have no more urgent task than to unite the revolutionary working-class movement and all anti-imperialist forces in defense of peace and the freedom of nations.

Considerable differences in views exist among Communist parties in the appraisal of the perspectives of the development of the international situation, in matters pertaining to the tactics of the struggle for the socialist revolution and to the methods of the construction of socialism. The Communist parties, acting in various parts of the world, are gaining ever richer experience and establish their political line in different ways.. These variegated conditions and experience inevitably give rise to various points of view on individual important problems. These differences or even divergencies, however, should not lead to a split and hamper the maintenance of the unity of our movement in the common struggle for common aims against the common foe, imperialism. For what unites the Communist and Workers' parties is undoubtedly stronger than that which divides them.

Unity and fidelity to the principles of internationalism should not be identified with unanimity. A departure from the principles of internationalism begins when differences or even divergencies in ideological or political views become a pretext for the breaking of solidarity, for divisive activities and struggle against fraternal parties.

While strengthening the foundations of unity and international solidarity, the Communist and Workers' parties should not by-pass matters on which they differ. Today, when there is no, and cannot be, one directing center in the Communist movement, only a con-

frontation of stands in the course of bilateral meetings and international conferences, only an open party-like discussion of matters which cause differences of views, will make it possible to work out a common platform of action and to build actual and not seeming unity. Only a matter-of-fact confrontation of stands, devoid of invective and insinuations, can lead to the overcoming of differences, to the reduction of divergencies and to the elaboration of a common strategy and tactics of struggle. Such an open discussion will also enable members of all parties and the working class of every country to work out a correct view on the vital problems of our movement and to gain a better awareness of the ties linking national and international tasks. A matter-of-fact and open discussion, conducted in a party atmosphere, within the Communist movement will increase its militancy in the ideological struggle against hostile propaganda and subversion.

In our times, in a period of sharpened struggle between the socialist and capitalist system, when co-responsibility and interdependence of the policy of all Communist and Workers' parties appears with particular clarity, no party can renounce the right to substantial criticism and to formulating a stand with regard to the position of a fraternal party, particularly when it enters into conflict with vital interests of other parties and the international forces of socialism. The aim here is not to impose on one party the stand of other parties, and still less to exclude it from the Communist movement owing to different views on one question or another.

We are in favor of the right of every Communist party and government of each socialist country to shape independently its internal and international policy. This cannot signify, however, that each party and every socialist country determines its policy in international matters in disregard of the voluntarily accepted alliance commitments as well as the opinion and policies of other parties and socialist states. In particular, the Communist parties of all socialist countries should fully appreciate and take due account in practice of the international role of the Soviet Union, whose world political position and defense might guarantee the security of the entire socialist camp and the possibility of the peaceful and independent development of all socialist states.

The policy of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, who have for a number of years been conducting an unscrupulous calumnious campaign against the Soviet Union, against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties which refuse to submit to Mao Tse-tung's political line, is alien to the principles of internationalism and the interests of the world socialist and anti-imperialist forces.

The policy of the leaders of the Communist Party of China,

marked by nationalism and great-power chauvinism, introduces a split in the ranks of the world Communist movement and thereby causes incalculable damage, making it easier for imperialism to engage in military blackmail and overt aggression. The divisive policy of the Chinese leaders has created a situation in which American imperialism could dare to carry out a brutal aggression against the Vietnamese nation. All the more worthy of condemnation is the rejection by the Chinese leaders of all proposals of other parties of socialist countries concerning cooperation in assisting embattled Vietnam.

Our Party opposes within the international working-class movement, any forms of nationalism, which leads to the self-isolation of parties within the limits of particular and narrowly understood interests. Nationalism lies at the source of the divisive and disintegrating tendencies within our movement and is being fed with utmost perfidy and exploited by imperialism and its agents. Our policy is aimed at strengthening the solidarity and unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties, both on a regional and world scale.

Our Party, together with fraternal parties, is actively contributing to the preparation and successful holding of the international conference of Communist and Workers' parties, the main task of which will be to strengthen the unity of the international movement in the struggle against imperialism, to work out a platform of cooperation of all anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace, freedom and socialism.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

1. Socialist forces dominate in the line-up of the political forces in the country which has taken shape on the basis of the class structure of our society.

The working class is the leading social force of our nation. The social position of the working class, its place in the production process, its class consciousness and degree of organization makes it the leading political force of the people, and the social basis of socialism and the decisive factor in the system of state power which in our conditions, i.e., in the first phase of the construction of socialism, is in its essence a dictatorship of the proletariat. The party of the working class, the Polish United Workers' Party, is the spokesman of the socialist consciousness of the people. The progressing industrialization of the country and the attendant changes in the social structure of our society enhance the role and weight of the working class within the nation. The workers made in the past and continue to make at present the greatest contribution to the building of a socialist Poland. The idea of socialism, stemming

from the experience of the working class and its social situation, and expressing its historical interests, determines the principles of the state system and the policy of People's Poland. The helm of power in our state is held by a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, the Polish United Workers' Party.

The peasants are the second basic class of our nation. This class consists predominantly of individual farmers. The peasant economy is being linked ever more closely, both in the sphere of exchange and in production, with the national system of planned socialist economy. The social attitude of the Polish peasant is more and more determined by the convergence of his interests as a small individual producer with those of the worker-peasant socialist state. In their mass the peasants support the policy of the people's government.

The intelligentsia is the stratum which constitutes the third component social force of our nation. This is the fastest growing stratum in our society which greatly influences all spheres of life. A particularly important place among the intelligentsia is occupied by scientific workers and technicians whose labor is decisive for the development of the productive forces. The overwhelming majority of our intellectuals have grown up and received their education and training in conditions of the construction of socialism. Our intelligentsia is connected with the socialist system which it is serving with its talent, creative thought and work.

2. Socialism as a social system emerges always and everywhere in conditions of sharp class struggle which assumes various forms and proceeds at varying degrees of intensity. This struggle, which arises on the basis of the system of antagonistic class forces in the given country and stems from the ideological vestiges of capitalism in the consciousness of certain social strata, is actually being waged not only in individual socialist countries. Its scope is at the same time worldwide, for it arises from the fact of the division of the world into two opposed social systems, socialism and capitalism.

Even complete liquidation of antagonistic classes does not lead to the abatement of class struggle in the process of socialist construction in the given country, for, first — the construction of socialism in every country is an expression of the class struggle against world capitalism which, in turn, conducts with the aid of mass communication media and under other forms, a sharp struggle aimed at the destruction of socialism and, second — even complete liquidation of the material-economic base of former propertied classes, that is, socialization of all branches of the national economy, does not automatically remove various aspects of bourgeois ideology from the consciousness of the masses building socialism, which makes subversive political and ideological activity easier for the enemies of socialism.

Thus it would be an error to conclude that in those socialist countries where antagonistic class contradictions do not exist the socialist system cannot be threatened. Actually, the stability, consolidation and correct development of socialism in every country are determined by the struggle between socialism and capitalism (imperialism) on a world scale, which, in its essence is, irrespective of forms, a class struggle.

3. In recent years, owing to a change in the objective political situation, the strategy of imperialism in the struggle against the European socialist countries has also changed. Imperialist politicians have become aware of the fact that socialism has become rooted in the consciousness of the working masses so deeply that an open attack against its socio-economic foundations will have no chances. At the same time the correlation of military forces between the socialist system and imperialism has rendered unrealistic imperialism's stake on the so-called "liberation" of the peoples of the socialist countries, on classic armed counter-revolution supported by external intervention.

In this situation, the strategists of imperialism, while not renouncing in principle their striving to resort, in certain situations, to counter-revolutionary violence and even armed actions, put the main stress on ideological subversion adapted in its propaganda form to the concrete situation in every socialist country. The general line of the attack is aimed above all at undermining the socialist system in individual countries, as well as to weakening and disintegrating the Warsaw Treaty states. The imperialist centers of propaganda and subversion hit out above all at the Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' parties, seeking to undermine the confidence of the working class and all working people in them and in their leadership, to disparage and bring to naught the leading role of these parties in the construction of socialism. They stake on the awakening and propagation of nationalism in the socialist countries and in their parties. The organizational and ideological weakening of the party, the undermining of its position in the working class, the loosening of internationalist ties with the parties of other socialist states, down to their severance — all that is aimed at imposing a trend of evolution of the internal situation in socialist states as a result of which the socialist system would be distorted in the bourgeois direction and the country would find itself in a certain economic and political dependence on capitalist states. In consequence of a process of seemingly peaceful changes and of an internal erosion of socialism, the socio-political system of a socialist state would become similar to the system of a bourgeois state, even while preserving certain forms of socialized industry. Revis-

ionism has become the main ally of imperialism and reaction in the pursuit of this strategy.

4. Revisionism was born within the working class movement toward the end of the 19th century as an opportunist trend which negated the necessity of proletarian revolution, advocated compromise between the proletariat, on the one hand, and the exploiting classes and their state, on the other, and opposed the Marxist theory of class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat. In our time revisionism is in fact fulfilling the role of ideological agent of social-democracy within the Communist parties.

In conditions of the socialist system, revisionism attacks first of all the political superstructure of the socialist state. Under the slogans of "freedom" and on the plea of "democratization" of this state it objectively strives for the restoration of the bourgeois-liberal principles of free play of political forces so as to clear the road before anti-socialist forces. It attacks the leading role of the party in all spheres of political, social and cultural life. It wants to replace economic planning on a nationwide scale by the capitalist market mechanisms. It questions the Marxist theory of social classes and obscures the differences between the modern bourgeois and socialist societies, looking for analogous structures and social laws in these two societies, particularly for contradictions between the so-called power elite and the rest of society. It wants to extend peaceful coexistence with capitalist states to include peaceful coexistence with bourgeois ideology. In our conditions, revisionism is closely connected with nationalism and cosmopolitanism, with worship of the West.

5. Above all, revisionism questions and rejects certain principles of Marxism-Leninism. It hits out at Marxism as an ideology both in the domain of science and in the domain of politics. What is involved here, of course, is not those propositions of Marxists which either have not been confirmed by the practice of life or have become a dogmatic impediment to the development of socialism in the new social reality.

The struggle against dogmatism, and creative enrichment of the science of Marxism-Leninism, which as a rule is connected with the process of historical development, with changes occurring in the contemporary social reality, have thus nothing in common with revisionism.

Revisionsm is an ensemble of theoretical notions and practical political action which results from them, which is contrary to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, to Marxist ideology, and which weakens and disarms the working class and its party in the struggle against reaction, against the internal and external enemies of socialism. Bourgeois ideology lies at the basis of the theoretical concepts and political practice of revisionism. The latter's theses

are, as a rule, a repetition of the theses of social-democratic parties in Western countries, an expression of the adaptation of certain anti-socialist aspects of the capitalist system which the revisionists would like to graft on socialism.

Revisionism, just as dogmatism, unmasks itself as an illness gnawing at the organism of Communist and Workers' parties affected by it, or their organizations, particularly in socialist countries, only at the moment when the social-political damage wrought by this illness comes to light. The extent of this damage, particularly that caused by revisionism, is usually commensurate with the extent of the deformation of the Marxist theory and the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The damage wrought by this illness comes to light in measure as this illness progresses. When we have to deal with revisionist deformation of the economy of the socialist state, the damage may come to light many years later. Revisionism, in the domain of the economy, attempts to graft on the economic organism of a socialist state elements of the economic system of capitalism, organically alien to it, which at the same time constitute a great danger to the socialist system

6. In our country too the construction of socialism takes place in a struggle against anti-socialist forces and tendencies. Socialism creates conditions for the formation of a classless state, that is, a state free from antagonistic conflicts. Our society has not reached this stage of development yet. There still exist in Poland vestiges of the exploiter classes and parasitic-speculator elements although they no longer have any essential economic strength.

A considerably more important base of potential influence of anti-socialist forces and tendencies is created, however, by accumulated layers of the former, bourgeois way of thinking and attitude to life in various social groups, particularly those originating from the petty bourgeoisie, once numerous in our country, as well as in milieus remaining under the influence of petty-bourgeois customs and mentality. In the ideological sense, the legacy of the capitalist system continues to exercise a certain influence on the attitude of a part of our society, in particular circles of the intelligentsia whose mentality is still not free from the traditional estrangements from the working masses.

This base is being constantly revived and reproduced as a result of the very fact of existence of the world capitalist system. The geographical line of division of the world into two social systems — socialist and capitalist — does not coincide with the ideological division line, for the latter passes through peoples of states belonging to both these systems. Conditions thus exist for effective action by the imperialist centers of ideological subversion and psychological warfare in the socialist countries. These centers systematically utilize for their aims various forms of international contacts. Hav-

ing at their disposal a powerful propaganda machine, they lend support to internal reactionary forces, stimulate the action of these forces and publicize their activities.

This applies fully to our country, too. Youth is particularly vulnerable to the propaganda of these imperialist centers, especially when the ideological-educational and political activity of the Party and of socialist youth organizations in these milieus is deficient.

The main line of political division runs in our society between socialism and reaction of all varieties, between the policy of the construction of a new and just social system and of close ties with the community of socialist countries, on the one hand, and the forces which would want to link Poland with imperialism, with the capitalist West, to put her back on the old pernicious road. This is the plane on which the events of March 1968 took place, and this is the angle from which they should be appraised.

7. The March events brought to light two highly significant phenomena:

a) the degree of intensity of the struggle waged against our Party and against socialism by the forces of revisionism and reaction and the extent of their influence in various social milieus, and

b) deficiencies in the work of the Party, the necessity to heighten the ideological influence of the Party on the consciousness of our society, particularly to intensify ideological-educational and political work among young people, mainly students.

In 1968 the same forces hostile to our Party and to socialism, forces which following the Israeli aggression against Arab countries were joined by nationalistic-Zionist elements, once more started a struggle against the policy of our Party, again acting behind the smokescreen of "defense of culture" and "freedom." The March events which started in the Warsaw literary milieu and were transferred on a greater scale to the student milieu, were the culmination of the political conflict with these forces.

It would be a grave error to appraise the demonstrations of a part of the students as a deliberate hostile action against socialism. The foes of socialism in the student milieu are certainly not numerous. Nevertheless, it is also indubitable that these demonstrations could not serve the interests of our socialist state, nor the interests of socialism in general. They should be appraised as an alarm signal pointing, on the one hand, to the extent of the penetration and influence of the propaganda of centers hostile to socialism in certain higher schools and, on the other hand, illustrating the effects of a lenient attitude toward various manifestations of revisionism in the Party organizations of these higher schools, as well as the consequences of serious omissions in the ideological and political work of the Party among higher school students and teaching staffs.

8. Our Party has for many years been combating revisionism which appeared on the wave of cleansing the political line of the Party from dogmatism and sectarianism. This struggle, however, has proved to be insufficiently consistent in the Party organizations of higher schools and in the literary and certain other milieus. Infected by revisionism, these Party organizations did not cleanse the Party ranks of the adversaries of the Party's policy. A co-existence of a kind emerged, within these organizations, of members supporting and members combating the stand of the Party in various fundamental matters. Thus these organizations were unable to exercise political leadership in their respective milieus and among students. The active revisionists present in their ranks not only attacked the policy of the Party at Party meetings, but also criticized the Party line and propagated their views among non-Party people. In numerous important domains of the humanities certain scientific milieus had been for years under the influence of revisionist and liberal-bourgeois tendencies.

In this climate, even those Party organizations in the creative milieus and in higher schools which unreservedly supported the line of the Party and the resolutions of the Central Committee, failed to show adequate activity, were not vigorous enough in the ideological and political struggle, backed away from the difficulties ensuing from the implementation of these resolutions. This enabled the hostile forces to unfold on an ever broader scale the offensive against the policy of the Party, against socialism. Many of these milieus had been for years an open field on which, without any major obstacles and fears, all kinds of enemies of the socialist system were rampaging, resorting to falsehood and demagogy in the struggle against the policy of the Party. Things reached a point where the anti-socialist and anti-Party forces succeeded in provoking the March demonstrations of part of the student youth, demonstrations which objectively were of an anti-state character.

The inspirers and organizers of the March disturbances tended to oppose certain sections of the intelligentsia and students to the Party and to the people's government, to provoke rioting and bloodshed. They expected above all that broad strata of society would believe their deceptive slogans. In this they were disappointed. The working people with the working class at the head resolutely supported the stand of the Party which showed the people the truth about the anti-national face of the inspirers and organizers of the March events. A considerable part of the research and teaching personnel, Party members and non-party people and activists of youth organizations at higher schools, also took a stand during the March events on the side of the policy of the Party, against trouble-making and reactionary demagogy, in defense of order, calm, and normal work of the higher schools.

9. The March events clearly showed once again that the working class plays the leading role in the nation, that it is the bearer of socialism, the decisive political force in the country, the main source of people's power.

At the same time these events brought to light deficiencies and errors in the Party's policy work among the intelligentsia and young people, particularly students. The leadership of the Party and the party authorities knew the situation in the higher schools and creative milieus, they knew the state of things in the Party organizations existing there. They are responsible for not having taken in time appropriate steps to prevent the emergence of such a situation, for having tolerated too long revisionism, liberalism and opportunism in these organizations. This created a state of affairs in which the attempts made later to change this situation were ineffective. The disease had progressed so much that it could no longer be fought by ordinary means. Surgical interference became necessary in some higher school milieus, as well as other measures of a legal and organizational nature. This necessity is now recognized also by the scientific milieus.

The discussion that got under way in the Party and in society has thrown light on a number of essential weaknesses in the activity of the Party. They appear most clearly in the ideological work in the broadest meaning of the world. The entire propaganda and ideological activity in our country was too pragmatic, being focussed on current tasks. The party should devote much more attention to the propagation of basic socialist ideals determining the attitude and world outlook of man. From this point of view the Party should concentrate mainly on the education of young people. The ideological influence of the Party on the consciousness of the entire society should be developed and perfected with the aid of the press, radio and television, publications and films. The cadres of the creative intelligentsia bear great responsibility for educating our public in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism,

Within our society, among youth, and also within the ranks of the Party there exists a constant demand for analytical works, lectures, press publications, pamphlets, etc., explaining the essence of socialist democracy and of bourgeois democracy, the differences between the content of socialist democracy and of bourgeois democracy. The Party should see to it that the workers of the ideological and political front should do everything to satisfy this demand in full, in a manner understandable and convincing for the working man.

10. Our state is implementing in practice the principles of socialist democracy. The essence of socialist democracy consists in combining socio-economic democracy with actual people's power.

Socio-economic democracy is based on the socialization of the

means of production, as a result of which the trend of development and methods of utilization of the material resources of the country are determined by the people, prerequisites for the exploitation of man by man are removed and labor becomes the basis of the existence of every citizen.

Socio-economic democracy renders possible a just distribution of the national income, the narrowing of the gap in earnings to a level justified by the share and quality of work, full employment, a broad scope of social rights and benefits. Socio-economic democracy, ever more fully implemented in our country, is an historical achievement of the Polish working people which is decisive for a cardinal improvement of the social position of working people in our country in comparison with the capitalist system.

The principle of people's power is the basis of the entire political system in our country. All legislative and executive organs are elected. The political and public organizations of the working people have unrestricted possibilities of action and wield broad influence. They have in their hands the press, the means of information and of shaping public opinion. The working people decide not only on the composition of national and local organs of power, but influence their policy both by way of direct participation in their activity, and also through the activity of the PUWP and allied political parties, the trade unions, and public organizations.

The institution of workers' self-government has provided ample scope for the development of workers' democracy, enabling the working people to participate directly in the management of enterprises. The farmers' circles and the extensive system of agricultural cooperation constitute forms of socialist democracy in the countryside.

Socialist democracy ensures to the working class and other strata of working people, to the entire society, a much broader scope of civil rights and liberties than any previous form of political democracy, including bourgeois democracy.

The bourgeois-democratic systems leave the economy, the decisive domain of life, even formally, out of the sphere of influence of society. The direction of the economy is in the hands of the propertied classes, above all the big monopolies, and is subordinated to their class interests. The dominant position of big business assures it decisive influence on the policy of the state. The majority of the media shaping public opinion is also in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois system reduces the political rights of the working masses to the possibility of pronouncing themselves once in several years by means of the ballot box as to which representatives or spokesmen of the propertied classes are to exercise state power. But even these meager rights are violated and flouted whenever the interests of the propertied class are threatened. At such

times, overt violence, coups d'état, and political crimes become the method of political life in capitalist states.

11. The leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class in a socialist state is an inseparable characteristic of socialist democracy. The party is the vanguard of social progress, it expresses the interests of the working class and all working people. Socialist democracy, which grows out of class premises, embodies the ideals of freedom, justice, and equality of the working masses, while limiting the possibilities of political action by adherents of capitalism, representatives of bourgeois and anti-socialist ideas.

Each of the historical social formations has called into being its own model of political system. Electoral competition of several political parties representing principally the interests of the propertied classes, has been peculiar to the capitalist system, in which state functions are performed above all in the sphere of politics, covering the economy only to a small extent.

A free play of political forces and a competitive struggle of various parties would rally the anti-socialist forces round an opposition party, would threaten with the unleashing of unbridled demagogy, demobilization of the community, and introduction of anarchy into political and social life. In the conditions of a socialist society, in which the main task of the state is to organize a planned economy, this would inevitably cause profound disruptions in economic life, cause the waste of great resources of social energy in barren internal struggles, and weaken the dynamics of the country's economic and social development. Poland is still faced with the task of making up for the results of centuries-old backwardness, and any slowdown would mean a threat to her vital social and national interests. Socialist democracy, which our Party develops and consolidates, is the sole effective form of political system, a form that is in accordance with the nation's interests and corresponds to socialist socio-economic relations.

12. The Polish United Workers' Party considers that its chief task in the field of internal policy is to strengthen the state through the improvement of its functioning and the constant broadening of the participation of the working people in governing the country.

The Party cooperates in the exercise of power with the allied political parties within the National Unity Front. The United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party make their contribution, as independent political parties espousing the construction of socialism under the leadership of our Party, to the development of socialist democracy, and are co-responsible for the policy of the state and the destinies of the country. A particularly important instrument in the cooperation of the PUWP, the UPP and D.P. are

the consultation commissions whose work should be systematic and active.

The National Unity Front provides a political and organizational platform for our Party's cooperation with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, as well as for the active participation in the shaping and implementation of state policy of all public organizations of the working people.

The National Unity Front unites all patriots, party and non-party people, believers and non-believers, in the implementation of the common task of consolidating our Motherland and ensuring its prosperity. The Party authorities should endeavor to maintain the activity of the National Unity Front on a high level, to place systematically key problems of state policy before NUF committees, to mobilize all the organized social forces for the implementation of this policy.

13. The Party is guided by the striving to consolidate the unity of the nation round the program of the National Unity Front. It does not draw in society a division line according to the attitude toward religion, but judges citizens according to their attitude toward the interests of the state and the task of socialist construction. As a political party directing the construction of socialism and basing itself on the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism, it is the political spokesman of all those who, irrespective of their attitude toward religion, support our political program and are prepared to participate in its implementation. Believers and non-believers, united by the community of class and national interests, the community of patriotic aims, cooperate in the common work for Poland, socialism and peace. Every citizen of our country, irrespective of his attitude toward religion, can find and in practice does find a field for his political activity within the framework of the existing political parties.

Associations of lay Catholics who look for grounds for their social and political views in a religious world outlook, participate in the National Unity Front. The attitude of our Party to these associations depends on their attitude toward socialism and Polish state interests. We appreciate the positive role of Catholic associations, which in the majority of the fundamental matters of our state, are on the side of socialism and recognize the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party in the life of the nation. We wage a political struggle against such actions by lay Catholic groups which lead them to the road of negation and opposition, to positions contradicting the interests of Poland, and which do not fit within the framework of the National Unity Front.

Our Party opposed and will continue to oppose with utmost energy the utilization of religion and church institutions for the anti-socialist political activity, hostile to the state, of certain circles

of the episcopate, and will combat infringement of legal norms binding in equal measure on all citizens, that is, also for the clergy.

14. Our Party strives to ensure on an ever greater scale the influence of broad masses of working people on the course of state and social affairs—in a concrete manner and at various levels of political, economic and cultural activity. This idea cannot be implemented automatically; to carry it into life calls for the application of such methods of government which stimulate public initiative and heighten the citizens' sense of responsibility for the destinies of the country.

Systematic submission to broad public discussion of programs for the development of the country, of various branches of the economy, of various towns and villages, is an important factor of socialist democracy at work. This discussion should not be confined to a passive or mechanical approval of previously prepared projects; it should guarantee the participation of society in the elaboration and realization of such projects.

The Party will strive to heighten the importance of public discussion and criticism as a major instrument of socialist democracy. Social discussion and criticism should aim at seeing to it that all important decisions pertaining to economic, social, educational and cultural policy, and above all the implementation of these decisions, are submitted to all-round and deepest possible control by the working people, either directly or through organs elected by the working people. Full effectiveness of such control will be achieved when it is at the same time carried out from above, by higher state organs, and from below, by collectives of working people and groups of residents of a given region.

Public criticism is the most universal form of control accessible to the citizens. The more penetrating, effective and responsible this criticism is, the more it consolidates the ties between the citizen and his government, as well as the strength of the state. Sessions of people's councils, conferences of organs of workers' and cooperative self-government, as well as Party, public and youth organizations should create a forum for public criticism and take care about its level and effectiveness.

Our Party attaches great importance to enhancing the role of criticism in the press. With this aim in view and on the initiative of the Party a draft law will be submitted to the Sejm, which would grant the necessary guarantees of press criticism and make it binding on all institutions and organs of power to draw conclusions from this criticism, as well as regulate the principles of the responsibility of journalists for the printed word. A critical analysis of various problems of our life should be based on facts and knowledge of the subject; it should be guided by concern for the general good and aimed at eliminating, overcoming stagnation, and promoting

the independent thinking and initiative of the working people. It is indispensable constantly to care for the culture of criticism, particularly when persons responsible for various deficiencies, omissions or errors, are mentioned by name. Criticism should help man and not negate and bring to naught his achievements.

A confrontation of various appraisals and views contributes to progress in every area of social life. Permanent discussion sections should be created in certain papers in order to stimulate business-like and constructive discussion. These sections should be edited on the principles of a "free forum," admitting the confrontation of controversial points of view. The right to discussion cannot be utilized for the propagation of anti-socialist views and the imposition of false platforms of discussion.

15. The structure of our state is based on a uniform representative system, encompassing the Sejm and the people's councils. The party consolidates the role of the Sejm as the organ of legislation as well as control over the activity of the government and its agencies. It is necessary to go on enhancing the activity of the PUWP deputies' club and strengthening the cooperation of the Sejm committees and regional deputies' clubs with the people's councils, the National Unity Front committees and public organizations, to raise the responsibility of deputies to the electorate, elevate the importance of meetings with deputies and intensify the work of deputies in controlling the implementation of laws and Sejm decisions in the provinces. It is necessary to strengthen control by the Sejm and the Supreme Chamber of Control over the implementation of decisions, as well as correctly to utilize the results of deputies' control in the activity of Sejm committees.

The period since the 4th Congress of the PUWP has witnessed further growth of the role of the people's councils as organs of people's power and administrators in their respective localities. This has improved management and ensured better satisfaction of the needs of the population. The extension of the functions of local councils enhances their responsibility for their work and, which is particularly important in the case of district and village councils, for the development of agricultural production.

In order to ensure a harmonious social and economic development of their localities and better satisfaction of the needs of the population, the people's councils should more effectively coordinate the work of enterprises and economic organizations subordinated to higher management bodies. The central state organs should cooperate more effectively with the people's councils, particularly as regards economic activity in the districts. It is necessary radically to reduce the number of orders, instructions and circular letters addressed to the people's councils and increase, instead, direct assistance to them by higher organs.

The influence of plenary sessions of the people's councils and their commissions on the work of executive organs should be further increased. The political and public organizations should display greater interest in the work of the councillors. The bureaucratic attitude toward citizen's complaints must be rooted out. The administration should do its best to meet the needs of the working people and facilitate the solution of their everyday problems and the removal of causes of complaints. For practice shows that owing to callousness or lack of competence of various administrative organs painful and unnecessary frictions arise between them and the citizens.

The organs of maintenance of public order and justice play an important role in protecting the interests of the socialist state and its citizens, in consolidating social order, the rule of law and the socialist conquests of the working people.

The Citizens' Militia, the security service, the Citizens' Voluntary Militia Reserve, the prosecutor's offices and the courts need particular attention on the part of the Party. While exercising control over the direction and scope of activity of these organs of the people's state, the Party should render help to the Communists working in these organs. The Party organizations should conduct among them educational work in the spirit of faithfulness to the cause of socialism and to the policy of people's power.

Constant consolidation of the defense potential of the Polish People's Republic is an important task of the Party. The Party takes care about the development of the people's armed forces, and their education in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. The Polish People's Army which, fighting at the side of the Soviet Army, made a great contribution to the liberation of our country and which celebrates this year its 25th anniversary, is a socialist armed force which has reached a high combat and political level, possesses modern weapons and disposes of politically mature and excellently trained officers and soldiers. The People's Army constitutes a school of social and civic education; it produces skilled cadres for the national economy.

The Party develops and deepens the bonds between the army and society, it popularizes, particularly among young people, the traditions of armed struggle for progress and freedom, above all the glorious combat traditions of the Resistance movement and of the Polish People's Army.

16. Formed under the leadership of the Party of the working class, the system of socialist democracy calls for further enrichment. The main task in this domain is not to create institutions, but fully to utilize the existing system of co-participation in governing the country on the basis of civic responsibility and care for the common good. For what is decisive for the effective functioning and

socialist character of democracy is not the multiplication of institutions, but the class and ideological content of democracy, as well as the actual possibilities for the exercise by the public of the rights created by it and for the participation of the masses in governing the country and administering the economy.

The education of every citizen in the spirit of respect for the laws and principles of the socialist social order at the same time prepares him for the exercise of his rights in conditions of socialist democracy.

THE PARTY LINE IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC PPI

The 12th (5th) Plenum of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran heard Comrade Eskanderi's report "Unity of the Communist and Working-Class Movement and the Tasks of Our Party."

Upon discussing the question raised in the report and the measures taken by the CC Bureau to promote the unity and cohesion of the world Communist and working-class movement and to combat the deviations and the adventurist and disruptive methods and views manifesting themselves in this movement, as well as the activity of the PPI delegation at the Budapest Consultative Meeting in February 1968 and at the first session of the Budapest Preparatory Commission in April 1968, the Plenum unanimously approved them.

With regard to the Party line in the world Communist and working-class movement and the tasks of the Party in contributing to the unity and cohesion of the movement the Plenum thinks it necessary to state the following considerations:

1. Our Party regards proletarian internationalism as a solid basis for its international policies and sees all infringements of it as impermissible. Maintaining friendship and unity with the socialist countries and their fraternal parties, first of all with the Soviet Union and the CPSU, is the principal indication of proletarian internationalism today. Anti-Sovietism is one of the gravest forms of anti-communism, and so the fight against anti-communism is inseparable from the fight against anti-Sovietism.

Thus, support for all revolutionary and working-class movements and the fraternal Communist parties in the capitalist countries, for the movements for independence and progress and for the anti-imperialist, democratic parties and countries is likewise an important internationalist duty of the PPI. The internationalism of our Party is rooted not only in its ideological basis as the party of the working class, but also in its profound patriotism, for the interests of the victory of socialism and democracy in Iran and the interests of peace and security in our country are inseparable

*Mardom, July 1968.

from the interests of the victory of socialism and democracy, from the interests of peace and the security of the peoples throughout the world.

2. The PPI has been, and will continue to be, autonomous and independent in shaping its general line and its policies. In this respect it considers itself accountable to the working class and the people of Iran. At the same time, as a contingent of the world Communist and working-class movement, it is responsible to this movement as a whole.

3. The PPI regards the policy of division, isolation, aloofness, and confinement to purely national, local or regional interests as a violation of the principle of internationalism, as a policy objectively playing into the hands of world imperialism and reaction. Naionalism sprouts from the soil of non-proletarian ideology and runs counter to proletarian internationalism irrespective of the form in which nationalism appears in the world Communist and working-class movement and of the manner in which it is interpreted. This is why to combat nationalism is the duty of every party championing internationalism. And it is for this reason that our Party rejects the subversive activities of the Mao Tse-tung group in the working-class movement and their ideological content.

4. The PPI regards the unity and cohesion of the Communist and Workers' parties on an international scale, and the implementation by them of a common line and common tactics against imperialism, as a requisite of the advance to the lofty goals of the national liberation, progressive and democratic movements of the working class, as the most reliable guarantee of the success of the world, including Iran.

5. Our Party considers bilateral and multilateral talks and common conferences of the parties on the principles of equality and respect for democratic standards to be the only correct road toward settling differences, achieving mutual understanding and proletarian cohesion and shaping common international policies. The PPI must continue its effort for the convocation of a conference of the brother parties of the Middle East and hold consultations on issues common to the brother parties of the area, so that they may step up their activity against enemies of every description.

6. The PPI is convinced that in present conditions the most important way of eliminating differences is unity of action against the common enemy, imperialism. Our Party supports the numerous and resolute steps taken by the CPSU and other fraternal parties to ensure world Communist unity. It considers the new conference of the brother parties, due to open in Moscow on November 25, 1968, a very important step toward unity and cohesion of the working-class and Communist movement and toward deciding the

questions posed at the Budapest Consultative Meeting, an important victory for proletarian internationalism and a proof of the existence of an objective basis for united action and cooperation among the Communist and Workers' parties. At the same time the PPI sees this as a favorable basis for united action by the Communist and working-class movement and all the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the globe.

7. Our Party must take an active part in settling important controversies in the world Communist and working-class movement, join up with other fraternal parties in maintaining the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and safeguard it against various rightist and leftist distortions. Numerous facts show that fallacious views of non-proletarian origin, whether leftist or rightist, invariably endanger a correct, principled revolutionary line. Our Party must see, together with the CPSU and other fraternal parties, to the implementation of the right revolutionary line by defending the life-giving principles of Marxism-Leninism from revisionism, dogmatism, reformism and pseudo-revolutionism.

8. Hence the PPI must vigorously come out and fight, within the liberation movement of the nation and throughout our country, against every manifestation of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, nationalism, and inculcate in its membership a correct understanding of their tasks and duties toward the world Communist and working-class movement. Reality shows that our Party has important tasks to fulfil in this field. The PPI has so far been able to defeat all deviationists. We must persevere in this fight in the name of complete ideological unity of the Party, and in this way step up and improve the education of the Party membership.

RESOLUTION OF THE PBCC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

1. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee states that the four members of the former Bureau for work in the country who immediately after the 12th Plenum of the CC took a stand against its decisions and declared themselves on their own initiative to be delegates and leaders of the Communist Party of Greece have lately stepped up their subversive, splitting activity in the CPG, drawing on the support and cooperation of the Partsalides factional group. Despite persistent attempts by the Political Bureau to go, together with them and within the framework of the Party, into the nature of the differences, they have repeatedly made statements against the Party line and leadership and have brought out a disruptive publication of their own. They have also intensified their subversion in the Party organizations and refuse to render account to the Political Bureau, specifically on the funds they have spent. They refuse to attend the CC plenum which has to decide on the convening of a representative Party body—until their arbitrary conditions which run counter to the Party Rules are met. They are carrying their subversion into EDA and the Patriotic Front, a step injuring the unity of the Party and the patriotic forces generally.

2. This group obstinately refuses to take an explicit stand on the main Party, indeological and political problems. Yet this is the paramount issue. Unless every Communist has a correct understanding of these problems, the meaning of the fight against the junta will not be understood and there can be no Party unity on Marxist-Leninist lines. The fact that these comrades reduce the whole range of problems to matters of procedure while flagrantly violating provisions of the Party Rules and Party principles can neither justify nor cover up their splitting activity, which goes hand in hand with the activity of the Partsalides group. Factionalists in and outside Greece claim that the reason for the present difficulties of the Party is the method of convening the 12th Plenum of the CC and that the Plenum decisions contradict the truth. Even before it became known who was going to attend the 12th Plenum or what decisions it was going to take, the factionalists formed their group and hatched a real conspiracy, which became known both during and after the Plenum. There are both old and new data attesting to that.

Despite repeated reminders by the Political Bureau, these com-

rades persist in their refusal to take a stand on the opportunist views and factional activity of the Partsalides group. It is known that the issues over which an ideological and political controversy is going on in the Party—such as the issue of the working-class party, the tastics of fighting the junta, the forms of struggle against the regime that could succeed to the junta regime, the relations between the CPG and the world Communist movement—are linked with the process and future of the democratic movement in our country. These issues became an object of sharp ideological conflicts both at home and abroad long before the dictatorship was established. The Central Committee, with a few exceptions, and all the active members of the Party at home and abroad condemned the Partsalides group's views on these issues even before the 12th Plenum as wrong and harmful views which would greatly prejudice the Party and the democratic movement if they won the upper hand in the Party.

These comrades' refusal to take a stand on the fundamental problems of the Party and the movement, their refusal to reject the erroneous, opportunist, liquidationist line of the Partsalides group, and their attempt to turn the issue of two opposed lines and of respect for Party principles into the problem of a "crisis abroad" are designed to conceal the deep-going differences dividing the Party and the Partsalides group and to push through, on the plea of unity, the opportunist, liquidationist line of the Partsalides group condemned by the whole Party.

There were many indications of agreement and cooperation between this group and the Partsalides group long before the 12th Plenum of the CC. Immediately after the 12th enlarged plenum the above group of members of the former Bureau came out against the Plenum decisions simultaneously with the Partsalides group, using almost the same arguments. Their position has become the banner of the Partsalides group. In pursuing their policy, these comrades rely for support on the Partsalides group, on all who immediately after the military coup announced that the CPG and EDA were bankrupt. The Partsalides group in its letters of February 20 and 27 last, whose content is now known, gave them instructions, which is further evidence of the existence of factional relations between them. The following extract from the letter dated February 27 is typical and revealing of the Partsalides group. It reads: "The best solution is emphatically to condemn the Koliyannis group and unfailingly to support the unifying CC. Should you encounter difficulties you must take a principled stand by coming out against the Koliyannis group and at the same time call for unity to re-establish Party principles." It is clear that if these comrades, who say they have nothing to do with the Partsalides group, have taken no open stand on the group the reason is that

this was suggested by the group. They believed they could conceal their aims all the more easily if they took this course of action.

Some of these comrades were engaged in subversion against the Central Committee long before the 12th Plenum met, as documnts submitted by members of the CC and active members of the Party now in the country show. On various pretexts they isolated and put out of action active members remaining loyal to the Party line. After the fascist coup the same comrades fully stopped their work in the Party organizations. And after the 12th Plenum they intensified their factional activity, nor did they hesitate to slander active members of the Party, to discredit them for their support of the Party line. Thereby they grossly violated the rules of secrecy and seriously endangered the entire underground work of the Party.

Before the factional activity of the Partsalides group became known these comrades spoke in their message to the Political Bureau of the CC about personal responsibility, in particular about the failure to carry out the binding decisions of the Political Bureau regarding Party groups and the underground machinery. At the same time these comrades called for sanctions against them. The Political Bureau and the Party CC made a serious effort at the 11th and 12th plenums to ensure that these comrades self-critically analyzed their activity and frankly admitted that they bore the main responsibility for not having taken, for their part, all the necessary steps the better to prepare the Party for any contingency. But these comrades now disclaim all responsibility alleging that they had shown tolerance and had, indeed, advocated legal self-deception. They disclaim responsibility for the fact that they made no effort for the ideological, organizational and technical preparation of the Party, for effective struggle against the coup, and for the fact that they have nullified the work done by the Party leadership.

3. These comrades are extending their subversion to EDA and the Patriotic Front, taking advantage of the positions and titles they have acquired thanks to the Party. They are trying to counterpose EDA and the Patriotic Front to the CPG, to divide the Communists into categories on the territorial principle, thinking nothing of the great harm they are doing to the Party, EDA, the Patriotic Front and the people's fight against the dictatorship.

The activity of these comrades, which is at cross purposes with the agreements of the parties forming EDA, the character, program and Rules of EDA, and the decisions of its bodies, has no legal force. The true spokesmen of EDA and the Patriotic Front are those who work according to the program, character and decisions of these organizations, and not those who counterpose EDA and the Patriotic Front to the Communist Party, as do

Antonios Brilakis and other members of this group and the members of the Partsalides group.

The above comrades, who have appointed themselves "delegates" and "representatives" of the Communists inside the country, call on the Communists to rally, not behind the Central Committee—the legitimately elected leading body of the Party—and its official line, but behind *them*. Yet no one has elected them, nor do they represent anyone. Masking the meaning of their policy, they would like to divert the Party to the Partsalides group's opportunist line. They are taking on a tremendous responsibility, for while the Communists close their ranks around the Party line and the Party CC under the motto of unity, these comrades are doing their utmost to split the Party.

4. Both at home and abroad, the majority of the CC members who attended or did not attend the 12th Plenum, support the Plenum decisions, according to authoritative information. So does the vast majority of the Communists at home and abroad. The Party organization of Athens, the country's most important organization, likewise supports these decisions. The leading members of the Party organizations of Athens, Piraeus and Salonica, or, in other words, the leading cadre of the main organizations of these cities, as well as of other regions of the country, who were in touch with the rank and file and who now find themselves in prison, have expressed their support of the decisions. As regards the organizations of political exiles and emigrants, they have long since taken a stand for the decisions.

The group of four which arbitrarily calls itself the "CC Bureau" and "delegates" of the Party but which represents no one and is no Party body whatsoever—incidentally, they themselves admitted in their statement on June 10 that they had not been appointed by the Political Bureau—is virtually isolated from the Party organizations, from the vast majority of the membership. This group is now trying to bolster its position by arbitrarily using titles it does not possess, and by means of certain posts it holds in some major organizations.

5. The CC Political Bureau intends, as it has already announced, to propose at the next plenum in keeping with the Rules that a representative body—one that will have proper authority—be convened to examine the entire activity of the Party and specify its tasks.

Those members of the Central Committee who disagree with the decisions of the 12th Plenum should follow the only correct road if they really want to help overcome the difficulties, that is, should operate within the bounds set by the Party Rules.

6. The CC Political Bureau calls again on the Party membership at home and abroad to condemn and reject factional, subver-

sive activity, rally still more closely behind the correct line of the Party and the Party leadership, resolutely uphold Party unity and principles, improve work in every field, form Party organizations everywhere, strengthen the links between the Party and the working people and promote the fight for the people's demands, for the overthrow of the junta, while isolating all who raise obstacles to Party unity. The Political Bureau appeals, in particular, to those comrades who for lack of truthful information adhere to an incorrect position to acquaint themselves with the facts and to help preserve the unity of the Party. It calls on the membership to work for a broader and stronger Patriotic Front wherever working people live and work, wherever patriots opposed to the dictatorship live and work, so as to extend the fight against the dictatorship and make it more consistent. This unity is the best way to contribute to Party unity, to the unity of the patriotic forces.

The Party has inexhaustible energy and can defeat the attempts of anyone who assails its unity. It has the strength to overcome the difficulties caused by the subversive activities of factionalists and splitters. The Party calls on its membership to join efforts to bring about broad patriotic unity, overthrow the junta hated by the people and pave the way for genuine democracy.

Political Bureau of the Central Committee
Communist Party of Greece

August, 1968.

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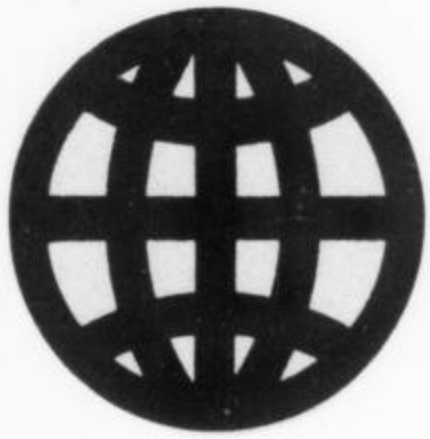

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In this issue

BRITISH ECONOMY AFTER DEVALUATION

PROGRESS IN NORTH KOREA
—Kim Il Sung

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contents

COMMUNIQUE
on meetings of the Working Group and the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties **5**

MARCHING ALONG THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM AND PEACE
Speech by Kim Il Sung **7**

INTENSIFY CAMPAIGN OF SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE
Article in **New Age** **13**

STATEMENT OF THE IRAQI CP ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY **16**

ON ENHANCING THE ROLE OF DISTRICT NEWSPAPERS
Resolution of the CC CPSU **20**

THE BRITISH ECONOMY AFTER DEVALUATION
Report of the Economic Sub-Committee of the CP **25**

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COMMUNIQUE*

ON THE MEETINGS OF THE WORKING GROUP AND THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The Working Group and the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties met in Budapest from 27 September to 1 October 1968.

The meetings were attended by representatives of the following Communist and Workers' Parties:

Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of the United States of America, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Chile, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece. Communist Party of Guadeloupe, Guatemalan Party of Labor, Party of People's Unity of Haiti, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of India, Irish Workers' Party, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Communist Party of Israel, Communist Party of Colombia, Polish United Workers' Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany—West Berlin, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Paraguay, Peruvian Communist Party, Reunion Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of El Salvador, Communist Party of San-Marino, Communist Party of Spain, Swiss Party of Labor, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Sudan, Communist Party of Turkey, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Venezuela.

Rude Pravo, October 2, 1968.

A number of Parties, whose representatives were for different reasons unable to attend the meetings, addressed letters to the Preparatory Committee.

The Preparatory Committee approved the report on the preparations for the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. Matters relating to the International Conference were discussed. The Preparatory Committee unanimously reaffirmed the need for an International Conference to discuss the tasks of the struggle against imperialism in the present stage, and of united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties, and by all the anti-imperialist forces.

The Preparatory Committee have deemed it expedient to discuss again the question of the date for holding the International Conference and decided to seek the opinions of the Central Committees of their respective parties on this matter.

The Preparatory Committee agreed to convene the next session of the Preparatory Committee for November 17th this year in Budapest to consider the date for the Conference and the manner of its further preparation.

The meetings of the Working Group and the Preparatory Committee took place in an atmosphere of free comradely exchange of views and again demonstrated the desire of the fraternal parties to develop co-operation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Budapest, October 1, 1968.

MARCHING ALONG THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM AND PEACE*

KIM IL SUNG

GENERAL SECRETARY, CC, KOREAN PARTY OR LABOR

Twenty years ago the Korean people set up their first genuinely independent state and embarked upon building a new society, a new life. The Korean People's Democratic Republic enjoys the absolute support and love of the entire Korean people. It is a truly people's state which ensures to the workers, peasants and all other strata not only political freedoms and rights but a happy material and cultural life.

The Republic was established in September 1948 by the common will of the Korean people on the basis of the great socio-economic changes that had taken place in the northern part of the country.

The establishment of the KPDR as an embodiment of the Korean people's striving for freedom and independence was a brilliant victory of our people which it won, having rallied behind the policy of the Korean Party of Labor, in the struggle for building a prosperous, powerful, sovereign and independent state. It was an epoch-making event in the revolutionary struggle of our people which is marching forward to a bright future, to socialism and communism.

Kim Il Sung noted that with the establishment of the Republic the Korean people emerged in the historical arena under the banner of a sovereign independent state, and the homeland of the Korean people, whose colors had long since been missing from the political map of the world, acquired equal rights with all other countries, big and small. The founding of the Republic imparted inexhaustible strength and courage to the entire Korean people, which launched revolutionary struggle for the reunification of its divided country. It enhanced the national pride and dignity of the people, which became the master of their land.

The efforts of the people's power to prepare the transition to socialism and the peaceful labor of the people were temporarily interrupted by the predatory armed aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. The patriotic liberatory war of the Korean people became a hard anti-imperialist and anti-American struggle against the allied forces of world reaction headed by U.S. imperialism. It became a grim class struggle against the enemies of the

*A Korean News Agency release, September 11, 1968.

people. In this great battle the Korean people, fighting under the correct guidance of the Party and the Government of the Republic, emerged victorious from hard trials, inflicted a humiliating defeat upon the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and scored a historic victory.

As the general line of our postwar economic development, our Party and Government emphasized priority growth of heavy industry with the simultaneous development of light industry and agriculture. This is the solely correct line which takes into account the objective demands of economic development and the real economic possibilities of our country, a revolutionary line reflecting the Party's firm determination to expedite the building of an independent national economy in keeping with the revolutionary principle of "reliance on one's own forces."

After elaborating on the fact that owing to the creative application of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of the country the socialist reconstruction of town and countryside had been successfully completed within a very short space of time, Kim Il Sung pointed out that this had opened up ample possibilities for the rapid development of the productive forces, ensured the eradication of the source of exploitation and oppression, and created conditions for decidedly improving the material and cultural standards of the people.

