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# REPORT* BY WALDEK ROCHET

The document on the struggle "For an Advanced Democracy and for Socialism," submitted to the Central Committee, is a kind of summary of the fundamental ideas of our 18th Congress with due regard to the events that have taken place in our country since.

The great labor and student actions of May and June 1968, which the Central Committee analyzed at a previous meeting, constituted the outstanding socio-political development of 1968 in France. Analysis of those strikes, of the trends and forces they revealed, helps us to gain a deeper insight into the changes that have come about in our country and to form a clearer idea of the conditions that may enable us to further the movement for socialism.

On the basis of the action of the masses we must try fully to assimilate the experience of the recent period, in both theoretical and political terms, and boldly tackle the problems it has posed.

This will be one of the tasks of our next congress. But we have already learned, and continue to learn, the lessons of the great days of May and June 1968.

As Comrade Benoit Frachon, President of the CGT, stressed some time ago, the May and June strikes and demonstrations were in a way the first important confrontation of the period of accelerated capitalist concentration, the first important confrontation between the working people and monopoly power caught in the clutches of contradictions it cannot resolve.

We wish to add that the powerful strike and the big demonstrations of May and June 1968 refuted certain theses to the effect that, in the highly developed capitalist societies, the class struggle tends to fall off, so that no acute social crises imperilling the existence of monopoly power can possibly develop.

On the contrary, the May and June struggles emphasized the aggravation of all capitalist contradictions and of the class struggle between labor and capital under state-monopoly capitalism.

That is the first important lesson.

To be sure, not all the participants in the vast movement of May and June showed the same degree of class consciousness. Some of them were only just taking their first steps towards struggle and organization. However—and this is important—it was the first time that eight or nine million wage and salaried workers of our

*L'Humanité, December 7, 1968. The report was presented by Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, to the plenary meeting of the CC FCP held on December 5 and 6.

country had stopped work and had occupied factories, offices and universities.

To make a correct assessment of the May and June strikes, it is not enough to sum up the economic and social gains they brought, positive as these gains may be—suffice it to mention the average 14 per cent pay rise. While the government has since then tried to take back from the working people some of their gains by the devious route of putting up prices and taxes, the conquests of May and June are far from being nullified.

But over and above the satisfaction of immediate demands become imperative, the movement sought deeper and more decisive changes in the world in which we live.

The issue of replacing Gaullist power as monopoly power was forcefully posed. The spring strikes with their unprecedented breadth called in question monopoly domination, whose harmfulness no longer needs to be proved, and the very nature of a state whose sole objective is to increase monopoly profit and power.

In May and June, the class struggle took a considerable leap forward.

Along with the working class whose decisive role was strikingly confirmed, new sections of wage earners and intellectuals, specifically numerous young workers and students, came to realize the need for deep-going, decisive changes in the social and political system.

Also, as far as the forms of struggle are concerned, the May and June events brought to light the exceedingly important part which economic and political strikes combined with other forms of struggle can play in the progress of the mass movement, in the struggle for an anti-monopoly government capable of paving the way for socialism.

Nevertheless—and this is another important lesson—what was lacking in May and June as a condition for ending Gaullist power as monopoly rule was, first of all, the existence of a solid alliance comprising both the Left-wing parties and the big trade union organizations on the basis of a common program. In other words, there was no real alliance of the working class and the progressive and anti-monopoly segments of society in town and country.

That is why—we have shown this by combating adventurism—the balance of forces, for all the considerable gains of the mass movement, did not enable the working class and its allies to take political power last May, as certain irresponsible Leftist groups say it could have done. The relevant analysis we have made remains correct.

Be that as it may, the May and June struggles revealed that socialist ideas had spread to new groups of wage earners and

intellectuals, although it is true that they have differing concepts of socialism.

Among the office employees, intellectuals and students, for instance, petty-bourgeois concepts of socialism have proved tenacious, as might have been expected. But the paramount fact is that the ideas of Marx and Lenin, far from remaining cold, dogmatic school formulas, are becoming more and more the patrimony of the masses. Outdated and false notions about class collaboration are proving powerless as socialist ideas gain ground.

Undoubtedly, by exploiting fear and by resorting to blackmail—the threat of civil war—the Gaullist regime on June 23 and 30 achieved an electoral success. But developments since then have shown that the June elections did not wipe out the lessons of the socio-political crisis of May 1968.

Our Central Committee, drawing the first conclusions from the May and June events, stressed at its July meeting that all the problems at the root of the great working-class and democratic movement preceding the June elections are still there, that the regime is undoubtedly capable of adopting some partial measures or of displaying demagogic intentions, but that its very nature will not let it follow a real policy of social progress, for one cannot serve both big capital and the working class. The facts have fully borne out this estimation.

Indeed, the elections were hardly over when the government and Big Business tried to take back from the working people, in the form of increased prices and taxes, part of what the masses had wrested from them in May and June.

In the recent period, the austerity measures taken in connection with the monetary crisis show that, more than ever, Gaullist power is the power of big capital.

To begin with, de Gaulle contended without the slightest hesitation, in his radio speech on November 24, that the misfortunes of the franc came primarily from the May and June strikes. In other words, it is not the speculators who are to blame but the working people who last May tried to win legitimate demands that had been rejected over ten years.

It is not true that the pay rise won by the working people in May and June led to the crisis which hit the franc last November. On November 12 the Minister of Finance himself said in a communique that pay increases had resulted in increased production and had curbed unemployment. He added that the trade balance, too, had been restored. In the light of this fact, how can anyone blame the working people a fortnight later for the crisis of the franc!

All knowledgeable people, and first of all de Gaulle, realize that the crisis of the franc is a direct result of reckless speculation by the big bankers and industrialists, who in a matter of weeks trans-

ferred abroad, notably to Germany, capital worth 1,500 thousand million old francs. The Gaullist government could have taken steps to prevent this speculation in the national currency but did no such thing.

For political and prestige reasons, after allowing speculation to assume enormous proportions, de Gaulle renounced the idea of devaluating the franc which his government had envisaged at one moment. But then he adopted an austerity plan aimed, just as the devaluation condemned by us, at making the working people foot the bill.

The austerity plan does not provide for a single sanction against speculators, but we find in it, along with tax cuts for the capitalists, an array of new burdens for the working population.

—The employers of wage labor are, in effect, exempted from the salary tax they had paid up to now, which in the case of the big owners amounts to a tangible easement.

—On the other hand, the sales tax, which is included in commodity prices, is greatly increased, which in 1969 will force the consumer to pay 1,000,000 million old francs more for this item alone.

—Besides, there is to be a heavy increase in railway freight charges and for industrial electricity and gas, which will likewise tell on consumer goods prices.

—Allocations for national companies, schools and universities, and housing will be reduced.

Lastly, with the prices rising, there is a danger of growing unemployment. All that is left of the Gaullist bluff of participation is, as far as the working people are concerned, participation in sacrifices, for the exclusive benefit of speculators and big capital. Added to this is the threat to freedoms.

No wonder, therefore, that the National Council of French Employers applauded the Gaullist regime's reactionary measures and that President Johnson, for his part, sent congratulations to de Gaulle.

Meanwhile all indications are that the working people, who went through the May and June experience, will not meekly agree to pay the costs of this anti-social policy. That is why the outlook is for intensified class struggle in our country.

This new situation, highlighted by the May and June explosion and a monetary crisis of international magnitude, should be borne in mind by our Party in all its political and organizing activities if it wants to contribute to the progress of the mass movement.

First of all, we must clearly define the immediate objectives of our action.

In the face of the offensive of the Gaullist regime and Big Business, the task is, notably, to maintain and extend the social gains

of May and June. Wages and salaries should be adjusted in accordance with the price increases that have been or are being effected.

We must support the struggle for a sliding wage scale guaranteeing the people's purchasing power; for full employment and guarantee of resources; for shorter working time without pay cuts; for the exercise of trade union freedoms in the enterprises; for an overall democratic reform of public education; for house-building; for an agricultural policy ensuring fair remuneration to working peasants.

The French Communist Party, which is against the devaluation and for the maintenance of the purchasing power of the national currency, proposes ending the budget deficit, not by making the poor pay as de Gaulle does, but by making the big private companies and big fortunes pay, by reducing military appropriations, striking at last at speculators and easing at the same time the plight of numerous working people hard hit by the income tax.

Unlike those who view economic and social demands with scorn, Communists resolutely take hold of organizing their defense and try to bring about the unity of action needed for their achievement.

For every economic or social problem, the FCP is careful to propose a precise solution that meets the interests of the working class, the people and the nation.

Communists never forget that their primary task is to become the people's lawyers, as a bourgeois political writer put it, the defenders of the working people's daily bread.

Our Party attaches particular importance to the issue of demands put forward by youth, women and peasants. Its organizations study with growing attention the demands of office employees, technologists and intellectuals generally, whose numbers and role are increasing from year to year.

The FCP is just as careful to specify its foreign policy objectives.

In the fight against imperialism and for peace, which remains an essential task, the Party persists in its effort for an end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

In Europe, intensified war preparations by NATO and the Bonn revanchists' avowed resolve to dispute the results of the last world war fully engage our attention.

We are fighting against West German access to nuclear weapons, for respect for post-war frontiers, for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, for the organization of European security.

The big victory recently won through the heroism of the Vietnam people—who forced the U.S. leaders to stop bombing North Vietnam and to accept the idea of quadrilateral negotiations—was an important gain for the peace forces of the world. It shows what

international solidarity in action against an aggressor can accomplish. It encourages us to redouble our efforts in the common fight against imperialism, for collective security, for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

In foreign policy we advocate respect for the sovereignty and national independence of all peoples. We shall continue our struggle for the disbandment of the military blocs existing in the world. With this object in view, we insist that France shall not renew its Atlantic Treaty membership in 1969, when that treaty is due to expire.

But our more immediate responsibilities do not lie only in the sphere of economic, social or foreign policy. They also bear on the general trend of French politics. We must step up the fight for an advanced democracy through an alliance of the working-class and democratic forces on the basis of a common program.

Indeed, whatever the gains of the struggle for economic and social demands or the struggle for peace, it is still true that the maintenance and reinforcement of monopoly domination would mean super-exploitation of the vast mass of working people and an aggravation of their living conditions.

It follows, then, that to restrict action to the defense of economic and social demands without grappling with the monopolies themselves and with their government would mean leaving the causes of all difficulties intact .

This is why the draft document recalls opportunely that the main objective at this stage is to replace the Gaullist power of the monopolies by an advanced political and economic democracy that can effect deep-going and bold reforms and pave the way for socialism.

In the economic field, the central object of the program of this advanced democracy would be gradual nationalization of the monopolized industries and big banks, accompanied by the establishment of democratic management. The nationalized industries would be managed for the good of the country, and not—as is the case today—in the interest of the big capitalist industries enjoying favorable tariffs which artificially produce a deficit on the national railways and in the power and coal industries.

At a time when some are pleased to extol the advantages and stress the necessity of industrial concentration and the formation of large economic units, nationalization is the democratic solution of the problem of concentration.

Are not the nationalized industries already in the van of technical progress? Tomorrow they will provide the material basis for the independence of the country, which under one-man rule is impaired by a policy that prefers that such big enterprises as Simca, Bull or Citroen be under foreign rather than national control.

With a view to achieving such reforms by replacing monopoly power with an advanced democracy, we reaffirm the Communists' will to work for an alliance of the working-class and democratic forces, meaning first of all an alliance of Communists and Socialists, standing for an advanced common program that meets the interests and aspirations of the people and the country.

Such are, in brief, the Party's objectives for the present.

I stress that these objectives feature in the democratic program drawn up during our 18th Congress and retain its validity as a whole, even though it is true that this program can be brought up to date on certain points.

And now I would like to comment on the second part of the document submitted to the Central Committee, the part dealing with the transition to socialism in France.

In connection with the May and June events the Political Bureau of our Party considers that we must give increasing attention to the fight for the progress of socialist ideas in our country.

First of all, because socialism meets the aspirations of growing sections of workers by hand and by brain, and secondly, because it is necessary to publicize the great ideas of scientific socialism and to combat petty-bourgeois concepts of socialism which can only help maintain capitalism.

For when we say that the ideas of socialism have advanced, we nevertheless do not forget existing difficulties and incomprehensions. We do not allow ourselves to be lulled by the illusion that the majority of the French working people have been won for the idea of socialism.

This makes it timely and necessary to reveal on every occasion the goal of socialism and the conditions for attaining it.

To those working people who aspire to a more equitable society, we must be able to explain that socialism is precisely the system under which the worker at last works for himself and for a society of free and equal working people.

It is necessary to the working people to know that the goal of socialism and communism is, at one and the same time, to free man from social inequality and from every form of oppression and exploitation, to ensure the well-being of the whole people, and to enable every individual freely to unfold his abilities.

It is necessary to the working people to know that for the ideal of socialism to materialize, antagonistic classes must go and the exploitation of man by man must be abolished by doing away with capitalist property and by socializing the principal means of production, which calls for the winning and exercise of political power by the working class and its allies.

In an effort to compromise and discredit socialism, the defenders

of the big bourgeoisie speculate on the difficulties of this or that socialist country. Certain of these difficulties are of an objective nature and have been determined by historical factors. Others are subjective and are due to the mistakes made and to the fact that one has yet to learn to use all the possibilities inherent in the very nature of the socialist system.

But the achievements and gains of a socialist country must not be disregarded or underrated just because it has experienced difficulties. For the fact remains—and this is the important thing—that socialism abolishes the exploitation of man by man and makes production and distribution serve the well-being of every member of society and the free development of every individual.

Th nobility of this ideal explains why, by virtue of the very echo it evokes, the word *socialism* is exploited on every hand and dished up with every imaginable dressing, especially as regards the conditions for its attainment.

As a result, reformists and Right-wing opportunists represent as socialism—even when they deny this—what is a mere adjustment of capitalism.

Some speak of a "progressive and permanent revolution." But to the extent that this expression serves to designate a slight modification of capitalism through a series of partial reforms, it really is a question of a variety of reformism with which capitalism can very well put up.

Reformists and Right-wing opportunists reject the idea of the revolutionary leap, which is precisely what gradual evolution must lead to. They conceal the fact that the fundamental issue of every revolution is that of power and that the exploiting classes must be definitively removed from political power in favor of the working class and its allies, the middle classes of town and country.

As for the Leftists, they virtually join in with the reformists in dodging the decisive issue of political power.

They try to establish self-management in the enterprises irrespective of the character of ownership, that is, without infringing private ownership of the means of production or transforming the bourgeois state into a socialist stae. Yet one is at a loss to guess what self-management could mean in a monopoly-controlled enterprise under capitalist rule. Watchwords of this kind are meaningless, they are shots in the air, empty talk.

Does this mean that Communists are against reforms? No, it does not. The document submitted to the Central Committee stresses that Communists are, on the contrary, for any reform useful to the working class and other working people but are against reformism, that is, against limiting action to changes compatible with the foundations of the capitalist system, against sub-

ordinating the working class to the ideology and policy of the big bourgeoisie.

Communists say that with the aid of reforms it is possible to secure partial improvements, occasionally very valuable ones, but that these improvements are not enough to eliminate capitalist rule. They can benefit the socialist revolution by clearing the ground for uniting the democratic forces and for isolating and weakening the capitalist oligarchy. Communists consider that reforms should be used to hasten the advent of socialism.

Leftist opportunists allege that the Communists' unity of action with other political formations of the Left means that Communists favor reformism.

In reality, by criticizing and defaming unity of action of the working-class and democratic forces, the tactic of Leftist groups is to maintain the split in the working class and to isolate it from its natural allies for the sole benefit of the big bourgeoisie.

The policy of our Communist Party, being aimed as it is at working-class unity, at extending its alliances and isolating the big bourgeoisie, is, on the contrary, opposed to the tactics of reformists and opportunists of every shading. If we make all these ideas clear, we will help to promote the socialist perspective.

As regards the problems of transition to socialism, the document submitted to the Central Committee clearly sets out the main questions, and so there is no need to deal with them at length.

In working out its theses about the transition to socialism in France, our Communist Party during its 17th and 18th congresses took account both of the general laws of the socialist revolution, which are valid for all countries, and the peculiarities and national traditions which are a product of history and must be taken into consideration.

I would like to recall that, according to the 1957 Declaration of the Communist parties of the socialist countries, confirmed by the 1960 Statement of 81 parties, the main laws of the socialist revolution are the following:

—The need for the working class to win political power in alliance with the majority of the peasantry and other working people.

—Establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another, meaning the guidance of society by the working class and its allies, and the extension of democracy to all working men and women, to the people as a whole.

—Abolishing capitalist ownership, and establishing social ownership of the principal means of production, and gradually reorganizing agriculture on socialist lines.

—Building a planned socialist economy striving for an ever higher living standard for the working people and for the active participation of the masses in leadership and management .

—Solidarity of the working class of each country with the working class of other countries.

—The necessity of a Marxist-Leninist party that really is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

The 1960 Statement stresses that these general principles of revolution and of building socialism apply, with various modifications, in every country according to historical conditions and national peculiarities.

While the Right-wing revisionists ignore and even reject the general principles of the socialist revolution, the dogmatists and sectarians refuse to recognize the need for taking into account national and historical conditions in the socialist revolution. They insist on the revolution being accomplished by all in conformity with a pattern established once and for all.

This attitude gravely prejudices the revolutionary movement. Indeed, socialism owes its great strength to the fact that it is the creation of the masses, that it comes into the life of every nation in forms understandable and familiar to the people and intimately linked with national life. To disregard national peculiarities and impose a replica of the experience gained in other countries means shackling the creative activity of the masses and detracting in dangerous measure from the appeal of socialism.

The October victory brought to light the general principles of the socialist revolution. At the same time it helped to transform the world and to change the balance of forces to such an extent that, thanks to the devotion and heroism of the pioneers of socialism in Russia, it is now possible, in advancing to the new society, to follow roads differing from those of the October Revolution.

That is what Maurice Thorez said in November 1946, in his famous interview with *The Times*. It is what our latest congresses have specified. But, needless to say, neither Maurice Thorez, nor our recent congresses made the mistake of exaggerating national peculiarities or of taking a stand against the general laws of revolution, for this would have meant denying the revolution itself.

The draft document submitted to the Central Committee devotes much attention to the question of the different forms of transition to socialism. It is an important question that may give rise to discussion.

The 20th Congress of the CPSU, the 1960 Statement of the 81 parties and our own congresses have clarified this problem. They have stressed that, as a result of deep historical changes and radical transformations in favor of socialism, conditions more favorable to the victory of socialism have been created.

The document submitted to the Central Committee clearly sets forth all the conditions necessary for envisaging, in a country like

ours, the possibility of going over to socialism by peaceful means, that is, without civil war, which is not to say without grim class battles.

Our document shows that the peaceful road to socialism should not be mistaken for the "parliamentary road."

Our Party does not in the least underestimate either activity in elected assemblies or the role which a parliament made up chiefly of deputies favoring democracy and socialism could play. It considers, however, that as far as the transition to socialism is concerned, it is primarily through manifold mass actions by the working class and large sections of society opposed to monopoly domination that the relation of social and political forces can be changed in favor of democracy and socialism.

The peaceful road to soscialism is the road of class struggle in its every form, without civil war. For if revolution by peaceful means becomes possible, it is not because the leading bourgeois class has changed its nature and is willing to relinquish power of its own free will, but because the new conditions enable the working class to win the majority of the people, that is, to muster for action a force so great that the bourgeoisie, isolated, can no longer resort to civil war.

Still, it must not be forgotten that the ruling classes are inclined to use any means, including violence, against the majority of the people.

This means that while we may envisage the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism, this should not make us shut our eyes to the other aspect of the problem, namely, the eventuality of the bourgeoisie and the reactionary forces having recourse to violence against the majority of the people, which would compel the masses to retaliate through popular violence.

Of course, no one can tell at the moment what road the transition to socialism in France will take. But the French Communists resolutely gear all their activity to providing favorable conditions for a peaceful transition to socialism, and are working to bring the majority of the people into the struggle for this perspective.

In any case, we never forget that, whatever its form—whether peaceful or non-peaceful—the transition to socialism requires fighting unity on the part of the working class and the rallying of all democratic and progressive forces around it and side by side with it. It is this unity of action and this rallying that we must work for from now on.

From the viewpoint of the outlook for socialism in France, the document submited to the Central Committee states the fundamental reasons why the working class must play the leading role in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in close alliance

with the laboring peasantry, the intellectuals and the urban middle classes interested in overthrowing capitalist rule and building socialism.

It is worthy of note that as the rate of technological progress increases we see the rapid growth of such social groups as technicians and engineers, research workers, teachers and students, whose number has gone up from 200,000 to 650,000 in a few years.

There are more and more intellectuals who find themselves directly involved in production and come to realize that their interests and their future as creative workers induce them to identify themselves with the working class. Thus an objective basis is being created for closer solidarity between the working class and large sections of the intellectual community.

Our draft document justly insists on the decisive role of the Party by stressing that the possibility of building socialism is linked to the Communist Party's ability to play the role of vanguard of the working class in the socialist revolution.

The Communist Party intends to win and not to impose this role of vanguard and leader which it must exercise in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. It intends to earn this role by furnishing proof of the greatest discernment and devotion to the people's cause, and above all, by committing itself, in loyal emulation with its allies, to bring about the convergence and cooperation in action of all the forces desirous of making socialism a reality, of all revolutionary forces.

Some of our critics try in vain to make out the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party to be a kind of "active minority."

To guide the masses, our Party constantly learns from them and seeks their advice at all times. This is the exact opposite of the tactics of "active minorities," which consist in "prodding" the masses.

Communists will show by their daring and perseverance that, thanks to their doctrine, their fighting methods and their organizational principles based on democratic centralism, they are making and will make the French Communist Party the pioneer and vanguard of the socialist revolution.

Our document attaches particular importance to the cooperation of the Communist Party and other democratic parties which represent the working population and stand for socialism, in particular the Socialist Party.

In this connection, the document recalls that our Party does not advocate this cooperation only at the present stage of action for real democracy, but will also advocate it tomorrow, in the struggle to build socialism.

Without renouncing its justified criticism of the Rightist posi-

tions of the Social-Democratic parties, our Party is striving unremittingly to promote the confrontation of points of view with the Socialist Party in order to bring Socialist and Communist working people closer together and to lay in common the political foundations for an alliance to build a socialist France.

Obviously, it is not a question here of setting up beforehand a complete system of cooperation and alliance for the movement forward of socialism in France, for this will depend on national circumstances and on the positions to which the parties and organizations involved in the class struggle will adhere at the time.

Be that as it may, such cooperation implies that our eventual allies should meet an essential condition, which is to renounce class cooperation with the bourgeoisie. In a recent book Guy Mollet, Secretary General of the Socialist Party, says: "To this day the Western democracies, even when ruled by our fellow-thinkers, have not fundamentally disputed capitalism." (*Les Chances du socialisme,* p. 115.) We wish the Socialist Party would learn the lesson of so many disappointing experiences and take, in common with the Communist Party, the road really leading to socialism.

It is said sometimes that to Communists in power, the state would be the highest value, that the socialist state as we visualize it would be "totalitarian," that for us democracy would not come until afterwards and would be far off.

The socialist state we propose to establish has nothing to do with this description.

The draft document we are submitting to the Central Committee clearly shows the twofold function which the new political power of the working people has to perform:

—on the one hand, providing the broadest possible democracy for all working men and women and for the people as a whole, by having them participate in the guidance and management of public affairs in every field and at all levels;

—on the other hand, and at the same time, ensuring the defense of the new social system against acts of sabotage on the part of the former exploiting classes and the enemies of socialism who try to regain power and restore capitalism.

As for the rights of the minority, they will have to, and can, be exercised within the framework of the new legality democratically established by the majority.

This double aspect of socialist power—the continuous advancement of democracy and the defense of social gains—characterizes what in Marxist terms is called the "temporary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Such a state is the antithesis of a totalitarian state because it wields power, not only in the name of the vast majority of citizens,

but with their direct participation, and because the essence of the activity of the socialist state will consist, besides, in carrying out creative and constructive tasks, in organizing a new economy and cultural life of the highest standards.

Lastly, our document strongly emphasizes that the French Communist Party is unshakable in its loyalty to proletarian internationalism.

We are both patriots who love their country and internationalists who never forget that the working class and the peoples of all countries have common interests to defend against big capital, for peace, national independence, and socialism.

The Communist Party, which is the great revolutionary party of France, is taking an active part, on the basis of equal rights and independence, in the international Communist and working-class movement along with all the fraternal Communist parties.

From this point of view, the conversations recently held in Moscow between the French Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union contributed to the fight for world Communist unity.

Acting in the same spirit, we actively contribute our share to the preparations for the world conference of Communist and Workers' parties due to meet in May 1969.

Such are the principal ideas of the draft document we have to discuss.

Just one more comment before I conclude. Our task is not to adopt a document and then sit back with folded arms and wait for other parties adhering to socialism to subscribe to our text or at least accept it as a basis for discussion with us.

We are fighters and we must fight for our ideas, must spread our concepts far and wide among the working people to win them over for the cause of socialism and the struggle for its advent. Let us never forget what Lenin said: the Party is the union of the mass movement of the workers and of socialist ideas. The Party has the responsibility of introducing the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism into the working class and the people as a whole.

At present the bourgeoisie is making, through every channel of mass propaganda, tremendous efforts to distort and falsify socialist ideology. Let us redouble our energies to spread our ideas in the service of the working class and the whole people.

We must carry on this great ideological battle in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, that is, by fighting on two fronts: against Right-wing opportunism, which manifests itself in some sectors, and against dogmatism and sectarianism, both of which have not disappeared.

Of course, this struggle to carry forward socialist ideas is not

an abstract or isolated battle. It is not detached from organizing the working people's action in support of their immediate social demands and their democratic objectives for the near future.

We all know that the best school for moulding the workers' class consciousness is the daily struggle for immediate interests. Never, Lenin said, will the millions listen to the advice of a party unless it coincides with what the experience of their own lives teaches them.

The masses come to see the need for socialism in the facts which they come up against every day and which affect them directly. We create the requisite conditions for the advance to socialism by acting to unite the largest sections of the people in support of their demands, in support of an advanced democracy.

This means that we will unfold our activity first of all among the rank and file as we seek to reach the minds and hearts of millions of working people, of ordinary men and women. We will strengthen the local organizations of the Party—the strongholds of its work among the masses.

Nonetheless, unity of action between us and our Socialist comrades or other democrats will in no way cease to be a daily concern of ours, our paramount preoccupation.

But, first and foremost, promoting the socialist idea and our objectives in disseminating and expressing this idea in France require that the whole Party set out boldly and courageously to win over the masses. If we do so we will strengthen our positions and, more important still, will bring the hour of decisive battles much nearer.

# FOR AN ADVANCED DEMOCRACY, FOR A SOCIALIST FRANCE!

## MANIFESTO* OF THE CC FCP

The great political, economic and social battles that have been fought in France since the 18th Congress of the FCP in January 1967 have put the ideas advanced by the Communists to the test of facts.

These ideas have passed this test with success. An analysis of the events of the past two years, specifically those of last May and June, imparts a new vigor to them.

That is why the French Communist Party finds it necessary to reaffirm and carry forward the policy defined by its congresses in order to win over the majority of the French people for the indivisible cause of an advanced democracy and socialism.

A primary Communist objective is that our country should free itself from the authoritarian power installed a whole decade ago and which has ever since served the interests of big monopoly capital.

The Communists are working for replacing this reactionary power with a popular government of democratic alliance capable of leading the country along the road of the profound political, economic and social transformations which are demanded by our epoch and by the needs of our country.

The Communists are convinced that an advanced democracy, the fruit of the unity and multiform actions of the masses, can pave the way for the socialist reconstruction of French society in the interests of the working class, the people and the country.

The Communists declare that the achievement of this aim will be all the more assured if the popular masses are given the clear perspective of a durable alliance of labor and democratic organizations united around a political program and jointly undertaking resolute actions.

The first elements of this program are contained in the agreements concluded by the democratic parties in December 1966 and February 1968. But it is necessary to go further.

The French Communist Party wants to reiterate and specify, in this connection, what it visualizes as a consistent and advanced democratic policy opening the way to socialism.

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*L'Humanité, December 7, 1968.

## 1. FOR A BROAD ALLIANCE OF ALL SOCIAL STRATA, VICTIMS OF THE MONOPOLIES AND THEIR POWER

Great changes have taken place in the economic and social structure of our country.

As our Party predicted, and as was convincingly demonstrated by the powerful popular movements in May-June 1968, conditions are quickly ripening for joint action by all strata hit or threatened by monopoly.

Indeed, French society is increasingly characterized by the concentration of enormous power by a handful of monopolists at one pole, and the deterioration of the living and working conditions of the vast majority of the population, at the other.

Under state-monopoly capitalism a tight financial oligarchy controls the basic levers of the economic and political activity of the country. The entire state has been mobilized to preserve and augment the profits of Big Business. It systematically favors capitalist exploitation on the scale of the entire society. Its internal and foreign policy is identified with the general interests of monopoly.

The working class is the principal victim of this policy. The monopolistic concentration is expressed, specifically, in the intensification of labor, in an excessive duration of working time, in the pressure on wages, in the growth of taxes and in unemployment.

Contrary to the "theories" of the apologists of Big Business, the working class with its proletarian core, whose labor is the source of monopoly enrichment, is aware of its constantly growing importance. A social class deprived of any ownership of the means of production and therefore subjected to direct exploitation by the capitalists, a class more and more concentrated at huge enterprises, possessing a long-standing tradition of struggle and well-organized in its trade unions, a class which has created a Communist Party relying on a scientific doctrine and an effective organization—this working class constitutes the decisive force of the great class struggle of our time. Much to the annoyance of the bourgeois ideologues and defenders of capital, it convincingly demonstrated this, once again, in May and June 1968.

The situation in the countryside, characterized by capitalist concentration, anarchy of production and deteriorating living conditions for the vast majority of the peasants, has led to a growth of peasant struggles and a further broadening of the alliance of the working people of town and country.

Instead of being used to promote general well-being, the sweeping scientific and technological revolution which characterizes our epoch has been entirely subordinated to the law of profit, intensifying the exploitation of the working people.

At the same time it generates the mass growth and rapid mutation of the strata of salaried workers whose salary and working conditions are bringing them ever closer to the factory workers.

The number of engineers, technicians, researchers and teachers is constantly growing. Intellectuals in all fields of knowledge are now counted by the million. Despite their highly diverse conditions, the overwhelming majority of them suffer from ever-harder capitalist exploitation. The monopoly regime denies them any creative participation in deciding the economic and political destinies of the country, in elaborating a living culture. Their role in the class struggle is increasing. To be sure, their education and social origin do not predispose them to accept easily the decisive role of the working class. But the struggles of the spring of 1968 showed that many more of them than in the previous period fought actively side by side with the factory and office workers. The French Communist Party considers this necessary alliance of the working class and the intellectuals to be a central problem to which it devotes utmost attention.

State-monopoly capitalism is accelerating the ouster of many artisans and tradesmen who, together with the masses of small peasants, are augmenting the army of wage labor which now accounts for two-thirds of the able-bodied population.

Ignored by the authorities and super-exploited by Big Business—whereas their number is constantly growing—young people and in the first place young workers are demanding with increased militancy the right to employment, the right to education and leisure, and also the right to express their views. Young people played a major role in the recent events. The younger generation fought in the front ranks of the battle against Gaullism and capitalism, for the demands advanced, for progress.

Thus, the contradiction between the working class, the overwhelming majority of the population, on the one hand, and big capitalist bourgeoisie and its helpers, on the other, is growing and deepening.

Thus, the basis is broadening for a community of interests of all social strata that are victims of the monopolies and their policy, and greater possibilities are presenting themselves for their rallying around the working class.

That is an important lesson of the great class battles of May and June which were the first major confrontation between the mass of working people and a monopoly power that is confronted with contradictions it is incapable of solving.

The militancy and the will for profound change that animates the millions of workers by hand and brain and a large part of the student youth were manifested during the strikes and found expression in the seizure of factory premises, in university actions,

in powerful demonstrations both in Paris and in the provinces. In addition to the immediate demands advanced by the working people, the policy of one-man rule and monopoly domination was called in question and the demand was voiced for a profound democratization of political, economic and social life.

This powerful movement, unprecedented in our history, compelled the government and the employers to make considerable concessions both to the workers and in the sphere of education. The results obtained testify to the effectiveness of mass struggle, to the possibility of forcing the government and big capital into retreat and thereby weakening them, of loosening them up under the impact of convergent popular actions.

Today, taking advantage of the monetary crisis for which they alone are responsible, the big employers and the Gaullist power show that for them the only method of resolving the contradictions of their system is to strike at the working people. The French Communist Party considers that action is needed to defend and consolidate the social gains of May and June and the demands of the working people.

Joint action by the working people can prevent the Gaullist power from making them pay for capitalist speculations with higher prices, tariffs and taxes.

It can compel the employers to honor their wage commitments and secure a guaranteed purchasing power, a sliding wage scale, guaranteed employment, the democratic administration of social security, and consolidation of trade union rights and freedoms.

It can force a reduction of unproductive expenditures dangerously eptomized in the atomic *force de frappe.*

At the same time it is necessary resolutely to defend democratic freedoms at all levels and in all spheres against the growing authoritarian trends.

Persistent and multiform action by the working class and other working people, the broadening of the alliance between the proletariat and the other social strata suffering from the policy of the monopolies are the principal condition for successful struggle against the Gaullist power, which elaborates and implements this policy.

But the struggle against this authoritarian and reactionary regime, for social progress, freedoms and peace, should be aimed farther: in order to wrest decisive social gains and durably guarantee them, it is necessary not only to resist the monopoly regime but to force it into retreat, to defeat it.

That is why, while tirelessly organizing actions by manual and mental workers, by workers and peasants, for their demands and in defense of their freedoms, the French Communist Party will continue to work actively for an alliance of all labor and demo-

cratic forces, regardless of their philosophical conceptions, religious beliefs and party affiliation, in the struggle to topple the monopoly power.

Owing to the tireless activity of our Party, the broadening of the alliance of the anti-monopoly classes has already expressed itself in recent years in the rapprochement and certain actions of the Left parties, above all the Communist and Socialist parties.

But the steps forward that have been made remain limited. Taking advantage of the absence of Left unity around aims which could give a clear perspective to the masses, and playing up the bogey of "civil war," the Gaullist authorities have up till now succeeded in retaining their influence on a large part of our people, including those categories of the working people who are victims of their reactionary policies.

For its part, the FCP reaffirms the Communists' determination to contribute towards accord among all labor and democratic forces on the basis of a common progressive program which can win the support of the majority of the French people and open up a prospect of renovation.

What the people want is not a patched-up Gaullism or an unprincipled coalition which would pursue, in the name of "centrism," the policy of the Rightist forces. They want an innovatory democracy.

Thus, replacement of the Gaullist power by an advanced political and economic democracy opening the way to socialism remains the principal aim in the present stage.

## 2. WHAT IS AN ADVANCED DEMOCRACY?

An advanced social policy implies above all gradual satisfaction of the basic demands of the working people, namely: higher real wages; full employment for all; shorter working hours and a lower pension age; conditions for eliminating unemployment and ensuring effective participation of the working people in social, civic and cultural activities; allocation of one-quarter of the budget for the needs of public education; a democratic educational reform; an agricultural policy which would guarantee a decent life to the small and middle peasants and encourage their cooperation in all forms; adequate assistance to the artisans, small manufacturers and tradesmen.

Such a policy is feasible. But it presupposes adoption of a number of measures aimed at progressively and systematically restricting the impact of monopoly on the national economy and weakening the economic and financial positions of state-monopoly capitalism.

What should come first, consequently, is nationalization of the big banks and monopolized industries, most of which are subsidized by the state in highly diverse forms. It is decisively im-

portant that these new national enterprises and the existing ones should be managed democratically, i.e., with the active participation and under the control of representatives of the working people. That is the principal condition for running the national companies in such a way as to promote the development of the productive forces of the nation and meet the needs of our people, and not to ensure the privileges of the trusts.

At the same time, the democratic elaboration and implementation of an economic and social development plan envisaging harmonious economic development, steady growth of the living standard of the masses, and a coherent investments policy, will contribute to consolidating the decision-making right of the citizens and restricting that of big capital.

The same aim is to be promoted by a democratic tax reform which would increase the levies on capitalist companies and the rich and lighten the burden of direct and indirect taxes shouldered by the working people and small producers.

These measures cannot be carried out without deep-going changes in the political regime.

The sovereignty of the French people should be restored through the abolition of the constitutional provisions establishing one-man rule.

The National Assembly, elected on the basis of universal suffrage and proportional representation, should enjoy the real right to make laws and to control the government.

Government stability will be achieved by means of a policy capable of winning the support of the masses. This common policy will constitute an accord obligatory for all democratic parties.

All democratic liberties pertaining to the election of all deliberative bodies by the people, the free activity of parties and trade unions, information, the secular character of state and school, and the possibility of expression and organization for working people at enterprises and for lecturers and students at universities, should be extended and guaranteed in practice.

An innovatory democracy should combine measures aimed at extending the political rights of the masses with those designed to promote their participation in directing and orientating the economic life of the country which has heretofore been denied to them. The experience of the May and June events has confirmed the working masses' immense capacity for initiative. The issue is one of utilizing it for a rapid development of all the economic, scientific, technical and cultural resources of the country.

A democratic domestic policy will be accompanied by a democratic and pacific policy outside the country.

The problems of international policy are vitally important for the peace and security of all nations, and they should be resolved on

the basis of respect for the sovereignty of peoples and the independence of states, and the necessary solidarity. The advocates of the capitalist "integration" of little Europe claim that national independence is a principle which is valid for some countries and obsolete for others. The Communists hold that every country should decide for itself, without outside interference, the problems of its social and political organization and economic orientation.

In order to strengthen economic and cultural cooperation, it is necessary to establish special relations with the neighboring countries. But these should not be exclusive, and as far as France is concerned, it is in her quite understandable interest to maintain equal economic and cultural relations with all countries without exception, the socialist countries included.

An independent and pacific foreign policy calls for the disbandment of the military alliances existing in the world, for the simultaneous disappearance of the Atlantic Pact, which was the first to be signed, and the Warsaw Treaty. In the immediate future France should not renew her commitments with regard to the Atlantic Pact, whose term expires in 1969.

U.S. imperialism, despite its defeats and difficulties, remains resolved to play the role of world policeman, and it is demonstrating this in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, specifically in Vietnam. Nevertheless, owing to the victories of the Vietnamese people and the assistance assured to them by the socialist countries and all international progressive forces, it has been compelled to discontinue unconditionally its bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to admit the presence of the National Liberation Front at the Paris talks. It is the duty of our working class and our people to intensify their unreserved support of the valiant struggle of the Vietnamese people for their independence, to work for a complete end to the U.S. aggression in South Vietnam, the withdrawal of U.S. troops, and respect for the right of the Vietnamese people in the North and South to decide independently, without foreign interference, problems relating to their future, in particular that of the reunification of their country.

The danger represented by the tendency of the West German ruling circles to demand a revision of the situation that resulted from the defeat of Hitlerism is growing in Europe. This danger must be vigorously combated. The peace and security of our continent demand that all countries, France included, recognize without reservations the present frontiers in Europe and the existence of the German Democratic Republic, that they resolutely oppose neo-Nazi activities in West Germany and the latter's access to nuclear weapons in any form.

Peaceful coexistence cannot be based on an equilibrium of nuclear terror. The French working people should continue to fight to ensure

that their country, instead of participating in the nuclear arms race, accede to all agreements limiting the danger of tests and the proliferation of nuclear weapons; they should speak out for more general disarmament measures and—in the immediate future—for the democratization of the French army, whose efforts should be devoted exclusively to defense of the national territory.

Finally, a democratic France should recognize, as a right common to all peoples, the right of the peoples of Guiana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion, New Caledonia, Polynesia, etc., to self determination, and satisfy their legitimate demand for a status of autonomy which will enable them freely to decide their affairs within the framework of the French Republic.

Such, in the Communists' opinion, are the main aspects of an advanced democratic policy in the sphere of institutions, economic and social development, and international relations.

A consistent anti-monopoly policy pursued by a government relying on the active participation of the broad masses, would make for an ever better development of democracy. Democracy should be created continually, by constantly deepening and extending the economic, social ad political gains of the working people.

The history of these past decades shows that the exploiting classes are afraid of democracy. The working masses, the people, on the contrary, see in it the decisive condition for the realization of their aspirations.

The continuous development of political and economic democracy which we want for our country will help strengthen the positions of the working class in society and weaken the positions of big capital. At the same time better conditions will be created for the majority of our people to adopt a favorable attitude towards the socialist reconstruction of society.

## 3. SOCIALISM FOR FRANCE AS WELL

Socialism is on the order of the day in France as all over the world.

Capitalism, which has long since reached its last, imperialist, stage, could not and cannot solve any of the fundamental problems of mankind. Despite the vigorous development of the productive forces, whole peoples, tens of millions of men and women are suffering under capitalism from hunger, unemployment and ignorance. In the so-called advanced capitalist countries and even in the United States, depicted as a model by the ideologists of the bourgeoisie, the acute problems of misery, under-employment, ignorance, racial conflicts and class struggle are not in the least attenuated; they are being aggravated.

The contradictions of capitalism in such a country as ours are

growing in acuteness. The already traditional contradictions between the big bourgeoisie and the working class, between the increasingly social character of production and the private monopolist character of ownership of the means of production, between France and the rival imperialist countries have been augmented with new contradictions which capitalism is also unable to resolve: those between the possibilities afforded by the scientific and technological revolution and the exclusive pursuit of capitalist profit; between state financing of large economic sectors and the domination of monopoly in the same sectors; between the need for nationwide planning and the privileges of "free" enterprise; between the development of the national economy and the internationalization of economic life; between the interests of the vast majority of the nation and those of the finance oligarchy which dictates its own laws.

In our time the considerable productive forces possessed by our country can be utilized for satisfying the requirements of the French people only as a result of the abolition of capitalism—condemned by history, responsible for the misery, oppression and war—and its replacement by an entirely new economic and social system, socialism.

Our country has achieved a high level of economic development. Economic and social prerequisites have been created for a society based on abolition of the exploitation of man by man and not on the profit race.

At the same time the striving for a more just, more rational and more humane organization of society has in recent years grown considerably among all strata of the working people. The class struggle, in which new social strata are now taking part along with the working class, is being waged not only against the consequences but against the sources of the evils born of the domination of capitalism. This striving should develop into a veritable struggle for socialism.

Right-wing opportunists deny the need for the socialist revolution. They are content, in fact, with some changes in the current policies and in the composition of the government, and unwilling resolutely to attack the positions of big capital so as to strengthen the positions of the working masses. Like the British Labor leaders, they are always prepared to pursue, in essence, the policy of the big bourgeoisie, on the plea of winning its "confidence."

"Left" opportunists recommend winning "power in the factory" or "power in the university" and never raise the question of political power. Or they contend that in our time there is no need to occupy oneself with achieving democratic objectives and that the workers' party should set itself the aim of immediately—and without transition—accomplishing the socialist revolution. They visualize the

socialist revolution, the transition from capitalism to socialism, as the result of a coup accomplished, if need be, by active minorities. This adventuristic attitude plays into the hands of the vilest reaction, as has been shown by the events of May and June 1968 and by international experience, but it cannot lead to socialism.

The Communists offer an entirely different orientation. The working class, the majority of the people should be won over for the practice of the socialist transformation of society. This can be done only by showing that it is possible to begin with getting rid of the present anti-democratic power, and convincing them of the need for deeply changing the economic and social structures.

That is why the Communists do not counterpose the struggle for economic demands and for reforms to the struggle for the socialist revolution. If for the opportunists the struggle for reform under capitalism is an aim in itself, for the Communists it is part of the class struggle against big capital in order to weaken it and compel it to retreat, without losing sight of the ultimate objective —socialism.

Socialism is not a mere ideal any longer. It became a reality fifty years ago. Its experience is historically young; it has been advancing and always has to advance, in part, along poorly explored paths. In its various experiments socialist society still has to solve numerous problems, but socialism has proved that it alone can solve, in every country and on an international scale, the fundamental problems facing the modern man: those of the mastery of nature, labor, material well-being and culture for the masses, freedom, and peace.

The Soviet people and the Communist Party founded by Lenin were the first to embark on the socialist path. The terrible trials imposed on them by the aggression of the dispossessed capitalists and big landowners, by the intervention and wars of the enemies of socialism have not forced them off the trail blazed by the Great October Socialist Revolution. The solidarity with the Russian revolution displayed by the working people of the whole world, those of France included, was an important factor in its successes. The safeguarding and consolidation of the first socialist state established in a vast country, its decisive role in destroying the system of Hitlerite barbarity, its emergence as a leading world power considerably facilitate the struggle of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples.

Following it, other countries set about building socialism. All of them have benefited by the experience and assistance of the Soviet Union, and at the same time each of them is contributing to the form of people's power its own distinct elements stemming from its concrete conditions.

In these countries the emergence of socialism was the result of

the historical defeat of the fascist states, the consecutive weakening of the entire system of imperialist domination, and the struggle of each of the peoples concerned.

Today, despite the increased aggressiveness which imperialism displays in an attempt to find a way out of its insoluble contradictions, despite the grave divergencies existing between some socialist countries and within the international Communist movement, socialism has become the decisive factor of the evolution of world policy.

To be sure, imperialism has by far not given up the intention to impede the general evolution of the world. It can even score partial successes here and there, as has happened of late. But as the vigilance, combat capacity and unity of the international revolutionary forces increase, it is bound to suffer a new defeat.

Indeed, the situation in the world today is characterized principally by the development of socialism, the labor movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement in the countries directly or indirectly oppressed by imperialism. In consequence, the outlook of the world has changed profoundly in favor of the forces of progress, freedom and peace.

## 4. TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

The world has changed, and with it the conditions of the struggle for socialism in different countries.

In a country like ours, where a powerful, militant and experienced labor movement exists, the working class can win over to its side a large part of the intelligentsia, the peasantry and the urban middle classes. Basing oneself on the universally valid laws of socialist revolution it is possible and necessary to visualize tracing out paths to socialism by means other than those that were used in Russia and other countries.

Marx and Lenin, each in his time, stressed the necessity of a great diversity of ways of transition from capitalism to socialism, depending on the objective conditions, which differ from country to country.

The transition to socialism, whatever its forms and means, will always be a qualitative change, a revolutionary leap, for it signifies a change of the system of ownership of the basic means of production and exchange, the transfer of political power from the bourgeoisie to the working class and its allies, a higher degree of the moral and cultural evolution of society.

But Communists have always pointed out, with Marx and Lenin, that the socialist revolution does not necessarily merge with the tactics of insurrection or the use of violence. They have always

emphasized that they prefer to accomplish it by peaceful means, which is less costly for the working class and the whole people as well as for the productive forces and the nation.

As was stressed in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement of the Communist parties, today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, led by its vanguard contingent, uniting a majority of the people in the struggle against the rule of monopoly capital, isolating the big bourgeoisie and relying on the political cooperation of the democratic parties and workers' organizations, can win power and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the people without civil war.

The choice of means of struggle, however, does not depend on the supporters of socialism alone. It derives from the degree of resistance of the exploiting classes to the desire of the majority of the people to change the structure of society. That is why, if the exploiting classes take recourse to violence against the people, the working class will have, naturally, to envisage some other perspective and to ensure the transition to socialism by non-peaceful means.

Of course, no one can say at present what form the transition to socialism will take in France, but the French Communists resolutely direct all their activities towards creating conditions favorable for a peaceful transition, and they are endeavoring to bring over the majority of the people to the struggle for this perspective. They are firmly resolved to use all possibilities in order to build socialism in this way, taking into account the peculiarities and traditions of France and the experience of socialist construction in many countries.

The primary condition for this perspective to become a reality is to win over the majority of the working people for the cause of the socialist transformation of society. This presupposes that they will come to realize the need for this transformation on the basis of their own experience, being organized and enlightened by the revolutionary vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party. This experience is acquired only as a result of numerous activities and economic and political struggles at a constantly higher level.

Indeed, it is above all due to numerous mass actions of the working class and the broadest popular strata that it will be possible to change the correlation of social and political forces in favor of democracy and socialism. The Communists are far from underestimating the activities of elected bodies; they do not neglect the role which could be played in adopting reforms useful to the working class by a parliament whose composition would really reflect the will of our people. They stress, however, that of decisive

importance for the transition from capitalism to socialism is struggle of the popular masses.

In fact, the contention that a peaceful and democratic transition to socialism is possible does not mean that it can be accomplished without a struggle. On the contrary, it presupposes and demands stubborn and vigorous action, in all forms, by the working class and its allies, in particular the intelligentsia and the toiling peasants.

That was stressed back in 1946 by Maurice Thorez: "With few exceptions that confirm the rule, the progress of democracy the world over makes it possible to envisage progress towards socialism along roads other than those followed by the Russian Communists. In any case, the road of every country is necessarily different. We have always held and declared that the people of France, with their rich traditions, will themselves find their road to greater democracy, progress and social justice. But history shows that there is no progress without struggle. There is no trodden path along which people can advance without effort. They have always had to overcome numerous obstacles. And herein lies the meaning of life."

Since then our Party has striven to emphasize the direct connection which exists in the conditions of France between the struggle for an advanced democracy and the struggle for socialism. It is on this firm foundation that all its activity rests. To organize the struggle of the masses against one-man rule, for a regime of advanced democracy, to weaken the position of big capital in national life, to stimulate such a movement of the majority of the people for socialism that the monopolies would be compelled to cede their positions without being able to resort to civil war so as to thwart the will of the people—this is the best method of paving the way for socialism in our country.

At the same time the latest congresses of our Party have defined the principal features of the socialist society for which the Communists are fighting, and showed the working people how it is possible to realize their ideal—a France freed from exploitation of man by man, a socialist France.

## 5. WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Socialism means at once collective ownership of the basic means of production and exchange, the exercise of political power by the working class and its allies, progressive satisfaction of the constantly growing material and intellectual requirements of the members of society, creation of conditions necessary for the blossoming of every individual.

Nationalization of the monopolies in the key economic sectors

and big banks already at the stage of advanced democracy will make for the subsequent transfer to the whole society of ownership of the totality of the basic means of production and exchange. That will concern the main industrial sectors and foreign trade. In the other sector collective ownership assumes other forms—cooperative, municipal, etc.

Generally speaking, the new economic relations established by socialism will have highly diverse forms, depending on the sector of activity. They will gradually penetrate the entire economic life of the country.

Thus, in keeping with the conditions peculiar to our country, a number of small and medium private enterprises will exist for a whole period side by side with large nationalized industrial complexes.

Certain forms of association between the socialist state and these enterprises will give the latter a guarantee of which they are entirely deprived in the present conditions of absolute dependence on monopolies.

For the peasants, socialism will signify above all agrarian reform and the transfer of the land to those who till it, the blossoming out of all forms of cooperation, the marketing of the crop at guaranteed prices. The development of cooperation and voluntary organization of collective labor will make it possible to reduce the duration of work and ensure to all working peasants weekly leisure, annual holidays and the advantages of social security.

Contrary to the shameless assertion of reactionary propaganda, there is no question of taking expropriation or nationalization measures with regard to small shop-keepers, artisans and representatives of free professions. Quite the reverse: for these social strata socialism will signify lower taxes, disappearance of the ruinous pressure of the monopolies, aid in cooperation. Their contribution to the development of the national economy will be needed for a long period, and therefore it will be respected and encouraged. At the same time conditions will be gradually created for their voluntary association in cooperatives enjoying support from the state, guaranteeing them against the insecurity which is their lot under capitalism, and bringing them nearer to the sector of socialist production.

Finally, private property which is the product of labor or saving will be respected, and also its inheritance.

On this basis a genuine national plan of economic, social and cultural development will be realized. Its implementation within the framework of democratic development of the economy at all levels will ensure a vigorous rise of the most modern productive forces and harmonious satisfaction of the constantly growing material and spiritual needs of society.

But the construction of socialism presupposes above all establishment of the power of the working class closely allied with the working peasantry and the intelligentsia and other middle strata.

## 6. LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

Just as the working class is the decisive force of the broad anti-monopoly alliance which will create an advanced democracy in France, so it will play the leading role in accomplishing the socialist revolution and building a socialist France in alliance with the working peasantry, the intelligentsia and the petty urban bourgeoisie.

The working class is truly the principal revolutionary force of society in our epoch. It is the most direct object of capitalist exploitation. But it does not exploit and has no intention of exploiting any other social class. As was stated in the *Communist Manifesto,* it is the revolutionary class *par excellence,* because it has nothing to lose but its chains, and it has a world to win through the socialist revolution.

It constitutes the living force of modern industrial economy; its concentration, organization and experience of class struggle make its struggle unprecedentedly effective; it is also equipped with a scientific doctrine of struggle, Marxism-Leninism, constantly enriched with experience, and has a genuinely revolutionary party, the Communist Party.

Far from diminishing as bourgeois propagandists assert, the role of the working class is constantly growing. One of the facts proving this is that the possibilities of its alliance with the other strata of the working people are more real than ever before.

The peasantry, a greater part of the middle strata are faced today with a dilemma: either to accept the evils of capitalism or to embark, jointly with the working class, upon the socialist road of development.

Likewise, ever growing numbers of mental workers are finding themselves directly connected with production: the constant acceleration of technological progress considerably augments their role in economic development and in the organization of production. Science is increasingly becoming a direct productive force. That is why alliance of the working class with the intelligentsia is an exceptionally important matter in our epoch.

Consequently, the building of socialism in our country will be a task of not only the working class but of all social strata interested in overthrowing the domination of big capital, socializing the basic means of production and exchange, and establishing an

economic and social system which would give full scope to the initiative and creative abilities of all members of society.

Precisely this alliance of the working class, the leading force of revolutionary transformation, with the other social strata whose interests can be satisfied only under socialism, will constitute the social foundation of the new, socialist state.

## 7. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS VANGUARD ROLE

The possibility of building socialism is connected with the ability of the Communist Party to act as vanguard of the working class in socialist society.

Being a revolutionary party of the working class, it is the spokesman of all working masses, of the nation itself.

It unites all those—workers, peasants, engineers, office employees, intellectuals—who want to fight for the triumph of socialism, taking inspiration from Marxism-Leninism.

And lastly, having an organization of a new type, effective and militant, it is the necessary instrument of the major political and social transformation demanded by our time.

Its vanguard role, its really guiding influence which it is to exercise in the development of the socialist revolution by virtue of its historical mission, the Communist Party intends, not to impose, but to win, constantly leading the entire socialist society along the road of uninterrupted progress, prosperity and democracy. Without supplanting state institutions, representative bodies and administrative organs, it sets itself the aim of determining at every stage the prospects of socialist development in different areas of economic, social, political and cultural life, suggesting measures to realize these prospects, organizing the masses in the effort to carry out the tasks thus defined, maintaining the implementation of the socialist program, and contributing to its realization.

Owing to its devotion to the socialist cause, the effectiveness of its organization, its political and ideological activity among the masses, and the personal example of its activists, the French Communist Party hopes to win the ever greater support and confidence of our people and thus play the decisive role in the building of socialism.

## 8. COOPERATION OF DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

The existence of several political parties reflecting to varying degrees the interests and aspirations of different classes and social strata is part of the democratic traditions of our country.

As our Party has declared, progress towards socialism, just as France's democratic and national renaissance, cannot be an affair of a single party: they demand a loyal and durable alliance of the working class, the working peasantry, the intelligentsia and the urban middle strata.

During the transition to socialism, and in the interests of building it, the existing democratic parties and organizations which will have declared for socialism and for respect for the laws of the new social system, will be able to take a full part in the political life of the country and will enjoy all the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution.

The French Communist Party will strive to promote and organize cooperation with all social and political forces.

This cooperation will be realized on the basis of a common program conforming to every stage of socialist development and approved and supported by the various social strata interested in the effectuation of this stage: it will be realized under the control of the working masses.

In this connection special importance attaches to cooperation between the Communist and Socialist parties: "In the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defense of national independence, for peace among nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the Communist parties advocate cooperation with the Socialist parties" (Statement of the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties). The working class will never put up with the split in its ranks. In a country like ours, it is possible and necessary to establish without delay cooperation between the two main parties which profess socialism and which set themselves the aim of building a society free from exploitation of man by man, a classless society. That is why, while repecting the opportunistic trends of Social Democracy, our Party has been and will go on promoting the confrontation of views with the Socialist Party so as to jointly determine the political foundations of cooperation, of alliance in the interest of building, in common, a socialist France.

Naturally, this cooperation implies that the parties and organizations declaring for democracy and socialism, specifically the Socialist Party, reject the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie in order to pursue, jointly with the Communists, an effective policy of struggle for democracy and for socialism. The possibility of this cooperation, its scope and forms will, of course, depend on joint participation in the current struggle of our people against monopoly domination, for an advanced democracy.

## 9. SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM

The mission of the new political power, that of the working class and its allies, is to build a new economy and a new society, that is, a socialist economy and society.

The implementation of this gigantic and exciting task demands the broadest and most active participation of the masses in managing state affairs.

Socialism signifies not only emancipation of the working people from capitalist exploitation; its signifies, and is to realize, a democracy infinitely superior to any bourgeois democracy.

The creation of this broadest democracy for all working people for the purpose of securing their participation in directing and managing state affairs in all fields and at all levels, is the prime function of socialist power.

That is why our Party considers that with the transition to socialism in France, simultaneously with the broad development of all forms of activity of the masses, the representative institutions which are traditional factors of the political and social life of our country should be democratized.

This also applies to parliament which, upon having been elected on the basis of universal suffrage and within the framework of an electoral law ensuring an authentic representation of the country, will become an effective instrument of popular and national will.

The same applies to the municipal, departmental and regional organs whose rights and prerogatives should be strengthened and guaranteed.

This will also be the case with the new institutions whose establishment will be necessitated by the implementation of the economic and social tasks of socialist construction, whether at the level of elaboration of the national plan of economic, social and cultural development or at the level of enterprises.

The role of democratic organizations of the masses, their contribution to economic and social life will be strengthened and furthered.

The rights and role of the trade unions, as regards defense of the interests of the working people and active participation in managing the economy and enterprises, will be augmented and guaranteed, and their independence and character as mass organizations will be respected in keeping with the traditions of their development in our country.

Conversely, the institutions which by their very nature are antidemocratic and serve exclusively the big bourgeoisie in the exercise of its political domination, as for instance, the function of prefects, will be abolished.

Consistent democratization of institutions presupposes not only the preservation and effective guaranteeing, but also consolidation and extension of the rights and freedoms won in the course of the long class struggles that mark the history of our country.

Freedom of thought and speech, freedom of assembly and association, trade union rights and the right to strike will not only be incorporated in the Constitution as they are today. Socialist democracy will create all conditions necessary for the effective exercise, within the framework of legality, of these rights and freedoms, which go hand in hand with the development of the initiative of the masses and the individual. Indeed, the aim of the Communists is at the same time "happiness of people, emancipation of the entire society, the blossoming of all the abilities of every man, the broadest freedom for every one in conditions of social harmony and world peace" (Maurice Thorez' speech at the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties).

Since in socialist society the state should, naturally, be secular and the separation of the state and the church should be scrupulously observed, socialist France will legally and practically guarantee the freedom of the cult and religious beliefs against any persecution or administrative repression. It is through the struggle of ideas, owing to the demonstrative force of the successes of socialism, owing to the examplary humane qualities of their activists, owing to creative work done in common, that the Communists intend to win over for scientific socialism the broad masses of the people, including believers of all faiths. Socialist law will prohibit any discrimination of a racial character, any manifestation of anti-Semitism, any warmongering or excitement of hatred for any people.

In socialist France the rights of the minority will be respected, insofar as they are exercised in keeping with the rules of democracy, within the framework of legality established by the majority.

However, the socialist power of the working people and their allies will apply the laws with all rigor in respect to all those who violate legality and engage in activities aimed at destroying socialism and with it democracy.

The second function of socialist power is resolutely to defend the cause of socialist construction against the actions of the former exploiting classes bent on regaining power and restoring capitalism.

The bourgeoisie cannot be expected to relinquish its positions and its power voluntarily. The sense of responsibility to the working class, to the people and their interests demands awareness that in the course of a whole period former capitalists, class enemies of socialism, will be trying, with the help of external reaction, to

use all means, including violence, in order to frustrate socialist reconstruction and restore their rule.

The democratic parties favoring socialism and representing the majority of the people are duty bound to defend the new social system against such activities.

As far as possible the working class always prefers non-coercive methods of struggle—persuasion and education. But it will not hesitate to use violence if the forces hostile to socialism themselves resort to subversion and violence.

This twofold aspect of the political power of the working people —continuous development of democracy and defense of socialist gains—characterizes what the founders of Marxism called "dictatorship of the proletariat," i.e., leadership of society by the working class allied with the other non-capitalist social strata, the broadest democracy for all working masses, a state created by the working people, acting openly before the eyes of the masses, relying on their confidence, and committed to the building and defense of socialism in conditions of democracy, independence, and peace.

The more socialism proves its superiority over the old, capitalist system in all fields, the better it will be meeting the interests and aspirations of the working people, the more the economic, political and ideological positions of the working class will be strengthened, and the nearer will be brought the hour when class antagonism will disappear. All social strata will be more and more united in their devotion to socialism and in practical work designed to achieve its goals. A temporary dictatorship of the proletariat will then give way to the state of the whole people.

In all instances, the building and defense of socialism will rest first and foremost on the support, participation and initiative of the broadest masses inspired and led by the working class. "Socialism cannot be decreed from above. Its spirit rejects the mechanical bureaucratic approach; living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves" (Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 26, p. 288).

Hence, the more socialist democracy is developed, the greater will become the political and ideological role of the Communist Party and the need for its intensive activity among the masses so as to orientate their actions, to combat bourgeois ideology, to win over the masses more and more for the ideas of socialism, for the cause of socialist construction, for a rebuff to reactionary intrigues.

At all stages the existence, activity and consolidation of the Communist Party are indispensable for the victory of socialism. The Communist Party is really the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and then of the entire people.

## 10. THE COMMUNIST PARTY: THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF OUR TIME

The Communists do not claim a monopoly of revolutionary aspirations. They are aware that many non-Communist workers by hand and brain also strive for a radical transformation of society in the sense of social progress and the blossoming of man. This is the great phenomenon of our epoch.

The Communists will boldly and persistently show to all those men and women whose interests and hopes coincide with theirs that the doctrine and methods of struggle and organization of the French Communist Party make it the great revolutionary party of our time.

The French Communist Party is revolutionary because it aims at promoting radical transformation of relations of production to which the course of history leads inexorably, and at accelerating this transformation.

It is revolutionary because it offers to the working people replacement of the exploiting and anti-democratic capitalist regime by a socialist society freed from any exploitation of man by man and founded on the active participation of the broad masses in running state affairs.

It is revolutionary because it possesses an organization based on the principles of democratic centralism which guarantees cohesion of the vanguard of the working class and its capacity for action.

It is revolutionary because it wants to organize democratically a state in which the basic means of production and exchange will be owned and controlled by the people—a socialist state which will make possible the full flowering of democracy and assure the future of every citizen, the independence and security of the country, and France's friendship with all peoples.

Socialist France will be an independent and peace-loving France. It will base its relations with other countries on the principles of equality, respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, and non-interference in the internal affairs of others. At the same time it will endeavor to establish and consolidate mutually beneficial cooperation in all fields with all countries, whatever their economic and social system, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. It will promote relations of friendship and close cooperation with the other socialist countries.

Raising aloft the banner of the nation, it will actively contribute to the consolidation of international solidarity of the working people and oppressed nations, to ensuring European and world security, to the struggle for disarmament and for assistance to the countries whose development has been retarded by colonialism, to the anti-

imperialist struggle at the side of the socialist, democratic and peace-loving states.

The French Communist Party is aware that by developing its program of struggle for democracy and socialism it is serving well the interests of the working people of France and fulfilling an internationalist duty. Like any Communist party, it considers itself responsible both to the people of our country and to the entire international revolutionary working-class movement. Its principal internationalist responsibility is to ensure the success of the struggle of the French working people. But this responsibility cannot compel it in the future, as it did not in the past, to neglect its other internationalist duties.

As in the past, the French Communist Party, which has a great tradition of struggle and solidarity with the peoples rebelling against the colonial yoke, with the peoples building socialism, with the parties, organizations and fighters on all continents subjected to reactionary and imperialist repressions, will continue to display unshakable loyalty to proletarian internationalism. Specifically, it will endeavor to further its fraternal friendship and solidarity with all Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the equality and independence of every party, and proletarian internationalism. It will develop friendly relations with the democratic parties of countries fighting for their national, economic and social liberation, with all anti-imperialist forces.

Making their proposals, the Communists declare their readiness to study and define, jointly with the other democratic forces, the principles, which in the socialist France of tomorrow are to ensure both all-round development of democracy and defense of the new social system in the interests of the working class and the entire people, in the interests of France.

Party members and organizations will submit these proposals without delay to the broadest masses and in the first place to the working people. Every cell will organize the study of this Manifesto and its systematic distribution among the people of its neighborhood or at the enterprise. It is necessary to hold everywhere public meetings at which the ideas contained in it will be presented. Unprecedentedly broad explanatory work should be conducted to further increase the impact of our policy and the appeal of our ideals.

Great battles are awaiting us.

Relying on the clear and exciting perspectives offered by our program, we shall bring this struggle to victory in conditions of unity of the working class, unity of the democratic forces.

Yes, there shall be an advanced democracy in France! Yes, France shall be a socialist country!

# RESOLUTION* OF THE CC HSWP PLENUM

## DECEMBER 1968

Our Party, inspired by the idea of internationalism, identifies itself with the struggle which the people of Vietnam, led by the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, are carrying on against the American invaders and their accomplices. Our people follow this heroic struggle with deep sympathy. They welcome every gain of the fraternal people of Vietnam and invariably help them. It is a big victory for the Vietnamese people and their socialist allies, as well as for other peace forces actively supporting their struggle, that the U.S. government was compelled unconditionally to stop its barbarous bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and other acts of war and to agree that the Paris negotiations be continued with the participation of all the four sides directly concerned. This paves the way for negotiations on the substance of the problem.

The Central Committee is aware that the period of harsh trials is not yet over for the people of Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists continue violating the air space of the DRV and persist in their aggression against the freedom fighters of South Vietnam. As for the representatives of the puppet regime of South Vietnam, they are trying to raise more and more obstacles to the Paris negotiations. Now as in the past there is a need for the unity of all peace forces to support the Vietnamese people against the U.S. imperialists and their underlings. The people of Vietnam can count on continued political, diplomatic, economic and military support from us, which we render to the best of our ability.

The CC approves the activity of the Party delegation to the November meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference of Communist and Workers' parties. It welcomes the decision to hold the next meeting of the Committee on March 17 and the world Conference of the parties, in Moscow in May 1969. The HSWP regards the work on the preparations for the world Conference entrusted to it as an honorable task. It gratefully acknowledges the appreciation of its activity by spokesmen for the brother parties. The CC is convinced that the world Conference of Communist and Workers' parties and closer unity against imperialism are more imperative than ever. The HSWP con-

*Abridged from **Népszabadság**, December 5, 1968.

siders that the conditions for calling the Conference are ripe, and it will, for its part, do its best for the success of the Conference.

Concerning the fulfilment of the national economic plan for 1968 and the system of economic management, the CC states:

1. The principles of economic policy adopted by the Ninth Party Congress have proved to be a correct guideline for economic development. The trend of economic progress during the first three years of the third five-year plan has been in keeping with plan targets.

The growth of the national income in three years has come close to the target planned for five years. Progress in industrial and agricultural production exceeds plan targets. Real incomes in three years have likewise been rising at a higher rate than planned, and last year reached the level originally set for 1970.

In 1968 social production grew steadily. Consumption is greater than before. Capital investments are being effected on a large scale. Foreign trade is on the rise.

As a result of effective preparations by Party, government economic and other public bodies, the new economic machinery is posing new problems, making higher demands on managers and stimulating the whole of our economy and public life. The trend of economic development meets the general interests of the country —of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, of the whole people.

While noting the progress made in the economic sphere, the CC calls attention to the problems of technological development, productivity and profitability. Greater effort over a long period will be needed to solve these problems.

2. The government agencies in charge of the economy are implementing the Party policy more successfully, enhancing effectiveness of the economy and fulfilling the tasks assigned to them. We have succeeded in reorganizing administrative work according to new requirements. Local government bodies, too, cope with their tasks.

3. Party committees, acting through the Party organizations in the enterprises, provide appropriate political guidance and control in implementing the economic reform. Party organizations encourage the activity of the membership in fulfilling economic tasks, which is becoming more fruitful. Most trade unions and Communist Youth League organizations are proving equal to their role as partners of the economic management and they properly perform their functions in defending the working people's interests. Party and other public bodies evolve economic-policy concepts and working methods in line with new requirements.

4. Most economic executives, enterprises and cooperatives have proved capable of solving their management problems by themselves. The new levers of government regulation are beginning to produce results. Economic activity in the enterprises is increasing.

The new system of management, which is being implemented by both managers and staffs, stimulates on a growing scale the desire for more efficient management, for modernization, higher productivity and profit. The enterprises are doing more to improve quality and to adjust production more flexibly to demand at home and abroad.

5. The present system of economic management is suitable for attaining the principal goals of the economic policy, for the enterprises and local government bodies to show greater autonomy and assume greater responsibility. It promotes socialist planned management in Hungary.

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The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party stresses the following:

1. In accordance with the decisions of the Ninth Congress, it is necessary to continue carrying out the third five-year plan on the principles of the economic reform.

2. While maintaing a proper rate of economic growth and steadily raising the standard of living, it is necessary to go on improving the overall economic balance in both the consumption sphere and the sphere of capital investment and foreign trade.

3. To make the economy more competitive, to speed technological progress and to meet consumer demand more effectively, greater use should be made of the socialist countries' opportunities for economic cooperation and for progress in scientific and technological cooperation.

4. As the system of economic management is carried forward it is important to make higher demands on the enterprises and to reduce the number of exceptions from established rules. More flexible use should be made in economic activity of the necessary administrative dependence. Planned management of the national economy should be ensured through better use of commodity-money relations.

5. In the economic sphere it is necessary more consistently to develop democratic control and apply the principle of socialist distribution, ruling out all egalitarianism.

# THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION IN SPAIN AND SOME IMMEDIATE TASKS*

We are faced with a growing severity of the Franco dictatorship. Repressive measures not only against the working-class and student movement, but also against all democrats, all opponents of Franco, including Right-wing groups, are gaining in scope and brutality. At the same time the diverse groups backing the regime clash more and more violently as its internal contradictions increase.

The result is a less and less coherent political, social, economic and cultural orientation of the regime and an obvious reduction of the dictatorship's room for maneuver. The regime finds itself in a crucial situation in which any concession to the people's craving for freedom could upset the present precarious balance in favor of the democratic and revolutionary forces opposed to Franco and usher in the phase of the abolition of his dictatorial regime.

How should we react to this hardening of the dictatorship?

The primary task is vigorously to resist and reject the repressive policy of the government, encouraging organized action against the attacks of the repressive forces.

At the same time the Central Committee calls on all Party organizations to develop our policy of unity and struggle so as to expand the mass movement and carry forward the preparations for a general nationwide strike on the lines approved by the Workers' Commissions. Communists should support the initiatives of other forces against the dictatorship. In keeping with our Marxist-Leninist principles, we must take advantage of all that is positive and revolutionary in the attitude of other forces as we try to arrive at a synthesis through fraternal discussion free from sectarian suspicions.

The Central Committee identifies itself with the guidelines indicated by Comrade Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Party, in his book, *The Struggle for Socialism Today*.

The CC welcomes the progress made by the worker-peasant alliance through contact between the Workers' Commissions and the nascent Peasant Commissions.

The links already established between the working-class movement and the student movement should be promoted to achieve greater mutual understanding and coordination in struggle. In this way, and with the help of the intellectuals and other sections, the alliance of the forces of labor and culture is becoming a reality.

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*Mundo Obrero, October 1968.

Unity with the progressive Catholic movement has made considerable headway. This orientation should be consistently maintained.

Lately we have seen a noteworthy uptrend in the struggle for the national freedom of Catalonia, the Basque Provinces and Galicia. The Communist Party, which has always upheld the right of nations to self-determination and is taking an active part in this struggle, stresses the necessity for all the peoples of Spain to realize that this struggle is part of their own action for democratic liberties and the building of a socialist Spain.

It is necessary to express by every means active solidarity with the Basque people who are the victims of repression, and to elaborate more profoundly, from the Marxist-Leninist point of view, the various aspects of the national problem as they present themselves in our country today. To this end the CC has asked Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, President of our Party, to treat this subject.

The CC notes with satisfaction the growth of the Party during the past period and considers it necessary to strive for working methods and organizational forms in line with the political tasks laid down in the documents of the Party leadership.

We must show boldness in recruiting new members. There are still numerous residues of sectarianism and resistance to the admission into the Party of thousands of revolutionary fighters, above all young people and women, who should be in our ranks. To accomplish this fundamental task, our organizations should show greater capacity for initiative rather than clinging to narrow centralizing concepts.

We register without complacency an appreciable improvement in the political and ideological level of various Party organizations. Valuable experience has been gained in the sphere of political and ideological education and it should be furthered.

The CC notes the progress made towards closer links between the people and the armed forces. At a time when the dictatorship is trying again to involve the armed forces in its repressive policy, this aspect of our work is of particular importance to us and to all the forces seeking democratic change.

In view of the negotiations to renew the military agreements with the United States, the CC reaffirms its condemnation of this anti-national policy which is fraught with so many dangers for our country, and it urges stronger protest against the presence of U.S. bases and insists on the annulment of the military agreements with the United States.

Once again we identify ourselves with the people of Vietnam, whose heroic struggle is a decisive factor in the mounting crisis of imperialism. The movement of solidarity with Vietnam should be

extended to all the forces which are at one in condemning the American aggression until it assumes a nationwide scale as an important component of our fight against imperialism and the Franco dictatorship.

The CC, referring to the fundamental position of our Party in support of the complete independence of the people of Guinea, hails the results achieved by them and reaffirms its solidarity with them in their struggle to win complete sovereignty against the neocolonialist maneuvers of the dictatorship.

The Central Committee underscores the numerous examples of selflessness shown by fighters and sympathizers in the campaign to collect 30 million pesetas, and stresses again the necessity of carrying out this important political task.

*Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain*

# ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

## RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, CP OF COLOMBIA

The plenary meeting of the CC approves the Executive Committee's propositions on the international situation and topical problems of the Communist movement.

The essence of these propositions, which should constitute the general line for representatives of our Party at future meetings of Communist and Workers' parties, is as follows:

### I.

The international situation, characterized principally by an antagonistic contradiction between the socialist and capitalist systems, shows that the correlation of forces is changing increasingly in favor of the champions of socialism and national liberation.

The influence of Marxism-Leninism is growing and so is the authority of socialism as a system. By consolidating their economic, scientific and military might the Socialist countries are exerting considerable influence on the exploited masses in the capitalist countries and showing the peoples of the undeveloped countries the way to overcoming their backwardness.

However, the broad masses are negatively influenced by splitting activities, provoked primarily by the Chinese leaders, as well as by their attacks on internationalism and culture.

### II.

U.S. imperialism, despite its growing isolation, continues to act as defender of the most reactionary forces and as capitalism's international gendarme. Imperialism's attempts to change the balance of world forces in its favor are coming up against the increasing might of the socialist system and the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. But the Communist parties should be on their guard. The necessity for peaceful coexistence should not lull their revolutionary vigilance, it should not make them forget that as long as imperialism exists the danger of war remains, and that

*Documentos Politicos, October 1968.

world peace can be ensured only by the joint actions of broad anti-imperialist forces.

## III.

Despite serious difficulties in Africa, Indonesia and Latin America, the national liberation movement continues to develop. The example of heroic Vietnam, which is resolutely repelling the aggression of the U.S. imperialists, awakens the conscience of the peoples and evokes serious alarm in the United States itself, manifested in large-scale anti-war demonstrations. The Cuban revolution is holding out staunchly against the imperialists' infamous blockade and making progress in the building of the foundations of socialism. In Latin America, after a lapse of the anti-imperialist movement, broad worker and student actions are getting under way in connection with the failure of the "Alliance for Progress."

In the developed capitalist countries themselves, the United States included, extensive mass democratic movements are emerging to fight against monopoly exploitation and war.

For this reason one cannot artificially separate the three main anti-imperialist streams in the fight against imperialism: the socialist system, the national liberation movement, and the international working class.

## IV.

The general crisis of capitalism in its third stage goes on deepening.

An important feature of the economic difficulties in a number of capitalist countries is that they have developed within the framework of a profound financial crisis, as is shown by the unevenness of development and general instability. This does not mean that the capitalist system has exhausted its possibilities of development. Nevertheless this development remains uneven, despite monopoly alliances, mergers and agreemnets. The unevenness of this economic development is giving rise to profound contradictions between imperialists.

Imperialism has never changed its rapacious and aggressive nature. Its policy of national oppression is manifested in most diverse forms—economic, cultural and political. And when these forms prove insufficient as a result of the growth of anti-imperialist consciousness of the peoples, it resorts to military actions. In different periods it applies different forms of aggression, but its oppressive and exploiting nature remains unchanged.

## V.

The socialist countries, which already account for more than one-third of world industrial output, are the mainstay of the Com-

munist movement, the center of the building of the new society. The military might of the socialist system is the decisive factor of the correlation of world forces which puts a limit to the imperialists' intrigues.

In view of different levels of development and different historical traditions, the subjective and objective conditions in which the revolution triumphed in each of the socialist countries were not the same. These differences gave rise to peculiarities in socialist construction and to contradictions which led to divisive phenomena in some instances.

The division in the socialist system objectively serves imperialism. It enables imperialism to engage in splitting activities and broadens its sphere of action. This is one of the factors of its growing aggressiveness not only in the military but also ideological field. In addition, the absence of unity of the socialist system negatively affects the entire revolutionary struggle in the world. The divergencies between socialist countries and the resulting negative consequences can be overcome on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism through the exercise of power by the working class and joint actions against imperialism.

## VI.

The working class is the decisive social force in the present-day world, both in the socialist countries, where it holds power, and in the capitalist countries, where it is waging daily battles for its economic demands and rights, and also for revolutionary change. That is a basic tenet of Marxism-Leninism.

The historical role of the working class is attacked on different fronts, and constitutes an object of acute ideological struggle. To reaffirm the Marxist principle of the role of the working class in the revolutionary struggle is a vital necessity in the work of the ideological front with the aim of ensuring correct development of the revolutionary movement and combating Right and "Left" opportunist trends.

## VII.

The youth in general is undergoing the process of growth of its anti-imperialist consciousness, and this determines the scope of revolutionary youth actions. It is a fact that student groups evince a particularly high combat spirit. But the rise of student actions is accompanied by the emergence of definite harmful ideological trends which prevent faster advance towards broad anti-imperialist unity. There are people who are seeking to divert students from

the correct road of class struggle into the so-called struggle of generations.

It is very important to explain the role of young people, especially students, in the revolutionary process, placing them at the side of the working class and the peasantry. The struggle of young people should be brought into the stream of popular actions, for they are called upon to play a major part in the anti-imperialist struggle.

## VIII.

The beginning of the breakdown of the colonial system of imperialism was one of the historical consequences of the Great October Revolution. The national liberation movement has become an integral part of the great revolutionary process of our epoch.

To be able to develop further, the national liberation movement should strengthen its alliance with the socialist system and the international working class.

Harmful trends have developed concerning the role of the national liberation movement, aiming to separate it from the other anti-imperialist forces. To correctly define the role of the national liberation movement, to comprehend its close connection with the socialist revolution and the world working-class movement, to bring it into the common stream of the revolutionary struggle of our epoch—such are concepts on which Communists should work.

## IX.

Generally the struggle of the peoples of Latin America is a component of the national and colonial problem, being in the same category as the struggle of the Asian and African countries against imperialism. But it is necessary to go on studying this problem in order to give our own characteristic of the qualitative level of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. This calls for deepening theoretical work in this direction.

## X.

Lack of coordination and above all the split in the socialist system constitute the most serious obstacle which prevents the anti-imperialist forces from performing their decisive role in order to accelerate the downfall of imperialism. Therefore we Colombian Communists are on the side of those who stand for the unity of the anti-imperialist forces of our epoch.

The international Communist movement and especially the so-

cialist system are confronted today with an acute struggle between the principles of proletarian internationalism and narrow nationalist trends.

The Communists are genuine patriots who are fighting for the progress of their nation and for the constant improvement of the material and cultural conditions of their people. They place above everything else the common interests of proletarian internationalism and not any manifestations of narrow nationalism.

## XI.

The present situation demands consistent work for closer relations between all fraternal Communist parties which advocate unity of the world Communist movement and establishment of a united front of anti-imperialist forces, although holding different views on some problems.

In addition to exchange of experience and coordination of international campaigns, such as those for active solidarity with the valiant Vietnamese people and for struggle against the U.S. imperialist blockade of Cuba, it becomes necessary today to confront the different views of the fraternal parties.

We should work for a normal exchange of views on issues on which there is no community of views of all the Communist parties.

## XII.

Establishment of a united front of all the anti-imperialist forces of the world is an imperative necessity. To bring nearer the complete rout of imperialism it is necessary to act for the unity of the socialist system, the international working-class movement and the peoples fighting for their liberation and independent development.

Along with building the united anti-imperialist front it is necessary to work for working-class unity and unitary actions by the Communist parties. Every success in these unitary actions will considerably strengthen the world anti-imperialist front and promote the development of an offensive anti-imperialist strategy.

# COUNTER AN AGGRESSIVE IMPERIALISM WITH COMMUNIST UNITY

## JOINT STATEMENT* BY THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF CHILE AND MEXICO

A delegation of the Mexican Communist Party, composed of Comrade Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo, First Secretary, and Comrade Alejo Méndez Garcia, member of the CC Presidium, stayed in Chile from November 9 to 16, 1968, at the invitation of the Communist Party of Chile.

During its stay in Chile the delegation of the Mexican CP held talks with a delegation of the CC, CP of Chile, led by Comrade Luis Corvalan, Secretary General.

Besides, the MCP leaders had the opportunity of acquainting themselves with the activity of the CPC in the Valparaiso and Concepcion provinces. They visited the district Party committees in Santiago Province and were received by the local committees in Barrancas and La Granja, as well as by the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth League.

The two delegations exchanged ample information about the situation in their respective countries and the activities of their parties.

The MCP delegation supplied detailed information on the political and economic situation in Mexico, the policy of the Party and the significance and implications of the recent popular and student movement, which the Mexican comrades believe marks the beginning of far-reaching changes in the social processes going on in their country.

The CPC delegation informed its colleagues about the general lines of Communist activity, the alignment of class forces, the positions of the various political groupings and the perspectives and difficulties of the Chilean Communists' policy of broad anti-imperialist unity.

The MCP delegation conveyed its thanks to the Communists, the working class, the students and the people of Chile for their solidarity action over the brutal terror and repression perpetrated by the ruling quarters of Mexico against the students and the people.

The CPC delegation spoke highly of the Mexican students' latest actions and welcomed the participation of the Communist Youth League and the MCP in these actions.

*El Siglo, November 19, 1968.

Upon exchanging information the delegates of the CPC and MCP analyzed the main aspects of the international situation, the problems of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement in Latin America and the two parties' contribution to the unity of the world Communist movement.

With regard to these problems they agreed to issue the following statement:

1. The discontinuance of U.S. bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the recognition of the representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam by the United States as participants in the new peace negotiations constitute an important victory for the Vietnamese people and are a result of the solidarity of the international Communist movement and anti-imperialist and peace forces of the world, primarily the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

To consolidate this victory and to frustrate imperialist maneuvers aimed at dragging out and torpedoing a peace treaty, and to force the United States into withdrawing its troops from Vietnam at an early date, it is necessary to increase anti-imperialist solidarity and to step up specific international actions leading to the attainment of these objectives.

In accordance with this task, the CPC and MCP fully support the Continental Conference for Solidarity with Vietnam to be held in Montreal at the end of this month.

2. In view of the imperialist policy of aggression imperialism's efforts to exploit the differences existing in our movement for anti-Communist purposes, it is becoming an increasingly imperative and urgent task for the Communist and Workers' parties to develop the most active and vigorous unity of action.

Therefore, the CPC and MCP declare for the early convening of the International Conference of the Communist Parties, which should help them to achieve closer unity of action, reach agreement on important problems of the anti-imperialist struggle and initiate the stage of growing understanding within the Communist movement.

The Communists of Mexico and Chile believe that world Communist unity rests on loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the maintenance of relations of equality between all the Communist parties. They wish to stress the importance of anti-imperialist solidarity and joint action for common goals and of respect for the sovereignty of each party.

3. The CPC and MCP reaffirm their conviction regarding the diversity of the roads leading to socialism, the variety of forms of building socialism and the need to carry forward the process of socialist democratization. They hold that the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, should lead this process, al-

ways taking into account international experience and the general laws of the class struggle, and fighting against revisionism, without making any concessions to the enemy or slipping into a dogmatic stance.

4. It is the duty of Communists to resist the class enemy in every sphere. Especial importance attaches to the ideological struggle, to action against every manifestation of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. It is necessary to stress the Communists' actual position on democracy, freedom and the self-determination of nations, and at the same time the world significance of the socialist system and the historic role which the Soviet Union plays in the fight for peace, national liberation and socialism.

5. The proliferation of gorilla regimes in Latin America and the general tendency of oligarchic or bourgeois governments of the continent inspired by U.S. imperialism to take forcible measures against the popular movement, necessitates an intensified struggle against imperialism and reaction in each country and the promotion of continental solidarity with the peoples of Latin America, the campaign for the release of political prisoners and for the rights of the Negro people of the United States.

The Communists of Mexico and Chile hail the tenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, to be celebrated on January 1, 1969, and reaffirm their intention of maintaining their solidarity with the Cuban Revolution as they counteract imperialist intrigues.

They express their willingness to consider in due course together with other Communist parties of Latin America, the possibility of holding multilateral meetings to examine specific problems or to further the fulfilment of common tasks.

The delegates of the CPC and MCP express satisfaction at the meeting they have held and signify the desire to strengthen their traditional relations of fraternity, friendship and mutual solidarity.

For the delegation of the Mexican Communist Party,

*Arnoldo MARTINEZ VERDUGO*
*First Secretary of the CC*

For the delegation of the Communist Party of Chile,

*Luis CORVALAN*
*General Secretary of the CC*

*Santiago, November 19, 1968.*

# COMMUNIQUE*

## ON NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE CPSU AND THE CPA

Delegations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Austria met at the CC CPSU on December 2 and 3, 1968.

The participants in the meeting were:

for the CPSU, A. P. Kirilenko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC; B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC; A. S. Belyakov, First Deputy Director of the International Department of the CC;

for the CPA, F. Muhri, Chairman of the CPA; F. Fuernberg, Secretary of the CC; A. Ruschitzka, member of the Political Bureau.

During the negotiations, which proceeded in an atmosphere of sincerity and comradeship, the two delegations exchanged views on the fundamental problems of current international politics and the Communist and working-class movement, as well as on contacts and cooperation between the two parties.

In discussing international problems the two delegations pointed out that reactionary imperialist quarters continue to build up international tension, make plans for the arms race and for the reinforcement of the aggressive NATO bloc, try to undermine the national liberation movement and to pursue a neo-colonialist policy by fraudulent and forcible methods, and intensify the struggle against the socialist countries and the whole revolutionary and democratic movement.

All this calls for greater vigilance on the part of the peoples and for closer unity of the forces of peace and progress. Today these forces have real opportunities for foiling imperialist plans of aggression through concerted actions and of achieving the solution of international problems in the interests of world peace and security.

The two delegations regard it as an important gain for the Vietnamese people and the whole of progressive mankind and as a reverse for U.S. imperialism that the bombings of DRV territory have been stopped and that agreement has been reached to hold negotiations for a political settlement of the problem of Vietnam with the participation of representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. They believe, however, that all peace forces must take new steps to bring about the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam and enable the Vietnamese people to

*Pravda, December 6, 1968.

shape their own destiny according to the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Speaking of the situation in the Middle East, the two delegations supported the demand that Israel should stop all armed provocations and withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab territories in conformity with the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, and that the legitimate rights of the Palestine Arabs should be recognized along with recognition of the right of all the states in that area to existence.

The two delegations stressed the urgency of strengthening European security and stepping up the struggle against the growing menace of West German revanchism and militarism. Recent events have shown that the policy of the FRG is the main danger to the peace and security of all the peoples of our continent. They reaffirmed their support of the decisions of the Karlovy Vary Conference of Communist and Workers' parties as a program of effective struggle for Euroepan security, and expressed the determination of their parties to take, in conjunction with other forces of peace and progress, new steps towards easing tension in Europe, upholding the inviolability of the postwar frontiers in Europe, frustrating the maneuvers of the FRG against the Treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and supporting the demand that the German Democratic Republic be recognized as an independent and equal state.

The two delegations again stated that both their parties are interested in Austria following a policy of permanent neutrality and strictly adhering to the State Treaty, which is particularly important in the light of the increasing economic and political penetration of West German monopoly capital into Austria. They declare for the further extension and strengthening of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Austria, which meet the interests of both peoples and contribute to maintaining and consolidating peace in Europe, and promoting inter-state cooperation on the principles of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

After exchanging views on the events in Czechoslovakia, the two delegations noted that the agreements reached between the USSR and CSSR constitute the starting point for consolidating and furthering socialism in Czechoslovakia, for strengthening and carrying forward its economy, culture and socialist democracy on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This also contributes to the consolidation of the entire socialist community and to peace and security in Europe. The two delegations sincerely wish the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia success in carrying out the decisions of the November plenum of the CC CPC.

Upon discussing problems of the world Communist movement, the two delegations came to the unanimous conclusion that at the present stage it is of primary importance to strengthen the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties and all anti-imperialist forces against imperialism, the chief enemy of the peoples, for peace, democracy and socialism. A highly important step in this direction will be the convening of a new international Conference of Communist and Workers' parties. The two parties reaffirmed their complete support of the decisions adopted by the Preparatory Committee in Budapest last November, and their readiness to do all in their power for the success of the Conference preparations and the Conference itself.

The delegations of the CPSU and CPA expressed the desire of the Central Committees of their parties for greater and closer co-operation between the two parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, equality, autonomy and proletarian internationalism.

# JOINT STATEMENT* BY THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA

Delegations of the Central Committees of the Communist parties of Brazil and Argentina met in November. During the conversations, which proceeded in an atmosphere of warm fraternity, they exchanged views on the main aspects and developments of the international situation and the situation in Latin America, specifically in Brazil and Argentina. The delegations informed each other of the struggles of their parties in the respective countries. The fortunate fact that the meeting took place about the 7th of November afforded the two delegations an opportunity to pay tribute to this glorious date and express the loyalty of their parties to the ideals of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The exchange of views revealed that in Brazil and Argentina the fundamental problem today is the revolutionary transformation of the socio-economic structure of society, whose backwardness is due mainly to the domination of imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism, over the life of the nation, and to the big landowners' monopoly on landed property. This determines the urgency of abolishing imperialist domination by regaining the riches of the nation and by effecting an agrarian reform, and so imparts a democratic, national, agrarian and anti-imperialist character to the present stage of the revolution in both countries—a revolution leading to socialism.

On the other hand, the Brazilian and Argentine peoples are the victims of the aggressive and interventionist policy of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, a policy backed by home reaction and designed to provoke coups d'état, instal military and reactionary dictatorships and impose their participation in an inter-American military force, an instrument of police repression. By means of this policy Washington is trying to check the progress of the democratic and liberation struggles of the Latin American peoples, maintain and strengthen its domination over them, and intensify the exploitation of their labor and their riches. Today both Brazil and Argentina are controlled by political regimes which are military dictatorships of a defeatist, anti-democratic and anti-labor nature.

In view of this situation, the immediate principal task in both Brazil and Argentina is to promote the unity of action of all anti-dictatorial forces against the existing tyrannical regimes, for democratic liberties, so as to clear the ground for solving the problems of the peoples of both countries, for freeing both countries from

imperialist domination and from exploitation by the big landowners, and for winning democracy and socialism.

The two delegations declare that the fight against imperialist domination and the aggressive and interventionist policy of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, implemented largely through the OAS and its agencies, such as the Alliance for Progress, involves all Latin American peoples. This is why they regard it as a duty of the first importance to strengthen solidarity between the brother parties of the continent for independence and social progress. And this is why they declare that they will persevere in the effort to foster the broadest solidarity and unity of action between the Communist parties of Latin America on the basis of proletarian internationalism and the general principles of the Moscow Statement of 1960 and the Havana Conference of 1964, of mutual respect, reciprocal assistance and the independence of each party. For the same reason they consider manifestations of division are very harmful and constitute a weapon in the hands of the imperialists and home reaction against the peoples of Latin America.

The two delegations expressed the opinion that U.S. imperialism persists in its efforts to hold Cuba in isolation and maintains the threat of invading it militarily. They reaffirmed their determination to intensify in their countries the movement of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, for they consider that to defend socialist Cuba means defending the interests of all the peoples of Latin America.

The two delegations devoted special attention to the grave situation in Uruguay, whose people are firmly resisting the joint efforts of U.S. imperialism, home reaction and the military governments of Brazil and Argentina to instal in this brother country, through a coup, a military dictatorship in the service of the American monopolies. The two parties condemn the activity of the dictatorships in their countries and the criminal role which each of them is trying to play as an instrument of the policy of aggression against the peoples pursued by the American imperialists whose plans are aimed at invading and occupying Uruguay. They fully identify themselves with the Communist Party of Uruguay and express their support for the Uruguayan people in their struggle for sovereignty, democratic liberties and the independent and progressive development of their economy. The gravity of the danger threatening the people of a brother country makes it necessary to increase this solidarity and this support while the schemes of the U.S. imperialists and the gorilla dictatorships of Brazil and Argentina are being denounced more and more emphatically.

The exchange of views between the two delegations revealed that the two parties have arrived at identical conclusions on the main aspects of the international situation. On the one hand, the advance of socialism and the forces of liberation goes on. On the

other hand, imperialism is becoming more aggressive, which is seen in both the military field in some regions and the political and ideological field. This aggressiveness, being no fortress, has failed to prevent further imperialist reverses. Of great international significance to all the forces of democracy, progress, socialism and peace is the victory achieved in Czechoslovakia by the participation of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries in the action against the attempts of the forces of internal reaction backed by the U.S. and West German imperialists to restore capitalism in that country and thus deal a telling blow at the socialist system. The victories of the heroic people of Vietnam over the imperialist aggressors, as a result of which the U.S. government had to stop bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to agree to the National Liberation Front taking part in peace talks, likewise have worldwide repercussions. These events stimulate and strengthen the activity of the progressive and revolutionary forces, which must heighten their vigilance and their solidarity actions against imperialism and its policy of aggression, of dominating the peoples and provoking a world war. Solidarity with the glorious fight of the people of Vietnam is more important than ever.

The Communist parties of Brazil and Argentina consider that the cohesion of the world socialist system and the international Communist movement constitutes the fundamental factor for success and for victory over the chief enemy of mankind, imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism. They will therefore do their utmost to contribute to this cohesion. They believe that a significant step in this direction can be taken by convening the world Conference of Communist and Workers' parties as early as possible. They will also continue to strengthen the links of friendship and solidarity existing between the two parties, and to increase the reciprocal support and assistance of the peoples of Brazil and Argentina as they fight against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism, for progress, national independence, democracy, socialism and peace.

Signed: *The delegations of the Communist Party of Brazil and the Communist Party of Argentina.*

*Brazil, November 1968.*

# CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENARY OF LENIN'S BIRTH

## RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, CP OF COLOMBIA

On April 22, 1970, it will be a hundred years since V. I. Lenin was born. The plenary meeting of the Central Committee recommends all Communists to launch an educational campaign elucidating still further the importance of Marxism-Leninism, of Leninism as the Marxism of the new historical epoch, the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, of the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, of the building of communism.

The main lines of this campaign should be Lenin's teachings on proletarian internationalism, the struggle against narrow nationalist trends, the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party in the socialist revolution.

It should be stressed that we can best pay tribute to this great centenary by accomplishing our political and organizational tasks and by strengthening our ranks so as to turn our Party into a large Communist party with a mass basis.

*Documentos Politicos, September 28, 1968.

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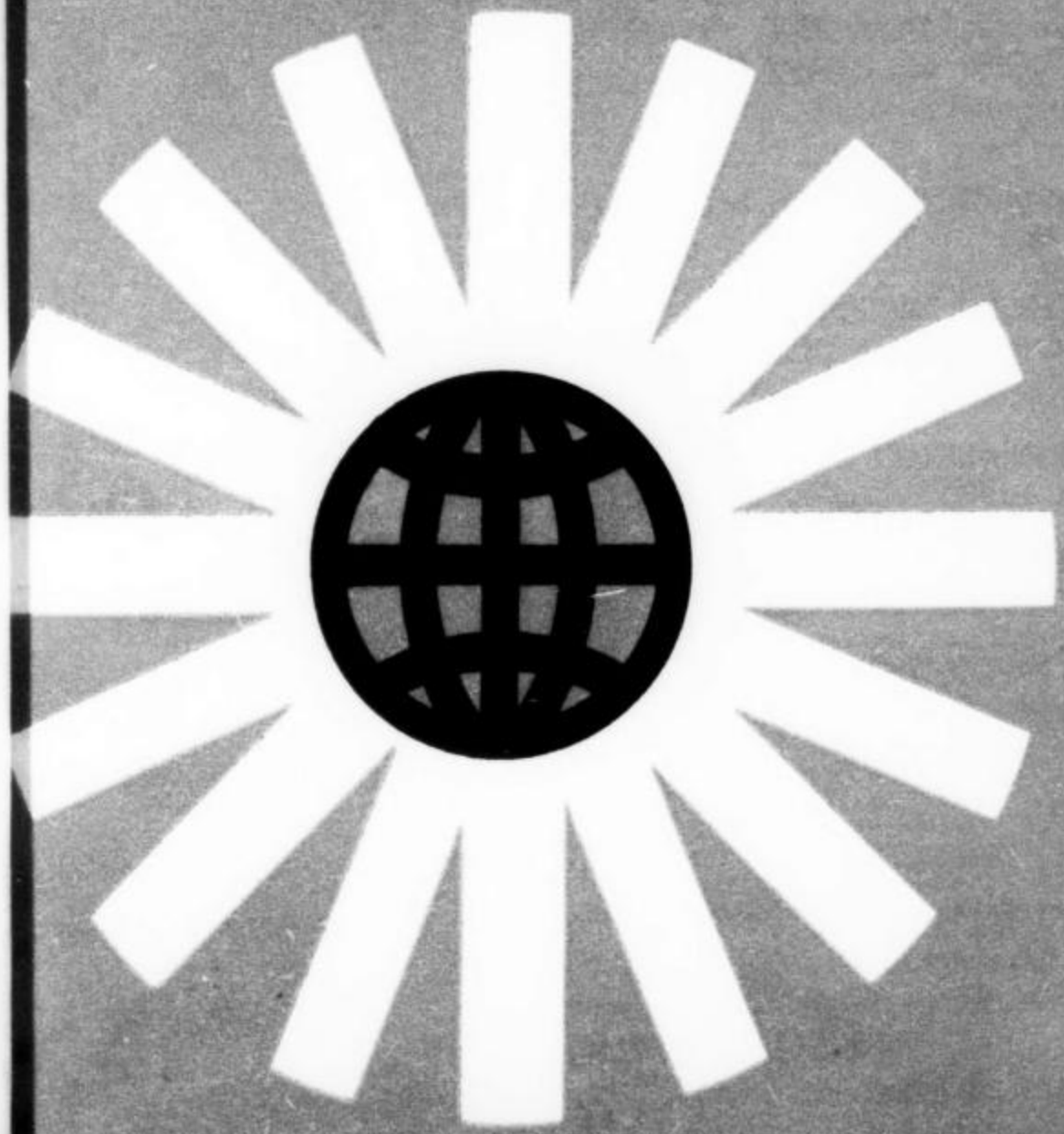

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

## EXTRACTS FROM RESOLUTION ON CC REPORT, CP OF AUSTRIA

### THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The U.S. imperialists' war against the people of Vietnam, the war in the Middle East, the overthrow of progressive governments in a number of former colonies, the establishment of military dictatorships against democratic mass movements of the people, the intensification of the arms race, are indications of the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism and the reactionary forces.

The rivalries between the big monopolies and between the imperialist countries, aggravated by the uneven development of capitalism, are taking ever sharper forms, entailing more acute currency crises and shaking the capitalist economy.

In the main imperialist countries there is a swing to the right, with the reactionary forces and their organizations growing stronger.

All these facts have increased the danger of local wars and of a third world war with the use of nuclear arms.

In Europe West German imperialism, which has strengthened its economic and military position and thereby increased its political leverage, is the chief obstacle to a détente, peace and international security. It refuses to recognize the frontiers established in Europe in 1945 and persists in its revanchist policy.

Nevertheless, imperialism and the forces allied with it have been unable to check the people's growing resistance to its policy of preparing for war and suppressing democratic movements of the masses in many countries of the world or their desire for freedom.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, the effective support they recieve from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the worldwide movement of solidarity with Vietnam have resulted in stopping the bombings of North Vietnam and starting talks for peace in Vietnam. This is a considerable victory in the struggle for the Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, against imperialism, for world peace.

Neither in Vietnam nor in the Middle East has imperialism been able to attain its objectives despite the use of large forces in direct

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*Volksstimme, January 9, 1969.

military operations. In Europe, West German imperialism has come no nearer to its revanchist goals because there are strong forces resisting it all over Europe and in West Germany itself. In many countries of capitalist Europe, first of all in France and Italy, big mass campaigns for economic and political demands are launched again and again.

This is proof of the growth of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, of the vast potentialities of the anti-imperialist struggle that the peoples are unfolding.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, whose power continues to grow, constitute the greatest peace force and the mainstay of the national liberation movement. They have been, and are, the strongest international bulwark of the Vietnam's people's fight for freedom. They facilitate and contribute to the struggle of the democratic and socialist forces of the world. Thereby the socialist countries are performing a deeply humane and democratic function in world politics.

The struggle to prevent a third world war, to safeguard peace and free the peoples oppressed by imperialism, the struggle for democracy and socialism, present real prospects of success provided all peace-loving and democratic forces, whose core is the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties, are united.

The fight for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems remains a decisive component of the fight for world peace. The policy of peaceful coexistence does not mean maintaining the status quo between capitalism and socialism, between the national liberation movement and the imperialist oppressors, or the division of the world into spheres of influence of the big powers. The struggle between capitalism and socialism, the principal characteristic of our time, is not limited to the dispute between the capitalist and the socialist countries. It is also going on inside the capitalist countries. Only by overcoming capitalism can the world be definitively freed from oppression, war and the war danger.

Concepts which claim that the policy of international détente and peaceful coexistence has failed and that the world must necessarily go through another period of cold war and steady deterioration of the international situation are wrong and harmful. They are all the more dangerous because they are accompanied by theories alleging that a third world war, an armed conflict, between the imperialist and the socialist countries is inevitable, and orientating themselves accordingly. These theorists regard the fight for a peaceful road to socialism in the capitalist countries of Europe as an illusion, for they do not think the working people can overcome the domination of monopoly capital by joining forces and waging revolutionary mass struggles, without war or civil war. The tendency to reduce the effort for easing international tension and preventing a world

war to agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union goes in the same direction. Such tendencies lead to the passivity of the peace forces whereas they must step up their activity to safeguard peace.

No less harmful are the exaggerations pointing the other way. They ignore or minimize imperialism's bitter resistance to international détente, its dangerous reactionary attacks, and the active support this policy has among the decisive leading circles of the Socialist parties and the Catholic camp. They are particularly dangerous where they are coupled with theories sapping the foundations of the struggle against imperialism, for socialism. Among them is the thesis about the allegedly logical convergence of the two opposed social systems—capitalism and socialism—a thesis representing the struggle to overthrow capitalist rule as unnecessary. The theory of the industrial society generally disregards the decisive importance of who is in possession of the means of production and who exercises state power, whether monopoly capital or the working class in alliance with other working people. Yet if this decisive difference is slurred over or, indeed, called in question, the struggle against imperialism, for socialism, will be stripped of its very basis.

The Communist Party of Austria sees one of its most important tasks in the struggle for peace, disarmament and international détente, in solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam, with all national liberation movements, with the Communists and all democrats in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Indonesia and elsewhere who are fighting against brutal dictatorial regimes.

The maintenance and consolidation of Austria's neutrality is a decisive contribution to peace and détente. We want the government, parliament, the parties and the Federation of Trade Unions to uphold the following proposals as they implement an active policy for neutrality and take various initiatives:

—peace in Vietnam on the basis of freedom and the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination, in accordance with the proposals of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam; recognition of the NLF as the legitimate spokesman of South Vietnam; complete withdrawal of the U.S. forces;

—peaceful, political solution of the Mideast crisis through the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied territories and through the Arab states' recognition of Israel's right to existence;

—support of every initiative for disarmament, for the banning of atomic weapons and the reduction of military expenditures; spending armaments appropriations on economic development, scientific and cultural progress, and extensive aid to the peoples of the third world;

—recognition of the right of all nations to self-determination; removal of every form of colonialism and neo-colonialism;

—simultaneous dissolution of the military blocs, and withdrawal of all troops from foreign soil; recognition of the frontiers existing in Europe since 1945; recognition of the existence of two German states, that is, recognition of the German Democratic Republic; promotion of economic, cultural and political cooperation among all peoples of Europe, especially among the peoples of the Danubian area; establishment of a European security system.

## TASKS OF THE PARTY

The Communist Party of Austria sees its principal task today in calling on the working class to resist the attacks of capital and the policies of the Austrian People's Party (APP), and in organizing united action in this struggle to the best of its ability.

The Communist Party will continue to work out alternatives to the policy of the APP government and the Social-Democratic leadership, present them to public opinion and carry on appropriate explanatory work. Even if these proposals cannot as yet be realized at all or in full measure, their value is more than propagandistic, for they always produce their effect and constitute an important factor for achieving unity of action if steadfastly upheld.

At the same time the Party will strive in the enterprises and trade unions, first of all where it commands sufficient strength, to organize united action for the protection of jobs, for pay increases in step with increases in prices and productivity, for shorter working hours, the maintenance and extension of the social gains of the working class, effective co-management in and outside the enterprises, the equality of women and an up-to-date policy towards the family. This unity of action is the possible starting point for organizing more powerful working-class struggles in which the workers will become aware of their great strength. This is the decisive aspect of the necessary struggle outside parliament, an aspect which the Communist Party is striving for.

The elections to parliament, the *Landtage* and communal councils are very important politically. They are political campaigns in which large segments of the population concern themselves more than usually, with political matters. The CPA is doing its best to win seats on communal councils and in the *Landtage* so as to work in these bodies in the interests of the working people and be able better to explain Communist policies and proposals to the working people from that platform.

Where it is still impossible to win election, the nomination of CPA candidates in the election campaign provides an opportunity to explain to the working people our fundamental opposition to the

system prevailing in Austria, elucidate our alternative proposals and thereby create the prerequisites for subsquent gains.

This applies, above all, to the coming general election in which the CPA will put forward its own lists in all constituencies. Since the Social-Democratic leadership is strongly suggesting to the workers that they can look forward to a radical change in Austria after the general election, it is highly important to explain our position and the actual outlook as widely as possible.

It is a standing task of the Party to oppose the unjust, undemocratic suffrage and to insist on its revision.

The Party will never flag in its effort to gain access to radio and television, and will use them whenever possible.

The Party has not been able to strengthen its influence on the younger generation. In spite of attempts in the Party, no real orientation to youth and the younger generation has been achieved. Neither the Communists' work in the Austrian Youth Federation, nor the Party's attempt to win new forces by forming a Youth Movement for the CPA groups has yielded substantial results.

There has been progress only in organizing the Democratic Student Association (DSA). In Austria, too, the international student movement has led to controversies between the students and the authoritarian system of higher education. The DSA has succeeded in increasing its influence among the student by autonomous actions among Left-wing student groups.

It is a task of the Party to win over a new generation of young Communists. The Party therefore supports and fosters independent action in youth organizations by Communists assuming personal responsibility, because this helps Communists to develop a sense of responsibility.

The Party attaches decisive importance to the cooperation and participation of young comrades in the shaping of Party policy.

Inseparable from this should be the recruitment of new, young forces, first of all young workers, for work in Party committees, who should be entrusted with leading functions. Every effort should be made to bring about close links and cooperation between experienced older and active young comrades. This can be done only if the young forces in the Party are allowed wide scope for initiative and activity without tutelage and if, on the other hand, young comrades show proper respect for the devoted work of the older comrades. This is a responsibility of the Party bodies, from the Central Committee downwards.