In the atmosphere of a great upsurge of socialist construction there began the *Chhonlim* movement, a mass movement which organically combines collective innovation in the economy and culture with work to educate the working people, and which became the general line of the Party in building socialism.

In these days, when the country is celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Republic, a great revolutionary upsurge is to be observed at all industrial enterprises, in the mines and railway transport, at seaports and in agricultural cooperatives, and this year's plan is expected to be fulfilled far ahead of schedule.

Kim Il Sung noted that the industry of the Republic is developing at an unprecedentedly fast pace. In 1967 industrial output was 22 times greater than in 1948. Heavy industry is being modernized and is developing on the basis of domestic resources. Particularly rapid progress is being made by the engineering industry, whose output in 1967 exceeded the 1948 figure hundred-fold and whose share in total industrial production grew from 7.4 per cent in 1948 to 31.4 per cent last year. The country is meeting the populations' demand with home-made products. Grain output is now 2.7 times higher than in the period immediately following Liberation.

The educational establishments of the Republic are giving free instruction to 2,690,000 people, one-quarter of the entire population. Following the introduction of universal compulsory secondary edu-

cation, last year we launched universal compulsory nine-year technical schooling, which makes it possible for our young people to grow up as harmoniously developed, reliable continuators of the revolution, and helps raise the technical and cultural level of all working people. At present the national economy employs more than 425,700 engineers and other specialists.

As a result of the abolition of exploitation and oppression and parallel with the rapid economic and cultural development, the material and cultural standards of the people are steadily rising. In 1967 the per capita national income was nine times higher than in 1946 and 4.4 times higher than in 1949.

The speaker also mentioned the consolidation of the defense potential of the country. Today, he said, the Republic possesses a powerful system of national defense based on the unshakable ideological and political unity of the people and the stability of an independent national economy.

Kim Il Sung stressed that the people's power, the political and social system, had been further consolidated owing to the great successes scored in the past twenty years during the socialist revolution and socialist construction, as a result of the major socio-economic changes that had taken place in the country.

In order to enhance still more the role and extend the functions of the people's power in the revolution and in construction, our Party and Government, creatively applying Marxist-Leninist propositions and generalizing the practical experience of the revolution and construction in our country, adopted a number of important measures to reorganize the work of the state and economic organs and to raise the level of guidance provided by them in keeping with the new situation. Great successes have been achieved in this field.

After dealing in detail with the advantages of the socialist system over capitalism the speaker noted that the socialist road was the road to abolition of class exploitation and national oppression, the road of ensuring the freedom and happiness of the entire people and the complete independence and prosperity of the country. A convincing proof of this is furnished by the starkly contrasting realities of South and North Korea.

Today the people are faced with the historic task of following up the brilliant successes in building a new society with still more energetic efforts to carry forward the revolution and construction and thus ensure the complete victory of socialism.

To achieve the complete victory of socialism and bring to fruition the great historic cause of the working class, the socialist state should further enhance its role. While strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist state should, on the one hand, con-

tinue the class struggle and, on the other, vigorously continue the building of the socialist economy.

Kim Il Sung stressed that democracy as a political concept has a class meaning.

Today the imperialists of the West and renegades from the revolution exult in the ballyhoo raised in some socialist countries over so-called "democratic development" and "liberalization," which is described as a "logical process" in the evolution of socialist society, a "new trend in Eastern Europe bringing hope to the Western world." What we have here is absurd attempts by the imperialists and by renegades from the revolution to corrode socialist gains and pave the way for restoring capitalism in the socialist countries. We must heighten our vigilance toward the conspiracies of the imperialists, who are out to undermine the socialist countries from within.

To steer shy of principled class struggle, to ignore the class boundary between bourgeois and proletarian democracy and deny the class character of democracy, may under the circumstances result in a dampening of vigilance toward hostile elements, paralyze the leading role of the Party and the working class and increase the corroding influence of the bourgeoisie.

The socialist state must firmly press forward the ideological revolution, completely weed out the survivals of the ideology of the past lingering in the minds of the working people, and prevent the poison of bourgeois ideology from seeping in from without. It is above all in our conditions, in a split country in which we are confronted by U.S. imperialism, the leader of world reaction, that the fight against the enemy's subversion and sabotage and ideological infiltration is gaining in importance, and we must always pay special attention to this fight. As well as steadily enhancing the leading role of the working class, we should continue educating the working people in a communist spirit—to Party policy, revolutionary tradition and socialist patriotism, so as to revolutionize all of them.

We must continuously and rapidly develop industry, equip every branch of the national economy, including agriculture, with modern facilities, and in this way build a modern industry and a developed agriculture. We must educate everyone as an able and competent builder of communism.

By rapidly carrying forward industrial and agricultural production we must raise the living and cultural standards of all working men and women, at least to the level attained by the middle strata in the past, or higher still. In this way we should enable the whole people to become through experience all the more aware of the real superiority of the socialist system and to contribute to the consolidation and progress of the socialist system with firm faith in the complete triumph of socialism.

To bring about the final triumph of socialism, it is necessary to consolidate the class alliance of the socialist countries, promote the unity and cohesion of the socialist commonweatlh and make it an invincible power.

Some countries whose proletariat took power in the conditions of international capitalist encirclement will be threatened with imperialist aggression and capitalist restoration until communism becomes a worldwide reality. This is why, to achieve final victory for the revolution, the proletariat of each country where it has come to power should vigorously build up its own revolutionary strength and at the same time draw on active assistance and support from other contingents of the world socialist revolution and foster genuine internationalist solidarity with the working class of all countries and the oppressed peoples of the world.

The formation, extension and progress of the world socialist system are vastly important in this respect. The world socialist system is the impregnable revolutionary base on which the international working class can bring about the final triumph of socialism and communism. It is a dependable stronghold for the victory of the oppressed peoples and all the progressive peoples of the world, a mighty bulwark of world peace.

The socialist countries must jointly thwart aggression, subversion and sabotage by the combined forces of world imperialism and jointly defend the socialist community—tasks calling for solid unity. The socialist countries have identical systems, identical ideologies guiding them in revolution and construction, and identical objectives in struggle.

If all socialist countries abide by a class position and proceed from the fundamental interests of the revolution their unity and cohesion will steadily grow.

The differences between brother parties and brother countries do not reflect contradictions between different socio-political systems nor between the interests of antagonistic classes differing essentially from each other. This is why they should by all means be settled through ideological struggle, with a view to uniting class brothers. Division should be headed off and unity should be upheld and strengthened.

The autonomy we insist on in no way contradicts proletarian internationalism but is aimed at furthering it. To take the road of national selfishness on the pretext of maintaining one's autonomy while actually betraying Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a big mistake. In fact, it is anything but a Communist approach to repudiate the principles of class solidarity, to renounce unity of action and joint struggle by class brothers, under the guise of autonomy.

Bearing in mind the national and international tasks of our revo-

lution, we will go on doing our best to promote friendship and cohesion with socialist countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, complete equality and autonomy.

U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war and the most treacherous common enemy of mankind. It is Objective No. 1 in the struggle of the peoples of the world. One cannot maintain world peace, any more than win national liberation and independence or bring about the triumph of democracy and socialism, without fighting against imperialism, in particular U.S. imperialism.

In international relations, the policy of the Korean People's Democratic Republic has always been to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist commonwealth, foster relations of friendship and cooperation with the new independent states in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and render active assistance and support to the liberation struggle of the peoples of these regions and to the revolutionary movement of the peoples of all countries.

The government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Korean people regard the fight of the Vietnamese people as their own. They are ready—at any time when the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam asks for it—to fight shoulder to shoulder with the people of Vietnam. They resolutely support the heroic struggle of the fraternal Cuban people, who are defending their country and their revolutionary achievements as they successfully build socialism.

The occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists, and their policy of aggression are the source of all the hardships and suffering of our South Korean compatriots. It is only by fighting with might and main that the population of South Korea can remove the oppressors and win real liberation and freedom.

Ever since it was founded the KPDR has expressed the Korean people's unanimous will and aspiration by putting forward reasonable and specific proposals for the unification of the country, and has done all in its power to have them carried into practice. The fundamental course of unification consistently advocated by the government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, is designed to achieve the unification of the South and North after all foreign troops have been withdrawn from South Korea, without any outside interference, independently, by the Korean people themselves and on democratic lines.

In the twenty years of its existence the Korean People's Democratic Republic has convincingly proved its invincible vitality and strength. Our people owe all their victories and other achievements to the correct line and wise leadership of the Korean Party of Labor. Having firmly taken power into their hands and actively supported and assisted by the peoples of the world, the Korean

people, led by their tried and tested Marxist-Leninist Party, will successfully carry on their just revolutionary cause.

INTENSIFY THE CAMPAIGN OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE*

The National Council of the Communist Party of India adopted the following resolution at its session in New Delhi from August 1 to 8:

Every day brings news of fresh successes of the people of South Vietnam, united under the leadership of the National Liberation Front and the new Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces.

The last six months have seen the most resounding blows struck by the heroic Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors. Nowhere, not even in any of the major towns, including Saigon, nor indeed in the U.S. embassy itself, does the writ of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets run smoothly.

The isolation of the U.S. forces and of the regime propped up by them has grown rapidly. With the massive military and economic assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries at their disposal, the Vietnamese people march forward from victory to victory.

Forced by these defeats at the hands of the Vietnamese people, by the increasing demand for an end to the aggression by people all over the world, particularly inside the USA, by the financial crisis which has gripped the USA, the Johnson administration was compelled to stage a tactical diplomatic retreat and maneuver by agreeing to start talks in Paris with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

But the U.S. imperialists are deliberately creating a stalemate in the talks. They refuse to accept the simple and just demand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam that the first and only step which can lead to real negotiations for a settlement of the Vietnam problem must be the unconditional ending of the U.S. bombing and all other hostile acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists seek to confuse public opinion by demanding so-called "reciprocity" by the Vietnamese people as the price for ending the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This is in reality a demand that the people of South Vietnam give up their resistance to U.S. aggression allowing the U.S. armed

*New Age, August 11, 1968.

forces to remain "peacefully" on Vietnamese territory. The Vietnamese people have the full support of the peoples of the world in their firm rejection of the outrageous demand for "reciprocity."

The U.S. imperiailsts, behind the smokescreen of repeated "declarations" of their desire for peace, are actually escalating their aggression. New U.S. troops are being sent, extra financial allocations for the war have been made; every month sees an increase in the bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; the crimes committed by U.S. forces in South Vietnam grow ever more heinous and barbaric.

The peace forces of the world must act as never before in solidarity with the people of Vietnam. The people of the USA are striking hard for peace in Vietnam: they have succeeded in making this question of vital significance in the current presidential election campaign. The growth of the Vietnam solidarity movement all over the world will strengthen the anti-war forces in the United States, particularly at this time.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India calls on all parties, organizations and groups in this country who stand for peace and the independence of peoples, to intensify the campaign of solidarity with Vietnam in all possible ways.

At the center of the campaign today lies the immediate demand for the unconditional ending of the bombing and all other hostile acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The collection of signatures of organizations and representative individuals to the international appeal embodying this demand is an important and vital part of this campaign.

Together with this demand, it is necessary to publicize and win support for the four points of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Program of the National Liberation Front and the Program of Action of the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces of South Vietnam.

The National Council of the CPI calls upon all members and supporters of the Party to join hands actively with others in the collection of money, medicines and blood as a token of solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

The Communist Party reiterates its demand that the Government of India end its hesitant and vacillating policy in regard to Vietnam.

The Prime Minister and the government have stated in the past that the first essential step towards peace in Vietnam must be the unconditional ending of the U.S. bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Yet at this time, since the Paris talks began, when this demand is the key to advance towards peace, the Prime Minister and government are conspicuously silent.

When the question of Vietnam is mentioned in official statements, there is a woeful lack of emphasis on the fact that the

ending of the bombing must take place first and unconditionally before any other steps can be envisaged.

The National Council of the CPI demands that the Government of India come out in a clear and unequivocal manner in support of the just Vietnamese position that no progress towards peace is possible unless there is first an unconditional end to the U.S. bombing and other hostile acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Government of India should take the initiative to bring together non-aligned and peace-loving governments to put all pressure on the U.S. imperialists to stop the bombing without further procrastination.

The Communist Party reiterates its demand that the government of India stops forthwith the sending of materials of any sort from this country to South Vietnam, where they are bound to be used directly or indirectly by the U.S. aggressors for their dirty war. The Communist Party demands that all trade with the puppet regime of South Vietnam be ended. Its continuance, however small its size, is a blot on the name of our country.

At the same time, the Communist Party demands that the Government of India rescind forthwith the outrageous ban placed by it, under pressure from the U.S. imperialists, on trade with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Government of India must, on the contrary, send the maximum amount of aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, for the victims of U.S. aggression.

The Communist Party also demands that full facilities be given by the Government of India to the National Liberation Front to open an office in India, in the same way as such permission has been given by several non-aligned and neutral countries in Asia, Africa and Europe.

The intensification of the campaign of solidarity with the Vietnamese people is the duty of every Indian who cherishes the independence of his own country. The Vietnamese people, by resisting the U.S. imperialist aggressors, are waging the battle of all peoples against imperialism and aggression.

STATEMENT OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

The CC of the Iraqi Communist Party made the following statement in connection with the situation following the July 17 coup:

The Aref-Yahya dictatorial clique has been overthrown. Not a single voice has been raised in its defense. Such is the inevitable fate of all tyrants and reactionary rulers hostile to the people.

The July 17 coup took place in conditions of the growing discontent of the people and the mounting struggle of the masses and patriotic forces against the dictatorial regime and for the formation of a democratic coalition government which would solve the burning problems of the country and satisfy the demands of the people. On the other hand, it took place in conditions of intensified imperialist, reactionary and Zionist activity and pressure, in which the reactionary forces strive to prevent the crisis from being resolved in the interests of the masses and to aid imperialism and its oil extracting and processing monopolies.

By removing the Aref-Yaha clique but preserving the reactionary essence of the regime, its reactionary institutions, and pursuing the old policy, it is impossible to find a cardinal solution of the crisis, to say nothing of a solution in the interests of the people.

In the new situation that has shaped up after the coup the masses, the patriotic forces, are fighting for the implementation of urgent tasks.

The aims and demands which have crystallized in the hard struggle of the people and with which all patriotic and revolutionary forces agree, should be implemented without hesitation and deceit.

Democracy and democratic government in Iraq are the chief goals that have to be attained.

The people, having waged a hard struggle against a hated regime, are pining for change. They are demanding an immediate and final release of all prisoners, the reinstatement of all dismissed civilians and servicemen, and respect for the freedom of opinion and conviction. They are demanding an end to the lawlessness perpetrated by the terroristic punitive apparatus, to tortures, disfranchisement, dismissals and arrests. It is necessary to call off the state of emergency and abolish the state security laws and courts and other such laws and reactionary measures which restrict the freedom of the people. The oppression and lawlessness of the Aref-Yahya clique can be done away with only through the estab-

lishment of democratic freedoms: the freedom of political activity of parties and patriotic groups, the freedom of trade union and public activity of mass organizations, the freedom of the press, convictions and manifestations, which conforms to the strivings of the people and their political forces.

The setting up of the Revolutionary Leadership Council and the "enlarged national council" made up of ministers and servicemen, the concentration of power in their hands can only sow doubts regarding the policy which the new rulers intend to pursue, doubts as to their attitude towards the demand of the people to put an end to the epoch of despotism and to establish democratic constitutional institutions.

The people and all their patriotic forces are demanding democratic freedoms and practical measures to ensure constitutional democratic development through the provision of conditions for full freedom guaranteeing the election of a Constituent Assembly which will repeal the provisional constitution, work out a democratic constitution and thus guarantee the legislative power of a popularly-elected parliament.

The masses, all the Arabs and Kurds who have been victims of chauvinism and aggression, want a democratic solution of the Kurdish problem and the granting of autonomy to the people of Kurdistan.

The people, who are suffering from great privations and misery, are demanding and fighting for drastic measures to improve their lot.

The peasants are fighting against the reactionary amendments to the agrarian reform law, for the abolition of feudal land ownership, for a limit on feudal holdings, to give land to all peasants. They are demanding credits, machines, the building of irrigation installations, land improvement, the setting up of democratic producer and consumer cooperatives, cultural and scientific advance in the countryside.

The working class, the vanguard of the people, must be given the right to organize politically and professionally. It is necessary to call a halt to dismissals, to wipe out unemployment and provide jobs to all working people. The people are demanding the immediate abolition of the unjust taxes on the non-propertied classes and persons with limited incomes, and urgent measures aimed at raising the subsistence level, reducing recent, ensuring the supply of foodstuffs at reasonable prices, and eliminating plunder and venality.

It is necessary to normalize the economic and financial situation in accordance with a scientific plan providing for the development and consolidation of the state sector, encouragement of private investment and trade, and allocations for the development of the

public health system and culture. It is also necessary to prohibit the utilization of national resources for purposes of aggression, to broaden trade with the Arab countries and the socialist world, and promote coordination of actions and economic mutual assistance among the Arab countries.

The attitude towards the oil monopolies should be determined by the national interests of Iraq. The former rulers attempted in 1965 to conclude treasonous deals with the oil monopolies. But they were compelled to retreat under the pressure of the people and their patriotic forces, which came out for the establishment of a national oil company. The Iraqi rulers did not abandon their plans and behind the backs of the people and in violation of the laws of the country, grant oil concessions to French monopolies.

They staffed the national oil company with shady careerist elements and deprived it of the necessary means, thus blocking its activity. They planned in secret to grant American and Italian companies concessions north of Al Rumeila and waited for an opportunity to permit American monopolies to exploit the rich sulphur deposit.

The people, their parties and all patriotic forces are demanding respect for the laws, the provision of the necessary means to the national oil company, utilization of the experience of the friendly socialist countries in working oil deposits, establishment of a petrochemical industry, withdrawal of the concessions granted to French capital, the mining of the sulphur deposits by a national company, and a ban on the issue of concessions to any foreign company.

The situation resulting from the Zionist occupation of Arab territory, imperialist threats and the intrigues of Israel and imperialist countries against the Arab national-liberation movement confronts Iraq with an important patriotic and national task: to make a serious contribution to the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression, to combat imperialist and Zionist conspiracies against the Arab nations. The main thing that has to be done in this respect is to strengthen the defense capacity of the army, reinstate the dismissed officers, grant the popular demand for weapons, strengthen in every way the Palestine resistance movement, and cement the bonds of combat solidarity and joint struggle of the Arab peoples. Particularly important in this connection is solidarity, cooperation and coordination of military and political actions with the newly-free Arab countries, especially with fraternal Egypt and Syria. A hostile attitude towards the progressive Syrian and Egyptian regimes can only harm the cause of the struggle for eliminating the aftermath of the Israeli aggression, the struggle against imperialism and its intrigues.

The machinery of state, which is still to be purged, is infested

with elements opposed to freedom, democracy and the rights of the people. One can also find there bureaucratic, suspicious characters who hold posts which they do not deserve and which they occupy owing to patronage, by virtue of tribal and local interests. The people disagree with this approach to the selection of public servants. They have fought and will continue to fight for purging the machinery of state at all levels from suspicious, corrupt elements.

The masses of our people and our nation, which are waging a strenuous struggle against imperialism and Zionism, realize that cooperation, solidarity and all-round development of friendly contacts with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are the main guarantee that our political and economic independence will be preserved and the aggression and machinations of imperialism and Israel repelled, the guarantee of the victory and progress of the Arab national-liberation movement.

The people are demanding a foreign policy directed against imperialism, specifically against U.S. imperialism, Israel, Zionism and other reactionary forces and regimes. The people stand for firm combat solidarity of the newly-free Arab countries and peoples, for close cooperation with the socialist countries, for participation in the front of the peoples fighting for freedom, democracy, progress and peace.

Such are the topical tasks of the struggle of the masses and all patriotic, progressive national forces.

It is a patriotic duty of the truly revolutionary forces, the popular masses—workers, peasants, intellectuals, progressive-minded servicemen, Arabs and Kurds, national minorities—to rally round the program of the Iraqi Communist Party, which calls for national and social struggle, for the establishment of a people's front, a front of progressive forces.

Our people are deeply convinced that superficial changes in the ruling organs and in some methods of government, without cardinally altering its character, will not lead to the solution of the basic problems of Iraq. The only way ensuring this solution, the ending of the critical state of affairs, and stabilization, is resolute struggle of the progressive patriotic forces for the establishment of a progressive democratic coalition regime.

The people, who have fought courageously against tyrants and the numerous evils caused by them, and achieved considerable successes in weakening and isolating the dictatorial regime, will continue the struggle for their immediate and long-term tasks, for stronger national independence, for progress and democracy, for victory over the forces of imperialism, reaction and Zionism.

Central Committee,
Iraqi Communist Party

July, 1968

ON ENHANCING THE ROLE OF DISTRICT NEWSPAPERS IN THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC CPSU

The Central Committee of the CPSU examined the question of enhancing the role of district newspapers in the communist education of the working people. It is noted in the resolution that in recent years the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, the Party committees of the territories, regions, districts and cities have effected a number of measures to develop and consolidate the district press and raise its role in the economic and political life of the districts, in mobilizing the working people to fulfil the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress and of the plenary meetings of the CC CPSU.

The local press convincingly demonstrates the tremendous social and cultural changes that have taken place in the Soviet years in the countryside, goes into economic problems related to improving farming practices and raising livestock productivity, actively popularizes progressive experience, supports the patriotic initiatives of farmers aimed at completing the five-year plan ahead of schedule.

Many district newspapers, however, have not lived up to the new demands yet. They do not take due account of the varied interests of the readers, inadequately cover the life of their districts, do not maintain close links with the worker and peasant correspondents, rarely raise questions of profound concern to the working people, do not print systematically letters from workers and collective farmers, devote excessive space to voluminous articles and reprints. Information in district and town newspapers is particularly unsatisfactory.

District newspapers do not properly analyze the forms and methods of work of primary Party organizations. They rarely print articles about raising the activity of Communists and educating them in the spirit of strict observance of the Party Rules and exemplary behavior at their places of work and in everyday life. Insufficient attention is paid to the work of local Soviets, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations, to their role in promoting the economy of collective and state farms and improving cultural and other services to the population. Newspapers

*Pravda, September 15, 1968.

write drily and inexpressively about people of the Soviet village, about the importance of agricultural professions, and do not lay due emphasis on questions of strengthening state and production discipline, public order and communist morality, combating plunderers of socialist property, violators of collective farm democracy and persons guilty of anti-social behavior.

Some city and district Party committees do not provide everyday guidance in their press organs, do not concern themselves with raising the effectiveness of materials printed in them. Many newspapers are not properly staffed with qualified editors and lack a modern printing base, while their personnel is not provided with adequate working and living conditions.

The CC CPSU instructed the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics and the territorial, regional, city and district committees to improve guidance of the district newspapers, to raise their ideological level and enhance their organizational role in the effort to carry out the decisions of the Party and government, in the communist education of the working people, in mobilizing them to fulfil the five-year plan ahead of schedule and mark in due manner the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin.

The city and district Party committees should exercise systematic control over the political line of their newspapers, analyze their content, aid their staffs in ensuring the effectiveness of their publications, and pass principled judgment on instances of incorrect attitudes toward the critical remarks, signals and proposals of the working people printed in the newspapers. The Party committees should regularly examine the plans of the editorial boards, hear reports by editors-in-chiefs, inform newspaper editors about the decision of Party and government organs, and provide advice and recommendations regarding the main directions of newspaper work, avoiding petty tutelage.

The city and district committees should constantly concern themselves with strengthening newspaper staffs with politically mature, competent journalists and pay more attention to their ideological education and professional growth.

The district newspapers are called upon:

—To explain with concrete examples and facts the internal and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet government, the genuinely democratic foundations of the socialist system, propagandize the unbreakable friendship and fraternity of the peoples of our country. Special attention should be paid to the strengthening of the Communist world outlook, the education of every Soviet citizen in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, to the fostering of ideological firmness and the ability to resist all forms of bourgeois influence. Newspapers should more

often print articles about the life of Party organizations, the experience of their organizational and political work among the masses, about strict observance of the Party Rules, about the vanguard role of Communists in production and in public life.

—To cover more broadly the economic and cultural life of the districts, to encourage the production and political activity of the working people, to popularize forms and methods of their participation in economic development, in the introduction of the scientific organization of labor, in strengthening discipline and ensuring a thrifty attitude toward socialist property. To publish regularly materials about the efforts of workers in agriculture to fulfil plans and carry out their pledges, about the progress of the emulation of collective and state farms in raising crop yields and livestock productivity. It is necessary to show more vividly the man of labor, to popularize examples of mutual assistance, collectivism and other manifestations of the Soviet way of life, to cultivate intolerance toward violators of public order and communist morality, to wage an irreconcilable struggle against mismanagement and lack of organization, dishonesty and unprincipledness, bureaucratism and indifference.

—To reveal more deeply the activities of local government bodies and trade union organizations, their role in economic and cultural progress, in raising the standard of living of the population and in meeting their requirements. Systematically inform the reader on contacts between deputies and population, the execution of electoral mandates and deputies' reports to the electorate. To carry more information on the Party's actual guidance of the Komsomol, on educating the youth in the traditions of the Party and the people in revolution, struggle and labor, on the continuity of the generations, the importance of respect for one's elders, and readiness unstintingly to serve the socialist country.

The editorial boards of district newspapers should concern themselves more than ever with the literary standard of their publications and their variety in terms of theme and genre and take into account the rural reader's increasing general knowledge and culture and their vocational, spiritual, age and other interests. The information they publish should be addressed directly to the rank and file; it should be businesslike, specific and easy to grasp and should use lively and interesting forms of presentation. Newspapers should carry diversified information on the daily effort of districts or towns, on the activities of district organizations and of educational and cultural institutions, on the people's participation in public life, sports, artistic endeavor and technical pursuit.

It is the duty of the Party committees and editorial boards of district and amalgamated newspapers to improve their work among the more active contributors, establish closer links with

workers' and rural correspondents, ensure their active participation in mass check-ups, public reviews, and mutual check-ups of work by collective and state farms. Editorial boards should resort more frequently to such forms of extra-editorial work as presenting reports to meetings of factory and office workers and collective farmers, holding meetings with efficient workers in the production sphere, economic experts and members of the rural intelligentsia, short meetings on the spot to discuss past issues of the newspaper, readers' meetings, etc.

Every staff member of a newspaper should be infused with deep respect for letters to the editor and should regard them as an important link with the population. These letters should be systematically published in the press, and an effort should be made to ensure that the measures they call for are taken.

TASS, the Novesti Press Agency and the press office of *Pravda* have been called on to readjust the nature and amount of the information they supply to district newspapers, as well as the rates of payment for its use.

The State Planning Committee of the USSR, the councils of ministers of the Union republics and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education have been instructed to provide, in planning the training of specialists at university level in 1969/70 and later years, for admitting greater numbers of applicants to the faculties of journalism in Moscow, Leningrad and other universities according to demand.

The central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, the territorial and regional Party committees and the Journalists' Union of the USSR have been instructed to hold regular seminars of staff members of district newspapers to discuss theoretical and practical problems of the Soviet press and the experience of the more efficient editorial boards. Scientists, industrial and agricultural experts, Party functionaries, government executives and prominent journalists writing for the central or local press will be asked to take part in the seminars. The editorial boards of republican, territorial and regional newspapers should organize the training of journalists writing for district and amalgamated papers.

The editorial boards of central, republican, territorial and regional newspapers and of the journals *Partiinaya Zhizn*, *Agitator*, *Zhurnalist* and *Raboche-Krestyansky Korrespondent* must devote greater attention to the functioning of the district press, systematically carry articles on the character of district papers, the forms and methods of their contact with their more active contributors, the extension of the range of themes, the use of diverse genres, and penmanship, publish periodical reviews of district and amalgamated

newspapers and the latest mail, and reprint the more interesting, socially important materials appearing in these papers.

With a view to providing district newspapers with greater material and technical facilities and to helping them in practical matters, the central committees of the Communist parties, the councils of ministers of the Union republics, the territorial, regional, city and district Party committees, the councils of ministers of the autonomous republics, the territorial and regional executive committees of the Soviets of working people's deputies, the State Planning Committee of the USSR and the Press Committee under the Council of Ministers of the USSR have been instructed to plan and implement from 1969 to 1975 measures for moving to new premises built according to standard designs the editorial staffs and printing plants of those district newspapers which at present occupy unsuitable premises, for providing district and amalgamated newspapers with GAZ 69 trucks between 1969 and 1971, for allocating extraordinary funds for district, city, amalgamated and interdistrict newspapers for the purchase of dictaphones, typewriters and other appliances, for setting up new schools to train linotype operators, printers, night editors, photographers and other specialists for the editorial boards and printing plants of district papers. It is planned to raise, as from January 1, 1969, the pay of the staffs of district, amalgamated, interdistrict and town newspapers half the size of *Pravda*.

Newspaper editors have been granted the right to approve the composition of their staffs within the limits of the established monthly wage fund, provided the pay rates are maintained.

With a view to reducing government subsidies to district newspapers, the subscription price will be, as from January 1, 1969, two kopecks per copy, according to the existing nominal price. It has been recommended to the newspaper editors to carry more paid advertisements by public bodies and private individuals. The press committees under the councils of ministers of the Union republics have been instructed to work out and fix advertising rates for the local press.

The Higher Party School under the CC CPSU and the Journalists' Union of the USSR have been instructed to prepare literature to aid the staffs of district newspapers and to publish it between 1968 and 1970.

THE BRITISH ECONOMY AFTER DEVALUATION

(REPORT* OF THE ECONOMIC SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY)

The devaluation of the pound opened a new stage of crisis in the British capitalist economy, and has simultaneously given a serious jolt to the international capitalist economy.

Taking trade and other current transactions together with the movement of long-term capital, the UK's balance of payments deficit narrowed considerably in 1965 and 1966 as compared with the huge figure of £776 million recorded in 1964, but in 1967 it shot up again to £540 million. This failure to bring the situation back into balance caused repeated waves of speculation against the pound sterling, which the government tried to beat off by throwing in large sums of money borrowed from the International Monetary Fund and from the central banks of the other main capitalist countries. A point was reached, however, at which it was judged impossible to continue in this way, and the pound was devalued.

The immediate effect of the devaluation has been to worsen the balance between imports and exports. A given physical volume of imports now costs more, and it is only over a certain period that this can be expected to be offset to a greater or lesser extent, by a rise in the local value of exports.

Even if, in the longer run, the total value of exports were to rise in relation to the total value of imports, the country would still be worse off as a result of devaluation, in the basic sense that it would have to provide a larger physical volume of exports to pay for a given physical volume of imports.

From the point of view of big business interests, the devaluation dealt a very sharp blow to the position and pretensions of the City of London as an international center.

On the basis of present policies, the pound may not necessarily be easier to protect at the new exchange rate than it was at the old. Fresh International Monetary Crises are developing in the world economy.

The ruling-class policy of tying Britain to the United States inevitably enmeshed the pound with the dollar. It was American government policy to avert a devaluation of the pound because in effect, as the weaker reserve currency, the pound was shielding

*Comment, August 24 and 31, 1968.

the dollar from some of the strains arising from the American balance of payments deficit.

As expected, the devaluation of the pound at once turned the attention of speculation to the dollar, and the rush began to sell dollars and buy gold. This in itself created new difficulties for the pound since, for technical reasons, it paid to sell pounds to buy dollars and then sell the dollars for gold.

At the technical level the gold speculation has forced the United States, with the agreement of the other capitalist countries (excluding France), to declare that private buyers can pay any price they like for gold. If the market price now moves up, however, the official American price, and with it the gold value of the dollar, will become less and less convincing, and little newly-mined gold will move into official reserves. The official line, therefore, is now to say that, at least over some period ahead, gold will begin to be eased out of its position as official international money, and its place taken by the proposed International Monetary Fund Special Drawing Rights scheme.

Space forbids any detailed analysis of the SDR here. In the long run, however, the question is how far the capitalist states are able to master their basic clashes of interest and their animosities sufficiently to agree on the working of a system which involves political decisions for the countries in a strong balance of payments position to assist those in a weak position.

In the short run, the SDR will not alter the existing gold and currency reserve system. This means that further international monetary crises may arise. It means also that, while the Common Market countries other than France are going along with the SDR proposals, they are at the same time insisting that the United States should take serious and effective steps to cut back its balance of payments deficit. If it fails, fresh and more destructive monetary crises may occur.

The prospects for avoiding the build-up of a more serious crisis in the international capitalist economy thus depend now first and foremost on the success of the struggle to force the United States to put an end to its war in Vietnam.

From a strictly economic viewpoint, under pressure from the Common Market countries, the American government will clearly find it very difficult to avoid taking further measures, one way or another, to reduce its payments deficit. If this is not achieved by a cut-back in expenditure in relation to the Vietnam war, then the alternative is to seek to force up exports and secure larger receipts from abroad in other forms, while holding back imports and other American expenditures abroad. This could be damaging to the further development of world trade.

Even without such additional measures from the American gov-

ernment, the basic trade and payments position in the international capitalist economy presents serious threats. The growth of world trade may, according to some indications, now be slowing down. Within this, however, the United States and Great Britain are seeking to push up their sales of goods, etc., to other countries, while holding back their purchases. To accommodate the large adjustments which the USA and the UK are seeking in their balances of trade and on other items, the Common Market countries and other capitalist states would have to accept a reverse process, by which their exports would grow less and their imports more, and their overall balance of payments position weaken. If an important number of these countries react to this by measures aimed at protecting their balance of payments position by holding down the rate of growth of their own economies, then the threat of *general* economic stagnation and recession in the international capitalist economy will become very real indeed.

Such a development may now be on its way.

This threat is the more serious because the capitalist states at this moment have become less and not more concerned with the problems of the "developing" countries, which account for much more than half the population of the world outside the socialist sector. This is clear from the very small positive achievements of the recent UNCTAD conference in India. The capitalist states showed themselves deaf to the plea of the developing countries that they should be allowed to expand their exports, which would in fact provide the basis of their contributing to an increase in the volume of international production and trade.

Devaluation has underlined once again the bankruptcy of the whole line of policy adopted by British governments since 1945 in face of the critical weakness of the balance of payments. This policy has always looked first and foremost to the restoration and maintenance of the "traditional" positions of British imperialism. To this end an impossibly large burden of military expenditures has been assumed, including in particular, vast military expenditures abroad. Priority has also been given to the export of private long-term capital, and to the maintenance of the pound sterling as an international currency, not so much for its own "prestige" sake, but as a means of furthering the City of London's international financial business.

It has been assumed that, somehow or other, exports could be pushed up to secure a satisfactory balance in the total international payments account between Britain and the other countries of the world.

Time and again this policy has plunged the British economy back into crisis. Theoretically it is possible to calculate the target rate of increase in exports which would "square the circle," and

this has been done at frequent intervals. But from a practical point of view, such calculations ignore two crucial factors.

The first is that the basic policy itself has led from one balance of payments crisis to another, and in turn, therefore, to repeated doses of "Stop" economic policy. The growth of the economy has thus been held back, only relatively slow progress has been made in beginning to overcome the weaknesses of the home production economy arising from the imperialist basis, and therefore in turn the export-import position has failed to show the improvement theoretically required.

Closely linked with this first factor has been a second, namely, a very considerable development of the manufacturing capacity and export capacity of a series of rival capitalist powers, including Japan, West Germany and Italy.

The combination of these two factors has pretty evidently led, in the most recent years, to an underlying deterioration in the UK export-import position. This is seen in the increased ability of the other capitalist countries to sell more manufactured goods in the British home market, while British exports of manufactured goods rise over a period only at a slower rate.

This development is not accidental, but the direct outcome of the basic orientation of official economic policy. *What it means, in fact, is that this policy has been taking the economy further away from the supposed aims of stabilizing the balance of payments.*

In brief, the position may be stated in these terms. In the heyday of British imperialism, the UK provided sufficient commercial services (shipping, insurance, banking, etc.) to the rest of the world, and received sufficient profits from overseas investments, both to cover the usual excess of imports over exports, and to cover continued export of capital abroad. In turn, therefore, the City of London had a firm basis and a strong currency on which to conduct its international financial business.

With the granting of independence to the colonies after the war a vast increase occurred in Britain's overseas military expenditure. Before 1945 the colonies were compelled to pay for their own occupation but subsequent to them achieving independence the expenses of British troops in the ex-colonial areas is now an obligation on the British Government which in turn it places on the backs of the British taxpayers. So since 1945, a vast *new* burden of overseas military expenditures has been laid on the balance of payments, and this has been one of the major factors bringing on repeated payments' crises. Exports of capital have been on a huge scale, but have not been covered by surplus income available from the rest of the balance of payments. Resting therefore on an underlying balance of payments deficit, the pound sterling has been the object of frequent bouts of speculation.

Since 1964 the Labor government has departed from the old orientation of policy only in detail, not in essence. Even at this late hour serious cut-backs in military expenditures at home and abroad are promises for the future rather than effective action here and now. Restrictions have been placed on the export of capital, but the fact is that the official statistics show exports of private long-term capital from the UK as £363 million in 1967, against a peak of £406 million reached in 1964.

Further, the "Stop" economic policies pursued by the Labor government with increasing severity since 1964 have failed to provide even a temporary solution to the balance of payments problem. Indeed the point is inescapable, that the payments' account has remained monotonously in deficit from 1964 through to 1967, contrary to previous experience when each year of particularly heavy deficit has been followed by some sort of a surplus in the next year or so. It is agreed that it will be some years before devaluation changes this trend.

Two attempts have now been made, within the framework of the existing basic line of policy, to put the British economy on a path of faster and more regular growth in production, in the belief that faster growth would provide the necessary conditions for the "modernization" of the economy, and a consequent improvement in the capacity of British capitalists to sell manufactured goods abroad. Both of these, the "Neddy" four per cent growth target under the Tories and the Labor government's "National Plan," have come to nothing.

They have come to nothing not because it is inherently impossible to secure faster economic growth in Britain, but because such growth cannot be reconciled with the balance of payments situation which results from the basic policy orientation described above.

There has been for the British ruling class only one real "way out" from the crisis of the system, and that has been to try to solve the problem on the backs of the working people. Success in this direction would require that labor productivity be raised sufficiently, and living standards compressed sufficiently, to get a lower proportion of our national production consumed by the people. The balance of payments might then be stabilized, exports going up and/or imports coming down, to a point at which overseas military expenditures and the export of capital would be covered by a surplus on the rest of the payments' account.

The working people, however, have never been prepared to accept this solution, and have fought back with a degree of success to maintain and if possible improve their living standards.

This fundamental class confrontation, however, now breaks out in a far more acute form as a result of the attempt by the govern-

ment and ruling class to turn the devaluation to their own purposes.

Despite all the wailing and gnashing of teeth over the devaluation, it is a fact that no new measures will be taken to restrict the export of private capital. Rather, the government has agreed to one relaxation, minor it is true, but quite clearly intended to show that the restrictions will be lifted as soon as the state of the balance of payments can be read as allowing it. It is again a fact, as noted, that the curtailment of military expenditure will take place only very gradually—which of course leaves open the option of reverting at a later stage to the policy of a mapor international British imperial military stance.

It is a fact, further, that the government has refused to secure some control over the level of imports of manufactured goods through quota controls—a perfectly legitimate device to ease the position, at least for the period immediately ahead.

Further still, the country has accumulated huge short-term debts to the IMF and foreign central bankers, and the only gold and currency left in the official reserve is what has been borrowed. But on the one hand the government refuses to protect the national interest by taking over privately-owned capital investments abroad, while on the other it has borrowed a total of £139 million in 1966 and 1967 from the official American Export-Import Bank to finance purchases of American military equipment. In connection with the devaluation, the Government has arranged still more facilities for borrowing abroad—an apparently endless process of tying Britain to American chariot wheels and to dictation from the IMF and foreign central bankers.

The Budget, added to measures previously taken by the Government, is aimed principally, according to the Government's figures, at holding down the growth of production in Britain and thus maintaining a pool of unemployed, while simultaneouly forcing down the consumption of the mass of the people and forcing up exports.

From July-December 1967 to July-December 1968 Mr. Jenkins has aimed to cut the people's real consumption of food, clothing and all other goods and services by two per cent while the physical volume of exports goes up by 13 per cent, as against a rise of only one-half per cent in imports. Exports are achieving the target, but consumption remains somewhat higher than expected. Despite certain improvements in production and in the balance of trade, unemployment is growing and is expected to reach 720,000 by the beginning of 1969.

The role assigned to Prices Policy by the government is not to prevent price increases, since the Budget is designed specifically to raise prices. Nor is it to prevent price increases due to devaluation,

i.e., a cut in the consumption of imported products via higher prices for these products.

The real purpose is, firstly, pure demagogy, to make wage freezing look fairer by *talking about* price control. Secondly, the government would like to be able to "police" price changes so as to reenforce the effects of devaluation. This is complicated in practice, but the aim centers on ensuring that the incentive of enhanced profits works effectively to direct effort into exporting.

The *class* character of devaluation in a monopoly capitalist economy must be clearly seen. The cut in living standards falls on the mass of the people, but all exporting is automatically rendered more profitable. If the British exporting concern maintains its prices as expressed in foreign currency, and simply sells the same volume of goods as before, its profits in sterling rise because it now has a larger profit margin per unit. This may persuade it to put more effort into exporting, and so increase the volume of its sales. Alternately, if the exporter judges it useful to make some reduction in his foreign currency price, his aim is to secure the advantage of larger profits through enhanced sales at more competitive prices.

From this angle the Confederation of British Industry has been adamant that the government must step in to assist in holding down wages, since otherwise the exporters can see their higher profits being eaten into by having to concede pay increases.

The present merger and takeover movement is on an exceptionally large scale measured in terms of the total number of capitalist concerns involved, the very wide range of industries and trades covered, and the huge size of some of the combines being created.

A tremendous stimulus has been given here by the government, through the operations of the Industrial Reorganization Commission and along other channels. This is not simply a matter of giving general encouragement and bringing interested parties together. Where necessary heavy pressure is exerted, as in the General Electrical Company—Associated Electrical Industries case, or attractive bait is dangled in the form of loans of public money on easy terms, as with British Motor Holdings—Leyland.

The reason given by the government for its weighty intervention is that the extreme sharpening of international competition now calls for the reorganization of the British capitalist economy into a smaller number of much larger concerns. Otherwise, it is argued, British capitalism will not be able to hold its own in the struggle against the giant American corporations and other large foreign concerns.

It is clear enough that the British economy is in many cases ill-organized to produce the goods required for home use and export.

Linked with this, although it is a separate question, is the fact that there is for many products and services a minimum scale of operation below which it is not possible to reap the benefit of existing economies of large-scale production.

The Communist Party has never set itself against the organization of industry on the scale that modern technology requires. Its fundamental position has always been that in order to reap, for the working people, the full benefits of the advance of science and technology, it is necessary that large-scale enterprises should be created, but equally that they should be brought into public ownership. Until this is done, there is no guarantee that the potential benefits will actually flow to the mass of the people. Until this is done, it is equally the fact that society as a whole is subject to an ever-increasing domination by an oligarchy of super-powerful big businessmen.

At the same time it is necessary to see clearly that the present merger movement and "re-structuring" of the economy is not taking place in accordance with some overall economic plan based on the real possibilities of modern science and technology, and on the real needs of the people. The mergers that take place are decided by the profit interests of big capital. The active intervention of the Government does not change this, but comes in rather to back up the drive of big capital for an ever-larger domination of the economy as a whole.

In terms of the profit and loss account of big business, every merger promises an increased degree of monopoly control, and does not necessarily need to justify itself in terms of the economies of scale, of increased efficiency or productivity, and certainly not of lower prices.

The crux of the matter for the working people is to strive to bring the reorganization of the economy under increasing democratic influence and control. This is the only way in which this reorganization can be carried out on lines that correspond with what the national interest requires.

The immediate impact of the merger movement is being felt in massive redundancies. These confront the working people with an extremely serious position at the present time, because government policy is now deliberately set so as to maintain a higher average level of unemployment than before. The shutting down of factories and other places of work thus faces workers with much greater difficulty in finding other work, with the threat of having to move a considerable distance to find new work, with the threat of having to accept much worse jobs in terms of pay and skill, and with the threat of prolonged periods of unemployment.

This is not a separate issue, unconnected with devaluation and the attempt by the ruling class to solve its problems on the backs

of the working people. Under the impact of the balance of payments crisis of 1964, and its increased economic difficulties since that time, big business has made a major shift in tactics.

In the "Neddy" report, and later in the Labor government's "National Plan," the emphasis was placed on profits and modernization in the context of an economy growing and developing at a faster pace, implying a full use of available economic resources, including particularly labor. The present strategy now however, is quite different. Unemployment is deliberately created in order to weaken the pressure for higher wages, weaken the power of the trade unions, and make it easier to raise the rate of exploitation and the productivity of those actually at work. An expanding home market will no longer be available as a means of pushing up profits. This in itself is an incentive to capital to retrench and to "rationalize," and equally for the big concerns to safeguard their positions by securing a tighter grip on the market and a greater degree of monopoly control. At the same time the emphasis has been shifted to an all-out fight for markets on a world scale, with British capital seeking to improve its position through devaluation, through the formation of larger and more powerful monopoly combines, through a faster rise in labor productivity, and through a downward pressure on wages.

In the new context of deliberately slower economic growth and higher unemployment, the Government's regional policy has begun to present a new face.

If the national average level of unemployment is at a low figure, the working people as a whole clearly gain by measures which assist, even inadequately, to create more jobs in the areas where unemployment still remains high. But the situation becomes different if the average national level of unemployment is raised, and unemployment is now deliberately created in areas which had previously suffered no problem in this respect. If, and we repeat, if, the high unemployment areas continue to gain some jobs, in itself this is an advantage to them. But the working people as a whole, including those in high unemployment areas, gain nothing from the creation of unemployment in the areas previously not afflicted. In sum, a policy of spreading a *larger total number* of unemployed more evenly over the country as a whole must finish by weakening the position and the struggles of the working people and labor movement as a whole. Regional policy only makes sense within the context of seeking to maintain full employment over the economy as a whole. In order to make regional policy, as originally conceived, work in the interest of all the people the movement must force the Government to give up its present policy of restricting the home market and trying to

maintain a higher level of unemployment throughout the economy as a whole.

What needs to be opposed in particular is action by firms to use the situation to raise the rates of exploitation and cut their wage bills simply by closing down a works in one area and leaving the workers unemployed, and forthwith opening up a works to do the same job in another area.

The first task of the movement is to resist by all possible means the attack on living standards. The Prices and Incomes Act should be repealed and the Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Organizations, which aims to reinforce the prices and incomes policy, should be abandoned. The policy of equal pay for equal work must be fought for and won. The threatened increase in unemployment can and must be fought, on the basis of expanding the home market, by increased wages and improved pensions and children's allowances.

Every possible initiative should also be taken to develop the fight against particular price increases, including notably rent increases.

Parallel with this, the battle should be engaged to shift more of the burden of taxation on to the shoulders of the rich and off the shoulders of the poor. The demand should be made for a permanent annual tax on wealth.

Specific campaigns need to be undertaken to restore the cuts made in education, and in the social services.

The battle for the immediate defense of the living standards of the people is not simply a necessary short-term measure. It also places the accent on economics where it needs to be, if the future of the country is to be assured. There is no way out of Britain's economic difficulties except on the basis of a much faster growth of the economy.

This is even more true than it was in the past. It would be disastrous in the present international economic situation to accept the argument that the threats of economic disruption and slow-down in the international economy mean that Britain should compete by lowering its living standards. The only effective counter to international slow-down is for the workers in all capitalist countries to insist on social advance here and now.

In demanding faster economic growth we are demanding not "growth for its own sake," but a growth in the production of goods and services to meet the real needs of working people: more houses, more schools and teachers, more hospitals and doctors and nurses, more and better food, clothing, entertainment, cultural activities, all the things that people want and are prepared to work in order to provide.

A fundamental, complete and lasting solution to Britain's overall economic problems, including the balance of payments problem, will

require thorough-going social reorganization. This requires that political power shall be in the hands of a government pledged to this task, and that this government should take over ownership and control of the dominating concerns in industry, trade and finance.

Towards this solution, a series of measures should be taken which would at least greatly alleviate the present acute difficulties.

Firstly, economic resources should be liberated and put to good use (exports, import-saving, etc.) by an immediate cut of 50 per cent (roughly £1,000 million) in military expenditure.

In particular real and immediate cuts should be made, and not just promises for future cuts, in overseas military expenditures, with a view to eliminating these entirely within not less than two years.

Secondly, far more rigid controls should be placed on the export of private capital, still running at the rate of £350 million a year. Linked with this, we oppose the continued inflow of American private capital into Britain, and the consequent loss of economic independence.

Thirdly, the new international debts to the International Monetary Fund and foreign central bankers should be paid off, and a decent-sized official gold reserve be constituted, by taking over British privately owned investments abroad and selling them off as necessary.

Fourthly, the whole system of exchange controls should be tightened so that, so far as possible, sterling is used only for normal international settlement of trade and other similar transcations. Sterling funds held in London by overseas countries should be subject to this control, as well as sterling belonging to British residents. The attempt to pull foreign "hot money" into London through high interest rates should be abandoned altogether and Bank Rate brought down to five per cent.

The attempt to hold down imports by deflationary policy and higher unemployment should be ended, and a system of import controls introduced and used as necessary to prevent any *excessive* rise in imports.

The task of reorganizing British industry demands the application of socialist principles. It will be necessary to bring about the necessary changes within the framework of a coherent national policy, which will determine what is needed from the standpoint of the people. Integrated national plans for transport, energy, and regional development must be expedited. There must be an extension of nationalization to industries like electronics, aircraft, engineering construction, docks and shipping. All mergers should be examined with a view to their immediate effect with regard to their workers and the public so that redundancy can be avoided and relocation

of plants examined in the light of the public interest. Mergers mainly intended to raise prices and create monopoly must be rejected. Nationalization should be preferred to private mergers where the aim is increased efficiency and public money is involved. There should be a strengthening of the Monopolies Commission to deal more expeditiously with this problem. There must be a drive to convince the movement that the pressing problems of the British economy can only be dealt with on the basis of socialist principles. Tory-type policies such as those now being pursued by the government can only destroy working class and popular morale and threaten the very existence of the movement.

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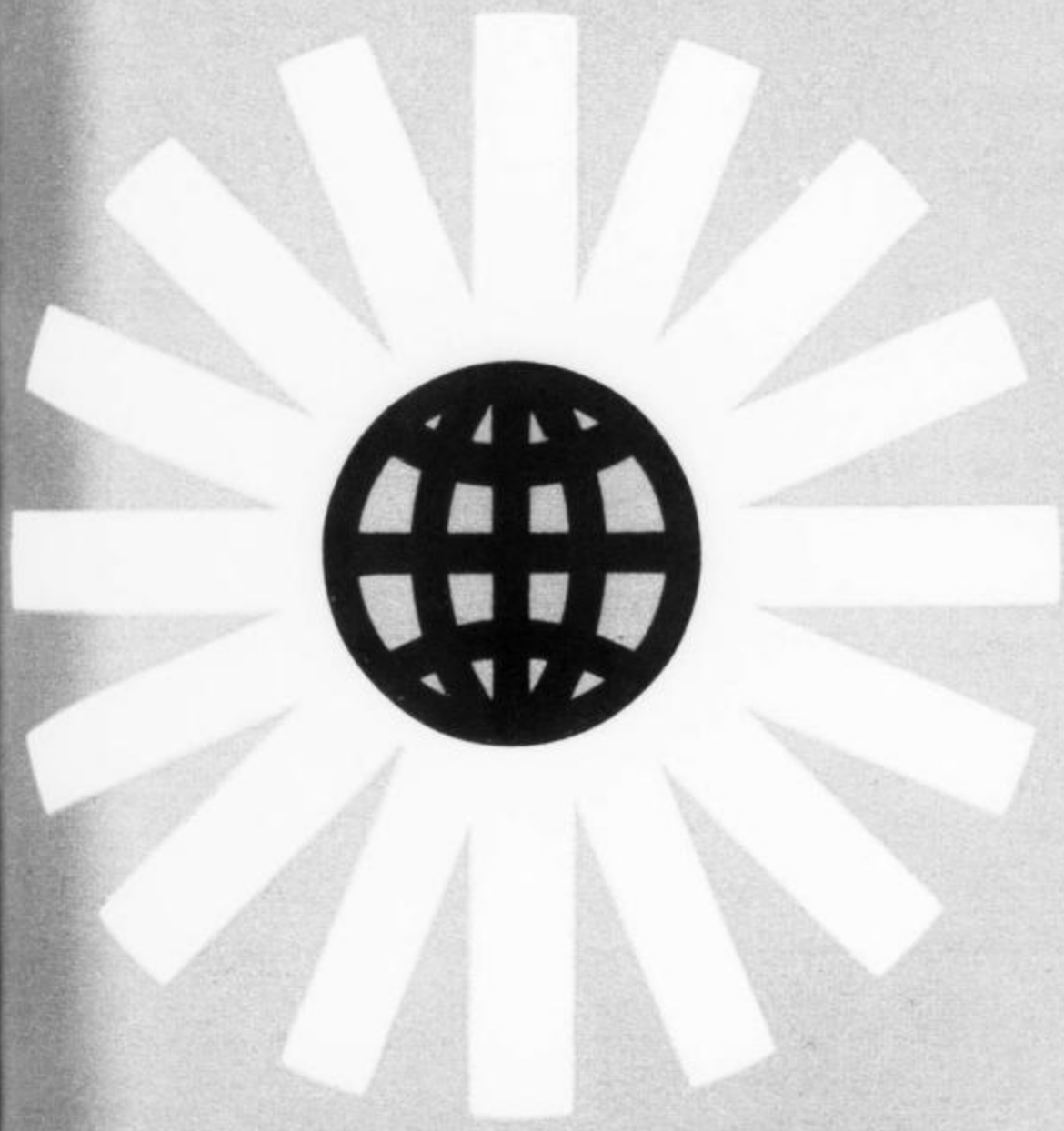

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contents

COMMUNIQUE ON SOVIET-CZECHOSLOVAK TALKS 5

MEETING OF THE CC PRESIDIUM CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA 7

EXTRACT FROM THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY 10

PROCLAMATION OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY 28

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COMMUNIQUE*
ON SOVIET-CZECHOSLOVAK TALKS

Soviet-Czechoslovak talks were held in Moscow over October 3-4, 1968.

Taking part in the talks from the Soviet side were L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU; A. N. Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and N. V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Taking part in the talks from the Czechoslovak side were A. Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC CPC; O. Cernik, Chairman of the Government of the CSSR, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC, and G. Husak, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Slovakia, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC.

The two sides discussed questions of development of relations between the USSR and the CSSR, paying special attention to the implementation of the agreement and measures which the delegations of the USSR and the CSSR, proceeding from the principles recorded in the final documents of the meeting at Cierna nad Tisou and the Bratislava conference, had worked out in Moscow on August 23-26 this year. It was reaffirmed that these measures constitute the basis for achieving the normalization of socio-political life in the CSSR, for the development of Czechoslovakia's friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

The Czechoslovak delegation informed the CC CPSU delegation about the concrete measures which are being effected in Czechoslovakia to carry out the above agreement, and also about its considerations regarding further work in this direction.

The Czechoslovak delegation declared that the CC CPC, the Government of the CSSR, would take all measures to ensure fulfilment of the Moscow agreement. They will step up the efforts to enhance the leading role of the Communist Party, intensify the struggle against the anti-socialist forces, adopt the necessary measures to place the information media fully at the service of socialism, and reinforce Party and state organs with people firmly standing on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The CC CPSU delegation reaffirmed its readiness to render Czechoslovak comrades all-round assistance in implementing their

*Rudé Právo, October 5, 1968.

plans aimed at normalization of the situation in the country and in the Party, in the spirit of the Moscow agreement.

In the course of the talks the question of the stay of allied troops on the territory of the CSSR was discussed. The sides agreed that the governments would consider and sign a treaty on the temporary stationing of allied troops in Czechoslovakia. The stage-by-stage withdrawal of the rest of the troops will be carried out in keeping with the documents of the Moscow talks of August 23-26, 1968.

The delegations of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia discussed tasks of strengthening the fraternal alliance and unbreakable friendship between the peoples of both countries, promoting all-round fruitful cooperation between them in the economic, political, cultural and other fields, and consolidating relations between the cities and regions maintaining traditional friendly contacts.

Major problems of ensuring international peace and security were also discussed. The sides reaffirmed their determination to follow steadfastly the jointly charted course of foreign policy in the interest of consolidation of the socialist community and successful struggle against the policy of the imperialist powers. As a top priority task in this respect, the delegations consider it necessary to take steps towards erecting a solid barrier in the way of the growing revanchist aspirations of the West German militarist forces, rendering effective assistance to the people of embattled Vietnam, and curbing imperialist aggression in the Middle East.

The talks passed in an atmosphere of comradeship, businesslike cooperation and frankness.

MEETING OF THE CC PRESIDIUM CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA*

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia met in Prague on October 8, with Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC CPC, presiding.

The Presidium discussed the results of the negotiations held in Moscow on October 3 and 4 last. Upon hearing and discussing a relevant report, it approved the Czechoslovak delegation's activity during the Moscow negotiations.

The Presidium resolved that the principal tasks of the Party at present be formulated in concrete terms in the next few days. A plenary meeting of the CC CPC will discuss these tasks, and the Party organizations and the public will be acquainted with them.

The Presidium stressed that the fundamental course of further Party action should continue all the positive characteristics of the post-January policy and proceed from the content of the Bratislava statement and the Moscow protocol. The starting point for further Party activity is to consolidate socialism in our country, promote the stability of the political system and strengthen Party unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the leading role of the Party in every field of public life.

To this end it was recommended that those features and principles of the post-January policy which constitute its essence and have successfully stood the test of practice and become permanent assets in the life of the Party and of society be clearly defined.

It is necessary to separate from the positive aspects of the post-January policy the aspirations of the anti-socialist forces, which would like to take advantage of them.

The Presidium stressed that the Communist Party will strengthen the unity of society on the principles flowing from the general laws of building socialism and from a creative Marxist-Leninist approach to the building of socialism in our country, by carrying on an active struggle against bourgeois ideology.

The Presidium also stressed the need to devote considerable attention to the ways and means of promoting the ideological and organizational unity of the Party, of elucidating and applying the Leninist standards of inner Party life, heightening conscious discipline in the Party and the Communists' responsibility for the correct implementation of Party policies, which is inseparable from the development of inner Party democracy.

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*Rudé Právo, October 9, 1968.

In drafting the main tasks of the Party, it is necessary to continue giving much attention to the elaboration of the principles of a correct personnel policy ensuring that Party and government posts are held by those who have the confidence of the people and firmly advocate socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The Presidium recommended that special attention be devoted to formulating the ideological tasks. Every Communist should proceed from an internationalist spirit, from our ideology and policy, and should be well aware that the perspective of development for our country lies in the alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. All measures in political, economic, cultural and military relations should proceed from this. This is obligatory, above all, for the mass information media, which should operate in an explicitly socialist spirit and should support the efforts of the Party toward executing the Bratislava statement and the Moscow protocol. It is on these lines that the Presidium set the task of strengthening their management.

The Presidium then recommended formulating in clear terms the principles on which rests our political system, based on the socialist platform of the National Front, which bars the rise of new political parties. In so doing it is necessary to preserve all the positive principles of the present policy—the link between the Party and the people, the working people's participation in shaping and carrying out Party policy—and at the same time to resist eventual anarchist tendencies and to seek a speedy consolidation of all social forces on the principles of democratic centralism.

The Presidium stressed that there can be no question of allowing a return to pre-January relations, let alone to distortions and violations of socialist legality, as was the case in the 1950s. The Presidium emphasized that the legal security of the citizens who do not infringe our legal standards is an inviolable principle of socialist society.

The document "Principal Tasks of the Party Today" will include problems flowing from the implementation of the federal structure of our state and from the activity of the Party under the new constitutional system; measures aimed at perfecting, as the new system of management and the economic reform are carried into effect, the interconnection between planned management of the national economy and the use of objective value relationships; the main tasks in the sphere of foreign political relations which we consider to be based on increasing cooperation with socialist countries; efforts to ensure that our Party contributes its share to furthering the unity of the world Communist movement and that our republic effectively contributes, as a staunch member of the socialist community, to fight against imperialism and for world peace.

The Presidium laid the main emphasis on the necessity of a positive solution of the problems fostering the progress of socialist society forming the basis for the subsequent work of the Party, whose draft is to be submitted to the Central Committee.

The Presidium resolved to call, immediately after the plenum of the CC CPC, a countrywide meeting of the first secretaries of the regional and district committees of the CPC and CPS.

The Presidium therefore considers it necessary to refute certain reports, generally circulated by Western sources, to the effect that in connection with the preparations for the CC CPC plenum following the Moscow negotiations there had been talks about personal changes affecting top Party and government posts. These are invented reports.

The Presidium then discussed certain disputed issues bearing on the draft constitutional law of the federal structure of the CSSR and adopted recommendations for the Communists of the corresponding government bodies to ensure that work to complete the draft law is so organized that the National Assembly can enact the law on October 28.

The Presidium took cognizance of a report on the growth of membership showing that in recent weeks many citizens have expressed a desire to join the Party.

From mid-August to mid-September, the Party acquired 7,199 new members, almost half of whom are workers, according to data furnished by the regional committees. In view of this the Presidium of the CC CPC stressed that to guide the growth and composition of the Party is a standing task of every Party committee or organization. It is particularly necessary to pay attention to young workers and people engaged in agricultural production, to intellectuals, students and women.

EXTRACT FROM THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

SANTO DOMINGO, JANUARY 1968

II.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. MAIN EFFECTS OF IMPERIALIST DOMINATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALIST RELATIONS

1. The Dominican Republic is a country characterized by a backward capitalist economy distorted by neo-colonialist rule, with survivals of feudalism, mostly in the countryside.

There exists a capitalist socio-economic system in the country—not a developed, classical capitalism but a special kind of capitalism brought into being under the economic domination of the U.S. monopolies, with backward, warped forms of production meeting imperialist interests.

In Dominican society, capitalism has not been developing as a result of normal evolution of our productive forces but due to external factors. In addition to subjection to imperialism and to the latter's penetration into our country, it has ushered in this kind of capitalist, distorted relations, which have gradually gained the upper hand.

The Trujillo period was important in this respect. Its distinguishing feature was that political power was used as a means of furthering the enrichment of the Trujillo family with help from the monopolies. An industry was set up, and up-to-date methods of exploiting the best lands were used. In other words, a gigantic monopoly was created that encompassed almost all industrial and agricultural production in the republic. This led to a decrease in the numbers of the national bourgeoisie, which consisted chiefly of members of the Trujillo family and Trujillo's closest associates. This trend of capitalist development limited the growth of the industrial and agricultural bourgeoisie but not that of the working class, which grew in step with the establishment of new enterprises. Trujillo's economic policy was in line with the imperialist interests of the United States.

After the downfall of the Trujillo regime large-scale industry, trade and agriculture were confiscated under popular pressure. They became state property, and so a strong state sector of the

economy came into existence in addition to the private sector. This explains why a large part of the production and trade in our country is not directly linked with private property and is controlled by the bourgeois, pro-imperialist state. The state is both the exploiting master of the working people and the punitive agency operating against them.

The domination of U.S. imperialism determines the nature and development of the economy. It is the American imperialists who shape the main aspects of the capitalist structure of our country. Their domination expresses itself in direct investment, in trade, and in control of the imperialist trade and finance of the world.

Imperialism has turned the Dominican Republic into a dependent country supplying raw materials and half-finished products, primarily sugar and bauxites, into a market for its manufactured goods. Our entire economy is under the financial control of the United States.

The Dominican people cannot exploit, let alone use, their own riches. The vast majority of the people live in poverty and only a small group is well off because it receives hand-outs from the big foreign exploiters.

2. Imperialist rule and the development of capitalist relations in town and country led to the rise of more factories, large trade centers, sugar refineries and cane plantations. Small handicraftsmen were ruined and many peasants became workers, swelling the ranks of the army of wage labor. Thus imperialist domination largely changed the condition of the social classes in our country. The ruin of large sections of the petty bourgeoisie progressed and so did the impoverishment of the peasants, who became proletarians. The development of the national bourgeoisie was slowed down while the industrial and agricultural proletariat grew substantially. All these phenomena were a direct result of the monopolistic evolution of the Trujillo government, a result of direct U.S. monopoly investment.

But while imperialist oppression held up the independent economic progress of the country, it could not prevent the development of either capitalism or the Dominican working class, whose numbers grew in industry and agriculture alike.

3. A direct result of the domination of U.S. monopoly and of capitalism in our country was a further deepening of class distinctions.

The development of capitalism under U.S. domination made for the tremendous growth of the wealth and luxury of a handful of industrialists, merchants and big landowners, and for an even more rapid growth of poverty and oppression of the workers and peasants. And so an inevitable law of capitalism—*increasing wealth on the one hand and growing poverty and a deepening gulf between*

the two classes of proletarians and capitalists, on the other — is operating in the Dominican Republic.

4. As capitalist oppression mounts a distinctive class of working people is emerging in the factories who are in a position to fight against monopoly and bourgeois domination, for they are not bound by any private property and the very organization of industrial production makes their fight easier. This distinctive class of workers, linked with a more advanced form of production, is the most disciplined and organized section of the proletariat. It is more experienced and assimilates socialist ideas all the more easily. However, the industrial proletariat is only the vanguard of the working class. The development of capitalism in the countryside has also given rise to an agricultural proletariat which owns no land and has to sell its labor. This contingent of the proletariat, together with the industrial wage workers, forms the great army of the Dominican proletariat, whose low standard of living makes it carry on a daily fight against the capitalists and to strive for unity. The various actions of the workers, their daily strikes and clashes, add up to a continuous struggle. This struggle was not long in assuming a serious political and revolutionary character, first of all because most industrial workers have the state for an employer and come up against it day after day. The economic struggle of this section of the proletariat is becoming a political fight against an exploiting government. Thus the working class is becoming the only class which can carry through the struggle to abolish imperialist domination and the capitalist system of exploitation. It is growing both numerically and in terms of political consciousness, which it needs if it is to fulfil its liberation mission and to fight for socialism in its country.

CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, against the domination of foreign and national capital in our country, is a political struggle against all those classes which live by exploiting other people's labor, a struggle against every form of exploitation. It will not terminate until political power is transferred to the proletariat, until all the land and all the means of production pass into the hands of the whole of society, so that a socialist production may be organized under which all the wealth produced by the working people and all discoveries will serve the interests of the working people themselves.

2. *U.S. imperialism* is the chief obstacle to the struggle of the Dominican working class for emancipation. Every new servile government becomes its instrument. Backed by the economic and military power of the United States, by the landowners, the bour-

geoisie (mainly its conciliating section), the high Catholic clergy, the national system of repression controlled by the U.S. military missions, and the venal high bureaucratic apparatus, the government denies all rights to wage labor in town and countryside, to the semi-proletarians, the petty bourgeoisie, and even the liberal segment of the bourgeoisie. It stamps out every manifestation and stifles political freedoms.

Hence the urgency of the Dominican working class and people fighting against imperialism and the despotic government, which will uphold anti-national and anti-popular interests in any eventuality.

CLASS ENEMIES OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THEIR MAIN INSTRUMENTS

Indeed, U.S. imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the landowners are the class enemies of the proletariat, the economic and social force maintaining the capitalist system of exploitation.

These forces wield political power through state institutions—the armed forces, the clergy, the bureaucracy, the courts, legislatures, etc.—among which the clergy, the bureaucracy and the standing army are the most reactionary.

1. *U.S. imperialism* is the chief enemy of our people. In every walk of life in our country it is operating as a force opposed to progress, brazenly exercising military, political and economic control over our country.

The Dominican government is a mere tool of the State Department and the Pentagon. All government institutions, including the armed forces and the police, are controlled by missions, "advisers" and "experts," and by other means of American penetration and control. An open or camouflaged spy network (CIA, Peace Corps, and so on) is being set up throughout the country. Imperialist propaganda makes its way into every newspaper, periodical and educational institution, distorting our national cultures and trying to confuse and mislead the masses.

To maintain its colonial rule, imperialism leans for support on the reactionary classes of the country: the conciliating big bourgeoisie, the landowners, the high Catholic clergy and the military hierarchy, that is, the most corrupt and traitorous elements of our society. But above all else it relies on its own strength, on its economic and military power, which it is prepared to use as a means of loosening traditional structures.

The revolution of April 1965 showed that imperialism will send its troops whenever the reactionary classes and institutions of a bourgeois-imperialist state are unable to check the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Historical experience and daily reality show that the working people must take the road of revolution if they are to expel from their country the imperialists, the chief enemy of the Dominican people, a parasitic and predatory force alien to our society.

2. The *bourgeoisie* is a social class antagonistic to the proletariat. It owns the principal means of production (factories, lands, banks, mines, means of transport, etc.), and lives and enriches itself by exploiting the workers and appropriating a substantial part of their labor. It is a minority class appropriating riches created by the majority of the working people.

The development of the Dominican bourgeoisie was held up above all under the Trujillo regime. The big industrial monopolies of the Trujillo family, which subsequently became the property of the state and of U.S. enterprises, amount to 88 per cent of the value of the country's industrial investments.

The more representative section of the Dominican bourgeoisie as a class took shape under the protection of U.S. imperialism. Its most influential quarters are closely linked with U.S. capital and depend primarily upon it, in one form or another. Almost the entire private sector of the economy is in the hands of the big importers of farm produce, of big creditors and the more affluent segments of the industrial and agricultural bourgeoisie associated with imperialism. *U.S. monopoly capital is the mainstay of the entire capitalist structure of our country.*

This circumstance makes the reactionary nature of the most important and conciliating section of the Dominican bourgeoisie clearer still: added to the fundamental contradictions between it and the proletariat is its link with U.S. imperialism, that gendarme of world reaction. Hence its readiness to surrender the riches of the nation to the foreign exploiter in exchange for a share in profits and for the right to participate in the most criminal regimes of violence.

It is only a very small group of the bourgeoisie, whose economic independence is open to question, that adopts a democratic and anti-imperialist stance in definite conditions. It includes those of the small capitalists who are least of all linked with international monopoly. They come forward mostly in political action, in which they adhere to a bourgeois liberal position tinged with nationalism. This small group is generally known in our country as the "liberal, or national, bourgeoisie." Hard pressed by U.S. competition both because of its dependence on the American market and as a result of every manner of pressure aimed at undermining its development, this social group lacks economic resources of its own and is therefore inclined to compromise. These circumstances and the weakness of this section of the bourgeoisie do not allow it to be considered the spokesman of the national bourgeoisie in the scien-

tific meaning of the term.

As a rule, the bourgeoisie upholds the prevailing social order, based on private ownership of the means of production and on the exploitation of man by man.

The bourgeoisie, whether liberal, reactionary or traitorous, pursues aims contrary to those of the proletariat. It is essentially a class opposed to the socialist revolution.

The *landowners* represent the one-time feudal lods. They own large holdings which they lease to the peasants. They are a social class gradually going out of existence, becoming an agrarian bourgeoisie as capitalist relations of production develop and wage labor is introduced into the countryside. The landowners are a parasitical rural class appropriating a substantial proportion of the peasants' labor. They constitute a reactionary social class upholding semi-feudal relations and fully dedicated to foreign interests. They are the mainstay of the pro-imperialist regime.

4. *Role of the clergy and of religion.* Closely linked with the social forces mentioned above is the high Church hierarchy, which historically is associated with reactionary rule and is intent on keeping the country in a backward state. The Catholic clergy preaches religion to lull the exploited masses, sow conformism and passivitly among them and divert them from struggle. As the mass of the people is religious, the clergy is in a position to influence them. Not always do the masses influenced by religion see through the anti-patriotic and reactionary attitude of the Church hierarchy. The Catholics in our country are also fighting for freedom from exploitation, hunger, poverty and despotism.

Not all working people realize that the mission of religion is to lull them, to divert them from the struggle against poverty and backwardness, by promising them happiness in the hereafter. Not all of them are aware that behind the activity of the clergy is that of international monopolies or the big capitalists and landowners of all countries, that the temple brings together American pharisees and the whole of reaction armed to the teeth.

The chief task in the fight against the opium of religion and against ignorance is to combat the system of capitalist exploitation, which causes alienation. Religious notions will become a thing of the past as soon as the causes of ignorance and obscurantism are eliminated. Happy people will have no need to ask for sympathy or to believe in figments of the imagination.

5. *Role of the bureaucracy and the armed forces.* The ruling classes hold power and consolidate it with the aid of the bureaucracy and the armed forces, as Lenin teaches us. This is borne out by the experience of every people. Our country is particularly familiar with this state of affairs. The nation's budget appropriations are spent mainly, if not wholly on maintaining the bureau-

cratic apparatus and a sizable coercive system—the armed forces, the police, and the espionage service. Every kind of bourgeois and pro-imperialist power rests on these two pillars. These two institutions of the reactionary state feed hundreds of people who realize that economic oppression by the U.S. monopolies and their allies blocks all opportunities for productive labor. And every citizen who joins the bureaucratic apparatus, but above all the armed forces, becomes a wheel of the coercive machinery of the regime. A distinction should, therefore, be drawn between the top bureaucucracy (high officials and other representatives of the despotic regime) and the top leadership of the armed forces, on the one hand, and the punitive system, civil servants and the lower echelons of the armed forces (the rank and file and petty officers), on the other.

The former are people linked with the coercive regime in every way. They are directly subject to corruption, and they enjoy privileges. The latter are the wheels of the machinery serving reaction. But their social origins, living conditions, and their links with the people make them more responsive to democratic and revolutionary appeals, mainly at crucial moments in the political struggle of the masses. World and national history confirm the possibility of armed units siding with the people during a revolutionary upsurge, and of privates, petty officers and senior officers joining in a democratic and anti-imperialist movement.

The revolutionary criterion which draws a precise distinction between the top military and bureacratic hierarchy and the rank and file of these institutions of the bourgeois-imperialist state in no way implies that the revolutionary fight against these two pillars of the reactionary regime may be slackened. The bureaucracy and the armed forces as instruments of the bourgeois state have been created with a view to maintaining and strengthening law and order as the exploiting classes see them.

This confronts the working class and all working people with two important tasks which they must carry out as the revolutionary process in the Dominican Republic goes on. One task is to do away with the bureaucratic apparatus by creating productive sources of labor not envisaged by the national budget. The other is to abolish the standing army and replace it by an armed people. Neither of these tasks can be accomplished without defeating U.S. imperialism and the government representing its interests, without the masses smashing the whole of the existing state machine through the revolutionary use of force.

III.

THE DOMINICAN REVOLUTION

1. To defeat the class enemies of the proletariat, to abolish every form of oppression and to foster progress in our country,

it is necessary to accomplish a revolution aimed at transferring the chief means of production to the people and at ensuring the well-being of all Dominicans.

The Dominican revolution is socialist in content and Dominican in form. It is inspired by Marxist-Leninist theory and draws on its experience, being part of the world forces of socialism and also a reflection of the needs and peculiarities of the Dominican people. It takes a correct view of the economic, social and historical evolution of our reality and is based on our hopes and aspirations and culture. The working class is its main motive power and its leader.

That is why it is chiefly a proletarian and patriotic revolution linked with the liberation struggle of all mankind.

The working class of the Dominican Republic is faced with the important task of freeing its country. The emancipation of the working class implies the emancipation of the whole Dominican people.

The ultimate goal and historic mission of the proletariat is to build socialism by abolishing private ownership of the means of production and by establishing collective property.

The only way in which the Dominican working class can fulfil its historic mission firmly and successfully is to lead the Dominican revolution and accomplish it in close alliance with the peasantry. This revolution will free the whole people from the tyranny of U.S. imperialism, do away with capitalist and semi-feudal exploitation in our country, and completely eliminate classes and hence social and political inequality.

To that end the proletariat must *forcibly destroy* the bourgeois state, throw all its institutions into the dustbin of history and win political power that will enable it to sweep away every obstacle to the overall emancipation of the Dominican people. The seizure of political power by the proletariat and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat are requisites of the Dominican revolution.

The Dominican revolution is not identical with the proletarian revolution in the developed capitalist countries, nor with the classical democratic revolution of the feudal past. It is a new type of proletarian revolution, to be carried out in a dependent country having unsolved anti-imperialist and bourgeois-democratic problems.

Political despotism, strong survivals of the feudal system and, first of all, the decisive role of U.S. imperialism in our historical development, leave a peculiar imprint on and bring to the fore the task of attaining the democratic and anti-imperialist objectives before embarking on socialist changes.

It is these conditions that necessitate a broad alliance of the patriotic forces to accomplish these tasks of primary importance,

an alliance which, led by the working class, will defeat U.S. imperialism and its allies, scrap the military and bureaucratic machinery and form a united front government supported by an armed people. This government will be essentially a *democratic and anti-imperialist dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.*

Thus executive organs of revolutionary power will be set up in accordance with the experience of the April revolution and the struggle of the people. In April and May 1965 the masses set up executive councils. The new people's power should make ample use of our experience and lean on this specific organizational form for support—on the councils of workers, peasants, soldiers and other patriotic elements, to be formed all over the country. The government of the anti-imperialist people's dictatorship will be based on armed councils, on organs of state power to be re-established by the people during the revolutionary struggle so as to launch the offensive against their enemies and to exercise executive, legislative and judicial power and manage the economy. The councils should operate as organs of worker-peasant power. City councils should work under the guidance of the city authorities, and peasant councils under the guidance of local bodies of the agrarian revolution. All would coordinate their activities and would be united in a central government which should, with the support of people's councils, accomplish first of all the following tasks:

—Nationalize the industrial and commercial enterprises owned by foreign monopolies or local groups closely connected with them.

—Nationalize transport and banks.

—Carry out an agrarian revolution which would eliminate big capitalist and semi-feudal ownership, turn large expropriated holdings into state farms, distribute the land among small holders and expand agricultural production.

—Effect gradual industrialization in keeping with our economic possibilities.

—End imperialist control over foreign trade and enter into contact with the socialist world market.

—Break free from the United States' financial grip and refuse to pay the foreign debts incurred by the previous anti-popular governments.

—Implement urban reforms to place housing at the tenants' disposal, put an end to rent profiteering and work out a housing construction plan to remove the existing shortage and provide housing to every Dominican family.

—Overhaul the educational system, democratize instruction at all levels.

—Set up new state institutions based on the principle of election and replacement of all office-holders, fix salaries at the level of

average industrial wages, and take measures to prevent the bureaucratization of the new institutions.

—Organize a popular army.

—Guarantee political freedom to the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces and take government sanctions against the classes and groups removed from power and all others who will try to restore the old regime.

—Pursue an independent foreign policy, a policy of combat solidarity with the peoples oppressed by imperialism and with the socio-revolutionary movements in the developed capitalist countries.

—Establish a uniform system of councils and concentrate supreme power in the hands of the workers, peasants and servicemen, who will exercise all state functions, including those of control.

Such a government will accomplish these tasks and, under the leadership of the workers, will turn into the *socialist dictatorship of the proletariat* which will immediately take measures to eliminate private ownership and establish public ownership of the means of production, employ socialist democracy to grant complete freedom to the forces of progress and cut short counter-revolutionary attempts at restoring capitalism, and create conditions for the withering away of the proletarian state and for the building of the material and technical foundations of communist society.

2. Consequently, the government of the democratic and anti-imperialist dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry will constitute the prologue to socialism. This is indisputable, for the defeat of U.S. imperialism in a country like ours, where almost the entire capitalist economic structure is monopoly-controlled, will pave the way for the revolutionary process, because no exploiting class can stop the development of the revolution in the direction of socialism.

The Dominican revolution has, thus, two stages:

First: the stage of democratic and national-liberation tasks, to be completed with the practical realization of the program of the government of the democratic and anti-imperialist dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

Second: the stage of socialist tasks, which can only be implemented through the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat.

There is no Chinese Wall between these stages. On the contrary, the depth and development of the revolutionary struggle of our people, the participation of the working class and its party in this struggle, and the influence of world socialism are factors which make for a consistent and almost simultaneous realization of the democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist tasks of the Dominican revolution through the establishment of a popular system whose revolutionary aspirations will be so profound as to make it possible to put an end to dependence on imperialism and set about

building socialism. Both stages are therefore parts of one and the same revolutionary process. But they differ in their tasks and in the alignment of the social forces participating in the realization of the particular tasks of the stages.

3. *The Allies of the Proletariat*

The proletariat has different allies in the fight to accomplish the Dominican revolution. These allies will not be the same in each of the above-mentioned stages. Some of them are reliable, and will remain at the side of the working class right up to the establishment of socialism. Others will, in varying degrees, be taking part only in the struggle during the first stage.

a) *The peasantry.* Since ours is a predominantly agrarian country, most of our population lives in the countryside. By virtue of its economic contacts, the rural population is highly heterogeneous.

Leaving aside the landlords and the big agricultural bourgeoisie, the peasantry consists of middle and small peasants, tenant farmers, semi-proletarian peasants, and rural proletarians. All these groups, opposed to the capitalist and semi-feudal latifundia, will certainly follow the working class as the revolutionary stages develop.

The *rural proletarians*—dispossessed peasants turned farm hands —are a part of the Dominican working class. Constituting the link between the urban working class and the peasantry, they will fight for socialism together with the industrial working class.

The *semi-proletarian peasants*, victims of the plunder of their land who work as farmhands at big estates and at the same time till their small plots which provide a meagre subsistence, make up the biggest stratum of our peasantry. The semi-proletarians, directly exploited by the rich peasants, are peasants only in name. In reality they can be called, after Lenin, hired laborers. All of them should unite with the urban workers into an unbreakable alliance which will exist right up to the establishment of socialism. Therefore they should be regarded as allies of the proletariat during both stages of the revolution.

The *small peasants* are those who own small plots of land barely enabling them to feed themselves and their families. They live in hard conditions, and are constantly threatened with ruin. Evicted from their plots by rich peasants and landlords, they swell the ranks of the proletarians and semi-proletarians. Thus the small peasant becomes an important ally of the working class which can fight at its side during both stages of the revolutionary process but is not fully committed to socialism.

The *middle peasants* stand halfway between the rich and the poor peasants. They possess plots of land, livestock and agricultural implements assuring a livelihood to their families. As a rule they have surplus products and sometimes hire day-laborers.

The middle peasant's ambition is to grow rich, but few succeed.

The political stand of the middle peasant is determined by his economic situation: he vacillates between the rich peasants and landlords, who seek to win his allegiance, and the working class, which indicates the way to his emancipation. But generally speaking, his objective contradictions with the landlords and rich peasants, which prevent progress and lead to his impoverishment, bring him into partial alliance with the urban workers and the rural poor, chiefly during the anti-imperialist and democratic stage. The middle peasants' stand on the matter of socialist transformations is hesitant.

The small and middle peasants, who are owners of small plots of land, just as the tenant farmers, are in some measure or other oppressed by the landlords.

The capitalists and semi-feudals, relying on imperialist domination and the exploiter classes, unite in oppressing the poor peasants and agricultural workers.

Therefore all semi-proletarians, small and middle peasants and agricultural workers should fight jointly with the urban workers against imperialism, the government, the big bourgeoisie and the landlords. *If this alliance fails to materialize, the rural poor and the urban workers will never get rid of the semi-feudal and capitalist yoke.*

The non-proletarianized sections of the peasantry may adopt a hesitant attitude towards the revolutionary tasks of the working class, but this does not prevent the peasantry as a whole from becoming the most important ally of the working class in its liberatory mission.

The *petty urban bourgeoisie* is an important force in our country. This social stratum embraces all sections closely connected with small-scale ownership which, while taking a certain part in the production process, do not possess the major means of production. This stratum comprises shop-keepers, artisans, middle office employees, middlemen, etc. By its composition and interests, this category vacillates between alliance with the proletariat and alliance with the bourgeoisie. Whereas the poorer sections of this category are more responsive and revolutionary, those which are better off tend to be conservative.

The degree to which it can identify itself with the position of one of the two principal classes is often determined by the intensity of the revolutionary struggle. In periods of uprise considerable sections of this social stratum join in the struggle. When the revolutionary struggle is at an ebb many of them retreat. However, regardless of the vacillations, the petty urban bourgeoisie plays an important anti-imperialist role and, as historical experience shows, is linked with all the major patriotic movements in our country. It is most hesitant vis-a-vis socialist transformations.

A special social group is constituted by mental workers (professional people, writers, artists, etc.). The intelligentsia does not constitute a social class, for its members differ in their class origin. However, it has its own peculiarities determined by the degree of cultural development. Most intellectuals, naturally, come from the propertied classes, for education presupposes material expenditure and the availability of free time. On the whole, the intelligentsia identifies itself with the progressive movement and takes part in the national struggle. Many intellectuals even adopt the revolutionary positions of the working class and sometimes become its leaders.

A prominent place among the intelligentsia is occupied by students. They are, for the most part, young people highly responsive to the call of the times. Compared to the people as a whole, their political consciousness is comparatively high. The students constitute a revolutionary and democratic force which strongly gravitates towards alliance with the working class in the anti-imperialist struggle. Considerable sections of the students even come to realize the need of struggle for socialism.

Finally, under certain conditions the liberal sections of the bourgeoisie ally themselves with the two principal classes in the course of the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle. They are capable of adopting progressive positions—up to a limit determined by their contradictions with the working class. The liberal bourgeoisie plays a very weak and limited role in the revolutionary fight against imperialism. To a certain degree it participates in the struggle against the patriotic forces. Its interests clash with those of the proletariat, and its fear of revolution makes it incapable of heading the revolutionary process. Therefore the liberal bourgeoisie is a hesitant ally of the proletariat during the stage of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle and an enemy of socialism.

Thus, the attitude of the proletariat and its political party towards its allies should be as follows:

—at the stage of the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle the proletariat should firmly unite with the peasantry and the petty urban bourgeoisie to defeat imperialism and the traitorous bourgeoisie and the landlords, and to neutralize the vacillation of the so-called national or liberal bourgeoisie;

—at the stage of the struggle for socialism the proletariat should unite with the semi-proletarians and the poorest peasantry to finally rout all groups of the bourgeoisie and imperialist counter-revolution, and to limit the vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle peasantry.

During the first stage the revolutionary proletariat should work for the unity of action of all forces which are to any degree opposed to imperialist domination.

The rallying of the patriotic forces through the establishment of a single anti-imperialist front based on a worker-peasant alliance and headed by the working class and its political vanguard, will greatly facilitate the attainment of the important anti-imperialist objectives of the Dominican revolution.

Regardless of whether the united front is established or not, our Party will support all social movements against the despotic militarist power allied with U.S. imperialism.

The revolutionary proletariat will in the first place support and aid the struggle of the peasants against feudal survivals, against violence on the part of the landlords and the reactionary government that supports them.

METHODS OF STRUGGLE AND THE ROAD OF THE DOMINICAN REVOLUTION

Our Party resolutely stands for the employment of all methods of struggle. The only condition is that any method applied in practice should enjoy mass support. Consequently, the timeliness and expediency of the methods of struggle should be determined by the degree of mass support and not by any presumptive criterion. This applies both to what is inaccurately called "peaceful" methods and to all forms of armed struggle.

Thus, the use of all forms of struggle will be aimed at stimulating an armed uprising of the people to do away with the bourgeois state dependent on imperialism and securing the seizure of political power by the working class.

World historical experience, the experience of our own country included, shows that imperialism and the exploiter classes do not relinquish power peacefully. To cast off the yoke of capitalism, the working class and the exploited rural masses should resort to armed violence, the supreme form of class struggle. In the concrete conditions of the Dominican Republic, the revolutionary movement should not only destroy the reactionary army but also come out—after the pro-imperialist military structure is shaken or weakened—against the U.S. imperialists' forces of invasion.

The serious revolutionary task of defeating the invading army of a considerable military potential calls for securing increasing participation of the broad masses in armed action.

Therefore the liberation war will have the nature of a patriotic and national struggle. Ultimately it will be waged both in urban and rural localities, but for a more or less long period the countryside will be the chief battleground. Under no circumstances can the seizure of political power by the working class result from improvisation or fortuity. The Marxist-Leninist doctrine is an inex-

haustible treasure-store of experience, forms and methods whose effectiveness has been proven by history. It is precisely to this that the Dominican Communist Party owes its existence.

THE DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Dominican Communist Party, armed with a scientific theory, was founded on the basis of Marxism-Leninism to provide guidance to its politically conscious vanguard, the working class, in the fight to accomplish its lofty mission.

The Communist Party proclaims it as its task to develop the class consciousness of the working class, to teach it the tasks and methods of its struggle, to organize all progressive forces and strengthen their discipline, and direct the revolutionary struggle of the workers.

As a part of the world Communist movement, the Dominican Communist Party will educate our working class in the spirit of proletarian internationalism based on the community of interests and aspirations of wage workers the world over.

In keeping with this, the Communist Party will pursue an international policy of active and militant solidarity with the revolutionary movement in the dependent countries and the labor movement in the capitalist countries, and of defense of the socialist countries against imperialist aggression.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

On the tactical plane, there are advanced in everyday battles slogans of struggle for immediate democratic and anti-imperialist aims, which are supported by a considerable majority of the population of our country, as well as concrete demands of classes and progressive forces.

That is true, for it is necessary to prove to the working class that without struggle against semi-feudal relations, against the despotic government and imperialist domination, without struggle for the demands of the peasants and all progressive circles it is impossible to build an alliance with the peasantry and to accomplish a liberatory revolution. This struggle teaches the working class and prepares it for the fulfilment of its emancipatory mission. It pursues the aim of clearing the way to victory over the chief enemy, capital. Therefore, throughout the period from the present moment to the winning of political power, the revolutionary party of the proletariat should stimulate struggle for all concrete demands of the toiling masses, including those which were proclaimed by the French revolution and which were thrown overboard by

the monopoly bourgeoisie in the period of its degradation and counter-revolution.

The depth of revolutionary conquests will depend on the intensity of this constant struggle, on the stability of the combat unity of the broadest masses, on the role of our working class in this struggle, on the degree of the peasants' participation.

The Dominican Communist Party has worked out a program of action which contains the immediate democratic and anti-imperialist demands of the entire Dominican people and the specific demands of the working class and the peasantry, i.e., initial points which can be readily replaced by the program of an anti-imperialist and revolutionary government of workers and peasants.

THE PROGRAM OF IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

1. The Dominican Communist Party advances the following anti-imperialist and democratic demands aimed at promoting the general struggle of the Dominican people and the resistance to the offensive of the despotic pro-imperialist regime:

—Freedom of assembly and association, the right to strike.

—Freedom of the press and of opinion.

—Separation of the church from the state.

—Freedom of travel and domicile.

—Personal immunity, inviolability of the home and of correspondence.

—Dissolution of all organizations engaged in the persecution of citizens for political reasons, and a strict ban on such activities by foreign agencies on the territory of the country.

—Democratization of the armed forces and the national police by means of a purge, reduction of their numerical strength and their budgets, a ban on trade in the barracks.

—Expulsion of foreign armed forces, be it troops, military missions or "aid corps."

—Sanctions against administrative corruption and venal officials.

—Measures to cut back on bureaucracy through creating sources of employment not envisaged in the national budget.

—Elimination of illiteracy.

—A general educational reform based on the return to secular education in state-run schools, under the motto, "More schools, not barracks; more teachers, not soldiers." Democratization of scientific and technical training at all levels and the raising of the standard of instruction.

—A ban on the sale of state-owned enterprises, and expansion of the state sector in the national economy.

—Reopening of closed factories.

—Free trade with all countries of the world, including those of the socialist camp.

—Mother and child care, help to old and sick people and to unmarried mothers.

—Reduction of rent. A housing construction scheme for the people and elimination of shanty towns.

2. *For the workers:*

—Trade union freedoms. Freedom for the working people to hold meetings. A ban on the victimization of trade union leaders as the first guarantee of the independence of the trade unions from the employers and the government.

—Democratization of the Labor Code. Annulment of any anti-labor legislation such as the wage freeze and the prohibition of strikes.

—Establishment of arbitration tribunals with the participation of workers elected by their trade union and democratic organizations and not government-appointed protegés, former workers but now servitors of exploiters.

—Abolition of the ban on strikes. Full freedom to strike as a weapon of the exploited.

—Protection of female and apprentice labor on the principle of equal pay for equal work.

—Revision of wage rates to raise real wages, and effective control over prices of prime necessities.

—Free medical assistance to every working family. Readjustment and extension of social insurance.

—Pensions for disabled and old people and for those with long service records.

—Direct employment of workers and removal of still existing intermediaries.

—Inviolability of trade union funds and collective agreements.

—A 44-hour week with pay for 48 hours.

—Prohibition of mass dismissals, guarantees against unemployment, and allowances for unemployed workers and their families.

—A minimum wage of two pesos for agricultural workers.

—A ban on mechanization involving mass dismissals unless necessitated by manpower shortage.

—To make it binding on the employers to pay off their liabilities to the social insurance fund and to improve the functioning of this mechanism.

—The right of trade union organizations to use the social workers' centers.

—To make the First of May, the International Day of Working People, a holiday of the Dominican workers.

—Establishment of a single trade union center uniting all trade union organizations of the country.

3. *For the peasants:*

—An agrarian reform to eliminate the semi-feudal latifundia, a limit on property, expropriation of landlord property and the surplus land owned by the big agricultural capitalists, and distribution of land among landless peasants. Allocation of larger plots to poor peasants and creation of state-controlled farms, to employ agricultural workers.

—Abolition of land renting, mediatory courts, courts of arbitration, remuneration in kind and promissory notes, and other pre-capitalist survivals.

—Technical assistance, including the delivery of modern machines, to till state-owned land.

—Economic assistance of the state to small holders through the agricultural bank, in the form of long-term credits at moderate rates and without discrimination.

—State-guaranteed fixed prices for agricultural products, the granting of subsidies when necessary.

—State control over the import of agricultural goods which can be produced in our country.

—Extension of the term of schooling up to the sixth grade of the rural school.

—Improvement of sanitary conditions, modernization and housing construction for peasants.

—Medical assistance, sanitary teams, out-patient and ambulance services, along with other modern forms of health protection in the countryside.

—An unconditional ban on the sale of land to foreigners; state management of large plots now used by foreigners.

—Creation of cultural and recreational centers for peasants.

—Control over prices fixed by middlemen between the peasants and the market.

—Establishment of state agencies to purchase and market farm products, with the ultimate aim of eliminating the category of middlemen.

Central Committee,
Dominican Communist Party.

PROCLAMATION OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

With Salazar's departure from political life the regime is entering a grave political crisis. But there should be no illusions. Salazar's utter inability to exercise political power does not in itself signify the end of fascism. The fascists will not relinquish power of their own free will. Only the Portuguese people, the masses, only joint and organized action by the Portuguese democrats, only a powerful national movement for freedom, will lead to the removal of fascists from the government and the establishment of a democratic regime. Only the Portuguese people can, through their resolute, courageous, persistent, tireless and inspired struggle, bury the dictatorship together with the dictator.

The fascists fear lest Salazar's death spark off an uprising of the people, oppressed, downtrodden and exterminated over the more than forty years of the existence of fascism. Offering various solutions to the crisis which will break out with the death of Salazar, the fascists are trying to find a way out and to prevent the liberatory uprising of the people.

The various fascist clans can come to terms and unite within the framework of one and the same government, or launch factional struggle. While taking advantage of the lack of agreement and unity among the ruling circles, the Portuguese people should on no account expect them to democratize political life.

The Portuguese Communist Party points out again that fascism's downfall cannot be brought about by people bent on saving it.

The Communist Party warns against statements creating a semblance of "liberalization" under the cover of which the new government will endeavor to continue Salazar's policy without Salazar. Such a maneuver, if undertaken, should be rebuffed as resolutely as the Salazar government has always been.

The Communist Party warns against the real danger presented by the possible formation of an ultra-Right or military government which will decree extraordinary measures or launch a large-scale offensive accompanied by repressions. Such a government would pave the way, not for the solution of the major national problems, but for bloody conflicts, for a civil war.

Fascism has suffered a sever blow. It will employ every trick in its arsenal to save itself in the grave crisis that is setting in with Salazar's political demise. The Portuguese people, the Portuguese

democrats, should counter fascism's attempt to outlive Salazar with resolute struggle.

There has arisen a unique possibility, limited in time, for the Portuguese political problem to be resolved without tragic convulsions. The indispensable condition for this is formation of a government which would guarantee personal immunity, the right of every citizen to take an active part in national and political life, respect for Article 8 of the Constitution pertaining to civic rights and freedoms, resolute struggle against abuse of power, and the creation of conditions of legality and security enabling the people freely to decide their national political future.

Regardless of the composition of the future government, the initiation of a new national policy demands satisfaction of the following two basic demands of the people and the country:

First, genuine recognition of freedom of speech for all Portuguese irrespective of their political views, which presupposes an early abolition of censorship, permission to hold public assemblies, and recognition of the right of democratic trends to organize.