A primary task of the new Central Committee is to create the prerequisites for fruitful work among youth and the younger generation, including children. This should be done in close cooperation with the comrades active among young people.

Work in the sports societies is of special importance. They are

the biggest mass organizations uniting the youth of our country.

The Party has lately made some progress in its public work by holding public discussions or by taking part in them. However, this work has so far been restricted to a few comrades, while most Party organizations have stayed away and have not yet been able to explain to their membership that it is important for Communists to participate in such events even if they do not take the floor. The task is to determine one's moral attitude to discussions and prepare for them politically. These discussions enable us to give other people our opinion on various problems and establish new contacts. At the same time they are a practical school for Communists.

The ideological contest with the class enemy has in recent years become more important and more difficult. This is due to the accumulation of contradictions and conflicts arising from the struggle between capitalism and socialism. The Party leadership has not taken this into proper account and has given too little attention to the ideological clash with the theory and propaganda of enemies of various shadings. As a result, the Party has not ideologically elaborated nor elucidated the differences springing from the difficult and complex struggles and controversies in Austria and on a world scale. The ideological unity of the Party has been shaken more and more, and this has told on the political unity of the Party.

The complex class controversies of today repeatedly bring out sectarian-dogmatic conceptions, on the one hand, and revisionist conceptions, on the other. It is necessary resolutely to combat both extreme conceptions in the course of political and ideological discussions. For all the forbearance in discussion which should prevent us from labelling comrades who hold incorrect views, we must call these views by their proper names, show up their consequences for the working-class movement and resolutely combat them.

In the ideological struggle, the Central Committee and its Political Bureau have a special responsibility. More promptly than before, they must take a stand—at Party meetings and in public—on the issues brought up by developments and on incorrect views upheld in the Party.

Party members have no right to oppose Party policies or decisions in public. The Central Committee must see that this rule is strictly kept.

Our perspective—that the struggle for socialism should be carried on by several parties—changes nothing in the recognition of the fact that in no capitalist country is the road to socialism taken unless the Communist Party succeeds in winning the support of decisive sections of the working class, whereupon the working class sets out to fulfil its historic mission as the leading force of society. To achieve this, the Party will have to orientate itself to

the structural changes which the scientific and technological revolution may be expected to bring. Difficult and time-consuming though this task is, the need to accomplish it successfully cannot be ignored.

On the long and arduous road to this goal we now set ourselves the task of strengthening and consolidating our Party. This calls for constant and systematic recruitment of new members and new readers for the Party press, first of all in the enterprises, but also in residential neighborhoods. In doing this we must invariably stress the special importance of winning young people for our ideas and our Party. It is the duty of all Party committees, from the Central Committee downwards, to pay particular attention to this work in connection with our entire political and economic struggle.

# PROGRAM OF THE LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND WAYS OF IMPLEMENTING IT

## ADOPTED AT THE 2ND CONGRESS, JULY 1968

The development of capitalism in Lebanon and its introduction into the various spheres of the economy, agriculture included, has led to the prevalence of the capitalist system in the country. Therefore the future road of revolutionary transformations in Lebanon will be one of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Basing itself on an analysis of the economic, social and political situation, the correlation and nature of class forces, the level of organization and consciousness, and the stages of struggle, the Lebanese Communist Party considers that general democratic struggle in conditions of the existing system, far from putting off, is bringing nearer, the socialist revolution, which alone will ensure the economic, social and political liberation of the country. The socialist revolution will eliminate backwardness, abolish the privileges of the exploiter classes, and transfer the material and cultural values of society to those who create them. The Communist Party holds that in the period of this general democratic struggle an alliance of the working class and the other strata of the working people is established and strengthened and the political consciousness of the masses is enhanced. The Party holds that the pooling of the efforts of all progressive and national forces and sectors facilitates the achievement of economic and social gains in the present conditions, which will bring about an improvement of the life of the people and weaken the finance oligarchy economically and politically.

The Communist Party mobilizes the masses and cooperates with all parties, organizations and national and professional forces in the fight for political concessions to extend and consolidate democratic freedoms, and guarantee the legality of the party, trade union and mass organization of all socialist and national forces, in the fight to weaken the positions of the finance oligarchy and to thwart its attempts to eliminate the relative freedoms and pursue the policy of ideological and political discrimination.

Coming out for the extension of the democratic freedoms of the masses, the Party is working for its legalization, for it is the vanguard of the working class which is equipped with a scientific theory and with a rich experience of dozens of years of struggle. The legalization of the Communist Party and the repeal of the reactionary laws and measures which obstruct its activity and

struggle are not only a top-priority task of the working class and its allies from among the peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and other democrats, but also and above all a national necessity and a task of the entire democratic development in the country.

The Party is fighting resolutely for the pursuit of an independent foreign policy conforming to the economic and political interests of Lebanon, to the struggle of the Arab national liberation movement against imperialism, its conspiracies and Israel, its base and an instrument of its aggressive plans. The Communist Party stands firmly for a foreign policy favoring the struggle of the peoples for liberation, democracy and peace, for stronger contacts with the progressive Arab countries and the countries of the socialist camp.

Declaring for general democratic reforms, the Party considers that their implementation is a pressing necessity and a guarantee of our country's advancement along the road of democracy and progress. This struggle, in the Party's opinion, is being waged for the realization of economic, social and political tasks, for breaking the chains of economic dependence on imperialism, for building an independent balanced national economy in the interests of the broadest strata of the people.

These important national-democratic tasks cannot be carried out by a political power subordinated to the finance oligarchy, an agent of neo-colonialism.

The first step in this direction should be the overthrow of the power of the finance oligarchy through the establishment of a national-democratic government which should rest on the broadest possible alliance of the popular forces—representative of the working class and all other strata of the working people—and champion a program conforming to the interest of the various classes and strata and based on the following principles:

1. Abolition of foreign monopolistic companies to end the plunder of the national wealth.

2. Restriction of the economic positions of the finance oligarchy aimed at its eventual elimination through the nationalization of finance and insurance institutions and the narrowing down of the sphere of private foreign trade deals with the aid of state agencies.

3. An agrarian reform aimed at abolishing big land and semi-feudal ownership, limiting the size of land holdings, making full use of production possibilities, and employing modern methods of agricultural production.

4. Consolidation of the industrial sector through its expansion and development; esttblishment of new branches; industrialization of the country. The latter presupposes the existence of a scientific plan taking into account the possibilities of the country and the prospects for the development of industry. This requires direct

intervention of the state, reliance on the state sector, and the creation of mixed enterprises.

5. The granting of broad democratic freedoms: freedom of the press, expression, employment and party, trade union and mass organization; the conversion of formally democratic institutions into genuinely democratic ones through abrogating the laws which are an impediment to this. In the first place it is necessary to amend the constitution adopted by the authorities during the existence of the mandate, and to turn it into a modern democratic constitution guaranteeing the freedom of every citizen and respect for human dignity. It is also necessary to work out a new electoral law based on proportional representation and a single national list, eliminate the financial and other restrictions, introduce suffrage at the age of 18, and guarantee the freedom and rights of voters through strict respect for procedure (polling booths, ballots). Also to abolish the principal reactionary institutions of the state apparatus set up during the rule of the imperialists, who were concerned with preserving the power of the alliance of the feudals and the finance oligarchy; to build a modern democratic apparatus.

6. Satisfaction of the social demands of the working class and the other strata of the working people and the masses; constantly to raise their living and cultural level; to solve the problem of education at various levels; to guarantee medical assistance and social maintenance.

7. Economic cooperation with the other Arab countries through the establishment of an Arab common market and activities aimed at building the economic unity of the Arab countries.

8. An independent anti-imperialist foreign policy, a policy of close cooperation of the newly-free Arab states; struggle against the conspiracies and the economic and political pressure of the imperialist countries on the Arab countries; elimination of imperialist influence on the other Arab countries; removal of the aftermath of the Israeli aggression; struggle for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The implementation of these tasks conforms not only to the common national interests of Lebanon and the other Arab states, but also to the interests of ensuring the territorial integrity of Lebanon itself.

9. Fortification of the villages lying along the front line; the arming of the villagers, introduction of universal military service; instruction of all citizens in the handling of weapons; enhancement of the defense potential of Lebanon with the help of the socialist countries.

10. Extension of cooperation with the countries of the socialist camp, in the first place with the Soviet Union, with the aim of freeing the national economy from the chains of imperialist dependence and ending subordination to the system of international

division of labor imposed upon the world by the capitalist monopolies.

These tasks are not socialist in character; their implementatiton will objectively serve the interests not only of the working class, the working people and the middle urban and rural strata, but also of the local bourgeoisie connected with national production and with the domestic and general Arab market. For this reason the Communist Party is working to build a broad front of representatives of all strata interested in overthrowing the power of the feudals and the finance oligarchy and in creating and developing an independent national economy, modern industry and agriculture. The Party is working for this front to come to power and for the establishment of a genuinely democratic regime which would reflect the real correlation of forces in the country, guarantee democratic freedoms, free our country from neo-colonialist domination, and ensure its advance along the road of social progress. By virtue of its being aware of the interests of the country, by virtue of its revolutionary spirit, cohesion and firmness, the working class can play the principal role in this front.

Basing itself on an analysis of the nature of the local bourgeoisie, the historical conditions of its emergence and development, and its connections, especially in the light of the present epoch, which is characterized by mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, the Communist Party considers that the local bourgeoisie not only is incapable of heading this general democratic struggle but is unwilling to exercise leadership in its totality, and provide conditions for development in the direction of socialism.

Therefore the Communist Party is working to organize the working class, the working people of town and countryside and the other revolutionary forces striving for socialism, and provides guidance to them in the realization of these tasks.

The tasks of national liberation from neo-colonialism are interwoven with the tasks of the socialist revolution and are becoming part of them.

In its striving for national liberation from neo-colonialism and for socialist transformations, the Communist Party believes in mass struggle—conscious and organized, economic, political and ideological.

Relying on a scientific theory and being aware of its lofty historical responsibility, the Communist Party devotes great attention to the correlation of forces in the country, in the other Arab countries and in the world, to the correlation of objective and subjective conditions. It rejects revolutionary phrasemongering, Leftist adventurist and romantic trends; being the spokesman of the working class and its allies, it exposes liquidationism, the tendency

to follow in the tail of events, and Right-wing opportunism; it adheres to principled class positions.

The Party is working to expand its basis, to mobilize all revolutionary socialist forces, to coordinate its actions and to enhance the revolutionary vigilance of its ranks.

Basing itself on close links with the masses, the Party is endeavoring to deepen the class struggle waged by the workers, the peasant masses and other working people; it is developing this struggle and striving to head it. The Party persistently explains that the complete emancipation of the working class and the entire people is possible only through the conquest of political power by the working class and its allies, which is the primary and principal problem of revolution.

While advocating a peaceful transition of power to the proletariat and its allies, which conforms to the interests of the working class and the entire people, the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class, is preparing it for all forms of struggle, including violence in reply to the violence of the bourgeoisie, to ensure the victory of the socialist revolution.

* * *

The Lebanese Communist Party will go on fighting in the spirit of firmness displayed throughout its long history of struggle, in keeping with the program, for the interests of the working class and the masses of working people, for the great aim of freeing all working people from political and social oppression and exploitation, for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution.

# EXCERPTS FROM THE THESES FOR THE 13th CONGRESS OF THE CP OF ARGENTINA

## VI.

"The doors of the country are open to foreign investment," said Ongania in November 1966. It was the only pledge he has painstakingly kept.

The Seventh National Conference of the Communist Party of Argentina pointed to the dictatorship's intention of furthering the process of economic concentration to the detriment of national enterprises and in the interest of big capital, first of all the foreign, particularly American, monopolies.

A series of government measures has speeded the process. They include the law of banks, the amended law of lease, customs measures and discrimination in granting credits on the plea that "only competitive enterprises should continue in operation."

The concentration process still going on began with the liquidation of important national enterprises and the adoption of measures in favor of foreign monopoly penetration into such decisive branches of the economy as oil, iron and steel, power, petrochemistry, railways, and agriculture. The dictatorship persists in this traitorous policy in line with the principle of denationalizing all state enterprises named by Van Peborgh, the Defense Minister, on October 11, 1968. Under recent reforms this process is to develop through the conversion of state enterprises into mixed companies within the framework of joint-stock companies.

Subservience to foreign monopolies, stimulated from above at the insistence of the International Monetary Fund and other international financial institutions under U.S. control, is increasing at a time when the economy of the imperialist powers is entering a new phase of its structural crisis. The crisis manifests itself in the devaluation of the pound sterling, the dollar crisis, and mounting antagonisms (including clashes in the European Common Market) between imperialist countries seeking markets and raw material sources. This does not, however, discourage the imperialist powers from the attempt to evolve a collective colonialist policy so as to retain their domination over the economically less developed countries, among which is Argentina.

The present government expected its economic and financial policies to invigorate the economy and enable the nation to fulfil its economic development plans. Instead, this policy has caused economic anarchy. The overall result is greater subordination of

the national economy to world imperialism. The growing loss of the country's economic independence is accompanied by a growing loss of political independence and national sovereignty.

The monopolies have aggravated contradictions in our country by expanding their activity in our economy and by tightening their grip on it.

The fact that Argentina depends on imperialism and that big private land ownership predominates in its agriculture does not, of course, mean that its industry can make no progress at all. Recent years have seen the rise of the iron and steel, petrochemical and automobile industries, and the country has begun to manufacture certain types of machinery and plant. But this growth is controlled by foreign monopolies, which are in no way interested in our industry having a sound, undistorted pattern, in the existence of a rational distribution system or in giving priority to the nation's more important industries. All that the monopolies are after is profit.

Monopoly profits have in recent years been growing through the exploitation of the nation's immense riches. The Ongania government invited imperialist financial corporations to assume a greater share of controlling the finance and credit resources of our country. As for the vaunted foreign investments, most of them have been at the expense of depreciation and profits made in the Argentine economy itself. Direct investments make up a negligible amount.

The foreign monopolies, by selling us licences and patents, hold back research in our country, tighten their technical control over our industry, and make us buy foreign plant and use foreign specialists, whereas many Argentine citizens are compelled to emigrate. Besides, the plant supplied to our industry by the imperialists is not up to date.

With a worldwide scientific and technological revolution far greater in scope than the revolutionary changes of the Renaissance or the industrial revolution of the late 18th and early 19th century, Argentina, like any other counry dependent on imperialism, is in danger of falling still farther behind the foremost countries. This can be prevented only through a victorious democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution making possible deep-going changes in the economic and social structures of the country. "We lack the basic conditions for participation in the technological cycle, and there is a danger that the distance separating us (from the big powers) will keep on growing," said the President of the Argentine Industrial Union on July 11, 1968. Unquestionably, the process of transformation of the material world is greatly accelerated in the era of automation, electronics and cybernetics. The scientific and technological revolution affords unprecedented opportunities for doing away with the backwardness and poverty affecting the greater

part of mankind. But the monopolies raise obstacles to putting the results of this revolution in the service of man. They would like to maintain and aggravate these phenomena, particularly in the dependent countries.

Under capitalism the scientific and technological revolution furthers the concentration process. And while production is assuming an increasingly social character, appropriation remains private. This aggravates the fundamental contradiction of modern society, that between the productive forces and the relations of production, between labor and capital, between the handful of monopolies and the vast majority of the world population. Only socialism can remove this contradiction by establishing harmony between the productive forces and the relations of production.

While previous scientific and technological revolutions were incompatible with the feudal system, the scientific and technological revolution of the second half of this century is incompatible with the capitalist system at its imperialist stage.

The technological backwardness of our country cannot be eliminated either through the OAS, the Alliance for Progress, or foreign investment, as some advocates of the "development theory" contend. Rather than helping to overcome the lag in science and technology, this kind of investment would make it worse.

According to some proponents of the "development theory," the country does not necessarily need an agrarian reform and increased foreign trade to make progress. They claim that unequal trade is a fatal necessity operating against our country. They ignore the possibility and advisability of expanding trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on equal terms.

Yet both economic development generally and an end to scientific and technological backwardness are out of the question in the absence of independent economic development, which is conditional on deep structural changes. These changes should begin with the transfer to the people of the main economic and financial levers, now wielded by international imperialism, primarily the U.S. monopolies.

The monopolies are hostile, not only to the working class, but also to the peasants, handicraftsmen, intelligentsia, technicians, the middle strata and large segments of the national bourgeoisie, or, in other words, to the overwhelming majority of our nation. The principal contradiction in our country is that between the people, the whole nation, and international, first of all American, imperialism. The landed oligarchy and big middleman capital are the allies and agents of imperialism inside the country.

This is the main reason why the anti-imperialist sentiments of the Argentine people are gradually becoming an anti-imperialist national consciousness. This consciousness is entering a new and

higher stage, as is seen in the fact that Ongania's anti-national policy meets with resistance in various forms on the part of the working class and other classes and strata of society.

## VIII.

Both the home and the foreign policy of the dictatorship are leading the country to failure. Our foreign policy is adapted to that of the United States. Appendix III of the Protocol of the so-called Argentine Revolution says: "With the utmost determination, and of our own free will, we pledge ourselves to participate in the defense of the Western and Christian world." Behind the false facade of the "Western and Christian world" is world imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialists. This pledge, given by the putschists in June 1966, was recalled on May 17, 1968, by Admiral Benigno Varela. "The Protocol of the revolution," he said, "commits us to protect the sea trade of the Western and Christian world against eventual Communist aggression." To the putschist government, the mission of the Argentine Navy is not to defend the coast of the country against encroachments on our national sovereignty but to take part, in the event of a world war, in the defense of U.S. interests.

This starting point determined the reactionary trend of the foreign policy of the Ongania government and its active role in the OAS, which the United States is trying to make an instrument of its interference in the affairs of other countries on the pretext that the era of national sovereignty is a thing of the past. In keeping with this policy are:

—the Ongania government's proposal for institutionalizing the Inter-American Defense Council within the OAS, or the *inter-American* military system proposed by General Lanusse at the eighth meeting of military leaders of the continent to facilitate the formation of *mercenary* police units which the *Pentagon could use* to crush eventual national liberation movements in Latin America, as it has already done in the Dominican Republic, or to strangle the heroic Cuban Revolution;

—the provocation of border conflicts with the fraternal Republic of Chile by agreement with the reactionary circles plotting against the democratic regime beyond the Cordilleras;

—aid to the reactionary Barrientos regime in putting down the courageous struggle of the working class and people of Bolivia and the guerrilla war, and in assassinating Che Guevara, the revolutionary;

—brazen gorilla pressure on Uruguay to turn that country into a fascist base;

—"fraternal" complicity with the Brazilian gorillas to pursue a

common policy based on the idea of the *ideological frontier;* the Costa e Silva-Ongania axis is one of the most nefarious reactionary factors in South America;

—complete solidarity with the dirty war imposed on the noble and heroic people of Vietnam by the United States;

—support for the United States in the UN;

—disruption of normal trade and cultural relations with the socialist countries, and disregard of the opportunities for expanding the foreign market and for upholding the principles of mutual exchange;

—favorable terms granted for U.S. activity on the Argentine seaboard, in Patagonia and other regions of the country, and for maintenance of numerous "advisers" to the Argentine armed forces, as well as favorable terms for the establishment of a large air base in Mendoza Province camouflaged as a "weather station," and the presence of Green Berets in Salta Province.

This foreign policy is humiliating to the entire nation. Even Admiral Varela cited a specific case—terms injurious to the nation's dignity and interests imposed by the Americans in "lending" warships to the Argentine Navy.

The pro-imperialist orientation of the present government is not disproved by the antagonisms between the imperialists which manifest themselves from time to time. The U.S. monopolies not only take possession of national resources and enterprises but raise increasing obstacles to Argentine foreign trade, a fact resented by relevant sections of the landed oligarchy and big capital. On the other hand, orientation on Western Europe and the European Common Market has not solved the big problems of Argentine foreign trade, nor will it ever solve them.

The result is a growing popular awareness of the need of radical change in foreign policy to protect national sovereignty and provide conditions for peaceful international relations and for expanding trade on the principles of mutual benefit and respect, first of all with the socialist countries, which abide by these principles.

## X.

One of the main characteristics of the situation, if not its outstanding feature, is an even greater leftward swing, which has entered a new stage of development.

A broad mass movement has developed in our country, a popular and progressive movement abounding in action and struggle on the most diverse issues.

Working-class, peasant, popular and democratic struggles have intensified, and are being carried on against the will and directives of Right-wing leaders. They have assumed a new character: with

increasing awareness, the masses and their more devoted leaders are combining the fight for their immediate economic, social and political demands with the fight against the dictatorship and for a new form of government. To date the majority of the people are engaged in a movement aimed at ending the reactionary present and building a progressive future on new lines.

"The working people," our Party stated in its appeal on June 29, 1966, "will not allow themselves to be misled despite the fallacious position of some trade union and political leaders and Peron himself." And our Party proved right, for the working people were not taken in either by the promises of the dictatorship nor by the traitorous stand of certain leaders of the trade union and political movement.

Indeed, the whole public saw in the anti-Communist decree a frontal attack on democratic rule. That is why the entire nation—political parties, labor unions, cultural and other public institutions, the bar, etc.—took a firm stand against the decree.

The movement for democratic liberties is gaining in scope. Now as in the past, it is an important aspect of united action, an indication of the tremendous democratic reserves existing in the country.

At present the defense of civil liberties is changing from mere action against reactionary measures to the effective exercise of rights and guarantees irrespective of the will of the government.

In preparing for the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution and for its subsequent development into a socialist revolution, our Party has always attached great importance to the fight for democracy. "The immediate goal of our political struggle is, first, a democratic regime, and then a complete unfolding of democracy, to the point of accomplishing the tasks of the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, so as to open the radiant road to socialism for our working class, our people and our country." (Victorio Codovilla, enlarged meeting of the CC CPA, July 1956.)

Other mass movements, especially those in defense of the nation's resources and national sovereignty, for peace and for solidarity with the peoples fighting against imperialism, are likewise assuming a vast scale.

The Argentine people, educated by the Communist Party, have fine traditions of anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle that can serve as a model: solidarity with the young Russian revolution, 1918-23; solidarity with Sandino, the anti-imperialist fighter of legendary fame, 1924-26; big solidarity actions against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, 1926 and 1927; the powerful movement against the transport monopoly, 1932-36; widespread solidarity with the Spanish Republic during the civil war, 1936-39; the unforgettable campaign of anti-Nazi solidarity, primarily with the Soviet Union, during World War II; democratic, popular and labor

actions against the dispatch of Argentine troops to Korea by the Peron government, which culminated in the Perez-Rosario march; solidarity with the glorious Cuban Revolution since 1958; the movement in defense of oil and other national resources, from 1954 onwards; big demonstrations condemning the assassination of Comrade Ingalinella, 1955; joint struggle by university students, senior pupils and the whole people against Article 28 imposed by the Frondizi government; powerful popular actions against sending troops to the Dominican Republic, 1965; solidarity with the Arab peoples, 1956 and 1967, and so on.

These traditions have neither disappeared nor slackened. They are developing and gaining a richer content in the current struggle against fascist reaction and imperialism, in defense of national resources, in actions of solidarity with the national liberation war of the heroic people of Vietnam.

There are growing movements in defense of regional economy, numerous popular movements at local level, in the provinces and throughout the country. They include the communal movement, which often puts up organized resistance to the dictatorship's "communitarist" experiments.

A salient point of the Argentine people's current struggle is the appreciable part played in it by women, which indicates the degree of their political consciousness. Women take part, not only in campaigns for their particular demands, but also in movements of solidarity with strikers, with Vietnam, in the struggle against sending troops overseas to quell the liberation struggle of other peoples, in the fight for democratic rights and national sovereignty. The Union of Argentine Women organizes all of the women's actions, big and small alike.

Women make up one-fourth of the industrial proletariat, 80 per cent of the teachers and 50 per cent of trading personnel. They are widely engaged in adminisration, health services and the university —in short, in every sphere of national life. Their active part in the struggle speaks of the role they can and undoubtedly will play in forming a national democratic front.

Young people, too, are joining more and more actively in political, trade union and cultural campaigns, and are in the forefront of these campaigns. Their proportion in the economy and in public life has increased in recent years. Today they are joining in the revolutionary process. They are distinguished by enthusiasm in the fight against imperialism, by tenacity and militancy.

The 12th Congress of our Party stressed that "we have entered a period of large-scale working-class and popular movements which, however, will be unsuccessful, and will fail to lead to victory for the revolution, unless the Party is closely linked with the new generation and unless it draws into its ranks and mass organiza-

tions new groups of young workers, peasants, intellectuals and specialists, men and women—in short, all who are fighting their way to the arena of political and public life as they demand that their aspirations be satisfied so that a better world may be brought into being."

This task, which has yet to be fully accomplished, faces not the Young Communist Federation alone but the whole Party, which must take requisite political and organizational steps.

The words of our Party go straight to the hearts of the people. Its tremendous effort to help the masses gain political experience by evolving slogans and organizational forms for every stage of the struggle has greatly stimulated the positive processes taking place in the minds of the working class and the people.

In recent years the masses have gained varied experience in struggles: partial and general strikes, street demonstrations, clashes with police, the occupation of factories and latifundia, refusal to pay taxes, resistance to lay-offs and to higher tariffs and taxes, active solidarity on a national and international scale, and so on. In these large-scale political and social battles the masses have come to see the interconnection between the struggle for economic demands and the struggle for power. Experience tells them that the concessions they succeed in wresting from the dictatorship will not be lasting if power remains in the hands of the landed oligarchy and big capital, the allies of foreign monopolies.

The masses are coming to realize the need for united action and to put their faith, not in prophets or so-called power factors, but in their own independent organization and their vanguard, the Communist Party. They are aware of the need to assign key posts in the trade unions and other mass organizations to men and women loyal to their class, people and country. They have set about building a system of mass self-defense which constitutes an important aspect of their present and future fight. As it was said at the 12th Congress of our Party, the fight for pressing economic, social and political demands of the working class and the people, if properly led, can develop into a general struggle for deep-going changes.

All this shows that despite coups and counter-coups, despite the reactionary anti-national and anti-popular measures of the government, the shift to the left is irreversible; it keeps on expanding, spreading and deepening, and conditions are thus arising for its development into a great national movement of all democratic and patriotic forces in the struggle for a better life for the people, for a genuinely democratic and popular government.

## XV.

The dictatorship had hoped that the decree on the dissolution

of political parties would bring about their demise. But it only spurred on their activity.

The leadership of the popular political parties was, on the whole, in the hands of Rightist and Centrist elements who, fearing a radicalization of the masses, were prepared to enter into collusion with the reactionary groups. But the masses were developing a national anti-oligarchic, anti-imperialist consciousness, a process which was promoted by their active participation in the various anti-monopoly movements, in actions of solidarity with Vietnam, in the struggle for peace and in defense of freedoms. Extension of links with the masses, the securing of their constant participation in the solution of national problems are tasks of tremendous political importance.

Some of the Left-wingers have already taken a definite stand for cardinal solutions, which means that they favor consistent democracy. Others are beginning to move in the same direction, although less consistently. It is precisely in the process of differentiation that possibilities are presenting themelves for building an effective broad alliance of the Left forces as the basis of a national democratic front.

It is clear now why the present dictatorship is afraid of, and is bent on preventing, solutions with the direct participation of the political parties whose local branches are obviously moving to the left.

Seeking to create a favorable climate for the 1966 coup, the reactionary groups put into circulation the idea of the withering away of parties. The camp of the "national Left wing," as well as some nationalist and "ultra-Left" circles contributed to the consolidation of this reactionary concept.

One should not confuse the process of internal crisis which the differentiation has brought upon the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties with the so-called withering away of parties, with the theory of the supporters of fascist corporatism and other trends.

Political parties express, directly or indirectly, the interests of classes and social strata, and they will remain on guard as long as the division of society into classes exists. Parties are an historical necessity. Facts have shown that parties can be neither created nor dissolved by decree.

## XVII.

The processes taking place in our country inevitably affect the armed forces.

It is already clear now that many members of the armed forces favor democratic and progressive changes in internal and foreign policy, in the economic and social life of the country.

The differentiation between the democratic and reactionary circles in the army has been brought about by a whole complex of vital problems: those of the structure of the armed forces, the dispatch of troops to the Dominican Republic, the establishment of an inter-American force, the economic, social, military, domestic and foreign policy of the Ongania government, the dispatch of troops to Vietnam, anti-communism, as well as the fact that imperialism is constantly pushing the "gorillas" of Argentina and all Latin America onto the road of military regimes installed through coups designed to eliminate national sovereignty and make possible the seizure of national wealth by monopolies.

This differentiation should be taken into account not only by the organizations of our Party, but by all mass movements (trade unions, political parties, peasant organizations, public, economic and cultural institutions of different kinds), in order to create conditions for the establishment of a patriotic alliance of civilians and servicemen with the aim of winning democracy and national independence.

However, besides this positive evolution in the military milieu, there exist fear of actions by the masses and an unwillingness to see the masses as active participants in national transformations, coupled with the desire to use them merely as assistants in the struggle of the minority. Hence the military's striving to bring about changes through coups. If they proceed along this road, they will not only fail to achieve the desired aims but will create new obstacles to profound changes in the economic structure and in the political superstructure.

The Communists and the other democratic and patriotic forces should help the democratically and patriotically minded circles in the army to understand that by acting against the people they can find themselves in the camp of counter-revolution; that by acting behind the back of the people one cannot achieve anything positive for the Argentinian nation; that, conversely, by acting jointly with the people it is possible to secure the prosperity of the nation.

The people created their country in the fire of a rebellion for a just cause. The army came into being as a result of the emancipatory struggle of our people and became a weapon of their struggle. With few deplorable exceptions, the major army leaders of the past were not representatives of an exclusive military caste. Therefore the Argentinian army has democratic liberatory traditions. Chief credit for this goes to San Martin. But these traditions were replaced by others, which cannot be regarded as national. They were implanted by international imperialism in a number of its brands: British in the first decades of our century; German fascism in the 'thirties and 'forties, and North American after the Second World War.

When the army was closely linked with the people, with the nation, having been born of the people and the nation, the people and the army were united, and that was a glorious page in its history. When the army divorces itself from the people, as happened, especially after the military coup of 1930, and when it is trying to place itself above the nation (as its "daughter"), it is beginning to lose much of its authority.

Constantly whipping up anti-communism and thus coming out against democracy, the reactionary military hierarchy slanderously accuses our Party of being opposed to the armed forces in general.

Our Party considers that the armed forces are necessary for the defense of the freedom, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Argentina which are threatened only by international imperialism headed by the United States.

Our Party repeats once again that it is fighting against the reactionary hierarchy of the armed forces, against the present government of a corporate-fascist military dictatorship, against those who are trampling underfoot the traditions of the war of liberation. Our Party is fighting against the anti-popular and anti-national theory of the internal front, against subordination to the Pentagon, against the growing militarization of the country which has found expression in the laws on national defense and on the public defense service.

Our Party is resolutely opposed to the enormous growth of the military budget, especially at a time of crisis. At present military allocations claim more than 40 per cent of the budget and are disposed of by the hierarchy, which keeps at a low level the salaries of the lower ranks, officers and technical specialists and payments to the soldiers.

Our Party is against the armed forces being used for implementing the United States' plans for world domination and for suppressing the Argentinian or other Latin American peoples who are fighting for their freedom and national independence.

It is a priority task of the Party to secure the armed forces' participation in the struggle for national liberation, for genuine democracy and social progress. If we succeed in this, a historical link-up will take place, and we shall witness the unity of the people and the armed forces, which will set out along the same road. This can be brought about only by a genuinely democratic, popular and national government which is to emerge as a result of the fight of the people to topple the dictatorship.

## XXVI.

January 6, 1968 marked fifty years of our Party's existence. Its glorious path has been one of ardent struggle for the interests of

the working class, the peasant masses, all working people of our country.

Considering that the working class is historically destined to head the great fight for the national and social emancipation of our country, the Party has for many years been consistently struggling for the unity of the working class on the principles of oligarchy and foreign monopolies, against fascism and all manifesdent of the employers and the state.

Our Party has been irreconcilably fighting against the landlord oligarchy and foreign monopolies,against fascism and all manifestations of reaction, against wars and aggression unleashed by international imperialism, in the first place, for active solidarity with the peoples fighting for national liberation and world peace. That is precisely why our Party has been tirelessly fighting for a worker-peasant alliance and for the establishment of a great national democratic front of all Argentinian democrats and patriots.

Our Party has always been loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism. It has never spared efforts to express its active solidarity with the fighters for democracy, peace, national independence and socialism in any part of the world. Since its very inception it has been aware of the global significance of the glorious Russian revolution of November 7, 1917, and the international importance of Leninism. It has always regarded the USSR and the socialist camp as the most powerful bulwark of the peoples in their fight for national and social emancipation. It has always considered the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to be the most experienced and tested contingent of the international Communist and working-class movement.

Our Party has been strengthening its unity on the basis of the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and its political and tactical line, which changes depending on the situation and which has been developed and enriched in the course of many years.

For fifty years now our Party has been illegal. In conditions imposed by the military dictatorship of a corporate-fascist type our Party, fighting selflessly, has not allowed itself to be isolated from the working people of town and countryside. In the new situation, beginning with June 28, 1966, the Party continued to carry out the directives of its 12th Congress and 7th National Conference, indefatigably fighting for labor, democratic, popular and national unity. Overcoming all difficulties, the Party is deepening its work among the masses, trying to strengthen and expand the local organizations in the chief production centers, and conducting important political education work among the working class and the people in order to help them get rid of an ideology alien to their interests and the interests of the entire nation. It is striking ever deeper roots in the

working class, the peasant masses, the progressive intelligentsia and the working people generally.

By its program, principles and organization, our Party is a working-class party which is inspired in its work by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The enemies of the Party, who are at the same time enemies of the working class, the people and the nation, resort to spurious propaganda and slander in an attempt to negate its democratic and national character.

Ours is a genuinely democratic party, for it tirelessly defends not only the political but also economic, social and cultural interests of the working class and the people, which is an expression of genuine democracy, and the clear-cut principles of struggle for economic independence and national sovereigty, laid down in its program, impart a genuinely national character to it.

Our Party has inherited the finest democratic and progressive traditions of the May revolution and of the founders of the Argentinian nation. While not forgetting about this glorious heritage, the Party does not remain immobile. It adopts a dynamic stand and applies it in keeping with the specific conditions of Argentina and the present-day world. Historically the fighters of the May revolution and the Communists are united by firm belief in the constant progress of human society. In the present epoch this progress leads to the achievement of the supreme aim of the national liberation struggle of the peoples oppressed by imperialism, to genuine democracy (which presuppose abolition of monopoly domination in the economic, social, political and cultural life of the countries), to socialism and communism.

Our Party is neither a closed organization nor a party of the "chosen few." On the contrary, its doors are opened wide to the finest sons and daughters of the working class and the peasants, to students and progressive intellectuals who accept its program, aims and rules and stand on the positions of Marxism-Leninism. The Party admits all those who love their people and their country, dream to see it democratic, free and independent, a member of the family of nations that have won their national independence and are advancing along the road of non-capitalist development or are already building a socialist society.

The bigger the Party, the sooner a national democratic front will be built and a genuinely democratic government of a new type established.

The Party organizations and members should boldly and resolutely go to the masses to explain to them who we are, what we want and where we are going and thus destroy the spiderwork of intrigue and slander spun by the enemy with the help of large funds and the most up-to-date technical means.

The Party organizations and members should work in all areas

of national life. Only thus can they familiarize the broad masses with their program and their lofty idea of a united democratic anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist front. It belongs to a Communist's finest qualities to be able to maintain close links with the masses and, above all, with the workers, to listen to them, to know their aspirations, to be able to formulate their immediate demands and tie them up with the cardinal question, that of struggle for a power of a new type characterized by a new social content.

The policy of the Party can and must win the support of the majority of organized working people. The present situation calls for constantly raising the political and ideological level of the working class, so that it can head all the classes and progressive groups of the population in the struggle to topple the power of the monopolies and replace it with the democratic rule of the people.

This task cannot be carried out unless the Party works persistently to recruit new members, first of all workers from large enterprises. To be sure, we should also attract thousands of peasants, laborers, students, professional people and intellectuals. Great attention should be paid to recruiting women, as well as to the organizational and political consolidation of the Young Communist Federation.

"The problem of growth of our Party is closely connected with correct application of its political and tactical line. Party members should be armed with our line of unity of the masses, the line of organization and struggle. The strength of a revolutionary party lies in its ability to establish close contacts with the masses, to win strong positions among them, boldly to bring the ideas of communism to them, actively to propagate the line of the Party, to give them orientation, to be able to combat the influence of alien ideas on the masses, to help enhance their political consciousness in the process of their own struggle" (enlarged session of the CC CPA, June 2, 1968).

An increasingly correct understanding of the political and tactical line by all Party members is as important as an understanding of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. The political line worked out by the Party conforms to the existing situation and is constantly enriched owing to the application of Marxism-Leninism in keeping with the specific conditions of our country.

In helping every Party member to correctly understand the political line of the Party one should employ methods of persuasion and not compulsion. Experience has demonstrated the harmfulness of formal acceptance of the political line. The degree of understanding of this line depends on its correct application and not on learning it by rote.

In the pursuit of its policy the Party should be able to find at every stage the main link in the chain of events in order to deter-

mine the main task of the moment and elaborate the correct policy of alliance.

At present the main link in the chain of national events is the existence of a military dictatorship of a corporate-fascist, anti-popular and anti-national type. The task is to isolate this dictatorship and unite forces for its overthrow and for the establishment of a government of broad democratic coalition which should carry out a collectively worked out minimum program and convene a Constituent Assembly so as to place the future of the country in the hands of the people.

The winning of allies of the working class is the main task at the present stage of the fight for a genuinely democratic popular and national government. Work with allies requires patience and persistence. It requires extensive propaganda of the political and tactical line and program of the Party among the masses. It requires elimination of the vestiges of sectarianism and the ability to overcome the resistance to unity of action caused by anti-communist prejudices.

We should not forget that the enemy employs more refined ideological weapons than in the past, seeking to deprive the Communists of their allies, to divide and weaken the Communist parties. Hence the need for great attention to ideological work in general, and to the consolidation of the Party political education system, press and literature. It is necessary constantly to stimulate the distribution of *Nuestra Palabra, Nueva Era, Quadernos de Cultura* and other Party publications.

Work among the masses requires the speediest possible elimination of weaknesses in the activities of primary organizations (cells and neighborhood Party organizations). "The political life and correct work of our primary organizations are a necessary guarantee of the maintenance of permanent contacts with the broad masses of the country awakening to political life. The life of the cells is the principal means of ensuring the Party's links with the masses. Constant concern for invigorating the life of our primary organizations, both factory cells and neighborhood committees, raises the work of the Party among the masses to a higher level" (enlarged session of the CC, June 1968).

To achieve this aim, Party leaders from top to bottom should know how to combine collective work with individual work in accordance with the principle: collective elaboration of the line and plans of work and individual responsibility for their implementation. This calls for correct work of the leading organs, the maintenance of live contacts with Party activists, and their broader participation in carrying out the tasks set by the Party. It calls also for special attention to card-changing and to correct payment of membership dues, as well as to the political education of Party cadres and con-

stant promotion of militant cadres loyal to their class and their Party.

Although the Party is growing constantly, we must point to a slowing down of its growth of late. In view of this, and also because this is demanded by the present state of things, recruitment of new members should be our constant concern. This task is closely connected with work among the masses and with the participation of the Party in all events, major and minor.

The 12th Congress of the Party and the 7th National Conference set the great task of turning the CPA into a mass party. Important steps have been made in this direction. But much still remains to be done.

We have every reason to be proud of our Party. But we should bear in mind that if the slogan, "for mass action, to the conquest of power" is to be carried out, it is necessary constantly to consolidate the links with the working class and the people, to win thousands of new members, to perfect our organization on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism. Also needed is ideological and organic unity of the Party. We should see to it that the Party masters all forms of struggle and combats energetically opportunism and dogmatism, Right-wing and Left-wing revisionism.

# THE PEOPLE WANT A SOCIAL, DEMOCRATIC AND NATIONAL POLICY

## RESOLUTION* OF THE CC CPL ON THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS

The elections of December 15, 1968, and more particularly the considerable gains of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, revealed the greatly increased discontent of the people at the entire policy of the coalition government of the Christian Social Party (CSP) and the Socialist Labor Party (SLP). It is a policy of yielding to the interests of big national and foreign capital and to the claims of a NATO dominated by Washington and Bonn and of the so-called European institutions, which in reality represent monopoly interests. This policy was bound to result in curtailing the rights of the people, bring on restrictions in the social sphere and a waste of funds, and put a new burden on labor. The thousands who voted Communist made it clear that they insist on a different social, democratic and national policy, one intended to meet the interests of the nation and advocated for a long time by the Communists.

While the CSP—the party bearing the chief responsibility for the current policy of the government—retained a relatively stable position, the SLP, its coalition partner, had to pay for the anti-popular policy, as might have been expected. And this is natural, for, after all, most supporters of this party are members of the working classes. The SLP had not defended their interests properly and, indeed, had sacrificed them more than once. Thousands of working people denied this party their confidence by depriving it of a substantial number of votes and seats. Thus they warned it against the fatal policy of collaboration and capitulation imposed by the Right-wing Socialist leaders long ago, and called on it to return to the class policy of defending the working people's interests. One reason for the SLP reverse is that its worker members rejected their party's diehard policy of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, which recently led to excesses. Characteristically, those who failed to win re-election in the capital were among the most rabid anti-Communists in the SLP.

On December 15 the Communist Party considerably improved its standing in all constituencies. More important still, it won the greatest gains in the big industry areas. This proves our Party correct in consistently adhering to the class viewpoint and principles of Marxism-Leninism. After the results achieved at Beles

*Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek, December 18, 1968.

and Differdange these gains mark a new and still more convincing approval of the internationalist position of our Party on the events in the CSSR and of its friendship with the socialist world. The Party's electoral gains show once again that political life in Luxembourg is unthinkable without the CPL and that our friends and enemies alike have to reckon with it as a democratic national party equal to others.

There are trying days in store for the working classes of our country. However, the strengthened position of the Party in parliament, in the communes and throughout the nation provides more favorable conditions for winning the more urgent interests of the people. What we need first and foremost is working-class unity to fight for the rights and demands of labor. It is necessary to strengthen the trade unions, primarily the Luxembourg Workers' Union, and firmly thwart all attempts to undermine inside this union the unity of worker Socialists and Communists and non-Party workers. SLP supporters should put an end to the fatal anti-Communist policy of their party and come out for united action by all workers, but above all by the SLP and Communist Party. Any other course of action would be detrimental to the working people and would make the SLP even more dependent on the reactionary forces.

To unite the working class of Luxembourg is still the paramount objective of the Communist Party, and so the primary task is to strengthen our Party, the vanguard of the working class. The Central Committee calls on all active members vigorously to recruit new members, win more readers and subscribers for *Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek*, the Party newspaper, and establish closer links between the Party and the masses, especially young people. In strict accordance with the program and the pledges of our Party, the Central Committee urges steadfastly and unflaggingly to uphold, in every sphere of political and public life, all demands and suggestions of the working people, including the smallest and most modest of them, and to adhere to the tested principles of proletarian internationalism as firmly and unswervingly, as concertedly and unanimously, as ever.

If we proceed in this way, the considerable election success achieved by our Party on December 15 will become the starting point for new and greater gains for the working people of our country.

*Central Committee*
*of the Communist Party of Luxembourg.*

# BUDAPEST DECISIONS ENDORSED*

The Communist Party's executive committee decided at the weekend, after hearing a report from its delegate to the International Preparatory Meeting which was held in Budapest on November 19-21, to endorse the decisions of the meeting.

The Preparatory Committee agreed to convene the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in May 1969, with the agenda adopted at the February 1968 Consultative meeting.

The agenda is: "Tasks of our struggle against imperialism in the present stage and united action of Communist and Workers' Parties and of all anti-imperialist forces."

The Communist Party of Great Britain will be represented at the next meeting of the International Working Group followed by the meeting of the Preparatory Committee, both of which will be held in Moscow in the coming period.

*Morning Star, January 14, 1969.

# ALGERIA AFTER SIX YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

In June 1968, the Socialist Vanguard Party (SVP) of Algeria published an important document answering five topical questions. Following are large extracts from the document.

1. What is the situation in Algeria?

If one looks, not at several hundred thousand people, but at the whole of Algeria with its twelve million inhabitants, one is struck by a general deterioration, sometimes tragic, of the standard of living of the working people and the poor.

Add to that a stifling policy of repression affecting the bulk of the population "physically," especially in the case of the latest large-scale police operations — round-ups, combings, raids — which the capital, the Oran countryside and, above all, the eastern regions of the country have gone or are still going through.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the people are indifferent to numerous official slogans or campaigns, in particular—and this cannot gladden anyone—over an event as arousing to Algerians as Palestine Day, May 15, which in a different set of circumstances would have led to a powerful mobilization.

Never since June 19 have we stopped stressing the dangers this situation spells for Algeria. Its gravity was brought into a stark light by the attempt on Boumedienne's life which, taken in its political context, was a new indication of the instability constantly threatening the country.

It will be recalled that the CVP emphatically condemned the attempt. It did so first for reasons of principle, in keeping with its policy announced in January 1966, when it said that such acts, such forms of activity, have nothing to do with the characteristics or needs of independent Algeria. On the contrary, they are highly detrimental to them. Besides — and this proves this fundamental policy correct — the attempt, if successful, would in the given political reality have served particularly the imperialists and home reaction.

Observers might wonder how it happens that at a time when reactionary pressure in national life is mounting, the regime has taken positive measures tending to meet the demands and the program of the progressive opposition: nationalization of the oil product distribution system and of numerous foreign industrial enterprises, the release of National Student League leaders who had been in prison since February 1968, steps to improve the

people's standard of living, initiatives in the cultural field providing a small opening for free expression, and so on.

Really, it was rather an oversimplification to believe that after the December events the regime would necessarily become reactionary all along the line, even though we may yet see it drift that way. As before December 1967, its position is still marked by ambiguity and contradiction between the progressive aspects of its international and economic policies and the negative aspects of its internal orientation, which is anti-democratic in the political sphere and conservative or reactionary in the social.

These contradictions, evident inside the ruling team or even in its every member, are due to the strong impact of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle developing throughout the world, on the one hand, and to the situation among the people and the progressive movement of Algeria, on the other.

2. What are, as the SVP sees it, the tasks of Algeria in the anti-imperialist fight?

The international situation imperatively suggests to the SVP the following conclusions:

—It is impossible to fight consistently against imperialism, for real economic indepndence, without clashing with U.S. imperialism.

—Economic and trade relations, and technological and cultural cooperation with other countries must be diversified if Algeria is to end French neo-colonialist domination. In striving for this, an effort must be made to head off the danger of American neo-colonialism and not to facilitate its penetration.

—Our struggle in Algeria is intimately linked with the world-wide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

—The best guarantee of success in the effort to win economic independence for Algeria is to increase cooperation and mutual assistance in every field, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

—We must heighten our solidarity with the peoples fighting against imperialism in Vietnam, Palestine, Africa and elsewhere.

We must strengthen our alliance with the progressive forces battling with our common enemies. We mean the United Arab Republic and Syria, and the patriots and progressives of Morocco, Tunisia and Libya. We must do so in order to foil reactionary and imperialist plans for making our countries subservient to the United States, which tries to take advantage of possible conflicts between us. We mean all the progressive forces of the capitalist countries in the Mediterranean area, notably the Communist and Workers' parties of Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Greece and Turkey. We mean the progressives fighting courageously in Israel itself against Zionist expansionism, which has prompted El Fath to adopt the

courageous position of refraining from any armed action against Israeli civilians.

## STRENGTHEN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST HOME FRONT

How can Algeria's possibilities in the anti-imperialist struggle be used and extended in the present situation?

The SVP takes into account the twofold character of the foreign policy of the present regime.

On the one hand, this policy, while modified after June 19, retains its general anti-imperialist tenor. This is evident from the official attitude of Algeria towards the Vietnam war, the Israeli aggression, support for the Korean People's Democratic Republic on the Pueblo affair, etc. Nor should one underestimate the importance of the nationalization of an important economic sector which restricts imperialist domination over our country even if it does not directly benefit the working people as yet. We note that an appreciable number of anti-imperialist economic objectives included in the programs of all progressive forces and organizations since 1962 have been, or are being, achieved.

That is why the SVP, as well as striving, for its part, to rally the masses against the imperialist danger, has always backed all those initiatives of the regime that contribute to the fight against imperialism, although the Party makes reservations or expresses criticisms in respect of some more or less serious negative aspects that may accompany these measures.

On the other hand, we note that a certain number of spokesmen of this regime are committed to a policy favoring the establishment or strengthening of the economic influence and bases of neo-colonialism. We criticize and combat the diverse manifestations of this orientation. We hold that it is an indispensable contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle to denounce and combat the authoritarian and bureaucratic methods which make such things possible. Conversely, to stand for such methods and activities would mean facilitating imperialist penetration.

Lastly, we have noted, on the part of anti-imperialists whose sincerity is not necessarily open to question, either attitudes or conceptions of a Leftist nature likely to do Algeria great harm, especially by isolating it from its best allies, or an authoritarian and anti-democratic policy tending to demobilize the people. In either case they benefit imperialism.

In these two instances we believe that sincere revolutionaries should resort to confrontations, exchanges of views and explanatory work making it possible to draw the best lessons from experience. They should strive to fight together against anti-democratic demobilizing manifestations and make great constructive efforts to

strengthen the home front, to unite all progressive forces and impose democratic and socially progressive measures likely to stimulate the political mobilization of the masses against imperialism.

It is evident to us, and borne out by experience, that a foreign policy in keeping with national interests cannot be dissociated from a home policy meeting the democratic and social aspirations of the people.

3. How does the SVP assess the regime's three years in power?

If we had to make a brief and constructive summary of these three years, taking into account only facts and refraining from emotional and partisan departures—in short, for the sole purpose of uniting all progressive forces for future struggles—we would say the following:

For three years now we have had a de facto regime which has substituted itself for constitutional authority and has brought on a crisis with manifold and grave consequences by the methods it has employed to instal and maintain itself in power.

This regime has upheld, with frequent deviations, certain anti-imperialist positions to which Algeria adhered under the Ben Bella Presidency. It has also taken some new and positive steps which in certain conditions could constitute the initial basis for the genuine independence of Algeria.

In the spheres of social justice and the alliance and mobilization of the popular and progressive forces, however, the results are disastrous:

—important gains of the revolution have been nullified (e.g., by restoring the big estates to their former owners);

—the anti-democratic methods and procedures used for building a state have entailed considerable political, economic and social losses (agrarian reform deferred from year to year, demobilization of the people, and so on);

—as a result, the achievements scored during this period and before June 19, 1965, are in jeopardy, they may be swept away by a more vigorous offensive of reaction and imperialism unless the progressive forces mobilize on a larger scale to cope with the danger.

4. What, according to the SVP, is the best way of carrying forward the Algerian revolution from now on? What objectives and what forms of struggle does the SVP propose?

Among the objectives which the present situation brings to the fore, we wish to list the following:

—resisting imperialist and neo-colonialist threats and penetration;

—striving for a climate of detente in the political life of the nation through respect for and the extension of democratic and trade union rights and liberties;

—working for an agrarian reform and the satisfaction of the immediate demands of the poor peasants;

—striving for a higher standard of living for the working people in town and country, for the poor and the unemployed; for social justice and an equitable distribution of the national income; for effective control by the working people over the management of enterprises and landed estates;

—taking into account the legitimate aspirations and demands of the middle strata, whose activity in the production, adminstrative and social spheres is useful to the country;

—striving to extend education and culture on national, scientific and progressive lines.

## A UNITED DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR FRONT: THE BEST INSTRUMENT FOR ACHIEVING THE GOALS OF THIS STAGE

In January 1966 the SVP (People's Resistance Organization—PRO) suggested establishing a front to stimulate and organize the implementation of the program specified above.

We indicated at the time that this front should, in our view, comprise all progressive forces without exception, whether organized or not, both among those participating in the de facto regime established on June 19 and among its opponents.

Why did not the SVP advocate an opposition front?

For two interconnected reasons.

First of all, we want to put the emphasis on the progressive and anti-imperialist character of such a front. Now there are, if in different numbers, progressives and reactionaries both among the adversaries and the supporters of the present regime.

Secondly, we do not want any perpetuation or crystallization of the artificial rifts resulting from partisan emotions, any group or personal solidarity or antagonism, all of which has unfortunately punctuated only too markedly the fight for power since independence.

This front against reaction and imperialism is not a mere vision or a utopian goal. In fact, several times since June 19 numerous united actions have temporarily given rise to embryonic forms of the front in connection with partial objectives. There are already numerous instances of small- or large-scale actions and campaigns carried out in concerted fashion or otherwise by the SVP and other progressive organizations, bodies or trends and their members: the General Union of the Working People, the National Student League, opposition organizations in exile, organizations or members of the National Liberation Front (NFL), etc., not to speak of progressives belonging to no organization.

It is certain, however, that this broad front, democratic and popular in composition and purpose, cannot be brought into being overnight. It will be the result of hundreds and thousands of common actions to be taken on every level before it becomes an institutionalized front having a definite structure.

What would be the role of the NLF as an official body in such an association? The present confusion over the orientation, role and objectives which the NLF sets itself does not make it possible to answer this question in precise terms. The eventual form of the association of the progressive forces and its relations with the NLF will depend on developments and on how they affect the NLF itself. It is certain that a progressive and democratic evolution of the NLF, which is what the SVP desires, could only contribute to the establishment of an even broader and stronger united front against reaction and imperialism.

Be that as it may, the SVP will continue its effort for unity, undeterred by the charges of "subversion" levelled at it by the reactionaries, who are the ones really engaged in subversion endangering the country and the revolution. Many positions and solutions which the SVP has maintained for three years now are often picked up, specifically by the press and official organizations, which is evidence of the clarification and progress achieved in the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

## MOBILIZE THE MASSES FOR THEIR DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIAL OBJECTIVES BY FIRMLY COMBATING OPPORTUNISM AND LEFTIST IMPATIENCE

Our Party and numerous patriots and democrats have had to pay for these gains with untold sacrifice. Nevertheless, the SVP will press forward its effort, undaunted by those who smear it, saying that the democratic and peaceful road is one of passivity and of compromise with the reactionaries entrenched in the seats of power.