Second, an end to repressions for political reasons, which means the release, in the nearest future, of all political prisoners, the return of exiles, and the dissolution of PIDE, this infamous instrument of national disunity and disquiet which is responsible for the atmosphere of insecurity and terror.

The immediate adoption of these measures is essential for the Portuguese nation to acquire a normal constitutional regime, an atmosphere of personal security and public order. Any delay is bound to generate gloom, and the responsibility will rest fully with those who will stubbornly resort to arrests and repressions in reply to the legitimate aspirations which have in the forty years of Salazar's rule taken deep root in the hearts of the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese.

The fascists and reactionaries will never adopt these measures of their own record. This calls for struggle by the masses, by the democratic forces.

The immediate satisfaction of these two demands will make it possible to begin political democratization. But this alone will not guarantee the beginning of this process.

It is necessary to dissolve immediately not only PIDE, but also all organs of fascist power: the National Assembly, the corporate Chamber, the extraordinary tribunals, the punitive forces, the corporate organization. Not only all political prisoners should be released, but all citizens who were dismissed from posts in the state apparatus and the armed forces for political reasons should be reinstated.

It is necessary to establish freedom of the formation and activity

of political parties, freedom of the press, the right to organize, assemble and demonstrate, trade union freedoms, the right to strike.

It is necessary to end immediately the colonial wars and begin talks with representatives of the national-liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies.

It is necessary to satisfy the immediate and fundamental economic demands of the working class, the peasants and other strata of laboring people.

Steps should be taken to prevent, in the new situation, foreign imperialism, which has supported Salazar for forty years, from interfering in Portuguese policy in any way.

Such are the conditions necessary for initiating a democratic policy and enabling the Portuguese people to decide their own destiny.

The central problem now facing the country is the problem of the regime.

The dictator is on the way out. The dictatorship should disappear together with him. The Portuguese people want to be free to choose their leaders and the policy of their country. They can do so only through the exercise of basic rights and freedoms and through genuinely free elections to a Constituent Assembly, to be held by a provisional government created by the democratic and national trends. Such is the prospect of political struggle for the nearest future.

The new situation can revive many illusions among both the Right and Left forces which have manifested themselves within the democratic movement. These illusions have never been so dangerous as today: illusions regarding the automatic downfall of fascism, the "liberalization" process by which the fascists themselves, on their own initiative, will put an end to the dictatorship, or small-group terrorism leading to fascism's collapse.

The Communist Party warns agains the view, which some antifascist circles might have, that mass popular struggle would scare away the "liberals" and that it is even possible to cooperate with the ruling clique in its "liberalization" maneuvers. This view, and the political positions stemming from it, can only hamper development of the popular struggle, which is the sole way to eliminating fascism.

The Communist Party warns against possible initiatives aimed at expediting armed action without preparing conditions for the actual process of insurrection. Is the present situation such initiatives could provide the pretext for bloody repressions while giving no stimulus to popular struggle. The Communist Party warns against possible provocations by the fascists: terrorist acts ascribed to the democratic opposition.

The new situation is highly complicated; it demands of the democratic forces an objective assessment of facts, alertness with regard to the evolution of the situation, coolness and courage, as well as a firm belief, manifested in all decisions, that only mass struggle, unity, organization and political actions by the democratic forces can make fascism disappear together with the dictator.

New and broad possibilities for cardinally changing the political situation are opening up before the Portuguese people. But the road ahead will not be easy. The fascist dictatorship will not fall of itself: it has to be toppled. Freedom will not come from on high, it has to be won. Gruelling battles are awaiting the Portuguese people, battles which will demand courage, resolution and a firm belief in success.

A wait-and-see attitude at this crucial moment would be intolerable. Coming out against passivity, empty illusions and irresponsible gambles, the Communist Party points to the principal tasks of the moment whose realization is essential for the rapid development and ultimate victory of the national democratic movement.

Unity of all those who want to eliminate the fascist dictatorship, unity which would rebuff splitting maneuvers, promises, calls for cooperation and the concessions which the fascists will not fail to grant to some opposition circles in order to disunite the democrats and isolate the Communists and the Left groups so as to attack and undermine the more militant anti-fascist forces and suppress popular unrest.

Organization which would go beyond the narrow limits of the underground, develop in new forms adapted to the new conditions, and boldly create new instruments of popular mobilization and political leadership.

Mass struggle, to develop within the framework of a powerful nationwide movement against fascism, for freedom.

Salazar's disappearance from the political arena is sharply aggravating the general crisis of the regime. The democratic movement, the popular masses, should make full use of the blow which fascism has sustained, and do everything to prevent the regime's recovery from this blow.

It woud be a fatal mistake on the part of the democratic forces to wait for developments and to adopt a defensive attitude.

The emergency security measures adopted by the fascists, the atmosphere of threats and intimidation, show how greatly they fear an outbreak of popular struggle. Hence the need for the utmost vigilance and appropriate precautionary measures on the part of the democrats and the masses. However, provided the democratic circles and the people go into action with determination and confidence in their force, this situation cannot prevent the develop-

ment of a powerful national movement for freedom. The time has come for an offensive on all fronts.

For the fascists, the departure of their unchallenged leader is a catastrophe. As for the Portuguese people, they are joyfully and hopefully celebrating the fade-out of the hated tyrant. They are aware that an extraordinary political situation has set in. The eclipse of the fascist dictator is giving rise to new determination in the struggle and multiplying the revolutionary energy of the masses.

Front-rank activists should promptly take the initiative in order to channel the inevitable surge of the popular struggle. At the present moment political struggle of the masses should be the main direction of anti-fascist actions. It is necessary to organize everywhere—in the factories, schools and villages—meetings to discuss the situation and the political problems of the moment, to study and decide the question of forms of actions, to outline measures and assign responsibilities.

Everywhere it is necessary to display initiative and hold meetings at secure places, even if the fascist authorities try to prevent them.

It will be no underestimation of other forms of action to assert that street demonstrations, especially if they pursue concrete aims and are well organized and directed, will in the near future constitute a powerful weapon in forcing a change in national policy and winning freedom.

As soon as Salazar's death or his final withdrawal from power is announced, the people everywhere should go out into the streets and voice the fundamental pressing political demands: Down with fascism! Down with the dictatorship! Freedom, democracy, free elections, release of political prisoners, amnesty, dissolution of PIDE, an end to the colonial war!

Should the government proclaim national mourning after Salazar's death, the working people should stay away from work in the days of fascist mourning. They should turn them into days of popular struggle against fascism, for freedom.

The anti-fascists should show that they possess imagination and initiative and appeal to the creative spirit of the masses. It is necessary to organize demonstrations in support of the commissions which will present demands to the authorities. It is necessary to organize meetings in factories, schools, villages and streets to demand the release of political prisoners.

In view of the danger of repressions, the masses should be urged to prevent arrests and to help free arrested democrats. Let soldiers desert or refuse to take part in the colonial war. Let us turn the funeral of soldiers killed in the colonies into anti-war demonstra-

tions. Let us organize pilgrimages to the graves and to places where victims of fascism have fallen.

The struggle against fascism and for freedom is a national patriotic struggle in defense of the interests of the people, in defense of the country's independence.

Let us unfurl everywhere the red and green national flag which fascism has never dared to replace in all its 42 years and which it has not succeeded in stealing from the people and the Portuguese nation.

The masses everywhere should strike up, at a suitable moment, the Portuguese national anthem, which fascism has never dared to replace in all its 42 years, which it has not dared to steal from the people and the nation.

For promoting the struggle for freedom it is exceptionally important to regain old and to win new positions, to secure victories, however minor and limited they may appear. It is essential not only to demand but also to organize concrete actions aimed at breaking the fascists' resistance to a new course of Portuguese policy.

The working people should assemble on the premises of the national trade unions (seeing to it that no harm is done to the above-stated demand for trade union freedoms), and insist on the holding of general assemblies and new, democratic elections of trade union leaders.

It is necessary to step up the struggle for the abolition of administrative commissions in student associations, to demand recognition of associations where their establishment has not yet been allowed, to set up federal structures and to demand their recognition.

We demand the restoration of arbitrarily disbanded organizations, such as the Writers' Association, the cultural association Pragma, and other organizations, and the resumption of their activities.

The denial to the opposition forces of the right to organize, the systematic offensive against democratic organizations, the imprisonment and physical destruction of their cadres have prevented the democratic forces from establishing mass nationwide organizations. No time should be lost in taking advantage of the new situation in order to create, rapidly, boldly and with initiative, a single democratic structure, forming, under the most diverse names, democratic commissions at enterprises, in the trade union organizations, in the schools, villages and cities. It is necessary to establish permanent contacts and organize regular meetings between them, both open and clandestine, depending on the circumstances. The development of the situation should be closely watched, using every opportunity to set up a legal nationwide democratic organization.

Should attempts at restoring the monarchy be taken, rebuff should be given to the monarchist threat by organizing a large-scale movement in defense of the republic and for democratic demands.

Application of democratic methods, broad political discussion on the problem of practical activity, clear realization of the need for an extensive grass-roots organization—all this is of primary organizational importance in these new conditions.

It would be a grave error to allow the exigencies of political struggle to obscure the importance of the struggle for economic demands, for the new situation is particularly favorable for this struggle. Therefore promotion of economic struggle at the given stage is one of the decisive forms of struggle against fascism and of the participation of broad masses of working people in the political struggle.

To develop successfully, this struggle has to be organized. The working people everywhere should hold meetings and assemblies to decide democratically what demands should be advanced. They should form representative commissions everywhere — at enterprises, in residential localities, in branches of industry, among agricultural workers. These commissions, relying on the support of the masses, will advance urgent and basic demands.

Meetings should be organized at enterprises and farms, in trade unions, in villages and fishing ports. It is necessary to organize work stoppages lasting from several minutes to several hours, to declare strikes and continue them as long as possible.

The workers of one enterprise should establish contacts with the workers of other enterprises in the same industry or locality in order to coordinate and expand the struggle. The same applies to the fishermen and agricultural workers.

New broad prospects have opened up for the fight to eliminate fascism and win freedom. Full use should be made of the new situation, of the political crisis in which the fascist dictatorship has suddenly found itself in connection with Salazar's departure from the political arena. But it should be constantly borne in mind that the fascists still possess a powerful machinery of state, a ramified police network commanded by assassins from PIDE, well-armed repressive forces having the backing of paramilitary groups ready for any provocation and violence. It should not be forgotten that the ultras of the present regime can take the upper hand in the fight for power and set up a government which will launch massive repressive operations with the use of the powerful military apparatus, accompanied by mass arrests, crimes and murders.

The Portuguese democrats, the popular masses, should be exceptionally vigilant and on the alert against this eventuality which

can drive the anti-fascist movement even deeper underground, further restrict its legal possibilities and force it to resort to more acute and more violent forms of struggle. The Portuguese democrats should vigilantly guard their freedom and their life.

But in order both to stave off this threat and to take advantage of the sudden crisis of the regime for victorious struggle, the Portuguese democrats, the Portuguese people, should not allow themselves to be intimidated, should demonstrate courage and selflessness.

The situation demands deep conviction that, irrespective of the immediate reaction of fascism, Salazar's departure from the political arena opens up broad possibilities for political action and fortifies the confidence of the masses in their forces, confidence which is bound to bring about a rapid change of national policy if the democratic forces and the masses at large go into action resolutely, courageously and confidently.

The Portuguese Communist Party calls for action by the working class, the most revolutionary class whose vanguard role is decisive for the success of the democratic movement. It calls for action by the wage and salary workers of industry and transport, the agricultural workers and the fishermen.

The Communist Party calls for action by the peasants, who have been exploited, impoverished and expropriated throughout the 42 years of the Salazar regime.

The Communist Party calls for action by the working youth, the dauntless spirit of revolution, and the student youth, a vanguard of the anti-fascist struggle.

The Communist Party calls for action by the intelligentsia, which has always held high the torch of freedom and culture during the long night of fascism.

The Communist Party calls for action by the Portuguese women, who have always been in the front ranks of the fight for bread and democracy.

The Communist Party calls for action by the soldiers and sailors, sons of the people whose hearts and minds have always been with the people.

The Communist Party calls for action by the anti-fascist and patriotic-minded officers who want to serve the nation and not despotism.

The Communist Party calls for action by the soldiers and the Republican National Guard, agents of the police and the security organs, customs officers, traffic policemen striving to cast off the shackles of fascist discipline and fraternize with the people.

The Communist Party calls for action by all Portuguese, regardless of their political or religious convictions, by Socialists, Cath-

olics, Liberals, Republicans, who have united for the sacred cause of struggle for freedom.

The Portuguese Communist Party, the party of the working class, the organized contingent and vanguard of the movement against the fascist dictatorship, is fully aware of its responsibility in this situation. The working people and the popular masses believe in the Communist Party. The Party should justify their confidence.

The fascists' hate and desperation can lead to even more ruthless repressions against Communists. The situation demands of every activist greater courage, greater initiative and indomitable firmness. The Central Committee is confident that all Party activists, including those out of contact with the leadership, will measure up to their responsibilities.

Comrades, friends, companions-in-arms, brothers!

United and confident, forward to victory in the fight for freedom!

Central Committee,
Portuguese Communist Party

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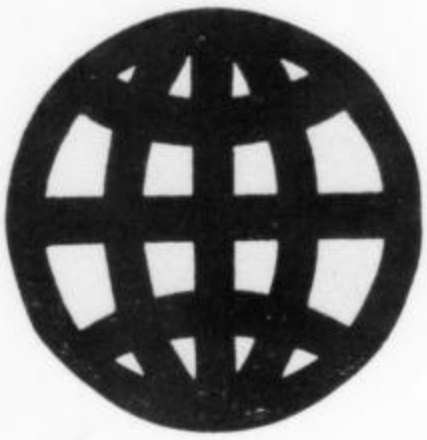

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In this issue

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA
Resolution of CP of India

21 - 22

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contents

RESOLUTION OF THE CC CPSU ON AGRICULTURE 5

RESOLUTION OF THE CC CPSU ON FOREIGN POLICY 13

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA 14

MAIN LINES OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SYSTEM OF SOCIAL MANAGEMENT
Resolution of CP of Bulgaria 35

PROMOTE STRUGGLE AGAINST DICTATORSHIP
Resolution of CP of Brazil 53

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ON PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING THE DECISIONS OF THE 23rd CONGRESS PLENARY MEETINGS OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

RESOLUTION* OF A PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC CPSU OCTOBER 31, 1968

Carrying out the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet people have achieved, under the leadership of the Communist Party, important successes in economic and cultural development. The national economy is developing at a fast pace, the well-being of the people is growing steadily.

In keeping with the decisions of the 23rd Congress and the March (1965) and May (1967) plenary meetings of the CC CPSU, major measures have been effected to secure further progress of agriculture. Its material and technical basis has been strengthened. Industry has increased the output of tractors, automobiles, farm machines and mineral fertilizers for collective and state farms. A big land-betterment program has been launched. An important role has been played by the introduction of a new procurement policy, based on fixed plans and incentives for above-plan sale of grain. A number of socio-economic measures have been implemented in the countryside; guaranteed monthly wages have been established for collective farmers; the pension scheme for collective farmers and state-farm workers has been improved.

All these measures, the organizational and political work of the Party, government and agricultural organs, the selfless labor of collective farmers, state-farm workers and agricultural specialists, as well as assistance to the village on the part of urban working people, have contributed to the growth of agricultural production, to progress in its main branches—field and animal husbandry—and to the economic consolidation of collective and state farms.

In 1965-67 gross agricultural output averaged 75,000 million rubles a year, almost 10,000 million rubles more than in the previous three years. The output of agricultural products per head of the population increased by 11 per cent.

Crop yields and livestock productivity have grown. Gross harvests in these years reached these averages: grain—147 million tons, 10.5 per cent more than in 1962-64; raw cotton—5.9 million tons, an

*Pravda, November 1, 1968.

increase of 20.4 per cent; sugar beet—78 million tons, or 34.5 per cent more. The output of rice almost doubled, reaching 895,000 tons last year. The harvests of millet, buckwheat, potatoes, vegetables, fruit and grapes also increased. The average annual production of meat in 1965-67 rose to 10.7 million tons and topped the average for the previous three years by 15 per cent. The figures for milk were 76.2 million tons (21.3 per cent increase) and for eggs, 31,600 million (11.2 per cent increase). State plans for the purchase of agricultural and livestock products were fulfilled. The profitability of all branches of agriculture increased. On the whole, the state farms completed the last two years with a profit. Higher incomes were earned by the collective farms and their members.

New successes were registered in 1968. Total grain output this year will exceed 165 million tons. The plan for grain purchases has been overfulfilled; the state has received more than 68 million tons. A good harvest of cotton, sugar beet, sunflowers, potatoes and other crops has been grown. More livestock products than last year have been produced and purchased. The plan for the purchase of meat, milk, eggs and wool has been fulfilled ahead of schedule.

The increase in the output and procurement of agricultural products has made it possible to augment marketable resources, improve the supply of foodstuffs, consumer goods and raw materials, and build up certain reserves. Last year per-capita consumption of meat was 21 per cent, milk and dairy products 15 per cent, and eggs 22 per cent higher than in 1964.

Along with achievements, there exist shortcomings and unsolved problems. In the volume of output of a number of products and in growth of labor productivity agriculture has not yet achieved the level envisaged in the Directives of the 23rd Congress for the five-year plan period. The rate of growth of agricultural production in some regions, territories and republics remains low. Too little is being done by some farms to increase yields and livestock productivity. There still are instances of non-grade seeds being sown. Considerable losses are incurred because of an insufficient struggle against weeds, pests and plant and animal diseases. Inadequate care is shown for accumulating and applying local fertilizers. Inadequate use is being made of machines. Land-betterment plans are not being fulfilled. Many collective and state farms are too slow in introducing progressive farming practices, the best forms and methods of organization of labor and production and in going over to economical methods of work.

Production costs, especially in animal husbandry, are still high. Much remains to be done in enforcing thriftiness. Despite the increased incomes, some collective farms do not allocate sufficient means for the expansion of production; too much is spent for administrative and other purposes.

The USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the Farm Machinery Supply Agency, the Ministry of Land Betterment and Water Conservation and their local branches still have many shortcomings in their work, are not persistent enough in ensuring more effective utilization of the reserves and possibilities of collective- and state-farm production, and do not solve in good time many important problems of the development of field and animal husbandry.

The organization of the procurement and storing of agricultural products, especially vegetables and fruit, demands considerable improvement.

There are serious shortcomings in the planning of capital investment and material and technical resources for agriculture, in the realization by some industrial ministries of tasks in catering to agriculture set by the 23rd Congress and CC meetings. Too much time is spent on the development of new types of machines, effective fertilizers and chemical pesticides; the mastering of the manufacture of new farm machines is dragged out; the supply of spare parts is unsatisfactory; there is a lag in the development of the industry processing agricultural raw materials.

The plenary meeting notes that the insufficient pace of development of agricultural production is largely attributable to the slow chemicalization, land betterment and comprehensive mechanization, the inadequate introduction of the latest achievements of science and progressive experience.

The plenary meeting of the CC CPSU resolves:

1. To regard strict realization of the policy of the Party and the practical measures for the development of agriculture worked out by the 23rd Congress and the March and May plenary meetings of the CC CPSU as a top-priority task of Party organizations and government and economic organs.

The plenary meeting instructs the central committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics, the territorial, regional and district committees of the Party, the government organs, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Land Betterment and Water Conservation, the Farm Machinery Supply Agency and their local branches, the Party organizations and the heads of collective and state farms to take measures for the removal of the existing shortcomings, for a better utilization of all reserves of collective- and state-farm production so as to ensure fulfilment of five-year plan assignments.

2. To approve as timely and conforming to the requirements of communist construction the proposals on the main trends of and measures for the development of the agriculture of the USSR worked out by the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and outlined in Comrade Brezhnev's report.

The plenary meeting considers it as a central political task of the

Party and the state to accelerate the development of agriculture so as to greatly surpass, within the shortest possible period of time, the present level of agricultural production in the country. Attention should be centered, as before, on considerably increasing the production of grain and other crops through a sharp rise in yields, and all-round development of animal husbandry. It is necessary to show constant concern for improving the quality of produce.

A high level agricultural production can be achieved only through providing collective and state farms as well as the branches catering to them with a more powerful material and technical basis. It is necessary to continue to supply agriculture with modern machines, to meet its requirements in mineral fertilizers and other chemicals, and to conduct large-scale land-betterment operations.

The technical modernization of agriculture should constitute one of the main aspects of the plans for the next five-year period. The national economic plans should provide for the necessary means and material and technical resources to satisfy more fully the growing requirements of agriculture.

3. In view of the tremendous importance of the application of chemicals in raising the productivity of agricultural production, it is necessary in the coming years greatly to accelerate the growth of manufacture of mineral fertilizers, effective pesticides and products of microbiological synthesis. To instruct the Ministry of Chemical Industry, the Ministry of the Oil Processing and Petrochemical Industry, the Central Department of the Microbiological Industry, the Ministry of Chemical and Oil Machine Building, as well as the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR State Supply Committee and the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics to ensure timely fulfilment of the assignments for commissioning industrial capacities for the production of mineral fertilizers, herbicides and other chemicals. The Party organizations should establish control over the implementation of the decisions of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to promote the development of the industry producing mineral fertilizers and chemical pesticides.

In order to ensure deep and all-round substantiation of ways of further development of chemicalization of agriculture, the production and rational application of the most effective fertilizers and other chemical products, and a correct distribution of the chemical industry in the zones of the country, to instruct the USSR State Planning Committee, the State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Chemical Industry, the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Academy of Agricultural Sciences to work out a long-term plan for the chemicalization of agriculture.

4. To instruct the USSR Ministry of Land Betterment and Water

Conservation, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the Farm Machinery Supply Agency and the Party, government, agricultural and water conservation organs to adopt all necessary measures for the fulfilment of the land betterment program approved by the May plenary meeting of the CC CPSU. To ensure all-round expansion of the production base for land betterment, survey and prospecting, and the supply of machines and materials to water conservation organizations. To strengthen construction projects with specialists and trained workers, to improve the working and living conditions of land betterment workers. The USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR State Supply Committee should take measures for supplying the land betterment projects with the necessary machines, materials and equipment.

The plenary meeting supports the initiative of the Komsomol organizations which have established patronage over the major water conservation projects, and calls upon the Komsomol, our glorious young people, to participate even more actively in the realization of the extensive land betterment program.

Further accelerated development of the national economy calls for rational utilization of the land, water and power resources. To instruct the USSR State Planning Committee, the State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the USSR Ministry of Land Betterment and Water Conservation, the USSR Ministry of the Power Industry and Electrification, the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Academy of Agricultural Sciences to work out, jointly with the Union republics, a long-term plan for 10 to 15 years establishing the order of priority in land betterment operations in the various zones of the country and providing for the development of agricultural production on ameliorated lands, the regulation and redistribution of the flow of rivers, growth of hydro-power production, and other measures.

5. For purposes of meeting the requirements of agriculture in machines for comprehensive mechanization, to consider it necessary to ensure further growth of production capacities of the tractor, agricultural and land betterment engineering industries through the extensive reconstruction of the existing plants and the construction of new ones, and also through improving the equipment and technological process and the organization of labor and production in these branches.

To carry out measures for improving design work and reducing the time spent on the development of new, more efficient agricultural machines and on mastering their production. To enhance the responsibility of the ministries, departments and industrial enterprises, the USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR State Supply Committee for the timely realization of assignments regard-

ing the delivery of machines and spares to agriculture and the improvement of their quality, reliability and durability.

6. The plenary meeting attaches great importance to improving construction in the countryside. It is necessary to strengthen the building and design organizations, to raise the level of industrialization of rural construction, to promote on a large scale the production of local building materials, to expand considerably the construction of production premises, houses and cultural and service establishments in the countryside. To pay more attention to amenities, water and gas supply to collective and state farms, and road building.

7. In view of the great importance of the speedy development of animal husbandry, raising the productivity of cattle and poultry and reducing the production cost of meat, milk and other products, to instruct the USSR Ministry of Agriculture to work out, with the participation of local organs, scientists, and specialists in animal husbandry, and submit to the CC CPSU proposals aimed at ensuring a considerable increase in this branch of agriculture.

8. The plenary meeting considers it necessary to retain, for the forthcoming five-year period, the principles of fixed plans for the procurement of agricultural products. To plan grain purchases for 1971-75 at approximately the same level which was fixed for the current five-year period, amending it, when necessary, for individual republics, territories and regions. The plan for rice procurement should be determined separately, with higher assignments for every year, taking into consideration the expansion of irrigated areas.

To instruct the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers to approve, before March 1, 1969, proceeding from this principle, plans for the purchase of agricultural products in the country as a whole and in the Union republics in 1971-75.

9. With a view to increasing the production and sale by the collective and state farms of agricultural products in excess of the fixed plan, to extend the existing order of stimulating above-plan grain deliveries to certain other agricultural products.

To instruct the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers to work out corresponding concrete measures.

To consider it necessary to use part of the means received by the state farms in the form of additions to the basic price for production in excess of the plan, as premiums to state-farm workers, specialists and executives.

10. The Party, government and agricultural organs should pay special attention to improving economic work on collective and state farms, to the need for improving the organization and remuneration of labor, reducing production costs, raising the profitability of all branches of collective- and state-farm production, and ensuring in every way growth of labor productivity in agriculture.

11. The plenary meeting instructs the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers to take the necessary measures for removing the shortcomings and improving the organization of the procurement of agricultural products, and promoting the development of the industry processing agricultural raw materials and the refrigeration and storing facilities, in order to ensure timely reception and processing of products, their good preservation, and a fuller satisfaction of the demand for them in all the zones of the country.

12. The plenary meeting attaches special importance to raising the effectiveness of scientific research as an indispensable condition for accelerating the development of agriculture. The State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the USSR Academy of Agricultural Sciences should considerably improve the activity of agricultural research and educational establishments, concentrating the forces of scientists on the solution of problems connected with the development of high-yielding varieties of crops and the breeding of new strains of cattle and poultry, as well as with land betterment, mechanization, electrification and automatization of production processes, biological methods of plant protection, the economics of collective- and state-farm production, and the scientific organization of labor. To enhance the responsibility of research teams and individual scientists for the quality and terms of elaboration of problems and recommendations, and for their introduction into agriculture.

13. To instruct the Party, government and agricultural organs to pay more attention to the training of agricultural specialists in secondary and higher educational establishments, to raising the skills of collective- and state-farm executives, above all team leaders, managers of cattle and poultry farms, and section heads, and to the creation of adequate working and living conditions for specialists to ensure permanency of their work on the farms. To improve the traiing and re-training of workers of mass professions, especially farm machinery operators. Boldly to promote front-rank collective farmers and state-farm workers to executive posts.

14. The plenary meeting attaches great importance to improving the organizational and political activity of Party, trade union and Komsomol organizations among workers in agriculture. It is necessary to perfect in every way the methods and forms of socialist emulation, to encourage efforts to ensure higher labor productivity, fuller utilization of all resources, consolidation of state and cooperative property, and a high socialist discipline of labor.

* * *

It is possible to carry out the challenging tasks of accelerating the development of agriculture and carrying out large-scale chemicalization, land betterment and comprehensive mechanization of

agricultural production only by the joint efforts of the workers in agriculture and the industrial working class, scientists and agricultural specialists, industrial engineers and technicians — the joint efforts of the entire Soviet people. It is for all Communists, for all Soviet people, to carry out the decisions of this plenary meeting.

The CC CPSU calls upon the Party organizations, the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the trade unions and the Komsomol widely to popularize among the working people of town and country the decisions of this plenary meeting and the policy and plans of the Party in the development of agriculture, and to mobilize their efforts for the successful realization of these plans.

The plenary meeting notes with satisfaction the nationwide support enjoyed by the initiative of the staffs of industrial enterprises, construction projects, collective farms and state farms which have launched socialist emulation for greeting in a fitting manner the 100th birth anniversary of our leader and teacher Vladimir Lenin, and for fulfilling the five-year plan by November 7, 1970. The plenary meeting expresses firm confidence that the working people of town and country will fulfil with honor their socialist pledges and score new successes in communist construction in our country.

ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC CPSU IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN POLICY

RESOLUTION* OF A PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC CPSU, OCTOBER 31, 1968

Having heard and discussed the report of Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, the plenary meeting approves and fully supports the activities of the Political Bureau.

The plenary meeting notes with deep gratification that the foreign policy of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government is meeting with the unanimous support of the Party, our working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, the entire Soviet people.

Adopted unanimously.

*Pravda, November 1, 1968.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA

The budget proposals introduced by Morarji Desai in March set the pace for Government policy and subsequent economic developments for this period. Based on deficit-financing to the extent of Rs. 290 crores, against the background of cut in plan outlays, recession and galloping inflation, the main purpose of the budget was only to help the private sector, particularly the monopolists, to grow as fast as it can and to maintain its high profitability at the expense of the common people. This was apparent from the wide range of concessions given to the corporate sector and the steady removal of controls, combined with more burdens on the working masses in the form of indirect taxation.

The most noteworthy feature of the budget was that for the first time Morarji Desai, who till now has been opposing deficit-financing on principle (even though introducing it in practice) justified the principle of deficit-financing openly. The World Bank Review of Indian economy (June) has also, significantly enough, expressed its specific approval in this respect.

The implications of this, in terms of price rise and inflation and consequently of the growing burden on the common masses, will be severely felt in the coming period.

In his economic survey, Morarji Desai made out a rosy case that the economy had turned the corner. Increase of agricultural production and a pick-up in the industrial sphere were cited as decisive factors in this connection. But what is the reality on the economic front taken as a whole?

TURNING THE CORNER?

It is true that there has been a bumper harvest. But despite this bumper harvest, due to the total bankruptcy of a well-thought-out and well-planned procurement policy based on assuring a fair price to the producer and the Government securing maximum quantum of the marketable surplus so as to be able to build up a buffer stock by a commanding position and to control prices, putting an end to PL-480 immediately, the very reverse has happened. A UNI despatch in May had stated:

> "The lag in internal procurement of kharif grains, the paucity of funds and lack of adequate storage facilities are expected to result in a serious shortfall in the proposed buffer stock of foodgrains . . . A recent study made by the Planning Commission

*From report at plenary meeting of the National Council, CP of India, held August 1-8, 1968.

also reportedly shows that there may be 'practical difficulties' in building a sizeable buffer stock of foodgrains this year."

The reports that have appeared in the press during June from U.P., Haryana and Madhya Pradesh reveal a tale of total lack of any well-thought-out procurement policy, of peasants being fleeced by Government agents and wholesale private traders, of lack of storage and transportation facilities, of wheat stocks flooding the mandis and lying in the open, drenched in the rain even while starvation deaths are taking place in West Bengal, Assam and Orissa.

In Punjab, no doubt, procurement has been considerable. However, in Punjab too, the peasant has suffered at the hands of Government agents acting in collusion with the private trader. There has also been considerable loss because of lack of adequate storage and of transport difficulties.

In West Bengal and Assam, procurement has totally collapsed.

As against the total procurement target of nine million tons recommended by the Agricultural Prices Commission, actual procurement may not exceed 4.5 million tons by the end of the current crop year, a year of bumper crop amounting to over 100 million tons. A wrong food policy of restricting procurement to the minimum and giving the blackmarket enough scope to strengthen itself has produced the result that while wheat crops lie piled up in the mandis in surplus States for want of Government procurement and lack of storage and transport facilities, deficit States continue to suffer on account of scarcity of foodgrains and high prices thereof. It is now admitted that rice procurement has failed on a country-wide scale.

It is, therefore, no accident that despite the bumper crop. food shortages and near-famine conditions are reported from parts of Assam, Orissa, West Bengal, Mysore and Kerala. It is also to be noted that despite this bumper crop, prices of foodgrains have not come down appreciably in many parts of the country and the commodity price index has not moved significantly downwards despite the bumper harvest.

At the same time, there has been *steep fall in the prices of commercial crops*, the impact of which on the peasantry has been severe.

The total lack of procurement policy on the part of the Central Government and its utter dependence on foreign aid in practice (despite the loudest talk about self-reliance) is seen in the fact that even in this year of bumper harvest, PL-480 aid to the total extent of 6.5 million tons is being contracted for.

While, therefore, with the bumper harvest there may be some easing of pressure on prices, as also on the food front here and there, it would be totally wrong to talk of "having turned the

corner," thanks to the nature of the agrarian structure built up by the Congress and its continuing policies. Indeed, the big potentiality of this year's bumper harvest has been squandered away in regard to the building up of a massive buffer stock.

ON THE INDUSTRIAL FRONT

Similar is the situation on the industrial front. On the industrial front, the Congress Government has during this period taken certain monetary and fiscal measures, designed to inaugurate a policy of 'cheap money' and thus help revival of the private sector and maintenance of monopoly profits at the expense of the consumer. The Industry Ministry's annual report for 1967-68 lists these measures as follows:

—Advancement placement of orders on private firms by the public sector;

—Selective credit measures for reviving demand for engineering products of high priority;

—Relaxation of controls on industry aimed at facilitating adjustments in production in the light of the market situation;

—Renewed emphasis on export promotion as a means of offsetting the slackening in domestic sales of certain articles.

As a result of such a policy, there can be nothing more than a marginal easing of the recession in certain industries. Fiscal and financial measures can be no substitute for urgently-needed structural changes which alone can lead to decisive expansion of the home-market and expansion of public sector investment. It is the shrinkage and cut in these two that lie at the basis of economic stagnation and recession. Without policy changes in this respect, there can be no lasting break-through on the economic front.

The latest Industrial Development Ministry Review of current economic trends (June) gives figures which substantiate the above. According to this review, the index of industrial production for February and March shows only an increase of 3.4 per cent over the first quarter of 1967 and 3.7 per cent over the last quarter of 1967. The significance of this can be grasped only when one remembers that 1967 was the year when industrial production was hardest hit by recession and economic stagnation.

Indeed the Ministry's own review goes on to state: "The picture for 1967 is one of unrelieved gloom. In contrast to the high hopes entertained about recovery in response to a good harvest, recession persisted on a wide front and showed small improvement only in patches so that the year as a whole ended with an actual decline of 2.6 per cent in industrial production compared to the previous year. The slow and tardy response of the industrial sector to the significant improvement in the agricultural sector even in the first

months of 1968 must, therefore, induce considerable caution in making an overall assessment for the current year."

According to the latest assessment of the economic situation by the planning Commission, though industrial production is expected to show an improvement during the current year, the problem of the balance of payments stability is expected to present major difficulties. Indeed, the Planning Commission itself has projected only a 5-6 per cent increase in industrial production for the current year 1968-69.

The industries in which the trend of production is distinctly upward include consumer goods (vanaspati, mill-made cloth, leather footwear, sewing machines, etc.), intermediate goods (aluminum, copper, caustic soda, superphosphates, cement, etc.) and capital goods (diesel trucks, transformers, tractors, etc.).

Reports from the sectors of railway wagon manufactures, shipbuilding, machine-tool manufacture, structural steel fabrication, foundries, etc., indicate that during the first five months of 1968 actual manufacturing activity has only improved between five to 20 per cent compared with the last six months of 1967.

The bumper harvest, together with the financial and fiscal measures taken by the Congress Government have thus led to the easing of the recessionary situation in certain industries. It is no doubt necessary to take this into account, for working out correct tactics for the trade union front. But as far as the basic economic situation is concerned, far from there being any "turning of the corner," developments of the recent period show *new explosive factors building up as a result of Government policies.*

ACCENTUATION OF PLANNING COMMISSION

The first major factor is the sharp accentuation of the already two-year old crisis of planning and development and of resources. It is now commonly admitted that one of the major factors behind the recession has been the Plan "holiday" virtually enforced during the last three years. Planned investment has been stagnating around Rs. 2,000 crores or so for four or five years now. In real terms, the actual public sector outlay has fallen. The consequences of the abandonment of planning have been disastrous all around.

Recent developments clearly show that the Congress Government is making no policy reorientation whatsoever to break through this situation. Indeed, what is in prospect is a worsening of the crisis in this respect.

The outbreak of the financial crisis in the capitalist world and the rapid worsening of the crisis due to the impact of the Vietnam war and recent political developments in Britain, France and West Germany; the collapse of the pound and the dollar and the weaken-

ing of France; these have resulted in a situation where there cannot be any break-through for the crisis of planning and development in India without radical structural changes in industry and trade, as well as in resources mobilization policy. Recent developments clearly show that such changes cannot and will not come from the Congress leadership.

The upshot of the recent Consortium meeting is a virtual freeze on foreign aid. While Consortium members actually pledged only up to about 300 million dollars of new aid, in addition to re-scheduling of repayments to the tune of 100 million dollars, our total repayment liability to members of the Consortium is 400 million dollars this year. This means there will be no addition to the available aid.

It is now confirmed that the U.S. foreign aid program will be drastically cut this year to the lowest point in history.

Already we have reached a position where a major portion of our free foreign exchange earnings go towards repayment obligations. Nothing short of a moratorium on all debt repayments involving the payment of foreign exchange will enable the Indian economy to rehabilitate itself.

With hardly 750 million dollars left in the pipeline for the current year and little prospect of any addition to it in the current year, we are reaching the dead-end in our dependence on foreign aid.

Thus *the problem of mobilization of resources for the Plan and the foreign exchange problem have now become much more acute than ever before.* The estimated foreign trade gap for 1968-69 is expected to come to about 950 million dollars. This much of foreign exchange will have to be found—besides a resources mobilization based on self-reliance. This necessitates drastic policy and structural changes, especially in a situation where the financial-economic crisis in the capitalist world has intensified the cut-throat competition for export markets from the imperialist powers themselves.

PLAN APPROACH DOCUMENT

There is not the slightest indication of such changes, either in the policy of the Congress Government or in the Plan Approach Document submitted by the Planning Commission. The Plan Approach Document envisages an annual rate of economic growth of five to six per cent which is more or less the same as under the Third Plan. In agriculture, the growth-rate proposed is five per cent, again the same as in the previous Plan. In the case of Industry, it has been reduced from the target of 11 per cent under the Third Plan to 8-10 per cent. Thus the targets are fixed at the minimum level possible. Indeed, the Plan outlay for 1968-69 remains no more

than for the last year. Even then, the key question remains: does the Document indicate any reliable path for the achievement of even these modest targets on a stable basis pinpointing and taking into account the political and economic reasons for the total failure of the Third Plan? It does not.

The Plan Approach Document emphasizes the need for mobilization of additional resources to the tune of Rs. 200-300 crores a year for the achievement of the targets. But how is this to be mobilized? The question of the monopolists, of black money, of banking capital, etc., is not even mentioned in the approach document.

In a year of bumper harvest, the question of effectively tapping the huge flow of income into the pockets of landlords and rural rich, the question of a steeply graded agricultural income tax, finds no mention whatsoever. Even the timid scheme of rural debentures put forward hesitantly by Dr. Gadgil was later on not pressed.

All that is left is continuance of the present Morarji policy of more inflation and indirect taxation.

The question of the public sector achieving a commanding position in the fields of production, distribution and exchange—necessitating a number of nationalization measures and radical agrarian reforms—likewise finds no mention.

The document talks of self-reliance but only in such general platitudinous terms as would not be objected to even by FICCI (Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry). There is no attempt to pinpoint concretely priority areas of concentration for self-reliance development.

In a recent address to the Association of Scientific Workers, Mr. Suri of the Durgapur Mechanical Engineering Research Institute pointed out that in the past 20 years a sum of Rs. 20,000 crores has been invested in foreign capital goods with the result that we have the biggest manufacturing base of any developing country. Yet, we are faced with the fact that more than half of the capacity in heavy engineering is lying idle, while we continue to import machinery of the order of Rs. 600 crores annually. Mr. Suri expressed the opinion that at least Rs. 400 crores worth of machinery required could be manufactured here provided local know-how and technology were developed and applied. While nearly half of the collaboration agreements signed by Indian industry relates to mechanical engineering, the funds allocated to research and development in this field come to only Rs. 3 crores out of the total of Rs. 250 crores for research in the Third Plan.

In agriculture there is talk of a growth rate of five per cent and stoppage of PL-480 (Public Law-480—under which food grains are

supplied by the USA) by 1971-72 but there is no mention of any concrete policy reorientation either on procurement or on a national food policy. In increasing agricultural production, the entire emphasis is on capitalist farming and "consolidation of holdings." It is thought this is how the investments in agriculture could be stepped up from within the sector itself. This is an approach fraught with dangerous social consequences.

The Approach Document sets great store by the buffer stocks of agricultural products as a means of holding the price line but no reorientated policy-frame is indicated for the successful building up of such buffer stocks. Without nationalization of banks, and other effective curbs on the monopolists and speculators, without radical changes in the budgetary and economic policies of the Government, without a proper wages policy, there can be no effective holding of the price line. Yet the Approach Document shuns even the demand for bank nationalization—and gives a certificate to Morarji's "social control" scheme!

Throughout the whole document, there is no evidence of the "policy-frame" about which Dr. Gadgil had been so eloquently speaking and writing prior to his coming into the Planning Commission.

In the background of such policies, the crisis in planning and development, the crisis in resources mobilization, the foreign exchange crisis—all these will be intensified and aggravated, creating dangerous explosive factors in the future, despite any temporary marginal easing of the situation due to the bumper harvest. The basic factors leading to the present plight of the nation, far from being solved, are steadily getting aggravated.

The crisis in planning has already led to an explosive situation as regards unemployment. In fact, the peak-point of the rate of growth of employment was reached in 1963. This fell to 5.6 per cent in 1966 and to 0.8 per cent in 1967. If present trends continue, according to the Planning Commission members, the figure of unemployment may reach the colossal level of 28 million at the end of what is euphemistically called the Fourth Plan. And due to "the various limitations" of the Fourth Plan, the Planning Commission has no positive approach and no hopes to offer on this problem in their Approach Document.

The problem of unemployed engineers has already reached very high proportions. By July this year, there will be 83,000 qualified engineers in the country without a job. For the overwhelming majority of them, the only hope held out is that with a good harvest, the country will pick up and create more opportunities. In the meantime, the remedy offered is—a cut in admission into engineering colleges!

OFFENSIVE OF CAPITALIST CLASS AGAINST WAGES AND JOB SECURITY

In such a situation, the offensive of the capitalists to pass on the burdens of the crisis on the shoulders of the working class has developed on a wide front in the last four months. Wages are in practice being frozen; lay-offs, closures and lock-outs, as well as increased work-load and automation are leading to retrenchment on a massive scale.

INDO-SOVIET TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION

In this period, the only positive step the Government has taken is to explore ways of enlarging trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as with countries like the UAR.

The offer made by the Soviet Union to place massive orders with India for railway wagons, steel and a variety of manufactured goods and to enlarge the fields of economic cooperation between India and the Soviet Union is a major step designed to ease the recession in the Indian engineering industry, to enable utilization of the now heavily under-utilized capacity of some of the public sector complexes in our country and thus stimulate economic growth and job security.

While negotiations have been started in this direction, an insidious offensive is on against increased trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, coming from the monopolists, the bureaucracy and a section of the Congress leadership within the Government itself. The World Bank, too, has openly come out voicing its opposition. Attempts are being made to sabotage the negotiations now under way and to restrict and minimize its scope. The American lobby is very active in this regard.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA

The political Resolution passed at the Patna Congress sharply posed the counter-offensive which reactionary forces and the Congress leadership had opened against democracy and the living standards of the working masses, against democratic and parliamentary rights and the democratic non-Congress Ministries in the States. It pointed out: "It is an ominous development that communalism, linguism and chauvinism are being increasingly whipped up in different parts of the country to disrupt the unity of the working class and the democratic mass movement and facilitate the attack of the vested interests against the living standards of the working masses."

In this connection it emphasized: "It would be a serious mistake to underestimate or minimize the real danger of the present counter-offensive of reaction, arising from the great degree of cohesion and political articulation of the forces of the Right, as well as their far greater degree of entrenchment in the party organization and governmental leadership of the Congress and the upper echelons of the bureaucracy and the military."

The resolution set the task of building up. step by step, the political unity of the Left and democratic forces on the basis of a democratic platform to hurl back the challenge of reaction and to move forward.

Developments of the last five months have confirmed the seriousness of the counter-offensive of reaction.

COUNTER-OFFENSIVE OF REACTION

After having disrupted the United Front in West Bengal in November 1967 and after setting up a puppet Ministry by defying the Constitution, the policies pursued by the Congress leadership in U.P. and Punjab have been serious outrages against Parliamentary democracy. Every tactic was employed in U.P. with the help of the Governor to bring in a Congress Government by the back door without reference to the will of the elected assembly and only when this proved impossible was the assembly dissolved and mid-term elections ordered. In Bihar, the Assembly was dissolved and mid-term elections ordered after the resignation of the Bhola Paswan Ministry only when it was found impossible to form an alternative Government of the Congress or a Congress-supported coalition. In Punjab, even in defiance of the verdict of the High Court, the minority puppet Ministry of Gill is being shamelessly maintained and utilized to maintain a regime of unprecedented corruption and police terror.

The weapon of food is systematically being employed to hamstring and weaken the Kerala Government. In addition, the bogey of "law and order in danger" is constantly being raised to work up an atmosphere for action against this Ministry.

Pressure has been sharply stepped up by the Congress leadership in Tamilnad against the DMK Ministry and the issue of "law and order" is being systematically worked up.

The new Congress President Nijalingappa is directly taking a hand in this campaign of subversion and fully whipping up anti-Communism for this purpose.

Political prisoners are still being kept arbitrarily in detention in West Bengal. The Congress leadership in West Bengal is openly interfering even in the domain of the Election Commission in order to get mid-term elections postponed to suit their interests.

In Bombay, the Shiva Sena could fully utilize the connivance of the police and even of the Union Home Ministry in order to carry through its fascist attacks.

The most alarming developments in the counter-offensive of reaction during this period have been the widespread occurrence of communal violence all over the country. The most significant features of this outbreak have been the following:

- Its spread even to states such as Mysore which till now have been free from it;
- The major victims have been the Muslims;
- The systematic part played by RSS and Jana Sangh in spreading Hindu communal propaganda and creating a atmosphere of commual tension;
- The Jana Sangh, as well as Congress groups utilizing communal violence for political purposes;
- Utilization by the Jana Sangh of Governmental power to give patronage to communal-minded officials;
- Failure and refusal of administrative authorities to take prompt preventive as well as punitive action;
- A growing feeling of insecurity and helplessness on the part of the Muslims; Muslim communal elements are beginning to take advantage of this.

It must be emphasized that the growing economic discontent and political frustration in the country, growing unemployment, etc., are fully exploited by the communal forces. Likewise the rise and growth in many towns of a lumpen underworld supplies materials for such forces.

ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTY

The negative features in the political situation sharply underlined above should not make us lose sight of the soundness of the central slogan emphasized at the Patna Congress—unity of all Left and democratic forces, as the only viable alternative to Congress rule. It is this unity alone, unity forged in a different way corresponding to new alignments taking place within different Left and democratic parties, that has acted as a constant check, frustrating the designs of the reactionary forces to a certain extent as in West Bengal and Bihar, step by step. Experience has shown that even through the zig-zags of the recent period, such unity can be forged *in practice* in the States and on an all-India scale.

During the last five months, the Party has made some headway by pursuing the path of mass struggle for urgent demands and reforms and by building up and preserving the unity of Left and democratic forces to the maximum extent possible under the given circumstances.

In many States, during the recent period, the Party has participated in massive mass struggles in defense of the living standards of the working masses. The mass struggle conducted in West Bengal and Bihar on a wide front, the food struggle in Orissa, the mass struggles conducted in Bangalore, the struggles of the textile workers and of handloom weavers in Tamilnad deserve special mention.

A notable development during this period is the revival of the kisan and agricultural labor front in almost all the States. Mass Kisan Sabha and agricultural labor conferences have been held and the kisan sabha and agricultural labor organizations actively revived in most States. The Bharatpur session of the AIKC (All-India Kisan (peasants) Committee) was an important event from this point of view.

The mass struggles conducted in most States during this period on kisan, agricultural labor and adivasi demands, in many cases the demands for banjar and fallow lands—mark a significant breakthrough by the Party on this front on an all-India scale for the first time in years and has prepared the ground for the second round of a bigger offensive in the future.

The Party played a key role in mobilizing and organizing the first all-India Conference of the Adivasis in Nagpur and laying the foundation for forming a democratic all-India organization of the Adivasis. This step has great significance in the present situation where an upsurge is on among the adivasis and there is danger of reactionary elements utilizing it for their purpose and misdirecting it into disruptive channels.

The solidarity demonstrations on Vietnam in Calcutta, Delhi and Bombay deserve special mention.

The Celebration of the 150th anniversary of Karl Marx's birthday by the Party on an all-India scale on a very effective mass scale in many States must be regarded as the beginning of a break-through on the ideological front.