On the contrary, it is an arduous road blocked at every step by the worst enemies of democracy and social progress. To thwart reactionary plots and really mobilize the masses, it is not enough to denounce an unpopular regime. For this, real and deep-going mass action, however small in scale, is more effective than a thousand invectives or haphazard action isolated from the masses, an action whose most obvious result is merely to weaken the progressive forces and encourage among the masses a wait-and-see stance, an attitude of belief in a miracle solution at the top.

Recent years have shown that the road advocated and followed by the SVP is a difficult road of offensive requiring deep confidence in the masses and a great capacity for mobilizing them. It calls for much firmness and initiative if the masses and the progressive trends

are to be united and set in motion, and if their common action is to be assigned correct, specific and mobilizing objectives. It also requires a high degree of vigilance and a permanent effort to isolate reaction and frustrate its provocations.

In conclusion we stress the necessity—if we are to cope with the political and social struggles in independent Algeria—for heightening the militancy and political consciousness of tens and hundreds of thousands of Algerians entering the civic scene. Innumerable young people between 20 and 35 years of age have never engaged in real political or social struggle, because for seven years armed fighting was almost the only form of struggle and during the six years of independence crises, conflicts between groups, political and ideological confusion, and the stifling of democratic liberties caused great damage that was far from compensated for by the brief period in which the NLF tried to constitue itself a vanguard party on a principled basis.

In this immense effort for political education through action, all fighters for socialism and all its supporters, wherever they may be, assume a tremendous responsibility as fighters who must be linked with the masses without being in thrall to their spontaneity and must, indeed, raise the masses to awareness of their historic mission, which is to lead independent Algeria towards socialism by completing the national and democratic revolution on non-capitalist lines.

5. What is the significance of the existence and activity of the Socialist Vanguard Party?

We must first specify what the SVP stands for.

The SVP came into being in peculiar circumstances to which it owes some of its formal aspects, such as its name and certain of its provisional organizational forms.

The starting point of this process was the regrouping of progressive members coming from different trends in a mass political movement, the People's Resistance Organization (PRO), established in July 1965 on the platform of defending the gains of the revolution that were seriously threatened since June 19. The movement originally comprised, notably in its leading nucleus, elements coming from the Left-wing group of the NLF, the Communist Party and mass organizations.

As a mass movement PRO, while signifying its loyalty to the Algiers Charter in no uncertain terms, did not bind all its members to be vanguard fighters and partisans of scientific socialism.

Furthermore, the PRO declaration of July 28, 1965, was, above all, an appeal to the masses and progressives to condemn the June 19 coup, staunchly uphold the gains of the revolution and fight for the re-establishment of the people's sovereignty and for the release of Ben Bella.

At that time PRO had yet to make a deep analysis of the situation, strictly define its objectives and tactics in a platform for the movement, specify its means of action and the relation of such a mass movement to the political organizations or nuclei of vanguard organizations (the Communist Party, nuclei springing from the break-up of the NLF) already existing or to be created. All these tasks were tackled but were broken off by the brutal repression which hit, in particular, the first Executive Leadership less than two months after it had been set up.

From then on we worked on forming—by agreement with imprisoned comrades and with due regard to the weak points of the progressive and democratic movement revealed both before and after June 19, and with special emphasis on the absolute priority to be given to the building of a vanguard party—a working people's party that would be organizationally independent and would pursue a firm and principled policy, being linked with the masses, in order to further the struggle for democracy and social progress.

That party could no longer bear the name of the "underground NLF," which earlier had been associated with the abbreviation PRO for two reasons:

—first, in order to rule out all confusion and all support for the theory of a one-party NLF which since June 19 had become a platform against the working class and the socialist vanguard;

—secondly, in order to stress properly that militant socialists refused to allow themselves to be confined within the bounds of "clandestinity" by the reactionary forces, which since June 19 had been the only ones responsible for all the violations of legality in the country.

This was how it came (as recorded in the resolution of February 1, 1966) to the founding in December 1965 and January 1966 of the Socialist Vanguard Party, whose name was gradually introduced into public documents. The Party elected its provisional leadership, published its analysis of the situation and the perspectives in the pamphlet *The Socialist Revolution Will Triumph* (containing an outline program as well) and specified its policy in the January 1966 platform, brought up to date in subsequent documents.

From then on, those supporters and sympathizers of the SVP who accepted the progressive and democratic goals of the movement at the present stage were regarded as PRO (in its capacity of a mass movement). As members of the SVP, however, are seen those militants, working people in town and country who want Algeria to advance to socialism on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and who approve and actively back the Party's course of action and objectives as defined in January 1966.

Today the SVP unites members and leaders coming from the

Left wing of the NLF, the Communist Party (now fully integrated with the SVP), and national mass organizations, and numerous members and functionaries who previously had belonged to no organization.

Thus the SVP is a new organization. It is neither a "Left-wing NLF," the Communist Party, nor PRO. It has made its own all the positive contributions and gains of these organizations and their past struggles to form the party which Algeria needs more than ever in this new stage of development. This party is being forged in daily resistance to reaction and imperialism and in efforts to explain and clarify the situation, unite the progressive forces and stimulate the democratic and social struggles of the masses. The past two years and a half show an essentially positive balance as regards raising the political and ideological level of the membership and extending the basis of the Party.

What must be emphasized above all else is that the SVP is not the ephemeral result of the accidental circumstances and events which marked its rise. It meets an objective need of the history of our country and the development of our working class, as well as of socialism throughout the world. The Party wants through its activity to inherit all that is best in the working-class movement of Algeria and in its movement for national liberation, which have been growing in close connection for four decades.

Thus our Party meets a common requirement of militant socialists—those coming from nationalist organizations or from the Communist Party, who want their action to have, according to the imperative needs of the struggle, at once broad organic foundations and the necessary firmness of principle which could not be achieved after June 19 in a NLF handicapped by group struggles, reactionary influences and the petty-bourgeois ideology of revolutionary spontaneity.

## BUILD UP PARTY UNITY AND RALLY ALL PROGRESSIVES

The existence of an independent party of the working people continues to clash, now as immediately after independence and before the First Congress of the NLF (1964), with the theory of "one party."

Once this theory had numerous backers among the progressives and sincere supporters of socialism. Numerous present-day members of the SVP had accepted it, or had at least tried, in the interest of unity of action against reaction, not to make it an apple of discord with its supporters when they tried to form a real vanguard party out of adherents of the NLF.

Life and experience have shown what this one party has become and whose interests the diverse reactionary and bureaucratic seg-

ments of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, which contend for its control, have been trying to make it serve. Far from allowing an effective struggle against reactionary theses and ideology, as the sincere socialist supporters of one party desired, it now serves only to discredit socialism still more.

No wonder, therefore, that this theory of one party has now become almost exclusively the weapon of the anti-socialists. It is the exponents of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois hegemony that flaunt this theory with particular zeal under the false cover of unity. In this respect the situation is in no way different in substance from that in the capitalist countries where, even without the theory of one party, the ruling classes have declared war on the working people and are doing their utmost to destroy and suppress their party which is an inevitable historical necessity no matter what they say.

This is why, bearing in mind the present conditions in our country, we will go on fighting against the anti-democratic and anti-socialist aspirations of certain propagandists interested in "one party."

It is worthy of note, incidentally, that numerous anti-socialists refer to the "needs" of socialism and example of some socialist countries to justify the theory of one party.

To that we reply:

First, it is wrong to say that that is the case in all socialist countries. It is by no means an unavoidable historical necessity.

Secondly, and in any case, the leading role in building socialism in these countries belongs to the party adhering to scientific socialism, which these advocates of one party are daily combating.

Thirdly, while we lay no claim to exclusiveness, we intend to choose a road meeting best the realities, peculiarities and interests of our country and our people without referring dogmatically to positive examples, however valid they may be in other countries.

Nevertheless, there exists a minority of progressives and supporters of socialism who still believe the formula of one party to be workable and desirable. We appreciate and respect the opinion of this minority, even if we do not share it. Their opinion is twofold:

First, they believe it would still be possible to enhance the progressive character of the NLF to the point of changing it qualitatively from within and so bringing into existence a vanguard party, a socialist party of the working people.

We strongly doubt this possibility today and there are only too many facts to bear us out.

Nor can we shelve the formation of a working peoples party by calling for the integration of the entire socialist vanguard in the NLF. The forces of the working people and of the supporters of socialism have grown and are in a position today to preserve the

autonomy of their organization. On the other hand, the relation of forces in the NLF has become unfavorable to the progressive and vanguard forces for an experiment of this kind to be made again.

However, if there still is a small chance of improving the content of the NFL in a progressive sense, we do not think this chance lies in efforts made from within. The NLF plays no leading part in the country, nor does it live a life of its own. It no longer interests the bulk of the progressive social forces of the people. Today it is a mere instrument depending entirely on the relation of forces between the diverse groups controlling the state among themselves or contending for its control. Any deep change in this organization will be imposed on it essentially from without, according to the over-all situation in the country.

Our Party can contribute to such changes by its organization and its independent activity and in alliance with all progressive forces, including those that are part of the NLF or could be brought into it. It will always be possible to examine, in a new light if necessary, the question of the organizational unity of all socialist forces, depending on what the NLF will have become.

Second, unless the NLF could transform itself into a vanguard party, it would at least have the advantage, according to the same people, of providing a framework for rallying all progressive forces against reaction and imperialism.

This is a commendable viewpoint. But it must be noted that in these conditions the NFL would be a mass political association and not a party, as it stresses on every occasion. Thus it is the present leaders of the NLF themselves who are blocking the formation of a broad union of progressive forces inside it. This means that the NLF is the victim—and it makes the whole progressive movement take the consequences—of its inability to determine itself either as a party or as an association, so that in the end it fails to be either, which regrettably can serve only imperialism and reaction.

How to unite the progressive forces, then?

For all the reasons we have listed, the SVP keeps to the most viable and most realistic formula: unity of action and, at a higher stage, a democratic and popular united front (whatever the name the latter may receive). We consider that there are possibilities of cooperation on these lines whenever the real action launched in common meets officially proclaimed progressive options. We are wide awake to every possibility of this kind, and fight in our own ranks against every form of sectarianism or prejudice likely to encourage sectarianism and prejudice in other progressive forces.

## IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE SVP

One should not really imagine that our desire to defend the political and organizational independence of our Party is prompted

by a partisan and sectarian stance. We claim no monopoly in this struggle.

We are a party which tries to express and defend the present and future aspirations and interests of the working class, the poor peasants, all working people and all the disinherited, people whose interests are inseparable from the real interests of the nation. As such, the SVP is not fighting solely for immediate objectives but, above all, for a long-range goal, the radical transformation of Algerian society and its relations of production.

That is why the SVP considers it particularly important clearly to set itself apart from the diverse political and ideological trends of the petty bourgeoisie, including its revolutionary factions. It refuses to identify itself with any group squabbles of the petty bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, the SVP combats the illusion of some Leftist or anarcho-syndicalist groups out of touch with reality, who think it possible to "form and educate" a party of the working people in a kind of political ghetto. The SVP takes part from the standpoint of principle in the political struggles going on in the country, for these struggles, their ups and downs and their results are far from being immaterial to the immediate fate of the working people and the disinherited or to their future struggles, although they are complicated by group squabbles which we try to reveal. We are concerned with promoting at once two objectives which do not contradict but complement each other: forming an independent vanguard party and building up a common front of all progressive forces.

We are concerned, like any revolutionary and working-class party, with harmoniously fusing in our ideological positions the national realities in which our Party is rooted and the universal science of Marxism-Leninism which illumines and guides our activity. Our functionaries and members are not necessarily expected to accept every thesis of materialist philosophy, particularly theses running counter to their religious beliefs. On the other hand, we insist on the systematic education of the membership according to the conclusions of historical materialism and the tenets of scientific socialism without which correct revolutionary and socialist activity is impossible.

In the political and ideological sphere we believe we must continue to support the objectives defined in the Algiers Charter, whose guidelines accord with the requirements of a genuine socialist revolution.

However, there is a need for improvement, as experience has shown, on at least three points:

First, it is necessary to define, in a more specific action program, the stages, priorities and conditions required for the attainment of these objectives. Unless this is done, these objectives may remain mere perspectives outlined by a Charter which risks appearing

unrealistic and all the more ambitious because account must be taken of the retreat registered in various spheres of the revolutionary movement since June 19.

Secondly, a far more important place should be assigned to the democratic objectives seriously underestimated by the Charter.

Thirdly, it is necessary, in view of the socialist character of the Charter, to eliminate from it certain manifestations of the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology that contradict scientific socialism.

Furthermore, the SVP is continuing and stepping up its effort for ideological education and struggle by striving to combine a better knowledge of objective realities with a more correct appreciation of subjective factors. To strengthen its unity and educate its functionaries and members, it is carrying on a determined struggle against manifestations of opportunism and leftism and the roots of both.

Lastly, the SVP, which proceeds from the principles of proletarian internationalism, attaches great importance to relations with the international working-class movement, to the solidarity of all Communist and Workers' parties, notably those with which the Communist Party or the NLF maintained uninterrupted relations before June 19, 1965.

The SVP sees no contradiction between the effort to promote its relations with the international working-class movement and the strengthening of relations which the latter may maintain with the NFL or with other anti-imperialist and progressive movements or organizations of any country, especially the newly free countries.

The SVP, realizing its responsibilities, devotes much attention to the ideological and political problems of the world of today. Indeed, these problems confront every vanguard party in its daily struggle, and in the international working-class movement they have given rise to divisions which could have been avoided and which have slowed down the upsurge of the anti-imperialist fight in the world and encouraged imperialist aggressiveness. The SVP expresses its opinion on these big problems in complete independence, particularly in the light of its own experience. It states its point of view in internal and public documents for the constructive purpose of steadfastly educating its membership in the spirit of principle, with a view to reinforcing the Algerian revolution and the international working-class movement.

As a Marxist-Leninist party of the working people the SVP sets great store by efforts for the unity of the international working-class movement. It approves of the efforts made to this end by the Budapest Consultative Meeting in February 1968. It would like these efforts to result in greater unity of action and cooperation between all Communist and Workers' parties, including those that did not participate in the meeting but take a constructive view of the idea

of strengthening the cohesion of the international Communist and working-class movement and the anti-imperialist world front. The SVP will work for this and continue to seek exchanges of information and cooperation along these lines.

## FOR NEW GAINS AGAINST REACTION AND IMPERIALISM

Like every party built on the universal principles of scientific socialism and in strict accordance with the exigencies of national reality, the SVP has overcome the greatest obstacle to its development. While carrying on its activity, it is working on its structure, program, Rules and working methods. The party spirit, which should not be mistaken for the partisan spirit, has been gaining ground in its ranks in step with the struggles, sacrifices and gains of these difficult years.

An increasing number of cadres are emerging as the struggle against reaction, for democracy and social progress, goes on.

Our Party owes its strength to its working methods and its collective leadership, which are an object of sustained effort in spite of the repressions and shackles of secrecy still imposed on us in numerous fields. The existence and reinforcement of the SVP can no longer depend on one or more individuals whatever their contribution and their role in the collective effort. The criteria of promoting cadres are likewise becoming more rigorous after the period of transition necessitated by differences in educational level or working methods. They are political and ideological staunchness, comprehension of the general line of the Party, the ability to maintain links with the masses, and fruitful practical and organizational work.

To the SVP, 1968 is a year of organization but not for organization's sake. We mean organization for the unity of all progressive forces and for their mobilization in action for a democratic and peaceful solution of the crisis Algeria is going through, for further gains against reaction and imperialism.

The SVP puts all its confidence in the dynamic forces of our people, who are joining more and more in the great international movement which is shaking and transforming the world. It puts its confidence, first of all, in the industrial working class, a growing class in the making which is forging its first weapons against the parasitical and bureaucratic strata that would like to tame it. It puts its confidence in our agricultural workers and our poor peasants, whose immense revolutionary potential will bear fruit when they have been fully aroused to struggle in close alliance with the working class. It puts its confidence in young workers, peasants and students, who in today's atmosphere of moral decay are striving passionately for a future rich in labor and in revolutionary activity,

a future that will enable them to unfold all their abilities. Lastly, the SVP puts its confidence in the doubly exploited and humiliated half of our people, the women of our country, who are slowly but surely learning to organize and to fight for the redeeming ideas of socialism in order fully to vindicate their dignity as free citizens and responsible workers.

Looking back on its past experience at once proudly, critically and modestly, the Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria will accomplish all its tasks, for it is well aware of its responsibility to our people and our working class, to the international working-class movement and the anti-imperialist movement all over the world.

# TOWARDS THE LENIN CENTENARY

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism, run by the CC CPSU, plays an important part in the preparations for the Lenin centenary, which will be celebrated in April 1970. Below we reprint, in condensed form, an interview which the director of the Institute, P. Fedoseyev, Member of the CC CPSU, gave to the CC journal **Kommunist** (No. 17, 1968).

The Central Committee's decision "On Preparations for the Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin"* put important tasks before our Institute.

Among our prime concerns is collection, preservation and publication of Lenin's works. In 1965 we completed the publication of the fifth, complete edition of Lenin's works, and are now issuing a reprint of 110,000 copies. Nineteen volumes are off the press already, and the remaining 36 will be printed before April 1970.

In August there appeared a supplementary volume of the Complete Works, "Synopsis of *Marx's and Engels' Correspondence. 1844-1883,*" written by Lenin in September-November 1913. Showing how deeply, thoroughly and creatively Lenin studied the four volumes of Marx's and Engels' letters (they were published in Stuttgart in 1913), the synopsis helps comprehend Lenin's method of study and application of Marxist theory. We see from it what subjects of the correspondence attracted his particular attention, how he "took counsel with Marx" and applied Marxist propositions in analyzing problems of the international labor movement and to Russian reality.

The jubilee publications of this year include a 150,000-copy reprint of the popular three-volume *Selected Works* of Lenin, containing Lenin's fundamental works studied in the Party education network and in higher and specialized secondary schools.

We continue work on further supplementary volumes to the *Complete Works,* such as "Preparatory Materials for *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*," "Notebooks on the Agrarian Question. 1900-1916," and "Lenin's Marginal Notes in Rosa Luxemberg's *Accumulation of Capital* and E. Varga's *Problems of Economic Policy Under the Proletarian Dictatorship.*"

The institute is preparing the 37th volume of the Lenin Miscellany. It includes about 400 new, heretofore unpublished documents and works dated 1900-1922, some of which were found only comparatively recently. These are articles, speeches, preparatory materials for them, interviews printed in the United States, Sweden and

*See **Information Bulletin** No. 16-17, 1968.

Canada, letters, notes and other documents. Among them the reader will find an important and unsigned Lenin article about Russian political parties, printed in the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod* (Nos. 2 and 3, Setember 22 and October 7, 1906) without a heading. Lenin's authorship of the article was established when the publication of the fifth edition of the *Collected Works* had already been completed. In it Lenin gave an exhaustive characterization of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties in Russia.

The volume will also contain Lenin's speeches on defense matters, on labor conscription and on drawing non-Party workers and peasants into the work of government and economic organs, and his speeches at sessions of Comintern commissions and sections.

The documents in this volume, which will supplement the fifth edition of his *Collected Works,* constitute a valuable contribution to the ideological treasure-store of Leninism. They give a deeper insight into various aspects of Lenin's activities as Party leader and statesman.

Work is being completed on the reference volume (subject and other indexes) of the *Complete Works.* Due to appear in 1970, the reference volume will be of great help in the study of Lenin's works. It will differ from the reference volume of the 4th edition not only quantitatively (it covers 55 volumes, compared to 35 in the 4th edition), but also qualitatively. A tremendous amount of work has been done to ensure scientific definition of items and free them from excessive fractionalization.

In time for the jubilee we shall issue Lenin's scientific biography, "A Short Biography of V. I. Lenin" and the first volume of Lenin's biographic chronicle.

Jointly with the Publishing House of Political Literature we are preparing five volumes of reminiscences of Lenin.

This publication will contain reminiscences by Lenin's relatives, friends and colleagues as well as by foreign authors. They all add up to present Lenin as a brilliant leader and teacher of the working people, the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, a statesman of a new type, and at the same time an unassuming, cheerful, likable person, a responsive friend and comrade. The reader will learn about traits of Lenin's character, his habits, tastes, dreams and emotional experiences.

The first volume consists of reminiscences by Nadezhda Krupskaya, Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova, Dimitry Ulyanov and Maria Ulyanova.

The second volume describes Lenin's revolutionary activities from 1891 till the victory of the October Revolution. Its authors include prominent figures of the Bolshevik Party and the labor movement in Russia.

The third and fourth volumes are devoted to Lenin's life in the Soviet period.

The fifth volume contains reminiscences by active participants in the international labor and Communist movement.

Many of the reminiscences were written in the 'twenties and 'thirties, when important details of the revolutionary struggle were still fresh in their authors' memory. Some of them have become a bibliographical rarity while others will appear in print for the first time.

One of our most important tasks connected with the preparations for the Lenin centenary is creative elaboration of topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory—those of communist construction, development and consolidation of socialist democracy, communist education, as well as theoretical generalization of the process of the revolutionary movement and the entire world development.

Soviet publishing houses will mark the jubilee by issuing about 600 books of Lenin's writings as well as monographs, researches and other works on problems of Marxism-Leninism.

The institute is preparing a number of collective monographs on fundamental problems of Leninism. To enumerate but a few: "Lenin, the Leader of the October Revolution," "Lenin, the Founder of the Soviet State," "Lenin and Problems of Scientific Communism," "Lenin's Theory of the Socialist Revolution and Our Time," "Leninism and the Nationalities Question," "Lenin's Plan of Socialist Industrialization and the Party's Effort to Carry It Out," "Implementation of Lenin's Cooperative Plan in the USSR," "The CPSU at the Head of the Cultural Revolution," "Lenin and the Comintern."

These monographs will show how the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat was carried into reality. Much atention will be devoted to Lenin's activity in organizing and accomplishing the October Revolution, establishing the world's first socialist state and building socialism, as well as to his teaching on the prerequisites and motive forces of the socialist revolution, the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement, the Communist Party and its vanguard role; Lenin's theory of the socialist state as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat; Lenin's theses on socialist democracy as democracy of a new type; Lenin's plan of socialist construction and its realization; the economic, cultural and educational function of the Soviet state; defense of the gains of the socialist revolution and the foreign policy of the first state of workers and peasants.

The monographs are being written on the basis of a large number of historical sources, both known and heretofore unpublished ones. Thus there will be put into scientific circulation many new documents and facts which will add a new dimension to Lenin's greatness and his impact on the destinies of the peoples of the world.

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# TWENTY YEARS OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

## THESES*

*The GDR is a German state of peace and freedom, humaneness and social justice rooted in the century-old history of our people.*

The GDR is the country where all the lofty progressive ideas ever brought forth by the German people are being translated into reality, where the behest of all the battles for the creation of a state of peace and social democracy, human dignity and brotherhood is being carried out, where the objective of the struggle of the German revolutionary labor movement proclaimed 120 years ago by Marx and Engels, the greatest sons of Germany, in the *Communist Manifesto,* is being achieved. That for which the peasant detachments of Thomas Muentzer went into battle druing the Great Peasant War in Germany; the edifices of ideas erected by the German enlighteners and humanists; that for which the masses fought in 1813 and 1848; that for which the German working class struggled under the leadership of August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Ernst Thaelmann in the period of the law on the Socialists, in the November revolution and in the Weimar Republic; that for which the Communists, Social Democrats, Christians and bourgeois patriots, the anti-fascist resistance fighters, went to prison and to death, were subjected to tortures and endured the hardships of emigration—all this has become a reality in the German Democratic Republic.

Only he who learns well the lessons of history can confidently face his people and nation, other peoples and the future. These lessons testify to the following:

The seventy years of imperialist rule, the catastrophe of two world wars, the crises and the arms race, the constant attempts to change, with the help of violence, the existing borders, the resumption of the struggle for dominance in Europe show that the reactionary class rule of imperialism is incompatible with the democratic interests of the people. The German big bourgeoisie has long since forfeited its right to lead the nation. It cannot indicate any perspective to our people. The historical path of German imperialism is a path of political and military gambles, it is a path to national catastrophe.

Only the working class can be the leading force of the people in

*Abridged from **Neues Deutschland,** January 16, 1969.

our times. Only this class, owing to its position in the production process, its revolutionary experience and its scientific theory, can launch and direct the historically inevitable deep social transformation.

In 1945, on the territory of the then Soviet occupation zone the working class availed itself of the historical opportunity in the last days of the bloody regime of fascist terror which presented itself as a result of the heroic exploit of the socialist Soviet Union, our liberator. Under the leadership of the working class, consistently implementing the appeal of the CC CPG of June 11, 1945 and the July 14 declaration on the establishment of a Bloc of Anti-Fascist Democratic Parties, the working people launched an anti-fascist democratic revolution. The United action of the anti-fascist and democratic forces of the people presupposed political unity of the working class. Therefore the merger of the CPG and the SDPG in the Soviet occupation zone in April 1946, resulting in the emergence of the Socialist Unity Party, was of historic significance. Only on the basis of this unity could the Bloc of Democratic Parties develop successfully and attain signal successes. Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl, Walter Ulbricht, Wilhelm Kuelz, Otto Muschke and other leaders, front-rank fighters for an anti-fascist, democratic order, especially distinguished themselves in this struggle. The anti-fascist democratic forces pooled efforts in creating new state organs, from top to bottom. They effected a democratic agrarian reform and thereby made possible the emancipation of the peasantry. They punished and expropriated the war criminals, destroyed the basis of the power of the monopolies and junkerdom, and thus carried out the mandate of the peoples which found expression in the Potsdam agreement and became obligatory from the viewpoint of international law.

In keeping with the principle, "the product of the people's labor should belong to the people," the establishment of a public sector in industry laid the groundwork of the anti-fascist democratic order. For the first time on German soil, cardinal democratic educational and legal reforms were carried out. The people were for the first time granted those basic rights which had for many decades been the hope and objective in the struggle of the finest sons and daughters of the people, justifying their suffering and sacrifices.

Through valiant efforts the working people eliminated the terrible consequences of the policy of war and catastrophies pursued by German imperialism. Having worked out a six-month plan in 1948 and a two-year plan for 1949-50, under the motto "produce more, distribute fairly, live better," they launched the construction of the material basis for a secure future of the people. From the very beginning, the aim of the progressive forces of the German people was to put an end to the power of the monopolies, war crim-

inals and junkers in *the whole* of Germany. The Socialist Unity Party and its allies resolutely declared for building a united, democratic Germany.

But the United States and the two other imperialist occupation powers, acting jointly with the West German big bourgeoisie, pursued in their zones an active policy of restoring imperialism and militarism. They deliberately violated the Potsdam agreement, including its provisions obligating them to carry out democratic measures in all Germany. They wanted to save the power of the defeated German monopoly capital at least in a part of Germany so that it could again become a base for struggle against the democratic movement and the European socialist states. Guided by their self-seeking class interests, the West German imperialists flouted the interests of the nation in favor of U.S. monopolies. Aided by the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, the imperialists detached, step by step, the western zones and West Berlin from the German national union. In September 1949 they set up the West German Federal Republic in which all principal reactionary trends of German history—militant anti-communism and neo-fascism—were again manifested. The separatist West German state was from the very beginning a product of international tension. Together with it there reappeared a dangerous seedbed of war in Europe.

On October 7, 1949, in reply to the split of Germany, and with the aim of barring once and for all the way to German imperialism, an aim which was openly proclaimed, the patriotic forces of the German people founded the German Democratic Republic. It emerged as a German state legitimized by history. This state was headed by those two statesmen whose handshake on April 21, 1946, sealed the unity of the German labor movement—President Wilhelm Pieck and Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl. The establishment of the German Democratic Republic signified the materialization of the age-old humanistic idea of sovereignty of the people, of the right of the people to self-determination. The creation of the German Democratic Republic was a turning point in the history of the German people and at the same time in the history of Europe. Its emergence was the hardest defeat of German imperialism after its rout in the Second World War.

* * *

*The GDR emerged and is developing in accordance with the fundamental law of our epoch. It stands on the side of the right cause in the worldwide struggle between socialism and imperialism.*

For more than fifty years now world development has been influenced by the Great October Socialist Revolution, whose impact on our century has been greater than that of any other event. The

peoples of the Soviet Union led by the Party of Lenin have made the biggest contribution to the consolidation of world socialism and the defense of its gains. And now as well they bear the brunt of the struggle for world social progress, for its defense against the intrigues of imperialism.

Ever since Red October we have been living in the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism which is taking place on a world scale. With this epoch there has begun the real history of mankind, the history of conscious labor freed from exploitation and oppression. The socialist countries embody the morrow of history, while the states of latter-day capitalism stand for its yesterday.

Our republic, fighting in defense of the morrow, constitutes a firm link in the community of socialist states with whose emergence inter-state relations acquired an entirely new character and the peoples began to feel belonging to one another. The peoples and countries of the socialist community are linked together by the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, by the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism, by mutual assistance in the building of a prospering economy, by the defense of peace and historical progress against the intrigues of imperialism, which is trying to reverse or at least to halt the march of history.

The development of the GDR bears out the conclusion, substantiated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, that firm adherence to proletarian internationalism is indispensable for the victory of the socialist revolution. One of the most important conclusions that can be drawn from the German history of this century is that the vital interests of the German people call for good, friendly relations with the socialist Soviet Union. That was precisely why the GDR advanced, as a fundamental principle of its activity, friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the socialist community, above all consolidation of fraternal friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. "He who marches along the same road with the Soviet Union belongs to the conquerors of history." This conclusion has become part and parcel of the thinking, sentiments and actions of our citizens.

The first socialist state of the world is now a powerful guarantor of the peaceful future of the peoples. The Soviet armed forces, temporarily stationed on GDR territory in view of the aggressive aspirations of NATO and the revanchist intrigues of West German imperialism, ensure, in close cooperation with the National People's Army of the GDR, the independence and sovereignty of our republic. Jointly with the armies of the Warsaw Treaty states they stand guard over the peace and security of the entire socialist community.

Many-sided political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and miltiary cooperation characterizes our republic's relations with the Soviet Union. Throughout the past twenty years the Soviet Union

has been rendering us extensive unselfish aid in socialist construction. From the first supplies of bread in the bitter postwar days, from the first thousands of tractors delivered in 1949 to the powerful stream of oil and the provision of the most up-to-date scientific and technical documentation—such is the Soviet Union's assistance in laying the foundations of our heavy industry, for the constant development of our national economy. At the same time the contribution which the GDR can make with its means and possibilities to communist construction in the Soviet Union has also been increasing.

The constantly growing trade between the GDR and the Soviet Union furnishes prerequisites for the further development of our countries.

Increasing importance attaches to the relations of cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union, especially in the research and design field. All our citizens realize that close cooperation with the Soviet Union is a vital necessity, a guarantee of progress in implementing the scientific and technological revolution. Promotion of cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, based on mutual benefit, will facilitate the consolidation of all our countries and ensure increasing superiority over imperialism.

As we prepare to greet the 20th anniversary of our republic, we declare that in the future as well the GDR will adhere to socialist internationalism and work to strengthen the unity of the socialist states. The stronger this unity, the more effectively our republic will be fulfilling its role of a modern socialist state in Central Europe and contributing to the success of socialism's struggle against imperialism on the scale of the whole world.

* * *

*The state system of the German Democratic Republic embodies the highest degree of democracy — socialist democracy. Our motto has been, is, and will be: Everything with the people, with the help of the people, for the people!*

The establishment of the anti-fascist democratic order, the founding and consolidation of the German Democratic Republic made it possible, for the first time in German history, to resolve the cardinal issue of all social conflicts, that of power, in favor of the working class and all working people.

The GDR today is a political organization of the working people of town and countryside which is collectively building socialism under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. All political power in the republic belongs to the working people. This is both a right inscribed in the socialist constitution and a fact of social reality.

The government of workers and peasants is successfully performing the functions of proletarian dictatorship. It rests on a solid, broad alliance of the working class with the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia, the artisans and craftsmen, with all the working classes and strata of the people. This alliance of all popular forces has been constantly deepening and growing stronger since the time of the movement for a people's congress and at all stages of the struggle to build our new state and social order. It is expressed in the cooperation of all parties and organizations in the National Front. Never before in German history has there been a state so broadly based on the democratic activity and responsisbility of millions of citizens.

The past years have witnessed constant and planned development of the forms and possibilities of drawing all citizens into the discussion and solution of social problems. Socialist democracy is expressed first and foremost in the all-embracing participation of the working people in planning and in managing socialist enterprises, in the growing role of the trade unions, the biggest mass organizations of the working people. It is manifested in the activity of every production committee, in every emulation movement, in every socialist production conference. It is evident in the management of agricultural production cooperatives in accordance with the principle of everyone's personal responsibility, in the participation of the most diverse strata in the cooperation of trade and handicraft enterprises based on different forms of ownership. What is equally important, socialist democracy finds expression in the activity of parents' councils, mediation and arbitration committees and all other democratic organs, from tenants' committees to the highest organs of popular representation. Today one out of every four GDR citizens who have the right of vote takes part in public activities, helping to manage the affairs of the state and society.

A characterstic feature of the humanistic essence of our society is its striving constantly to enrich the knowledge and develop the abilities of its citizens so as to ensure their more effective participation in the exercise of socialist state power.

Thereby our republic convincingly demonstrates that socialism and democracy are inseparable, that the deepening of socialist democracy is a natural component of socialist construction.

A decisive step in implementing this principle, in accordance with which all forces of the people must be drawn into the exercise of socialist state power, was made with the establishment, in September 1960, of the State Council of the GDR, in which leading representatives of all parties and organizations, prominent figures from all strata of the population cooperate under the chairmanship of Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in advancing socialist con-

struction in the GDR. The composition of the Council of Ministers, headed by Willy Stoph, also reflects the alliance of all the strata of the people under the leadership of the working class.

Centralized guidance in the solution of all major problems and constant enhancement of the responsibility of the local organs and socialist producers, combined with the initiative and constructive endeavor of all working people, constitute a tested and successful method of strengthening our socialist state. Progress in the building of socialism is legitimately accompanied by growth of the leading role of the working class and its party. The working class is inseparably linked with development of large-scale modern socialist production. Under the guidance of its party it has become the staunchest fighter for peace and socialism. Relying on the conclusions of scientific socialism, it shows all other strata of the people the trend and aims of the entire social process. The leading collective of the party of the working class works creatively under the leadership of CC SUPG First Secretary Walter Ulbricht to solve new problems of socialist construction, of the struggle against imperialism, for peace and security on our continent.

Thus the equal cooperation of all parties and public organizations, based on complete confidence and friendship, has justified itself at all stages of the democratic and socialist reorganization of our social life. Their constructive collective labor has made it possible to lead all our people to socialism and to create new social relations, free from political crises.

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*By creating a developed socialist system the people of the GDR are building their happy, secure future.*

In the past twenty years we have scored successes in all fields. The main tasks of the transition from capitalism to socialism have been carried out in a peaceful and democratic way. Socialist relations of production have triumphed. Socialism is developing in the GDR on its own basis and in accordance with its own laws as a relatively independent social formation.

But it is not, and will not be, developing automatically. Therefore our Party, back at its 7th Congress in April 1967, set the following task: creation of a developed socialist system which will correspond, from the scientific viewpoint, to the people's vision of a happy, secure future.

An important feature of a developed socialist system is that all problems pertaining to the various aspects of the social process are viewed and solved in their interdependence, interweaving and unity, be it science, economy, socialist democracy, education, culture or defense. A developed social system is one great harmonious whole.

Accordingly, we speak of all-round consolidation of the GDR in

the future. This all-round consolidation is our contribution to the worldwide historical struggle between socialism and imperialism, to deciding the cardinal question of "who will win" in favor of the peoples, peace, democracy and socialism.

Long-term planning is done on the basis of forecasting the development of socialist society, science, technology, education and culture till 1980. This is where it becomes obvious that socialism is the product of scientific effort, that science is needed for building a new, socialist society. Science is developing as a major productive force. Its achievements considerably change the structure of our economy, making possible vigorous progress in decisive spheres and the laying of a scientific groundwork for the future.

Only in this way can we keep in step with the scientific and technological revolution. Owing to large-scale research work, concentration of forces and means and collective labor, we are achieving, in the course of this revolution, important results which benefit society and the entire people. We need considerable intensification of spiritual and creative labor, we need a scientifically-organized system of management—from the ministries and associations of people's enterprises to factory shop sections—so that our economy can function with maximum effect, constantly raising the standard of living of all working people.

Agriculture and food production will be promoted through increased soil fertility and higher crop yields, scientific and industrial methods of producing and processing farm produce to improve and modernize the food supply. The high road to this goal is growing all-round cooperation between agricultural enterprises and between agriculture, the processing industry and trade, as well as with the industries producing capital goods and fertilizers for agriculture and food production.

The cooperation unions which were formed after the Seventh Party Congress and in which enterprises owned on diverse principles and producing specific foodstuffs cooperate, have already proved their worth. In these unions cooperative peasants and working people engaged in food production will in the process of socialist collective labor master the scientific and technological revolution and set up a special system made up of agriculture and food production. This will lead to the gradual elimination of distinctions between town and countryside.

The economy is the nucleus of a developed socialist system. Material production is the basis of public wealth and an important sphere in which people freely develop their creative capacity.

Further economic progress is conditional on not the scientific and technological "elite" alone but on all working people having a high standard of education. This is provided by a uniform socialist

system of education which we have been building up for over two years. The system encompasses everything from the introduction of new curricula for secondary polytechnical and vocational schools to the reform of higher education. New teaching methods are coming into use. Research and instruction at the university level are being reorganized. Large research centers are springing up in such fields decisive for the economic structure as the processing of data, electronics, computers and high polymers. Since this requires much energy and effort, the motto "Each should learn to study all his life" is correct. Socialism needs people who regard continuous education as the foundation of their over-all development enabling them to become real members of socialist society.

Thus everyone sees that the system really embraces every sphere from science, the economy, education and culture to the management of social processes and human relations. It is a living, highly dynamic system promoting the growth of the productive forces, socialist democracy and the consolidation of our state power, which uses up-to-date methods both to organize labor and to protect the assets created by labor.

Establishing a developed socialist system in our country is a task worth fighting for and particularly exciting for our young people. A task worthy of man, it is outlined in our socialist Constitution. To carry it out, to make it a reality everywhere, means strengthening the great community which allows scope for cooperation, for participation in planning, in economy, politics and their management, in the effort to safeguard peace. Every citizen of our state knows that his personal expectations for the future are inseparable from our common idea of the future of our society. Every person is esteemed and appreciated to the extent that he places his abilities in the service of society.

The real object of what we call a developed socialist system is the free development of socialist man, and a socialist commonwealth of people based on friendship.

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The document then notes the progress made by the GDR in the economic, cultural scientific and technological fields, as well as in the matter of establishing socialist social relations.

*The GDR is an impregnable stronghold of European peace and security because peace and socialism are inseparable.*

The strategic goal of the German Democratic Republic is to safeguard peace and security so that socialism may be built. Security and peace are necessitated by the very nature and purpose of the socialist system in which there are no forces interested in an

arms race, aggression, expansion, or the oppression of other peoples.

It is a historical fact that the GDR is the first German state to have for ever ended the policy of aggression in any form, and that, far from presenting any territorial claims, the GDR has made the recognition of existing frontiers and the participation of all European countries in a system of collective security on an equal footing principles of its foreign policy.

The GDR has developed a constructive program for lasting peace in Europe which calls for recognition of the present territorial status quo, the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between all European states, the signing of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty by all European countries, first of all by the Federal Republic, the admission of both German states into the UN and its agencies, the conclusion of a treaty renouncing the use of force between the two German states, and the signing of a treaty normalizing the relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic. This program is in complete harmony with the 1966 Bucharest Declaration of the socialist countries of Europe, the proposals put forward by the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe in Karlovy Vary in 1967 and concepts held by numerous bourgeois politicians. The GDR, having counterposed its entire might, the unfading example of socialism and the indestructible alliance with the Soviet Union to the policy of aggression of the imperialist powers, especially the United States and West Germany, has become an invincible force on German soil, a barrier to every new expansionist plan of Bonn, which presents the main danger to European security.

A further fact is that, despite the West German imperialists' policy of aggression, the existence of the GDR and the peace policy it pursues in close alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have largely created conditions for the German people and the other peoples of Europe to live in peace since World War II, that is, for the longest period in this century.

The socialist peace policy of the GDR continues the progressive traditions of the German working-class movement and farsighted bourgeois-democratic politicians. Its immutable main principles are lasting friendship with the Soviet Union, continuous effort to strengthen the commonwealth of socalist countries, solidarity with the new national states, peaceful coexistence with countries having a different social system.

By contrast, German imperialism has constantly abused the creative forces of our people and the economic potential of the nation to further its predatory aspirations and its effort to quench big capital's thirst for profit. In spite of two defeats which were only logical, the rulers of West Germany have not given up their expansionist program. The West German state, which has been included

in NATO and has been gradually turning into an area manipulated and directed by the U.S. monopolies, has pursued revanchist aims ever since it was founded. It wants the results of World War II to be revised. By laying claim to the role of only representative of the whole German people, striving to establish its supremacy in Europe, and pressing forward the arms race and militarization of public life in the Federal Republic, Bonn is continuing the fatal foreign policy of German imperialism, the imperial Reich, the Weimar Republic and fascism.

Peace and security in Europe are in grave danger because of the revival of militarism and the rise of neo-Nazism in West Germany. The Federal Republic of Germany is the only European state seeking a revision of the present frontiers. The struggle to safeguard European security therefore connotes thwarting the West German imperialists' plans for revanche and expansion.

The national interest demands that U.S. monopoly penetration into West Germany be stopped and West German monopoly power curbed. The international interests of the world and the interests of collective security in Europe call for support of the proposals of the GDR for normalizing relations between the two German states as well as between them and all other states on the principle of complete equality. It is in the interest of European peace firmly to resist all attempts at using West Berlin, a special political entity, as a center of provocation and aggression against the GDR and other socialist countries.

Our most important contribution to the worldwide struggle between socialism and imperialism has been, is and will be peaceful socialist development. At the same time the GDR, which regards the maintenance of peace as the fundamental condition for solving its domestic problems, takes an active part in the implementation of the common foreign, military and security policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Along with the Soviet Union, the GDR is resolved to prevent a situation in which the vital interests of socialism are injured and attempts made to encroach on the inviolable frontiers of the commonwealth of socialist countries and hence on the very foundations of world peace. The people of the GDR proved this on August 13, 1961, and August 21, 1968.

The policy of peace and security followed by the GDR demands that the socialist system be reliably defended against all imperialist attacks and inroads. The defense of socialism is the most effective defense of peace. The steady improvement of the country's defenses —a process involving the entire population—is a component of a developed socialist system and at the same the national and international duty of the German socialist state. The ground, air and naval forces of the GDR, the workers' combat groups, the people's

police and the Ministry of State Security can and do take all requisite steps to contribute, in inseparable alliance with the armed forces of Warsaw Treaty countries, towards defending the socialist countries and safeguarding peace and security in Europe.

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*The socialist GDR has surpassed imperialist West Germany by an entire historical epoch. It represents the vital interests of the German people.*

The road being followed by the GDR is the only possible road leading our people into a peaceful, democratic and socialist future. In accordance with the law of development in the present period, the GDR embodies the national alternative to the social system of latter-day capitalism and to its anti-popular and anti-national policies. Our republic adheres to the fundamental historical conclusion that the German people can earn respect, a good name and friendship with other peoples and at the same time win peace and security for themselves, not through imperialist expansion, but through creative labor, through the achievements of their scientists and the creations of their humanist culture.

The GDR has gained strength in battle with West German imperialism, whose policy of aggression and revanche has long been a continuous series of attempts to frustrate the political and economic consolidation of worker-peasant power in the GDR and to bring it under the sway of West German monopoly capital. Our achievements show that the concept of West German imperialism is doomed to failure.

It is not surprising that the monopolies of West Germany follow the progress and consolidation of socialism in the GDR with resentment and fear. They are supported in this by the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, who have betrayed all the revolutionary traditions of their party and have become accomplices of monopoly capital.

The strengthening of socialism in the GDR is the best way to promote the fight which all peace-loving, democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the Federal Republic are carrying on against state monopoly rule. The development of the GDR and the policy it pursues meet the fundamental interests of all peace-loving citizens of West Germany. In the Federal Republic, workers and peasants, handicraftsmen and progressive intellectuals still have to fight for their elementary democratic and social rights, which in the GDR are protected by the Constitution and have become a reality.

To achieve democracy and social progress in West Germany, it is necessary to satisfy the anti-monopoly, anti-fascist and democratic demands which were the order of the day after the defeat

of Hitler fascism and are more pressing than ever in the Federal Republic now. Latter-day capitalism with all its ills has been re-established in West Germany and, what is more, neo-Nazism has been ushered in. Those who speak for the monopolies, the militarists and the neo-Nazis not only wield the levers of economic management but control the state, the armed forces, justice, and the vast machinery used for manipulating people. Not until the working people of West Germany have done away with the power of the war monopolies, militarists and neo-Nazis will they have either real security or social progress. Only when the democratic forces have forced Bonn to renounce the policy of revanche and its claims to represent the entire German people will they be able to fight for democracy in the Federal Republic.

In twenty years of unflagging effort and sharp class struggle, often in incredibly difficult conditions, the GDR has proved that history is not skipping Germany, that socialism is the only social system suitable for highly developed industrial countries. Where German imperialism still maintains its rule by suppressing dissidents and using the police truncheon, democracy and socialism will triumph. To bring this about is the historic task of the progressive forces in West Germany itself.

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*The GDR is entering the third decade of its existence with a clear perspective of continued progress*

We are faced with the lofty task of building a developed socialist society. We are creating this society under the tried and tested leadership of the party of the working class, which creatively applies Marxism-Leninism, the scientific doctrine corresponding to the law-governed processes of the transition from capitalism to socialism, a doctrine confirmed and enriched by experience.

The twenty years' history of our republic shows that we took the right road when we rose from the ruins and forged ahead, as our national anthem, created by Johannes R. Becher and Hans Eisler, words it.

We are building our future in a socialist state which methodically directs full-scale socialist progress, steadily developing the productive forces and socialist relations of production. This state is improving the material and cultural standards of the people, encouraging the creative initiative of the working people, fostering their socialist consciousness and defending our socialist system against enemy intrigues.

In the name of our common goal, we think and plan and work and create in the National Front, which rallies the people for joint effort.

To persevere in our course and strengthen the GDR in every way is a task facing all of us.

We will accomplish it by promoting our fraternal relations with the Soviet Union, the leading force of the world socialist system, by steadily reinforcing the socialist community of nations on the principle of socialist internationalism.

In cooperation with fraternal socialist countries, we are creating a "new society whose international principle will be peace, since the dominant principle of every nation is the same—labor" (Karl Marx). We identify ourselves with all forces fighting against imperialism, for peace, freedom, democracy and progress.

Our workers and cooperative peasants, scientists and technologists, artists and servicemen, handicraftsmen and co-proprietors of small private enterprises, teachers, students and school children will continue to give all their energy, knowledge, ability and skill to enhance the international prestige of our state and to increase its international influence.

What counts first and foremost in the worldwide struggle between socialism and imperialism—a test we must pass if we are to safeguard peace and progress throughout the world—is our achievements in science, economy and culture. In the third decade of worker-peasant rule, our watchword—every member of our society must daily make a useful contribution to our common cause, socialism—is as valid as ever. To master the scientific and technological revolution is the order of the times. This is why, in the socialist emulation movement, we concentrate on achieving the highest possible results in industry, agriculture, science and technology. Every member of society works to make our towns and villages more beautiful than ever.

Anyone who wants to achieve the best results in any field must study continuously. What we knew yesterday is not enough today. Our duty is to assimilate what is known today and to foresee the progress of science tomorrow, in 1975 and 1980. We are proud of having reliable perspectives and of being so confident of our future. At the same time we see that West German imperialism, whose views on everything are restricted by its class limitations, can give nothing but vague, unrealistic promises. It always keeps the working people in a state of insecurity.

To translate our excellent prospects into reality, we all need a firm socialist world outlook and a modern education, loyalty to political principles and an unquenchable thirst for knowledge, revolutionary passion and a desire to gain knowledge. "We," said Walter Ulbricht, "are innovators and the future belongs to innovators. It belongs to us, the working class and its allies. No social force can achieve better results in building its life than intelligent working people who take realistic stock of the situation and work creatively

and with a sense of responsibility, according to their class interests."

The tested motto of our socialist democracy is: "Share in planning, labor and management." The Constitution we have adopted states that political power belongs to the working people, who own the means of production and public wealth. We use this power to participate energetically in the advancement of our socialist country. We use it to impart new, noble features to our greatest achievement, the socialist commonwealth of people. We use it to provide a peaceful and happy future for our people.

It is with new ideas, with outstanding gains and creative enthusiasm that we are entering the third decade of the German Democratic Republic, our socialist motherland, to which we give all our love and loyalty.

*Committee for the 20th Anniversary of the German Democratic Republic*

# REPORT* TO THE CONGRESS OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The 12th National Congress of the Italian Communist Party approves the Theses submitted by the outgoing Central Committee and discussed prior to the Congress, Comrade Luigi Longo's Report and the conclusions of the debate.

Congress lays special emphasis on its unqualified endorsement of the orientation given in the Theses and the Report regarding three essential points: our interpretation of peaceful coexistence, our conception of the democratic road to socialism, and our line in regard to a new proletarian internationalism—a line from which the autonomous position of the ICP in the camp of the international working-class, Communist and revolutionary movement derives, as does the action for a new unity of the international working-class and Communist movement based on equality of the parties and on mutual respect for sovereignty and independence. In this context Congress agrees with the estimations and opinions given in the Theses and the Report regarding the events in Czechoslovakia and the action taken over them by the leading Party bodies.

Congress instructs the new leading bodies to supplement the draft Theses on the basis of Comrade Longo's Report and of the following considerations suggested by the active contribution of the provincial congresses and the National Congress.

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ITALY

1. The progress of social battles in recent months confirms and underlines the conclusions drawn from the growth of the movement in recent years and from the exceptional value of the struggles that characterized the year 1968. The mass movement expanded greatly and found expression and new impetus in the victory which the Left won on May 19. Although there still are areas and groups in which tensions have lessened, the movement involves new social groups that had been less active.

The central factor in all these movements has been the working class, which plays the decisive and most difficult role in the present social conflict. The students, pupils, substantial peasant forces, sizable groups of office workers and technologists, vast sections of the urban middle strata, and important groups of intellectuals and research workers have likewise awakened to action. The decisive

*L'Unita, February 18, 1969. The report, presented by the Political Commission, is regarded as the political resolution of the 12th National Congress of the ICP.

motor has been the struggle of the younger generation. Women workers and students, too, have shown a high degree of militancy.

The unifying process in the trade union movement, and in some cases in the political movement, has been gaining in scope. Both trade union and political awareness have increased. In general, the social conflict shows a more radical trend, which manifests itself in both the new and more ambitious goals of many struggles now going on and the magnitude and quality of the forces joining in action. The movement has been developing also in new and original forms which should always bring the greatest support from public opinion and the masses.

These movements have their origins in the new contradictions and old unsolved problems of Italian society which stem from its very structure and from the policies followed by the various governments and, of late, those of the Center-Left. However, these movements would have been impossible had it not been for the existence and multiform initiative of a party like ours, which is committed to an explicit policy of unity, struggle, and concrete positive solutions, and for the existence of large autonomous class and unitary organizations of the masses. It is the existence of the Party that has made it possible to give a perspective also to various initiatives coming from our civilized society and prompted by new and original experiences gained in the actual course of the struggle.

2. The struggles now going on express in their totality the aspiration for radical economic and political change. From a number of demands there increasingly emerge calls for reforms and for steps involving a modification of power relations.

Certain aspects and proponents of the movement question the very foundations of the capitalist system. In general, expression is given to the desire of the masses to play a greater role and to carry greater weight by extending and renovating democracy, as well as by using forms of direct democracy. And there is a condemnation of the persistence of crying injustices, both old and new.

This general meaning of the current struggles is not explicit in every movement, nor does it emerge at the same level in every movement. Struggles are born of specific needs that have not been met, of problems whose solution brooks no delay.

This applies, among other things, to the issue of wage zones, the conclusion of general contracts at the enterprise level, care of the working people's health, pensions and the pension reform, fair remuneration of peasant labor, overcoming the crisis in whole branches of agriculture, the unemployment among intellectuals, the inadequate utilization of professional knowledge, etc. This diversity and differentiation of the movements is, incidentally, the source of their strength and expansion, and they must not be underrated. It is necessary to achieve concrete results on precise objectives for

which every movement comes into being. The achievement of partial objctives stimulates further mobilization and new struggles.

There is a need to remove defects and shortcomings with a view to launching movements for the solution of problems of freedom, renovation and progress of which the masses are keenly aware and over which there is a strong potential of protest and militancy that has not yet expressed itself (such as, for instance, over the issue of the emancipation of women or the problems of a deep-going reform of the administration of justice linked with a reform of the codes and a new law on public security).

In view of the great number and variety of the present movements, it is decisive for the Party to be able, in collaboration with the diverse Left-wing forces committed to struggle, to direct the action of the masses towards general political solutions.

3. The economic and political solution to the crisis of the country offered by the Center-Left government is essentially conservative. It ignores the fundamental question of a new kind of economic development. Nor does it concern itself with the problem of extending and renovating democracy.

In face of the pressure of the masses and of the contradictions it generates inside the social and political majority alignment, a search is going on for marginal measures, for tentative intervention on the group level. Vigorous pressure from the masses forces an occasional concession, but the basic line, which eschews a policy of structural reforms, is unchanged and options are proposed once again which dominated in the past and which failed and were paid for by the working people and the middle strata.

Besides, at the direct insistence of government agencies, the method of repression often gains the upper hand and is actually applied.

The line of the new government must be firmly combated. This line, leaving problems that have already become acute and dramatic unsolved, and countenancing and aggravating the disruption of democratic institutions, fosters the growth of the seeds of open reaction. It is therefore necessary to give the Center-Left no respite, so as to eliminate it and bring into being a new unitary alignment of the Left-wing forces of the people.

4. The situation in the Mediterranean has deteriorated lately owing to the aggravation of the Middle East crisis and the build-up of the military strength of NATO in the Mediterranean. This is why the policy of submitting to the Atlantic bloc advocated by the Center-Left government is becoming even more dangerous. This policy has led to a further military integration of Italy as a base at the service of the United States and NATO, which is contrary, among other things, to the signing of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. In these circumstances, Congress stresses the necessity

stated in the Theses for extensive mobilization and struggle in the country and in parliament for the withdrawal of Italy from NATO, for a foreign policy of active neutrality and of peace, for the dissolution of military blocs and for European security, primarily on the principle of recognizing the present frontiers threatened by West German revanchism, and for turning the Mediterranean, with all the nations concerned participating, into a sea of peace.

In this context, Congress identifies itself with the Arab peoples and insists on the urgency of resolving the Middle East crisis by removing all political and diplomatic effects of the Israeli aggression through fully implementing the UN resolution of November 22, 1967. Congress stresses the need to work for full recognition of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, who should be regarded as the lawful spokesmen of their own cause and for whose resistance the Italian Communists express their solidarity.

## STRATEGY OF REFORMS AND IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES

Experience has borne out the complete validity of the strategy of reforms and alliances as the line of advance to socialism in the phase of state-monopoly capitalism. Noteworthy headway has been made not only in establishing a line, but also in bringing it home to millions of working people and in winning initial gains. This was the case, for instance, with such big issues as the school reform, the reform of pensioning and social maintenance and the agrarian reform. The struggle against the sugar monopolies has led to the demand that the industry be nationalized on democratic lines.

This and other examples give a better idea of our conception of the strategy of reforms. It contains the elements of a clear programmatic proposal to be put into effect through complex and varied struggles in numerous fields—struggles for economic and social demands, direct struggles for reform, initiatives for unity at every level. These struggles should be aimed at winning real changes in socio-economic structures and in power relations, at breaking through the conservative structures of the state, bringing about strong political shifts in the social forces, smashing the alliance on which the ruling bloc is propped and forming a new bloc of social and political forces.

In fighting for reform, it is essential, now as in the past, to establish a direct link with the immediate problems of the working people, to put forward positive goals for which the social forces can be mobilized, to achieve real gains paving the way for more gains. This line should be maintained and substantiated also through partial demands, by continuously updating the objectives and forms of struggle according to the concrete situation created

through the evolution of economic and political conditions and due to the winning of partial demands. These objectives fit in with our concept of democratic development of the Italian economy and society that could constitute a valid alternative to the policy of the monopolies.

A component of the substance of this line of reforms is the fight for popular participation in management, for multiple forms of direct democracy helping to strengthen the links between representative democratic institutions and the masses. Hence the urgency of the struggle for the right of assembly in the enterprise and for other basic forms of democracy, such as communal and regional agrarian conferences, the various forms of peasant association, the right of assembly in the schools, neighborhood councils, new forms of management of the social services on the part of the citizens, and so on.

The forms of democracy from below meeting the imperative demand for participation that comes from the masses likewise fit into our concept of extended democracy, inasmuch as their establishment can give a new and higher quality to other necessary aspects of democratic life and the popular and social struggle (trade unions, parties, elected bodies). This is how the struggle to fully assert and develop a constitutional democratic regime, seen in its essential elements and its possible and necessary evolution, should gain in vigor and strength. Such a renovating line becomes possible through a broad class and political alignment mobilizing people for a profound transformation of the state and, first of all, for the purpose of countering and abolishing the regressive trends generated in democratic institutions by the monopoly development of capitalism and by the ruling parties' explicit option against the autonomy of parliament, regional and other elected bodies.

This necessitates a simultaneous struggle to acquire instruments of direct democracy and strengthen all other democratic institutions, renovate the elected bodies, bring about a deep-going reform of the state in its entirety against all the authoritarian and bureaucratic tendencies shown by the ruling classes today, and decentralize it politically on the basis of regional and local self-government.

In keeping with this line of action, the Theses indicate the immediate objectives to be attained and the essential points on which modifications of economic policy and the structures should be won so as to tackle the problems of employment, a higher standard of living for the masses and a new level of civilization, and to eliminate the historical evils besetting the country. Among these, strong emphasis should be laid on the permanent drama of emigration which humiliates millions of working people, depopulates entire regions and impoverishes the country, and which necessitates more resolute action.

Within the framework of the action for a new kind of economic development, it is urgent to insist on a new organization and new role of state industry and the whole public sector of the economy in order to arrive at a democratic reform of the enterprises and the public sector and so to make them the main instrument of the struggle for this new kind of development.

Specifically, the struggle for a reform and for a new kind of development in the public sector should be aimed at making it the leading factor for a new kind of industrial progress, the industrialization of the South, for social change and reform in agriculture. It is now indispensable greatly to increase public investments and use them in key branches in order to initiate a new kind of economic development and scientific and technological research. Certain nationalization and control measures regarding the big private groups have become not merely necessary but urgent, as in the case of the sugar industry.

The fight for these objectives should go hand in hand with the effort to demolish the seats of bureaucratic power in order to put the entire activity of the public sector under the control of the working people, parliament and the regions. This fight should be carried on in the elected bodies and throughout the country. It can and should become a common objective of the struggles being waged at factory level and on the level of enterprises with government participation.

It is also necessary to specify the objectives (as, for instance, the reform and selection of credits, the modalities of the tax reform, the reform of the distribution system) emphasizing the necessity for common struggle by the workers, peasants and middle strata and likely to consolidate the alliance (in particular, through various associations and cooperatives) in the common fight against monopoly.

## THE PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTH

The struggle in the South has also entered a new stage, and the problem of the South is more and more becoming an element of the struggle for the democratic and socialist transformation of the country. Extensive criticism has been levelled at the tactic of incentives and extremely low wages, both of which are pillars of the bankruptcy-headed policy pursued also by the Center-Left, a tactic which has objectively aggravated all the ills afflicting the South—unemployment, mass emigration, backwardness and all kinds of disproportions. Thus, the social confrontation in the South has spread to enterprises, to towns and to the countryside, assuming a still more acute character.

The South is entering into an increasingly sharp conflict with

the present type of development. On the other hand, the system which has replaced the old agrarian bloc and which is based on the dominant role of the monopolists, is beginning to experience a crisis. This provides added possibilities of social and political alliances being formed in the fight for a definite line of reforms.

The struggle against the wage zones, against the method by which the interests of the South are being subordinated to the interests of the big monopolies, has been marked by a new realization of its role by the working class of the South, which heads the southern and nationwide unitary movement. This goes to show that the government's policy has not succeeded in disrupting the unity of the people in the South and detaching them from the broad nationwide movements for renovation, because the unitary impulse has come precisely from those regions where the growth of the productive forces is the most vigorous.

This struggle of the workers is combined with the intensification of the movements for an agrarian reform, for changes in the land tenure system, against agricultural contracts (especially the *colonat* system), in defense of agricultural produce—movements which also pose in a new way the problems of the southern agriculture in the struggle to give the land to those who till it, against the land rent, against the subordination of peasant farming to the policy of the monopolies and the Common Market, against disregard for the deeplying regions of the South.

Now more than ever, the problem of the South (and within its framework the problem of Sicily's and Sardinia's revival in conditions of autonomy) should be made one of the principal general national problems whose solution calls for a proper investments policy in industry and agriculture.

The fight for the solution of the problem of the South should be waged in all regions of Italy, as has been the case with the general strike against the wage zones.

## ON THE STRUGGLE FOR CULTURE AND ON THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Great importance is assumed today by the problems of the struggle for culture, which are posed in present-day society in a new way as a result of both the changes taking place in the social sphere and imparting directly productive functions to science, and the increasingly close links which it is intended to establish between culture and policy, as well as by virtue of the manipulation of culture by industry and by the market forces.

Comprehension of these processes has been accelerated by the momentous political events of last year and by the struggle of the student masses and the new cultural forces. The confrontation

between the fighters for freedom and for the renovation of culture and those who are trying to subordinate it to the ruling forces and incorporate it into them, is now taking place on a more advanced ground.

As a result of the different class distribution of an ever increasing part of the intelligentsia there arises also the problem of its unity with the working class and other progressive classes, of unification of their positions and concrete proposals with a view to finding a way out which would make it possible to fight, in all the existing cultural institutions (beginning with the school), for the emancipation of the working people, and also to create centers of highly diverse trends in order to stimulate activity, quest and accumulation of positive experience in the specific sphere of culture, art and science, exposing methods with the help of which science and technology are used as instruments of power, and pointing to concrete methods and examples of placing science and technology at the service of man.

Such is the basis on which the very struggle for the freedom of quest, artistic creative work and scientific experiment acquires a new content and, on the other hand, any mechanical subordination of ideological and cultural creative work to the political exigencies of the moment is being overcome.

Thus it is becoming increasingly obvious that the struggle for the educational reform, for the right to education and for the utilization of science in the interests of man cannot be waged in separate sectors. The Party and the entire working-class movement are called upon to assume—while overcoming the present lag—their own role in the fight around these problems (the school, science, information, etc.), and they will exert every effort to advance concrete aims of the reform ensuring constant mobilization of the masses and real growth of the democratic and socialist consciousness of ever broader strata of the intelligentsia.

The Party should pay closer attention to the problems arising in connection with the development of the student movement; this struggle not only manifests itself in the form of a thrust towards the school reform, but presents a powerful charge of energy which should be channelled into remarking society in the socialist direction.

## ON THE WOMEN'S PROBLEM

At the present stage of capitalist development in Italy the solution of this problem calls for cardinally changing the structures of society.

The militancy displayed by the broad masses of women and the program advanced by the unitary mass women's organizations tes-

tify to the maturing of the political consciousness of the masses of women. When the woman actively revolts against her subordinate position, exploitation and exclusion from the productive process, when she thereby refuses to remain an inanimate element of the oppressive correlation of forces of the capitalist system, she becomes a decisive force in the fight for remarking society.

Therefore, while overcoming the difficulties connected with the lesser social unity of the masses of women and with the fact that points of their conflict with the present system are highly numerous, it is necessary more boldly to promote a broad, independent and multiform movement of women for emancipation. This movement should extend to such basic problems as full employment of women, development of social services, a reform of the family code including legalization of divorce, removal of the class and discriminatory character of the school, and development of forms of popular participation in the life of the school, in the organs and institutions of social maintenance and in the management of the various social services.

## THE PARTY AND THE MASS MOVEMENT

The experience of recent years and the growth of the unitary trade union movement and other movements have proved the effectiveness of the orientation on the autonomy, unity, democracy and organization of independent mass movements of working people and other social strata and groups, and this refutes the theory of spontaneity. Therefore the demand, issuing from within the mass movements and organizations, for the consolidation, broadening and renovation (through ensuring, above all, greater democratic viability) of all forms of organization of the working class, the peasantry, the middle strata of tradesmen, artisans, etc., is absolutely correct. This demand assumes a particularly acute and urgent character in the South. Broader participation of the local organizations of working people in the leadership of the struggle has become indispensable not only for the development and success of these movements, but also for ensuring that the aims and forms of the struggle invariably conform to the requirements of the popular masses.

Along with improving organization it is necessary to promote on an ever larger scale such forms of struggle which would prevent the emergence of a gap between the vanguard and the masses, stimulate broad popular solidarity and call to life increasingly broader social and political alliances, as has been the case during the struggle of the working class of the South against the wage zones and the big strikes at large monopoly-type enterprises (FIAT, Montedison, Pirelli, Marzotto) and in connection with certain forms of the mass student struggle.

Promotion of the independence of mass movements makes it even more imperative for the Party to be a force capable of taking part in any manifestation of social and political life, contributing to the development of unity in struggle at all levels, and offering to the masses both partial and complete positive solutions. Not only individual Communists but the Party as a whole should be equal to the problems which arise within the mass movements and which are caused by the state of capitalist exploitation at enterprises and in society as a whole.

Just as has been the case with the pension reform, the problem of democracy in the factory and the school, the problem of health protection in industry and in other instances, this direct participation of the Party, far from impeding, promotes the independent and unitary movement of the masses and at the same time contributes to the growth of their political maturity and revolutionary consciousness.

## POLITICAL UNITY OF THE LEFT AND DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE TO THE CENTER-LEFT

Together with the growth of the movements and their unity there has increased—and is bound further to increase—the political unity of the Left. Important results have already been achieved in establishing contacts between the Left opposition forces (ICP, ISPPU, Left Independents, Autonomous Socialists) on the basis of respect for the independence of each of these components. This was due to the influence of the struggle movement and the results of the May 19 elections which signified a failure of the Center-Left. New trends and new results in the unitary movement are becoming apparent. The recent expansion of the Left *giuntas* now assumes political significance. Common positions are also being established on problems of great importance.

Serious changes are taking place in the political forces. The crisis of the Socialist and Christian-Democratic parties has deepened. This crisis stems from the deep cracks appearing in the system of social alliances on which the political monopoly of the Christian-Democratic Party relies, and from the loss by the ruling forces of their ideological hegemony.

The crisis of the ISP and the CDP should be viewed in its current development. In the ISP one can observe unsoundness of both analysis and of the strategic hypotheses underlying the alliance with the Social-Democrats (end of imperialism, neutrality of the state, the possibility of solving problems through petty reforms, etc.) as well as the fallacy of their political line based on a break with the Left forces. Many members of the Socialist Party already admit the existence of this crisis and ponder over a new way of advance towards socialism.

In the Christian-Democratic camp, contradictions are constantly growing between the policy of the leadership and the popular forces which have up till now been captives of the concepts of Catholic political unity and "interclassism." These contradictions are most significantly manifested in the demand for ever greater independence from the CDP voiced by considerable groups in the Christian Association of Italian Working People and the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions, and in the emergence of new contradictions within the CDP itself. On the other hand, doubts are growing regarding the expediency of mixing the religious element with the political one, which is also connected with new phenomena in the Catholic world, where socialist aspirations are obviously on the rise. The disagreements among the Catholics have assumed wide scope and greatly contributed to the discussion and the search conducted by the Italian Left. Overcoming difficulties, Catholics are searching for ways of taking a more direct part in the political life of the country.

All these are signs of imminent changes. But in order to create and affirm a democratic alternative to the Center-Left it is necessary to effect serious changes in the correlation of social forces, and to do so in the interests of a new economic and political solution, combating both Demochristian "interclassism" and Social-Democratic reformism. This process can also induce different political forces to adopt new positions. This calls for constantly persistent work at all levels. Social struggle should be combined with the utmost effort in the sphere of discussion, with contacts and rapprochements, if only partial ones, on pressing problems in the electoral assemblies and all other organs.

We should see to it that discussion and joint activity help establish elements of the new program and the new composition of the Italian Left. The road to the new majority which the country urgently needs passes through this totality of social movements, confrontations and political results which will help secure a new alignment of political forces, new alliances between the lay and Catholic Left, and reorganization and realignment of all the Left forces.

Thus it will become possible to furnish the answer to the question about the urgently needed turn. Proceeding along this road, Communists will fight for the preservation of peace, for guaranteeing and developing a democratic system and ensuring a new, democratic and socialist future to the Italian people.

# FREEDOM TO COLOMBIA POLITICAL PRISONERS!

## STATEMENT OF THE PROPAGANDA COMMISSION, CP OF COLOMBIA

Government-sponsored violence with its constant companion, the state of siege (lifted in December 1968), has existed, with short intervals, for more than twenty years, bringing in its wake about 300,000 dead and thousands more imprisoned and otherwise persecuted for political reasons.

In 1964 the government launched an offensive against Communist-organized peasant zones which the reactionaries, pursuing provocative purposes, called "independent republics." Acting in accordance with the LASO* Plan, it sent there 16,000 troops, or one-quarter of the army. The operation was supervised by the U.S. military mission, whose residence is situated next door to that of the Minister of Defense.

In the course of "Operation Marquetalia" many peasants, among them Noé Ducuara, Luis Enrique Gonzales and Hermes Chala, were shot by order of the supreme command. The fact of the murder was confirmed by numerous statements made under oath to judges and members of parliament. During an interpellation to the Minister of Defense several members of the Chamber of Deputies presented abundant documentation convincingly testifying to the flouting of the freedom of the individual, the plunder of the property of citizens, and tortures to which prisoners were subjected at their places of residence or in prisons—for instance, in the notorious Tenerife barracks in Neiva.

Countless acts of brutal torture were committed. On November 5, 1964 *Anales del Congreso*, the official publication of the parliament, contained numerous testimonies of tortures with the use of electric current or burning cigarettes, as well as outright murder. (It should be pointed out that the absence of the death penalty in the Colombia legislation does not prevent its use in the army-occupied regions.)

The offensive, which gradually spread beyond the bounds of Marquetalia, has again revived the peasant guerrilla movement. Hundreds of working people, students and intellectuals accused of collaborating with this movement are serving long sentences or languish in prison for many years, waiting for their destiny to be

*Latin American Security Operation—Ed.

decided. It is difficult to establish their exact number, for they are denied the status of political prisoners and are listed as criminal offenders. However, as the CPC newspaper *Voz Proletaria* reported on September 5, 1968, the military tribunals, hastily set up prior to the lifting of the state of siege, have launched feverish activity and imposed sentences on 500 political prisoners, although in accordance with the law their cases were to have been tried according to ordinary legal procedure.

The penal military "justice" with its monstrous tribunals in which prisoners are denied the right to defense and the judges themselves are their enemies, constitutes the "legal" basis for the existence of political prisoners. So atrocious was the conduct of the military command that the parliament was compelled, at the end of 1968, to look into its practices and to appoint an official to investigate the above-mentioned crimes. A Conservative member of parliament, a lawyer and an ex-captain of the army, declared during a parliamentary debate that the military "justice" had condemned, "in a not highly impartial form," 20,000 people.

In connection with a number of exposures which were corroborated by weighty evidence and which the Minister of Defense, Ayerbe Chaux, could not refute, the Minister of Justice and former Supreme Court magistrate Fernando Hinestroza declared: "I am the first to request the Senate to see to it that all exposures are made as clearly as possible and that an investigation is conducted which would give no one ground to think that by his ignominious conduct he is helping the government." However, this investigation has not been started till December 1968.

## CONCRETE FACTS

Much could be said about physical and moral tortures, murders, blackmail and the miserable existence of political prisoners. In this instance we shall limit ourselves to some concrete facts which came to light during parliamentary debates or were demonstrated by the prisoners themselves.

Maria Helena de Crovo, a Liberal Senator, accused the milittry command of applying the law on "attempted escape"* to the following citizens: Roberto Becerra, Agustin Dominguez Serrano and Manuel Acosta in Bucaramanga; Pedro Herbeo in Barrancabermeja; Gerardo Rios in San Vicente, and Alfredo Serrano in Montelibano. She read out a letter from Lucy de Mesa, the mother of Jairo Mesa, accusing the heads of the Brigade of the Military Institutes of Bogota that her son, after tortures, had been thrown out from the third floor of the building. The murderers had tried to conceal the corpse and threatened Lucy de Mesa with deprivation of her

*Legalizing the assassination of political prisoners allegedly attempting to escape.—Ed.

pension if she did not keep silent. Senator Crovo cited examples of several persons, among them two women. The latter were incarcerated for several days without food in Bogota's Modelo Prison. Officers and military intelligence agents subjected them to all kinds of mistreatment and threatened them with execution. Senator Manuel Bayona Carrascal accused General Alvaro Valencia Tovar, commander of the 5th Brigade billeted in Bucaramanga, that a prisoner had been questioned under the threat of being thrown out of a helicopter. Liberal Senator Saul Pineda exposed cases of castration, torture and application of the law on "attempted escape." The Senate and the Chamber of Representatives received documents exposing the arbitrary conduct of Colonel Jorge Alba, commander of the 8th Brigade (Quindio Department), in respect to the judge of the municipal criminal court who had ordered the immediate release of Domingo Taborda, a deputy from the Revolutionary Liberal Movement of the People (RLMP) illegally arrested several months ago on charges of "assisting" the guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (RAFC). Replying to an enquiry from the judge, Colonel Alba declared that D. Taborda would remain imprisoned on charges of "complicity in crime, plunder and extortion." Later on a military tribunal, in a monumental example of injustice, sentenced Deputy Taborda to five and a half years in prison.

Luis Efren Fernandez, a deputy from the RLMP, cited fifteen instances of lawlessness with regard to persons accused of belonging to the National Liberation Army. After quoting from documents confirming his words, L. E. Fernandez added: "There are hundreds of cases like this in the country." Among others, he cited this example: "Daniel Rodriguez Quintero. A land tiller. Arrested on April 8, 1968 . . . by a military patrol. Charged with participation in criminal offences. At the military post Colorado he was assaulted and battered by the colonel in charge of the battalion. The latter turned him over to the commander of the Leon VI anti-guerrilla unit stationed in the capital, who interrogated him for three hours and subjected him in the presence of a major and a captain, to tortures. In the night following his arrest the captain and ten soldiers of this group compelled him to dig a grave for himself, whereupon they tied his hands and hanged him from a tree. Later on, after further maltreatment and torture, he was forced to put on the uniform and ordered to accompany anti-guerrilla detachments on a nine-day raid. After the raid D. R. Quintero was brought to the Bogota Battalion. Another 'interrogation' followed (in the military intelligence department), and then eight days of solitary confinement.

"Forty days after his arrest, a military judge from the Brigade

of Military Institutes began interrogating him, with no defense council attending . . .

"Daniel Rodriguez Quintero is married and has one child. He has never been tried or arrested before. Since the age of 14 he has worked in agriculture."

That is a typical case. There have been thousands like this in the past four years. This example gives an idea of the treatment of political prisoners.

* * *

The condition of political prisoners and the brutality of the higher military commanders and their "justice" is described in the document "I Accuse" read out by Luis Efren Fernandez during the National Congress debate. The document reads: "I accuse the government, the army command and the military penal judicature of the following facts:

"1. Arrest of citizens accused or merely suspected of complicity in actions violating public order at places of residence or work. The arrested persons are held for days or weeks incommunicado. These actions represent a classical example of kidnapping.

"2. Kidnapping of citizens without any legal grounds, which is an obvious violation of human rights.

"3. At any time of the day or night houses are raided to conduct searches and arrest citizens without previous identification, without presenting warrants issued by competent authorities, without respect for provisions established by law for such cases. In other words, immunity of the home is violated.

"4. Citizens are kidnapped with the use of force and taken to remote localities where there are no prisons and where they are subjected to tortures. Monstrous tortures are applied to extract confessions during interrogations lasting hours and days.

"5. The detained persons, above all those kept in military barracks, are denied the inviolable and universal right freely to choose their defense counsels.

"6. A special prison regimen has been established, and timely visits by lawyers and relatives are prevented by all possible means.

"7. Arrests are conducted illegally. Also in violation of the law, the property and personal articles of citizens are confiscated. Witness the case of Librada Moreno. Government agents seized her house and drove out her family at the very moment when she was summoned to the military tribunal to be acquitted.

"8. Inhuman treatment of peasants, who are tortured around the clock and kept without water.

"9. Political prisoners are more ruthlessly treated than criminal offenders.

"10. To accuse political suspects, resort is taken to false evidence and government-paid perjurers from among inveterate criminals.

"11. Violation of norms of the military penal code. For instance, the code demands that the prosecution present the indictment within two days. But in most cases this is dragged out for weeks and sometimes even months.

"12. The officials, judges and persecutors cannot act in keeping with legal norms, being forced to bow to the wishes and whims of the superior hierarchy.

"13. The flouting of the natural rights of citizens—precisely in 1968, the year which the United Nations declared to be Human Rights Year.

"14. In the name of law, armed force is used to suppress rebelling or allegedly rebelling citizens, and court trials are staged against them with the help of fabricated evidence.

"15. Justice has been put in a ridiculous position, with the defense demanding, in many cases, not the immediate release of their clients, but sentences for them, in order to annul the unlawful right to keep them in detention indefinitely.

"16. Laws are violated and acts are committed which are outside the jurisdiction of the military authorities. Law No. 16 of 1968 is based on the generally recognized principle that civilians are to be tried by ordinary courts. In other words, these courts are to deal with what are defined as political crimes against the state, its security and the constitutional regime. It is a law on public order, especially in view of the fact that attribution of competence is concerned, and it enters into force immediately, needing no additional formalities. But the military authorities insist on the investigation of crimes which are outside their jurisdiction.

"Therefore I accuse the government and the supreme military command of violation of laws and mockery of the legislature.

Among the large number of military tribunals administering "justice," mention should be made of that of Ibague, capital of Tolima Department, which on August 7, 1968 tried seventeen persons accused of collaborating with ARFC guerrillas. The tribunal condemned Jorge Mina Borrero, the local Liberal leader and President of the Tolima Assembly, on the strength of the testimony of bribed witnesses and "confessions" wrested by torture. These facts were exposed and proved by the defense lawyers, among them Junior Lieutenant Adolfo Sanchez, who declared that the accused are political rebels and not criminal offenders as the government and the supreme military command insisted. "Rebellion is not a crime but a right and a duty of the peasants," Adolfo Sanchez declared. His words were supported by all other counsels for the defense.

One of them, Romulo Perdomo, a Liberal lawyer, quoted the affair of Fernando Gomez, whose 136 testimonies were used by the army. This despicable character had served 18 months in the

Ibague Prison for theft and hooliganism. After presenting weighty evidence to army investigators Angelino Rodriguez and Jacinto Hernandez, R. Perdomo made the following statement concerning the witnesses: "Such individuals have always been recruited from among the most dishonest, unscrupulous and immoral people who will make friends with a man in order to betray him."

The testimony of other witnesses at that trial had been obtained after many nights of brutal tortures in army barracks.

One of the most monstrous military tribunal hearings took place in the town of Armenia at the end of 1968. Domingo Taborda, a deputy from the Liberal Revolutionary Party of the People, was sentenced there to five years in prison. (It was the same popular movement leader who had been acquitted by the court). The investigation lasted 45 days, in the course of which the accused were kept in solitary confinement. They were denied the right to defense, their appeals were dismissed and their demand for confrontation was rejected. All "evidence" was given by paid informers. The accused had been condemned before the hearing began. During the trial it became evident that many testimonies had been obtained through torture. The military prosecutor, blinded by his hatred for Communists, complained that the Communist Party's weekly *Voz Proletaria* continued to appear and declared openly that the trial was directed, not against the accused, but against the Communist Party of Colombia. The prosecutor's speech was so absurd that the chairman of the court demanded that he cite concrete facts in support of the charge. One of the defense lawyers proved convincingly that the captain who appeared as an "expert" was in reality the commander of an anti-guerrilla unit who had ordered the arrest of people who had nothing in common with the rebels, and personally supervised putting them to torture.

Political prisoners are incarcerated not only in the towns and villages lying close to the region of hostilities. There are many of them in Neiva, Chaparral, Natagaima, Popayan (south), Ibague (center), Bucaramanga and San Vicente (north), and more than 100 of them have been brought to the capital. The system of tortures already described by us is often applied in the police barracks situated in the very center of Bogota. After the "discovery" by government agents of a Colombian-Venezuelan "subversion" network several citizens were seized and taken, blindfolded, to a secret torture chamber.

There is a concentration camp on Gorgona, an island in the Pacific Ocean, notorious for its infernal climate. Political prisoners and their guards are the island's sole inhabitants. The prisoners include several peasants condemned by military tribunals. For the slightest violations of discipline offenders are given twenty days in the punishment cell, where they are kept on bread and water, or

forced to stand on their knees under the scorching sun for five hours and longer. Under the threat of punishment they are forced to perform religious rites.

But peasants are not the only victims of repression. Hundreds of students, trade union leaders, specialists, teachers and journalists have been jailed, and some of them remain in prison to this day. As a rule, strikes and student and popular demonstrations are suppressed with the help of police round-ups. As a result of mass arrests made in the principal cities of the country in March 1967 under pressure from the military and by order of Lleras Restrepo, university lecturers, members of parliament and even people who support the government were put behind bars. More than two months were spent in prison by Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the CPC, and a number of members of the CC of the Party and prominent popular leaders.

This time, as before, a broad campaign of solidarity with the political prisoners was conducted in the country and outside it. Countless messages were sent to the President of the Republic, statesmen and members of parliament. Protests were voiced by public organizations, among them the Democratic Lawyers' Committee. Owing to this campaign about a thousand prisoners regained freedom.

Two days before the abolition of the state of siege the military tribunal of Bogota held an emergency session to try the case of 272 persons, among them several leaders of the oil workers' union and Juan Campos, leader of the agricultural trade union in Santander Department.

Twenty-eight days after the lifting of the state of siege the military penal "judicature" passed monstrous sentences on a number of popular fighters accused of collaborating with the peasant guerrillas and belonging to the Neiva network of the RAFC. Ten years were given to Emiro Ramon Lugo; nine to Jesus Escobar and Jose Isaac Escobar; eight to Ramon Tovar Andrade, secretary of the Huila district Party Committee, Luis Ernesto Carvajal, Cipriano Alvarez, Resurreccion Morales, Jorge Cerquers, Amadeo Arias, Aurelio Molina, Jose Eliecer Lozano, Augusto Cesar Losada and Faustino Lopez; seven to Jose Leyva and Roberto Castrillon, a prominent Communist leader; five to Roberto Sosa, Paulino Martinez and Eusebio Lis; four to Raul Correa, Campo Elias Avila, Roberto Escobar, Jose Verbo Leyva, Salomon Pastrana, Nicanor Perdomo, Benito Padilla, Juan de Dios Osorio, Marcelino Almario and Luis Almario.

But the brutality of the military did not break the resistance of the people to an unjust social system. Neither death, tortures nor deprivation of freedom could suppress the struggle of the peasants, workers and genuine patriots. New fighters took the place of the

fallen ones. G. Vieira pointed out in this connection at the CC meeting in September 1968: "We openly justify the peasants who are fighting with arms in hand in the guerrilla detachments in reply to the violence of the latifundist usurpers and the offensive of the government's armed forces against the agrarian regions tendentiously called 'independent republics'. We consider that their tireless struggle reflects the interests and sentiments of the broad masses of working people. We also hold that it cannot be suppressed, and we are confident that they will go on fighting to put an end to the reactiontry violence and will decisively contribute to the economic, social and political changes needed by Colombia."

## PROMOTE SOLIDARITY WITH THE COLOMBIAN PEOPLE

The lifting of the state of siege and the subsequent restoration of civic justice with its prerogatives, which were usurped by military judges, does not at all signify that there are no political prisoners in Colombia. The threat is looming on the horizon that in 1970, in keeping with the parity system, President Lleras is to be replaced by a representative of the Conservative Party which, no doubt, will resort to terror and violence on a larger scale. The brass-hats are stubbornly trying to broaden the offensive against the peasants. The guerrilla detachments, formed in reply to violence against the peasants and the Pentagon's interference in the internal affairs of Colombia, will exist as long as the causes that led to their emergence remain. The juridicial justification of the suppression of strikes and popular demonstrations has been preserved. The U.S. military mission continues to act as "adviser" to the military elite. It relies on a large number of CIA agents in Colombia. As the historical experience of the CPC shows, the class struggle in Colombia is assuming a very acute character, and the ruling classes unhesitatingly resort to systematic violence.

It is true that owing to the solidarity of our people and the other peoples and fraternal parties successes have been achieved: many leaders have been released; greater, although not yet sufficient attention is paid to the needs of the prisoners and their families; a law has been adopted on reducing prison terms, an amnesty for students has been declared. The people's resistance to the "gorilla" methods has increased, etc.

A broad national and international campaign for an amnesty for political prisoners and those persecuted for political reasons will contribute to the cause of democracy in Colombia and help stem the fierce offensive of the military and lessen the sacrifices of the people in their struggle against imperialism.

*Bogota, December 29, 1968.*

# MATERIALS OF A PLENARY MEETING, CC, CP OF FINLAND (JANUARY 1969)

## GENERAL SECRETARY VILLE PESSI ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Imperialism's aggressive policies in different parts of the world have been markedly intensified of late. At the same time there are many indications of successes being scored by the forces fighting for peace and the freedom of the peoples, against imperialism.

The most important of these indications is the beginning of the *Paris talks on Vietnam.* At any rate, U.S. representatives are now seated at a round table together with the delegates of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The very fact of the launching of the talks is a great victory for the Vietnamese people and the world forces of peace. We know, however, that the road to peace is not going to be easy. The people of Vietnam need constant support from the progressive forces of the world, including the Finnish people, for, although the talks have been started, the fighting in South Vietnam goes on and the armed forces of the imperialists remain in the country.

*The Middle East.* U.S. imperialism clearly has a hand in the current aggravation of the situation in the Middle East. Israel, supported by the imperialists, not only ignores the UN resolution demanding withdrawal of its troops from the occupied Arab territories, but challenges its neighbors and world public opinion by attacks on other countries.

*Activization of NATO.* In our own continent, nothing has happened that would allow us to relax our vigilance. On the contrary, it is clear that NATO and its member states are stepping up their propaganda and military preparations. They have again dragged out the threadbare assertion that the Warsaw pact of socialist countries threatens European security, and are thus trying to sow distrust and fear. Moreover, they promise help to countries that are in no need of NATO patronage.

Utterances by some spokesmen of this military bloc contain mention of Finland as a country that belongs to the "grey zone" and interests NATO. These "guardians" should be told, as before, that our country knows its place on the map of Europe. It is deter-

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*Kansan Uutiset, January 26, 1969.

mined by its state treaties. The NATO countries should have no delusions on this score.

*Finland to initiate German settlement.* There have been no changes for the better in the German issue, either. The Political Bureau has discussed this issue in the sense that we could launch a broad campaign for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, right up to the establishment of diplomatic relations.

It is clear to all of us that the GDR is a peace-loving state which has achieved signal successes in economic and cultural development. It ranks fifth in Europe as an industrial state, and it will mark twenty years of sovereignty this year. Despite this, the GDR remains subjected to discrimination. It is denied admission to the UNO even as an observer, although the FRG appears in this role there. NATO continues to impose upon its members a negative attitude toward the GDR, and the same attitude is displayed, regrettably, by many so-called neutral capitalist states.

In our opinion, Finland should take the initiative in giving recognition to the GDR. That would be an important proof of the progressive course of Finland's foreign policy. This step would show that the foreign policy of Finland is truly an active policy of peace aimed at easing international tension and advancing the cause of cooperation.

A number of objections are voiced to this initiative. The principal objection is made with reference to Finland's neutrality. Besides, it is claimed, the state treaties concluded by our country signify that we should not interfere in Great Power disputes, which include the German issue.

These and similar objections add up to a homily and passivity. It is precisely the international position of our country that demands recognition of the inviolability of the present European frontiers, including those between the two German states, and of the existence of two sovereign and equal German states.

*Activization of our foreign policy.* The need for a more active foreign policy for Finland was again stressed in a talk which took place after the recognition of the DRV by Sweden. It is wrong for the state treaties or international position of our country to be used as a justification for passivity and inactivity. On the contrary, greater activity, participation in joint actions by democratic and peace-loving states would be in keeping with the foreign policy line of Finland. What is demanded of us in the first place is initiative in both the Vietnamese and German issues.

## PARTY CHAIRMAN AARNE SAARINEN ON THE DRAFT PROGRAM

Our program of concrete actions is aimed at securing the pursuit of a policy which would conform to the interests of the workers

to a greater degree than before. Not willing to rest content with the customary "annual tinkering" with our society, we are convinced that it is necessary to change and consolidate the very foundations of our country, to carry out more radical transformations, for otherwise we shall not avoid utter failure and collapse. To prevent this, we advance our new program.

The preliminary draft of a program of the Party's actions in the near future, drawn up by the commission, contains a number of tasks pertaining to different areas of social life and is designed to augment, enliven and concretize the basic program of the Party.

The draft rests principally on similar programs adopted by the two previous congresses. Now these programs have been specified and actualized. Thus the CPF not only supports any progressive social reform but advances its own program of transformations. Our people should choose between two main alternatives: either to agree to proceed along the road indicated by big capital, which will signify further consolidation of the power of capitalist monopolies, economic instability and an insecure future, or to prefer the road of democratic and planned development of the economy and other spheres of social life, which will signify curbing and gradual elimination of the oligarchy of big private capital and stabilization of the economy and the entire life of society.

We have taken note of the adoption, under the broad government coalition formed after the 1966 elections, of a considerable number of decisions and reforms which are of a positive nature from the viewpoint of the interests of the working class.

On the other hand, traditional prejudices and habits in the life of the Party have been and remain an impediment. They restrict the perspective and prevent us from seeing and comprehending more important moments. In addition to everything, there are groups in all ruling parties whose political outlook and motives of activity are extremely limited.

Nevertheless, it can be said that the experience of Left-Center cooperation furnishes a certain possibility of its continuation, for all government parties will strive above all to improve the condition of the working people. If this objective is regarded as a top-priority one, there will be no alternative to cooperation.

We are convinced that as a result of discussion in the organizations and on the basis of congress decisions the draft will receive a content which will conform to the interests and demands of our people and working class, many aspects of which the Social Democratic and Center parties and their followers will be able to support.

Also, considerable differences will become apparent: more serious ones, naturally, compared to the aims of the parties of the Center, and less serious compared to the aims of the SDP. But common

aims will suffice to form a basis for agreement on further cooperation.

The issue is not one of ideological integration, but of concrete and necessary measures in the direction of social reforms which can only be effected by the joint efforts of all parties of the working class and the Center. Nor is it a question of an electoral program or a hastily thought-up "eight-point program" which we promise to carry through single-handedly, but of a program for a long period which we do not propose to implement by our own efforts but submit to the people and the other parties so as to cooperate with them on those parts of it which will be acceptable to them.

The principal aim of the CPF is to put an end to unemployment, ensure economic well-being and security for all citizens, and eliminate poverty, which is still manifested among broad strata of the population. This will be possible only if the role of all citizens is enhanced and their decision-making power, above all in the economic sphere, is extended, and if democracy is truly brought to work-places and all other places where decisions are adopted bearing upon the everyday life and material condition of the citizens.

As far as incomes are concerned, we hold that the pursuit of a more democratic policy is absolutely necessary. The draft program touches on this in the part dealing with the tasks in the field of wages, prices, taxes and social policy.

We believe that prices, rent and other payments should continue to be regulated and effectively controlled. Along with this, banking and insurance should be turned over to society in a measure making it possible to effectively influence investment activity and the level of interest rates—in the direction of lowering it. This applies at least to big commercial banks and obligatory insurance.

It is necessary constantly to enhance the role of the state in all spheres of economic life if unemployment is to be rooted out. Particular attention should be paid to existing investment capital, its accumulation and rational utilization so as to invigorate both public and healthy private enterprise.

All more or less important enterprises should be obliged by law to inform competent official organs in good time about their plans regarding the utilization, augmentation or reduction of the labor force. In the policy on labor it is necessary to go over, at long last, to planning and to impose certain obligations on the employers as well.

## STATEMENT OF THE CC ON THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND THE NORDEC PLAN

The Communist Party of Finland attaches great importance to the promotion of international economic cooperation and trade on

the basis of mutual benefit, without discrimination against any country.

Proceeding from these principles, the Party favors also development and expansion of economic cooperation between Nordic countries.

However, it can be said already now with regard to the NORDEC plan for expanded economic cooperation of the Nordic countries, drawn up at the official level, that it contains highly doubtful points whose influence on Finland can prove to be rather negative.

The plan, and statements on it, contain views from which one can conclude that the idea is to clear the way to the accession of the Nordic countries (and, consequently, Finland) to the European Economic Community. The CPF declares that it resolutely objects to the inclusion of our country in this supra-national union of some capitalist countries which is of a political nature.

The CC states that the economic integration of West European countries is an expression of international concentration of capital and a consequence of the contradiction of capitalism, reflected particularly vividly in the contraction of markets and the attendant fierce competition, and also in the increasingly acute balance of payments and currency problems. The essence of these troubles lies in the fact that the effective consumer demand of the masses lags behind the growth of production and labor productivity. Far from resolving this cardinal problem, the economic integration of capitalist countries will only aggravate it and carry it beyond national boundaries. Only profound social transformations in the countries concerned can bring about a more reliable solution, which should be the result of cooperation and joint struggle of the various trends in the labor movement.

The cooperation of the Nordic countries should also be based on the complete autonomy of the partners. It should not influence the international position of our country. The CPF is opposed to any commercial and other associations of a supra-national character. Likewise, the Party rejects anything that could hamper the expansion of vitally important trade and other forms of economic cooperation of our country with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It rejects all measures which could negatively affect the economic life of our country and the development of its structure, meaning above all employment.

The CC CPF believes that the economic cooperation of the Nordic countries should correspond in all its aspects to the general national interests of Finland. It takes a negative view of sweeping solutions of the NORDEC type. Instead, it is necessary to study the particular aspects of this cooperation and find out which of them conform to our national interests and which do not.

The CC also considers that the clarification of this important matter requires definite time. If this problem is to be solved democratically, the Diet, the Government, the political parties and the trade union movement should be able thoroughly to study and discuss the NORDEC plan.

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# STATEMENT* OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

The decree establishing a state of emergency throughout the country stresses the extreme weakness of the Franco regime. The comedy of "liberalization," so-called freedom of the press and the "confrontation of opinions" is over. Immobility is no longer enough to check the advance of Spain to freedom. The alarmed hierarchy have decided to back up, to try to return to the old days of the fascist salute, masquerades and repression. Those Spaniards who had cherished the illusion of evolution, of an opening on the part of the present regime and with the consent of its institutions, will now satisfy themselves—if they have not yet done so—of the incompatibility of the Franco dictatorship with any, even mildly liberal, let alone democratic, changes.

The regime's ultras are trying to put the blame for this retreat on the Army, saying that the measure was demanded by the military leaders and threatening, in a country still sensitive to memories of the civil war, to curb the people's—in particular the younger generation's—desire for freedom by bringing in the Army.

We think the imputation is false and the Army is not responsible for the state of emergency. If some extremist general like Pérez Vineta or Iniesta has agreed to back this fascist-like initiative, his attitude cannot be ascribed to all the Spanish military.

In reality, those responsible for the state of emergency are Carrero Blanco, the armchair admiral who is moving step by step into the space being vacated by the advanced senility of Franco, Solis and the Falangist bureaucrats of the government and the vertical trade unions, whose profits and privileges are in jeopardy, all who dread, not disorder, which they themselves cause through their abuses, arbitrary practices and even crimes, but the hour when a democratic order will end their power monopoly and their sinecures.

What the ultras of the regime expect to achieve through the state of emergency is not only to call a halt to student agitation, one of the aspects of national discontent if not the only one, but also to stop the workers' fight against the wage freeze, back-breaking work, and the lack of labor safety, for trade union and political liberties. They want to curb the growing peasant protest, put an end to the collective action of the Spanish lawyers, who are fighting, irrespective of trend, for a state of law, stamp out the

*Mundo Obrero, February 5, 1969.

intellectuals' courageous protest against repression and tortures, silence a press which, though muzzled and controlled, has in recent weeks carried ampler information on the national reality, block the activity of the progressive wing of the Church, prevent a number of high dignitaries of the Church to voice criticisms, paralyze the expression of dissatisfaction by large groups of people active in the economic field, dampen mounting discontent in the Army, which official instructions recently described as "subversive," combat the distaste shown for their duties by numerous civil servants, who realize that the regime is spent and are loath to get involved in its last arbitrary acts.

It was not for nothing that Fraga Iribarne admitted in his contradictory statement to the press that the regime was "not going to wait till some day in May when a settlement would be costlier and more difficult." He was alluding to the May and June events in France and the spectre of a national strike, which is maturing, disturbing the peace of those who have shackled the will of the people and the nation.

The hierarchy of the "Movement" had imagined that hardening the dictatorship and tightening the repression from which the country has suffered practically ever since the notorious referendum of late 1966 would be enough to safeguard its stability. But national forces have been opposing this policy in growing numbers and with

reasing determination. The people and the younger generation are stepping up their resistance and fight as the regime hardens and repression mounts. Every sensible and fair-minded Spaniard is outraged by the crime against Enrique Ruano, a young student, by the indignities committed against political prisoners and the tortures which some policemen continue to apply, by the affront done to entire peoples, as in the case of the Basque people.

The ultras are now taking a further step to escalate repression. Without minimizing the real effects of police measures against hundreds of families, they want above all to produce a psychological effect of terror, to intimidate the country, throw it back to the state of disillusionment, resignation and weakness which at one time enabled them to do as they pleased.

They will fail. After thirty years of fascist and reactionary dictatorship the measures now being taken are, despite their spectacular and extreme character, no more than evidence of the fact that the regime is nearing its end. They are the last outbursts of the fury of those who earnestly believed that fascism had triumphed for thousands of years and who now see it slipping through their fingers with the power, the dirty deals, the cushy jobs and "sweet life" that go with it.

While they have not changed, Spain has. And in the Spain of today there will be no order so long as freedom is lacking.

It is necessary to hold out against the new reactionary escalation without giving in to despair, to resist the demoralizing psychological effect it seeks, to fight with greater energy, resolve and intelligence.

The task is to go on developing at an ever higher level the joint action of the diverse social and political forces of the country. The workers must not go back one step in the battle for new collective agreements, for trade union freedom and democracy. They must continue to use demonstrations, strikes and, as far as possible, the occupation of factories as forms of struggle. At the same time they must multiply contacts with other social strata, with representatives of the most diverse institutions, including clergymen, servicemen and even members of the forces in charge of law and order, so as to win increasing appreciation and support for their struggle. Every enterprise should become a trench, a combat unit in which workers, technicians and managerial personnel fight together. The formation of hundreds of new workers' commissions striving for unity and backed by the masses should be the answer to a measure aimed precisely at preventing the development and consolidation of the new movement of militant workers.

In the countryside, farm hands and peasants acting in unity should redouble their effort for organization, form peasant commissions, use the cooperatives and other organizations, bring intellectuals and traders into their action, and strive to influence and neutralize those who represent state authority.

We call on the courageous Spanish students to strengthen their unity in struggle, not to retreat, and to try to maintain a climate of dialogue between all students and with members of the academic staff who are opposed to the policy of the ultras.

We hope the 1,500 intellectuals who have signed the document against repression and tortures will be supported by further thousands of intellectuals of the most diverse trends. It is a matter of honor for every intellectual today to dissociate himself from the regime.

It is necessary to strengthen the links between Communists, Catholics, Socialists, nationalists and all forces seeking change in Spain. We must pierce the pall of silence thrown on the Spanish people to promote the trend towards dialogue and cooperation that would develop into action against arbitrary practices.

We must call on those who are still silent to speak up and to do so clearly. To be specific, the Spanish people, believers and nonbelievers alike, expect the bishops, the high dignitaries of the Church, the Episcopal Conference to abandon all ambiguous attitudes and to say with whom they side, whether with the tyrants and torturers who invoke the "confessionalism" of the state, or

with those Spaniards who demand freedom.

It is necessary to intensify the policy of bringing the people and the Army closer together, to explain to servicemen both in and outside the barracks, through multilateral contacts, that the regime is planning to use them again as a tool against the people, in defense of a cause that is neither theirs nor Spain's. The Army and the people must unite against injustice and tyranny, against abuses and immorality, must fight to stop the decline in the prestige of our country.

A new popular and national counter-escalation in view of the state of emergency should be the answer to the dictatorship at this juncture. First among the demands should be the demand for revoking the state of emergency, giving their freedom to political prisoners and deportees, stopping repressive and other extraordinary measures, and granting a total amnesty to political prisoners and exiles.

The struggle is entering a new phase. Party members and Young Communists should try to avoid arrest by organizing their lives and activities on a semi-legal and even illegal basis if necessary. They must conceal compromising documents and other papers against the eventuality of a police search but must step up their political activity and not reduce it. We allow ourselves to offer the same advice in a friendly spirit to the members of other political organizations and groups opposed to Franco so as to ward off the effects of the state of emergency.

In this new phase our orientation is the same as before: intensifying the mass struggle, fostering the broadest possible unity and understanding among all who participate in one form or another in action for a free Spain, paving the way for a general strike, for a national strike at the earliest date possible, developing the broadest solidarity with all who are persecuted by the Franco regime, irrespective of their ideas or beliefs.

We ask all fraternal Communist parties and the progressive and democratic forces of the world to identify themselves ever more actively with the struggle of the Spanish people.

Forward, to decisive battles against the dictatorship, for freedom!

*Executive Committee*
*of the Communist Party of Spain*

*January 1969*

# THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY IS GROWING*

The National Conference of the Communist Party of Uruguay has just concluded its deliberations, did not limit itself to registering the important gains in strengthening the Party achieved in the past year, particularly in its second half, when extraordinary security measures were decreed. It also outlined an ambitious plan for nearly doubling the Party membership by late 1970. The Communist Youth League (CYL) is to make a similar effort.

The noteworthy growth of the Communist Party during the past year is of undeniable political significance. Last year alone the Party was joined by 5,664 men and women, and another 3,000 people were admitted into the CYL. In December the Party admitted 1,114 new members, or three members every two hours. When repression, dismissals, sanctions, arrests and the militarization of entire industries showed an upward trend, when death swept through the streets and trade union premises and progressive newspapers were closed, 10,000 compatriots took a step forward by asking for membership in the Communist Party or the CYL. A splendid move! It was a new manifestation of our people's militancy, of their determination to fight for the full restoration of democratic liberties, for their most cherished demands,their bread and wages and homes, for a program of advanced solutions in contrast to the program of wage freeze, poverty, repression and denial of liberties being implemented by a government embodying the oligarchy of big landowners, banks and business that plunders the country.

The old Uruguay of before June 13, 1968 will admittedly never come back. But an essential condition for advancing to a better future, for uniting the people and drawing nearer to fundamental changes is to build up a powerful Communist Party within the Liberation Front of the Left, that force of progress and unity, that embryo of the future national liberation front. We have been striving for this ever since 1955, prompted by the guiding principle that the cardinal problem of the Uruguayan revolution is to build up a powerful Communist Party.

The fact is that the latest political developments have revealed, more clearly than ever, the crisis of the traditional parties. These parties have turned their backs on the people's sentiments. The time has come when old convictions and outdated traditions are breaking down for many thousands of citizens. To cite one example, the

*El Popular, January 21, 1969.

traditional parties laid themselves bare by their reaction to the extraordinary security measures. Some of them backed these measures and others took a posture of shamefaced and timid complicity, bowing down before the overwhelming strength of the executive power and allowing it for over seven months to encroach on legality, flout civil rights and liberties and trample the Constitution underfoot. They are also to blame for the fact that the General Assembly has become an inert body that is helpless against the pressure of the executive power. This is a conclusive proof of the historical failure of these traditional parties. Only the united Left, and inside it the Communist Party, can aspire to the role of spokesman of the masses. This is why we affirm that not only the future of the Party, but the future of our country lies in greatly increasing the membership of our Party to transform it into a powerful trend of national opinion.

* * *

This means, first of all, reinforcing the Party in the big enterprises, where the proletariat is concentrated. Of those who joined the Party in Montevideo in 1968, 79 per cent work in big enterprises. This should be the main direction of the effort for our future growth: the Communist Party is, by historical definition, the party of the proletariat, the organized vanguard of the working class. It is among the working class that the Party will win thousands of new members. And it is in the big enterprises that hundreds of new Party groups and branches will be formed as a profound expression of the internal democracy of the Communist Party, which no other political party can boast. The influx of communist ideas into the younger generation, which naturally makes the great ideals of liberation its own, will also translate itself into thousands of new fighters joining the CYL. Working women, housewives who daily feel the burden of the high cost of living, will enter the struggle in factory and neighborhood organizations of the Party. It is encouraging that among those admitted into the Party in 1968 there are 1,731 women, who thus make up about one-third of the total. Other spheres where we must recruit new Party members are the inland regions, the agricultural workers and urban middle strata. All this must be done in the next *two years* if we are to bridge the gap between the role of the Party, its national weight, its participation in the mass movement, especially in the struggle of the working class—in which the Party must promote unity and organization and contribute to the building up of a trade union center—and its own numerical strength.

We will use for this great effort all the weapons which the Party has been able to forge throughout these years to reach the masses: our daily, which has a massive circulation, *Estudios*, the largest theoretical and political journal published by us, the newspapers

brought out by branch organizations for working people and the neighborhood, and fund collections. The National Conference coincided with the successful culmination of the campaign to raise the needed 40 million pesos, a big victory showing that the Party has its roots in the masses, revealing the love and confidence it enjoys among the people, its desire to support those who fight, and also revealing, by the amount collected, the vastness of the tasks facing the Party today.

In these months of grim struggle, of confrontation with the policy of repression and wage freeze pursued by the government, of tenacious defense of trade union rights and liberties, hundreds of thousands of working people have gained tremendous experience. They have come to see their friends and their enemies, to realize that the defense of their immediate and future interests depends on the Left, on our Party. The doors of the Communist Party are open to all of them. For every one of them there is a combat post, a position of responsibility in which he can fight conscientiously and honorably for a better destiny for the republic and its sons and daughters. We call on the men and women of our country, and more particularly on its youth—young workers and students from whose ranks freedom martyrs have risen—to side with communism, the youth of the world, by joining the Communist Youth League.

# TROTSKYISM: A VARIETY OF "LEFTISM"

LEO FIGUERES

It is certainly not out of love for the revolution that bourgeois propaganda is at one in publicizing "leftism." We, too, are going to deal with "leftism," particularly with its Trotskyist variety, so as to show it for what it is—a worthless instrument of hopeless ventures.

## I. "LEFT" OPPORTUNISM AND ITS TROTSKYIST FORM

This is not the first time that Marxists have had to fight against revolutionary phrasemongers who work themselves up and try to work up others with high-sounding slogans and with practices disregarding the real state of affairs and the alignment of political and social forces at a given historic juncture.

As far back as the last century the founders of scientific socialism and their associates in various countries had to fight against the followers of Proudhon and Bakunin, who refused to allow the formation of independent labor organizations taking coordinated and disciplined action and having a common ideology and policy. Clinging to the methods of secret sects and societies, whose days, however, were gone, the "leftists" of that period accused Marxists of striving to turn the labor movement into a barracks, dampen its spontaneous élan, and curb the revolutionaries' "freedom of initiative."

Lenin fought without let-up against "leftism," which he described, along with Right opportunism, as one of the two adversaries of Bolshevism. He revealed the close kinship of these two evils of the labor movement, for at bottom both question its ability to win and to create a new society.

For more than a century now, all these groups claiming to stand to the "left" of Marxism have been proved to be powerless. Not one of them has ever accomplished a liberating action of lasting value, and only Marxist revolutionary parties have succeeded, not without difficulty, in opening the road to socialism in many countries.

Whatever its form, "leftism" poses as the spokesman of the proletariat. In reality it is expressive of the vacillation and hesita-

*Abridged from **Cahiers du communisme,** No. 10, 1968. The author is a member of the CC FCP and Director of **Cahiers du communisme,** theoretical and political journal of the CC FCP.

tion typical of the petty bourgeoisie. Most of its supporters reject proletarian discipline and deny the need of unity of action, which the workers in the enterprises achieve through the harsh experience of daily class struggles. The diverse "leftist" clubs have a natural tendency to oppose one another, to break up into chapters, to wear themselves out in constant internecine strife. Large groups breed small ones, the latter giving rise to factions which split into trends, and this goes on endlessly.