SET-BACKS FOR UNITED FRONT: REASONS

While the Party's achievements in this period have been significant and the efforts of reaction to completely disrupt the united fronts and isolate Communists have been checked to a large extent, at the same time there have been setbacks and defeats for the United Front in this period which are serious and have caused a certain amount of frustration among the people. These require careful examination from the point of view of drawing lessons. Most notable in this respect are the defeats in the Kerala municipal elections and in the Krishnagar Parliamentary by-election (West Bengal).

In order to draw correct lessons from these setbacks, it is necessary first to put them in the proper perspective.

The United Font Governments in West Bengal, Punjab and Bihar took steps and carried through measures—even within the very short span of life they were allowed—which *did* give certain urgently needed relief to the masses and started curbing the vested interests to an extent not attempted under 20 years of Congress rule. It is precisely because of this feature that the Congress leadership at the Center, together with the vested interests and their representatives at all levels started a counter-offensive in various forms to break up the United Fronts.

The attacks and conspiracies of the Congress leadership at the Center directed towards weakening and hamstringing the Left and democratic United Front Governments and breaking up these Fronts must on no account be underestimated in assessing negative developments that have occurred since the Patna Congress.

Then came the difficulties created with these Fronts and Governments for implementation of their program by the sabotaging activities from the Right, of reactionary parties like the Jana Sangh and pro-vested interest sections of the BKD (Bharati Kranti Dal) on the one hand and by the ultra-Left adventurist trends on the other hand. The political polarization and split that has come inside the all-India BKD is a reflection of this phenomenon—with the Ajoy Mukherjee section breaking away and firmly taking its place in the United Front while the Mahamaya Prasad-Charan Singh-Dutt Mazumdar section has taken up the "third force theory" and is veering in actual practice towards the Swatantra line on policy issues.

Our Party in some respects has displayed insufficient vigilance in regard to the tasks of combating these attacks coming from the Right and from the ultra-Lefts and of setting in motion the mass movement from below in time as a means of countering them and pressing for implementation of the minimum program.

Finally must be mentioned the inability, to some extent, even in cases where Left and democratic forces were in a majority in the Governments, to project sufficiently forcefully the issues of financial and economic squeeze by the Congress Center and sabotage by the bureaucracy and rally effective forms of the mass movement to fight these.

The Kerala Municipal elections set-back deserves special examination from the point of view of drawing lessons for the future.

KERALA MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

In Kerala, out of 24 municipal councils and one Corporation in which elections were held, 11 were previously under the control of the parties of the United Front (previous elections held in

1962). This time, the United Front could win only three of these 11. On the other hand, the Congress along with independents and Kerala Congress with whom they had some understanding in some municipalities not only retained all the municipal councils they had held formerly, but wrested five new municipal councils from the U.F.—Attingal, Quilon, Alleppey, Shertallai and Calicut. The results of Neyyattinkara, Moovattupuzha, Palghat and Kasergode proved indecisive in the sense that no party had an overall majority and the issue depended on where independents would go. What were the reasons for this setback?

In the first place, despite the formal overall United Front, in actual practice, in at least seven municipalities there was infighting among parties of the U.F. themselves. And for months there had been open squabbling among parties of U.F. undermining public faith in it.

Discipline inside the C.P. (M) has been so shattered that even if their state leadership and their district leadership sign an agreement, Party members down below refuse to abide by it. This was what happened in Alleppey, Shertallai, Vaikom, etc.

But the reasons for the defeat are not merely this disunity. There are serious *political* reasons. The Kerala State Council pinned this down as the *people of Kerala expressing their dissatisfaction and discontent with the poor performance of the Kerala Ministry and its inability to fulfiil the expectations the common man had in the Ministry.*

It is necessary to nail down this factor sharply and draw political conclusions out of this.

In this respect, it is necessary to note that there has been a change in the mood of the masses since the period immediately following the fourth general elections. In that period, the mass mood was for any non-Congress Government; they had experienced only Congress rule for 20 years and voted for a change. They had not yet had practical experience of other parties in the Government and had not, in large areas of the country, learned to differentiate between one opposition party and another through their own experience. After the experience of the last year, the mood of the masses has grown more critical and more mature. They have begun evaluating the performance of the non-Congress Governments and judging them by their performance and their fulfilment of popular expectations.

There are large politically uncommitted middle sections in the country who voted against the Congress last time but who can be decisively won over to the United Front and over whom the U.F. can consolidate and stabilize its influence only on the basis of actual performance of the Ministries. We have tended to under-

estimate this factor in the past. The Kerala election results have sharply posed this.

The general public in Kerala sharply contrasts the achievements of the present Ministry with those of the Communist Ministry of 1957-59. The manner in which we won the Devicolam by-election during the period of the last Ministry must be contrasted with the municipal election set-back this time.

The common people have great expectations, particularly from the Ministries in which the Communist Party and the Left Parties play an influential part. There is no doubt that the power and resources of a State Government and State legislature are severely limited by the Constitution and a progressive State Government is thwarted again and again by the reactionary Congress Government at the Center. Yet a progressive State Government can take many measures which are beneficial to the people, which weaken reaction and strengthen the popular masses and it can also mobilize the people in support of such progressive attempts which are frustrated due to the opposition of the Central Government, etc., and thus carry on a concrete struggle against limitations. The fight for increased autonomy to the States and for recasting the present Center-State relations, especially in relation to financial power, must be seriously taken up. Besides such issues it can also mobilize people by taking up progressive positions on other issues of all-India importance and thus join the countrywide struggle for change of power at the Center itself. Thus, it can and should develop as a shield and a weapon in the hands of the patriotic and democratic forces for a deep-going change.

We must be clear about the nature of power in India and the manner in which the movement to capture state power at the Center has to be conducted. It is necessary to reject and combat the sectarian, dogmatic idea that nothing can be achieved by the State Governments under the present set up. *It is necessary to work out a program of structural reforms within the State and to implement it with the maximum possible speed.* Land reforms, trade union legislation, reform of administration, setting up of popular committees at all levels, inculcation of a radically different concept of law and order among the police and bureaucracy, utilization of the Ministries to break through and undermine the reactionary and outmoded state machinery inherited from the past, reform of the educational system—all these could and should be taken up —along with efforts to increase production, check profiteering, help the distressed, etc.

As far as the Party is concerned, steps for the implementation of such measures must come as a *two-way process*—by pressing for legislative action from above on the one hand and *by rousing*

and mobilizing the masses from below for united direct action to get these implemented in practice.

As far as the struggle against the Center is concerned, this should be based on mobilizing maximum unity within the State and should take place not merely on issues of local importance, but will lead to progressive crystallization of an effective democratic opposition to Congress rule at the Center. There have been serious lags and defects in this respect also in the past.

Popular discontent with the performance of the DMK (DMK—Dravida Munnetra Kazhagan=Dravida Progressive Party) Ministry is also beginning to express itself in Tamilnad. The Congress leadership there is taking full advantage of this.

PROBLEMS OF FURTHER GROWTH OF LEFT AND DEMOCRATIC UNITY

The Political Resolution passed at the Patna Congress emphatically warned:

"The task of building up the unity of Left and Democratic forces in our country on the basis of a common democratic platform to hurl back the challenge of reaction requires *immense independent mobilizing and organizing work by the Party in the coming period.* The complexity of the present situation and the sharp differences that still persist among the various Left parties on key political issues and the persistence of opportunist trends and anti-Communist prejudices create a situation where such unity cannot come by means of top negotiations alone. It can come only through a process of patient, protracted persistent struggle on our part, involving powerful independent mass campaigns and powerful independent mass actions and joint actions initiated and carried out by the Party and the mass organizations.

"The importance of such independent initiative and activities by the Party in the coming period will be decisive for forging the unity of Left and democratic forces."

This statement needs added emphasis for the coming period in view of certain developments that have taken place in the recent period among the Left Parties.

The developments that have taken place inside the SSP over the Kutch satyagraha (Kerala, U.P., Bihar, etc.) have sharpened the crisis inside that Party. The crisis has manifested itself over political issue (attitude towards Ministries, attitude towards the Jana Sangh, policy on language issue, etc.) as well as personal issues connected with the question of leadership after the death of Lohia.

Inside the PSP (Praja (people's) Socialist Party), too, a crisis has arisen on political issues (attitude towards the C.P. (Marxist),

towards the Left United Front and towards the United Front in West Bengal in particular, etc.). An influential section of the PSP in U.P., under Triloki Singh, has left the Party and rejoined the Congress. One section of the Party leadership represented by H. V. Kamath has raised anti-Communism and the theory of a "third force." The PSP in Bombay joined hands with the Shiva Sena for the Corporation elections.

The Republican Party, too, is in disarray in several States.

Finally has come the sharpened crisis inside the C.P. (M) and the prospect of impending split into C.P. (M) official and C.P. (Naxalbari).

All these developments have created new complications and difficulties for the task of building Left and democratic unity. The Congress leadership is out to utilize these fully to further weaken the United Fronts.

Experience in West Bengal, Kerala, Punjab and Bihar in particular, however, has shown that all this does not invalidate the key slogan of Left and democratic unity given by the Patna Congress. Despite all efforts of the Congress leadership, and the all-India leadership of the BKD to disrupt the United Front in West Bengal; despite the frantic intrigues of the ideologues of the third force theory; despite the disruption attempted by sections of the C.P. (M) leadership, the Bangla Congress under Ajoy Mukherjee's leadership has stuck to its firm political positions and remained inside the United Front. This is a development which signifies the potential strength inherent in the U.F. movement and is of far-reaching consequence.

The correct and flexible tactics employed by the West Bengal Committee of our Party has played a big part in bringing about this development.

Similarly in Bihar, despite the defection of the Mahamava Prasad section and the difficulties created by the opportunist policy of the all-India leadership of the SSP, new sections of democratic Congressmen (Binodanand Jha-Bhola Paswan Shastri) have come out of the Congress and taken their place in the United Front. The firm political stand taken by Bhola Paswan Shastri regarding the formulation of the United Front Program, the allocation of portfolios and resisting the reactionary blackmail of the Ramgarh group are positive developments in the direction of rebuilding the United Front in Bihar on a better basis than before.

In spite of the opportunist stand taken by the all-India leadership of the SSP and the PSP and the severe difficulties created by it to the United Fronts, their state units in Bihar, Kerala and other States have responded realistically to the needs of the United Front in the respective States and successfully fought back efforts to disrupt them.

The decisions taken by the PSP leadership at its latest Bombay camp (June end) mark a welcome break from the past, learning from experience.

In the C.P. (M), too, the new stage of inner crisis and disruption facing that Party has set some sober sections within it on the path of re-thinking and there is every possibility of helping forward such a development at lower levels if we adopt a positive approach towards them.

These are all developments of great political significance and importance which confirm the possibilities of building up Left and democratic unity, despite all the negative features that have raised their heads in the recent period.

But the negative features that have developed in the recent period underline the added importance of the following:

• FIRST, the Party has to evolve carefully worked out tactics in the different States towards the different groups, taking into consideration the concrete situation in the State as well as the role the Party has to play as *unifier* of the Left and democratic forces.

• SECONDLY, the emphasis given in the Patna Congress resolution to the importance of the Party's independent role and mass activity and the role of mass struggles as the *decisive* factor in building up Left and democratic unity needs to be particularly underlined for the coming period.

Utmost attention has to be concentrated by the Party and mass organizations on picking out the most burning issues around which the mass movement has to be built up and taken step by step to the point of direct mass action. It is specially necessary to concentrate on kisan and agricultural labor problems in the coming period since we are faced with the prospect of a sharp aggravation of class and social tensions in the countryside.

On the TU Front, the Party and trade unions must head the new wave of industrial action that is ahead both on State level and on all-India plane, particularly around the questions of wages and job security. In the course of these actions, the Party must constantly keep in mind *the need for forging working class unity on the TU and political levels* and must take all *necessary initiatives* in this direction.

The Party must systematically plan and carry out mass compaigns on *national political issues.* Such campaigns must form part of regular Party activity as much as mass struggles on economic issues. Their importance for building up Left and democratic unity and checking Right reaction in the coming period must clearly be understood.

The role of the *mass organizations* in building up the democratic front underlined in our Party Program, assumes added emphasis in

the coming period. Only to the extent that the Party and mass organizations are able to play an effective role in the unleashing and leading the mass movement and thereby helping to bring about a decisive shift to the Left in the country at grass roots level, only to this extent can disruption and disarray among the Left forces be effectively counteracted and the moment advanced.

- THIRDLY, the Party has to carry on a ceaseless public dialogue in front of the masses, in a fraternal, sober way with other Left Parties and groups and endeavor to get difficulties in the united front solved by mass intervention and pressure from below.
- FOURTHLY, the "third force" theory put out by the BKD and some other groups must be combated by the Party by ceaseless patient propaganda; and adventurist tactics that play into the hands of anti-Communism and the "third force" theorists guarded against. This is specially important for winning over vacillating and uncommitted middle sections which will have a decisive influence in preserving and consolidating the united fronts.

DEVELOPMENTS INSIDE CONGRESS; OVERALL SITUATION

The question must now be posed: In the light of the developments of the last five months, are we in for a period of restoration of stable Congress rule step by step all over India and strengthening of its stability at the Center? It would be completely wrong to come to such a conclusion in the light of the economic developments within the Congress Party.

The crisis and impasse created in the country by the present bankrupt policies of the Congress leadership are actually getting more and more acute. The collapse of planning and conditions of economic stagnation are aggravating social and class tensions all round and creating repeated points of explosion in sector after sector. In such a situation, to talk of restoration of stable Congress rule is to live in a fool's paradise.

Thus the crisis of the capitalist path, the crisis in the bourgeois class and in the Congress Party, far from being resolved or checked, is in fact sharpening. The fact that the Congress Party may win certain elections or get back temporarily into office in some States should not obscure this basic fact.

It is true that the great expectations roused by the fourth general elections and by the emergence of non-Congress democratic governments in the States have to some extent not fructified due to attacks and conspiracies from the Congress Center as well as internal weaknesses and failures.

The Congress leadership is trying to utilize and exploit the setbacks and weaknesses of the United Front in different States and

the frustrations caused by them, to discredit the concept of Left and democratic unity and to put forward the theory of restoration of "stable" Congress rule.

It is necessary to expose this theory and to understand that the *basic* situation still continues to be what we assessed at the Patna Congress—*of growing disintegration of bourgeois rule and of growing political instability and flux.*

The basic task of the Party, therefore, is to focus the mass movement on the building up, step by step, of Left and democratic unity on the basis of a democratic platform as a viable alternative to Congress rule, to fill up the void created by the disintegration of Congress rule.

BUILDING LEFT AND DEMOCRATIC UNITY: NEW POSSIBILITIES

The building up of such unity is a complicated and zig-zag process—not a smooth one-way affair. Under the impact of the experience of the last one year, political crystallization and polarization are taking place within "non-Congressism." Such crystallization is continuing and differences on policy issues are slowly sharpening within the Congress Party itself and within the bourgeoisie between its different sections.

Similarly, the disarray among the Left Parties has no doubt created temporary complications and difficulties for the United Front. But, at the same time, it is leading to serious political rethinking within the Left Parties themselves (SSP, PSP, CPM) and making their rank-and-file receptive to political reorientation.

In the light of the experience of the recent period, the Party is, therefore, in a stronger position today to project the need for Left and democratic unity as the only viable alternative to Congress rule, as an issue for widest discussion among the Left Parties and a fruitful dialogue with them at all levels in various forms.

Such discussion and dialogue must center not only on coalition governments in States and a "minimum program" for these, but also on a national democratic platform as an alternative to Congress rule and as basis for *countrywide mass movement on both economic and political issues.*

The task of building up Left and democratic unity must thus be seen *as intimately linked up with the task of forging worker-kisan alliance* and, with that as a basis, of building up the National Democratic Front as visualized in the Party Program. Failure to grasp this inter-relationship and keep it constantly in mind would lead to mistakes of Right deviation.

In regard to the PSP and SSP, it is necessary to emphasize that the platform of Left and democratic unity must include not only

economic issues, but also issues of anti-imperialist struggle. It is necessary to emphasize that neither a mass revolutionary movement against Congress rule can be built up nor the cause of Left and democratic unity advanced in the country in today's conditions without sharpening the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Similarly, in regard to "minimum programs" for State Coalition Governments and their implementation, it is necessary to project a *class approach* among the Left Parties (PSP, SSP, etc.) which classes are to be allied with and which classes are to be attacked.

Unless the goal of weakening imperialism and the internal vested interests is steadily and purposefully pursued step by step, neither can State Coalition Governments be stabilized and consolidated nor can Left and democratic unity be built up as a dependable viable alternative to Congress rule.

The controversies now going on within Left Parties on "non-Congressism" and on "power-oriented *versus* platform-oriented Governments" must be tackled from the above standpoint.

In this context, the concrete experience of the Coalition Governments in U.P. and Bihar must be utilized to draw the lesson that "non-Congress unity" including Jana Sangh cannot form the basis for stable democratic good government. It is necessary to push forward the process of political polarization and crystallization that has already started within "non-Congressism" in the course of the last six months and shift the focus of attention to building up firm Left and democratic unity on the basis of mass action and fight against vested interests as well as a principled program embodying these. Sections within the SSP and the PSP are beginning to veer round to this view, as a result of their own experience with the Jana Sangh in different States.

The steady strengthening and building up of Left and democratic unity will help forward the process of political polarization inside the Congress and enable the progressive sections within the Congress to fight more effectively against the stranglehold of the Right-wing bosses. On a number of important issues concerning foreign policy, monopolies, communalism, etc., it is very necessary to have a dialogue with progressive and democratically-minded Congressmen to help forward this process. Every set-back in building up the United Front helps the Right-wing inside the Congress. We have had experience of both these phenomena in the recent past, both in the States like West Bengal, Kerala, etc., as well as on an all-India plane at the Center.

Finally it must be emphasized that the alternative to building up Left and democratic unity as a viable alternative to Congress rule is the advance of the forces of reaction and the country steadily drifting towards a Right reactionary regime. Disintegration of

Congress rule is leading to a situation where either Left and democratic unity is built up to take its place as a viable alternative or the drift to the Right will continue with disastrous consequences.

In this connection it must be emphasized that the prevailing conditions of economic stagnation and frustration, and disarray among the forces of the Left provide fertile soil for the growth of Right-wing reactionary forces, as well as adventurist trends which will play into the hands of Right forces. The Party will have to make far more positive interventions than before in the coming period, both inside Parliament and outside, in the domain of Central Government policy, especially on issues of economic development, communal unity and foreign policy, in order to check the drift to the Right.

The present situation calls for the intensification of the Party's efforts to organize, initiate and lead struggles of the toiling and democratic masses on partial and sectional issues and coordinate these struggles. At the same time, in order to give *political direction* to these mass struggles and make decisive advances towards strengthening Left and democratic unity, the Party must take steps to initiate and lead national political campaigns on issues such as Vietnam, the struggle against neo-colonialism, unemployment, national self-reliance, Indo-Soviet cooperation, the struggle against communalism, the dialogue for Left and democratic unity on the basis of a program, etc. Such a many-pronged mass movement is urgently called for by the needs of the present situation.

MAIN LINES OF THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SYSTEM OF SOCIAL MANAGEMENT

DECISION* OF THE PLENUM OF THE CC BCP, JULY 1968

The principle that guides the activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party is that the building and development of socialist society constitute a law-governed historical process. In this process a qualitatively new social system takes shape, with its own structure and laws of development. The better the laws of development of socialist society have been mastered and the more correctly the relations between the different spheres of public life are regulated, the more effective Party and government leadership.

One charactersistic of Party policy since the April 1956 plenum of the CC BCP is that the Party is conforming its entire activity in managing the affairs of society and the building of socialism more and more fully to the demands of objective laws. Raising leadership to a scientific level has made it possible during the past decade to achieve substantial progress in industrializing the country, promoting agriculture, perfecting social relations and furthering socialist democracy in every walk of life. The new system of economic management is the most important and radical initiative in this respect. It is a natural result of deep-going qualitative and quantitative changes in the economy, in personnel, in the whole of public life.

To build a mature socialist society, fully utilize the growing opportunities for the all-round progress and prosperity of the country and take an active part in the scientific and technological revolution, it is necessary further to change, develop and perfect our system of socialist management. We must now proceed from the reorganization and improvement of individual spheres to perfecting the whole system of managing public affairs according to the requirements of developed socialist society.

In perfecting this system, the Party is intent on allowing greater scope for the operation of the objective economic, sociological and other laws of our society and accelerating on this basis progress in the economy, social relations and ideology, and on applying a global strategy in promoting the socialist system with due regard to the present stage.

*Abridged from BCP pamphlet, Sofia, 1968.

The guiding principle in this process of improvement should be consistent application of the Leninist principle of the organization and activity of the socialist state, the principle of democratic centralism, the demands of the objective laws of socialism, and scientific achievement, particularly in cybernetics.

Changes in the forms and methods of management are intended to ensure the continued building of the material and technical base of socialist society in our country, make social production more effective, further socialist democracy, improve the people's standard of living and heighten the leading role of the BCP.

These changes should make for more active participation by our country in the international socialist division of labor, contribute to closer fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance by the socialist countries and enhance the world prestige of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Solution of the pressing problems of our social development will lead to still closer links between the economies of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union and to an extension of our all-round cooperation. It will carry deeper and impart a richer content to Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, which we all value.

Social management henceforward is to be based on the new system of economic management. The task is, therefore, to bring the machinery of managing public affairs into line with the principles of this system and to provide the most favorable conditions and widest possible scope for its steady and full application.

First of all, it is necessary to speed the scientific and technological revolution through the new system and to effect a rapid transition to intensive development and a high and steady rate of economic and social progress.

To perfect the system of managing our society, we must solve the following cardinal problems:

—Bringing into being a harmonious machinery for the new system and creating adequate economic conditions for its all-round application.

—Improving the organizational pattern of social management and providing proper conditions for it to function as effectively as possible.

—Perfecting the information system as an important element of modern management and increase the role of science in social management and in the socio-economic advancement of the country.

—Enhancing the scientific character of Party leadership in every walk of life.

—Greatly improving the standard of work in every sector of the ideological front and the communist education of the people; consistently solving problems of the educational system, the selection,

training and promotion of personnel, labor and government discipline.

With a view to accomplishing these tasks and providing more favorable conditions for elaborating and implementing an extensive program of accelerating our social progress and raising the people's living and cultural standards, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party *resolves:*

I. CONSISTENT APPLICATION AND PROMOTION OF THE NEW SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Experimental application of the new system has shown that it is in keeping with the present stage in the socio-economic development of the country and with the exigencies of scientific and technological progress, and is the fundamental factor for the further socio-economic advance of Bulgaria along the socialist and communist road. The task now is to create adequate conditions for the consistent and overall application of the new system in every sphere of public life.

The CC BCP considers that this calls for the solution of the following fundamental problems:

—Eliminating certain imbalances in our economy and the shortage of certain basic commodities and normalizing market conditions.

—Increasing material, financial and currency reserves.

—Providing conditions for extensive economic competition between enterprises and economic organizations.

—Establishing more effective economic relations with other countries.

In devising a scientifically based machinery for the system, the following principles should serve as a guide:

A. New Approach to Economic Planning

The central task in evolving the machinery should be to work out a system of scientific planning fully according with the principles of the new system. Hence it is necessary:

1. To perfect centralized planning and consolidate the plan principle in every sphere. The character and content of the state plan should be substantially changed. The plan should become a common socio-economic and political document determining the development of society as a whole for the given period. The state plan should define the main objective flowing from the general line of the Party, and the ways and means of attaining this objective with optimum results.

2. To achieve greater coordination of long-range and current planning. The five-year economic plan broken up into yearly periods should become the principal means of implementing Party and government policy.

It is necessary to introduce considerable changes and improvements into current planning and to establish a new approach to the annual plan of the country.

Every year the government and its agencies should, according to the actual conditions, make amendments to the break-up of the plan by years and decide on a set of current measures guaranteeing fulfilment of the assignments for the given year laid down in the five-year plan.

3. To heighten the role of long-term plans (for 15 to 20 years), which should be in line with steady trends in the scientific and technological revolution. To improve the planning of scientific and technological progress with a view to perfecting scientific and technological prognostication.

4. To perfect the system of drawing up programs for the overall development of the various branches and industries. These programs should reveal the actual opportunities and means of attaining world standards at an early date.

5. To create conditions for the all-round application of the principle of continuity in planning and periodically complement long-term and five-year plans, bearing in mind that the Party must be able to foresee the development of the country over a long period. To draft guidelines for the development of the country in the next 15 to 20 years according to the results of the fulfilment of the fourth and fifth five-year plans and to new conditions and tasks, and submit these guidelines to the Tenth Congress of the Party.

6. To improve the procedure of drafting plans. National economic proportions and patterns should be determined centrally, through the state plan, in accordance with the Party policy for the corresponding period, and suggestions made by economic organizations, research institutes and labor collectives should be studied and utilized.

In drafting the state economic plan, account should be taken of objective trends in the development of the economy and of science and technology, and the plan should therefore be much more solidly based from the techological and economic point of view. It should follow chiefly the branch and territorial principle.

7. To apply the new approach to planning, it is necessary to increase the role of the People's Assembly, the government and its agencies in drafting and carrying out the state plan.

The State Committee for Sciences and Technical Progress, the Ministry of Finance, the Bulgarian People's Bank and the branch

ministries should fully share with the State Planning Committee the responsibility for drafting the overall state plan.

8. The associations, enterprises and farms should work out their plans under the direction of the relevant ministries and departments according to the policy and tasks formulated in the state plan and to common principles and methodical instructions. Economic organizations should be allowed extensive autonomy and initiative.

The plan of an association should not be a mere collection of enterprise plans but an integral program for the execution of operations directed by the association, a program based on the tasks flowing from the state plan and branch program. It should determine the policy of the association as a whole and the conditions for the development of the enterprises in its system. In this sense, the association plan is binding on the enterprises controlled by it.

Each enterprise and each farm drafts its plan on the basis of the overall plan approved by the economic council of the association or cooperative union, and of the obligatory indices, proportions and standards approved for the branch concerned or approved by the association.

In the event of the association and enterprise using their monopoly standing in drafting their plans to the detriment of society, the government may temporarily suspend this right of theirs and additionally fix obligatory terms for the production and sale of their output.

9. In the future, the obligatory character of the plan should be put on an even broader economic basis. Hence it is necessary to devise a scientifically based system of guiding and regulating standards and indices determining the potentialities and conditions of development of the various industries, associations and enterprises.

The State Planning Committee and State Committee for Science and Technical Progress should evolve, in collaboration with research institutes, a harmonious system of standards to be applied in drafting the sixth five-year plan (1971/76).

To introduce at this stage the following obligatory indices, proportions and standards, to be approved by the center: volume of output of basic articles in kind (government orders); basic cooperated deliveries; proportion of investments, with a list of the main projects and the time limits of their completion; allocatable proportion of certain basic raw and other materials and those in short supply; amount of foreign exchange allotted for export and for import; payroll maximums per 100-lev income or according to other criteria; fundamental tasks of technological progress guaranteeing rapid development of the industry concerned; standards for enterprise funds, taxes, interest and customs tariffs.

All these guiding and regulating means and standards should be established for a long period and approved simultaneously with the five-year plan.

The ministries, economic associations and enterprises should adhere to government-established price-formation indicators, rates of exchange of foreign for Bulgarian currency, standards of effectiveness of investment, time limits of designing, building and commissioning new capacities.

The Bulgarian People's Bank should carry on through the credit system the policy envisaged by the state plan.

10. To ensure the continuity and flexibility of planning, the government should adopt a special program for the gradual accumulation of necessary government and current reserves of materials, foreign exchange, financial resources and goods. The use of these reserves should be strictly controlled.

11. Radically improve planning methods and techniques by perfecting the balance method of planning and by making free use of economic-mathematical methods and electronic computers.

The State Planning Committee should develop new, more perfect plan forms and indices in collaboration with research institutes, with due regard to production mechanization and automation.

Those sections of the decision dealing with the problem of perfecting the finance and credit system and of putting economic organizations on a really self-paying basis and with the principle of distributing their incomes formulate appropriate tasks and measures . . .

D. Making Proper Use of the Market Mechanism

Along with perfecting the principle of centralized planning in economic management, fuller use should be made of the market mechanism to stimulate economic progress. The socialist market should operate according to the state plan, the central government bodies establishing in advance the most favorable proportions of economic development.

The decision provides for relevant measures.

E. Promoting Our Foreign Economic Relations

To consistently apply the new system and enable Bulgaria to take an active part in the worldwide technological revolution, it is necessary to carry farther and deeper our economic, scientific and technological cooperation with other socialist countries, primarily with the USSR.

Our country should help to build up a more effective system of economic cooperation between the socialist countries.

The foreign economic policy of Bulgaria within the framework of the socialist world system today should meet the following principal requirements:

1. Increasing socialist mutual aid and integration in the economy of the socialist world on the principles of the international socialist division of labor. The process of socialist integration and socialist mutual assistance should speed the economic progress of the less developed socialist countries, helping their economy to overtake that of the foremost socialist countries.

2. Integration of Bulgaria's economy with that of other socialist countries should be effected by means of closer links between our economy and the Soviet economy through production specialization and cooperation over a long period.

3. Coordinating the economic development of the socialist world community more extensively and improving work on agreeing long-term forecasts and long-range plans along with fuller use of the socialist market and commodity-money relations.

4. Setting up international socialist trusts and other international associations.

5. Evolving a common investment policy for the socialist community, with Bulgaria taking part in the working of important raw material sources.

6. Intensifying direct economic cooperation between the economic associations of the various socialist countries.

7. Using new, more effective forms of foreign trade. Improving and carrying forward the practice of long-term agreements and annual protocols.

8. Developing an international system of socialist investment credit on a medium- and long-term basis by using the joint bank capital deposited in the International Socialist Bank.

9. Converting the International Socialist Bank from a clearing agency into a genuine international bank.

10. Devising, in collaboration with other socialist countries, a set of measures leading to convertibility of the currencies of the socialist countries.

11. Perfecting the contractual price system.

12. Carrying cooperation with the developing countries farther and deeper.

The government should elaborate an integral conception of these problems on whose basis our country could contribute to the creation of a more effective system of economic cooperation between the socialist countries.

II. CHANGING THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

To create a system of managing society more in line with the present stage in the development of the country and with the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution, it is necessary to introduce substantial changes into the structure and functions of government agencies, into the style and methods of their work.

The CC BCP considers that government administration should be perfected along the following lines:

—Establishing at this stage a more correct combination of centralized leadership with socialist democracy in governing the state through consistent and creative application of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

—Fully applying the Marxist-Leninist principle of unity of the legislative and administrative-executive activity of the state.

—Bringing the structure and functioning of state administration into harmony with the principles and requirements of the new system of leadership by making full use of the achievements of the science of management.

—Promoting the system of self-government in various spheres as an expression and means of carrying forward socialist democracy. Diversifying the forms of participation in the all-round management of society by the workers and other working people and their socio-political organizations.

The activity of all government agencies should continue to take place under the leadership of the BCP. Their work should be guided by the policy and general line of the Party and by the effort to implement them.

In connection with the drafting of a new Constitution of the PRB, it is advisable for the commission elected by the People's Assembly to discuss and introduce into the draft Constitution appropriate amendments regarding the system, structure and functions of the organs of state power and administration.

A. Central Government Bodies

1. Decisively to enhance the role of the *People's Assembly* as the supreme body of state power in the PRB. To this end the People's Assembly should:

—step up its work on drafting, discussing and enacting laws;

—discuss and settle the more important problems of our political, economic, social and cultural policies and our foreign political and economic relations;

—organize planned management of society and approve long-

term and five-year plans. Approve every year the budget of the republic and the government report on plan fulfilment, and give relevant recommendations;

—take proper measures for the enforcement of laws and the execution of decisions.

To heighten the role and extend the powers of the People's Assembly in state administration, it is necessary to perfect the electoral system by improving the procedure of nominating candidates and recalling people's representatives.

2. To establish the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in place of the Presidium of the People's Assembly in order to ensure that the government agencies adhere in their work to the principle of unity of legislative and administrative-executive activity.

The State Council shall be elected by the People's Assembly from its members. It shall combine the adoption of decisons with their execution and shall be accountable to the People's Assembly for its entire activity.

To invest the Chairman of the State Council with a number of functions, and first of all that of representing the state in international relations.

The State Council shall direct and coordinate the work of local government bodies.

To set up under the State Council the *Institute for the Organization of Management* with a view to studying the problems of perfecting the management system.

In connection with the enhancement of the role of the People's Assembly in drafting laws it is advisable that the *Legislative Council* should be directly subordinated to the State Council.

3. Enhance the role of the *Chief Procurator's Office* and the *Supreme Court* as supreme organs charged with supervising observance of the laws of the country.

4. To enforce the principle of unity of legislative, executive and administrative activity of the state, the *government* should become an effective executive organ of state power functioning under the guidance and direct control of the People's Assembly and the State Council.

To be more efficient the government should be freed from functions that are not appropriate to it and devote itself more fully to day-to-day management, coordination and control. An important place in its work should be occupied by the principle of planning in governing the country.

5. A government *Committee for Economic Coordination* is to be set up for purposes of all-round current and long-term economic coordination on a nationwide scale.

6. The establishment of state economic associations and the

changes in the functions of the government also call for restructuring the organs of the Council of Ministers—the ministers and central departments—through creating government organs of a new type corresponding to the present stage of development, the demands of scientific and techonological progress, and the policy of broadening the rights and encouraging the initiative of economic organizations. They should be full-fledged organs of the government charged with the elaboration and pursuit of state policy in the given field of state activity, organizing, directing, coordinating, supervising and creating conditions for the normal functioning of the corresponding economic organizations.

7. The Central Committee considers it expedient to improve the structure and functioning of government organs responsible for separate aspects of state policy.

B. On the Place and Role of People's Councils in the System of Government

1. In connection with the new organization and tasks of the system of state management it is necessary to consolidate the independence and stimulate the initiative of people's councils, which should assume even fuller control of state, economic and socio-cultural policy on their territories.

With this aim in view the central organs should strengthen their contacts with the People's Councils and implement general economic and social measures through the councils and with their help.

2. To grant the People's Councils broader rights in the field of control, building, economic work at enterprises, and in the activity of state organs.

3. To ensure more active participation of the district People's Councils in nationwide and territorial planning and especially in coordinating the activity of all economic units on their territory, irrespective of the character of the subordination. The principal place in local planning and coordination should be occupied by measures favoring effective development of the productive forces on the territory of the district.

Correct implementation of state policy in the field of agriculture should be one of the primary tasks of the district People's Councils.

4. To enhance the material interest of the People's Councils in the results of the economic activity of enterprises situated on their territory it is necessary to change the current practice of drafting and executing local budgets. The budgets of the People's Councils should be more closely tied up with the results of the economic activity of all enterprises on their territory through

granting the People's Councils greater freedom in executing the budget.

5. To enhance the role of People's Councils in the protection of socialist legality.

6. The communal People's Councils should concentrate primarily on meeting the everyday, socio-cultural and other needs of the population, which calls for broadening their rights in this field.

7. It is desirable to improve the system of election to People's Councils.

8. To work out and submit to the People's Assembly a new *Law on People's Councils.*

C. On State Economic Associations and Enterprises

With a view to improving economic management it is necessary to further develop and diversify forms of economic agglomeration in keeping with the concrete tasks, conditions and character of economic contacts between various economic organizations. Among such forms can be: state economic associations in which the enterprises retain their economic independence (the existing form of association); firms (united enterprises) with the limited independence of individual enterprises; associations of enterprises of different branches with the establishment of closer contacts between them (combines); associations, on a contractual basis, of enterprises of different amalgamations without the establishment of a new organizational cost-accounting link; collective forms, with the participation of different economic organizations; state-cooperative economic organizations.

The section on improving the administrative apparatus defines the main directions of the development and improvement of the work of the administrative apparatus . . .

E. On a Uniform System of Information

The further improvement and development of the administrative system and the consistent application of the new system of economic management demand establishment of a uniform system of social information, which includes economic, sociological, demographic and other forms of information. Scientific and technical information should in the future as well develop independenly, as a concern of appropriate organs.

III. SOME PROBLEMS OF THE WORK OF THE PARTY AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS

A. Further Enhancement of the Leading Role of the Party

The advance of the People's Republic of Bulgaria along the road of socialism and communism, the acceleration of scientific and

technological progress, the full introduction of the new system of management, the improvement of production relations, the increased political maturity of the population, the Communist education of the working people, the further development and enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory demand still greater enhancement of the leading role of the BCP and the raising of the scientific level of Party leadership in all areas of life.

In connection with this, it is necessary:

1. To complete the realization of the decision of the 9th Party Congress on separating the functions of the Party and its organs from those of other organs of social guidance, especially state and economic organs, to raise still higher the political leading role of the Party organs and organizations.

The main content of Party work should be deep elaboration of Party policy in different areas of life and chief directions of its implementation, as well as mass political, educational and organizational activities, the training and education of cadres.

2. Improvemet of the activity of all Party organs and organizations is indispensable for enhancing the leading role of the Party.

—It is necessary to improve the content and style of work of CC plenary meetings through intensifying the control functions of the CC and its activity in concretizing the decisions of Party congresses.

—The Central Committee should free itself from most current problems that fall within the jurisdiction of state and other organs; concentrate attention on a scientific analysis of social processes, scientific forecasting and programming of the economic and cultural development of the country; heighten control over state organs and public organizations in introducing principles of scientific management and drastically improving the style and methods of work of the Party and state apparatus; engage in theoretical elaboration of the problems of our social and political development. This should serve as the basis for work on concrete problems of economic, political, scientific, technological and cultural development, of ideological life and communist education.

—Enhance the responsibility of the government, the ministers and other leading functionaries to the Central Committee of the Party, while at the same time granting them broader rights for exercising effective day-to-day leadership and solving pressing problems.

—Establish the most rational structure of the apparatus of the CC and the district Party committees conforming to the leading role of the Party in the present conditions and ensuring the fullest utilization of the possibilities of the state, economic and public organs and organizations.

—Broaden the rights of the Party apparatus in the field of pro-

gramming and modelling social relations, in the testing of new experience; conduct long-range planning of Party work.

—Provide Party organs with timely and sufficiently complete and full information about social processes, public opinion and the activities of state organs and public organizations.

—The chief aim of Party control should be to ensure the pursuit of the line of the Party, the realization of Party decisions, application of correct methods and style of work, and the raising of the political and scientific level of leadership.

3. Take measures for further improving work with cadres in keeping with the new tasks and demands.

—Implement more consistently the line based on confidence in and respect for cadres, greater independence and broader rights of leaders, firm adherence to principle and high exactitude, unity and cooperation of different generations and contingents in serving the Party and the people.

—The main demand now made of the cadres is that they should master the new approach to matters of leadership and new methods of work, be well educated and know trends of scientific and technological progress and modern economic development, keep in step with the new, fight against that which has outlived itself, against conservatism, against everything that hampers the development of society.

—Promote the finest representatives of the working class, the most progressive class in our society, to leading Party, state, economic and public posts. Augment the cadre of leaders with other categories of working people—cooperative peasants and representatives of the intelligentsia, paying special attention to young people and women who are devoted to socialism and have proved their worth by practical deeds.

—In selecting and promoting cadres, the principle of competition should sometimes be applied. Gradually we should go over to the principle of electivity of leading cadres in the state economic sector as well. With this aim in view, corresponding guidelines should be worked out.

—To improve the education of cadres, constantly to renew and enrich their knowledge and experience, to raise their qualifications in keeping with the new achievements of science and engineering. To this end it is necessary to improve the education system, to devise a more effective system of retraining cadres.

4. From now on, it would be more expedient to convene Party congresses prior to National Assembly elections and to the entering into force of new five-year economic plans.

5. The Central Committee considers it necessary to work out a Party program reflecting the new experience of socialist construction, our new gains, and the experience of class struggle, and at

the same time indicating, on the basis of common laws of socialist and communist construction, a clear perspective of our country's further progress along the road of socialism and communism.

To draft such a program and submit it to the 10th Congress of the Party.

B. On Enhancing the Role of Public Organizations in the System of Social Guidance and Increasing Their Participation in the Life of Society

Our system of mass organizations should fully conform to the socio-class structure of socialist society and ensure general organization and conditions for the political education of the working people. It should enable the various categories to voice their specific interests and thus make it possible to harmonize their interests with the interests of the entire people.

It is necessary to adopt a new approach to the mass organizations, which are an expression of independent activity of the working people, to broaden their relative independence, to promote their public character and combine state and public activity in the work of leading state, legislative, economic, cultural and other organs.

To enhance the role of *trade unions* in our society, turning them into organs of worker self-government and the mass social base of state guidance of production.

—To discuss the question of the place and functions of production committees at enterprises and of their relationships with the trade unions.

—To grant to the Fatherland Front the right of control over the activity of enterprises, institutions and organizations dealing with public amenities, social and cultural services, and supply.

—The Fatherland Front should adapt the forms and methods of its work to its specific conditions and tasks, going over in its activities from organization to movement and from movement to organization.

—To improve drastically the work of the Party among women, to ensure more correct organizational and political guidance of the *women's movement*, and enhance the role of women in managing the affairs of our society.

—A definite, historically-conditioned place in the system of social guidance is occupied by the Bulgarian Farmers' Alliance, a loyal ally of the Party, an active fighter for the happiness of the people, for socialism, for the socio-economic and political unity of our people, for the prosperity of the country.

IV. ON RAISING SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS AND DISCIPLINE, ON EDUCATING THE NEW MAN

This part contains sections dealing with *a new approach to the education of the working people, the consolidation of labor discipline, and struggle against negative phenomena in our life,* and outlining the main trends in the activity of the Party, the state organs and the mass public organizations.

D. Conduct Ideological Work in Closest Connection with the Implementation of the Tasks of Socialist Construction

The effectiveness of ideological work is judged principally by the degree of activity of the masses in socio-economic life, by the degree to which the ideas, the political line and the decisions of the Party are turned into a material force.

In order to ensure purposefulness and a clear perspective in ideological work it is necessary to work out an integral strategy of the ideological activity of the Party in close connection with the topical problems of our development and of the struggle against the ideological aggression of imperialism, with problems of the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

V. ON ENHANCING THE ROLE OF SCIENCE IN SOCIAL GUIDANCE AND IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

Our entire political, economic, public, ideological and administrative activity should be based on scientific research and conclusions.

VI. NEW DIRECTIONS OF RAISING THE LIVING STANDARD OF THE PEOPLE

The improvement of social and economic relations, consistent application of the new system of management and the promotion of scientific and technological progress make for faster growth of the living standard of the people.

It is necessary to apply an economically substantiated approach to the solution of tasks connected with the living standard, and of social and cultural problems.

—The principle of distribution according to work should be implemented fully and comprehensively. The quantity and quality of labor should be the main criterion of the measure of labor and distribution. The appraisal of labor should be still more closely connected with the effectiveness of production.

—To make growth of the incomes of the working people much more dependent on the intensity of economic development, on the introduction of achievements of science and engineering.

—To pursue a policy under which remuneration for labor would exceed incomes received from the social consumption funds.

The basic principle of the Party's approach to the problems of the standard of living consists in organically linking these problems with the entire system of far-reaching measures for perfecting social relations and raising the productivity of social labor.

The Central Committee considers that in connection with the task of further raising the living standard of the population it is necessary to carry out the following tasks:

1. To change the structure of production so as to ensure greater output of consumer goods at lower prices, improve their quality and broaden their assortment and on this basis to increase public consumption.

Fuller use should be made of the possibilities for broadening the choice of consumer goods through exchange of goods with the fraternal socialist countries.

2. To take measures for drawing an increasing part of the able-bodied population into social labor. With this aim in view:

—To modify the present policy on the distribution of productive forces, laying greater emphasis on the construction of industrial enterprises in small towns and big villages. To launch the establishment of agrarian-industrial complexes in rural localities.

—To work out the main trends of economic development in districts and regions over a period of 10 to 15 years.

—To approve new norms and criteria for employment in the sphere of distribution and services, in the city transport, etc., so as to ensure fuller satisfaction of the needs of the population in conditions of a shorter working week.

3. To create the necessary prerequisites for introducing, not later than at the end of 1969, certain wage increases, mostly for the low-paid categories and for young specialists. The distribution of the means allocated for this should be tied up above all with the effectiveness of production and with the demand for the establishment of a more correct correlation between wage rates for different categories of working people.

To prepare in good times new complements and tariff scales, bearing in mind that wage increases should depend on the growth of the incomes of enterprises in the state and cooperative sectors.

4. To organize all trade on the basis of economic principles and to raise the standard of service.

5. To accelerate the development of all services as an important means of raising the material and cultural standards of the people.

6. Special attention should be paid to the development of the public conveyance system.

7. To ensure the final solution of the problem of housing construction, one of the lagging sectors of social policy, it is necessary:

—To work out a housing construction program for 10 to 15 years, to be carried out on the basis of annual and five-year plans.

—State economic associations, enterprises, state farms and other economic and public organizations should make more active use of their funds for their own housing construction.

—To set up specialized production complexes which will widely apply industrial methods and supply building materials and elements for housing construction. To set up a special housing construction organization.

—To take measures to cut construction costs.

8. In keeping with the possibilities of the country and with the decisions in the field of social policy already adopted by the Party and the government, to elaborate corresponding social problems.

9. For purposes of working out a long-range perspective of raising the living standard of the people on the basis of a complex of coordinated measures, a special party and government commission should be established to draft in the nearest future a comprehensive program of improving the well-being of the people.

By improving the system of social guidance, the Party endeavors to accelerate harmonious development in the economic, political and social fields and in the spheres of ideology, science and culture. The reorganization of the system of social guidance and of its mechanism will be decisive for the development of our society, for the growth of its material and spiritual forces, in the building of socialism and communism, for raising the well-being of the people.

The creation of a new structure and mechanism of social guidance is a difficult matter. Extensive political and organizational work is needed to overcome the old mode of thinking and action, to master and apply new means, forms and methods of leadership.

In the present situation, characterized by a sharpened class struggle between socialism and capitalism in the international arena, our Party and our state should pursue a clearly defined and scientifically substantiated strategy of further advance, uniting into a single whole all main aspects of our social reality, all the material and spiritual values and resources, ensuring a broad offensive against imperialism, against its subversion and aggression. The Party and the state should implement a global strategy based

on Marxism-Leninism, on the Program of our Party, on the jointly adopted documents of the world Communist movement.

The Central Committee calls upon all Party, trade union and Young Communist League organizations, all organs and organizations of the Fatherland Front, the ministries, departments, state economic associations, the heads of industrial, trade, building and transport enterprises, state farms, agricultural cooperatives and machine-and-tractor stations, research institutes and higher educational establishments, all working people, to approach the decisions of this plenary meeting with a high sense of responsibility and to apply all their forces and abilities in order to carry them into reality, to accelerate the building of the material and technical base of our society, to affirm mature socialist social relations, to shape the communist consciousness of the people, to raise the standard of living of the population.

PROMOTE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP

RESOLUTION OF THE CC, BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY SEPTEMBER 1968

The events of recent months in Brazil have influenced the mass movement and the political situation in the country. The mood of the broad masses and their attitude towards the problems facing Brazil, towards the policy of the dictatorship and the regime imposed by the April coup in 1964, reflect their increased awareness and militancy. A mass front of opposition to the government and the regime is taking shape, and the process of establishment of a front of anti-dictatorship forces is quickening. At the same time the contradictions within the dictatorship are sharpening, being in evidence in the government itself. The dictatorship is evincing signs of instability, its isolation is growing.

The Central Committee has analyzed the principal aspects of the changes in the political situation and the activity of the Party in connection with the most important events, and adopted this resolution, aimed at ensuring the correction of mistakes and shortcomings in the Party's activity and the most effective implementation of the political line mapped out by the 6th Congress.

1. The most important event deserving special attention is, without doubt, the mass demonstration of June 26, this year, in Guanabara, where about 100,000 people, cheered by thousands of residents of the center, expressed their opposition to the government and their readiness to fight for democratic freedoms.

The events in Guanabara stirred the whole country and were followed by demonstrations in many states. In Fortaleza, Recife and other cities thousands of students, undaunted by police brutalities, went out into the streets and, winning actual legality for their organization, imparted a nationwide magnitude to the movement. The dictatorship sustained a serious defeat.

The June events, specifically the demonstration of June 26, involved principally the middle strata of the Brazilian people. It should be noted that the participants included many priests and nuns, a fact which should be regarded as an expression of not only the individual positions of the clergymen, but also an official support and approval of the protesters by the Guanabara clerical authorities.