During a political and social crisis, such as the one that broke out in France in May and June, when millions joined simultaneously in political action and, being inexperienced, asked themselves what was the best way to act, these groups proliferate and succeed in gaining support. The ballyhoo they raise and the showy actions they advocate may entice impatient elements, those who are sensitive to appearances and superficial phenomena, notably among youth.

Left opportunism has two grave consequences. By running the struggle into an impasse, it shatters the hopes of those who had put their faith in its objectives and methods and involves the risk of many of them turning away from action and relapsing into passivity. Besides, the bourgeoisie in power is unafraid of revolutionism and knows how to take advantage of it when there is a chance, as the May crisis revealed.

The bourgeois press shows a high degree of understanding for the activity of "ultra-revolutionary" groups. Its blows have always been reserved for the French Communist Party. Is not the Communist Party the really organized force of the working class, a force organized in such a way that the bourgeoisie has great difficulty in infiltrating and maneuvering in it at will?

As for the mouthings and doings of anarchist, Trotskyist or Maoist sects and groups, the bourgeoisie sees them for what they really are—as a factor of discord and division in the labor movement. It prefers to have its own sons and daughters stray for a while into these groups because it is certain of retrieving them—rather than have them turn to the Communist Party.

Moreover, there are situations in which the bourgeoisie needs a safeguard against a labor and democratic movement on the increase. "Leftism" can assume this function thanks to its gestures and provocative talk, as well as to its at once reckless and futile methods.

The political struggle against "leftist" theses and moves is indispensable, not only because of the need to preserve the invaluable patrimony of the labor movement that is an organized, experienced and influential Communist party, but also because unless "leftist" trends are combated politically, the power of big capital will be provided with further opportunities to mislead part of the masses,

resist the democratic movement and block the achievement of democratic unity.

To combat "leftist" groups effectively, it is also necessary to know them well.

Among the numerous "leftist" groupings in France there are various groups committed to Trotskyism. Now Trotskyism has a veritable tradition and forty years' experience in combating the Communist Party. Furthermore, Trotskyist groups maintain relations and "compare notes" with their foreign counterparts.

Trotskyism, which has proved barren everywhere, has over the years spawned followers who are to be seen in almost every sphere in France today, in numerous political, trade union and cultural organizations, in practically every government agency.

Though divided and opposed to one another in or outside Trotkyist groups, these people join forces to fight the Communist Party.

Hence it is a pressing task to undo Trotskyism once again, to show that it has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism.

## II. TROTSKY SHORN OF LEGEND

"The old participants in the Marxist movement in Russia," wrote Lenin in 1914, "know Trotsky very well, and there is no need to discuss him for their benefit. But the younger generation of workers do not know him, and it is therefore necessary to discuss him . . ." (*Collected Works,* Vol. 20, p. 346.)

Lenin, for his part, knew Trotsky perfectly because in building a new, Marxist type of party in Russia, he had always had to resist Trotsky.

Trotsky joined the revolutionary movement as a young student originally influenced by the petty-bourgeois socialism of the Narodniks. He ranged himself behind Marxism but always retained the Narodnik's scorn for objective realities and a temptation to adapt them to his personal conclusions and desires.

When the First World War came Trotsky counterposed the slogan "Neither victory, nor defeat" to Lenin's watchword "Transform the imperialist war into a civil war." Lenin described Trotsky's slogan as an expression of lack of confidence in the possibility of revolutionary action by the working class against the rulers, who were responsible for the war.

At the same time Trotsky betrayed a complete incomprehension of Lenin's analysis of the effects of the uneven political and economic development of the capitalist countries in the imperialist period, particularly the possibility of the socialist revolution triumphing in several countries or even in one country, specifically in Russia. According to Trotsky, the revolution could not achieve lasting victory in Russia unless it encompassed the whole of Europe.

During the February Revolution (1917) Trotsky was in the United States. In August 1917 the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party admitted him into the Party with his "inter-district" group and elected him to the Central Committee. Lenin held at the time that all revolutionary elements should be united, including those that until then had been characterized by inconsistency.

A mere list of the fundamental differences that arose between Trotsky and the Leninists from 1903 to 1917 would show that it is hard to regard him as one of them, let alone as another Lenin.

Subsequent events, too, brought this out.

After the failure of the reactionary Kornilov coup, with Bolshevik influence growing, Trotsky was appointed, late in September 1917, Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, a post he had held in 1905. This is the main reason why some historians have woven a legend about him.

In the historic days of October 1917 the struggle was led directly by Lenin while Trotsky played the role of a militant revolutionary who was not free from hesitation when it came to decisive action. For all that, he did not recant his fundamental views, particularly of the socialist revolution winning a lasting victory in Russia alone.

After the victory of the revolution Trotsky, then Commissar for Foreign Affairs, was entrusted with negotiating with Germany a peace treaty which the Soviet state needed absolutely to survive. His opposition to Lenin over the decisive issue of the Brest-Litovsk peace is well known. He virtually made the future of the Russian Revolution conditional on its extension to the rest of Europe, whereas Lenin, even desiring this extension, refused to subordinate the fate of the socialist experiment in Russia to it and was looking for ways and means of saving socialism. One of these means was to secure a respite even if it required a peace compromise with German imperialism. It was then that Lenin, criticizing the attitude of Trotsky and his "left Communist" allies, brought in a veritable verdict against "the revolutionary phrase that leads to the death of the revolution."

Other important disagreements came out in later years between Trotsky and the Leninist majority of the Party, as over the trade unions, on which Trotsky wanted, in effect, to impose a system of military organization stripping them of their character of a mass organization defending the interests of the working people.

After Lenin's death (1924) Trotsky tried to play roles of the first importance. He therefore posed as organizer of the October Revolution and went as far as to claim that Lenin, who, as we have seen, regarded Trotsky's concept as absurd, had in 1917 subscribed to his thesis of the "permanent revolution." The result was that the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party accused him of wanting to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism.

Then came the fundamental debate on whether or not socialism can be built in one country. Trotsky, true to his old theories, did not believe it could unless the revolution spread to the rest of Europe. Since the revolution on the continent was at an ebb just then, that was as much as to give up the effort to promote the socialist progress of Russia. The majority of the Bolshevik Party ignored Trotsky's objections and resolved to take the road to socialist industrialization of the country.

Trotsky did not lay down arms. He forgot about the bitter rivalry which had set him against other members of the opposition, such as Zinovyev and Kamenev, and allied himself with them. This was proof of a lack of principle on his part and on that of his former opponents and led the Party membership to join issue with them.

Trotsky contended that to limit the building of socialism to one country could not but lead to a "Thermidorian," bureaucratic degeneration of the Party and of socialist power. In violation of the principles of Party unity he organized his faction which held its own meetings, owned a clandestine press and had a separate leadership. We wish to note in passing, so as to show the very relative character of the allegiance to Party democracy he claimed, that in the few organizations in which the Trotskyists contrived to seize the leadership, their first step was to dismiss all dissenters from key posts.

A bitter struggle developed in both the Russian Communist Party and the whole Communist International between the Leninists and the bloc formed by the Trotskyists. It ended in a crushing political defeat of Trotskyism. At the close of the discussion which preceded the 14th Party Congress (1926) the 730,826 Communists who took part in it voted as follows: 724,006 for the Party program, 4,120 for the counter-theses of the Trotskyist opposition and 2,676 abstained.

The leaders of the Trotskyist group refused to bow to this overwhelming majority and pressed forward their functional activity, to the point of organizing street demonstrations against the Central Committee on November 7, 1927. They were therefore relieved of their duties or expelled from the Party at the end of that year. Trotsky himself was exiled from the Soviet Union in 1929 for what had been a virtual attempt to found a new, illegal party.

The Trotskyist problem was politically settled in the Soviet Union by the end of 1927. But it was not closed internationally. The backers whom Trotsky had succeded in winning and organizing in various countries continued their activity under his leadership and their anti-Communist character became more and more marked.

To his death in Mexico in 1940, Trotsky fought against the Communist parties with unabated fury. We will see that his followers persist in the fight.

## III. TROTSKYISM—A FORM OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

Trotskyist groups vie for the most revolutionary tag. People who had never stopped fighting against Bolshevism and Lenin on fundamental questions styled themselves "Leninist Bolsheviks" before the war. Today they call themselves "internationalist Communists" or "revolutionary Communists." In 1938 the system of contacts between the tiny organizations which Trotsky had managed to form in various countries since 1930 by picking up above all else those who had broken away from Communist parties was pompously christened the Fourth International. Today this so-called International, more ghostlike than ever, sees its small forces split into several factions squabbling fiercely among themselves.

In prewar France Trotsky's backers never succeeded in forming a reasonably stable group. And yet Trotsky himself had ever since 1921 used his standing in the Communist International to provide himself with supporters in the French Party. From his exile and during his stay in France from 1933 to 1935 he directly helped them to regroup but got nowhere. Whether deserters from communism or newcomers, his backers, who successively were called Souvarine (now anti-Communist commentator of *Le Figaro*), Rosmer, Treint, Molinier (an adventurer pure and simple), Naville, Jean Rous (now adviser to the President of Senegal), David-Rousset (now Gaullist deputy), were no more, as Trotsky himself admitted, than petty-bourgeois intellectuals in no way linked with the people.

Powerless to have an organization of their own, the Trotskyists exalted subversion to the rank of a theory which expected Trotsky's followers to join the Social-Democratic parties when their influence is decisive and to stay in or penetrate into Communist parties enjoying mass support.

The Trotskyists fought against the Popular Front established on the initiative of the Communist Party. They joined Pivert in putting forward the slogans "Everything is possible" and "Socialism at once," which from 1936 onwards kept on disrupting the alliance concluded by the working class with the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie and pushed the latter back into the fold of the blackest reaction.

At the same time, in Spain, the POUM Trotskyists and the groups directly linked with Trotsky denounced, for their part, the Spanish Popular Front. They regarded the government constituted on this basis as an ordinary bourgeois government and called for action to overthrow it.

Whereas the special situation in Spain, a victim of aggression from domestic fascism backed by the armed intervention of Hitler

and Mussolini, necessitated a united front of all democratic forces, the POUM-ites and Trotskyists, allied with certain anarchists, fomented distrust and division, provoked clashes weakening republican resistance and objectively helped its enemies.

The war of the peoples against Hitlerite fascism complicated the Trotskyists' anti-Communist activity. Nevertheless they did not abandon their ambiguous policy which interfered with the struggle of the masses against the fascist aggressor.

In the course of the fight against the fascist invaders, which was headed by Communist parties, many former fanciers of the "leftist" phrase sided with the Communists.

But Trotskyist influence could not be fully eliminated even in the measure in which it expressed, as other "leftist" trends, an ideology of the petty bourgeoisie.

The capitalists need a movement, however weak, seeming to be more to the left than the Communist Party. It is characteristic that after the end of the Second World War their publications raised quite a clamor around the activity of Trostkyist groups.

Reading 1946-47 newspapers, especially *Le Monde,* one begins to understand that the publicity campaign organized of late in favor of "leftism" is not anything new. Jacques Fauvet enquired on May 31, 1946: "Can Trotskyism be a new opposition party?" His colleague Raymond Millet entitled his June 1947 research "The Rise of a New Extreme Left?" In September of the same year *L'Ordre* campaigned for Trotskyism under a characteristic headline: "To the Left of Communism."

The innumerable studies and analyses in which the bourgeois weeklies and dailies have abounded lately might make one think that last May and June there came into being veritable revolutionary competitors of our Party—anarchists, Trotskyists or Maoists. But similar writings appeared as far back as twenty years ago. Thus the consistency of the experts in anti-communism cannot be denied, even if the results fell far short of their hopes.

Indeed, it is not today that the bourgeois discovered "leftism" in the labor movement and the maneuvering space it affords.

For instance, right after Liberation, in the course of the various election campaigns which were of decisive importance, for the political and social orientation of our country depended in large measure on them, the Trotskyists nominated numerous candidates in Paris and in the provinces. They collected a mere 60,000 votes throughout the country, but that sufficed to prevent the election of several Communist candidates, all the more so since the reactionaries endeavored to augment the number of Trotskyist candidates capable of taking away some votes from our Party.

Soon after the war the Trotskyists infiltrated the socialist youth organizations, seized leadership of them in 1947 and did not leave

them until depriving them of their substance. The same happened to the Federation of Youth Club members, in which they held important positions at that time. One of the consequences of Trotskyist activity in organizations where they seize leadership is the implementation of their sectarian line, of factionalist quarrels, which leads to the departure of these organizations from their original line and eventually to their break-up and collapse. In recent years the activity of the Trotskyists and other "leftists" in the National Union of Students has brought about instructive results in this respect.

The Trotskyists and their sympathizers did their utmost to weaken the Communist Party. In 1948 they contributed to setting up the Revolutionary Democratic Union, which made attacks on our Party its proclaimed policy.

In subsequent years they forced their way into the Union of Left Socialists, which was to become a constituent element of the United Socialist Party. The latter owes much to the Trotskyists for its anti-Communist orientation, its sterile "leftism" as well as the split and the political complications which have been consistently plaguing it.

The activity of the various Trotskyist groups rests upon the support they receive from the leadership of such organizations as the United Socialist Party, the Democratic Federation of Labor and the National Union of Students. And no matter how they may differ on other things , these diverse elements unite in dealing their principal blows at the Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labor, as they did already during the Popular Front and soon after Liberation.

Today the French Trotskyists are no more united than the admirers of Mao or the anarchistic sectarians. There are at least seven Trotskyist groups, not counting sub-groups more or less similarly called, which can't bear the sight of one another.

This endless fragmentation typical of any "leftism" can appear amusing. But the fact that there exist various Trotskyist groups which are fiercely fighting among themselves should not make us forget that they have one thing in common—anti-communism.

For Trotskyist ideology is even more dangerous to the labor movement than the activity of groups formally listing themselves among Trotskyists. It has the same traits which we noted in its founder: subjective analysis placing the wishful thinking of one sect above reality; a tendency to ignore stages in the struggle of the working class and more particularly to despise the democratic objectives of this struggle; under-estimation of the role of the laboring peasantry and generally class alliances which the proletariat needs and which find expression in political alliances; an inclination to play up to the young and set them against the older

generation of Communist workers; actual negation of the need for a united and disciplined mass proletarian party.

This orientation inevitably leads to practices which ignore the actual correlation of social forces and are therefore adventuristic and pernicious.

This ideology is not only the official ideology of the Trotskyists. Being an expression of petty-bourgeois revolutionism, it is shared, especially in periods of political crisis, by various elements whose common trait is making a revolutionary virtue out of impatience. When the class battle grows more acute, when the popular movement develops impetuously, the influence of such conceptions in these circles increases.

Now, who benefits by the Trotskyist campaigns of vile slander against active Communists? For an answer it suffices to point to the response they evoke in bourgeois propaganda.

It should not be concluded that all followers of Trotskyism are agents provocateurs from the Gaullist intelligence service or the CIA, just as it was not correct to treat them as Hitlerites thirty years ago.

What is true is that, today as yesterday, Trotskyism with its anti-communism, raving anti-Sovietism and its attempts to subvert workers' organizations actually plays into the hands of the enemies of the revolutionary movement.

In so far as they relentlessly persist in their shameful anti-Communist attacks, sacrifice the interests of the working class to those of their powerless sects, preach practices divorced from objective reality and threaten to drive working people and students, if only a small part of them, into a blind ally or to despair, we have every reason to qualify the Trotskyists as political adventurers who can, just as in other places and at other times, misguide revolutionary energy, do harm to the labor movement and retard its advance towards the realization of its democratic and socialist aims.

To rout Trotskyism, this special form of modern anti-communism, politically, is an imperative necessity.

## IV. COMMUNISTS OPEN UP A POSITIVE AND REALISTIC PERSPECTIVE

"Leftism" in its Trotskyist and other varieties is a political expression of the contradictions of the petty bourgeoisie caught between its desire to resist big capital and its tendency to deny the leading role of the working class in social struggle.

During an acute political crisis, such as that of May and June in France, "leftist" groups can succeed in diverting part of the struggle to their benefit. They give students and young intellectuals

of petty and middle bourgeois origin who almost instantaneously rise to political consciousness and action, a feeling of apparent satisfaction of being able to fight against the ruling power without siding with the Communist Party, towards which they entertain tenacious prejudices characteristic of their social milieu.

It is evident that their favorable evolution with regard to us depends in large measure on the degree to which Communists succeed in making themselves heard by them and drawing them into their struggle. But what approach should be adopted? This question merits consideration.

In our opinion, one should not underestimate such an important phenomenon as the entry into struggle of hundreds of thousands of young people from the universities. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that this is a militant but inexperienced mass which, naturally, tends to be enticed by the fine gesture and the revolutionary phrase, and that precisely this creates the danger of this energy being misdirected towards a gamble, which is against the interests of revolution.

These two elements, we think, should be taken into consideration in adopting a position which would be equally correct and possible.

Indeed, it would be a mistake to ignore the new and positive fact of the awakening of these young people to political action, and not to find a language and methods of action which would be understandable to them and thereby contribute to their more correct orientation.

But it would also be a mistake to wait more or less passively till their own experience convinces these young people of the noxiousness of the concepts and practices of "leftism." That would signify oblivion of the fact that concrete political and ideological struggle for influence is waged always and everywhere and specifically in stormy periods when new, heretofore relatively passive strata suddenly join in the fight against the power and policies of capital. And struggle for influence presupposes that the party of the working class should criticize, in appropriate forms, the positions, aims and methods which are dangerous either because they are fraught with the danger of a gamble or even because they can facilitate the capitalist government's maneuvers against the popular movement.

We should agree, of course, that the ways by which some categories of young people come to take part in the revolutionary struggle today do not always coincide with the ways envisaged by Communists. But from this it follows that we must on no account accommodate ourselves to any delusions dangerous to the labor movement as a whole and in particular to any form of anti-communism. When, for instance, Cohn-Bendit, addressing a USP meeting, flung dirt at Communists and called for the destruction of

our Party, was it merely political naivete? We did not think so, and we stated our view of this individual and his pretensions. By failing to do so we would be running the risk that many of those who followed this false prophet at that time would enter upon the road of vulgar anti-communism.

We also think that we acted correctly by resolutely rebuffing some student leaders who intended to supplant the workers' trade unions, to send their people to the factories and to dictate to the working people the best methods of waging their struggle. Otherwise we would have strengthened many students in their mistaken view that they and not the proletariat are to head the fight against big capital.

We think it was equally necessary to criticize the methods of false "barricades," the theory of escalation of street violence, which, far from securing popular support for the student movement, facilitated its isolation and the counter-offensive of the party of Gaullist "order."

It is true that at that moment this criticism was not understood or accepted by many students. But even if it did not convince them immediately, it was important as a warning which helped the shaping of correct political views in many of them.

A great job was done and great political courage was displayed by the Communist teachers, scientists, students, workers, intellectuals and journalists who in the hectic days of May and June went to defend the positions of the Party in lecture-halls and class-rooms. It was necessary to come out against the leftist trends in these milieus, to remind them of the real conditions for a successful revolutionary struggle in present-day France. Our comrades did not waste their time.

An analysis of the new problems arising in the universities and specifically the problem of the constantly growing role which students, whose number is increasing, are playing in the life of the nation and in public activity, reflections on the conditions of the rapid growth of the militancy of a large part of the younger generation and of its striving for deep-going changes in the organization of society by no means escape the attention of our Party. They are inseparable from the political struggle against "leftism" in its various manifestations.

On a more general plane, we have worked out a policy based on the reality of our country and aimed at winning over the majority of the people for the cause of profound changes in the political, economic and social fields.

A close analysis of the correlation of class forces in France and of their own experience leads Communists to the conclusion that the power of big capital can be eliminated by a powerful movement

and that lasting unity of the Left political forces, based on a common government program, is essential for this.

The establishment of a progressive democratic regime presupposes consolidation of the social positions of the working class and its allies in town and countryside and weakening those of monopoly capital. We consider that in the conditions of France this would constitute a major step forward which would create a real possibility of going over to socialism by means of a free decision of the majority of the people, under a multi-party system, while paralyzing the privileged groups' will for violence. In this way it would be possible to ensure a change of the structure of society in peaceful conditions, which are optimal for the people, as Lenin pointed out back in 1917.

This perspective, based on French reality, is opposed by the "leftists," the Trotskyists in particular.

True to themselves, they will not hear either about the immediate democratic aims or about the transition to socialism by the will of the masses. Socialism, they declare, is to arrive straightaway, without any transition, being imposed, if necessary, by the action of restless minorities. To be sure, it is easier and, at first glance, more tempting to affirm one's desire to put an instant end to the power of capital, instead of working, proceeding from the harsh reality, to create conditions for its elimination.

Therefore, we should see to is that the various groups listing themselves among the Trotskyists do not play upon the impatience and inexperience of a certain part of the young by flatteries and demagoguery which have always been characteristic of political adventurers. Our task is to unmask their utter unscrupulousness.

Combating them, Communists should win over all those who sincerely want to fight against capitalism, for a correct concept of revolutionary struggle, notably the idea stressed by Waldeck Rochet in his report to the Central Committee in July:

"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 revolutionary anti-monopoly possibilities of all the forces of democracy, to mobilize the energy of not only workers and peasants, but broad strata of the intelligentsia who feel the need for social change. Only this struggle opens up a positive and at the same time realistic perspective.

"A perspective which has nothing in common with gambles and which opens the way to a socialist France."

# THE WORLD COMMEMORATES A GREAT CENTENARY*

**TODOR PAVLOV**
MEMBER, POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CC BCP

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the Russian and world genius of the socialist revolution and the socialist reshaping of society, will be commemorated by the working class, the Communist parties and the peoples of the socialist countries, with the Soviet people and the CPSU at their head. Indeed, working people in every corner of the planet, the whole of progressive mankind, will celebrate this great centenary as their own holiday and as a year in which they must join their forces even more closely and carry the struggle to realize Lenin's behests on peace, democracy and socialism through to complete and final victory. Such an organization as UNESCO has likewise joined in this celebration. Even some Catholic centers have had, for reasons of their own, to join in some form and to some extent or other in this truly noteworthy celebration.

This is undoubtedly yet another proof of the unprecedentedly rapid spread of Marxism-Leninism among the working people and progressives throughout the world. It shows, furthermore, that there no longer exists a social force capable of stopping the victorious march of Marxism-Leninism and of turning back the wheel of man's history. The forces of feudalism were unable to reverse the progress of capitalism; still less can the forces of imperialism, that is, of capitalism in its highest but last phase, turn back the progress of socialism, an increasingly decisive factor for the development of mankind.

The decision of the CC CPSU on the preparations for the centenary of Lenin's birth speaks of Lenin as a brilliant theoretician of the proletarian revolution and the socialist transformation of society, the greatest leader of the proletarian revolution and the Bolshevik Party—the vanguard of the working class, a party of a new type; as the founder and leader of the first socialist state in the world; as the man who maintained that socialism is living creative effort by the people; as the recognized leader of the world proletariat and the international Communist movement; as a fiery champion of freedom and happiness for the working people; as a

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man attaching tremendous importance to the communist education of youth, to young people's active participation in revolutionary struggle and the building of a new society. After stressing Lenin's contribution to planned socialist development in the Soviet Union, elaboration of the dialectical unity of patriotism and socialist internationalism, the founding of the Third Communist International and the building up of the economic and defense power of the socialist country, the decision says:

*"The CC CPSU considers that the most important task in connection with the preparations for this memorable date is creative work to carry forward the theory of Marxism-Leninism, that powerful ideological weapon of our Party in the fight for the victory of communism."*

This contribution and these behests of Lenin have been, are and will be widely commented on, especially on the eve of and in the anniversary year itself. It is impossible to describe and evaluate them here in even the most general and concise form. But as one who for long years has been active in the field of Marxist-Leninist thought, I have received written and oral questions from scientists and technologists who are enthusiastic about the rapid progress going on in world technology today and at the same time express certain doubts about the practical value of philosophy generally, meaning also Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

These doubts have already been answered by life and history. The October Revolution could not have won (with all the far-reaching internal and international implications of that victory) if Lenin and the Party had been prompted by revisionist, nationalist, racialist or idealist views on theory and methodology instead of revolutionary Marxist, dialectical materialist and historical materialist views. In other words, without Marxism-Leninism neither the October Revolution, the socialist revolutions and socialist development which came after it in different countries, the tremendous upswing and victories of the anti-colonialist movement in the "third world," the powerful growth of the world Communist movement and other progressive mass movements, the concessions which world capitalism has been and is compelled to make to the working class and other working people to some degree or other and in one form or another, nor the relative curbing of militarism, racism and fascism in the world, would have been possible.

What does all this mean specifically?

We all agree that, for example, space rockets and moon flights, the revolutionary discoveries of modern physics, chemistry, physical chemistry, biochemistry, astrophysics, cybernetics, the information theory and electronic computers constitute enormous achievements and triumphs of human thought, of man's scientific

and practical endeavor. The complexity of patterns and of the functions performed, the prospects that have opened up before cybernetic machines of diverse types, and the revolutionary discoveries and their application in all of human practice and science that have been growing in quickening progression arouse the sincere admiration of every fair-minded and fair-dealing person and make him feel deeply proud. But surely the brilliant discoveries of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the creation and the application in historical practice of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist world outlook, of the materialist dialectical theory and method, the real and, for the first time ever, consistently scientific definition and carrying forward of political economy, scientific communism and other social sciences, taken as the theoretical basis for the historical development of mankind from capitalism to socialism and from socialism (the lower phase of communism) to the higher phase of communism, in which each will work according to his ability and receive according to his needs, are no less complex, no less difficult or important or innovating or decisive as far as man's future is concerned.

It is often written and said that we should become a *technological nation.* That is correct, of course, for without an adequate material and technical basis, and without rapid progress in technology, communism cannot be built and, in fact, is logically unthinkable. But then there are technological nations in West Germany, the United States, Sweden, Japan and other capitalist countries. We can and should become a *technological nation,* but of a *socialist type* or, to put it plainly, not a technological nation generally, but a *socialist technological nation.* We should train, not technologists generally, not just technologists, not only technologists, but *socialist technologists.* This is a task set by history itself. This is a behest of the Great October, that is, a *behest of Lenin himself.*

No one was convinced more deeply than Lenin that without a material and technical basis, without rapid progress in technology, without technologically competent workers and managers, socialism is no more than a utopia, a wish, a dream. The CC CPSU decision also specifies the most important task in connection with the preparations for the Lenin centenary: *creative effort to carry forward Marxist-Leninist theory, the Communist parties' ideological weapon in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism.*

This should not be forgotten or underestimated, particularly on the eve, that is, in the preparatory period, of the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth and during the anniversary itself.

If we were to describe in a few words Lenin's place and role in the development of Marxism and the socialist revolutionary movement of the world we would say that he made an important, quali-

tatively new contribution to Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific communism and to the theory, practice, program, strategy, tactics and organization of the revolutionary Communist movement in Russia and the rest of the world.

It is known that Marx already registered the trend of capitalism towards its imperialist phase. Lenin, proceeding from the fundamental economic, sociological, political and philosophical postulates of *Capital* and other writings by Marx and Engels and basing himself on the latest economic facts and development trends in the capitalist countries, left us his remarkable work on imperialism as the highest and last phase of capitalism. Indeed, Lenin had made a scientific study of the development of capitalism in Russia even before that. After the revolution he continuously followed with keen attention the development of the Soviet Union in the new historical conditions and he left us his valuable thoughts about the new economic policy, economic planning in socialist society, the role and significance of money, price and profit in socialist economy and trade and, in this connection, about the nature and significance of profit in any socialist enterprise. In stressing what is common in terms of value and profit under copitalism and socialism, Lenin never forgot to stress those aspects that set the concepts of value and profit under socialism apart from the same concepts in capitalist economy and trade.

Thus in the economic sphere, and particularly in analyzing the general negative trend and the particular positive manifestations of imperialist development, Lenin gave us classical examples of how to carry forward and apply Marxism in a creative spirit. Subsequent historical development put forward the problem of the new, socialist system of economic planning and management. As we already know, this came about and is coming about in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is coming about in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, where, after arguing for and testing the new system of socialist economic planning and management, the July plenary meeting worked out the problem of scientific management, not only of the material basis of the socialist economy generally, but also of the whole of social development, the entire superstructure of society.

In connection with the implementation of Lenin's behests in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, democracy from below —in enterprises, associations, institutions, creative workers' unions —acquires still greater importance and links up still more closely with democratic centralism from above in the central departments' planning of the general proportional economic development, of the main standards in investment, trade, basic prices and other fields. Both the CPSU and other Communist parties, refusing to reject

or underrate democratic centralism and to overrate democracy from below or to make it an absolute, are following the road shown by Lenin, that is, the road of *dialectical unity* of the general development of the socialist community.

It is particularly characteristic of Lenin and Leninism that economic analysis and synthesis, forecasts and plans are inseparably bound up with the fundamental problems of development and the entire social superstructure, including socialist culture and art, which are national in form. Lenin's doctrine of the revolution and the party of a new type, of the socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat as a type of democracy a thousand times superior to any bourgeois democracy, his doctrine of the development of the bourgeois-democratic into the socialist revolution, oblige us to pay special heed also to scientific communism, the third component of Marxism. This is particularly indispensable in the light of the increasing anti-Marxist, anti-Soviet and anti-Leninist ideological subversion.

The best way of combating this subversion is correctly to understand and creatively to carry forward the whole revolutionary Marxist, ideological, political, social and economic legacy of Lenin, according to which there is no freedom or democracy in general but concrete freedom and democracy (bourgeois or proletarian).

Lenin's definition and application of the idea of dialectical unity of the general, particular and unique produced excellent results as regards, for instance, the possibility of building socialism first in one country. Marx and Engels considered that the socialist revolution can triumph only if carried out simultaneously in all or most of the developed capitalist countries. This idea of Marx and Engels was correct in its day, in the conditions prevailing at the time. In Lenin's time, however, during the October Revolution and the socialist revolutions and socialist development that came after it, this idea had to be creatively readjusted while retaining the fundamental tendency—the road to the revolutionary replacement of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by that of the proletariat, and while taking into account the special conditions of some countries, particularly those of Russia, which proved to be the weak link of the world-wide chain of capitalism. It was at that link that the chain could be, and actually was, pierced with the victory of the October Revolution. It was an immense theoretical and practical victory of creative, Marxist-Leninist, dialectical materialist thought whose implications proved immense.

This idea is intimately linked with another: according to Marx, Engels and Lenin, people make their own history. But they make it in given, objectively real social conditions and natural conditions projected through them. And this not only enables the working

class, its party and every Communist revolutionary, but makes it necessary for them from the logical and any other point of view, to realize their responsibility and never to forget that activity governed by the laws of social development does not exist outside men, classes, peoples or nations.

The proletarian class itself, Marx, Engels and Lenin pointed out, is not only the most revolutionary and most active of all the revolutionary classes that have ever existed,. For the first time in history, its emancipation from exploitation and oppression leads to the abolition of all exploitation or oppression of man by man, which, in turn, means that by its very historical nature it is a graphic embodiment of the fundamental law of dialectics, the law of the unity and struggle of opposites.

The dialectical development of the natural and social sciences, technology and culture led Lenin to the idea of the special importance of dialectical materialist gnosiology and its theoretical basis, the reflection theory. It was not accidental that Lenin called dialectics the *soul of Marxism.* This phrase, while not being in itself a logical definition, vividly expresses both the meaning and the concrete historical significance of the Marxist-Leninist theory and methods, which are intended *both to explain and to change the world.*

In *Materialism and Empirio-criticism,* in *Philosophical Notebooks,* in "On the Significance of Militant Materialism" and other classical works, Lenin posed and elaborated the fundamental questions of both dialectical materialist gnosiology, which was necessitated by the specific development of philosophy and the various sciences, and, more particularly, the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, conceived as a dialectical *process* of subjective reflection of objective reality, which is likewise going through a process of dialectical development.

I cannot dwell here at length on the Leninist stage in philosophy, political economy and scientific communism or in the science of human culture and, more particularly, the arts and letters. I wish to note, however, that it was precisely Lenin who expressed the idea that every literary production and every work of art is characterized by creative individuality. Again, it was Lenin who proved that literature is and must be a class-party matter and that in the class society both art and philosophy have been and are, partisan. "Non-partisanship" is either hypocritical and false or suggests inability to realize and admit that proletarian partisanship implies a *correct* reflection of objectively real things in man's consciousness. Lenin's idea that socialist art is, by its very nature, objectively correct or truthful and is at the same time an embodiment of the individual sentiments, strivings and tendencies of its creator and

consumer makes it in principle possible to pose and scientifically elaborate the fundamental questions of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics.

This is, needless to say, not all that makes up the content and significance of the Leninist stage in the development of revolutionary Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific communism. But it is enough to reveal the enormous leap taken by Lenin's thought in this direction and the invaluable scientific, political and cultural legacy which he left us and which we must study thoroughly and carry forward in a creative spirit, with due regard to the new conditions and tasks of our economic, political, social, cultural, scientific and philosophical development.

The history of the Bulgarian working-class movement and Communist Party is a vivid proof of the scientific soundness and practical significance of Marxism-Leninism and socialst internationalism.

Leninism and proletarian internationalism, democracy and democratic centralism, the Bulgarian Communists' activity and iron discipline, the dialectical fusion of socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism, the defense of Marxism-Leninism against all revisionist and dogmatic attacks and distortions, its creative elaboration according to the general objective laws which already manifested themselves during the October Revolution and to the actual conditions in our country, and progress in culture and literature that are national in form and socialist in content, with freedom for creative people to choose and give expression to their own themes, styles, approach, school, etc.,—all this turned the Bulgarian Communist Party—even before the revolution, under the influence of Leninism and the Soviet Party of a new type, into one of the foremost parties in the international working-class movement, earning it full confidence and high prestige among the Bulgarian people.

Georgi Dimitrov was proud of being a pupil and associate of Lenin. Lenin thought highly of the Bulgarian Communist Party, whose scientific, political, economic and cultural activities were invariably prompted by the fundamental principles of materialist dialectics and historical materialism, which it adjusted to our specific conditions, tasks and possibilities. Our revolution of September 9, 1944, socialist in content, took a people's democratic form. We did not nationalize the land after the socialist revolution. Today the Central Committee of the BCP, with Comrade Todor Zhivkov at its head, taking into account the actual conditions, trends and needs, is successfully implementing a new scientific system of planning and management in the national economy and the whole of our social development.

All the difficulties that crop up on this road are growing pains and will be overcome as our people advance to socialism and from

socialism to communism. Following this Marxist-Leninist general line, the BCP in alliance with the Bulgarian People's Agricultural Union won unprecedented influence before, but above all after, the 9th of September on our people's intelligentsia, an influence of which we are particularly proud and which has a beneficial effect, not only on the development of our trade unions, the Komsomol, students and youth generally, but also on the unions of technologists and creative workers.

*On this basis, the dialectical unity of socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism is expressing itself ever more vividly in indestructible fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian people and the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.*

Lenin taught us to see the fundamental, essential and outstanding aspects of historical events and not to skim over their surface, not to draw conclusions fit for philistine-minded intellectuals and their like, as some scholars, writers and other people have lately been doing. He also taught us that the soundest policy is a *principled policy, which at the same time must—precisely because it is principled—pay heed to the specific or peculiar aspects of the development and activity of the socialist country or Communist party concerned in its fight for peace, democracy and socialism.*

The communication which the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party addressed to all working people after Lenin's death described Lenin as a genius of the working class such as history had not produced since Marx's death. "All," it stressed, "that is really great and heroic in the proletariat—an indomitable mind, an iron will that is unbreakable and tenacious, and stronger than any obstacle, a sacred, deadly hatred for slavery and oppression, revolutionary passion that moves mountains, boundless faith in the creative forces of the masses, a tremendous genius for organization — all this was splendidly embodied in Lenin, whose name became a symbol for the new world from West to East and from South to North."

Speaking of the military, political, economic and cultural gains of the Soviet people, Lenin said that we have a right to be proud and to consider ourselves happy because we were the first to defeat, in one corner of the globe, that wild beast, capitalism, which has drenched the earth in blood and driven mankind to hunger and savagery, and which is bound to perish before long, no matter how monstrously bestial the manifestations of its death throes may be.

There can be no doubt that had Lenin lived to see the present manifestations of imperialism (draped in demagogy, it is true) in Vietnam and many other countries, including the USA itself, where they do not affect the Nego people alone, he would hardly have toned down his opinion of modern capitalism or his conviction that

capitalism is doomed.

However, the fact that capitalism is doomed does not make unnecessary but presupposes and demands all-out revolutionary (theoretical and practical) effort by the international working class and the whole of progressive mankind. For the rise of communism is not automatic like the rise of the sun but is a logical result of man's own objectively cognitive and meaningful creative activity. And this implies and necessitates resolutely exposing and foiling all attempts to deny, underrate, slander or distort the theoretical and practical work of Lenin, the Soviet Union and the CPSU, all attempts to substitute Rightist or "Leftist," pseudo-Marxist theories and nationalist action programs for Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

In the twenty-fifth year of the socialist revolution and socialist development and on the eve of the Lenin centenary the Bulgarian people, led by their Communist Party and carrying the banner of the Patriotic Front, will continue to advance along the road of scientific socialist planned building, not only of the material and technical basis, but also of *society as a whole in accordance with the guidelines provided by the Ninth Congress and the July Plenum, invariably on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, which have found their most vivid and concrete expression in the indestructible friendship, fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance of the Bulgarian people and the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.*

# FROM THE DRAFT 20th CONVENTION RESOLUTION*

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

We are part of a world movement, the most dynamic and powerful force in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy and socialism. All developments on a world scale are influenced by and draw great strength from the socialist world system and in particular from the USSR, the first socialist state which is now laying the foundations of a communist society.

Our relations with other Communist and Workers' parties are based on our common aim—socialism. These relations are fraternal and based on equality and sovereignty and non-interference in each others affairs, as it is based on proletarian internationalism.

Unity and solidarity of the world communist movement has always been and is more so today, in conditions of sharpening class struggle between the two social systems, the main instrument, the main source of strength, the main condition for success for our common aims.

This is why our Party constantly works for the success of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties which will take place in Moscow in June. Such a Conference is indispensable to define a joint position on the key issue in the fight against imperialism, to coordinate world strategy and tactics, counter the global strategy of imperialism and begin the process of re-unification of the world communist movement.

Nineteen seventy will mark the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth. This event should be the occasion to deepen our study and understanding of the great contribution made by Lenin to the theory and practice of Marxism in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. Leninism has universal application. Our Party will redouble its efforts to bring these truths to ever wider circles of working people, youth and intellectuals as a guide to the emancipation from exploitation of man by man.

The 20th Convention can mark an important milestone for our Party and the working class of Canada and assist in opening the way to democratic advance. All communists should redouble their efforts to build the Party and its press, advance the fight for peace, democracy and the vital needs of the people and thereby make our Party an ever-stronger factor in the life of the country and in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

*Central Committee*
*Communist Party of Canada*
January 1969

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*Convention '69, January 20, 1969.

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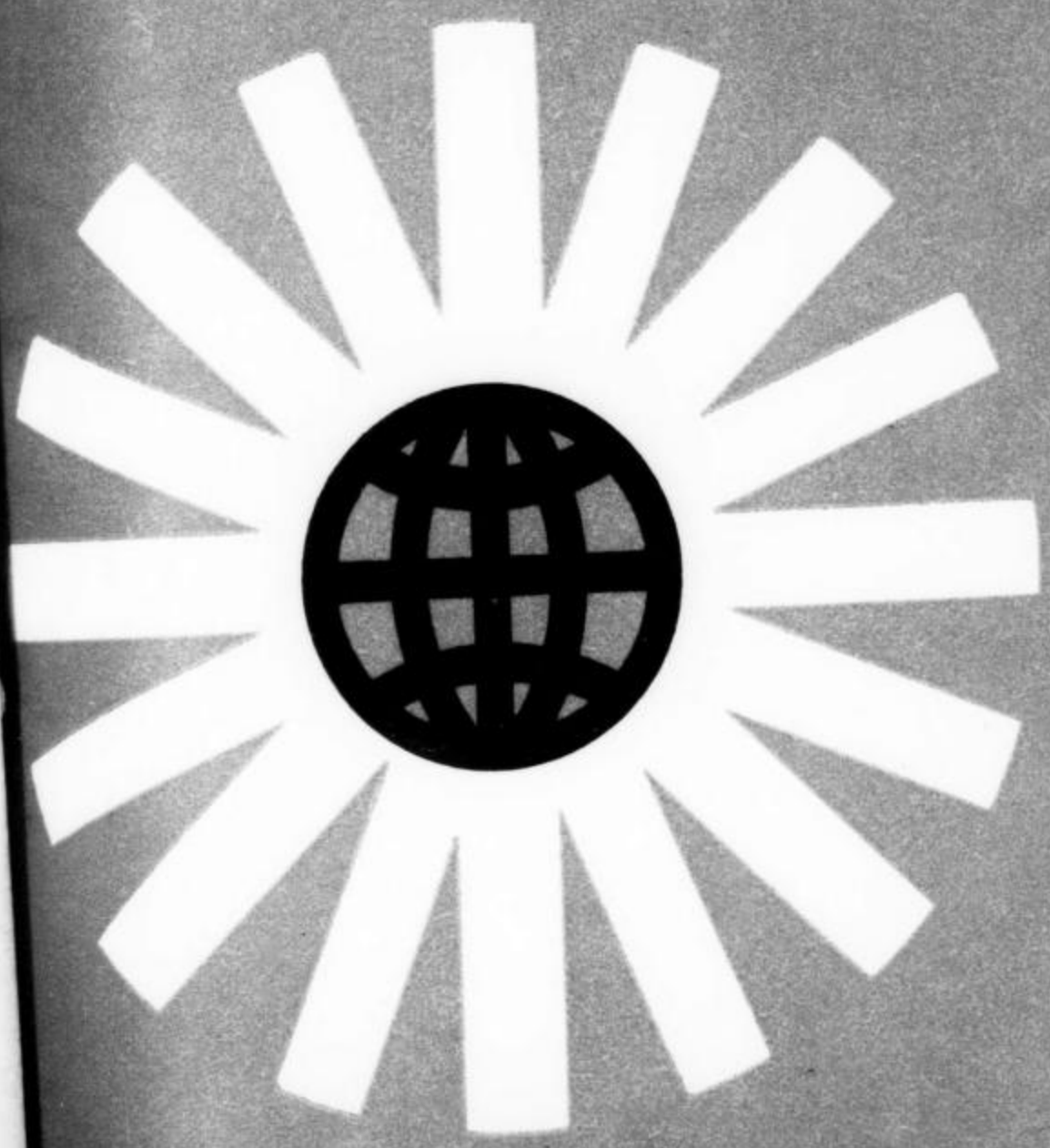

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# COMMUNIQUE*

## ON THE SESSIONS OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The Preparatory Committee of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties met in Moscow over March 18-22.

Delegations from the following Communist and Workers' Parties were present: Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, British Communist Party, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of Venezuela, United Party of Haitian Communists, Communist Party of Guadeloupe, Guatemala Party of Labor, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Israel, Communist Party of India, Jordanian Communist Party, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Irish Workers' Party, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Communist Party of Spain, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Colombia, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Communist Party of Lebanon, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Martinique Communist Party, Communist Party of Mexico, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Socialist Party of Nicaragua, People's Party of Panama, Communist Party of Paraguay, Peruvian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto Rican Communist Party, Réunion Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, Communist Party of San Marino, Communist Party of Syria, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Sudanese Communist Party, Communist Party of the USA, Communist Party of Tunisia, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Chile, Swiss Party of Labor, Communist Party of Ecuador, South African Communist Party.

*Pravda, March 23, 1969.

The Left Party-Communists, Sweden, was represented by observers.

The Preparatory Committee discussed the draft of the main document for the forthcoming meeting, the agenda for which, as agreed by the Consultative Meeting, will 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."

The participants expressed their viewpoints and agreed to send the draft to the Central Committees of the Parties, which will be informed by their delegates about the work of the Preparatory Committee. Furthermore, they agreed on the procedure for drafting other documents for the meeting.

Also discussed were organizational matters. The Preparatory Committee will meet for a final session on May 23, in Moscow. The International Meeting is scheduled to open in Moscow on June 5.

The Preparatory Committee confirmed the invitation to all Communist and Workers' Parties to take part in the forthcoming meeting.

The work of the Preparatory Committee, conducted in an atmosphere of comradely co-operation, afforded further proof of the growing aspirations of the Parties towards unity in the fight against imperialism, for common aims on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism.

# COMMUNIQUE*

## OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES

On March 17, 1969, the Political Consultative Committee of the signatories to the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance met in Budapest.

The participants in the conference were:

for the People's Republic of Bulgaria—Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC, Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the PRB, head of the delegation; Zhivko Zhivkov, First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers; Ivan Bashev, Foreign Minister; Atanas Semerjiev, First Deputy Minister of People's Defense; Vasil Bogdanov, Ambassador of the PRB to the Hungarian People's Republic;

for the Hungarian People's Republic—Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, head of the delegation; Jeno Fock, Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government; Zoltan Komocsin, member, Political Bureau of the CC HSWP, secretary of the CC; Colonel-General Lajos Czinege, Defense Minister; Frigyes Puja, First Deputy Foreign Minister;

for the German Democratic Republic—Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman, State Council of the GDR, head of the delegation; Willy Stoph, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the GDR; Erich Honecker, member of the Political Bureau of the CC SUPG, secretary of the CC; Hermann Axen, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC SUPG, secretary of the CC; Otto Winzer, Foreign Minister; Colonel-General Heinz Kessler, Deputy Minister of National Defense;

for the Polish People's Republic—Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC, Polish United Workers' Party, head of the delegation; Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the PPR; Zenon Kliszko, member, Political Bureau of the CC PUWP, secretary of the CC; Stefan Jedrychowski, Foreign Minister; General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Minister of National Defense; Adam Kruczkowski, Deputy Minister of National Defense, Chief of the Armed Forces Staff;

for the Socialist Republic of Rumania—Nicolae Ceauçescu, Gene-

*Pravda, March 18, 1969.

ral Secretary of the CC, Rumanian Communist Party, Chairman, State Council of the SRR, head of the delegation; Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the SRR; Corneliu Manescu, Foreign Minister; Colonel-General Ion Ionita, Minister of the Armed Forces;

for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, head of the delegation; A. N. Kosygin, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the USSR; K. F. Katushev, secretary, CC CPSU; A. A. Gromyko, Foreign Minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union A. A. Grechko, Defense Minister; K. V. Rusakov, head of department, CC CPSU;

for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, head of the delegation; Ludvik Svoboda, President of the CSSR; Oldrich Cernik, Chairman, Federal Government of the CSSR; Jan Marko, Foreign Minister; Colonel-General Martin Dzur, Minister of National Defense.

Marshal of the Soviet Union I. I. Yakubovsky, Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Countries, likewise took part in the conference.

The Political Consultative Committee heard a report by the Commander-in-Chief on the measures worked out by the Defense Ministers with the approval of the governments concerned. The states attending the conference examined in detail and unanimously approved the statutes of the Defense Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries, the new statutes of the Combined Armed Forces and Joint Command, and other documents intended further to perfect the structure and directive bodies of the Warsaw Treaty defense organization.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces was instructed to ensure, according to established procedure, the execution of the decisions adopted.

The conference expressed firm confidence that the measures approved by it will help to strengthen the defense power of the Warsaw Treaty socialist countries in the interests of socialism, peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

Pursuing their efforts towards easing tension and promoting peace, the Warsaw Treaty countries unanimously adopted the Appeal to All European Countries on preparations for and the convocation of an all-European conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

The conference of the Political Consultative Committee proceeded in a spirit of fraternal friendship and comradely cooperation.

# WARSAW TREATY APPEAL* TO ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Warsaw Treaty states assembled at a conference of the Political Consultative Committee, voicing the desire of their peoples to live in peace and in the conditions of good-neighbor relations with the other European peoples, and their firm resolve to help create an atmosphere of security and cooperation on our continent, address all European states with the following appeal to intensify efforts for stronger peace and security in Europe.

The present and the future of the European peoples are indissolubly linked with the maintenance and strengthening of peace on our continent. Genuine peace and security can be ensured if the intentions, actions and energy of the European states are aimed at easing the tension, at resolving, with due regard to the realities, pressing international problems, at establishing all-round cooperation on an all-European basis.

Progress towards good-neighbor relations, confiedence and mutual understanding depends on the will and efforts of the peoples and governments of all European countries. Present-day Europe as it emerged from the Second World War comprises more than thirty states, big and small, differing in social systems, location and interests. But history has destined them to live side by side, and no one can change this reality.

More and more governments, parliaments, parties and political and public leaders are coming to realize their responsibility to the present and future generations for preventing a new military conflict in Europe. However, forces are active in Europe which, far from promoting European development by the settlement of disputes and the conclusion of peace treaties, are staking on additional divisions and missiles, on new war programs for decades ahead. Acting jointly with them are those who have not drawn proper lessons from the results of the Second World War, in which German militarism and nazism were routed. Their intrigues generate tension and complicate international relations.

The participants in the conference regard it as their duty to continue doing everything to safeguard Europe against the danger of

*Pravda, March 18, 1969.

new military conflicts, to provide scope for the development of co-operation between all European countries, regardless of their social systems, on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

However complicated the unsolved problems may be, their settlement should be achieved by peaceful means, through negotiation and not by the use or threat of force.

Proceeding from an analysis of the situation in Europe, the member states of the Warsaw Treaty consider that there exists a real possibility of ensuring, by joint effort, European security with due regard to the interests of all European states and peoples.

Almost three years ago, in Bucharest, the Warsaw Treaty states proposed convening an all-European conference to discuss problems of European security and peaceful cooperation. The contacts that have been established since then show that not a single European government has declared against the idea of an all-European conference, and that there is a real possibility of convening such a conference.

The European states have not gathered together since the end of the Second World War, although there are numerous problems requiring round-table discussion. If the interests of a stronger peace are taken as the point of departure, there are no valid reasons for postponing the all-European conference.

Such a conference would be in the interests of all European states. It would make it possible to find, in common, ways and means which would lead to ending the division of Europe into military alliances and to peaceful cooperation between European states and peoples.

But there are forces in the world which, seeking to preserve the division of our continent, pursuing the policy of aggravating the tension and refusing to promote peaceful cooperation between states and peoples, oppose the convocation of such a conference and other measures to strengthen European security.

The participants in the conference are convinced that the development of European cooperation has been and remains the only real alternative to the dangerous military confrontation, to the arms race, to the discords which are being constantly provoked in Europe by the forces striving to revise the results of the Second World War and to recarve the map of Europe.

The Warsaw Treaty states reaffirm their proposals aimed against the division of the world into military blocs, against the arms race and the resultant danger to peace and the security of the peoples, and the other measures and propositions outlined in the Declaration on Strengthening European Peace and Security which was adopted in Bucharest in 1966.

It is in the vital interest of the European peoples to prevent new military conflicts and to consolidate political, economic and cul-

tural contacts between all countries on the basis of equality, and respect for the independence and sovereignty of states. A solid system of European security would make it objectively possible and necessary to realize, by joint effort, major projects in the field of power industry and transportation, water and air environment and public health which directly concern the welfare of the population of the whole continent. It is these common matters that can and must become the basis of European cooperation.

One of the basic conditions for ensuring European security is inviolability of the present borders in Europe, including the borders on the Oder and Neisse and the borders between the GDR and the FRG, recognition of the fact of existence of the GDR and the FRG, and abandonment by the FRG of its claims to spokesmanship for the whole German people and to possession of nuclear weapons in any form. West Berlin has a special status and does not belong to West Germany.

A practical step towards stronger European security would be made with the earliest possible meeting of representatives of all the European states concerned, to agree upon the order of convening the conference as well as its agenda. At the same time we are prepared to discuss any other proposal regarding the preparation and holding of the conference.

The participants in the conference of the Political Consultative Committee call upon all European countries to cooperate in convening the all-European conference and creating the necessary conditions for this conference to be a success and to justify the hopes which the peoples place in it.

In the interest of effectuating this important measure, which would constitute a milestone in the history of the European continent, the participants in the conference address all European countries with a solemn appeal to strengthen the climate of confidence and to refrain with this aim in view, from all actions that could poison the atmosphere in international relations. They call for going over from general declarations on peace to concrete actions and measures for relaxation and disarmament, for the promotion of cooperation and peace among nations. They call upon all European governments to pool their efforts for making Europe a continent of fruitful cooperation between equal nations, a factor of stability, peace and mutual understanding the world over.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria

*Todor Zhivkov,*

First Secretary of the CC, Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

For the Hungarian People's Republic

*Janos Kadar,*

First Secretary of the CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

*Jeno Fock,*

Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government.

For the German Democratic Republic

*Walter Ulbricht,*

First Secretary of the CC, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Chairman of the State Council.

*Willy Stoph,*

Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

For the Polish People's Republic

*Wladyslav Gomulka,*

First Secretary of the CC, Polish United Workers' Party.

*Jozef Cyrankiewicb,*

Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

For the Socialist Republic of Rumania

*Nicolae Ceausescu,*

General Secretary of the CC, Rumanian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council.

*Jon Gheorghe Maurer,*

Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

*Leonid Brezhnev,*

General Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

*Alexei Kosygin,*

Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

*Ludvik Svoboda,*

President of the CSSR.

*Alexander Dubcek,*

First Secretary of the CC, Czechoslovak Communist Party.

*Oldrich Cernik,*

Chairman of the Federal Government.

# FROM THE THESES* FOR THE 16TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

## THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN CONGRESSES

### The International Situation

The theses deal in detail with the international situation between the two Congresses since August 1965. The theses conclude:

The general crisis of capitalism is becoming ever sharper in consequence of the narrowing of the space of its activity and of the sharpening of its internal contradictions, including the fundamental contradiction between capital and labor. The militarizing of the economy, the exploitation of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution and the unprecedented growing intervention of the state in economic life — all these enable the monopolies temporarily to delay the outbreak of crises and even to broaden the scope of production. However, all this cannot prevent, and does not prevent, the cyclical crises.

The growing economic, scientific, political and military power of the Soviet Union, along with the development, consolidation and strengthening of other socialist states, are making an ever more intense impact on the whole of international life.

The general result is that the world socialist system, with the Soviet Union at its center, the international revolutionary workers' movement, and the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are determining the main direction of historical development to an ever growing degree.

On Vietnam's soil saturated with blood, the strategy of "local" wars, the strategy of sugjugating by military force peoples who rise up to fight for their national and social liberation, has suffered defeat.

At the same time it would be the gravest error to think that the danger of a third world war has passed. In the last years imperialist aggression has sharpened (the escalation of the war in Vietnam, the June 1967 war in the Middle East, etc.).

Historical experience proves that inasmuch as imperialism is permitted to realize its policy of exporting counter-revolution and

*Information Bulletin, Communist Party of Israel, January 1969.

to succeed in its acts of aggression in any part of the world, the danger of a world war increases.

The new relation of forces in the world is creating a real possibility for preventing a third world war. But this calls for the mobilization of all peace-loving forces of the world, their solidarity and unity in resolute struggle against any aggression and subversion on the part of the imperialists.

The new relation of forces in the world is most clearly demonstrated in Vietnam on the one hand, and in Czechoslovakia on the other hand. Socialist Vietnam in the sixties will not be the Spain of the thirties. Victory will go to the people of Vietnam and not to imperialism and internal reaction. Aggression will not pay in the Middle East either.

The dogmatic attitude, which sees in imperialism a "paper tiger" leads to an adventurist, fatalistic attitude. The revisionist attitude, which embellishes imperialism, diminishes the vigilance of the people in their struggle against imperialism and the danger to world peace.

A greater danger to world peace stems from the armament race which is growing at a dizzy rate.

The question of stopping the armament race and the question of disarmament are a fateful problem for world peace.

A great danger to peace in Europe and the whole world derives from German imperialism, from the policy of the Bonn rulers.

Hence the vital necessity for a unified policy, a policy of solidarity of all socialist states and Communist parties in relation to German imperialism, just as it is of vital necessity to coordinate policies in regard to the struggle against imperialist aggression in Vietnam and other areas.

The theses, after expounding the threat to peace in Europe, underline the solidarity of the Israeli Communist Party with the action of the Warsaw Pact countries to thwart the danger to socialism and peace in Europe.

The struggle against imperialism, the strengthening of peace in the world, the solidarity of all socialist countries and Communist parties, the unity of the three revolutionary forces of our days, peaceful coexistence between states of different social regimes—these are the decisive principles in every international assessment or activity.

## The June War and the Development in the Middle East

The theses analyze in detail the June war in the Middle East of 1967 against the Arab states; its aggressive nature and aims, and state:

Any supposition that in the present international conditions any state in the Middle East is able to start an aggressive war, without political, economic and military backing by a great power, is divorced from Middle East and world reality. Indeed, the war started by the "government of national unity" of Eshkol-Dayan-Begin received full backing from American imperialism and its chief allies in NATO.

As against this, the Soviet Union, which maintains close relations with Egypt and Syria, has never given and will never give its backing to any aggressive war. The Soviet Union's policy in our region is a policy that protects peace and the peoples' independence against imperialist domination and intrigue, and for political means of solving conflicts between states.

Throughout all these years our Communist Party of Israel has fought for a political peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and of the Palestinian question on the basis of reciprocal recognition of the just national rights of the two peoples of Palestine, the people of Israel and the Palestinian Arab people. We said that the people of Israel had realized its national rights, but these had been denied to the Palestinian Arab people. Therefore we justly considered that the way to peace led through Israel's recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, and first of all of the right of the Arab refugees to choose between return to their homeland and receipt of compensations in accordance with the UNO decisions.

Our Party correctly assessed the Eshkol Government, which replaced Ben-Gurion's.

Our Party worked hard for the prevention of the June war, and after the outbreak of hostilities, it struggled for a ceasefire and the withdrawal of the Israeli army to the armistice lines. In the hysterical atmosphere of bellicose chauvinism and anti-Communist and anti-Soviet incitement, our Party courageously held up the banner of peace and friendship between the peoples, the banner of struggle against the imperialist intrigues and for the true national interests of Israel, against anti-Soviet incitement and for friendship with the USSR.

Despite the terror, the arrests, attacks by rowdies, dismissals from work and threats, the members and sympathizers of our Party passed the severe test of war with honor and proved that they are loyal sons of the homeland, true to proletarian internationalism and to the cause of Jewish-Arab brotherhood.

As in every other instance, our internationalism and patriotism are complementary, both being sides of the same medal without any contradiction between them.

The political development of the latest period, between Congress

and Congress, has proved again and more strongly that the weak point of official Israeli policy is its pro-imperialism, its joining forces with the imperialist powers.

The anti-communism and anti-Sovietism of the Israeli ruling circles is the other side of their pro-imperialist medal.

The extreme chauvinism, the nationalist haughtiness and the aspiration to dominate, with the assistance of imperialism, a maximum of Arab territories and to expel as many Arab inhabitants as possible, these are the characteristic lines of the prevalent policy, a short-sighted Zionist policy pregnant with dangers for the people of Israel.

The Eshkol Government is not only acting in collusion with the main imperialist powers of NATO in the Middle East, but it also serves them to the best of its abilities in all their global battlefronts in the struggle against communism and the independence of peoples.

The poisonous anti-Soviet incitement in connection with the Jewish question was intensified before and after the June war. This has always been a common campaign, designed and planned between the rulers of Israel and the headquarters of anti-communism in the USA, West Germany and other imperialist centers.

The Eshkol Government also renders its services to the NATO states in their activities in the countries of Africa and Asia, where it strengthens its ties mainly with the most corrupt regimes which are renounced by their own peoples. (For example, Malawi.)

The Communist Party of Israel considers as the most important and urgent duty for the near period to bring about the liquidation of the crisis in our region created by the June war.

The latest development has proved that Arab states, and first and foremost Egypt and Jordan, are acting in the international arena for a peaceful political solution of the present crisis. They are ready to put their relations with the State of Israel on a new basis, different from that of the last twenty years. The Arab states have announced their readiness to abolish belligerence with the State of Israel, to recognize the right of existence of Israel within secure and recognized borders, to recognize Israel's right of free shipping in the Tiran Straits and the Suez Canal, if the Israeli Government on its part will agree to withdraw from the occupied areas of Jordan, Egypt and Syria and to solve the problem of the Palestinian refugees—this painful human and national problem—in accordance with the UNO decisions.

The main obstacle to the solution of the crisis stems from the absence of consent of the Israeli Government to evacuate the occupied Arab areas within the framework of implementation of the Security Council Resolution. The aspiration to territorial annexations, which guides the Government's policy with regard to

the occupied territories, is the main factor which prevents a peace settlement and a political solution.

The theses envisage the growing consciousness among the Israeli public after the June war and reaffirms:

The June war has brought in its wake many negative results in various fields of the political, social and cultural life in Israel. Chauvinism has unprecedently deepened and broadened and has reached most alarming proportions.

The policy of cruel oppression in the occupied areas has added insult to injury.

With regard to the occupied areas the Government conducts a policy intended to create faits accomplis:

1) The annexation of the Arab part of Jerusalem, accompanied by the official proclamation that it will never be returned.

2) Establishment of military colonies in all occupied areas, with the intention of preparing the grounds for future official annexations.

3) Committing grave acts of oppression in the occupied areas: proclamation of curfew, demolition of houses, cruel suppression of strikes, demonstrations (even of girl students), mass arrests, torture in prison, expulsion of public personalities, religious leaders, outstanding intellectuals, from their homeland, etc., and the creation of unbearable economic conditions.

The intensification of acts of oppression has led to the intensification and broadening of a multiform resistance to the occupation.

The Government's policy in the occupied areas has completely failed. All attempts to subjugate the population, to break its national and political spirit, to crush the human dignity of the inhabitants, to cause despair and force them to reconcile themselves to occupation or leave their homeland en masse, have been in vain. The resistance to occupation has assumed mass proportions and receives growing sympathy from world public opinion.

Similarly attempts to entice the population into collaboration with the occupation authorities have failed.

The failure of the plans of enticement and means of oppression, the intensification of multiform resistance to occupation and its turning into a permanent mass movement, and the mounting anger of world public opinion against the occupation and the acts of oppression in the occupied areas, have put the Israeli rulers into a very difficult position.

Two contradictory processes are now taking place in Israel. One is the process of sobering up from the intoxication of war, of growing fear and apprehension lest a new war break out, and of more and more voices being raised against the adventurous policy of the Government. The second process is characterized by nume-

rous appearances of extremist circles, including some government ministers, calling for preparedness for a new war which allegedly is unavoidable, sowing disbelief in the feasibility of a political solution, casting suspicion a priori on any political solution according to the Security Council Resolution, and alleging that this contradicts Israel's security. The same circles are trying openly to prepare Israeli public opinion even for the possibility of war against the Soviet Union, hoping for American backing.

These extremist circles are holding key positions in the Government, the army and numerous state and public institutions. There exists a serious danger that a new outbreak of war will lead to the liquidation of the still remaining democratic freedoms in Israel, to the imposition of a military dctatorship and a regime of concentration camps for all fighters for peace and democracy.

Following the anti-democratic steps and designs, the toilers' rights are assaulted. The rights achieved by the Israeli workers in hard class struggles as far back as the times of foreign British rule, are now being trampled upon by the Eshkol Government in which a "workers' hegemony" is supposed to hold power.

In these conditions we have to act for maximum unity of forces among the workers and the people in the struggle for solving the most vital and urgent problems, which are:

1) Prevention of a new war and solution of the crisis in our region by political means;
2) Stopping the acts of oppression in the occupied areas;
3) Implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967;
4) Defense of democratic rights and prevention of anti-democratic changes in the system of Knesset elections;
5) Guaranteeing equality of rights for the Arab population of Israel;
6) Defense of the workers' rights, including the frustration of designs to limit the freedom of strike.

## A Turn to the Right in the Political Arena of Israel

Immediately after its 15th Congress, the Party entered the election battles to the 10th Trade Union (Histadrut) Congress (September 1965), the 6th Knesset and the Local Councils (November 1965).

Already the array of forces during the electoral battles showed signs of certain changes in the political map of Israel, which after the elections broadened and deepened still more.

At the same time that our Communist Party is pointing out the sharp turns to the right that have taken place in the political arena

of Israel, the Party sees a perspective for widening the future unavoidable differentiation among the Israeli working class and the popular strata of the people of Israel.

Our Party will act for the consolidation of a left front in the workers' movement, and at the same time it will be ready to cooperate with MAPAM and other parties in every concrete progressive matter.

## Economic Development

The fundamental tendencies in the develoment of Israeli economy also continued in the period between Congress and Congress (1965-1968):

The dependence on foreign capital is increasing, in particular the dependence on American capital. This is expressed by the incessant and rapid increase of foreign loans made by the state, and by the increasing domination of the Israeli economy by foreign capital. Foreign capital has already penetrated into key enterprises, such as the Dead Sea Works and chemical industry.

The immense capital import into Israel, reaching proportions which have, relatively, no precedent in any other country, amounted, according to official data, to the gigantic sum of 7.7 thousand million dollars net for the years 1949-1967 (and nine thousand million dollars—gross). Although the import of this capital has brought about an increase of economic scope, it has at the same time caused increased dependence on foreign capital, the encouragement of the armament race and the continuation of distortions in the structure of the economy.

The militarization of the economy is increasing, as is the military expenditure in the state budget. In the present budgetary year, 1968/69, official military expenditure swallows 43 per cent of the entire budget, and in the budget planned for 1969/70 more than 50 per cent. Military expenditure has increased particularly fast since the June war which cost more than 3.5 thousand million Israeli lira.

The process of centralization and concentration of capital, with finance capital, closely tied up with foreign capital, in the center of it, continues.

Since 1949 foreign investments in Israel have reached more than one thousand million dollars. Half of the investments originate from the United States, and a third from Western Europe.

At the end of 1967 Israel's debts in foreign currency amounted to 1.6 thousand million dollars, constituting about one half of Israel's gross national product in the same year. The foreign debt reached 580 dollars per person, whereas at the end of 1957 it was 350 dollars per person.

According to the proposed budget for 1969/70 the gigantic sum

of 1.25 thousand million Israel lira, has been earmarked for amortization and interest on loans, a sum which is 50 per cent higher than the sum set aside for the same purpose in the present budgetary year.

Besides the USA, the economic status of West Germany is getting stronger in Israel. In Israeli foreign trade, West Germany now holds second place, and is becoming the main supplier of equipment and metals to Israel. The close economic ties with West Germany are shown by the fact that West German companies received the big order for steel for the Eilat-Askalon oil pipe line.

In addition to the long-range credit for financing this project, the Israeli Government has received other sums from West Germany. Thus, for instance, at the end of 1965, when West German arms supplies to the Israeli Government were revealed and the Bonn Government was compelled to stop this business under pressure from public opinion in the Arab and other countries, the Bonn Government paid Israel 150 million marks as compensation. Further, in May 1966, a long-range credit of 160 million marks was given.

The years 1965-67 were darkened by a profound economic crisis, which was called "moderation." The first signs of the crisis were visible already in 1965, but reached a peak in 1966 and in the first half of 1967.

In the second half of 1967 an economic recovery took place, and in 1968 the Israeli economy passed on to a stage of economic expansion.

The economic crisis in Israel was a link in the chain of crises in a number of capitalist countries. In the period after the Second World War economic crises did not take place at one and the same time in the whole capitalist world, but in 1965 a decline in the rate of production growth in a number of capitalist countries began and this decline turned into a crisis in 1967. In the main capitalist countries—the USA, England and West Germany—the scope of production and investments decreased in 1967, and unemployment rose considerably. In the same years a crisis also occurred in the currency system of the capitalist countries, a crisis which led to the devaluation of the pound sterling, accompanied by a devaluation of currency in 20 additional countries (including Israel), and in the gold rush following the wavering status of the American dollar.

Indeed, during the last years a change in the structure of the Israeli economy did occur, but this is an entirely different change, due to the transfer of capital and manpower, to a considerable extent, from civilian industry to military industry.

Unemployment increased to proportions with no precedent since the foundation of the state. The rise in the real wages of the

workers was stopped and with the crisis continuing, it even decreased. The bourgeoisie succeeded, with the assistance of the government, to exploit the crisis for its class purposes. The general chauvinist atmosphere hit severely at the militancy of the working class.

But the official data also showed the steep rise in unemployment: if in 1965 there was one unemployed person for every 25 employed, in 1966 there was one unemployed person for every 12 employed, and in 1967 one unemployed for every 9 employed.

The economic crisis and unemployment hit especially severely at the Arab toilers. According to official data for 1967 the unemployed constituted 10 per cent of Jewish manpower, but among Arabs the proportion of unemployed was 18 per cent of manpower.

Many Arab villagers are looking for work in town. More than 30 thousand Arab vagrant workers are employed in Jewish agricultural settlements, in the building industry, in private services and handicrafts. The Arab fellahin were forced to become vagrant laborers because of the policy of land expropriation.

By means of various laws approximately 700 thousand dunams of land have been expropriated from the Arab fellahin since the foundation of the state.

There are no separate surveys made about the living standard of the Arab population. But according to income tax surveys in 1960/61, the average yearly income of the Arab bread-winner came to 55 per cent of that of the Jewish bread-winner.

The increase in military expenditures caused the increase in the deficit of the state budget. The deficit amounted in 1967 to 1,254 million £I, which is more than half the current income of the government. The meaning of this becomes clear from a comparison with previous years: whereas in 1965 the deficit constituted about 2 per cent of the government's income, and in 1966 about 8 per cent, in 1967 the deficit amounted to 58 per cent of the government's income.

The June 1967 war and the holding on to the conquered areas, the preparations for the possibility of a new outbreak of war, have swallowed and are swallowing immense sums and this is expressed by the increase in the military budget and by the putting of an ever heavier burden of taxes and loans on the shoulders of the working people. After the confirmation of the additional budget for military needs in May 1968, the total of the budget has reached a new record. On May 7, 1968 the representative of our Party said in the Knesset in the debate about the additional budget:

"With the addition demanded by the Government to the overt security budget, the total expenditures for defense needs will reach, if we take into account the special budgets and reserves, the amount

of 2.7 thousand million £I, which is more than 43 per cent of the entire budget."

A military budget of such scope has not been known in Israel since its foundation. Only comparing it with that of the previous year, 1967/68, the official military budget has increased by 50 per cent.

The struggle of Israel's working people for increased wages for payment of the cost-of-living allowance and against dismissals and unemployment, has in the last few years assumed various forms. In respect of the number of strikes and strikers, the class struggle reached its peak in the years 1965-1966. In each of those years more than 280 strikes were organized, in which about 90 thousand strikers took part. In 1967, the war year, the trade union struggle continued, though on a smaller scale. In 1967, 142 strikes were registered, and 25 thousand strikers took part in them.

The class struggle encompassed in recent years not only the production workers, but also the office workers, public servants, academic workers, etc.

The last three to four years constituted a new stage in the organization of the Israeli working class in defense of its rights. In these years the activity of the action committees and works committees became intensified and strengthened, and they succeeded in organizing a number of countrywide strikes. On February 15, 1966, 70 thousand industrial and agricultural workers struck for one hour against high prices and for higher wages. In March of the same year a warning strike was held by 15 thousand agricultural workers; thanks to this strike, these workers won a wage increase of 10 to 15 per cent.

Our Communist Party is struggling for the unity and organization of the working class and all strata of working people in their places of work, their branch, their region and on a countrywide scale, in defense of their class interests.

## THE PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

The aim of the Communist Party of Israel is to establish in Israel a socialist regime, which will uproot class exploitation, exploitation of man by man and oppression of nation by nation.

The program of the Party, at the present stage of development in Israel, is a general-democratic and anti-imperialist program, intended to bring about a fundamental change in Israeli policy: to sever Israel from its dependence on imperialism, to turn it into a state which is independent of foreign monopolies and imperialist powers, to set it on the way of peace with the Arab countries, on the way of democracy and social progress, on the way of friendship

with the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, on the way along which the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are fighting imperialism, are marching.

The program of the Party expresses the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people of Israel, Jews and Arabs alike, the interests of the workers in industry and agriculture, of the working farmers and the fellahin, of the working and creative intelligentsia, of the artisans and the small and middle merchants, of the national bourgeoisie, and of the Arab population—of all the popular strata whose interests clash with and whose future is endangered by the foreign monopoly capitalist domination over Israeli economy, and the political, economic and military dependence on imperialism. Thus the program of the Party is a program that expresses the national interests of the people of Israel and is intended to ensure Israel's existence, security and prosperity, to ensure peace and cooperation with the Arab peoples on the basis of reciprocal respect of rights.

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

### 1.

Our Communist Party of Israel is a detachment with equal rights, an integral link in the international Communist movement.

It is our estimate that the present difficulties of our movement are temporary ones, they are difficulties of development and expansion.

Thanks to the international Communist movement the unity of the three main revolutionary forces of our day has become established and is becoming fortified—the world socialist system, the working class in the countries of capital's rule, and the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation—and they are merging into one revolutionary stream.

As a result of the historical achievements of our Communist movement and of the general revolutionary movement, a fundamental change has taken place in the international relation of forces. As a result of this fundamental change, imperialism has ceased being the decisive power and the world socialist system is more and more becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society.

The historical struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie has taken on a new character. The struggle between the two world systems, the socialist system and the capitalist system, has become the chief arena of class struggle.

We consider proletarian internationalism as the highest principle of the working class. Proletarian internationalism is the lofty expression of working class patriotism. These are two sides of the same medal. There is no contradiction and there cannot be any contradiction between the demands of proletarian internationalism and the true national interests of any working class and of any people. There exists another contradiction, an antagonistic one, and this is the contradiction between proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism.

The development in our country, too, proves that Zionist bourgeois nationalism, which rules in our country, has brought and is bringing disasters on the people of Israel and the state of Israel. Its way, the way of alliance with imperialism and of anti-Arab chauvinism, has isolated Israel from the Arab peoples, who are conducting a fateful struggle for their national freedom, against imperialism. Its way, the way of territorial expansion, of national oppression and racialism, is undermining the security of Israel and destroying peace, the highest interest of Israel.

Our Communist Party of Israel is an independent Israeli party, the vanguard of the Israeli working class. Our Party determines its policy and paths of action on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, taking into account the particular conditions of our country. The independence of our Party does not contradict the duty of solidarity with the whole international Communist movement and the necessity of preserving the unity of our movement.

While emphasizing the necessity of respecting the independence of every party in determining its path and its internal affairs on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we oppose the opportunist-nationalist positions of its falsifiers of the concept of every party's independence, those who are measuring this independence with the yardstick of dissociation from the Party of the Soviet Union. This so-called independence in fact contradicts the duty of unity of the international Communist movement, of proletarian internationalism.

Our Communist Party of Israel, a party with equal rights within the world family of Communist parties, has contributed and is contributing to the best of its ability to the strengthening of unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The activities of our Party for exposing the reactionary character of the official relations between Israel and West Germany, the essence of which is the provision of a cover for German revanchism and rendering it international 'Jewish' assistance, constitute a con-

tribution to the struggle of our international Communist movement against the danger of the revival of nazism and to the isolation of German imperialism. This corresponds to the fundamental national interests of the people of Israel.

At the same time we point out the support given by the fraternal parties, in particular by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to our Party, to its patriotic and internationalist policy, and to its struggle, conducted under difficult conditions, for the cessation of the aggressive war in the Middle East, for the liquidation of the consequences of the war and for a just peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

**3.**

Our Communist Party of Israel took and is taking an active part in all steps taken by the international Communist movement for the strengthening of its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our Party believes that the new consultation should take place in the nearest future. We believe that despite differences of opinion on various questions, there is a broad basis for a new and successful consultation, and this is the general line accepted at the two previous consultations. The appearance of new problems, born out of development and experience, calls for a common evaluation by the movement.

Our Party has stood up, together with the entire movement, against the dogmatic-adventurist nationalist and anti-Soviet positions of the Mao Tse-tung leadership in People's China, positions which caused harm to the unity of the international Communist movement, its action capability, and assisted imperialism to expand its criminal aggressiveness against the heroic people of Vietnam and other peoples.

At the same time we fight against revisionist phenomena in our Communist movement.

Our Party belives that it is not only the right but also the foremost internationalist duty of the socialist camp to defend collectively the achievements of socialism in every socialist country.

The socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union, is the most important historical achievement of the international working class in its many-years' struggle, full of great heroism and much suffering.

The main internationalist duty of our times is to do everything in defense of this historical achievement.

**4.**

In its devotion to proletarian internationalism and to the unity of the international Communist movement, our Party has conduc-

ted in its own ranks, too, a persistent struggle against deviationists and splitters, who afterwards slid down to become a nationalist, anti-Communist and anti-Soviet group—the Mikunis-Sneh group.

Our Party's own experience proves how dangerous is the sliding down of Communists into the bog of nationalism.

**5.**

Our Party, just as all fraternal parties, is very much concerned about the internal difficulties encountered by our movement on the part of dogmatic, revisionist and nationalist deviations, which raise obstacles to the strengthening of our movement's unity. Our Party will act, in future too, for the repulsion of these deviations and for the fortifying of the movement's unity.

Our Party points out with concern the appearance of nationalist deviations also in certain socialist countries.

**6.**

The fundamental reason for the difficulties appearing in our Communist movement is inherent in the sharpening of struggle between the two world social-economic systems: the capitalist and the socialist system.

At the same time we reject any underrating of the force of imperialism and of the dangers deriving from its aggressivenees. We have rejected Mao Tse-tung's premise which says that "imperialism is a paper tiger."

The dogmatists underrate the importance of our struggle for maintaining world peace, and the revisionists underrate the subversiveness of imperialism. Hence their readiness to renounce the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the revolutionary working class party and its Leninist organization, based on democratic centralism.

The revisionists and enemies of socialism attempt to falsify the meaning of these matters, to incite the public in the socialist countries against the Soviet Union and against the Communist parties in their own countries.

In view of the invigoration of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp, the ideological subversion of imperialism becomes the most dangerous method.

It is the opinion of our Party that there exists a vital and urgent necessity to intensify the ideological work and struggle within our movement. There must be conducted a resolute, principled, public and open struggle against nationalist, revisionist and dogmatic deviations; and the knowledge of the revolutionary doctrine of the working class—Marxism-Leninism—must be deepened.

Experience proves that in view of the weakening in the last years

of the struggle against revisionism, this struggle has today attained particular importance. The weakening of struggle against revisionism and against nationalist deviations during the last years, was to the detriment of our movement's unity.

**7.**

Appreciating the particular role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our Party bases itself upon the common conclusions of the Moscow Consultation of 1960, which say:

"The Communist and Workers' parties unanimously declare that the recognized vanguard by all the world Communist movement was and remains the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, being the most experienced and tempered detachment of the international Communist movement. The experience of the CPSU, accumulated in the struggle for the triumph of the working class, the construction of socialism and the realization of the expanded construction of communism, is of essential importance for the entire international Communist movement."

The particular responsibility of the CPSU binds the entire Communist movement to particular solidarity with this party. The vanguard role of the CPSU imposes on it particular duties for the benefit of the entire revolutionary movement, duties which in our Party's opinion, and according to the conclusions of the Moscow Consultation of 1960, are loyally carried out by the CPSU.

Our Party considers the repulsion of anti-Soviet incitement as a patriotic and internationalist task of particular importance.

The vanguard role of the CPSU is becoming more complex, for since 1943 there do not exist any organizational forms for the unity of the international Communist movement.

Our Party was and is in favor of the developing of organizational forms for the unity of our movement, adapted to the new epoch of working class struggle, to the variegated tasks of the Communist parties acting under different conditions, forms which will ensure ideological unity and unity of action in common questions.

Experience teaches that it is impossible to conceal differences of opinion, that the benefit of the movement's unity demands a principled, comradely and open discussion with those opposing the general line of the movement, approved in common. Experience proves that the absence of such an open discussion has harmed the movement's unity.

(To be continued in the next issue of the *Information Bulletin.*)

# THE ROAD OF THE LEFT TO DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

## DECLARATION* BY THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CP OF DENMARK

### THE LEFT MUST TAKE THE EXIGENCIES OF THE TIME INTO ACCOUNT

The Left can achieve decisive influence on the course of social development. This means, however, that it must pave the way for coordinated effort as speedily as possible. It is high time the Left realized its position.

At the far end of the political map of Denmark, monopoly and reaction are stepping up their activity and massing their forces.

More than ever before, the population lives by selling its labor power or has interests in common with the wage workers. The professional labor movement is the biggest organized force. New organizations of the wage workers have proved their capacity for action. The students come out actively and in organized fashion against an outdated educational system. The youth and other segments of the population are becoming more and more active in the present conditions of injustice and lack of rights. The desire for mutual solidarity is expressed in increasing measure.

These social forces can form the mainstay of an effective anti-monopoly "Left policy." Coordinating their efforts to make a joint and fruitful contribution would be a logical task for the Left in Danish politics and public life generally. Their action today falls short of their tasks and opportunities. While the rightists and reactionaries are uniting, the Left betrays a lack of purpose and unity.

This is largely a result of the "labor majority"** having disappointed the hopes people had put on it. The result was dejection and uncertainty which the Right and the bourgeoisie used for their own purposes.

The experience of the "labor majority" showed again that the labor movement and the Left today still have to choose between two courses of action: first, allowing big capital, the real master of society, to use them, and taking care of their interests; second, taking advantage of the positions they have won to overthrow the rule of big capital, drawing on the activity of all working people

*Abridged from **Akahata**, March 5, 1969.

**Social-Democratic and Socialist majority in 1966 and 1967.—**Ed.**

not only to defend the direct interests of the latter but to transform the very foundations of society and change the relation of class forces.

The former trend in the labor movement has taken the form of Social-Democratic policy. The latter trend is represented by the Communists. There are some other alignments in terms of party allegiance, and individual groups on the left side of the political map of Denmark. But reality confronts everyone with the need to choose between these two trends in the struggle of the working class and the people as a whole.

The Socialist People's Party (SPP) has charted its course so close to the fairway of the Social-Democrats that its leaders find it difficult to show the difference in policy between the two parties. The Left Socialists withdrew from the SPP in protest but were unable to unite ideologically and organizationally and so broke up into new splinter groups. New trends towards division into isolated, narrow groups are particularly marked among the youth.

It must not be forgotten, however, that in view of the pressure of monopoly capital and the efforts of the Right, all parties of the labor movement and the Left, and all groups and representatives of many trends and shades of opinion have common interests. Many of our aspirations coincide. But they will not materialize until we unite to eliminate the Right and its policies. Unless we unite, parliament may become after the next general election even more representative of the interests of the bourgeoisie and the Right, while the interests and aspirations of the working people will be put aside.

What is to be done, then?

We have different views and ideological concepts. This is important. Let us discuss it between ourselves and put our cases.

But let us at the same time see what unites us. Let us put forward specific proposals as to the specific tasks on which we think we can actively unite.

## WORLDWIDE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM

The favorable postwar economic situation, which had bred the illusion of an improved and stabilized capitalism, is over. It was prolonged by the scientific and technological revolution, which, for its part, may have created the impression of "renovation."

The capitalist economy is characterized by growing instability both in individual countries and on a world scale. Industrial growth is being restricted or is succeeded by slumps and mounting unemployment. The international monetary system is passing through a

crisis fraught with grave consequences. The fight for markets between national and international capitalist groups is gaining in intensity. Existing trade systems are disintegrating and trade crises are setting in. Monopoly capitalism's leaders themselves have serious forebodings.

Imperialism is constantly trying to regain world supremacy, and the resistance which the peoples and the socialist system put up against it is the only warning likely to prevent imperialism from doing its worst. The main force of imperialism is U.S. imperialism, which is implementing a "global imperialist strategy." West German imperialism is one of the most dangerous and most aggressive contingents of imperialism.

To preserve its sway and achieve its aims, imperialism makes special use of up-to-date mass media and methods of indoctrination. Its purpose is to impart to the people notions paralyzing or splitting them, or diverting them from the fight for peace and social progress. To this end the imperialists distort facts, launch campaigns causing confusion and spread anti-human, pacifist ideas. They make a special effort to sow ideological confusion mong the supporters of socialism in the labor movement as well, which expresses itself in internal discord. It is necessary to counter all these activities with the clear ideas of truth, which are characterized by faith in man and his abilities. And this is the primary aspect of socialist ideology. The outcome of the ideological struggle now pervading discussion in society, is extremely important for future progress.

All ths complicates the problems of Danish society. The capitalist system, monopoly capitalist power, is to blame for the fact that rapid progress in production is accompanied by a decline in real wages, that technical improvements involve back-breaking toil and social insecurity, which have become a national evil, that the prolongation of life achieved by medicine is accompanied by the overcrowding of homes, that increasingly rational construction goes hand in hand with a housing shortage and soaring rents, that new facilities for spreading culture are misused, that the nation's interest in neutrality gives way to an armaments policy serving NATO interests.

That is why Communists are convinced that the problems of the people can really be solved only by establishing a new, socialist social system under which the power and property of monopoly capital will be transferred to the working people.

Such a transformation of society is no dream. Allegations to the effect that socialism is impossible cannot be accepted now that the impressive results of building socialism in other countries have demonstrated the viability of the socialist system.

## COMMUNIST GOALS AND HOW TO ATTAIN THEM

In carrying on political and economic struggles day after day, it is essential to see their purpose and significance. "Abhorrence" of politics, passivity, or betrayal of the cause of the working class and the masses generally results in large measure from disregard of this.

Communists have always warned against both reducing all activity to narrow everyday politics and indulging in Utopian schemes that have nothing to do with reality. They have stressed the inseparable connection between the goal and the road to it.

The social goal of the Communists is *socialism*, which they expect to carry forward by realizing the ideals of *communism*.

Nor is this Utopia. Technical progress has created the material requisites of attaining this goal. Marxism-Leninism shows the social forces and fundamental objective laws on which its attainment hinges.

A fundamental objective law is, first of all, social progress, achievable only through class struggle against the monopolistic class, which today exploits and uses other social classes. The class struggle takes place in the economic, political and ideological fields.

The transition to socialism means that *power in society* is wrested from monopoly capital and passes into the hands of the working people. It is aimed at organizing and encouraging the activity of all working people as effectively as possible to defend their own interests and the interests of society as a whole. This is *socialist democracy*, which in scale alone is superior to all the democratic forms that recognize the class rule of capitalism.

By its very nature, socialist society can be won and built up only by the will and with the active cooperation of all working people. Hence the road to socialism should lie through the majority of the people coming to realize as they fight for their interests and rights that these interests and rights cannot be guaranteed unless the rule of monopoly capital is smashed, overcome and abolished. Given this aspiration and this activity of the working people, a system of democratic, anti-monopoly power can be established to carry out measures to transform society.

The political and popular traditions that have developed in the Danish labor and progressive movements will likewise influence the formation of socialism and the accomplishment of the main tasks in effecting the transition to socialism in Denmark. This applies, specifically, to the existence of several parties, the extension of public discussion, the conversion of parliament into a center for political decision-making, and the granting of liberties also to the

minority which respects the democratic system established by the majority. The formation of socialism in Denmark could be determined by none but the working people themselves.

New possibilities have developed today for a peaceful transition to socialism. Their realization depends on active unity and a massive upsurge among all classes and strata that suffer from monopoly capital rule. As a result, the political means of monopoly capital will be isolated to such an extent that it will not venture to use force. Communists look forward to a peaceful transition to socialism, bearing in mind, however, that a policy of forcible suppression on the part of reaction would necessitate the use of appropriate fighting methods.

The new possibilities of accomplishing the transition to socialism are also due to the fact that a large part of the world has already become socialist and curbs imperialism thanks to its cohesion. It is of decisive importance today to know the problems of socialist development, and this is what bourgeois propaganda is doing its utmost to prevent. Internationalist cohesion of the forces of socialism is needed to guarantee peaceful coexistence and normal relations between countries with different social systems. A socialist Denmark would be an independent and peace-loving country. It would denounce all treaties preventing this. Proceeding from socialist internationalism, Denmark would base its relations with other countries on the principles of equality and respect for sovereignty. It would identify itself with all anti-imperialist forces.

The *working class* has a decisive role to play in the struggle to smash the power of monopoly capital and during the transition to the building of socialism. Its position in society makes it the antipode and chief opponent of monopoly capital. It is a class that suffers from outright exploitation. Working conditions show it the need for unity and foster its organization. The working class is daily faced with the need to carry on a class struggle which engenders a conflict between it and bourgeois ideology and demonstrates loyalty to socialist ideology. The feeling of solidarity, too, lies at the basis of its internationalism, of its unity with fellow-workers irrespective of nationality, which is so important in the fight against imperialism and war.

The working class is not alone in its fight against monopoly capital. Social evolution produces new natural allies of the working class. Clerical workers, technicians and intellectuals increasingly find themselves in conditions typical of wage labor. The peasants, handicraftsmen and small shopkeepers, who are exploited by monopoly and whose standard of living depends on that of the wage workers, are acquiring new interests in common with the workers. This provides a basis for the formation of broad anti-monopoly

alliances, which can be valuable by rendering all-out support to the common struggle.

The Danish working class has shown its ability—as it did under occupation, for example—to be the mainstay of broad democratic movements, which is precisely what the present situation calls for.

All Left-wing movements need staunchness, ability for organization, ideological consistency and internationalism, which are developing in the working class. To disregard the role of the working class means inviting disorganization of the struggle.

The Communist Party most explicitly adheres to the position of the working class and links its activity with the workers' struggle. This implies consistent vanguard participation in the fight for the interests and social aspirations of the working class. Thereby the Party connects itself with all others who are striving for the same objects. The Party wishes to bring into its ranks those who want intelligently and consistently to fight against capital and reaction, for peace and democracy, until socialism triumphs.

The Communist Party, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which embodies the goals of the revolutionary labor movement and is constantly enriched with new experience, tries to carry forward its activity and its political thinking on this solid ideological foundation. It resists opportunist deviations from scientific socialism which lead to betrayal in struggle, whether in the form of a drift to the right or of barren "Left"-wing extremism.

The Communist Party and all Communists see it as their duty to serve the Danish working class, and hence the Danish nation, as best they can by their entire activity. Today, when the nation's aspirations are so intimately linked with general development in the world, working-class internationalism is the decisive factor for ensuring the future of labor. This is why the Party heightens its solidarity with fraternal Communist parties in both the socialist and the capitalist countries, as well as with anti-imperialist parties in the developing countries. It is striving to further the unity of the Communist movement, which it regards as cooperation between equal and sovereign parties united by common ideological principles and common activity in the international class struggle between socialism and imperialism.

The Communist Party carries on its organizing work on the principle of democratic centralism, which combines lively discussion with the ability to adopt common decisions as a basis for joint action.

The fight against big capital, the Right-wing forces and the war danger, for democratic measures and for the transition to socialism, poses so many problems that it cannot be conducted without such a party of the working class. Experience shows how very impor-

tant it is from the standpoint of the democratic struggle and the real success of socialism, for the Marxist-Leninist party to be able to operate in such a way as to win influence enabling it to direct the course of development. Communists are always working to win support for their views and to strengthen their Party.

This does not, however, induce complacency in the Communist Party. The Party knows that the success of democracy and socialism can be ensured primarily through the activity of the masses, of the working class, and through their joint action. A prime condition for social progress must therefore be unity of the working class and the Left on problems on which they agree or have similar views, so that a really *transforming force* may be brought into being.

The Communist Party therefore sees its task in continuing independent activity on a principled basis and, at the same time, in striving for loyal cooperation with all with whom it can reach mutual understanding on current tasks.

## PROPOSALS FOR JOINT ACTION BY THE LEFT

The first task is to bring about a change in Danish policy, to go beyond the bounds in which the bourgeois government would like to keep the policies of the nation.

This can be done but not through politics behind closed doors. It can be done if the population outside parliament intervenes in developments without waiting for the general election. Demands should come from the enterprises and the trade unions, from the universities and other educational institutions, from tenants' unions and youth organizations. The activity in evidence over many issues should be expanded, strengthened and made more meaningful—to the point of changing the political climate.

Unity against the Right should be built up from the very foundation. It can grow only through joint effort to win common radical demands; through daily action in the enterprises; through action to win the demands put forward in revising collective agreements, including protest movements against the government's economic policy; through action against the dismissal of union delegates; through the maintenance of other democratic rights in adopting economic decisions; through a protest movement against the unprecedented brutality of the Vietnam war, against the insensate policy of NATO and the armaments policy, including the demand for a revision of Danish foreign policy; through action against the unfair practices that persist in an outmoded educational system, for the interests of working youth, including the demand for an effective and democratic system of education; through action against the housing shortage and its abuse by the owners, against

the system of spying and secret files; for the solution of urgent problems of the communes, and so on.

All these actions are conducive to unity. But it is necessary to learn to act if it is to develop into a transforming force.

Communists have long since stressed that it is essential to proceed, first of all, from the necessity for establishing a Left front against the Right-wing in Danish politics. The formation of a government of conservatives, members of Venstre* and radicals has shown that this front is the only solution. In the face of a Right-wing policy designed, in fact, to safeguard the interests of monopoly and militarism, it is necessary to follow a firm democratic Left policy which should be explicit enough for everyone to see the difference between the two policies. This policy should mark a definitive break with the long-time policy of compromising with Right-wing parties.

Judging by the programs and statements of political parties, trade unions, tenants' organizations, cultural associations and numerous other groups and individuals, there are, despite distinctions, certain common views that could form the basis for the Left to dissociate itself from the Right.

Communists will adopt a loyal attitude towards a Left policy and a government which has renounced a Right-wing policy. On the other hand, they have their own proposals for a Left policy, which they want to carry into practice and for which they want to work. Many of these proposals are set out in detail in special Communist Party programs.

The Communist proposals imply the possibility of carrying the Left policy through to the end, a real restriction of monopoly positions, and the deliverance of Denmark from the domination of the NATO imperialists. Communists propose an anti-monopoly policy which, by drawing on popular activity, will make the transition to socialism a topical problem in Denmark. An anti-monopoly policy should include the following measures in the *economic field:*

—Nationalization of the banks, financial institutions and insurance companies, oil companies, enterprises manufacturing medicines and medical equipment, whose preservation is important for the national economy in spite of the big capitalists' attempts to liquidate them. Tighter government control over the establishment and activity of various combines, cartels and monopoly associations. Legislation guaranteeing the consideration of social problems and solution of the problems of employment as an aspect of monopoly activity.

—Planned management of the entire economy of society, based not only on direct control and supervision of the power seats of

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*Venstre ("Left") is one of the traditional bourgeois parties.—Ed.

the national economy by public authorities, but also on an economic policy which, effectively taking into account social and employment objectives, will ensure the most judicious use of the nation's resources. It is a question, first and foremost, of a tax policy limiting the possibility of economic incentives influencing investments in such a way as to push economic considerations into the background in preference to private profit-making. Control over investment to prevent investments that lack an optimum social economic value. Effective control over foreign investment. Legislation preventing foreign capital from exerting decisive influence on the management of enterprises in Denmark. Detailed regulations controlled by the public and ruling out tax evasion by branches of foreign companies in Denmark by doctoring accounts.

—A policy on foreign trade and markets ensuring, through direct government influence, beneficial trade relations with as many countries as possible, irrespective of their social systems and commercial political structures. Rejection of every policy on markets restricting the ability of the Danish authorities to fix the terms of the nation's foreign trade policy.

—A tax policy consistently distributing the tax burden on the principle of progressive taxation of incomes. Increased taxes on companies.

—A social policy that provides social security to all citizens. Legislation entitling all wage workers to full compensation in case of illness, industrial accident or unemployment. All short-term allowances should be based on the principle of full compensation. A policy on the family actively aiding, in particular, large families and families with one breadwinner.

The democratic character of administration in charge of social legislation should be enhanced, specifically providing wage workers' organizations with greater opportunities of defending their interests, while appeals against administrative decisions should be left to courts of appeal elected by the people.

—A land policy that ends speculation. Raising the value of land as a result of social development passes fully under the control of society. Agricultural lands used for other purposes pass directly into the hands of public authorities which thereupon put them at the disposal of others on lease. In developing towns and districts, the right of expropriation to be exercised by all means, former owners of the land being paid an indemnity according to the value of the land.

—A housing policy enabling every citizen to acquire a suitable home in keeping with modern social and hygienic requirements. Maintaining rent at a definite level corresponding to the workers' average income, by nationalizing existing housing, transferring the

whole of new housing to cooperatives and society for letting, and by fixing low-rate loans for housing construction.

—Effective restriction of speculation and every attempt to bypass democratic socio-economic decisions for the purpose of speculation. All private fortunes made through illegal speculation to be transferred to society. Those guilty of particularly gross speculation to be punished by taxing their other property.

A *democratic policy* providing for the following:

—ensuring democratic control over economic management by having the trade union movement, wage workers' and consumers' organizations, the working people engaged in agriculture and fishing, and other mass organizations represented in the public bodies concerned, which is of decisive importance;

—setting up councils in all enterprises to supervise and control production and book-keeping and take part in decision-making on production planning, investment and organization, the admission, dismissal or transfer of employees. Providing safeguards of complete democracy in the trade union movement;

—complete publicity in decision-making on the national economy and on government policy, so that democracy may become a living reality. Abolition of company secrets;

—promoting local self-government. Large communes or districts should enjoy greater influence on economic policy, in particular on district planning. At the same time, the institutions of the local councils should be developed in major communes;

—democratic influence on the mas information media. The press, radio and television to be made available for public debate, so that the views and problems of the working population may be presented to public opinion;

—democratizing the state apparatus. Combating all manifestations of red tape, corruption and profiteering. Increasing the influence of elected bodies on administration. Expelling undemocratic elements from the police and the armed forces;

—democratizing education and cultural life by realizing the proposal for an overall democratic system of education.

A *foreign policy* providing for the following:

—declaring Denmark a neutral state. Withdrawal from NATO and the West German-Danish military command;

—insisting that the great powers provide guarantees to Denmark as a neutral and atom-free zone;

—to help establish a system of collective security in Europe envisaging the abolition of the existing military blocs;

—Denmark to pursue a policy of security by political means; immediate reduction of military spending;

—Denmark to support initiatives for peace, détente and disarmament, for the prevention of aggression and war, and for an end to imperialist oppression.

Such an anti-monopoly policy will prove its necessity if the results of a Left policy are consolidated and carried forward.

# THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CONSERVATISM

## TALK* GIVEN BY GUS HALL TO A CONFERENCE OF COMMUNISTS WORKING IN INDUSTRY

For us to hold a national conference of Communists working in industry is an important step forward. This is indicative of an over-all shift in our Party's work. We are restructuring our Party as a working-class party. We are shifting our priorities of emphasis to class questions.

We should have convened this conference a long time ago. But we did not. We talked about it, but we did not set a date. After we set the date there were pressures to either postpone or to call the conference off. Until this very morning there were pressures to "limit" its scope. And as you can see,there are a few states not represented here, including Ohio and Southern California.

What do these pressures reflect in the case of this conference? They are weaknesses that reflect a lack of appreciation for a policy of industrial concentration and the key importance of the working class in all struggles. In a broader framework, these pressures also reflect other weaknesses. They are reflections of a conservative influence in our Party, a lack of a militant, fighting approach to the problems of the Party, to questions of the class struggle. It is, in actuality, an accommodation to difficulties resulting in a lack of decisiveness, a lack of boldness, a weakness in determination. There are, of course, some special problems in giving leadership to working class struggles and movements, including problems related to job security, etc. But just closing one's eyes to them is no solution. The fact remains that leadership to working-class struggles and movements does not have top priority; it cannot be described as either bold or determined. We do not now have a policy of concentration.

The phrase: "the struggle on two fronts," is not an abstraction. It is a concept which rejects ideas that do not correspond to reality, whether they are dressed up in "Left" or Right phrases. It is a struggle against opportunism. It is not simply rejection of wrong ideas. The best way to fight wrong ideas is to fight for correct ones. Right and "Left" opportunism very often appear simultaneously. They feed each other. They are not the opposite ends of a political spectrum. They are the two faces of opportunism. One

*Abridged from **Political Affairs**, September 1968.

wrong cannot be corrected with another. Hence the way to fight one is not by encouraging the other.

There is a need for us to fight both weaknesses. But, today, I want to speak mainly about Right-opportunist weaknesses.

## THE FIGHT AGAINST RIGHT OPPORTUNISM

In our shop work, in our trade union work, this conservatism is the main danger, our biggest weakness. To be sure, it is not limited to our industrial work. It is also the main weakness in some other areas of our Party's work. However, there we find the other weakness, the other face of opportunism. But in the area of our trade union work, conservatism is the main obstacle. We must examine it self-critically. In the olden days there was another word for this weakness; it was called "Right opportunism." Of course, "Left" sectarianism is no less opportunism.

It seems a contradiction to say that our working-class comrades are conservatives. It is a harsh thing to say that our working-class comrades tend to play it safe. It used to be that you could hear only professors speak about reaching the safety of permanent tenure. But now working-class comrades speak about the safety of seniority, of social security. It is a harsh thing to say that our working-class comrades display weaknesses that are reformist and not revolutionary; that they often lack militancy; that many of them are not over the years of McCarthyism. One of the basic reasons for this is that our comrades in industry have a wrong estimate of the people with whom they work. They have not kept up with the process of radicalization and the rising militancy of the workers. These are harsh words. But I think they are true.

That is one of the fundamental reasons why we are not a more important factor in building rank-and-file movements in the shops; why we are not a more active force; why we do not have a larger circulation of our press in the shops; why we are not building the Party faster in the shops.

We are critical of the rest of the Party for the lack of industrial, working-class orientation. But you comrades working in the industries should not hide behind the criticism as an excuse for your own weaknesses. You have to fight to overcome the weaknesses in your work. If you do not agree with this estimate, then let's debate it. Write a letter or an article to the *Daily World* or to *Political Affairs* or to the National Office. If you *do* agree with this estimate, then let's discuss how to correct this weakness, in the spirit of give and take of a working-class organization.

Our leadership has a tendency to call off and postpone meetings and actions, and our shop comrades have a tendency to put off taking militant initiatives—on economic issues, in the struggle

against racism, and in the development of independent political action, in talking to a fellow worker about socialism, asking for a subscription, taking literature into the shop. It is the same problem in both cases, with the same ideological roots. This is conservatism. It is an absence of militancy, of boldness. It is opportunism.

This can be a lifetime sickness. We have comrades who literally go through life this way—a lifetime of waiting for the "right moment."

## THE MEANING OF A WORKING-CLASS APPROACH

We welcome the rising understanding of the role of the working class within Left circles. There is much talk about the need for a working-class outlook. I know a couple of Communist industrial workers who are as petty-bourgeois as can be. In fact they have an attitude of disdain towards workers. They are wonderful people and good friends, but they do not have a working-class approach. They live a conservative life because of the influence of opportunism.

Lenin said that some of the petty-bourgeois elements he met were workers who had become influenced by petty-bourgeois ideology. The fact that one works in a shop doesn't make one immune from non-working class ideas, from the influence of opportunism. To have a working-class approach, to be able to influence workers, it is necessary to understand the role of the class—to know why and how workers react and respond to the problems of life. To understand and lead workers is to have confidence in workers. To be on the same wave length with workers it is necessary to have a full understanding of the essence of exploitation. It is not enough to talk about workers. When it comes to talking about the working class, who talks more about it than the Trotskyites, and who follows a more petty-bourgeois policy than the Trotskyites?

We will be getting to the roots of opportunism. Obviously, if you cannot win the confidence of those with whom you work, you cannot lead rank-and-file movements or trade unions.

A Communist stands out in a mass because he or she has the advantage of a social science. Because of this he or she can see beneath the surface manifestations of developments. A Communist is a class-conscious worker, a militant trade unionist, with the advantage of knowing the direction of developments, the direction of currents and processes. A Communist is a shop worker who has the advantage of knowing how capitalism operates as a system, how exploitation is imposed, how decay is a built-in feature of capitalism. A Communist is a trade union leader who not only knows all this but also knows that socialism is the fundamental answer to the flaws of capitalism. This is an important political advantage.

But a Communist will stand out in a crowd only if this advantage is put into everyday use. Only if he or she can explain the everyday happenings in the shop, the industry, the country and the world; only if he or she can show the path to victory, can a Communist transform the advantage into a meaningful one. The "proper moment" in the class struggle is ever present. At critical moments workers will look for leadership from these co-workers who proved themselves during non-critical periods. Thus, the "proper moment" will never arrive for one who waits for it but only if the groundwork is laid for it.

## THE MOTIVE FORCE OF SELF-INTEREST

If you understand what motivates a worker, then you understand the nature of his self-interest. This question is often vulgarized in our Party. It is vulgarized in the very sense that Marx argued against —in the sense that all workers want to live like the middle class. The assumption is that because of this, the working class is unable to play its role.

First of all, we might ask what is wrong with a worker wanting to live well? Nothing. That's what we are in business for. That's what the class struggle is all about. The question of self-interest involves being able to show workers how the struggle on broader issues is in their own direct interest. Class consciousness, revolutionary consciousness, can be developed in the course of the struggle for workers' families to be able to live better.

Let me come back to this idea that workers want to live like the middle class. Do you know that in our leadership there are comrades who do not get excited or enthused about a strike? We had quite a time getting some of our people excited about the copper strike, the automobile workers' strike. What is the basis of this lack of enthusiasm? In effect, these comrades say: The workers will win, they will live better, and so they will become less militant. So why get excited about a strike?" The logic of such an attitude is to support strikes only if we have assurance of their defeat.

Can there be a proper attitude with such concepts? These are petty-bourgeois radical concepts. Once you have that approach, you cannot have confidence in the working class. And without such confidence, you take it easy, you take the safe way, you sit back and watch, you become a big observer of events. You wait for the "proper moment." Economic victories may momentarily dampen militancy; but they also result in new understanding, new unity and new class confidence.

And it is not enough to have confidence *in general*—in the working class in the abstract. One can and must have confidence in the forces of *this* epoch, in *this* working class. If we have *such* confi-

dence, if we are convinced something can be done, we will find the "how" and "why" and proceed to do it. The "confidence" we are talking about is closely related to one's understanding of the laws of class society, of the class struggle and, therefore, an understanding of what makes the working class tick.

And no revolutionary movement can be successful if it proceeds on the assumption that the struggle for a better life will by iself—spontaneously—lead to a revolutionary struggle against the old system. The key to success for a revolutionary party is the relation between these two sides of one process.

Some say we should be "where the action is." We want to be where the action is, but not merely with the action as it develops spontaneously. In a basic revolutionary sense, the only real meaningful action is one that is related to the aims of the working class. This explains why our Party has a policy of concentration. If not for the role of the working class there would be no need for a Communist Party. Our Party exists only because of the conviction we have about the role of the working class. There is no need for a working-class party if the working class is not to play its historic role.

## LIMITATIONS OF OTHER SECTORS

When we have to say: "We must concentrate, we must place our emphasis on the working class," that is the sharpest criticism that could be levelled against us. When we will be in a position to say that, as a working-class party, we must also pay attention to the students, to the intellectuals, to the middle class, then we will truly be a working-class party. This is not the case now. We must restructure the party as a working-class party. That is the underlying reason for developing a policy of industrial concentration.

As for students, intellectuals and middle-class elements of our society, we know they play a very important role. But in a longer-range view they are not the mainstay of the revolutionary struggle. They can initiate but they cannot sustain such a struggle. The struggle will falter if they are the only forces in motion. They cannot successfully lead the struggle for progress in this industrialized age. They cannot overthrow capitalism. And they cannot lead in the building of socialism. There is a built-in limitation. In fact, some of the problems that have developed in a number of socialist countries, as well as in the newly-liberated countries, result from these built-in limitations of non-working-class forces. Their position in class society is the basis for the built-in limitations. Their relationship to the social structure does not "force" them to be a consistent revolutionary force. Only the working class is "forced" to do so.

In our country these forces are making a very important contri-

bution but they cannot destroy racism. They cannot defeat imperialism and imperialist policies by themselves. They can play a big role, but they cannot themselves accomplish these things. We have to understand that there can be no meaningful change, no radical change, no qualitative social change, no revolutionary change, no socialism, without the basic force for such change—the working class. The effectiveness of all other sectors of the population is irrevocably tied to the level of the struggle of the working class. Without moving the working class all the other struggles for social progress are limited and will, sooner or later, get bogged down.

That's how we have to understand the role of the working class. Lenin spoke about the fact that there could be no minority revolution. We have to speak about the fact that there could be no minority revolution. We have to speak about that again, because petty-bourgeois radicals of every age have again raised this question. In a country with 70 million workers, in a country where working-class families make up more than 80 per cent of the population, to speak about a revolution by minorities or non-working class groups is not dealing with reality. The Afro-American struggle for freedom is moulded by the fact that the majority of Afro-Americans are workers. They are a part of the U.S. working class. The problems of special oppression are intervowen into the fabric of capitalist exploitation. This relationship only adds to one's understanding of the centrality of the struggle for freedom and equality, the struggle against racism, for black and white unity. To get white workers to understand this relationship is the key to victory.