It is noteworthy that the students and, following them, other

sections of the population organized effective and timely self-defense, demonstrating great initiative and equally great ability to adapt themselves to concrete conditions for repealing police repressions.

2. This impressive demonstration of the Brazilian people cannot be regarded as an isolated outburst of popular discontent. It is part of the struggle against the dictatorship which has been mounting throughout the country in recent months. It was preceded by a number of political events testifying to the deepening of the class struggle and the growing activity of the anti-dictatorship forces.

The working class is fighting ever more actively for its rights and interests—principally for material improvements, against the government's policy on wages. Abolition of the wage freeze is the main demand of the labor government which found expression in the struggle for higher wages and was supported by all the congresses of trade unions. It greatly stimulated trade union activity and the strike movement of the working class, the rural working people and office employees from among the urban middle strata.

Of great importance for the labor movement were also this year's May Day activities, held principally in public places in many states. They were of a unitary character and involved students, clergymen, intellectuals and art workers. On the whole these activities were planned and carried out by the trade unions themselves, independently of the Ministry of Labor. Struggle against the dictatorship's wages policy was the central issue. Despite the relatively small number of participants, the May Day activities constituted a step forward compared with previous years and testified to the growing mobilization and unity of the working class.

Among other things, the new level achieved by the labor movement is evidenced by the strike of 10,000 metallurgical workers which paralyzed 18 enterprises in Minas Gerais. It was followed by successful strikes in the Sao Paulo automobile industry (Volkswagen, Willys, Mercedes-Benz and Chrysler) to protest against the decision of the supreme court of labor arbitration on reducing from 25 to 23 per cent the wage supplement for 300,000 workers of the metallurgical and metal-working industry and recent strikes at different enterprises in Osasco (Sao Paulo), All these actions show that the organized working class can prevail over the fascist laws of the present regime and secure legalization of the right to strike. The struggle launched at enterprises and immediately supported by the trade unions compelled the dictatorship to make concessions. The 10 per cent rise in the maximum wages decreed by the government was the first success in the struggle against the wage-freeze, even though this increase was of a demagogic and limited character, because it did not apply to the large number of people who receive minimum wages and also because it can be

effected not earlier than six months after the last wage increase and after the conclusion of new collective agreements.

Discontent with and resistance to the brutalities and lawlessness perpetrated by the latifundists are growing in the countryside. Agricultural workers' unions are coming into action again all over the country. Their number in Sao Paulo alone exceeds 50. More than a hundred rural trade unions from different states sent delegates to the trade union conference held last November, where they voiced the demands of the categories of working people represented by them. Regional conferences of rural trade unions were sponsored by the National Confederation of Agricultural Workers. One of them, held in Campina Grande (Paraiba), decided to intensify the fight for the realization of the decree according to which every sugar-refinery worker is entitled to own two hectares of land. Despite the tremendous difficulties involved, rural working people hold strikes to protest against the ruthless exploitation to which they are subjected, as, for instance, in the Cabo municipality (Pernambuco). Many other strata of the rural population also resort to this form of struggle. In Ponte Nova (Minas Gerais), sugar-cane growers declared a general strike and refused to deliver cane to the refineries, demanding higher prices and threatening to burn their plantations.

Since 1965 a democratic movement of students has been growing in the country, sometimes merging with the popular movement. This year it gained new scope, and the specifically student demands presented by it rapidly gained the support of the masses. Brutal police repressions were launched against it. The murder of Edson Luiz in Guanabara sparked off a powerful outburst of popular protest, which developed into the biggest ever manifestation against the dictatorship.

The present regime is opposed by other important sections of the urban population. The teachers of state schools in Minas Gerais are resorting to demonstrations and strikes to get their overdue salaries. The teachers of secondary and higher schools in various states are also pressing for their demands and actively supporting the students' struggle. Artists and intellectuals are fighting against official censorship, declaring strikes, closing down theatres and holding demonstrations in Rio and Sao Paulo in defense of the freedom of creative work and expression.

Thus, the struggle against the dictatorship is mounting all over the country. The main forces of the anti-dictatorship front are becoming increasingly active. However, despite the considerable successes of recent months, the degree of mobilization of certain groups and of the population as a whole is not yet sufficiently high. Even in the student milieu, the most militant, the movement in defense of the students' and general political demands has not

spread to the broad masses of secondary and higher school students. Weakness of the labor movement remains the most negative aspect of the situation. Only through stepping up the struggle of the working class and strengthening its unity of action and its alliance with the other principal forces of the united front is it possible to wage a determined and consistent struggle against the dictatorship.

3. In the course of recent months there have been taking place terroristic acts, chiefly in Sao Paulo. The ultra-right terroristic organizations, such as the Anti-Communist Movement and the Detachment of Communist Chasers, which are spearheaded against Communists and other patriots and democrats, are again growing active.

The dictatorship relies on terror to intimidate the masses and isolate them from the Communists and other anti-dictatorship trends so as to impede the latter's struggle and at the same time justify the intensification of repressions.

The terror should be exposed as a weapon of the dictatorship. We should also expose and combat the activities of the ultra-right organizations, reveal their real aims and the anti-labor and anti-national essence of the anti-communist campaign. We should teach the masses how to give organized rebuff to the provocations and terror of these organizations. We must destroy them.

In the face of police provocations and the efforts to attribute the terroristic acts to the Communists, we should persistently explain our principled stand to the masses. As we Communists see it, class struggle is the motive power of history. Revolution is made by the masses. Marxism condemns individual terror as a method of political struggle.

4. As the mass movement against the dictatorship is mounting and the struggle of the workers, peasants, students and intellectuals and other middle urban strata for their specific demands and for democratic freedom is gaining momentum, we are witnessing growing unity of action, solidarity and mutual assistance among the forces which constitute the basis of the anti-dictatorship front.

The meetings in Sao Caetano and Maringa, in which thousands of working people took part, facilitated united action by broad anti-dictatorship forces. In consequence of this first step towards unity with the working masses undertaken by the Broad Front organization, the initiator of the meetings, the government banned this organization. This, however, did not prevent growth of opposition within the bourgeoisie. Voices against the government and the existing political system are heard more and more frequently in parliament. Reactionary bills submitted by the executive authority are opposed by deputies and senators from MDB and ARENA.

Among the joint actions of the anti-dictatorship forces on the

nationwide scale, mention should be made of the position of religious trends and organizations. More and more priests and Protestant pastors are joining in the struggle against the dictatorship and in defense of the working people's demands. Most speakers at the episcopal conference pointed to the need for changes in the social structure and in the political life of the country. A similar stand was adopted by the conference of monastic orders, which is very important in view of these orders' close links with mass educational, medical and other organizations. Despite resistance on the part of its more reactionary wing, the church as a whole is changing many aspects of its attitude in a direction which stimulates the struggle of the masses for the solution of their problems. In a country like ours, where the majority of the population professes the Catholic faith or, at least, has been educated in its spirit and is influenced by it, the new attitude of the church is a political phenomenon of tremendous significance which can greatly facilitate unity of action by the popular masses in the fight against the dictatorship, for social progress.

5. Contradictions between the two main trends are deepening within the Costa e Silva government. One trend insists on the need for coercion, for a tough line, for restriction of the vestiges of democratic freedoms as the only way to consolidate the regime. The exponents of the other trend consider that in order to preserve the regime and the constitution it is necessary to make concessions, to avoid steps that would aggravate the situation, and modify the composition of the government so as to expand its socio-political base.

6. Popular discontent is growing as a result of the financial and economic policy of the government aimed at increasing the country's dependence on and subordination to United States imperialism and propping up the positions of internal reaction, a policy which leads to the enrichment of a tiny minority at the cost of the growing impoverishment of the vast majority.

The increase in prices, rents, indirect taxes and charges for services accelerates the pauperization of the middle urban strata which, like the working class and the rural working people, depend on wages for a living and suffer the consequences of the government's financial and economic policy constantly cutting into their real wages. In addition, the government has taken advantage of the so-called readjustment of the monetary system in order to increase the burden of inflation shouldered by the masses, e.g., through a demagogic scheme of the National Bank for Housing Construction and the "Public Health Plan" envisaging payment for hospital treatment and out-patient services and thereby signifying new inroads on the standard of living.

The concentration of capital is accelerating, as is evidenced by

the growing number of bankruptcies and debtor-creditor settlements in the country's major cities.

According to official data, inflation is growing at a monthly rate of two per cent. The increasing pressure on the national currency on the part of stock-jobbers speculating for a fall has compelled the government to effect this year's second devaluation of the cruzeiro and accept the policy of progressive devaluation.

7. The government's treasonous policy is coming up against the patriotic sentiments of the people. Indignation at the compromising policy of the government and the U.S. imperialists' impudent interference and violation of national sovereignty is growing among broad social strata, from the working class to certain elements of the national bourgeoisie.

Petrobraz (the national oil company.—*Ed.)* is threatened again. Seeking to abolish state monopoly in oil extraction on the plea of stimulating the development of shelf deposits, the government is dismissing or demoting those Petrobraz employees who expose its intentions.

Denationalization in the national economy continues; agents of imperialism are freely conducting serial photography of Brazilian territory. The government's military policy is dictated by U.S. brass-hats, who are training the country's armed forces for struggle against their own people. The training includes the use of napalm and nazi repressive methods similar to those which were used against the June students' demonstration in Guanabara.

Popular indignation at the government's policy of betrayal and subordination to Washington is growing also in connection with the activities of U.S. imperialism in the international arena. The people see ever more clearly the contrast between the U.S. policy of war and the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union. More and more frequently demonstrations are held to express admiration for the Vietnamese people's heroic resistance to the criminal American aggression. The struggle of the American people themselves against the war in Vietnam and against racial discrimination, the protest against assassinations for political reasons taking place in the United States, the contradictions in the capitalist world around the price of gold and the dollar rating—all these facts reveal the decline of U.S. imperialism and stimulate the struggle of the patriotic forces against the Costa e Silva government.

In addition to sacrificing the interests of our country to those of the U.S. monopolies, the dictatorship appears in the disgraceful and criminal role of executor of the policy of U.S. imperialism, the policy of oppression and enslavement of other Latin American peoples. It participated in the aggression against the Dominican Republic. Today, in alliance with the Argentinian "gorillas," it is preparing an action against the Uruguayan people who are opposed

to the reactionary policy of a government obedient to the diktat of the International Monetary Fund.

8. The events confirm the correctness of our tactics, which is to ensure that the struggle of the masses should be based on defense of their specific demands, their rights and concrete interests. Only in this way is it possible to achieve unity of action by the masses, drawing politically passive strata into a struggle which is growing in scope and intensity. Experience also shows that defense of the demands of the masses leads to a more or less sharp conflict with the policy of the dictatorship, that it is always closely connected with the defense of democratic freedoms. That is why the struggle for concrete demands tends to develop into a struggle against the policy of the government and against the regime. Likewise, the classes and strata fighting for their specific demands tend to act in unity when defending democratic freedoms.

Thus, practice has corroborated two propositions underlying our tactics: stimulation of the struggle of the masses on the basis of their own demands, and primary importance of defense of democratic freedoms, its connection with the struggle of the masses at all levels.

As the Political Resolution points out, forms of struggle stem from the demands of the concrete situation at the given moment and are conditioned by the level of consciousness and militancy of the masses. In other words, forms of struggle—simple or more developed, peaceful or violent—cannot be imposed arbitrarily. It would also be a mistake to try to keep the movement within the framework of simple forms or to accelerate its development with the help of higher forms, without taking into account the concrete situation in either case. Forms of struggle should be chosen with due regard to the actual state of the mass movement, to the degree of mobilization, organization, awareness and militancy of the masses. Only in this way will they help to strengthen and intensify the movement.

In Guanabara, the ultra-left and adventuristic elements called for an "urban guerrilla war." They urged the students and intellectuals to demonstrate in small groups, seeking a "direct clash" with the dictatorship. We and other trends, proceeding from the conditions in the country, prepared for a truly mass political demonstration in defense of democratic freedoms, against the regime. In view of this, we strove to ensure that the movement assume the biggest possible scope and that the students and other strata participate in it within the framework of faculties and institutions. Our viewpoint prevailed, and the June demonstration was a success.

On the other hand, developments have borne out the proposition on the need to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle and

organization, to use all legal possibilities for actions in defense of political and economic demands without confining them within the framework of laws promulgated by the dictatorial regime. In many cases maximum utilization of legal conditions helps to break the fetters of laws which the dictatorship intends to impose upon the people. Besides, it is evident that as the process of isolation and defeating the dictatorship develops the slogans and forms of struggle will change parallel with the mounting struggle of the masses.

The course of events in the country corroborates the tactics outlined in the resolution of the 6th Congress. These tactics make it possible, on the one hand, to stimulate and consolidate the mass movement and the unity of action of the anti-dictatorship forces and, on the other, to isolate the dictatorship, to deepen its internal contradictions and reduce its socio-political base. On the other hand, the policy of the leftist and adventuristic groups narrows down the mass movement and thus complicates its development, which objectively plays into the distatorship's hands. As the facts show, the tactical line of Communists in the mass movement can be successfully implemented, whereas the line of the ultra-left groups is sterile and holds out no promise of success.

9. While analyzing the events in the country we should also analyze the activity of our Party. There is no doubt that it was positive in many aspects. In some states the leading organs and Party organizations have improved their work among the masses and strengthened their links with other trends, taking part in actions against the dictatorship, influencing the organization and political orientation of many of these trends, and providing guidance to some of them. These successes should help strengthen the Party and further improve its work. But it is also necessary to study the revealed shortcomings so as to correct them.

Thousands of working people took part in the student and popular demonstrations, especially in Guanabara. But the factory proletariat, the main force of the working class, did not participate in them as an organized mass. Obviously, this happened owing to circumstances over which we had no control. But it cannot be denied that this reflects a serious weakness of our work at enterprises, including those assigned to the national leadership of the Party. Still present in our ranks are sectarian and putschist tendencies expressed in underestimation of the mass movement, in a lack of attention to its problems and the organizations of its struggle. The leftist tendencies are also manifested in petty-bourgeois subjectivism and impatience. Under the pressure of the ultra-left groups, which regard the general strike as the only form of struggle against the wage-freeze, the Party circles connected with the trade union movement evinced a certain impatience, a desire to hasten events so as to enter immeditaely into an open conflict with the

dictatorship. Sectarianism manifests itself also in the trend to stir mass organizations to action under political slogans too high for the present level of consciousness of the masses. instead of beginning with economic demands which produce a quick and tangible effect. More unitarian action of this kind will lead the masses, wise from their own experience, to struggle for political demands.

On the other hand, parallel with the development of the struggle there appeared right-opportunist trends which found expression in calls to assume the defensive, in a lack of militancy and courage. The exponents of these trends use as a cover the need to combat the adventurist and leftist elements who operate mostly in the student movement and seek to influence the labor movement. They characterize the actions in which these groups take part as "leftist," sectarian or provocative, losing sight of what is the main thing for us: the interests of the masses, their organization, their fighting spirit. Thereby they divorce themselves from the masses and broaden the field of action for these very groups.

The experience of the recent events testifies to the opposite. Stimulation of mass struggle in forms stemming from the concrete situation creates conditions for affirming our line and for exposing and isolating the adventurist groups. Such is the concrete road of struggle against them.

On the other hand, victory over the "left" and right opportunist trends will depend on the strength of our links with the masses, on our knowledge of their problems, our ability to influence them and direct their struggle.

We must also note that during the events some Party members failed to display any initiative, remaining unpardonably passive and indifferent as they watched the crimes perpetrated by the dictatorship against our people, the police brutalities, the murder of students and other demonstrators. In addition, the material basis of our agitation and propaganda proved weak precisely at the moment when it was urgently necessary to give a reply to the dictatorship, to expose its criminal actions and call the masses for protest and struggle.

10. The above-stated facts show that our country is entering a new period of unrest among the masses who are demanding change. In view of this an even greater responsibility devolves on us Communists. We must boldly and offensively implement the decisions of the 6th Congress regarding the organization of the masses for actions on a still broader scale.

In the present situation our principal task is to mobilize and organize the working class and other patriotic and democratic forces in a struggle against the dictatorial regime, for democratic freedoms. While pooling efforts to stimulate the mass movement by

economic and political slogans, we should improve mutual understanding with the other political trends and leaders intending to fight against the dictatorship.

Special importance attaches to the problems of relations with the religious trends. We should continue the dialogue with the leaders of these trends and the search for ways to rapprochement with the Catholic church, with representatives of its progressively-minded majority in the interest of joint struggle for democratic freedoms, for social progress and the well-being of our people.

We want to unite all these anti-dictatorship forces on a common platform, around a commonly elaborated minimum program. The principal planks of this platform have already been submitted to Communists. (See the Political Resolution of the 6th Congress). We intend to discuss them with the other anti-dictatorship forces, and we should spare no effort to bring them home to our people.

In view of the situation obtaining in the country, specifically the growing instability of the government, some demands of this program assume still greater importance today.

11. In the present conditions, increasingly serious and violent clashes with the dictatorship appear inevitable. The Party should prepare for participation in, and, as far as possible, leadership of, the forthcoming battles. It is necessary to redouble efforts for the Party to live up to its historical mission as vanguard of the working class, leader of the revolution. To this end every Party organization and every Communist should implement the decisions of the 6th Congress stated, in the main, in the Political Resolution, whose close study, discussion and assimilation should be a must in the Party ranks.

The recent events have reaffirmed more clearly than ever the correctness of the proposition of the Political Resolution to the effect that the Brazilian Communists are faced with the historic task of building a strong and solid party of the working class, that our work should be aimed chiefly at organizing and promoting joint actions for immediate economic and political demands and at defeating the dictatorship.

Therefore it is necessary to concentrate efforts on Party building at enterprises, to cement our links with the working people, to know and voice their specific demands, to be able to gauge the level of their consciousness and militancy, to organize and rouse them to action, to choose, in keeping with the situation, slogans and forms of struggle. While maintaining vigilance towards adventurers and provocateurs, Communists are duty bound to be with the masses in their every action against the dictatorship.

Along with stepping up work in the trade unions, the primary Party organizations should undertake efforts to organize urban and

rural working people's committees of action for their demands in close connection with the struggle for democratic freedoms, against the dictatorship. Mutual understanding between Communists and the leaders of other revolutionary trends wielding an influence among factory workers, the urban population and students can be important when people have to be stirred to action and when setting up united front organizations around concrete issues.

While concentrating on problems of Party organization at enterprises and of our work in the labor movement, we should not lose sight of other immediate tasks formulated in the resolutions of the 6th Congress. (See *Information Bulletin* No. 3 (115), 1968.—*Ed.*)

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contents

DOCUMENTS OF THE BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES
Budapest, November 18-21, 1968 5

RESOLUTION OF FIFTH CONGRESS OF POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY 10

THE SITUATION IN FRANCE AND THE COMMUNISTS' TASKS
Statement by the PB, French CP 34

RESOLUTION OF LEADERSHIP OF ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY 37

MAIN TASKS OF THE PARTY FOR THE COMING PERIOD
Resolution of the November 1968 Plenum of CC CP of Czechoslovakia 39

COMMUNIQUE ON MEETING OF LEADERS OF CPSU AND CPC IN KIEV 67

CONTENTS Nos. 1-24, 1968 68

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COMMUNIQUE

ON THE MEETING OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties met in Budapest over November 18-21.

Representatives of the following 67 Parties took part in the meeting:

Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of the United States of America, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Chile, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, South African Communist Party, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Guadeloupe, Guatemalan Party of Labor, Party of People's Unity of Haiti, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of India, Irish Workers' Party, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Communist Party of Israel, Communist Party of Jordan, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Colombia, Polish United Workers' Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxemburg, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany—West Berlin, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Party of Nicaragua, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Paraguay, Peruvian Communist Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Reunion Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of El Salvador, Communist Party of San Marino, Communist Party of Spain, Swiss Party of Labor, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Sudan, Communist Party of Turkey, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Venezuela, and one party not named

since it is working underground. Representatives of the Communist Party of Norway and of the Left Party—Communists of Sweden were present as observers.

Letters were received from a number of parties informing the Preparatory Committee that they were unable to send representatives.

The Preparatory Committee, in accordance with the statement adopted at its September-October 1968 session, examined the question of convening and the method of preparing the International Conference. The Budapest meeting, after exhaustive discussion, decided to convene the International Conference in Moscow next May, with the agenda adopted at the Consultative Meeting: "The tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and the unity of action of Communist and Workers' Parties, and of all anti-imperialist forces."

They further agreed to convene the next session of the Preparatory Committee in Moscow on March 17, to consider the draft documents of the forthcoming Conference, to decide on organizational matters concerning Conference and to fix the date for it. The Working Group was entrusted with drafting the documents in time for the next session of the Preparatory Committee.

The Preparatory Committee repeats its appeal to all fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, including those which have not yet participated in preparing for the Conference, to join in this work.

The representatives of the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Swiss Party of Labor and the Réunion Communist Party, who in principle agree with convening the International Conference, will communicate the final view of their respective parties on these decisions at a later date, after consultations with their leading party committees. The other delegations unanimously adopted the Communique.

The work of the Preparatory Committee took place in an atmosphere of a frank exchange of views and in the spirit of comradely cooperation. It expressed the resolve of the Parties to reinforce, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the bonds of friendship and solidarity uniting them.

* * *

All the delegations warmly thanked the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for its hospitality and for the excellent organization of the work of the Preparatory Committee. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Hungary, they wished the members of the Party and the people of Hungary further success in building socialism.

PREPARATORY COMMITTEE STATEMENTS

IN DEFENSE OF THE LIVES OF COMMUNISTS AND OTHER PATRIOTS IN INDONESIA

We, the representatives of the 67 Communist and Workers' Parties gathered in Budapest, condemn with anger and indignation the brutal war of extermination waged by Indonesian reaction against Communists and other democrats, brave fighters against imperialism for the freedom and independence of their country.

Monstrous terror has been raging for the past three years. Tens of thousands have been killed and tortured, hundreds of thousands are suffering and perishing in prisons and concentration camps. Comrade Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, and other leaders of the Party have been summarily executed. Only recently the reactionaries committed yet another crime when they executed Comrades Njono and Sudisman.

The rulers of Indonesia, despite the protests of world public opinion, are intensifying the terror, continuing the physical extermination of Communists and other democratic people in their country.

We again condemn these evil deeds. No more blood must be spilt! No more victims! We declare our unshakable solidarity with the Communists and other democrats in Indonesia. Expressing the will of the peoples of our countries, we demand an end to the terror and the release of all political prisoners.

The crimes of the Indonesian reactionaries will not go unpunished. They will never succeed in crushing the freedom-loving people of Indonesia and their will to fight against imperialism.

Let the voice of protest ring out throughout the world against the evil deeds of these reactionaries.

Budapest, November 20, 1968.

AGAINST UNJUST SENTENCE

The Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, meeting in Budapest, vigorously protests against the death sentence passed by the Athens court on Alexandros Panagoulis, anti-fascist, fighter for freedom and peace, for Greek democracy and independence; demands that the unjust sentence, inspired by the fascist dictatorial regime, shall not be carried out, and annuled in line with the request of the

International Association of Democratic Lawyers; expresses on behalf of all the parties present at the Meeting its support and encouragement to the worldwide solidarity movement, and addresses its fervent appeal to all anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces, to all true democrats, to all freedom-loving peoples to join their efforts in a broad united movement to save the life of Panagoulis and to put an end to the reactionary repression in Greece.
Budapest, November 20, 1968.

GREETINGS TO PEOPLE OF VIETNAM

The representatives of the 67 fraternal Parties gathered in Budapest for the November session of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties warmly hail the recent successes of the Vietnamese people.

The fact that U.S. imperialism has had to end wholly and unconditionally the bombing and other military operations against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and to agree to hold talks in Paris with the participation of the delegates of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, is a big gain for the people of Vietnam and for all the forces of peace and progress throughout the world.

The Communist and Workers' Parties reaffirm their solidarity with the people of Vietnam battling against the aggression of United States imperialism and will continue to maintain their vigilance in the face of imperialist machinations, to extend their actions jointly with all peace forces with the aim of achieving the total withdrawal of the troops of the United States and its allies from Vietnam and ensuring for the people of Vietnam the right to determine their own fate in peace and independence.
Budapest, November 21, 1968.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PATRIOTS IN GUATEMALA, PARAGUAY AND HAITI

The representatives of the 67 fraternal Parties gathered for the session of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, express their deep indignation at the cruel and bloody reprisals of the American imperialists and their local henchmen against the revolutionaries fighting for freedom and independence in Guatemala, Paraguay and Haiti.

In Guatemala worker and peasant leaders have been cruelly murdered, among them Victor Manuel Gutierrez, Rafael Tischler and Leonardo Castillo Flores. In the last three years thousands of people in Guatemala have been arrested, tortured and murdered by the terror gangs maintained by the Guatemalan government and

by U.S. imperialism. In Haiti several hundred patriots were kidnapped and tortured to death; many more have been summarily executed during the past eight months.

The representatives of the Parties condemn this campaign of ruthless wholesale reprisals and violation of elementary human rights. They speak out in defense of the Communists and other patriots fighting courageously in Guatemala, Paraguay, Haiti and in other Latin American countries, and demand an immediate halt to the terror. They assure the revolutionary forces of their solidarity in the fight against U.S. imperialism and the reactionary regimes supported by it. They call upon world opinion to denounce the evil crimes committed against the Communists and other patriots and in this way help the struggle against imperialist oppression in Latin America.

Budapest, November 21, 1968.

RESOLUTION* OF THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

The 5th Congress of the PUWP approves the report of the Central Committee and fully endorses the political line set out in Wladyslaw Gomulka's report.

I. THE TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD

The period since the 4th Congress has witnessed further rapid all-round development of our economy. The assignments of the current five-year plan (1966-70) are being successfully fulfilled. In 1964-68 the national income rose by 37 per cent and its growth rate was higher than in the previous five years. Industrial production went up by almost half as much again, with finished industrial articles exceeding for the first time half of the total value of exports. The 1968 grain harvest reached for the first time 2.1 tons per hectare, which was over 400 kg more than four years ago. This year's grain procurements topped four million tons, exceeding the 1964 figure by at least 1.5 million tons. Further progress was made in animal husbandry, especially cattle raising.

Capital investments increased by 44 per cent, and the realization of plans in building improved. Approximately 1.5 million new jobs were provided. Per capita real incomes, both earned and received from the social funds, grew by about 20 per cent, and the real incomes of the rural population, by approximately 19 per cent. There was an improvement in the maintenance of pensioners. The ranks of the working class increased by 800,000.

Along with achievements, there also were difficulties, such as inadequate improvement of the quality and design of articles, the insufficient supply of goods in popular demand, the slow growth of labor productivity, etc.

The resolution goes on to outline the main economic tasks for 1969-70. The national income is to grow by almost 12 per cent. Industrial production is to increase by approximately eight per cent every year, with much faster rates envisaged for the engineering and chemical industries. Exports will be growing at an average annual rate of eight per cent. Greater output of consumer goods is to be ensured, also satisfaction of the requirements of agriculture connected with the development of agricultural production and the processing and turnover of farm products.

The resolution outlines general trends of economic development

*Abridged from **Trybuna Ludu**, November 21, 1958.

in 1971-75. Further industrialization will be accompanied by more even distribution of the productive forces. An approximately 36 per cent growth of the national income is slated for the next five years. The annual rate of growth of industrial production will be about eight per cent. The engineering and chemical industries will be developing faster than other branches. Greater output for export, considerable improvement of quality, modernization of articles and better adaptation of assortment to the requirements of buyers remain among the most important tasks. Overall consumption is to go up by 27 to 29 per cent, and per capita consumption, by 20 to 22 per cent.

Employment in the socialized sector will increase by approximately 1.6 million. The resolution stresses the need to raise labor productivity, build new industrial establishments in regions possessing manpower reserves and at the same time continue the policy of decentralizing large cities and highly industrialized regions. Capital investments are to grow by 38 to 40 per cent compared with the 1966-70 period. Poland will strive for greater turnover with the socialist countries on the basis of cooperation and specialization in production, and for a much closer economic integration of the member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

Further improvement of the management and planning system is one of the prerequisites for raising the efficiency of the economy. Dismissing the revisionist concepts, which undermine the role of central planning and aim at replacing its functions with the free play of market forces, we will strive to strengthen the role of central planning, putting it on a scientific basis and at the same time providing it, to a greater degree than heretofore, with economic levers and stimuli through reducing the number of obligatory plan directives. The purpose of central planning will be to determine trends of development of the principal regions, branches and economic organizations. It is necessary to make planning more flexible, to propagate the system of long-term and short-term agreements on deliveries production organizations and clients, to strengthen and improve cost accounting, adapted to the peculiarities of the branches, in industrial associations and at individual enterprises. The system of capital investments will also be changed, with new supply prices as the basis. Within the next two years it is necessary to determine central scientific and technological problems vital for economic development in 1971-75, and present them for solution to scientific establishments. Towards the end of the next five-year period allocations for research and long-term economic development projects will reach 2.5 per cent of the national income.

Further raising of the profitability of export is envisaged in the field of foreign trade. By 1975 export is to exceed the 1970

level by about 48 per cent, principally through a considerable increase in the export of machines, equipment and manufactured consumer goods. The engineering industry is to ensure the bulk of the increase in currency receipts. Coal, raw materials such as sulphur, and production implements will remain important export items. The export of agricultural products and foodstuffs will remain at the present level.

Development of the raw material base calls for greater production of natural gas and liquid fuel. Electric power production will rise to approximately 65,000 million kwh in 1970 and 96,000 million kwh in 1975 (55,500 million kwh in 1968). Development of the metallurgical industry will be characterized, in the main, by the modernization and reconstruction of existing plants. In 1970 copper ore output is to reach four million tons.

Zinc production in the same year will amount to 233,000 tons. The petrochemical industry will be developed at an accelerated pace. Oil processing will increase from about 5.7 million tons this year to almost 7.5 million tons in 1970 and 13.5-14.5 million tons in 1975. The output of plastics will almost double and that of chemical fibre, almost double compared with 1970. There will be an increase of at least 100 per cent in the mining of sulphur.

The engineering industry is playing the principal role in the development of the entire national economy. Concentration of forces and means in selected branches will be the guiding principle in the development of the engineering and electro-technical industry.

Growth in the building industry is to register about 14 per cent in 1969-70 and another 33 to 35 per cent in 1975. Its production capacities have to be increased at a still faster pace. Hence the need for technological and organizational progress in this industry.

Combining rapid growth of production with the process of socialist socio-economic changes remains a principle of agricultural policy. The main task for agriculture is to achieve self-sufficiency in grain production and considerably increase the harvest of fodder crops. It is necessary further to raise the head of cattle and hogs and the production of beef and milk.

The development and modernization of all types of transport and communications should be accelerated.

To ensure the supply and services to the population, output in the light industry between 1969 and 1970 is to grow by about 16 per cent. The output of consumer goods by the engineering, metalworking, chemical and furniture-making industries will grow faster. The automobile industry should strive to increase considerably the manufacture of cars.

Services to the population should be greatly increased, their quality improved and servicing time shortened. In 1975 the services

rendered by enterprises in the socialized sector should be, in terms of value, more than 50 per cent higher than in 1970.

The resolution envisages considerable growth of housing construction (approximately 28 per cent more rooms than in the current five-year period). The chief task for housing cooperatives in the period till 1975 is to provide flats to practically all members registered before the end of 1970 and to those with particularly difficult housing conditions.

A central task is to work for equality of the rights of factory and office workers in the field of social security. The realization of this task should be started with unifying the duration of holidays. The new regulations, to be introduced in the course of two years beginning with 1969, should envisage, for both factory and office workers, 14 working days after the first year of work, 17 days after three years, 20 days after six years, and 26 days after ten years, including the years of study. The equalization of the other rights of the working people, above all the right to a sickness benefit, should be effected gradually after 1970.

The reduction of working time should be continued. In the next two years hours will be reduced for all workers doing arduous jobs or those harmful to health.

II. THE TASKS OF THE PARTY IN PROMOTING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

1. Socialist construction in our country is being completed in conditions of class struggle. The Rightist forces in our society and the revisionist groups collaborating with them have tried to sow ideological confusion and political disorientation by provoking disturbances and violations of socialist public order. They are inspired and supported by political and propaganda centers of the international bourgeoisie. And the imperialist apparatus of ideological subversion and psychological warfare has become a natural ally of these forces.

The enemies of the socialist system realize that socialism has become so deeply rooted in the consciousness of the working people that an open action against its socio-economic foundations has no chance of success. There is no class in our country today which could serve as a reliable social basis for an openly anti-socialist program. Being unable to come forward with such a program, the forces of social reaction carefully conceal the essence and political objectives of their actions by the slogans of "corrected" or "democratic socialism." Revisionism has become the chief ally of these anti-socialist and reactionary forces.

Revisionism is a conglomerate of theoretical concepts and corresponding political actions running counter to the fundamental

principles of Marxism-Leninism and weakening and disarming the working class and its party in their struggle against reaction, against the internal and external enemies of socialism. Bourgeois ideology lies at the basis of the theoretical concepts and political practice of revisionism.

By declaring that the dictatorship of the proletariat in a society free from antagonistic classes has outlived itself the revisionists are seeking to undermine the principle of the leading role of the working class and its party and thereby pave the way for the realization of the principles of free play of political forces. Wishing to obliterate the distinctions between bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy, they demand supplementing socialist democracy with bourgeois institutions and call for socialism's peaceful coexistence with capitalism in the ideological sphere. In the economic sciences, they advocate eliminating central socialist planning and replacing it with the market mechanism. By their efforts to introduce into the economic organism of the socialist state elements of the capitalist economic system which are organically alien to it the revisionists are gravely endangering the socialist system. In the field of historical sciences, they are endeavoring to discredit the Marxist appraisal of the history of our people, belittle the emancipatory role of the revolutionary Communist movement and rehabilitate the reactionary, opportunistic and nationalistic elements in the political life of Poland in the last half century. Brushing aside class criteria for assessing the historical role of political forces in our country, they counterpose the revolutionary aspirations of the working class to the interests of the people and to their struggle for independence.

In literature and culture, the revisionists are trying to orient creative workers on models of the modern bourgeois literature and culture, thus cultivating worship of the West. In philosophy and sociology, they reject or falsify the principles of Marxism-Leninism and "creatively" actualize them with theses of various bourgeois "Marxologists" or even patent anti-Communists.

Revisionism relies on the leftovers of the past, bourgeois mentality and attitude towards public interests in different social circles, especially those hailing from the formerly numerous class of small peasants. Although the socialist transformations in our country have eliminated class antagonisms, the legacy of the past, especially of bourgeois-landlord Poland in the period between the two world wars, has not been fully overcome in social consciousness. It still exerts a certain influence on a part of society, especially on some strata of the intelligentsia whose mentality is still burdened with the traditional sense of aloofness from the working masses. In some centers this legacy finds expression in nationalist attitudes and in worship of the West, in a petty-bourgeois mode of living, in

egotism and self-interest, in a striving to use public wealth for self-seeking purposes, in an anarchist attitude towards government, in a lack of public and state discipline. This background for revisionism is revived and renewed under the pressure of the capitalist system, which is employing every means to support the internal anti-socialist forces.

Combating revisionism and the other anti-socialist forces remains one of the principal tasks of the Party calling above all for the education of the Party masses in a spirit of devotion to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and for tireless efforts to propagate socialist consciousness, patriotism and internationalism in the entire society.

2. The people's state is the organizer of the common effort to raise the material and cultural standards of the working people. It stands guard over the conquests of the working people, their rights and freedoms.

Our state implements principles of socialist democracy, which is a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialist democracy rests on the exercise of state power by the working people headed by the working class, socialization of the means of production, and planned economic development. The power of the people and public ownership of the means of production rule out the possibility of exploitation of man by man. Socio-economic democracy guarantees a just distribution of the national income, full employment and a wide range of social benefits, and also implements the socialist principle of distribution according to work. It gradually eliminates class and social distinctions between working people and at the same time makes possible ever broader, effective and not only formal participation of the working class and all working people in managing and controlling the national economy.

It is a task of the Party constantly to strengthen the people's state and enhance its authority, improve the workings of socialist democracy, raise the role and strengthen the influence of the representative organs—the Sejm and the People's Councils—and promote the direct participation of the working class and all working people in the political and social life of the country and in running the national economy.

This participation is manifested in worker, peasant and cooperative self-government, public control over the activities of government organs, and public criticism.

The Party attaches special importance to discussion and public criticism in the elaboration and realization of decisions bearing upon the policy of the state.

The Party, public and youth organizations should promote public criticism and raise its effectiveness, using for this purpose sessions

of people's councils, conferences of organs of worker self-government, and other forms of socialist democracy. The attempts of persons occupying leading posts to suppress or ignore criticism should be consistently resisted. A particularly resolute struggle should be waged against all manifestations of haughtiness, callousness, protectionism and abuse of power. Of special importance is criticism in the press, which should be characterized by concern for the common good, high competence and thorough knowledge of the matter, especially in cases of specific criticism. Criticism should not deny collective or personal achievements. On the contrary, it should serve as an inspiration for creative activity.

Consolidation of social discipline and socialist law and order is a central task in ensuring the development of socialist democracy. Law should be respected by both state and public organs and institutions and by all citizens.

Effective struggle against violation of law, against crime, should go hand in hand with efforts to root out tolerance of various violations of social discipline, mismanagement, carelessness and wastefulness.

It is necessary to work for the further reduction of crime and phenomena associated with it, to improve the study of its causes and sources in our society and the methods of removing it, to base the fight against violations of law on the coordinated efforts of the appropriate state organs and the public organizations.

It is a task of great social importance to prevent and counteract the criminal trends and phenomena of demoralization manifesting themselves among a part of the youth.

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It is necessary to promote the participation of the public in defending law and order and the social system through various forms of public inspection, public courts, arbitration commissions, disciplinary-administrative collegia, as well as the Voluntary Reserve of the Civic Militia.

The state organs called upon to protect law and order and the safety of citizens should enjoy the special attention of the Party. It is necessary to expedite the reorganization of our socialist legal system, especially the codification of its principal fields, and to improve legislative procedures in order to ensure that legislation should not only keep pace with social development but ever more effectively reflect the current and long-range requirements of society.

The Party constantly concerns itself with strengthening the defense potential of the country and ensuring the appropriate political and moral level and combat preparedness of the Polish Army,

which stands guard for socialist Poland. The Party educates the personnel of the armed forces in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism, loyalty to the working class and its Party, unity and solidarity with the Warsaw Treaty states, and unity with the rest of society.

3. The political system of our state rests on the alliance of the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. Our Party exercises, in cooperation with the UPP and the DP, political leadership in the state and in the National Unity Front. The United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, as independent political parties sharing responsibility for the policy of the state and the destinies of the nation, are contributing to the development of socialist democracy. The cooperation commissions of our Party and the other political parties should act at all levels as the motive force in stimulating vigorous systematic activity of all components of the National Unity Front.

In connection with the next year's elections to the Sejm and the people's councils, the committees of the Front should review, jointly with the people's councils, the realization of the programs adopted during the previous election campaign, and lay guidelines for future activity conforming to the policy of the state and the basic interests of the population.

The Party will work to create conditions for a broader participation of non-party people in general government. The sole criterion for citizens is their attitude towards the people's state and the tasks of socialist construction.

The Party is against dividing society depending on the attitude towards religion; believers and non-believers alike are taking part in socialist construction in Poland.

Jointly with the UPP and the DP the Party will enhance the role of the Sejm, whose function is fully to exercise legislative power and control the government and its organs, and the role of the people's councils as organs of local government.

The people's councils, enjoying broader rights, should ensure the harmonious socio-economic development of their districts and effectively carry out their coordinating functions. The process of broadening their rights should be accompanied by the growth of control over their activities on the part of the central authorities, the higher people's councils, and the public. At the same time the number of resolutions, instructions and circular and other letters sent to them by the higher administrative organs should be limited. Of great importance is coordination of the work of rural councils with organs of peasant self-government and agricultural cooperatives, and that of urban councils with organs of worker and local self-government.

The Party organs and the Party groups in the people's councils

should see to it that the plenary sessions of the councils and their commissions intensify control over executive organs.

The trade unions constitute one of the basic links of socialist democracy. Guiding themselves by the programmatic principle of unity and interdependence of problems of production and everyday life, they should formulate proposals and demands pertaining to the further improvement of the working and living conditions and recreation facilities of workers and their families.

Taking part in the implementation of the policy on wages, remuneration and social benefits, the trade unions should see to it that the national income is justly distributed among the various groups of workers in keeping with the socialist principle of payment depending on the quantity and quality of work.

The tasks of the trade unions should be:

—concern for constant augmentation of the social product on the basis of growth of labor productivity and reduction of production costs, encouragement of the social and production initiative of workers, promotion of labor emulation and the movement of rationalizers and inventors, and the raising of the qualification of workers, especially young ones;

—the ensuring of socialist law and order at enterprises, correct application of material and moral incentives, fair distribution of bonuses, premiums and payments out of the factory fund, respect for public property, struggle against groupings and anti-social elements;

—concern for working conditions and for the observance of relevant decisions, for the welfare of workers, and for the development of mass and competitive sport, physical culture and tourism;

—participation in shaping the cultural policy of the state and promotion of educational, cultural and amateur art activities.

The realization of these tasks demands that trade union leaders, regardless of whether they are Party members or not, should be in close daily contact with the staffs, combat demagogery and any attempts to counterpose the trade unions to the Party and the state, improve the functioning of their organs, and secure rank-and-file participation in solving the major problems of enterprises.

The Party finds it necessary further to enhance the role of worker self-government as a tried and tested form of participation in management. The Party organs and trade unions should render assistance to organs of worker self-government, especially in matters of control and supervision over the functioning of enterprises. The managements of enterprises and their associations should carefully examine the correct decisions and proposals of the organs of worker self-government and carry them into reality.

It is necessary constantly to promote the participation of work-

ers, team leaders and foremen, as well as engineers and technicians, in worker self-government.

The organs of worker self-government should concern themselves with deepening the collective character of labor and improving the working conditions. Special attention should be paid to organization of labor, effectiveness of production, reserves for raising labor productivity, quality of output, rational utilization of machines, and social and housing conditions of workers.

The right of the workers' councils to a say on the appointment and dismissal of factory managers should be fully respected by the management of associations. It should be a rule for every newly appointed manager to submit to a conference of worker self-government his assessment of the situation at the enterprise and his program of activity. The government organs and trade unions should see to it that worker self-government is further perfected in step with the improvement of the system of economic management and planning. The Party will support the activities of worker self-government and constantly strengthen its position in society.

4. The ideological, political and general education and professional training of young people, the provision of optimal living conditions to the younger generation are a constant concern of the Party.

The family, the school and the youth organizations should accustom young people from childhood on to performing civic duties, educate conscious builders and defenders of socialism, ardent patriots of their country. The preparation of young people for life in socialist society demands educating them in the spirit of respect for labor and for the creative efforts of people. It is necessary to inculcate in young people a sense of responsibility for the destinies and security of Poland and for the successful development of socialism, explain to them the significance of the great revolutionary changes that have taken place in our country.

An important role should be played by the familiarization of the younger generation with the finest progressive and revolutionary traditions of our people. Our young people should be shown the intrinsic connection between patriotism and internationalism, between the interests of People's Poland and solidarity with other countries, and educated as fighters for progress, democracy and world peace.

It is an important task to prepare young people for doing their patriotic duty to the country in the ranks of the Polish Army.

An important role in the socialist education of the younger generation is played by the ideological and political organizations of young people—the Socialist Youth Union, the Rural Youth Union, the Polish Pathfinders' Union, and Army Youth Circles and the Federation of Polish Students. All these organizations should strive to strengthen their influence and organizational structure.

Their duty is to enhance the political level and socialist consciousness of young people, encourage their public, professional and cultural activity and ensure the satisfaction of the various requirements of young people in keeping with the principles of socialist construction. It is necessary to strengthen everyday cooperation between all youth organizations.

The Party organizations should render greater assistance to the youth unions, especially in the matter of enriching the content and forms of ideological and political work, encourage their initiative in educational activities, and promote the activity of Party members working in youth organizations. Constant cooperation with youth organizations is a task of the Party members working in educational establishments. Young Communists should continue to take an active part in the work of the youth organizations of which they were members.

5. The Party attaches great importance to work among women and to intensifying their professional and public activity.

The task of providing the national economy with skilled cadres calls for changing the existing structure of preparing women for participation in productive work. It is necessary to ensure greater enrolment of women in technically-oriented schools, basic professional schools and in the system of rural universal education, and provide them with an opportunity of advanced on-the-job training. The growing participation of women in the socialized sector of the economy should be accompanied by efforts to ensure strict observance of the principles of remuneration and promotion in keeping with qualification and performance.

To help working mothers, it is necessary to expand the network of service and children's establishments. It is especially important to organize child care in the countryside during intensive field work.

The National Unity Front committees, women's councils, people's councils and public organizations, above all the Women's League, should intensify ideological, social and cultural activity among women at places of work.

All Party organs should stimulate in women an interest in public activity and broaden their participation in tenants' committees, commissions of people's councils, cooperative organizations and all local government organs.

The promotion of professional and public activity of women and the deepening of their political knowledge will make for their more active participation in the life of the Party.

6. The cooperative movement is an important form of participation of broad strata in economic life and in meeting the various requirements of people. The cooperatives are schools of economic management and collective labor which should concentrate on rendering services to the population and improving trade in towns

and villages. The important tasks of urban cooperatives include development of housing construction, the maintenance of houses, and organization of communal life.

The Party organizations in the cooperative movement should enhance the role of cooperative self-government organs, promote thriftiness and improve public control.

III. THE TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

The most important task of the educational system is to further consolidate the links between the entire network of educational establishments, especially those engaged in professional training, with the development of the economy and culture, to remove the shortcomings and deficiencies in ideological education, and raise the overall quality of education.

As far as the primary and secondary schools are concerned, it is necessary to ensure, by 1970, continuation of study by about 90 per cent of the graduates of eight-year schools; better to adapt the network of vocational schools to the requirements of branches of the national economy; to develop the network of factory schools and boarding schools; to broaden the possibilities for raising skills and for the promotion of workers in public life; to revise study programs, especially as far as the humanities are concerned, and work out a uniform system of education.

In the field of higher education, the task is to improve study plans and curricula so as to ensure a store of knowledge sufficient for independent work. Instruction in the fundamentals of political science should be gradually extended to all students, regardless of specialization.

The college authorities should not allow the principle of freedom of scientific research and discussion to be used for the propagation of political views opposed to socialism. Higher school workers should be required to possess not only a definite scientific qualification, but also moral and ideological qualities and didactic abilities.

The participation of representatives of youth organizations in college organs should enhance the sense of common responsibility of all students for the results of the educational process. In the first three years all students of regular departments should be required to do paid physical work during vacations. It is necessary to consolidate the progress, achieved in the current academic year, in increasing the percentage of young workers and peasants in higher school enrolments.

In the cultural field, the Party will support and propagate in the first place such creative work which helps to consolidate the socialist world outlook and socialist relations among people. At the same

time the Party will consistently oppose the penetration of reactionary and anti-socialist views into culture. We expect our writers and artists, the resolution says, to produce works organically connected with the life of the people. While fully respecting the freedom of creative workers as regards the choice of artistic expressive means and the perfection of creative skill, the Party will fight, with ideological means, for an art of our time, understandable to the broad masses and permeated with socialist humanism.

It is necessary to redouble the efforts to do away with the historically-conditioned insufficient cultural development of certain regions, to expand the printing and paper industry so as to increase prints and create better conditions for book publication.

IV. INTERNATIONAL TASKS OF THE PARTY

1. Since the Fourth Congress, the international situation has been taking shape under the impact of the growing contest between the two socio-political systems, between the forces of socialism, progress and peace, and the forces of imperialism, reaction and war.

As a result of changes in the alignment of world forces, imperialism has irretrievably lost the possibility of deciding at will the destinies of nations and the issue of war and peace. Peace in the world and in Europe has been preserved thanks to the growing defensive capacity and economic potential and the consistently peaceful foreign policy of the socialist community.

In recent years socialism has shown once again, in spite of various obstacles and difficulties, that as a socio-economic system it guarantees a high rate of development of the creative forces serving a higher standard of living, social progress and the advancement of culture and civilization.

The socialist camp has prevented imperialist aggression in various parts of the globe and helped the peoples fighting for freedom, independence and social progress. It is a consistent advocate of peace. This policy, springing from the very nature of socialism, is a factor for the latter's growing influence on the historical process of today.

2. Imperialism counters socialism with a global strategy which tries by peaceful and non-peaceful means, through political pressure and ideological subversion, through economic pressure and military blackmail, to stop historical progress and hold up the transition of the peoples to social advancement. The increased aggressiveness of imperialism against the world socialist system and against progressive and national liberation movements makes for tension and for a general deterioration of the international situation.

This policy expresses the class interests of monopoly capitalism,

whose reactionary dictatorship entails sharper social conflicts at home and class struggles in the capitalist world. The mounting tide of social upheavals is aggravating the crisis of the traditional forms of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. Violence, political and racial discrimination are becoming a current practice of the "free world."

In addition to the exacerbation of internal conflicts in the imperialist countries, the imbalances and contradictions between the economically developed capitalist countries, which have enriched themselves through colonial exploitation, and the underdeveloped countries are increasing. The neo-colonialist exploitation of underdeveloped countries is accompanied by intense political penetration, which has repeatedly been backed by direct military pressure, the organization of assassinations and coups, and subversive acts devised to bring about internal division and conflicts between many new states.

3. The war in Vietnam resulting from U.S. aggression has become a vast conflict between socialism and imperialism, between the world forces of freedom, progress and peace and the forces of colonialism, reaction and war. After five years of considerable war effort the U.S. imperialists had to accede to the demand that the bombing of North Vietnam be unconditionally stopped—a demand put forward by the Vietnamese people and peace-loving world opinion—and to agree to negotiations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. This is an outstanding gain of the heroic people of Vietnam and the international forces of socialism. It shows that today even the strongest imperialist power cannot defeat a people fighting for freedom if they enjoy the solidarity of the socialist countries and receive from them the aid they need. Poland will go on rendering this aid.

In the Middle East the imperialists were unable, despite their military success, to split the progressive forces and paralyze the anti-imperialist aspirations of the Arab peoples. Poland condemns the Israeli aggressor and his imperialist patrons. It supports the just struggle of the Arab peoples and insists that the effects of the Israeli aggression be removed, primarily by withdrawing all the aggressor troops from the territories they have seized.

4. The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is a factor for increasing international tension. Each consecutive government of this state invariably strives for the abolition of the results of World War II and for the re-establishment of a militarist Great Germany.

The purpose of the tactical maneuver launched by the present coalition government of Kiesinger-Brandt under the name of a "new eastern policy" is to divide the socialist countries over the German question, isolate the German Democratic Republic — a

peaceful state of workers and peasants — and pave the way for annexing this German socialist state under the guise of reunifying Germany.

To counteract the threat presented by the West German forces of revanche and revision to the security of the socialist countries and to peace in Europe is a task of Polish foreign policy. In the interest of peace and security, People's Poland and its socialist allies will persevere in their firm policy of exposing and isolating the aggressive forces of revanchist West Germany.

We demand that the FRG recognize existing frontiers, including those along the Oder and Neisse and those between the FRG and GDR, that it recognize the existence of two German states as a reality, renounce its claim to spokesmanship for the whole German people, recognize the Munich treaty to be null and void from the very beginning, relinquish its unlawful claim to West Berlin and desist from attempts to obtain nuclear weapons in any form.

Bonn is wrong in imagining that rejection of this platform of ours will bring the FRG definite advantages. We are determined to prevent all attempts at taking advantage of our policy of coexistence to alter the status quo in Europe.

5. Peaceful coexistence is a political concept intended to ease international tensions, bring into being a general security system and prevent war and nuclear catastrophe. It does not alter the nature of socialism or capitalism. The two socio-political systems can cooperate, particularly in the economic and scientific spheres, but they can never penetrate or grow into each other. Even complete elimination of the old economic and material basis of capitalism does not end the class struggle in this or that socialist country nor remove the influence of bourgeois ideology on the political consciousness of society.

Imperialism, which wants to weaken and disintegrate the socialist countries, resorts to ideological subversion, striving to arouse and foment nationalism and striking blows primarily at the Marxist-Leninist parties to undermine their leading role in the building of socialism. In this strategy, revisionism has become the foremost ally of imperialism.

In the Czechoslovak political crisis revisionism played the chief role in allowing scope for the onslaught of manifestly rightist and counter-revolutionary forces, which were out to sever that country from the socialist community. This process reached a dangerous phase and, unless stopped in time, could have become irreversible. The brother parties and the governments of the socialist countries could not have remained indifferent to the danger threatening one of the socialist countries and their common vital interests. The frustration of imperialist plans by the five socialist countries' sending their troops into Czechoslovakia was necessitated by both

our internationalist duty and by the interests of our state and the security and peace of all the peoples of Europe.

6. Of paramount importance for our security, the inviolability of our frontiers and the peaceful progress of our country is the close alliance and all-round cooperation with fraternal socialist countries, first of all with the Soviet Union. To further Polish-Soviet friendship based on the community of the most vital interests of the two countries, on cooperation between our parties, which are linked by a common position on all important issues, is a fundamental principle of the policy of our Party and the government of People's Poland.

We will continue to promote the unity and cooperation of all the brother parties and countries of the socialist community and strengthen the defensive Warsaw Treaty by reinforcing the defense potential of our country and steadfastly raising the standard of equipment and training of the Polish People's Army.

The present stage requires that the socialist countries proceed to a new stage of mutual economic cooperation and raise the level of CMEA activity. It is only the socialist division of labor on the principles of equality and respect for mutual interests that affords a solid basis for the political unity of the socialist countries. The initiatives and achievements of our Party in this field should be consistently carried forward.

7. The fundamental task of Polish foreign policy defined by our Party is to promote the security of our country and provide the best conditions for its socialist development. In common with fraternal socialist countries, we are striving for real progress in international relations, for application of the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between the peoples of Europe and the world.

We are for strengthening European security through specific measures to be discussed by a conference of all European states, including the GDR and FRG. Seeking as we do a general security system, we support the proposals for an agreement between all European countries, the FRG and GDR included, renouncing the use of force or the threat of using it and interference in the internal affairs of others.

We are for the widest possible application of the Treaty of Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and for the adoption of further specific measures towards general and complete disarmament as the most effective means of preventing an arms race.

8. The entire activity of our Party is inseparable from the worldwide fight of the Communist and Workers' parties and other revolutionary forces of the world of today against imperialism, for peace, progress and socialism.

Our Party takes an active part in every initiative furthering the

internationalist unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement, a unity on which the strength and effectiveness of the common struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism depend.

The differences which are caused by the policy of the Communist Party of China and which existed even before the Fourth Congress of our Party have in recent years developed into an obvious split. The CPC leaders' policy, stamped with nationalism and great-power chauvinism, has done irreparable harm to the socialist community, to the entire Communist movement and to world socialism.

The Polish United Workers' Party consistently opposes all manifestations of nationalism, which disrupt the unity of our movement and lead to the withdrawal of individual parties into the narrow bounds of particular interests.

Proper combination of the national interests of each socialist country with the interests of the socialist commonwealth as a whole is of decisive importance for fostering the internationalist unity of the entire Communist movement. Each Communist or Workers' party, being answerable to the working class and the people of its own country, represents their interests and aspirations and independently shapes its own policy line. These interests and aspirations, which manifest themselves in the policy of every party, should not be seen as something private, should not be considered in isolation from, let alone in contrast to, the interests, aspirations and objectives of socialism on an international scale.

The tasks of each party are determined, not only by the alignment of internal socio-political forces, but also by the alignment of international forces, by the worldwide struggle of socialism against capitalism. To combat nationalism, which is incompatible with Marxist-Leninist ideology, is a requisite of world Communist unity and of the unification of the international forces of socialism.

Hence it is particularly important to educate the Party membership in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to help Communists to appreciate the fundamental community of objectives and unity of action of all the contingents of the international working-class movement in the struggle for peace, democracy and the freedom of the peoples.

9. The nationalist, revisionist and leftist trends evident in the world Communist and working-class movement are loosening the unity of the movement and, thereby, the strength and effective activity of the Communist and Workers' parties, especially because these trends towards disintegration are deliberately encouraged and used by imperialism and its agents. The revival of every shading of opportunism, both right- and "left"-wing, exerts a definite pressure on the Communist and working-class movement. Revisionism, like any opportunism, results, first of all, from a retreat under

the pressure of the obstacles and difficulties, encountered in the fight for socialism, from loss of the revolutionary perspective of the inevitable victory of socialism over capitalism. The struggle between the two systems which leads to this victory will go on for a long time to come. But its outcome is indisputable already. Socialism will triumph.

The roads to socialism may be, and indeed should be, different. But there is only one socialism. Its essence is the power of the working people led by the working class, and planned economic management of the socialized means of production. The roads defined by one party or typical of one of the countries building socialism cannot be imposed on other parties or countries. But they can and should be a source of experience for every party fighting for power or building the new system.

The international standing of the socialist community has a direct impact on the strength and influence of every Communist party. Anyone who attacks the socialist countries, ignoring this, is weakening the standing of his own party and the Communist movement as a whole. The attitude of every Communist or Workers' party to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries should be determined by the struggle going on between the two systems and should be an indication of internationalist appreciation of the conditions of this struggle.

The Communist and Workers' parties, which are operating in different parts of the world and have become part and parcel of the social relations and the political life of their peoples, solve their problems and set the aims of their struggle according to the historical conditions of their countries. The divergent viewpoints and different positions on the tactics of the struggle and the roads to building socialism resulting from these different conditions and experiences do not in themselves constitute a violation of internationalist principles. They cannot, and should not, undermine unity in world politics, nor the effort to carry on a common fight against the common enemy—world imperialism and its policy of aggression and war. As far as evolving a common anti-imperialist strategy and the practical forms of cooperation of the forces of socialism are concerned, what unites all parties is far more important than what today divides them.

Congress considers that the best way of gradually overcoming the divergences and differences in evidence is open, frank discussion in the world Communist and working-class movement. Rather than passing over in silence the issues dividing us, we should discuss them for the good of united action.

Congress declares for convening the international Conference of the Communist and Workers' parties to promote the unity of

our movement against imperialism, for peace among nations, for progress, freedom and socialism.

THE PARTY

1. Our Party—the Polish United Workers' Party—is the ideological leader of the working class and the people as a whole, the guiding force of the state, the force inspiring the building of socialism.

In the state and in society, the leading role of the Party is the principal and indispensable condition for the proper socialist development of the country and for our effective participation in the worldwide fight of socialism against capitalism.

Congress considers that to strengthen the leading role of the Party in our socio-political system is the main task in carrying forward socialist development and socialist democracy. This makes it necessary for Party committees really to overcome in their activity both the tendency to substitute themselves for the government and administrative agencies and attempts to restrict the role of the Party to educational activity and to propaganda of its ideas.

2. The general guide in all Party activities is the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The vitality of Marxism-Leninism as the universal theory of the revolution and of socialist construction is borne out by the 50-year experience of the Soviet Union and the experience of other socialist countries.

Past and present experience shows that departure from the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism, from the general laws of class struggle and socialist revolution, brings the working class nothing but reverses and failures, and pushes the working-class movement towards Social Democracy and subservience to the policies and interests of the bourgeoisie.

Marxist-Leninist theory must be continuously carried forward and enriched. Dogmatism and ideological stagnation are foreign to the very nature of revolutionary theory, for they loosen its link with life and hamper the search for proper solutions to new problems posed before the revolutionary movement by the progress of society—the struggle of the working class, the practice of building socialism, the contest between the two systems on the world scene.

Congress regards the education of the entire Party, first of all its cadres and more active members, in the spirit of the inviolable principles of the Communist movement, of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as a condition for the correct fulfilment of the Party's program tasks. Only a party equipped with the Marxist-Leninist ideology can hold its ground against alien, bourgeois views, really beat off revisionist and nationalist attacks

and find correct solutions to new problems of the socialist advancement of our people and country.

3. Our Party has more than two million full and candidate members. Since its Fourth Congress it has admitted 717,000 new candidates. The network of local Party organizations encompasses, in effect, every sphere of society. Membership keeps on growing fast as the Party is joined by people active in every sphere of labor and distinguished by their civic-mindedness. These are primarily workers, peasants, engineers, technologists, economists and teachers. Most of them are young people, members of a generation which has been reared and has grown to maturity in People's Poland.

The mass character of the Party is a gauge of our influence on society and speaks of the widespread support which the policies of our Party enjoy among the working class, the intelligentsia and the peasantry. The considerable influx of young members is an expression of acceptance of the line and historical achievements of the Party by the new generation entering the social and political scene. These are essentially very positive developmnts attesting to the vitality of our Party, to the Party's links with the masses and to its deep-rooted influence on the people.

The formation of the Party composition between the Fourth and Fifth congresses had some negative aspects. They consisted, first of all, in some Party organizations not being exacting and careful enough in admitting new members. This is evident from the substantial number of people struck off the lists and expelled from the Party. Most of them are people who were not eligible for Party membership either politically or morally. Some of them dropped out because the Party organizations concerned had left them to their own devices rather than involving them in the Party's inner life and concerning themselves with their problems and doubts.

The mass character and the rapid process of rejuvenation of our Party constitute a potential source of great political strength capable of leading millions and of solving the country's most difficult problems. The main condition for setting in motion the vast political and ideological potential that the two-million strong membership of the PUWP represents is to raise ideological work in the Party itself to a proper level.

Now that our Party has over two million members and the network of its organizations really extends to the whole of society, we must emphasize qualitative rather than quantitative growth. This means, on the one hand, sharply stepping up the effort to raise the ideological and political standards of the membership and heighten the militancy of the Party and, on the other hand, putting greater demands to applicants for membership. Establishing high statutory demands in admitting new members will make for bringing into the Party only those who are in the forefront of their field

of activity and have been tested in social work. It will ensure that local Party organizations become more aware of their responsibility for shaping the composition of the Party.

4. Ideological work among the Party membership is of special importance today. This follows from the shift of the emphasis in the struggle between the socialist and imperialist systems to the ideological sphere. The battle is being fought chiefly for people's views and political consciousness. A younger generation having no personal experience of capitalism has entered public and Party life in our country. It needs ideological schooling and political training if it is to link itself with the socialist ideology by stronger bonds rather than giving in to imperialist propaganda.

The level of ideological work should meet the requirements of their present stage of the political struggle against Right-wing forces, revisionism and nationalism and satisfy the need to educate the Party rank and file in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. To accomplish this task, we must get rid of shortcomings in ideological work as regards both the propaganda of socialist ideas and the offensive against the enemies of socialism. In its ideological work the Party should give society a clear idea of the socialist perspective and strengthen its faith in the triumph of socialism over capitalism.

Congress regards it as a highly important task to infuse our Party with unshakable loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism provides the basis for cooperation and alliance with other socialist countries and fraternal Communist parties on which the security and progress of Poland depend. It is inseparable from patriotism and is an expression of love for one's country, of concern for its well-being and prosperity conceived in their best sense. Patriotism thus conceived is the ideological platform from which to combat every manifestation of national nihilism, cosmopolitanism and nationalism.

Party education as a component of the overall ideological activity of the Party should be improved and made more effective. It should help members to master the fundamentals of Marxist science, familiarize themselves with the principles of Party policy and acquire a general orientation enabling them to understand and make independent assessments of political and social phenomena and events. Relevant textbooks and socio-political literature should be studied. Party committees should sysematically train teachers and lecturers at Party seminars and in higher Party schools, inform them of current political and economic tasks and help them to have discussions with political leaders and economic executives.

5. The mass information media—press, radio and television—are a decisive sector of the ideological front. Their task is to disseminate in society the ideas, viewpoints and tasks formulated by the

Party and they constitute, furthermore, a forum for expressing opinions and public criticism.

The positive experience of public discussion gained in the pre-Congress campaign should be carried into the post-Congress period.

Party committees should take good care of journalists and constantly inspire them ideologically and politically. For the mass media to operate more effectively, it is necessary to extend and modernize their facilities, especially in the case of radio and television. Between 1971 and 1975, steps should be taken to considerably increase the capacity and extend the range of radio stations, so as to provide proper conditions for the reception of broadcasts throughout the country. It is also necessary to make reception of the first television program possible all over the country and begin telecasting a second program.

6. In the struggle for socialism and communism, the Party of the working class can fulfil its historic mission only if it is guided by the principles of democratic centralism and tolerates no violations of these principles.

Democratic centralism fully regulates the inner functioning of the Party and provides a framework for its ideological activity. Respect for the principles of democratic centralism is a requisite of unity of the Party ranks, of ideological unity and effective political activity. The paramount task of Party committees and organizaions should be to rally all Party forces in activity based on solid unity and firm discipline.

Another aspect of the principle of democratic centralism, one that is inseparable from the requirements of discipline and united action, is profound democracy in inner-Party relations.

Congress recommends to all Party committees and organizations always to remember, in carrying on their activity, the interconnection of centralism and inner-Party democracy, to do their best as they strive for united action by the whole Party to create conditions for a free exchange and confrontation of views inside the Party before relevant decisions are adopted and provide a suitable climate for constructive criticism, to enable every Party member to take an active part in shaping and carrying out Party policy, and resolutely to resist attempts to use the principle of democratic centralism for the promotion of personal interests or for purposes alien to the ideology and interests of the Party.

Inner-Party democracy implies freedom of criticism. Principled criticism prompted by real concern for Party affairs and free from the elements of personal struggle is in our conditions an extremely important, an irreplaceable motor of social progress. It is the duty of all Party committees and organizations to see that a favorable atmosphere is created for constructive criticism. Every form of suppression of criticism should be counteracted resolutely and un-

compromisingly while at the same time making sure that criticism is meaningful, that is, directed against phenomena which really need to be criticized and condemned. Party criticism must never be aimed at altering people's characters or at discrediting people. It should be intended to do away with the negative phenomena it is directed against. The Party, while making possible and supporting sound, constructive criticism, is conducting an uncompromising political struggle against attempts to misuse freedom of expression as a means of discrediting the Party's general line, spreading demagogy or persecuting people. Serious conclusions should be drawn with regard to those guilty of such infringements of freedom of criticism, and their conduct should be laid bare.

Respect for the principles of democratic centralism in Party life is a necessary condition for enabling the Party to form proper relations with the vast mass of non-Party people and to exercise its leading role in the building of socialism. This leading function is performed by the entire Party, by all its organizations and every member operating in his respective sphere. The more effectively all Party members and organizations strive in their own spheres to win confidence in the policy of the Party, to organize a joint effort and carry out tasks in building socialism and the more effectively various anti-socialist trends are combated, the more fruitfully will the Party exercise its leading role.

7. The implementation of Party policy, and the Party's links with the masses based on mutual trust and respect depend largely on the ideological staunchness and devotion of the Party cadres.

The standard of the cadres of the Party apparatus, particularly as regards vocational and political education, has improved considerably since the Fourth Party Congress. The task today is, as well as furthering the general education and vocational qualifications of the cadres, to raise their ideological level at a fast rate. In the coming years Party schools should concentrate more on improving the knowledge of Party workers and those active in the sphere of the social sciences and Marxist-Leninist theory—a task to be carried out in close connection with Party practice.

In personnel policy, the principle of inseparability of ideological-political and vocational criteria should be strictly applied when filling key posts. This policy requires careful consideration of every case of disputed behavior. Every erroneous, overhasty, unfair decision on such cases undermines confidence in the Party. Party committees should bear in mind that their personnel policy must make for full utilization of the creative ability and energy of everyone who is devoted to the socialist cause in Poland—Communists and non-Communists alike. Personnel policy should take into account the growing tasks and requirements brought into being by the development of our Party.

Those who are not mature enough politically or vocationally should be replaced by people who stand out, being better trained and more qualified. Creating a personnel reserve in every sphere is a requisite of personnel policy.

A correct personnel policy calls for periodical appraisals of the leading cadres, their moral and political qualities and the results of their work. In this, account should be taken of the opinion of Party organizations and committees and of superiors. We must strictly respect the principle that periodical appraisals of this kind should be an element of educating personnel and should be within reach of those concerned. This enhances the responsibility of Party committees for following the right policy on personnel.

The Party combines the vast political experience, sound ideological training, initiative and energy of all the generations of Polish revolutionaries. Therein lies the source of its moral and ideological strength—the earnest of its indestructible links with the working class and the people.

Our Party, which has been at the helm in People's Poland for almost a quarter of a century, is equipped with the invincible ideas of Marxism-Leninism and is at one on its general line. It will fulfil its historic mission as the people's leader in the struggle to build socialism, to safeguard the security of our country and ensure its prosperity.

THE STUATION IN FRANCE AND THE COMMUNISTS' TASKS

STATEMENT* BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE FRENCH CP

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, meeting on November 14, 1968, examined the political, economic and social situation in France and specified the Communists' current tasks.

In May and June the vast nationwide movement of workers by hand and by brain for social progress and democracy enabled them to win important improvements. The strengthened position and increased militancy of the working class compel the government and the big owners to reckon with the people's demands.

However, unwarranted increases in prices and fees for municipal services, the meagre appropriation for social purposes budgeted for 1969, the Gaullist plans for reform and for a referendum designed to enhance the despotic character of the regime, and threats against the trade unions coupled with the illusions about "participation" that are spread currently all bear out the reactionary trend of Gaullist policy.

A regime of monopoly and big finance cannot solve the enormous problems facing our country in the interest of the people and the nation. The working people are right in seeking to safeguard and extend their social gains.

The FCP fully supports action by all working people for the following purposes:

—carrying out the agreements concluded and honoring the undertakings given;

—guaranteeing purchasing capacity, specifically by means of a sliding wage scale; guaranteeing employment and resources;

—reducing working time and lowering the pension age;

—effectively exercising and extending trade union freedoms in the enterprises;

—restoring the right to social security and maintenance.

The FCP calls on the masses to back its proposals for expanding the economy, bringing about a democratic reform of taxation, and meeting social requirements, such as housing, health, physical training and sports, information and culture.

The government policy on agriculture exerts pressure on production costs, eliminates small and middle peasants and promotes concentration in agriculture.

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*L'Humanité, November 15, 1968.

Communists will actively uphold the demands of agricultural wage workers and small and middle peasants. They will announce and explain the policy of their Party on agriculture.

The FCP supports the joint actions of university and lycée students, teachers and school children's parents for an overall democratic reform of public education.

For the immediate future, the Party demands:

—that the positive measures imposed by action be effectively carried out;

—that scholarships be granted more freely;

—that a special effort be made to further vocational training;

—that an entirely new system of permanent education be introduced.

The struggles of teachers and students and those of the working peasantry can and should converge with the struggles of the working class.

The Communist Youth Movement of France is launching a nationwide campaign under the general watchword "Youth and students accuse capitalism."

Party organizations will contribute to the success of this campaign and to the meeting to be held in Paris on April 27, 1969, by continuously setting forth the youth policy of the Party and by giving more energetic support to the young people's manifold initiatives.

The plans for administrative reform give cause for fearing new curbs on the limited powers of the general and municipal councils.

In carrying forward its action in defense of and for the extension of communal and departmental freedoms, the CFP holds that the setting up of regional assemblies could be a positive development provided they were elected through universal suffrage and on a proportional basis.

The fight for peace remains a fundamental task.

The FCP will strive unrelentingly:

—to force U.S. imperialism fully to end its aggression;

—to bring about recognition of the NLF and withdrawal of the U.S. troops from South Vietnam;

—to ensure the gallant people of Vietnam peace in independence.

Communists will take a very active part in the preparations for the "get-together with Vietnam," to be held by the Peace Movement on *November 23*.

They will fight against West Germany gaining access to nuclear weapons, for respect for existing frontiers, and for recognition of the German Democratic Republic. They will announce and uphold their proposals for maintaining European security and will impart a more permanent character to the fight for disarmament and peaceful coexistence.

United action for the satisfaction of social and cultural needs and in defense of freedoms and peace is indispensable if the fight for a democratic alternative to the Gaullist regime is to go on.

The Political Bureau reaffirms the Communists' resolve to work for greater unity of action of all the social forces having common interests to defend against monopoly.

It reaffirms the Communists' resolve to achieve an alliance of all working-class and democratic forces, primarily of the Communists and Socialists, on the basis of an advanced common program which could be backed by the majority of the French people and could open up the prospect of renovation.

Extensive popular support for the deep-going reforms envisaged in the democratic program of the French Communist Party, for the Party's proposals for attaining the socialist ideal through a democratic movement of the whole working nation, will help to overcome the obstacles to progress in working-class and democratic unity, to an alliance of working people—Communists, Socialists, Christians—of the entire Left.

In line with the decisions of the 18th Congress of the Party and CC meetings, and with the aid of Party federations and sections, branch organizations of the Party will engage in extensive activity in the service of the working people and the natioan.

Prompted by the inseparable principles of patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the French Communists will through daily action develop the powerful popular movement necessary to social progress, to a democratic alternative to Gaullism, to the advance towards a socialist France.

RESOLUTION* OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The ICP Leadership has discussed the situation resulting from the resignation of the government and the emergence, within the center-left framework, of a profound crisis which has violently manifested itself also in the Christian Democratic Party .

This crisis reflects a crisis of Italian society. It has been caused by a policy incapable of solving the problems of the working people and the country. The consequences of this policy were aggravated by six months of the government's inactivity stemming from its obstinate striving to ignore the results of the May 19 elections or even to act in opposition to them. Throughout these months the workers, peasants and young people have been demanding, in the course of a powerful struggle, deep-going economic and political changes to put an end to the arbitrary acts of the employers, strengthen the leading role of the broad masses of working people, and find solutions to pressing problems. The decisive importance of this struggle has now been openly admitted even by the National Council of the Christian Democratic Party. In this respect, as the Communists have pointed out already, the recent municipal elections have confirmed the shift to the left that became apparent in the May 19 elections. Under no circumstances should this be forgotten or underestimated.

There is no hope for overcoming this crisis by new attempts to embark upon the pernicious road of the center-left. The paltry measures aimed at stabilizing the alliance between the Dorotean Right-wing of the CDP and the Right-wing of the Italian Socialist Party conform, as Rumor's speech has shown, only to the interests of Italian monopoly capital and the small groups in power, and testify to the inability of the presently ruling Demochristian group to give a positive and correct reply to the insistent demands for peace, democracy and social emancipation which stem from the struggle of the masses and above all the younger generations.

These attempts have been aggravating contradictions within the CDP and the ISP, and therefore blackmail has been undertaken in respect to the Left forces in the CDP and the considerable minority in the Socialist Party rallied round De Martino, the idea being to involve them in new time-serving measures so as to discredit them, isolate them from the opposition movement and compel them to play the role of an accessory cover.

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*L'Unita, November 23, 1968.

The ICP leadership, warning against such maneuvers, reaffirms its resolute opposition to any attempt to restore the center-left and declares for a major change in the poliitcal trend based on the strength of a unitary Left alliance. Solution of the problems of the working people and the country brooks no delay. It is necessary to give a prompt reply to the demands for a new foreign policy, a policy of peace, to the pressing need to strengthen and develop the entire democratic life of the country. It is necessary to find correct and progressive solutions to the problems connected with employment, wages and pensions, the rights of working people, structural economic and social reforms, and new forms of democracy. It is necessary to make possible an effective functioning of the democratic organs and institutions, from the parliament to regions, which have to be established without delay, and to the communes and provinces, where the theory and practice of anti-Communist discrimination should be forbidden once and for all.

In view of all this, it is necessary to isolate the conservative groups and frustrate all time-serving maneuvers. The problem that stands today is the problem of participation of the working people in managing the state and society.

It is precisely from these positions of condemnation of any time-serving, struggle for concrete solutions of the problems of the broad masses and the country, and elaboration of alternative decisions, that the Communists intend to contribute to securing agreement between the labor and popular opposition and the secular Catholic forces which, specifically in the ISP and the CDP, are fully aware of the center-left crisis and are searching for ways of overcoming it.

The ICP Leadership calls upon all Party organizations vigorously to implement this line, undertaking the broadest possible unitary actions designed to solve the problems posed by the masses and satisfy the demand for a new policy and a new leadership of the country. The broadest mobilization and the utmost vigilance of the people are needed to thwart any possible anti-democratic attempt and steer a course towards a positive solution of the political and social crisis.

The country has already expressed its will in the elections and the broad mass struggles. It must now raise its voice again, in a spirit of broad labor, popular and democratic unity, for a correct answer by the country's political leadership to the problems for the solution of which the masses have been waging a united struggle.

MAIN TASKS OF THE PARTY FOR THE COMING PERIOD

RESOLUTION* OF THE NOVEMBER 1968 PLENUM OF THE CC CPC

The plenary session of the CC CPC met on November 14 to 17, 1968. On hearing a report by Comrade A. Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC CPC, which is part of the plenum conclusions, it discussed the analysis of post-January developments and the present situation in the country and the Party from the domestic and international points of view and on this basis set the main and most urgent tasks of the Party for the coming period.

By putting forward the main tasks and by taking a stand on post-January developments in the Party and the whole of society, the Central Committee of the CPC is striving to unite the Party and strengthen the links between the Party and the working people in the interest of our socialist development and with a view of placing our internationalist relations on a sound and more solid basis.

I.

1. *After twenty years of effort by the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia under the leadership of hundreds of thousands of Communists working selflessly, the foundations of socialism were laid in our country.* Its fundamental values remain an indisputable result of the past years and a starting point for the subsequent policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The period of building socialism saw the attainment of a number of vital objectives of the working class and other working people. Fundamental class and socio-economic changes were effected, including the transition of agriculture from small-scale to large-scale production. Thus the prerequisites were provided also for changes within the classes, for changing their mutual relations and gradually bringing their interests closer together. The working class became the leading force of society and, in alliance with other working people, the exponent of political power. A new, socialist class, the cooperative peasantry, came into being, and the worker-peasant alliance was strengthened. There also emerged a numerous intelligentsia devoted

*Rude Pravo, November 19, 1968.

to socialism, the working class and the Party. Industrial production showed a marked increase. The standard of living rose, notably in the case of some segments of the population. Considerable headway was made in putting cultural wealth, education and higher qualifications within reach of all social strata.

The Central Committee of the CPC greatly appreciates the devoted effort of our people, of the hundreds of thousands of Communists, officials and staffs of national committees, factories, united agricultural cooperatives and mass organizations.

However, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its committees and organizations, must make a critical and self-critical analysis of whether we have succeeded in using all the opportunities which the socialist social system afforded for the all-round development of Czechoslovak society.

If the Central Committee of the CPC is proceeding to a critical analysis of our past development, it is doing so in order to make fuller and more comprehensive use of all the potentialities of socialist development in Czechoslovakia.

The CC CPC rejects any one-sided, nihilistic or negativistic estimation of our past development as being at variance with historical reality.

2. At the same time, however, it is a fact that there have been a number of serious weaknesses and mistakes of a subjective or objective nature in the socialist development of Czechoslovakia. Contrary to the slogan of its all-round development, the progress of socialism slowed down and went through a series of grave setbacks. These weaknesses were particularly marked in the spheres of economic progress, which slackened more and more. In the late fifties it became obvious that the possibilities of extensive development and the method of economic management in use were spent. In the political sphere, the Party was unable to guarantee the gradual development of socialist democracy in keeping with the socio-economic changes that had been carried out. Thus the unity of society was upset and there developed a lack of understanding between various classes and groups, between the Party and society, between generations and between our nations and nationalities. The prestige of the Ptrty and confidence in its policies were impaired. This was seen in the general growth of dissatisfaction and tension in society, accompanied by a marked decline in the citizens' social activity.

This trend in society, despite a show of emphasis on internationalist solidarity, virtually tended to weaken the common front of socialist countries and the Communist movement and, on the other hand, to reduce active participation by the Party in the effort to promote internationalist solidarity and solve the problems of the world Communist movement.

The unfavorable development of our society was bound to tell on the Party, on its activity and inner life. Party committees and individual members became less and less active and their participation in shaping and implementing Party policies declined. Experienced spokesmen of the workers, cooperative peasants and the intelligentsia dropped out of the ranks of the more active Party members. At the same time there was growing criticism of the Party leadership from below, on the part of active members. Party unity was very seriously affected, inner-Party democracy was suppressed more and more by formalizing Party life, and collective leadership and the principles of democratic centralism were increasingly replaced by bureaucratic centralism.

It became ever more evident that on numerous important issues the policy of the Party and the style and methods of Party work were at variance with the objective requirements of socialist development in Czechoslovakia.

3. These facts show that there was a protracted crisis rooted in the mistakes revealed by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, from whose results the CPC leadership failed to draw conclusions consistently and in time, so that socialism in Czechoslovakia might be built and carried forward on the basis of creative Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the world Communist movement and in accordance with the objective conditions of Czechoslovakia. An earnest attempt to evolve, under pressure from the Party and public opinion, solutions to at least the fundamental problems were the decisions of the 12th Party Congress.

But after a relatively short time the Party leadership of the period began to go back on them, to distort the conclusions of the Congress. Much the same is true of the line of the 13th Party Congress. In the course of preparations for it, in the all-Party discussion and in the Congress resolutions, the first steps were outlined towards removing the growing differences and distortions in the economic and political spheres. However, the solution of a number of pressing problems was rejected by the Party leadership of the time on the ground that the 13th Congress should accomplish chiefly a controlling mission, not a programmatic one. Nor were many constructive decisions of the Congress elaborated and put into practice by the leadership of the time. In the case of some of them, efforts to carry them out were, indeed, suppressed.

4. The main reason for this wrong, fallacious trend in the Party and in society was bureaucratization, the substitution of bureaucratic for democratic centralism, which resulted in an excessive concentration of power in Antonin Novotny's hands. When, in 1967, the political crisis that had been in the making for a long time came to a head in the Party and in society as a whole, a situation was

created in which to persist in the policy embodied by A. Novotny would have meant forcibly suppressing the justified needs and interests of Party and society, the further development, specifically, of the relations between our nations, and would have caused incalculable damage to the progress of socialism and the leading position of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in society, and hence to the socialist system and the world Communist movement.

5. It follows that the plenary session of the CC CPC in January 1968 and its results were a logical and necessary result of crisis trends and differences in the Party and in our socialist society. The main task of the plenum was to reverse the situation and to create basic conditions for the solution of problems that had been piling up over a long period. The plenum accomplished this task. It could not, however, elucidate in full measure the substance of the mistakes made in past policy or form the leadership of the Party and its forces in such a way as to enable the Party consistently to eliminate those mistakes. Nor could it formulate even the fundamental features of the subsequent policy of the Party and prepare the whole Party for such a change. This was a task which the CC could fulfil only step by step, with the whole Party actively participating.

Thus the results and conclusions of the January plenum of the CC became, despite their indisputable and extraordinary positive significance, what at the same time was, objectively, a compromise giving rise to new problems and complications for the whole of post-January development.

The refusal over a long period to solve pressing problems in the Party and in society, misappraisal of their origins, and suppression of the forces inside the Party which rightly called for their solution were the main reason for the complicated course of post-January development. They made for extraordinary tension coupled with the revelation, at the same time, of unsolved problems concealed for long, and for the replacement of justified criticism of those who had had a share in mistakes by criticism of the whole Party, of its entire apparatus, of all its more active spokesmen, and so on.

This situation was used by anti-socialist and anti-Soviet forces which outwardly identified themselves with the positive trend of the post-January policy of the Party so as to abuse the criticism and self-criticism launched by the Party. The process was also fostered by the Rightist forces and by opportunist tendencies in the Party.

6. To deal with this complicated situation, it was necessary to have a complete program proceeding from and carrying forward the principles of the 13th Congress decisions, providing correct

solutions to the new problems of social progress and promoting the steady advance of the whole Party.

It was the Action Program of the Party, worked out with the participation of a large body of active members of the Party, that was expected to accomplish these tasks.

Since it was impossible, either in the pre-January conditions or at the January plenum itself, to prepare beforehand a complete program for action, individual, partial measures were taken, often under the most diverse pressures—not only such as were justified and aimed at implementing the new policy, but also Rightist pressures which gradually became stronger.

This serious shortcoming was further aggravated by the incomplete settlement of highly important personnel questions, especially with regard to the composition of the Presidium and the leadership of the main government agencies.

The inadequate supply of information to the whole Party had an exceedingly adverse effect. It was the result of a compromise by the January plenum and the CC Presidium of the time, and of underestimation of the importance of information by some functionaries in the lower echelons of the Party. Thus the Party, which as a whole welcomed the conclusions of the January plenum with relief, was unable to grasp in time and deeply enough the essence of the changes in question in the Party, in its policy and throughout society, and the lower components of the Party could not everywhere take the lead in explaining and bringing about these changes. The lack of clarity as to the further course of action, the inadequacy and contradictory character of the information supplied to the Party plus the crisis phenomena that had accumulated before January provided excessive scope for arbitrary interpretations of the actual policy of the Party and for spontaneous developments, as well as for anti-socialist forces and trends.

At that time the CC Presidium and the government were not resolute enough in solving urgent personnel problems or in shaping the further course of action and policies. Different views emerged in the Party on the tactics to be applied in the new situation, which likewise seriously hampered joint action by the Party in that complicated situation.

That is why the Party membership and public opinion brought strong pressure to bear in various forms, chiefly through the mass communication media, for the solution of pressing problems. This introduced serious elements of spontaneity into developments, elements which subsequently could not always be curbed.

The forces intent on discrediting the Party began to abuse the situation. They tried to weaken and eventually to undermine the Party's leading position in society, to weaken the various decisive components of the socialist state and finally to loosen the inter-

nationalist links of the Party and the state within the community of socialist countries.

There was, first of all, a one-sided, and often a distorting, estimation, deliberate misinformation, a continuous posing of new problems without regard to the ability of the Party and society to find the right solutions at once and to apply them forthwith. All this was taken advantage of by the Right opportunist and also the anti-socialist forces, which succeeded in making their way, among other things, into some information media and to abuse their extraordinary impact. The CC CPC is aware that a considerable proportion of those active in the mass media supported and carried forward, in a judicious and responsible manner, the real positive values of he post-January policy and appreciated the tasks and tactics of the Party stated in Central Committee decisions.

Neither the CC CPC Presidium, nor the government had a well-considered system of managing the press, radio and television; censorship had been abolished, but the impact of negative activities by the mass media was neither analyzed nor evaluated. No precise distinction was drawn between what was correct in their activities and what was complicating the process under way, what was detrimental to it and was having an adverse effect on developments. The approach to their activities was often uncritical.

The mass communication media were gradually becoming an uncontrollable power. Nor did the system of methodically guiding the Communists engaged in these media, of strengthening their influence on the editorial boards in keeping with the overall line of the Party, receive adequate consideration.

A result of all these influences was, particularly in February, March and early April, the creation of various pressures and a considerable lack of ideological clarity in the Party and in public opinion, criticism for which was often levelled at the whole Party instead of at those who really were to blame. Indiscriminate and unfair charges against the Party and government apparatus and the organs of state power, especially those of security and justice, for the blunders of the fifties, reflected on the reputation of the vast majority of honest people who had had nothing to do with those distortions. This tended to disrupt the activity of these important organs of political power.

Furthermore, and particularly in the initial phase of post-January development, it was necessary at the same time to counter serious resistance on the part of the dogmatic and conservative forces.

It also came to imperilling Party unity and the Party's leading role in society. Naturally, the developments in Party and society before and after the January plenum did not proceed in the same way in every part of the republic, and neither did the anti-socialist

forces nor their tendencies manifest themselves with the same degree of intensity.

II.

1. The conclusions of the April plenum, the Action Program of the Party, were the first complete step towards shaping the Party's subsequent course of action. The Action Program did not provide—and obviously it could not at once provide—solutions to every problem, and in the case of a number of problems, it could not possibly furnish either complete or entirely precise solutions.

It was therefore regarded as only a basis for the Party line for the coming period, as an open program to be tested by science and practice and, on this basis, corrected and carried forward by CC decisions, so that the next Party congress could adopt a complete line for the Party corresponding to the stage of the full-scale development of socialism in the CSSR.

The meaning of that effort of the Central Committee, expressed above all in the Action Program, was gradually to find roads to more effective socialist progress by consistently eliminating the distortions that were still there, including the consistent rehabilitation of all unjustly persecuted Communists and other citizens, a creative, thoroughly Marxist-Leninist approach to social problems based on the general laws of socialist development and on an objective assessment of the distinctive conditions of our country. At the same time the Central Committee tried to encourage greater initiative in our foreign policy and ensure that the CSSR, an inseparable component of the world socialist system, fulfilled more effectively its internationalist obligations towards other socialist countries, the Warsaw Treaty organization and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, and the CPC, its internationalist obligations towards the entire world Communist movement.

The Party Central Committee, in shaping and safeguarding the principal positive features of the post-January development—in the Action Program, its decisions and its practical activities—proceeded from the necessity of carrying forward all the positive aspects of development in the previous period, notably since the 13th Party Congress. It was therefore wrong to counterpose the post-January policy, as was done in some cases, to all the decisions of the 13th Party Congress.

2. The main feature of political development since January 1968 showed that while it was only a question of gradually shaping the policy of the Party (and this in the complicated conditions created by the contradictory course of development in Party and society, further aggravated by a difficult situation in the CC Presidium and

the Central Committee itself), this development was in keeping with the fundamental interests of consolidating and carrying forward socialism in Czechoslovakia, and hence with the vital interests and needs of the working people. The conclusions of the January plenum were received by the vast majority of the Party and public opinion hopefully, as providing the basic conditions for the further development of socialism in Czechoslovakia, and, on the other hand, with certain fears to the effect that forces might become active that would throw development back to pre-January conditions. The growth of these hopes and the first steps towards restoring the prestige of the Party and confidence in its policies were a result, specifically, of certain personnel measures adopted by the April plenum of the CC and of the announcement of the Action Program. However, owing, in particular, to petty-bourgeois impaience and adventurism and to the renewed posing of more and more problems, the Action Program did not receive proper attention, nor did it besome the basis for the unification process in Party and society.

Considerable clarity was brought into the Party's further course of action by the May plenum of the Central Committee, which clearly pointed to the growing danger emanating from the anti-socialist forces. The CC rightly stressed that it would not allow either a return to pre-January conditions or the slightest retreat from the gains of socialism, and that in the event of a threat to socialism in the CSSR the Party and our State would resort also to forcible means to safeguard socialism.

A complete and comprehensive estimation of the positive and negative aspects of post-January development, especially of its individual stages, and ascertainment of the share of subjective causes and subjective shortcomings in this development will require much time.

At present, however, the task is—and the Central Committee wants to emphasize it—to take a stand on the main development trends of this complicated period, but above all to show the whole Party constructive starting points for subsequent action, for uniting the Party on Marxist-Leninist principles and for strengthening the links between the Party and the working people in building socialist society.

The first steps towards carrying out the January, April and May decisions of the Central Committee yielded the following results:

—marked progress in overcoming rigid thinking in Party and society; stronger relations between the Party and the scientific intelligentsia, and greater participation by the latter in the shaping of Party policy; an intensified search for solutions to the problems of developing society and the various spheres of its life; a search for roads to more effective economic progress and fuller satisfac-

tion of the justified requirements and interests of the various social groups;

—a substantial increase in the activity of the working class and the public as a whole, particularly of the younger generation, in discussing and searching for solutions to the development problems of our socialist society;

—gradual and consistent elimination of the distortions of the past in various spheres of public life, and preparations for the consistent and complete rehabilitation of wrongly persecuted Communists and other citizens;

—creating the prerequisites of more effective work by the Party and government bodies through the election of a new President of the Republic and the promotion of a number of able functionaries and other personnel at diverse levels of Party and government leadership. These personnel measures were a marked step towards increasing confidence in the continuation and promotion of the policy launched by the January meeting of the CC, even though we did not in the process escape some serious mistakes and errors in respect of personnel;

—an important step towards overcoming violations of the Leninist principles of inner-Party life, particularly in developing inner-Party democracy, which, however, was not accompanied by a corresponding tightening of Party discipline or by respect for the principles of democratic centralism;

—the consolidation of mutual democratic relations between the nations and nationalities of the republic as the result of a Marxist-Leninist conception of the national question in the Party, and the drafting of a new, federal structure of the state;

—a gradual growth of confidence in the policy and prestige of the Party; greater concentration of the sound forces of society around the policy of the Party, and the promotion of socialist democracy.

All these positive features of the post-January policy of the Party make it possible to describe this period as the most significant milestone in the development of Party and country since May 1945 and February 1948.

3. A very complex and contradictory development took place in the Party itself. The fundamental characteristic of the situation in the Party was, and still is, a deep-going differentiation of views, which, however, arose not after the January meeting of the CC but long before it. But after January this differentiation went much deeper on a qualitatively different level and could not easily be brought under control in a short time.

The decisive majority of the Party functionaries and membership adhered to the positions formulated by the Central Committee. They took an active part in shaping the new policy and strove to

carry it out, although they naturally expected it to be elaborated still further. They set in decisive measure the tone for post-January political development and were the main guarantee of the continued socialist progress of Czechoslovakia. They correctly expressed the interests and views of the working people; thus they provided the principal guarantee of contact between the Party and public opinion and gradually regained the latter's confidence in the policy of the Party, a confidence shaken in the past. They were also a guarantee of the consolidation and promotion of friendly relations with the socialist countries, notably with the USSR, on the sound principles of mutual understanding, confidence and respect.

The complicated course of development in the Party was due to the activity of Rightist forces and to opportunist trends, which sought to replace justified criticism of distortions in the exercise of the leading role of the Party by partnership in the sense of free play for the political forces, and considered the use of power instruments at that given stage of the political struggle to be unacceptable. Under the spurious slogan of absolute democracy they disregarded the class aspects of socialist democracy, tolerated and supported an unhealthy atomization of the political system and public organizations, and one-sidedly stressed the independence of the various components of the political system from the Party and its policy. They underrated the dangerous activity of the anti-socialist forces, took a negative stand on the issue of stepping up the ideological fight against them, and adopted a subjectivistically scornful attitude towards the foreign policy aspects of socialist development in Czechoslovakia—for instance, with regard to the international influence of the class struggle, towards imperialist attempts to abuse the process going on in Czechoslovakia and towards the internationalist interests of the world socialist community, of which the CSSR is an inseparable component.

These views were given excessive and undue publicity, which created the impression that they expressed the official policy of the CPC, which objectively played into the hands of the anti-socialist forces and misled part of the Party membership and of public opinion. Moreover, the mass media gave less and less attention to the positive features of the post-January policy.

At the same time sectarian-dogmatist tendencies persisted in the Party. It was, and still is, a question of forces and standpoints incapable of correctly understanding the new requirements of the development of socialist society, or the new content and forms in which the interests of the working class and other working people manifest themselves. They cling to an evaluation of social situations, and hence to political positions, that were correct under a different set of historical circumstances. This policy could not, any more than it can now, convince and win over the majority of

Communists, the working class and other working people.

These points of view could only discredit the Party in the eyes of the masses, who linked the hopes they put in the post-January policy with the elimination of sectarian and dogmatic working methods. Attempts to revive sectarian and dogmatic methods complicated therefore the situation and encouraged to a certain extent anti-Communist tendencies.

However, it must also be said in all fairness that indiscriminate charges of sectarianism were aimed in a number of cases at silencing and discrediting upright Communists coming out courageously against Rightist trends.

4. The May plenum of the CC CPC, in laying down the political and tactical line of the Party, which provided for the solution of the fundamental problems of political development at the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the CPC, called attention to the danger of increasing efforts by the Rightist, anti-socialist forces. This also found expression in its decisions. In his concluding remarks, Comrade Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC CPC, clearly stressed: "In the present phase, however, a grave danger is emerging that might upset this process—the danger of the formation of anti-Party and anti-socialist forces which could raise the issue of a power struggle."

Although the Central Committee at its meetings in April and, above all, in May took an explicit stand on the growing Rightist and anti-socialist trends and stressed the inevitability of an offensive by the whole Party to defeat these trends, these conclusions of the CC did not receive sufficient attention. Neither the CC Presidium, the CC Secretariat, nor the Communists in the government, the National Front and the National Assembly organized in adequate measure systematic work on correct implementation of the decisions, particularly those of the May plenum. The Presidium and CC of the Party, proceeding from the decisions of the May plenum, emphatically drew attention to the dangerous nature of these forces also in their stand on the appeal "2,000 Words," an appeal implicitly assailing the policy of the Party. This political assessment of the situation the CC CPC Presidium took into account also during the talks at Cierna nad Tisou and in Bratislava on August 4, 1968.

The anti-socialist forces were made up chiefly of a part of those prosecuted by revolutionary power and of functionaries of one-time Rightist parties, who after January 1968 imagined the time had come when they could return onto the political scene and eventually gain control of the leadership of the other parties. Nor should we underestimate the effect of foreign propaganda, which bred false illusions about capitalism and bourgeois democracy.

The anti-socialist forces concentrated on discrediting and rejecting socialism, on idealizing bourgeois democracy and on attempts

to introduce its elements into our political system, on replacing socialist democracy by unlimited scope for the "free play" of the most diverse political forces, including those opposed to the socialist platform of the entire National Front, for the rejection of the leading role of the Party, attempts to disrupt the Party and the state, and for attacks on the alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on the Warsaw Treaty and economic cooperation with the socialist countries.

To attain their goals, the anti-socialist forces also tried gradually to frame an organizational platform of their own. They therefore misused, in particular, the correct propositions of the Action Program regarding the democratization of political life, the rehabilitation of wronged citizens and the bringing of vast unaffiliated segments of the population into political life. From the outset they tried to form and control such organizations as K 231 and KAN (Club of Committed Non-Party People), and above all to revive the Rightist, anti-Marxist Social-Democratic Party with a view to undermining working-class unity and so to weakening the Party's position in society. Furthermore, they tried to misuse the "Cause of Ecumenical Renovation" for political purposes. The CC regards as irresponsible also the extremist attacks launched against the People's Militias despite the fact that the Party leadership had repeatedly taken a clear stand on their mission and role.

Although resistance in the Party and among the public to these outspokenly anti-socialist and anti-Soviet trends and their exponents was growing, the mass information media gave them excessive and systematic publicity.

Student, a magazine whose orientation did not, however, express the position of the great majority of students, deliberately and systematically allowed its columns to be used for direct attacks on socialism. Anti-socialist tendencies were gaining ground in it and in other mass media. The CC CPC gave warning that this danger from the right was the main danger, and it reaffirms this position now, in evaluating the whole of post-January development.

5. The Central Committee saw the chief weapon against the anti-socialist, Rightist, liberalist danger primarily in carrying forward its own positive policy, in ideological struggle, in struggle for the ideological unification of the Party, in struggle to enable the Party jointly to pursue a constructive political offensive. These correct premises were not, however, supported with effective deeds or appropriate organizational and personnel measures. The fundamental condition for directing this process successfully was united action by the Party bodies, the government, National Front, National Assembly and all the components of the political system. But above all it was important to ensure that the mass communication media explicitly and unequivocally supported this action of the Party.

However, the ideological struggle for the realization of the correct decisions of the CC plenum was not organized in consistent fashion, particularly in the press, radio and television. Many Communists active in these media did not see to it that Party decisions were consistently carried out, the decision of the Central Committee and its Presidium about consistently guiding radio, television and the CTK news agency was not guaranteed in sufficient measure, nor did the CC Presidium insist jointly on consistent implementation of its decisions.

In the sphere of press and association law, no effective measures were taken in time to ensure the execution of CC Presidium decisions. Some Communists in government offices and in the agencies of the National Front failed to consistently carry out even the Party decisions regarding K 231 and KAN and to bring about the enactment of a law on the National Front ruling out the legal operation of organizations showing anti-socialist trends.

All the post-January meetings of the Central Committee analyzed the complicated course of development and appraised its positive and negative aspects. Despite the complex nature of development, the Party always retained a decisive influence on the political situation. The vast majority of the people stood and stands for socialism, for the Communists' honest and sincere effort not only to rectify past errors, but also to search for positive starting points for socialist progress in Czechoslovakia. However, the activity of the anti-socialist forces, which tended to frustrate the post-January policy of the Party, seriously complicated the political situation in the country and our relations with allies.

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By taking critical stock of our post-January development, the Central Committee, which is aware that its assessment does not fully encompass the whole set of problems and that it is merely the first complex attempt to examine individual aspects of post-January development, wants primarily to enable the whole Party to understand the substance of the positive content of the post-January policy and consider in common what was, and still is, the chief meaning of our action and our objectives and what we must dissociate ourselves from, what had nothing to do with the post-January policy of the Party but, on the contrary, prejudiced and set itself against it.

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In terms of the action of the Party and the further shaping of its policy after the August events, it is highly important sincerely and consistently to carry out the Bratislava agreement and the Moscow protocol of August 26, 1968, which is the only realistic starting point for the road to normalizing the situation in the CSSR

and in the relations between the CSSR and the five Warsaw Treaty countries.

The decision on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory has now been settled through the treaty concluded between the governments of the CSSR and the USSR and ratified by the National Assembly on October 18, 1968.

The Central Committee of the Party calls the attention of all the regional and district committees of the Party, branch organizations of the CPC and CPS, all the Communists working in government, public and economic organizations to the necessity for consistently implementing all these documents.

III.

The CC CPC re-emphasizes that the fundamental postulates of the policy of our Party proceed from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our Party will consistently ensure the fulfilment of internationalist obligations and uphold our alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In building socialism in the CSSR, the CPC and its leading bodies will proceed from the general principles of socialist construction, and will at the same time respect the distinctive conditions for building socialism in the CSSR.

The most important task facing our Party today is to carry forward—in the interest of strengthening socialism in our republic, in the interests of our people and the future of our country—all the positive aspects of socialism, ensure the development of the socialist economy and of socialist democracy, strengthen the leading role of the Party, promote socialist patriotism, carry deeper and maintain the principles of proletarian internationalism. And, proceeding in this spirit, further develop and strengthen also our friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Consistently apply democratic centralism and inner-Party democracy. Carry on a meaningful ideological struggle against the Right opportunist forces and an all-out struggle against the anti-socialist and anti-Soviet forces, against bourgeois ideology. Unite on these principles all the sound forces in the Party and adopt and carry out political, organizational and personnel measures with a view to safeguarding them.

The Central Committee of the CPC, proceeding from the fundamental principles of building socialism, realizing the need for united and coordinated action by the whole Party, by its every committee and every organization, striving clearly and explicitly to orientate the whole Party on an offensive action, and proceeding

from all the positive elements of post-January development, sets the following main tasks for the coming period:

A. STRENGTHENING THE IDEOLOGICAL AND ACTION UNITY OF THE PARTY, AND PROMOTING INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

1. The complexity of the situation imperatively calls for further strengthening ideological unity of all the healthy forces of the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. All Party organs and organizations should work out plans for the systematic education of Party activists and all other members, paying special attention to fundamental questions of world outlook, to our internal and external internationalist tasks, to the further elucidation of problems of development of socialist democracy, the economic reform and the Leninist principles of Party building and Party life.

2. Particularly urgent today is *the need for the conscious discipline of Communists and their active participation in implementing the policy of the Party.* It is exceptionally important therefore to steadily promote the initiative of all Party organs and organizations, solve topical problems of their activity, return to their action programs, analyze them and systematically organize and control their implementation. It is also necessary to cleanse the internal life of organizations from deformations and formalism.

Full development of inner-Party democracy is essential for the conscious discipline and activity of Communists. For this it is necessary to create in every organization conditions for the participation of all Communists in discussing all problems of Party policy, for criticism and self-criticism, for comradely relations based on equality of rights and duties; to rule out vilifying of Communists; to pay heed to Communist's proposals and remarks; to expedite the establishment of a comprehensive system of Party information so as to do away with a situation wherein Party members are not kept properly informed.

To continue developing the principle of collective leadership, which should be regarded as not only collective adoption of decisions by Party organs on all fundamental issues, but also as a style of work which is based on the broadest possible participation of Party activists in the shaping and realization of the policy of the Party, and which ensures correct relationships between CC meetings and CC executive organs, between higher and lower Party organs. To fully inform every member of an elected organ about all basic issues, to secure his participation in shaping Party policy not only at sessions of Party organs. To see to it that the members of elected organs steadily adhere to the principles of democratic centralism and Party discipline, so that the lower organs should

abide by the decisions of higher organs which, in turn, should pay heed to the proposals and remarks of the former.

To enhance the role of all elected Party organs, especially their plenary meetings, in shaping and implementing the policy of the Party.

The CC is firmly resolved to resist energetically all attempts to disrupt the unity of the Party. In this connection the Party should not underestimate the influence of dogmatic-sectarian trends.

The CC will also vigorously resist all attemps to confuse this resolute stand with suppression of concrete and founded criticism, with suppression of the right of Communists to state freely and publicly at Party forums their views on the policy of the Party and on the activity of all Party organs from top to bottom.

However, differences in views in discussing and carrying out tasks within the Party should not be allowed to interfere with concerted implementation of the decisions that have been adopted.

3. Of exceptional importance for strengthening the Party's unity and capacity for action is work with cadres. The principal task is to fill all Party posts with Communists who have the confidence of the Party and of the rest of the public and who are determined to consistently pursue the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party and carry out its decisions. It is essential to be able to analyze the problems that come up for solution; to popularize the policy of the Party; to win over for it not only Communists but all other citizens.

From these positions it is necessary to improve the selection and education of cadres in all Party organs.

The CC and its organs will also oppose all attempts to discredit upright Communists who conscientiously observe the principles of the policy of the Party, and any denigration on account of an open internationalist attitude towards the USSR. The CC stresses that the chief criterion in judging the activity of Party members will be how honestly, selfllessly and loyally they carry out tasks following from the political line of the Party.

In the interest of utmost unity of its ranks the Party should ensure observance of the principle that no Communist should be persecuted for his present and past views if they were not in the nature of anti-Party or unlawful activity.

4. To improve with still greater determination the work of the Central Committee itself. Acting in the spirit of the January meeting of the CC and the Action Program, to enhance the role of CC meetings and to establish correct relationships between CC meetings and its executive organs. The CC Presidium should decide upon all major matters stemming from the Central Committee's decisions and exercise control over their implementation. The CC Secretariat should concentrate above all on giving guidance to the apparatus

of the CC. It is to see to it that the apparatus more actively submits proposals to the CC organs and consistently pursues the Central Committee's policy.

To secure the broadest possible participation of Party activists in shaping and implementing Party policy. Also to utilize such forms as working groups and ad hoc commissions with the participation of theoreticians and practical workers. To determine correctly the role of the national-territorial organs, to strengthen the unity of leadership of the regional committees, to convene their functionaries more frequently. Such measures should be implemented in the regions and districts. To work with groups of CC members for individual regions.

5. To step up efforts aimed at reinforcing the Party ranks with the most progressively-minded citizens. Communists capable of implementing the policy of the Party should work in all spheres of public activity and of the life of society. New Party members should be recruited from all classes, strata and groups; this means recruiting front-rank workers, cooperative members, intellectuals and representatives of other categories of the working people. However, the core of the Party should consist, as before, of representatives of the working class. It is also necessary to pay increased attention to the cooperative peasantry as a new socialist class, and above all young people, whose percentage in the Party is utterly insufficient.

The Party organs and organizations should unhesitatingly part ways with those who refuse to follow the Party line and weaken its unity and capacity for action.

6. It is vitally important today to enhance the policy-making role of the working class, this leading force of our society, to draw it into shaping and implementing our policy and consolidating the socialist unity of our people. In their everyday work the Party organs should promote the initiative of workers and orient it on the most pressing tasks of the development of our society and on overcoming preoccupation with secondary problems and local interests.

All Party functionaries should pay increased attention to the Party organizations of workers. The Party organs should inform the workers, in a concrete, clear and frank way, about the situation in the country and about the plans of the Party, take counsel with them on the main problems of our life, and systematically explain the policy of the Party. Workers' views should be given a more prominent place in the entire system of Party work and in the mass information media. The Party activists should include, along with the more capable theoreticians, also functionaries from the leading organs of all levels and, naturally, representatives of the workers, peasants and intellectuals who enjoy authority and are

capable of acting vigorously in support of the policy of the Party.

7. It remains a task of the Party apparatus to systematically analyze the situation, prepare documents and proposals for Party organs, and organize the realization of their decisions with the active participation of Marxist-Leninist theoreticians and Communists of the corresponding state, public and economic organs and institutions. In doing so the Party apparatus should not supplant elected organs or state, economic and other organs and organizations. The elected organs should ensure a sufficient flow of information to functionaries and proper guidance of the apparatus, and work out a comprehensive system of raising its qualifications. The structure of the apparatus should conform to the present situation, to the present principal tasks of the Party and to the conception of its leading role in society. It is on this basis that personnel decisions should be made and positions determined in the selection, education and distribution of cadres. In doing so it is necessary to support the authority of capable workers who enjoy confidence and actively participate in implementing the policy of the Party.

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It should be clear in the work of the entire Party that the present criticism of extreme trends and forces does not signify the restoration of old, sectarian and bureaucratic methods. Should this be so the Party would be unable to maintain its links with the people and strengthen the unity of all the socialist forces of society and its leading role, which we understand as the principal condition for the further development of socialism in our country and at the same time as a guarantee ruling out the influence of all forces striving to go back to the pre-January period, a guarantee that the anti-socialist forces will be politically isolated and eliminated.

B. DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY IN SOCIETY

The CC stresses again that it considers consolidation of the leading role of the Party to be the principal condition for the correct stabilization of the entire political system.

The Party ensures its leading role:

—by shaping the political line of social development;

—by unifying and coordinating the activity of state, economic and public organizations in the spirit of the political line;

—by conducting everyday political, organizational and supervisory work, backing it up with purposeful work with cadres;

—by conducting ideological work aimed at shaping socialist consciousness, organizing education on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and combating influences alien and hostile to socialism;

—by seeing to it that the public is most fully and truthfully informed about the intentions of the Party and the reasons for the decisions it takes.

The CC considers it necessary to stress the importance of the following tasks:

1 To improve work with Communists in the state and elected organs, in the government apparatus and other executive institutions, in the units of the army and the Ministry of the Interior, in the judiciary, etc., The main thing is that:

—Communists should always inform the corresponding Party organs about the situation and about their actions as far as the basic political problems are concerned, and consult them before adopting decisions. In doing so the Party organs and apparatus cannot supplant the state and other organs and take upon themselves their responsibilities. The essence of Party leadership lies in timely political preparation of a single Communist line in all sectors and in effective control over the realization of Party decisions;

—consistent observance of correct principles should be ensured in placing cadres in the state apparatus.

2) To conduct similar work with Communists in the public organizations and the National Front, to intensify the activity of Party groups in the elected organs of public organizations, to give systematic guidance to their work and the work of Party branches in the apparatus of these organizations and in the National Front.

3) Proceeding from the same principles, *to conduct systematic work with Communists in the mass information media, which are an integral part of the political system* and exert decisive influence on shaping public opinion. Above all, to pay constant attention to the Party organizations of publishing houses and editorial boards, to exert active influence on the work of Communist editors and the organizations of the Union of Journalists.

4) In promoting socialist democracy to pursue actively the policy of the National Front, of which the CPC is the leading force.

The leading role of the Party should also be ensured by recommending capable Communists for work in the National Front and individual public organizations.

Communists should actively support internal democracy in the public organizations and strengthen their unity, so that the members of these organizations should see in them genuine spokesmen of their interests and should be drawn, through them and through the National Front, into a full and democratic participation in shaping and implementing the policy of the state.

Close attention should be paid now not only to the trade unions, but also to the newly emerging organizations, such as the Coopera-

tive Peasant's Union, the Czechoslovak Women's Union, the organizations of young people and intellectuals.

The CC regards it as a particularly important political task clearly to elaborate the principles of the Party's trade union policy and the Party's policy with regard to the younger generation. This means supporting measures ensuring the satisfaction of reasonably differentiated interests and the necessary degree of unity of these organizations.

5) Legislation pertaining to the relations between the Czechs and Slovaks within the framework of federation, as well as the democratic determination of the legal status of the other nationalities in the CSSR through the adoption of a special constitutional law in keeping with the Action Program, is regarded by the CC as one of the principal positive steps in the realization of the post-January policy.

Accordingly, the CC considers it necessary to expedite federalization in the entire political system, seeing to it that the entire system of administration is rational and economical.

6) In the National Front, the government and the National Assembly, to continue the preparation of laws on elections to the National Assembly, the Czech and Slovak national councils, and the national committees.

7) The press, radio and televisison are exceptionally important media for exerting political influence. They should actively explain the policy of the Party and the state so as to unite the citizens and mobilize them for the realization of this policy.

Leading workers of the mass information media should orient the press on building principled ideological unity of the socialist forces, to come out, from positions of principle, against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, and rebuff extremist, alien and hostile views which could weaken the socialist development of Czechoslovakia. It is an urgent task of the mass information media to promote actively the understanding of inter-relationships of international development and of the struggle between socialism and imperialism, the realization of the fact that our peoples are a firm component part of the socialist system.

The press, radio and television are first and foremost an instrument of the policy of the Party and the state. They realize exchanges of views and opinions between Party and state organs, organs of the National Front and the public, which should be regarded as an element of the correct implementation of the leading role of the Party and at the same time as one of the democratic forms of the participation of citizens in governing the state.

Political work carried on with the help of the mass information media is one of the central tasks of the Party and state organs, public organizations and the National Front as a whole. Commu-

nist journalists working in these media comprise an important element of the Party's active membership, and have corresponding rights and duties. The Party will see to it that they are sufficiently informed about its aims and intentions, understand them correctly and implement with full responsibility the policy of the Party. Regardless of Party affiliation, however, all workers in the mass information media are responsible for the protection of the interests of the state and the realization of the political program of the elected state organs, the government and the National Front. It is their duty to ensure that the influence exerted by the mass media should be of an expressly socialist character.

The chief responsibility for the correct trend of publications conforming to the interests of the development of socialism rests with the publishers. In cases when workers of the mass media do not respect the fundamental interests of the state and socialism and the policy of their organizations, organizational personnel measures should be consistently taken.

The CC is aware of the tremendous importance of the mass media for the realization of the policy of the Party and the state, and therefore it will pay exceptional attention to them, creating favorable political and personnel prerequisities for this.

A special responsibility devolves on the Party press, which is accountable to the corresponding elected Party organs. The latter should devote particular attention to it, influencing its content and utilizing it as a genuine spokesman of the policy of the Party through which it addresses Communists and the public at large. In this respect a highly important mission is performed by the newspapers *Rudé Pravo* and *Pravda* (organ of the CC of the Communist Party of Slovakia).

It should be borne in mind that along with the maximum utilization of the possibilities which the mass media have for expressing the views of workers, peasants and intellectuals, an effective form of political assistance to shaping public opinion is provided by direct addresses of politicians and statesmen through the press, radio and television.

8) The CC will pay increased attention to consolidating the defense system of the state, the security of the republic and all its citizens.

Important tasks face the CC in strengthening the people's army. It is necessary to go on raising its moral and political level and fighting capacity, to complete the elaboration of and to introduce a uniform system of leadership of Party organs and organizations in the army, to solve consistenly personnel problems connected with the stationing of units. We should create prerequisites for the further consolidation of the defense system of our country, which we regard as being intrinsically connected with the Warsaw

Treaty. A State Defense Council will be established to direct the defense policy.

An important role is played in society by all the institutions of the Ministry of the Interior, the judiciary and the Procurator's Office. They should vigilantly guard socialist law, the security of the socialist republic, socialist property, public order and the rights and justified interests of citizens. Communists are duty bound to give them every support in this responsible work.

The CC stresses again the role and importance of the People's Militia, which it regards as one of the guarantees of the socialist development of our society. The People's Militia plays an irreplacable role in the defense system of our state. The chief task today is to strengthen the ideological unity of the People's Militiamen around the policy and decisions of the CC, to raise the level of their combat and political training and heighten the Militia's capacity for active action. In line with the elaboration of the concept of the defense system of the state, to define the place and role of the People's Militia today and to give them legislative embodiment.

C. CONCENTRATE ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND ON GROWTH OF THE LIVING STANDARD

Throughout the period of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia the Party has regarded economic policy as an integral part of its overall policy, a decisive prerequisite for its success.

The adoption of the economic reform line at the 13th Party Congress not only signified a decisive step towards important changes in the economy, but also promised progress in the development of our entire society. It helped to pave the way for Jan. 1968.

The considerable concentration of political problems following January made it difficult for the Party to pay intensive and systematic attention to economic matters. We did not face up adequately to exaggerated criticism and sometimes vicious attacks on the results of our economic development.

Economic policy requires concentrated attention of the entire Party. Therefore the CC, at its next meeting in mid-December, will thoroughly discuss the results, problems and chief tasks of economic policy at the present stage. In March it intends to consider long-range problems of economic policy in connection with the drafting of the fifth five-year plan.

However, in view of the discussion of the fundamental problems of Party policy, the CC considers it necessary to make clear already now that it regards continuation of the initiated reforms aimed at the fullest utilization of the possibilities and advantages of the socialist economy as the principal line of the Party's economic policy. This means utilizing:

—socialist planning and economic policy programming;
—socialist enterprise, market, commodity-money relations and material incentives to the working people;
—democratic participation of the working people in guiding and controlling the national economy and social processes.

The aim of the reforms is to raise the effectiveness of the socialist economy and the well-being of the population.

The CC intends to continue along the road of economic reforms within the framework of the new system of management, and it expects that all Communists will not only set an example to others in performing their work duties, but will support even unpopular measures aimed at promoting the effective development of production, and tirelessly secure the participation of all working people in implementing the economic policy of the Party.

D. THE PRESENT POLICY OF THE CPC AND CREATIVE MARXISM-LENINISM. DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND THE ARTS

1. In the interest of continued realization of the post-January policy, the CC considers it necessary that the policy of the Party should proceed, as before, from a complex of political decisions based on scientific knowledge of social reality. Socialist society is developing and changing, posing new questions many of which cannot be answered in advance. Policy generally, and still more so socialist policy, should find correct answers even at the cost of mistakes, verify them experimentally and test them in practice.

Marxism-Leninism is an open system of critical scientific thinking which preserves the existing experience and the conclusions drawn from the previous theoretical and practical activities of the Communist and working-class movement, and at the same time studies and assesses new phenomena and initiatives, acquires new experience and creatively develops it.

The Czechoslovak Marxist-Leninists should constantly analyze the development of our socialist society, the internal and external conditions of its existence and its perspectives, and create a synthesis of general trends and laws of development with the peculiarities of our country. An important task at present is to assess our pre-January and post-January social development so as to build a basis for the further policy of the Party. In this connection it is necessary to elaborate a long-term concept of the ideological work of the Party, in the first place the concept of inner Party educational work.

The CC considers it essential in this connection that in elaborating the new and complicated problems of socialist development the experience and viewpoints of the entire world Communist move-

ment—both general and specific experience—should be assessed and utilized.

At the same time it is necessary to overcome the romantic notion that any scientific knowledge, however authentic and correct, can always be immediately realized in practice, regardless of other interconnections.

2. In view of this the CC considers the groundless and biased identification of possible mistakes in scientific Marxist cognition of reality with anti-socialist aims and intentions as incorrect and harmful to the policy of the Party. It is indispensable, therefore, carefully to distinguish between theoretical and practical mistakes of Marxists and Communists, and anti-socialist, Rightist political trends if we want to avoid a repetition of such negative phenomena as the concocted accusations of "anti-state activity" and "ideological diversion" which were levelled at Communists in the 'fifties.

The Party will support in every way the initiative of scientific workers and institutions in their search for ways of developing socialism on the basis of the creative teaching of Marxism-Leninism, in posing and solving important problems, especially those pertaining to the social aspects of the scientific and technological revolution and the harmonious development of the individual under socialism.

Acting in the spirit of the Action Program, the Party will strive to create conditions conducive to vigorous scientific activity.

It is a duty of Marxist scientists and publicists themselves to fight actively and resolutely against views alien and hostile to Marxism-Leninism.

3. In this connection the CC declares clearly: in political activity the members of the Party are guided by the Party Rules. All Communists, no matter where they work, will be held equally responsible for violation of the political line of the Party. However, the study of reality, the solution of problems, the formulation of hypotheses and the search for answers to open questions in the theoretical work of Marxist scientists should not be identified with political activity. But it is wrong if conclusions unverified in practice are implemented in the practical policy of the Party or in society in circumvention of the Rules or of Party organs. Appropriate organs should draw conclusions from such activities.

4. The CC regards the overcoming of the narrow-minded understanding of the social and humane function of science, culture and art in remaking man and his world, and the freedom of scientific and artistic creation, as an integral part of all-round development of socialism in the spirit of the Action Program. At the same time the Party does not renounce its inspiring role in helping science and art to contribute to shaping the make-up of socialist man in the struggle for the remaking of the world.

IV. BASIC PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Closest attention should be paid to the problems of foreign policy. The Party should exert every effort to ensure that the values constituting the cornerstone of the republic's foreign policy orientation should be preserved and consolidated in the consciousness of our people.

The matter concerns, first and foremost, our country's firm alliance and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The matter concerns our Party's belonging to the world Communist movement.

An acute class struggle between socialism and capitalism is being waged in the international arena. Our republic, especially of late, has been one of the vital sectors of this struggle and an object of intensified imperialist pressure. It is necessary, therefore, that Czechoslovak foreign policy should actively uphold our tasks and aims which stem from the fact that we stand firmly on the socialist side of the international class front.

A consistent struggle should be waged side by side with it against all attempts of imperialist reaction to exert direct or indirect influence on our internal development, on the mentality and position of our people.

In keeping with the Action Program, our foreign policy proceeds from the principles of proletarian internationalism, the treaties with the socialist countries, the documents adopted at international conferences of Communist parties, as well as the conclusions of the conferences at Cierna nad Tisou and in Bratislava, and the Moscow Protocol.

1) We will continue to develop all-round cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Today, as always in the past, we reaffirm the inviolability of our alliance with all socialist countries, our loyalty to our commitments. There has never been any other alternative for us than our belonging to the socialist system, to the Warsaw Treaty, our active participation in the Council of Mutual Economic Aid. Therefore we want to do everything for their further development, for raising the effectiveness of all the organizations of the socialist countries, especially those of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty. All attempts to weaken our cooperation with the socialist countries, just as the irresponsible attempts of some individuals to proclaim the slogan of neutrality, will come up, today and in the future, against the resolute resistance of the CPC.

2) Together with the other socialist countries we will pursue a coordinated policy conforming to the interests of the socialist countries, and tirelessly and systematically oppose imperialist acts, especially attempts to change the postwar status quo in Europe—

the aim above all of the militarist and revanchist circles in West Germany. We will actively contribute to the establishment of a system of European collective security, fight for the recognition of the invalidity of the Munich agreement from its very inception, and help to consolidate the international position of the German Democratic Republic, and support the West German Communists and all forces in West Germany which are consistently fighting against militarism and revanchism, for democratic progress.

We will go on rendering every possible support to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people. Proceeding from its possibilities, Czechoslovakia will help expedite implementation of the Security Council resolution on the situation in the Middle East, especially regarding the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territory, and go on strengthening internationalist solidarity with the peoples fighting for national liberation, for political and economic independence, and rendering assistance to them.

3) In keeping with the Action Program and the Bratislava Statement, we will pursue an active foreign policy with regard to countries with a different social system, coordinating it with the other socialist countries. It is a policy of peaceful coexistence, a policy of mutually beneficial relations promoting mutual understanding and confidence among nations, a policy which can become an effective weapon against the striving of the aggressive circles of imperialism to revive the cold war and create new possibilities for attacks on socialism.

We will continue the policy of establishing and strengthening relations with all democoratic, progressive and revolutionary forces in the interest of the common struggle against imperialism, for peace and social progress.

4) As is recorded in the Action Program and the Bratislava Statement, we will continue to develop bilateral and multilateral contacts with the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist and other countries, exchange experiences, compare positions and views, remove unclarity and act jointly with them in the solution of important political and ideological problems, in the fight against imperialism, for the development of socialism. Accordingly, our Party will actively contribute to the preparation and convening of the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties, which we regard as a major step towards the gradual overcoming of the present difficulties in the world Communist movement, towards the consolidation of its unity and enhancement of its capacity for vigorous action.

* * *

Basing itself on a critical assessment of the development of the policy of the Party in recent years, including the post-January period, on the assessment of the present situation in society and

in the Party and on a more detailed definition of the main tasks of the Party for the immediate future, the CC states that a top-priority task today is to rally the entire Party on the positive foundations of the post-January policy.

—*The main task of the Party, its elected organs and organizations is to consolidate and develop in every way socialism in Czechoslovakia,* the Czechoslovak economy, the defense capacity of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and the alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to intensify the common struggle of the socialist countries against international imperialism, to ensure the leading role of the CPC in the entire political system while promoting socialist democracy.

—*The CC CPC and all the elected organs and organizations of the Party should strive for the unity of the Party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.*

At the present time the Central Committee attaches exceptional importance to the application of the principles of democratic centralism and the observance of Party discipline and responsibility. The activities of groups which violate Leninist principles of Party work and strive to pursue their own policy in circumvention of Party organs should not be tolerated.

Proceeding from an analysis of the preceding period, the Party will resolutely oppose all Right-opportunist trends. At the same time it will see to it that sectarian-dogmatic trends do not manifest themselves.

—*The CC CPC considers it necessary to consolidate the leading role of the Party, to enhance its stimulating, organizational, critical and control function in the entire political system,* to unfailingly call to account all Communists who do not carry out, by-pass or directly violate the decisions of the Party, and also those who suppress inner Party democracy.

—*The CC CPC fully supports the basic propositions of the January plenary meeting and other Party documents. It will under no circumstances tolerate a return to the violations of socialist law and deformations which did great harm to socialism. It will continue to correct the wrongs done to Communists and other citizens.*

—In the economic sphere and in the state organs, public organizations and organs of the National Front, in all links and at all levels of leadership in the Party organs and organs of the trade union movement, the CC considers it necessary to return to their own action programs, to verify their realization and include into them measures stemming from the resolution.

Communists will work actively, with initiative, in the National Front and in the public organizations to help them carry out their tasks in the interests of the working people and to consolidate the

leading role of the Party in the political system of the National Front.

—*The CC CPC fully supports the principles enunciated in the protocol of the Moscow talks (August 26, 1968), the communique on the talks between the CPSU and the CPC of October 3 and 4, 1968, and the principles of the Bratislava Statement of six Parties (August 4, 1968),* and emphasizes the responsibility of all Communists, especially on a nationwide scale, for their practical realization.

—The CC CPC calls upon all Communists *to regard links with the socialist forces of both our peoples as the main source of strength of our Party. It urges Communists tirelessly and effectively to resist all possible attempts at provocation, attempts to exploit the national sentiments of the working people against the interests of sovereignty, socialist democracy and the entire post-January policy in our country.* Let every Communist stand guard over Party unity, legality, the constitutionality of our development and the firm alliance of the Party with the people. At the same time, the CPC will not tolerate any active moves against this policy in violation of the Party Rules, the organization of pressure groups and provocative acts, the publication of leaflets, the organization of mass-scale presentation of resolutions, etc. Struggle against all this is a task of Communists at all places of work, in cities, villages, districts, regions, national and federal organs.

* * *

—The CC CPC expects that this resolution, which will constitute the basis for rallying the healthy forces of the CPC, will become the guide to action for all state, economic and public organs and organizations, all citizens of our Czechosovak Socialist Republic who treasure further tranquil development in our country.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is strong enough to provide ample scope for all-round development, for initiative, for the application of the creative abilities and forces of our working people, of every citizen who is prepared to work for the further construction of socialism, for the good of our socialist country.

COMMUNIQUE*

Leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia met in Kiev on December 7-8, 1968.

The Soviet side was represented by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, A. N. Kosygin, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. V. Podgorny, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau, and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, P. Y. Shelest, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and First Secretary of the CC CP of the Ukraine, V. V. Shcherbitsky, candidate member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CC CPSU, and V. V. Kuznetsov, member of the CC CPSU and First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

The Czechoslovak side was represented by A. Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC CPC, L. Svoboda, President of the CSSR, O. Cernik, member of the CC CPC Presidium and Chairman of the Government of the CSSR, J. Husak, First Secretary of the CC CPC and member of the CC CPC Presidium, and L. Strougal, Chairman of the CC CPC Bureau for Direction of Party Work in the Czech Lands and member of the CC CPC Presidium.

Views were exchanged on further development of cooperation between the CPSU and CPC, and between the USSR and CSSR and other questions of mutual interest were discussed.

The talks were held in a cordial atmosphere, in a spirit of comradeship and friendship.

The Czechoslovak delegation left on December 8 and was seen off by the Soviet leaders participating in the talks.

*Pravda, December 9, 1968.

CONTENTS

INFORMATION BULLETIN Nos. 1-24, 1968
(Documents and Materials of the Communist and Workers' Parties)

	No.	Page
BELGIUM:		
Resolution of the 18th Congress, CP of Belgium (*Le Drapeau Rouge*, December 22, 1967)	1	21
BRAZIL:		
Political Resolution of the 6th Congress of the Brazilian CP (December 1967)	3	5
Promote Struggle against the Dictatorship. Resolution of the CC BCP (September 1968)	21-22	53
BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC:		
The Bulgarian CP Will Take the Most Active Part in Preparing the International Conference (*Rabotnichesko Delo*, January 13, 1968)	1	6
Stand firmly on the Positions of the Party and the People. Statement of the Political Bureau, CC BCP (*Rabotnichesko Delo*, April 21, 1968)	10	43
Main Lines of the Further Development of our System of Social Management. Resolution of the CC BCP (Abridged from BCP pamphlet, Sofia, 1968)	21-22	35
CANADA:		
Unity of the Left Around a Common Program (*The Canadian Tribune*, February 5, 1968)	4	29
CHILE:		
Report of Victor Diaz at a Plenary Meeting of the CC CPC (*El Siglo*, May 30, 1968)	13	30
COLOMBIA:		
Reply of the CEC of the CP of Colombia to Diego Montana Cuellar's theses (Special supplement to *Voz Proletaria*, November 30, 1967)	2	15
COSTA RICA:		
Invitation Accepted by the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Cica to Budapest Consultative Meeting (*Neues Deutschland*, January 14, 1968)	1	14
CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC:		
Plenary Meeting of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia (January 5, 1968)	1	35

	No.	Page
Economic Tasks and the Standard of Living, 1968-70. Resolution of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia (Text released by CTK, December 22, 1967)	1	37
Allow Greater Scope for People's Activity in Every Field. Speech by Alexander Dubcek. *(Rude Pravo,* February 2, 1968)	4	41
Speech by A. Dubcek at a meeting in Prague to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the victory in February 1948 (*Rude Pravo,* February 23, 1968)	4	41
The Present Situation and the Further Action of the Party. Resolution of the CC CPC Plenum (*Rude Pravo,* June 2, 1968)	11	26
Resolution of the CC CPC on the Results of the Moscow Talks (*Rude Pravo,* September 3, 1968)	16	15
Meeting of the CC Presidium, CC of Czechoslovakia (*Rude Pravo,* October 9, 1968)	20	7
Main Tasks of the Party for the Coming Period. Resolution of the November 1968 Plenum of the CC CPC	23-24	39
DENMARK:		
Speech by Knud Jespersen at the National Conference of the Party (Abridged from *Land og Folk,* November 19-20, 1967)	1	25
Immutable Basis and Changing Forms. Article by Villy Fuglsang (*Land og Folk,* May 15, 1968)	12	28
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:		
Extract from the Draft Program of the Dominican Communist Party (Santo Domingo, January 1968)	20	10
FINLAND:		
Resolution of the CC, Communist Party of Finland (*Kansan Uutiset,* June 18, 1968)	15	41
FRANCE:		
Central Committee of the FCP on the Preparation of the International Conference (*l'Humanité,* January 18, 1968)	1	13
Report by Roland Leroy to the CC FCP at Plessis-Robinson (Abridged from *l'Humanité,* January 19, 1968)	4	14
Statement by the French Communist Party (*l'Humanité,* May 18, 1968)	10	50

	No.	Page
Labor and Democratic Unity. Speech by Waldeck Rochet at a meeting in Paris (*l'Humanité*, June 1, 1968)	11	5
Waldeck Rochet's Speech at a Meeting in Paris (*l'Humanité*, June 11, 1968)	12	6
Statement of the French Communist Party Political Bureau (*l'Humanité*, July 2, 1968)	13	29
Waldeck Rochet's Report to the CC FCP (*l'Humanité*, July 10, 1968)	14	45
The Situation in France and the Communists Tasks. Statement by the PB of the French CP (*l'Humanité*, November 15, 1968)	23-24	34
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC:		
Walter Ulbricht's Report to the People's Chamber of the GDR (ADN release, January 31, 1968)	4	33
The Leading Role of the Party, a Characteristic of our Socialist System. Speech by Erich Honecker at a CC SUPG plenary meeting (*Neues Deutschland*, June 8, 1968)	12	14
GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC:		
For the Success of the Budapest Consultative Meeting (Article in *Wissen und Tat*, No. 1-2, 1968)	2	5
Modern Problems of Revolutionary Struggle (Interview with Prof J. Schleifstein in *Marxistische Blaetter*)	3	54
Dialectics of Despair (Robert Steigerwald on Marcuse's "One-Dimensional Man," *Marxistische* Blaetter)	3	64
GREAT BRITAIN:		
Resolution on Left Unity in Action for an Alternative Policy. 30th National Congress, CP of Great Britain (November 25-27, 1968)	1	14
What Should a World Meeting of Communists Aim for? Jack Woddis (*Morning Star*, January 17, 1968)	2	8
Report by Frank Stanley to Meeting of Executive Committee, CP of Great Britain, May 11, 1968	11	12
The British Economy after Devaluation, Report of the Economic Sub-Committee of the CP (*Comment*, August 24 and 31, 1968)	19	25
GREECE:		
Resolution of the Political Bureau, Communist Party of Greece (August 1968)	17-18	49

	No.	Page
GUATEMALA:		
The Guatemalan Revolution: Its Present and Future. Statement by the CC, Guatemalan Party of Labor (March 1968. Abridged)	10	10
HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC:		
The Budapest Meeting. Article by Zoltan Komocsin (*Nepszabadsag*, December 24, 1967)	1	8
The Situation in China. Abridged text of lecture delivered by Frigyes Puja at the Political Academy of the CC HSWP (*Nepszabadsag*, May 18, 1968)	11	20
INDIA:		
Political Resolution Adopted by the CPI Eighth Congress (*New Age*, February 25, 1968)	8	5
Intensify Campaign of Solidarity with Vietnamese People (*New Age*, August 11, 1968)	19	13
Economic Developments in India (from report to Plenary Meeting of CP India National Council, held August 1-8, 1968)	21-22	14
IRAN:		
From the Statement of the Tudeh Party of Iran in Connection with the Convening of the Budapest Consultative Meeting (*Mordom*, December 1967)	2	12
The Party Line in the World Communist and Working-Class Movement. Resolution of the CC PPI (*Mordom*, July 1968)	17-18	46
IRAQ:		
Communique on the 3rd National Conference of the Iraqi CP (December 1967	2	42
Documents of the 3rd National Conference of the Iraqi CP (Abridged from *Tariq al-Shaab*, January 1968)	10	26
The Political Situation. Statement by the CC, Iraqi CP (December 1967)	12	33
Statement of the Iraqi Communist Party on the Political Situation in the Country (July 1968)	19	16
ISRAEL:		
Resolution of the CP of Israel. A. On the Eshkol Visit to the United States. B. For the Defense of Democratic Rights (Press release, January 21, 1968)	3	42

	No.	Page
The 20th Anniversary of the State of Israel. Proclamation of the CP of Israel (Info. Bulletin of CP of Israel, No. 4, 1968)	11	44
Interview with Meir Vilner (*l'Humanité*, June 5, 1968)	13	48
A Letter from Israel (88 signatures)	8	91
ITALY:		
Luigi Longo's Speech at a Session of the CC and CCC of the Italian CP (*Unita*, February 15, 1968)	4	22
Provide an Alternative. Communique of the ICP (*Unita*, May 23, 1968)	10	52
The Agony of the Centre-Left Must Not Affect the People. Report by Luigi Longo (*Unita*, June 21, 1968)	13	13
Resolution of the Leadership of the Italian CP (*Unita*, November 23, 1968)	23-24	37
JAPAN:		
For Working-Class Unity. Extracts from the resolution of the CC, CP of Japan (*Akahata*, March 6, 1968)	9	50
Results of the Elections to the Upper Chamber. Statement by the Presidium of the CC, CP of Japan (*Akahaïa*, July 9, 1968)	15	38
JORDAN		
Statement by the CC, CP of Jordan on the Budapest Consultative Meeting (*Al Takaddum*, No. 1, 1968)	1	7
The Task of the Jordanian Communist Party at the Present Stage. Statement by Mazin Kamel (*Al-Ittihad*, January 12, 1968)	3	46
KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC:		
Marching Along the Road of Socialism and Peace. Speech by Kim Il Sung (A Korean News Agency release, September 11, 1968)	19	7
MEXICO:		
For Further Progress Toward World Communist Unity. Resolution of the CC, Mexican CP (*La Voz de Mexico*, April 21, 1968)	10	7
NORWAY:		
Reidar Larsen Interviewed by *Friheten* (Abridged from *Friheten*, January 19-25, 1968)	3	53

	No.	Page
POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC:		
Speech by Wladyslaw Gomulka at Meeting with Warsaw Party Workers (PAP release, March 20, 1968)	9	25
Wladyslaw Gomulka's Speech at the July Plenary Meeting of the CC, Polish United Workers' Party (*Trybuna Ludu*, July 13, 1968)	14	37
Theses of the Central Committee for the 5th Congress of the PUWP (Polish Press Agency release, July 1968)	17-18	23
Resolution of the 5th Congress of the PUWP (Abridged from *Trybuna Ludu*, November 21, 1968)	23-24	10
PORTUGAL:		
Proclamation of the Portuguese Communist Party	20	28
RUMANIAN SOCIALIST REPUBLIC:		
Resolution of the National Conference of the Rumanian CP (Information Bulletin of the CC RCP, No. 15, 1967)	1	31
Plenary Meeting of the CC, RCP (*Scinteia*, December 9, 1967)	1	34
The 8th Session of the Grand National Assembly (December 9, 1967)	1	34
SOVIET UNION:		
In the Central Committee of the CPSU (*Pravda*, January 10, 1968	2	5
Soviet Economy in 1967. Facts and Figures (*Pravda*, January 25, 1968)	3	50
Speech by L. I. Brezhnev at 19th Conference of Moscow City Organization of CPSU (*Pravda*, March 30, 1968)	8	72
Urgent International Problems and the Struggle of the CPSU for World Communist Unity. Resolution of the CC CPSU Plenum (*Pravda*, April 11, 1968	8	88
Under the Leadership of the CPSU Forward Along the Leninist Road to Communism. Speech by V. Grishin (*Pravda*, April 23, 1968)	9	6
The Dominant Trend for Unity (*Kommunist*, organ of the CC CPSU, No. 9, June 1968)	13	5
On Preparations for the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich. Decision of the CPSU Central Committee (*Pravda*, August 10, 1968)	16	16

	No.	Page
On Enhancing the Role of District Newspapers in the Communist Education of the Working People. Resolution of the CC CPSU (*Pravda*, September 15, 1968)	19	20
On Progress in Implementing the Decisions of the 23rd Congress and Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee on Agriculture. Resolution of a Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU (*Pravda*, November 1, 1968)	21-22	5
On the Activity of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU in the Field of Foreign Policy. Resolution of a Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU (*Pravda*, November 1, 1968)	21-22	13
SPAIN:		
Statement of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (Abridged from *Mundo Obrero*, December 1967)	1	52
Statement of the Executive Committee, CP of Spain (*Mundo Obrero*, No. 12, June 1968)	13	40
SWEDEN:		
The Socialist Left Alternative. Article by C. H. Hermansson (*Ny Dag*, April 26, 1968)	9	62
SWITZERLAND:		
The Political Situation and the Tasks of the Party. Resolution of the CC, Swiss Party of Labor (*Vorwaerts*, February 1, 1968)	4	63
SYRIA:		
Syrian Communists Support the Budapest Meeting (*Al-Akhbar*, December 31, 1967)	1	5
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:		
An Open Letter to the Israeli Peace Movement. Gus Hall (*The Worker*, January 7, 1968)	2	38
Not All Peace Talk Is Talk for Peace. Article by Gus Hall (*The Worker*, December 24, 1967)	3	48
Stop the War. A Message to the American People from the Communist Party, USA (Special Supplement, *The Worker*, February 11, 1968)	4	5
Who's Got the Answer. Article in *The Worker* (April 28, 1968)	10	46
Report of Gus Hall to Special Convention, CP USA, July 1968 (Abridged)	15	12

	No.	Page
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM:		
The Central Committee of the Party of Working People of Vietnam on Intensifying Mobilization Work Among the Working Class and the Activity of Trade Unions in the New Conditions (Abridged from *Nhan Dan*, December 13, 1967)	1	42
Valuable Support for the Vietnamese People. *Nhan Dan* Editorial (Information Bulletin of the International Department of the CC SUPG, No. 9, 1968)	10	5
SOUTH VIETNAM:		
The U.S. Must Stop Its Aggression. Statement of the Presidium of the CC, South Vietnam National Liberation Front (Information Bulletin of the representation of the NLF of South Vietnam in the CSSR, June 1968)	12	40
WEST BERLIN:		
Communique of the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Party Executive, SUPG-West Berlin on the Budapest Consultative Meeting (Extract. Information Bulletin of the Party Executive, SUPG-West Berlin, No. 48)	1	7
CONFERENCES AND MEETINGS OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES, BILATERAL MEETINGS		
Talks Between the People's Party of Panama and the CP of Czechoslovakia (CTK report of December 25, 1967)	1	7
Meeting of Party and Government Leaders of Socialist Countries, Warsaw, July 14-15, 1968 *(Trybuna Ludu,* July 13, 1968)	14	5
Letter of Five Communist and Workers' Parties to the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia (*Pravda*, July 18, 1968)	14	7
Speech by Leonid Brezhnev at a Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Meeting in Moscow, July 3, 1968 *(Pravda,* July 4, 1968	14	15
Speech by Janos Kadar at a Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Meeting in Moscow, July 3, 1968 *(Pravda,* July 4, 1968)	14	26
Documents of the Conference of Arab Communist and Workers' Parties *(Al-Akhbar*, August 4, 1968)	17-18	5

	No.	Page
Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries (*Pravda*, August 4, 1968)	16	6
Joint Communique on Meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the Presidium of the CC CPC (*Rude Pravo*, August 2, 1968)	16	5
Communique on Soviet-Czechoslovak Talks (*Pravda*, August 28, 1968)	16	12
Communique on Soviet-Czechoslovak Talks (*Rudé Pravo*, October 5, 1968)	20	5
Communique on Meeting of Leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Kiev, December 7-8, 1968	23-24	67
On the Meeting of Representatives of the South African Communist Party and the Communist Party of Lesotho	12	38

BUDAPEST CONSULTATIVE MEETING of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties (February 26-March 5, 1968)

Seventy Parties Support the Budapest Meeting (*Neues Deutschland*, January 17, 1968)	2	14
Communique on Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (March 7, 1968)	5-6-7	5
Communique of a Meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties (April 28, 1968)	9	72
Message of Solidarity to the Vietnamese People, CC of the Vietnamese Working People's Party, Presidium of the CC, National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (Budapest, February 28, 1968)	5-6-7	8
Communique on the Meeting of the Working Group set up to draft materials for the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties (Budapest, June 21, 1968)	12	5
Communique on the Meetings of the Working Group and the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties (*Rudé Pravo*, October 2, 1968)	19	5
Communique on the Meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties (Budapest, November 21, 1968)	23-24	5
Preparatory Committee Statement in Defense of the Lives of Communists and Other Patriots in Indonesia (Budapest, November 20, 1968)	23-24	7

	No.	Page
Preparatory Committee Statement Against Unjust Sentence on Alexandros Panagoulis (Budapest, November 20, 1968)	23-24	7
Greetings to People of Vietnam (Budapest, November 21, 1968)	23-24	8
Solidarity with the Patriots in Guatemala, Paraguay and Haiti (Budapest, November 21, 1968)	23-24	8
Documents of the Budapest Consultative Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties.		
February 26-March 5, 1968 (Hungarian Telegraph Agency MTI)	5-6-7	5-49
Speeches by Heads of Delegations:		
Janos Kadar	5-6-7	49
Zenon Kliszko	5-6-7	54
Max Schaefer	5-6-7	68
M. A. Suslov	5-6-7	76
Oscar Astudillo	5-6-7	86
Paul Niculescu-Mizil	5-6-7	87
Boris Velchev	5-6-7	102
Gus Hal	5-6-7	113
Anna-Liisa Hyvönen	5-6-7	118
Erich Honecker	5-6-7	120
Erwin Scharf	5-6-7	133
Georges Marchais	5-6-7	135
D. Molomzhamts	5-6-7	140
Vladimir Koucky	5-6-7	146
Jack Woddis	5-6-7	158
Jean Kill	5-6-7	159
Enrico Berlinguer	5-6-7	162
Zoltan Komocsin	5-6-7	174
William Kashstan	5-6-7	182
Edgar Woog	5-6-7	185
David Henin	8	63
Ezekias Papaioannou	8	18
Alberto Suarez	5-6-7	161
Alvaro Vasquez	8	27
Julio Lopez	8	38
Mohamed Harmel	8	44
Iradj Eshkandari	8	49
Jalil Jandal	8	53
Santiago Alvarez	8	58
Eduardo Gallegos Mancera	9	66
Rep. of Paraguayan CP	8	31

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