## PETTY-BOURGEOIS RADICALISM

In some sections of our Party it is this other form that represents the main danger in our Party's work, the main obstacle to mass work. It is the problem of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Again this ideology is not limited to, or necessarily reflected by, people with petty-bourgeois backgrounds. It is an ideology that can influence the actions of workers. This was a problem in Marx's time and a major issue in Lenin's time. It has emerged now in a new light in our country as well as in the world Marxist movement.

If I were to put in one sentence the main problem that the Budapest Conference confronted, it was the necessity to struggle against the influences of Right opportunism and the concepts of petty-bourgeois radicalism that have found reflection in the world movement. Petty-bourgeois radicalism is like an electric current that is not harnessed. It is electricity but not electric power. It is radicalism that has not turned into political power. It tends to

be rebellion without direction. It is radicalism that turns upon itself because it is not based on objective laws of social development. It ignores the concept of self-interest as the starting point of struggle. It is petty-bourgeois radicalism to say that all the workers want is to live like the middle class. That's the main characteristic, the main result, of petty-bourgeois radicalism. It is self-isolating. In practice it results in no radical change.

Petty-bourgeois radicalism is one of the reflections of the developing radicalism and militancy in our country. But it is a dead-end path. As a party, we must never, even inadvertently, dampen militancy or radicalization. We must not down-play militancy even when it is expressed in ways that we do not agree with. That is why we must be with movements that are influenced by petty-bourgeois radical currents. We must be the force that stimulates, encourages and gives direction to it. But we must at the same time be on guard that we do not find ourselves standing with them in isolation as the parade goes marching on. We must encourage and lead militancy along victorious paths.

In our Party the two problems we have been discussing tend to team up. Petty-bourgeois radicalism teams up with conservatism and Right opportunism. This weakens our effectiveness as a militant working-class party.

The main weakness of our comrades in the shops and trade unions, then, is conservatism, leading to lack of initiative and political pessimism. This conference is important because we are going out to put our work in this area on a different footing. We are going to open up a fight against these influences.

## FOR A POLICY OF CONCENTRATION

A concentration policy means putting the working class at the top of the list of all priorities at all times. That is not so in our Party today. We do not speak or write with an eye to influencing workers. Our style of doing things is not a working-class style. The subject matter we deal with, whether in speaking or writing, is not that which workers are most interested in. We do not take a class approach to all problems at all times. We take the general approach, not the class approach. We do not get material to workers, even when we write it. Our discussions are not about working-class matters; the atmosphere in our Party is not a working-class atmosphere. Working-class comrades have difficulty in feeling at home in our Party.

The path to correction, however, is not to downgrade what we have. The task is to raise to its proper level the work in the working-class sector. And you working-class comrades have a special responsibility in this. It is not enough that you correct your

own work. You have to demand from the Party that priority in attention which is necessary. You have to be that force that fights for a working-class policy, for a policy of concentration. You are a key force in restructuring our Party as a working-class party.

There is a special role that you comrades have to play—you, the working-class comrades of our Party.

# SALAZARISM CONTINUES WITHOUT SALAZAR. ONLY STRUGGLE CAN PUT END TO FASCISM*

Three months have passed since the advent of Marcello Caetano's government to power. The events of this period confirm the correctness of the Communist Party's appraisal of this government.

The CC PCP declared in a statement issued immediately after its establishment that "just as the government of Salazar, it is a terroristic dictatorship of monopolies and big landowners, a dictatorship of association with foreign imperialism."

On the other hand, taking into account the difficulties with which the regime is confronted, the absence of mass support for it, and the deepening of the crisis in connection with Salazar's departure, the government is trying to conceal its real nature behind the smokescreen of "liberalization" demagogy which, in turn, compels it to grant some concessions. Caetano and his government, which reflects the compromise nature of the fascist groups that comprise it, have no intention of steering Portugal along a democratic road. On the contrary, they want to surmount the existing difficulties and effectively strengthen the dictatorship.

The "liberalization" demagogy is indicative of the regime's efforts to find support at home and abroad, to win over or neutralize the opposition forces, to stem the development of the popular antifascist struggle and isolate the Communist Party and other more militant democratic forces so as to make their destruction easier.

Despite demagogic utterances and certain concessions designed to contain popular discontent, all government actions and pronouncements clearly reveal a striving to continue the policy of the fascist dictatorship within the basic framework of Salazar's policy of oppression, terror, war and subordination to imperialism.

The tasks of the democratic movement are, on the one hand, exposure and struggle against the Caetano government's policy of "liberalization" and, on the other, as the CC PCP pointed out, "bold utilization of the new situation in order to break the ice of political passivity, demand fulfilment of all the demagogic promises of the government, strengthen its positions, direct political life along a new course, and develop the popular struggle through political acts and mass activity."

Fascism will never relinquish power of its own free will. It will

*A document of the PCP Political Commission printed in a special issue of **Avante**, No. 398, January 1969.

never lead the country to democracy. The basic demands of the Portuguese people can be satisfied and freedom and democracy won only through struggle.

## I. AS BEFORE, THE MOST ELEMENTARY FREEDOMS ARE LACKING

When, on September 27 last, M. Caetano spoke for the first time as head of government about a "mutually tolerant attitude towards ideas," about the need for the Portuguese "to stop feuding with one another" and about "freedoms," which he said he would like "to see restored," some opposition circles saw in his words some kind of program of "liberalization," of the abolition of fascism, recognition of the legality of opposition, institution of fundamental freedoms.

Two months later, on November 27, Caestano clarified his idea. After boasting about successes in establishing "normal coexistence between people of different convictions," he declared an intention "to urge all good citizens of this country to cooperate with the government."

Following the example of the new Prime Minister, all fascists, "liberal" and "ultra" alike, ministers, military and civic governors are holding forth now on a "mutually tolerant attitude." But they hasten to add that this applies only to those who will betray democratic ideals.

"Tolerance towards different opinions" does not at all mean that the democratic opposition will be able to criticize the regime, fight for democratic ideals and defend the interests of the Portuguese people, oppressed by fascism for four decades. It only means that "good citizens" from the opposition will be able to "cooperate with the government" or, at best, after petty handouts, form the "harmless opposition" which Salazar vainly tried to establish.

The right to classify citizens as "good" or "bad" has been given to PIDE, the political police. Its director, Major Silva Pais, has already busied himself with separating "those who differ with the authorities on an honest basis" from "subversives."

The fascists will regard collaborationists of representatives of the harmless opposition as "good citizens." Consistent anti-fascists will be always branded as "subversives," "Communists" or "concealed Communists."

Anti-communism is the principal element of this maneuver. The content and purpose of the "liberalization" demagogy cannot be correctly understood without taking into consideration the new anti-Communist campaign launched by Caetano after September 27.

Anti-Communism is seeking not only to suppress the party of the working class, the strongest of all opposition parties, the

staunchest fighter for the interests of the working people, for freedom, democracy and national independence, the party without the legalization of which there can be no genuine democracy in Portugal.

Anti-Communism also serves as a pretext for suppressing all anti-fascist forces consistently fighting for the realization of the principal slogans of the democratic revolution. That is why they are and will be branded as "subversive elements" and "Communists," just as has been done throughout the 42-year rule of fascism.

Anti-Communism coupled with the "liberalization" demagogy is a policy aimed at splitting the anti-fascist movement, an attempt to divert the most hesitant elements of the opposition to the road of collaborationism and to launch police repressions against the other section of the opposition.

Speaking, on November 27, about "every one's closest participation in social life" and "normal coexistence of all who hold different views," Caetano unashamedly addressed the liberals and "Socialists" with the following words: "It is necessary that the people who do not want to see their country communized should take a stand and be ready boldly to fight for it in all spheres of social life."

Thus Caetano offers a certain possibility of participation in political life to those elements of the opposition who will side with the fascists in the struggle against the Communists, a struggle which is nothing else but struggle against the anti-fascist movement, against the popular democratic movement as a whole.

Just as during Salazar's 42-year rule, the fascists are again trying to replace the real dilemma of "fascism or democracy" with that of "fascism or communism," are again making a bogey out of communism.

Those representatives of the opposition who will decide to take the road indicated by the fascists will only come to their own utter degradation and capitulation and disgrace themselves as renegades of the fight against fascism, for democracy.

To propagate illusions, hopes, the belief that it really means to "liberalize" political life, the new government is making partial concessions to the democratic movement which, of course, are limited or qualified and calculated to produce an outward effect.

The utmost vigilance is needed so as not to confuse satisfaction of the demands of the masses (which is by no means a manifestation of Caetano's "good will" but a result of the struggle of the Portuguese people and a reflection of the difficulties of the regime) with treacherous subterfuges and demagogic measures which appear to be a reply to the demands of the masses but actually strengthen the position of fascism.

Let us see how Caetano responded to the demand for the freedom

of expression, the right to information and the abolition of censorship.

It is true that censorship has become less rigorous with regard to secondary matters. But the opposition is not allowed to voice in the press its opinion of the government's policy. "Liberal" journalists are permitted to write in support of Caetano's "liberalism," but its exposure is forbidden. In some newspapers and magazines from 25 to 75 per cent of copy is blue-pencilled. Assemblies are banned. The mass information media remain the fascists' monopoly. Even students' song festivals are subjected to repressions.

Acting behind the smokescreen of the "liberalization" demagogy and sustaining the expectant mood with paltry concessions, Caetano is preparing measures for further centralization of control over the information media and the press. The setting up of the state secretariat for information and tourism signifies, not an extension of the freedom of expression, but intensification of fascist propaganda and control over cultural life.

The people of Portugal will secure minimal possibilities of freely expressing their thoughts and opinions only as a result of struggle and not of Caetano's policy.

Now let us examine Caetano's attitude towards the demand for the freedom of association, including the rights of the organizations affiliated with the National Trade Unions, and other mass organizations.

According to Caetano's conception, camouflaged by the demagogy about "liberalization," the mass organizations as well as the information media should strengthen and envigorate all components of the fascist state, and with their help the fascists hope to secure new levers of influence.

In his October 10 speech Caetano extolled the corporate structure which, "like the nervous system of the nation, presents a ramified and complex network." On November 7, in a report delivered in the Ministry for Corporate Organizations, he said: "The corporate spirit should permeate the flesh and blood of the whole country. It should prevail in the management of enterprises and take root in the consciousness of the working people."

These unequivocal pronouncements testify to a striving to "liberalize," in the fascist way, the trade unions and other mass organizations.

The government's recognition of the leading organs of the unions of doctors and publishing workers is a major victory for the democratic forces. Another victory for the working people is the fact that the fascists have been compelled to announce the forthcoming abolition of the government's obligatory approval of the results of elections to the leadership of national trade unions.

But the government, all its demagogy notwithstanding, does not intend to abolish control over the trade unions. It only wants to renovate the methods of this control.

The draft law under discussion in the corporate chamber of parliament stipulates that only those trade union members who "meet the demands made of National Assembly electors" can run for election to leading organs of trade unions. What is meant are such provisions of the electoral law which make possible the disfranchisement of any anti-fascist, and this, coupled with the falsification of voters' lists and PIDE's intereference in drawing them up, means that the government will seek to prevent the nomination of the finest representatives of the working class.

Formerly, the government banned trade union elections, falsified their results and resorted to all kinds of pressure, intimidation and fraud to prevent the working people from electing a leadership worthy of their confidence. If all this did not produce the desired results, the government took recourse to the extreme step of refusing to endorse this leadership. Today the government considers that it can nip the evil in the bud by imposing control over the nomination of working people's candidates.

The abolition of the obligatory approval of trade union leadership is a positive fact, a result of the prolonged struggle of the working class. And only working people's struggle will prevent the fascists' new subterfuge and secure the holding of genuine elections with the help of which the leadership of the national trade unions will be cleansed from the employers' and fascists' lackeys and manned with people capable of courageously and consistently defending the interests of the working class.

A similar tactic is employed by the government with regard to the student organizations.

On the one hand, some fascist leaders are expanding on their "understanding" of the problems of the youth, flirting with them and making generous promises, but on the other they threaten them with repressions.

Marcelo Caetano speaks about his "understanding" of the impatience of the youth, about a "considerate attitude" towards their problems—and goes on ominously to advise them not to heed the persuasion of "committed agitators and political speculators."

The threats were followed by action. On November 26 the president of the Classical University declared that the poor work of two courses was the result of agitation of unconscientious students. On December 6 Minister of Education Saraiva, a champion of "liberalization," characterized the student movement as actions by "a small group of agitators" operating in accordance with a general "plan of subversion." The closure, on December 8, of the Higher

Technical Institute and the PIDE raid on the premises of the students' organization show the real face of "liberalization."

Caetano and his Minister of Education acted too hastily. "Liberaliation" proved to be too transparent a screen for a policy aimed at eliminating the student movement.

As our Party has pointed out repeatedly, the regime is characterized by internal contradictions and disagreements regarding particular aspects of the fascist policy and the methods of overcoming the crisis. But at present the various fascist groups are at one in their striving to continue Salazarism without Salazar. The advocates of "liberalization" and the "ultras" agree on the essence of the matter.

It should be noted that the fascist government is again meeting with support on the part of the reactionary top clergy.

The cardinal's decree of November 8 on the dismissal of Alves Felicidade, priest of the Belem parish, is an example of the fascist and inquisitorial policy of the Portuguese Catholic hierarchy. Father Felicidade was punished, not for a "departure from the Church," but for his firm anti-fascist convictions and criticism of the fascist position of the top clergy. Such measures are designed to undercut the liberal and progressive movement which is mounting among the Portuguese Catholics and many clergymen.

The fascists are not disarming, retreating or going away. At a moment of grave crisis they enter into a "holy alliance," mobilize all their forces and, using "liberalization" as a cover, keep the Portuguese people deprived of the most elementary freedoms and persist in the policy of repression and terror.

## II. THE POLICY OF POLICE TERROR CONTINUES

In the forty-two years of the fascist dictatorship thousands of democrats have passed through prison. Sentenced to long prison terms, they were tortured in PIDE even after release. Their health was irreparably damaged. Many of them perished in prison from inhuman treatment. Many did not survive tortures or were killed by PIDE agents right in the street. The Portuguese people will not forget the names of many Communists tortured and murdered by the fascists.

The time will come when the history of this political gangsterism will be investigated and retribution meted out to the criminals.

Caetano's words and deeds show that he is not only shielding the crimes committed by PIDE but is ready to give it a *carte blanche* for the future. More, he parades his attitude towards the secret police, ignoring the indignation of the public. On November 19 the Minister of the Interior personally presented a decoration to PIDE Director Silva Pais! And a week before Brigadier Jose Gon-

zalves, a PIDE agent notorious for a record number of crimes, including—according to the testimony of his colleagues—the murder in 1945 of shipyard worker Alfredo da Assuncao Dinis, a member of the CC PCP—was publicly commended for his success in hunting down Communists.

Thus, Caetano the "Liberalizer" identifies PIDE with the government and is a moral party to all the abuses of power, arbitrary acts and crimes which this police organ continues to commit.

Among the most pressing demands of the Portuguese people are release of political prisoners, an amnesty, abolition of the so-called security measures, a ban on tortures, and humanization of the prison regime. The forced statement of Guardado Lopes, Director of the Prison Administration, to the effect that principles reflected in the Declaration of the Human Rights will be applied to prisoners, should be regarded as an important victory for the democratic movement. But the facts show that such statements have remained an empty sound. The policy of lawlessness, terror and police gangsterism continues under Caetano just as under Salazar.

## II. THE COLONIAL WAR AND SUBORDINATION TO IMPERIALISM CONTINUE

Caetano explained his agreement to head the government with his concern for "tireless defense of overseas territories." For some strange reason, certain members of the opposition who entertained illusions hastily interpreted this clear-cut statement as an indication of some change in the Salazar policy. Two months later, speaking in the National Assembly, Caetano himself showed his cards.

Echoing Salazar, he spoke about the "civilizing" mission of colonialists and about a "multi-racial state." According to him, the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies is nothing else but "terroristic intriguing" supported by the socialist countries and some African states. He claims that the war in Africa is being waged in defense not so much of the "integrity of the nation" as of the very civilization and security of the West, that the struggle of the Guinean people is merely a Soviet effort to seize the Cape Verde Islands—"a hub of communications between the North and South Atlantic and even between both its coasts." He warned that "Europe can be encircled" and reaffirmed his intention to continue the war in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique in the interests of Western Europe and even America.

Caetano is out to reap the fruits of the "cold war" being fanned by the most reactionary imperialist circles under the pretext of the events in Czechoslovakia. The fascists do not limit themselves to pleas for continued NATO aid, without which they would be unable to wage the war in Africa. They ask for greater military

aid, especialy from the United States and the FRG. Invoking the threat of the Soviet Union's "encirclement" of Europe and the strategic importance of Portugal and its colonies, they offer natural resources, whole branches of the economy, cheap manpower, markets and military bases in exchange for direct and open support of the war against the peoples of the colonies.

Addressing the Lisbon session of the Atlantic Treaty Association on October 16, Caetano declared, with reference to the difficulties experienced by NATO, that 'the main thing is to strengthen Atlantic solidarity, which should be viewed, not in the context of the present-day narrow formulations, but as a guarantee of political security in each of the component parts and in the Western world as a whole."

The visit paid to Portugal by an old Nazi, FRG Chancellor Kiesinger, reflects the Caetano government's efforts to strengthen cooperation with the most reactionary and aggressive forces of imperialism so as to obtain from them, not so much support for the regime, as still more effective aid for the war in the colonies in exchange for national sovereignty.

Kiesinger's trip was preceded by the arrival of West German pilots at the Beja base, the visit of the training ship "Deutschland" to Lisbon and the visit of a group of FRG parliamentarians to Beja. These facts testify to the growth of contacts with the most aggressive imperialist state of Europe.

The fascists are working to secure greater aid from the United States. The growing harmony between them and U.S. imperialism is revealed by recent facts: the lengthy talks between Caetano and the diamond king Openheim on guaranteeing the latter's interests in Angola, the arrival of a mission of the Organization of American States and the talks with it in the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and the significant visit of Dean Rusk and his talks with Caetano whose content has not been made public.

The dictatorship has undertaken a large-scale political offensive to secure still greater military, financial and diplomatic assistance from NATO and especially from the United States and the FRG in the pursuit of its policy of colonialism and war.

Salazar expected that he would be able to wage the war "ad infinitum." Caetano, proceeding from an incorrect assessment of the international situation, evidently considers that this war can be won. This adventuristic policy is bound to lead Portugal to still greater trials.

Caetano stakes also on the intensified aggressive intrigues of imperialism in Africa.

Back in July 1967 the CC PCP called attention to the intensification of imperialist intrigues and interference in Africa and noted that the Salazar government was one of the principal tools of

imperialism, which "not only threatens the independence of many African states and implants neo-colonialism in them, but directly threatens the peoples fighting for their freedom, namely the peoples of the Portuguese colonies." Events have borne out this conclusion.

The aggressive actions of the imperialists in Africa are growing in frequency. As a result of a number of military coups inspired in Africa by the imperialists aided by the Portuguese fascists and the South African and Rhodesian racialists, there has been a marked decrease in the number of strongholds of the movements for the liberation of the Portuguese colonies, and their supply and communication with the outside world have been complicated. But the liberation movement of the colonial peoples in invincible. The problems raised by the just struggle of the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique will not be solved by the war imposed upon them by the fascists. The struggle will end with their winning of independence.

The colonial question is central for the political situation in the country.

It is stated in the PCP program that "colonial domination has been one of the principal factors of Portugal's general economic backwardness and of the consolidation of the power of the monopolies and foreign imperialism. . . . The longer the rule over the Portuguese colonies is sustained, the greater will be the imperialist oppression of Portugal." The colonial war is a crime not only against the colonial peoples but also against the Portuguese people and country. Young people are being sacrificed to this unjust war. The war affects the living standard of the people, hinders economic development and leads to the loss of national independence.

Therefore, in contrast to the fascist policy, the struggle for recognition of the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to self-determination and independence, for an immediate end to the colonial war, for the initiation of talks with the legitimate representatives of the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique (MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO) * fully conforms to the national and patriotic interests.

The "imperial" policy of the Portuguese fascist colonialists and subordination to foreign imperialism are two sides of one and the same coin.

Just as the struggle for Portugal's genuine independence cannot be separated from the struggle for the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to independence, so the struggle against the colonial policy of the fascist dictatorship is closely connected with the fight for the liberation of Portugal from imperialist dependence.

The fascists are hysterically accusing the opponents of their

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*MPLA—Angola Popular Liberation Movement Party. PAIGC—African Party for an Independent Guinea and Cape Verde Islands. FRELIMO—Liberation Front of Mozambique.

colonialist policy of "high treason." It is necessary to rebuff the real Quislings, uphold anti-colonialist positions and raise aloft the banner of national independence.

Just as the Salazar government, the Caetano government is resorting to intimidation and repressions against the Portuguese democrats and the entire people in an effort to prevent discussion of this cardinal problem.

But the Portuguese people will continue the fight against the policy of colonialism and war, being aware that they will not achieve real freedom and independence as long as the Portuguese state continues to exploit, oppress and exterminate the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

## IV. THE POLICY OF MONOPOLY DIKTAT AND EXPLOITATION GOES ON

The Caetano government continues Salazar's economic and financial policy. It sacrifices the vital interests of the working class, other working people and the middle strata, and the economic development and independence of Portugal, to the monopolies and foreign imperialists.

The 1969 budget is a mirror of this policy, whose dangerous implications were pointed out by the PCP.

Financial stability has been achieved not on the basis of a solid national economy but by increasing the tax burden and through foreign subsidies, many of which are onerous loans, through growing dependence of the monopoly groups on foreign capital, the transfer of the nation's resources and the main branches of the economy to foreign imperialists, through a policy of restricting the home market and expanding the export industries.

The budget reflects the difficulties created by the reduction of tourism, money remittances from emigrants, profits and dividends from capital invested abroad, and by the proposed increase in imports owing to the inadequacy of home production. The PCP foresaw all this and made relevant statements.

Financial stability is built up by exploiting the working people, increasing taxes, which are becoming unbearable for the peasants and the middle strata, and by using external factors linked with the interests of imperialist powers. Should an unexpected economic upheaval occur in these countries, Portugal would be cut off from its source of foreign exchange and the escudo—now propped by artificial means—would be threatened, inflationary processes would intensify and the escudo would undergo a declared or virtual depreciation, the burden of this development falling on the working class and other working people, small industrialists, farmers and traders.

The Portuguese economy and the people's standard of living are

affected by immense expenditures on the colonial war and the maintenance of a military and repressive machinery.

Spending on war and the maintenance of repressive forces in 1967 is estimated to have increased by more than 24.5 per cent. The budget shows that the government intends to persist in this anti-national and anti-popular practice. War, repression, and membership in NATO are the dominant expenditures on fascist policies that swallow funds obtained through enormous hardships and sacrifices on the part of the working people.

The government proposes to overcome economic and financial difficulties not at the expense of the monopolies, whose profits it protects more zealously than ever, but at the expense of the working people. Subsidies have been budgeted for the big monopolies and landed proprietors under the pretext of "stimulating investment."

The law on the budget brazenly declares that rising prices are due to "the much too rapid growth rate of wages, which outpaces productivity." Caetano has declared for a policy of wage freeze, against meeting the legitimate demands of the working people, for greater "rationalization" in production and for higher "productivity," In other words, he advocates intensified labor and the speeding up of production operations injurious to the working people's health.

The government will try to disguise its policy on wages and prices with demagogic measures. To curb the people's struggle preceding sharper social conflicts, it will have to make some concessions to the working class. However, the experience of recent months shows that sustained struggle for the working people's demands is the only way to win a real increase in wages and a higher standard of living. The fascists give with one hand and take away with the other.

## V. AGAINST FASCISM, FOR FREEDOM. UNITY IS ACHIEVED IN STRUGGLE AND MAKES FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE STRUGGLE

Caetano talks demagogically of "liberalization" as he makes frantic efforts to split the opposition. To foil these efforts, we democrats must strive to strengthen our unity and prevent the fascist dictatorship from consolidating its positions. We must use the new opportunities for struggle provided by the difficulties besetting the regime.

Important steps have already been taken towards increasing cooperation of the democratic forces. Trends for unity are expanding, taking concrete forms and growing stronger in numerous actions. Those forces that want unity and appeal to the masses are already in a position to take the initiative and firmly lead the struggle in its present phase.

We must continue to strengthen and extend unity. We need it to reinforce and carry forward the democratic movement aimed at overthrowing fascism and winning freedom. This is why we Communists are fighting for unity.

Unity is forged in struggle and serves the struggle. The anti-fascist movement must get rid of both Right opportunists and Leftist, sectarian trends, for either one leads to waiting tactics and to passivity.

The illusions about the "champions of liberalization" have been spreading for a long time now.

Certain opposition elements are against anti-fascist unity and the people's struggle, which they think may "frighten" the advocates of "liberalization." They tried to strengthen their position and to win an exclusive right to legal existence at the cost of opposing unity and taking a "legalist" stand, as well as by campaigning—"mildly" it is true—against the PCP. This activity seriously handicapped the progress of anti-fascist organization and struggle.

The CC PCP insisted more than once that it is impossible to end fascism with the help of forces intent on rescuing it. The policy of compromising with the regime is a "logical result of the evolution of the theory of spontaneous, automatic downfall of the fascist dictatorship, a result of legalist illusions, and an indication of fear of the masses." This policy is characterized by "political degradation, renunciation of the main objectives set earlier, passivity, a scornful attitude to revolutionary organizations and action, loss of militancy and of a militant anti-fascist spirit, the substitution of muscle-flexing for struggle, and subversion against the people's struggle."

In view of the substantial proportion of exponents of such trends, concepts and notions in the democratic movement, the CC PCP came to the conclusion that today the Right opportunist deviation is the greatest danger in the Portuguese anti-fascist movement.

Developments bore out the Party.

After Caetano had been appointed head of the government the above illusions became even more widespread. In 1965 Caetano was praised by some as a "Left-wing fascist," and now he is a "little torch . . .lighting up the horizon of hope for our people" (*Portugal Socialista*, October 1968). Estimations of this kind seriously prejudice the development of the democratic movement, political action and the people's struggle in the more favorable situation resulting from the crisis of the regime, a crisis aggravated by Salazar's withdrawal.

The situation calls for a determined struggle against such illusions, the tactics of passive waiting, attempts to compromise with the regime, ideas opposed to unity, and the opinion that a mass

movement would "prevent Caetano from carrying out his 'liberalization' program."

As well a spressing forward the political and ideological struggle against the danger of Right-wing opportunism, which in present conditions is the chief enemy of the anti-fascist movement, it is necessary to be vigilant towards Leftism and adventurism. The record of LUAR,* punctuated by telling setbacks and self-inflicted disintegration, the tragic fate of General Humberto Delgado, who was assassinated by PIDE agents, and the failure of the pro-Chinese groups showed once again that small contingents isolated from the mainstream of the political movement cannot win in open battle with the state machine nor solve complex problems of the revolution.

At present "Left"-wing opportunism is reflected in sectarian trends claiming that Salazar's withdrawal has brought no changes and thereby underrating the new opportunities and prospects afforded to the democratic forces by the regime's difficulties, which at the moment express themselves in Caetano's demagogy about "liberalization."

Giving up the struggle for immediate concrete objectives on the plea that fascism has not ceased to be fascism and so the only way out is revolution, and underrating the legal forms of struggle and the need to make the greatest possible use of the mass organizations only because underground activity is believed to be the only method produce the same demoralizing results, the same passivity and waiting attitude, as Right-wing opportunism. A passive attitude to the mass organizations, the putting forward of radical slogans at variance with the actual state of the struggle and disregarding the actual relation of forces may tell on work among the masses and entail the loss of the important positions already won.

The main lines of struggle today as indicated by the PCP constitute an adequate basis for closer unity and stronger mass action.

Agreement has been reached on specific objectives: against repression, for an amnesty, freedom of opinion and association, satisfaction of the more urgent economic demands of the working class and other working people, an end to the colonial war, and a policy of peace and friendship among nations.

It is necessary to arrive at an early and effective agreement—on the level of both the leadership and the organizations—about the forms and methods of organization and struggle in order to speed the growth of the anti-fascist movement and merge it with mass action.

This applies in equal measure to the leaders of various political groups and the masses fighting for limited and specific objectives. The issue of unity is not settled at the leadership level. Unity can

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*League for Unity and Revolutionary Action.—**Ed.**

be brought about on the initiative of the masses, in united action. The masses should not wait for "top-level" agreements. They should unite by themselves, set up their own leading committees, decide on the goals and go into action.

The preparations for this year's general "election" allow vast scope for unitary political action.

Opportunist and sectarian views manifest themselves over this issue as well. There is a danger that some may want to curry favor with the government, monopolize the right to speak for the opposition and dissociate themselves from other democratic forces so as to expose them to repression as "Communists" and "subversive elements." Another danger is that of a tendency to ignore and boycott the election.

If the democratic forces are to turn the "elections" to the National Assembly into a great battle for freedom, it is necessary for the political forces which are prompted by the spirit of unity and which make up the most consistent and dynamic segment of the opposition to go on improving the forms of cooperation and organization, to combine the "election" campaign even now with a campaign for immediate specific objectives, agree on joint candidates, set up nominating committees and civic committees, rally wide support for the candidates locally and on the distrct level, and begin without losing time to fight for the registration of these candidates, seeing to it that the election documents are drawn up according to the necessary formalities.

Anti-fascist forces taking the initiative should not shut themselves off from other political forces but should urge them to cooperate and should win the support of all who sincerely want an end to the dictatorship, irrespective of their political views, of whether they now stand on the right or the left.

And of course, it is necessary immediately to expel from the ranks of the anti-fascists all who try to put a spoke in their wheel, lay unlawful claim to a leading role, obstruct the people's struggle or are willing to sacrifice the whole Left-wing opposition for a deal with the "liberal" fascists.

## VI. THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE: THE DECISIVE FACTOR

The demonstrations and meetings on the occasion of October 5,* the continuous flow of democratic demands from the most diverse sections of the population, the concrete demands advanced in numerous factories and institutions, the meetings, demonstrations and strikes of the students, the anti-fascist meetings, the intensified campaign for an amnesty, the protests and the demands

*Day of the Republic.—**Ed.**

that the crimes of the police be investigated, the political and economic petitions bearing hundreds of thousands of signatures, and the wide circulation of ideas which censorship can hardly suppress are all signs of a coming new upsurge in the people's struggle, a new high in the anti-fascist movement.

Nevertheless, these actions are far from meeting the exigencies of the political situation or from doing justice to the actual opportunities for struggle.

The fact that popular discontent has long failed to develop into extensive mass action is due to many causes. First, it is the weakness of the political organization of the democratic forces—each of them in particular and the movement as a whole. Second, the weakness of positions in mass organizations and the insufficient number of legal, semi-legal and illegal effective and dynamic organizations to lead the people's struggle. Third, the opportunist illusions about the "liberalization" process advertised by Caetano, which result in a waiting, passive attitude, and underestimation of the struggle for immediate and specific, if limited, objectives. Lastly, the still considerable strength of the fascist state, especially its repressive machinery.

Awareness of these adverse factors is an important condition for taking political and organizational measures to provide a solid basis for the rapid development of the anti-fascist fight.

In present conditions the democratic movement can make substantial progress only if the vanguard of the anti-fascist struggle believes in the people and wins their confidence, if it succeeds in organizing the struggle of the masses for specific goals meeting their main immediate interests.

A demand put to the authorities is an important form of political struggle at this stage, especially if preceded by widespread meetings, and if public meetings are combined with committee activity. However, this form of struggle cannot be regarded as the most important, let alone the only one.

Every effort should be made to ensure that the political fight goes beyond the bounds of narrow meetings and that large sections of the people take part in it.

Holding public meetings to discuss the situation and current problems, concrete objects of the struggle and forms of action, and to decide on initiatives is in itself an effective form of mass political action to expand the people's struggle.

Public meetings in support of particular demands, demonstrations, stoppages in work or study, strikes and other forms of struggle may vary greatly. The important thing is for them to be in keeping with the situation, the goals set, the actual possibilities, help extend the scale of action, and not to prevent participation of the masses.

The CC PCP Appeal of September 22, 1968, stressed that "a big mistake would be made if the pressing tasks of the political struggle forced into the background the fight for economic demands in the new situation created by Salazar's withdrawal from the political scene. The present situation is particularly favorable to the success of the fight for the immediate economic demands of the working people. To develop the economic struggle at this stage is one of the decisive forms of combating fascism, of participation in the political struggle by the masses."

The meetings, demonstrations and strikes of the working people of Carris, the fishermen's strikes in Matosinhos and other ports, the strike in the Algarve and Setubal canneries, the campaign of the dockers of Lisbon and Leixoes, of industrial workers and bank employees revealed the fighting potential of the masses and the revolutionary energy that is released when the masses take action.

The CC PCP decision "Results of the Workers' Struggle in 1968" points out that recourse to extensive consultations and discussions between working people with a view to formulating demands and choosing forms of struggle and guidance of the struggle, the holding of meetings in the enterprises and trade union organizations, and democratic methods of working out decisions and forms of organization with due regard to the actual conditions arouse enthusiasm and inspire the masses with confidence, make for greater creativity on their part, raise their activity and militancy and make it difficult to apply repressive measures. The working people's fight for economic demands is a most important aspect of the fight against the fascist dictatorship, particularly now.

The organizational question has for years been one of the weak spots of the democratic movement in Portugal.

Shortcomings in organization prevent the establishment of durable links with the masses and the provision of effective leadership of their struggle.

The experience of large-scale political actions by the masses in 1958 and 1962, when these actions were not used to uphold the goals of the masses owing to organizational shortcomings, should be borne in mind today and should lead to proper conclusions. Unless an organization has strong roots in the masses the movement it risks being entangled in spontaneous moves and getting out of hand. Leading bodies that have no lower-level organizations can never lead big actions effectively.

Early consolidation of the existing political structures, the formation of legal, semi-legal and illegal organizations according to the tasks of coming struggles, and use of the existing mass organizations will largely determine the success of the fight against the fascist dictatorship at this stage.

Organizing work cannot be carried on in a vacuum. Organization

develops in struggle, when leading bodies are set up, militant cadres selected and organizational forms decided on, forms whose viability is determined by new tasks and new struggles.

Those who hope that the fascists themselves will do away with their dictatorship are openly taking a stand against participation of the masses in the political struggle, and are hindering it. They contend that the mass struggle is harmful because it may frighten the advocates of "liberalization," lead to increased pressure from the ultras and prevent Caetano from putting his good intentions into practice.

If this kind of opportunist trend were to gain the upper hand in the democratic movement, it would benefit the fascists at a time when the regime is in crisis. It would mean handing the initiative to the fascists and allowing them to maneuver at will. Objectively such views amount to surrender and to renunciation of the democratic movement. The "liberalizing" maneuver is designed not to abolish the dictatorship but to save it. Every concession which the fascists are compelled to make is a result of the Portuguese people's stubborn fight over many years and of the dimensions assumed by the democratic movement. Only the people's struggle, only the convergence of the struggle of the working class and that of other working people, of the students, intellectuals and peasants can frustrate Caetano's demagogic plan aimed at consolidating the fascist dictatorship, compel the government to carry out genuine liberalization, lead to the satisfaction of pressing demands and pave the way for major battles for democracy.

## VII. POLITICAL GOALS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND THE IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVES OF THE STRUGGLE

The policy pursued by the Caetano government runs counter—as did Salazar's—to the interests of the classes and segments of the population not associated with the monopolies, and to the interests of Portugal as an independent country.

Freedom, democracy, peace, national independence, and satisfaction of the fundamental demands of the masses can be won only by overthrowing the fascist dictatorship.

The political alternative to the fascist dictatorship of Salazar is not the fascist dictatorship of Caetano. It is a national democratic revolution.

The program of the Portuguese Communist Party lists the following eight principal points or tasks of the national democratic revolution:

(1) destroy the fascist state and establish a democratic system;

(2) abolish monopoly power and promote general economic progress;

(3) effect an agrarian reform by transferring the land to those who till it;

(4) raise the standard of living of the man of labor and the people as a whole;

(5) democratize education and culture;

(6) free Portugal from imperialism;

(7) recognize and guarantee the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to immediate independence;

(8) follow a policy of peace and friendship among nations.

The PCP program specifies the measures needed for attaining these goals and carrying out historic socio-political changes in the life of the Portuguese nation.

Of these eight points, destroying the fascist state and establishing a democratic system, that is, winning political freedom, is the central task, the primary and necessary condition for achieving the other goals of the national democratic revolution.

The PCP considers that after the overthrow of fascism the first step should be to form a provisional government representing all democratic and patriotic forces, including the PCP, the party of the working class. The task of this government would be to establish democratic freedoms (freedom to form parties, freedom of the press, association, assembly, demonstrations, strikes and trade union activity) and to hold free elections to a constituent assembly that would decide on the organization and form of the future democratic system.

The very idea that these tasks could be submitted to the fascist government as demands is absurd. They cannot be accomplished before fascist rule has been overthrown. This is why the outlook for the Portuguese people is an inevitable national uprising.

The tasks of the moment are organizing work, political action, mass struggle, the launching of a powerful organized anti-fascist movement on a nationwide scale. The tasks of the national democratic revolution are the political perspective of the everyday struggle for limited immediate objectives.

Caetano's demagogic game of "liberalization," confined to promises to meet democratic demands, cannot last.

The fascists are faced with a dilemma resulting from their own difficulties and contradictions and the growing scale of the democratic movement. Either the fascist camarilla will discard its "liberal" facade and announce a reversal (with or without Caetano) to the former, Salazarist hard line, and then it will have to give up hopes of gaining greater support, its internal contradictions will inevitably increase, the opposition will rally together and swing to the left, and there will be an even stronger upsurge in popular discontent. Or it will persist in its demagogy, and then it will have to make substantial concessions to the people, provided the oppo-

sition stands firm on its democratic position, strengthens its organization and courageously launches a popular mass struggle.

A pressing task of the democratic forces is to use the situation to strengthen their unity, their organizations and their links with the masses, to further the people's struggle.

In September 1968 the CC PCP stressed the decisive importance of fighting for definite and concrete immediate objectives. Today, three months after the formation of the Caetano government, the PCP insists on launching anti-fascist action along the following main lines:

1. Fight against repression, demand the immediate release of political prisoners, an amnesty, the return of political exiles, a ban on tortures and humiliation, the abolition of "security" measures, investigation of all fascist crimes and abuses of power, and the dissolution of PIDE.

2. Fight for the right to express an opinion, demand the abolition of censorship and an end to the arbitrary confiscation of books and other publications.

3. Fight for the right of association.

4. Fight for the satisfaction of the more pressing socio-economic demands of the working class and other working people.

5. Fight for an immediate end to the colonial war.

6. Fight for a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, for the establishment of relations with all countries, including the socialist countries.

7. Fight for the right of the opposition freely to take part in the general election, which calls for measures guaranteeing freedom of organization and propaganda and precluding the possibility of rigging the vote.

To concentrate the forces in the organizations, and to extend and step up the fight for these specific objectives are the big political task facing the entire anti-fascist movement today.

*December 1968.*

*Political Commission of the Central Committee,*
*Portuguese Communist Party*

# PROVOCATIVE SALLY OF PEKING AUTHORITIES*

As has been reported in our press, on March 2 the Chinese authorities staged an armed provocation on the Soviet-Chinese border at Damansky Island on the Ussuri River. Undeniable facts prove this to have been a premeditated attack on Soviet frontier guards protecting the state border of the USSR. The course of events shows that the Peking authorities deliberately undertook this armed provocation with the aim of further aggravating Soviet-Chinese relations, raising again the turbid wave of anti-Sovietism and inciting chauvinistic sentiments to the benefit of the adventuristic great-power aspirations of Mao Tse-tung and his group.

This attack was preceded by repeated violations of the Soviet state border by Chinese servicemen, including violations in the area of Damansky Island.

At 11 a.m. (4 a.m. Moscow time) on March 2 Soviet observation posts reported to the frontier station that a unit of armed Chinese servicemen had headed from the Chinese bank towards the area of Damansky Island. A group of Soviet frontier guards went out towards them. Eight of them, headed by an officer, moved to the front in order, as had been done before, to declare a protest to the Chinese trespassers and to demand that they leave Soviet territory. When the guards approached the trespassers the latter treacherously, without any warning, started firing point-blank. Simultaneously the rest of the group of Soviet frontier guards was fired upon from an ambush. Fire was also opened from the Chinese bank, where a battery of anti-tank guns, mortars, anti-tank grenade launchers and large-calibre machine guns had been concentrated.

Assuming a battle formation, the Soviet frontier guards, together with a reserve that had come up from the frontier station, repelled the sudden attack and by resolute actions drove the Chinese trespassers from Soviet territory.

The Soviet frontier guards fulfilled their military duty with honor. Not sparing their lives in battle, displaying courage and heroism, they safeguarded the frontiers of our country.

Hardly had the shooting of the raiders died down when the entire propaganda machine of Peking was set into motion in support of the monstrous provocation. The press, the radio and army instructors began to brainwash the population of China, resorting to crude lies and slander against the Soviet Union. A version had been pre-

*Pravda Editorial, March 8, 1969.

pared in Peking according to which the Chinese detachment "was attacked" and took measures of "self-defense." The world has already more than once witnessed similar provocative actions of Mao-Tse-tung and his group as well as attempts to provide them with a propaganda cover.

But the facts are irrefutable. The traces of the gangster attack cannot be destroyed. The raiders fled, leaving behind articles of military equipment, telephone links and even alcoholic liquor bottles with which the Chinese provocateurs "inspired" the participants in the gamble. Peking's propaganda fully gives itself away by trying to justify the armed provocation with claims to Soviet territory, specifically Damansky Island. But the attack was made on Soviet frontier guards guarding Soviet territory.

The criminal action of the Mao Tse-tung group, involving loss of life, pursues far-reaching aims.

By whipping up anti-Soviet hysteria and chauvinistic psychosis in China, the Maoists are trying to create an atmosphere that would enable them to strengthen their position in the country and to consolidate the great-power adventuristic line of Mao Tse-tung aimed at further worsening the relations with the CPSU and the Soviet Union, with the other Communist and Workers' parties and socialist countries.

Equally obvious is the intention of the Mao group to exploit the anti-Soviet psychosis, to engage in subversive splitting activity in the international Communist movement. The Maoists are clearly seeking to employ all means to hamper the convening of the international Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, to sow distrust towards the Soviet Union and the CPSU among the fraternal parties. The line of anti-Sovietism has been dictated by the fact that in the activity of the CPSU, in the policy of the Soviet Union the Mao group sees the principal obstacle to the realization of its adventuristic, hegemonistic aspirations in the international arena.

The new dangerous provocations of the Maoists are also indicative of their striving to step up their unprincipled political flirting with the imperialist states, in particular with the United States and the FRG. It is noteworthy that the villainous armed raid on the Soviet-Chinese border was timed by the Maoists to coincide with Bonn's provocative presidential elections in West Berlin.

Mao Tse-tung and his myrmidons staged their foul sally against the Soviet Union at a time when the United States continues its aggression in Vietnam, when the valiant Vietnamese people are upholding the cause of freedom and independence. In this struggle the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are rendering them great and constant aid and support. To what political degradation

and betrayal of world socilism in its anti-imperialist struggle the present Peking rulers must have stooped if they decided to undertake a perfidious provocation against a socialist country.

The provocation in the area of Damansky Island is consistent with the Maoists' policy designed to accelerate their cardinal reorientation of the foreign and internal policy of the People's Republic of China, to turn it definitively into a force hostile to the socialist countries.

And not to these countries alone. The events of recent years have shown that the chauvinistic hegemonism of Mao and his group underlies also Peking's policy with regard to other neighboring states and to all of Asia. The Maoists are manifesting everywhere their expansionist aspirations and seeking to sow the poisonous seeds of enmity between nations and states.

That is why only the forces of imperialist reaction rejoice over the evil deeds of the Maoist provocateurs.

The foreign policy gambles of the Mao Tse-tung group are directly connected with its internal policy aimed at establishing a military-bureaucratic regime in China. It is known that precisely this purpose is pursued by the so-called cultural revolution in China, which is nothing else but terroristic persecution of Chinese Communists, of all those who cherish the cause of socialism in China, the cause of fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Mao group is coming up against the resistance of the Chinese people and above all Communists who have remained loyal to the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the CPC, to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The Maoists are mortally afraid that the Chinese people will call them to account for all the disasters they have participated upon the country, for the destruction of the CPC, for the mass-scale bloody terror and outrages for the undermining of the very foundations of socialism in China.

The Mao group cannot conceal the fact that in the course of the notorious "cultural revolution" it has not succeeded in rooting out the ideas of socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, from the consciousness of the people. Nor has it succeeded in banishing from the hearts of Chinese working people fraternal feelings towards the Soviet people and their Communist Party, who gave them powerful support and all-round assistance both in their revolutionary struggle and in the building of socialism.

The "cultural revolution" is also known to have caused serious economic upheavals in China. It has aggravated the plight of the Chinese economy undermined by Mao's voluntarist course expressed in the "big leap" and the establishment of "peoples' communes." Industrial production in the country has fallen off, the

transport is disorganized. Agriculture is also in a bad state. The people of China have for many years now lived on meagre rations. The stupefying propaganda of "Mao's ideas" is taking the place of science, culture, and education.

The Maoists cannot hope for the confidence of the masses in such conditions. To keep the people in check, to force them to serve obediently their great-power hegemonistic aspirations, Mao and his group are installing a militarist order characteristic of reactionary regimes and poisoning the minds of people with the venom of natonalism and chauvinism. The constitutional people's organs have been disbanded and replaced with "revolutionary committees" commanded by military henchmen of the Mao group. Military government and control have been extended not only to the administrative sphere but also to production, culture and ideology.

The militarization of all life in China is accompanied by the working up of military hysteria under the slanderous pretext that China is in danger of attack by the Soviet Union. The obvious aim is to conceal the real intentions of Mao and his group from the people of China, to divert their attention from the lawless acts committed by the Maoists, to complete the establishment, in the guise of the CPC, of a new political organization to serve as an instrument of the military-bureaucratic regime, to prevent the people from criticizing the grievous consequences of the implementation of "the great helmsman's ideas." That was the purpose of the brazen provocation at Damansky Island, followed by a fresh outburst of the vicious anti-Soviet campaign.

Since March 3 the Soviet Embassy in Peking has again been subjected to an organized siege by specially trained detachments of Maoists. Moreover, the Mao group is openly calling for struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist states and advancing absurd territorial claims against the USSR.

In this atmosphere Mao and his group are conducting preparations for the so-called Ninth Congress of the CPC needed by them to put the seal of "legality" on the military-bureaucratic regime which they call "the new order," to "consolidate" the great-power chauvinistic line inimical to the cause of peace and socialism,

Soviet people, rightfully indignant over the criminal actions of the Maoist provocateurs, are resolutely protesting against their brazen sally on the Soviet-Chinese border, against the Maoists' campaign of hate and slander hostile to the Soviet people, to the cause of socialism. They declare that the frontiers of our great socialist country are sacred and inviolable, and draw proper conclusions from the insolent provocations of the Peking rulers, enhancing revolutionary vigilance and strengthening in every way the might of our country, the bulwark of peace and socialism.

Our people, naturally, do not identify the Chinese people with the Mao group. They understand that the people of China, the CPC, are living through a tragic period of their history. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism and guiding themselves by the feelings of friendship for the Chinese people, invariably stand for the normalization of state relations with the People's Republic of China.

At the same time, as the Soviet government pointed out in its protest note to the PRC government in connection with the impudent armed incursion into Soviet territory, the provocative actions of the Chinese authorities will be rebuffed and resolutely cut short.

Such is the firm will of the entire Soviet people.

# DOCUMENTS* OF THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF WEST BERLIN

## SOLIDARITY WITH THE FIGHTING PEOPLE OF VIETNAM

The extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin reaffirms the Party's complete solidarity with the valiant people of Vietnam who are fighting for freedom and independence, against the U.S. aggression.

We regard the unconditional cessation of the bombing raids against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the opening of the Paris talks, in which the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is taking part, as a success for embattled Vietnam, which enjoys the solidarity of the entire world. We remember however, that the United States' war against Vietnam goes on. The U.S. imperialists daily commit new crimes against the Vietnamese people, against their freedom and independence. Although the U.S. government announced the unconditional termination of the barbarous bombing, encroachments upon the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam continue. In South Vietnam, the United States is escalating the brutal war against the heroically fighting people. The U.S. government's attitude at the four-party talks in Paris can only be appraised as obstruction and hampering of progress towards peaceful settlement. We urge our fellow-citizens to

*Die Wahrheit, organ of the SUPWB Board, February 16, 1969.

support still more resolutely actions of solidarity with the Vietnamese people fighting against the U.S. aggression:

For the withdrawal of all troops of the United States and its satellites from Vietnam and the dismantling of all military bases in South Vietnam, to enable the people of South Vietnam to decide their destiny independently, without foreign interference.

For an end to all encroachments upon the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

For the success of the four-party talks in Paris; for the peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem in conformity with the principles contained in the Geneva agreements.

Long live the Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

Long live the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam!

## SOLIDARITY WITH THE SPANISH PATRIOTS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE FRANCO REGIME

The extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin wrathfully condemns the introduction of the state of emergency in Spain, with the help of the bankrupt Franco regime is trying to stem the march of history. In fraternal unity, we voice solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Spanish people, above all with their courageous workers and students, who, despite the thirty-year reign of fascist terror, are broadening the struggle for their rights and freedoms. We honor the memory of all the heroes who have been butchered by the Madrid fascist clique.

Congress condemns the infamous collusion of the Federal Government with the blood-stained fascist regime in Spain helped to power by German fascism. We denounce the Senate of West Berlin which, lacking a sense of dignity, is flirting with the rulers of that regime.

We assure our Spanish class brothers, all opponents of the Franco regime, in the spirit of the German anti-fascists who shed their blood in the revolutionary battles of 1936-39 for the Spanish Republic, of our invariable solidarity.

Freedom to the Spanish people!

Down with Franco's fascist dictatorship!

## SOLIDARITY WITH THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF GREECE

The extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin resolutely protests against the terroristic regime through the medium of which the Athens military junta suppresses the freedom-loving Greek people. Only with the help of methods reminiscent of the grim years of the Hitler era can this fascist regime

keep in power. Thousands of patriots are subjected to persecution and torture in prisons and concentration camps.

We vigorously condemn the government of the Federal Republic which, despite this, increases its support of the butchers of the Greek people. We unequivocally disassociate ourselves from the position of the Senate, which shows attention to representatives of the Athens dictatorship but employs police truncheons against democrats demonstrating against representatives of the military junta who appear in our city.

We demand immediate release of all political prisoners. We demand freedom for Grigoris Farakos, Manolis Glezos and all jailed patriots and anti-fascists.

We demand that the Senate give its protection to all Greek democrats in our city.

We express fraternal solidarity with the Greek patriots, whose just struggle against the dictatorship, for democracy and social progress we wholeheartedly support. We are confident that the Greek people, rallying all the anti-imperialist, democratic and socialist forces, will win.

## WORLD COMMUNIST UNITY*

When it comes to instigation and persecution, with ideological vigilance and political firmness on the wane, imperialism does not guide itself by mere spontaneity or the class instinct alone. It has a predetermined and carefully elaborated policy aimed, first, at embroiling the countries of the world socialist system, second, at creating seats of unrest in this or that socialist country, and third, at weakening the Communist parties of the non-socialist countries. In relation to Latin America, the latter objective was clearly admitted by a House sub-committee in Washington, which resolved to back and encourage the ultras, even when they use expressions unpalatable to the United States, so long as their activity is designed to discredit or weaken the Communist parties. The class struggle has its logic, as we see.

Now that the chauvinist leaders of China are willing to play ball with the ruling clans of America, it is fit to recall the enormous harm they have done to the world revolutionary movement by their wild policy of anti-Sovietism and their effort to split the Communist parties. *Hungchi,* the Peking journal, announces that a "Party" congress is due to meet before long, which will be almost two

*Abridged from **Nuestra Palabra** editorial, February 11, 1969.

decades after the previous congress. The journal breaks the highly "revolutionary" news that the delegates will not be elected but appointed from above. In other words, Mao will designate those who will have to approve Mao. This is the worst autocracy in organizational matters, and a personality cult pushed to unheard-of lengths. Had not the Chinese Party abandoned Marxism-Leninism and world socialist unity, the Vietnam problem, for example, would have been solved years ago, with the U.S. imperialists going for good. As a result, the international situation would be marked by a relation of forces vastly favorable to communism, with implications throughout the world, specifically in Latin America.

Nor is that all. The leaders of *Han,* or Chinese, great-power nationalism have been exporting adventurism to various regions, above all to Indonesia. The tragic results are there for all to see. Those who wield the military-bureaucratic dictatorship in China maintain that everything must be staked on one card. They advocate the concept "the worse, the better" and the idea that revolution is impossible without wars. The 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties stresses that the imperialists are trying "to intimidate the people by alleging that the Communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist system. The Communist parties emphatically reject this slander." As for the irresponsible and petty-bourgeois tactic of staking one's all on one card, suffice it to quote Lenin, who said that "such tactics would be a reckless gamble" (*Collected Works,* Vol. 26, p. 448).

Anarchist and petty-bourgeois adventurism is not prompted by objective conditions, the balance of forces, nor subjective premises, but by voluntarism pure and simple. In joining issue with the Leftists, Lenin said "they are incapable of giving thought to the balance of forces, of calculating it. *This is the core of Marxism and Marxist* tactics" (op. cit., Vol. 27, p. 328. Our italics). This adventurism implies that, on the one hand, the means of struggle have nothing to do with the relation of forces or the given conditions and, on the other hand, that these means are reduced to the use of arms. This approach runs counter to Marxism-Leninism. The 1960 Statement says that "the forms and course of development of the socialist revolution will depend on the specific balance of the class forces in the country concerned, on the organization and maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of the resistance put up by the ruling classes," and insists that "the actual possibility of the one or the other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions."

We are on the eve of a new international Communist meeting, an event that will have far-reaching historic implications. The general condition of mankind is in favor of the growth and progress of the

Communist movement. The general crisis of capitalism goes on developing, socialism is becoming stronger on all levels, colonialism has no prospects, the labor movement in the capitalist countries has scored great gains. Imperialism and reaction persist in their intrigues, maneuvers and provocations, but already there is clearly a sufficient number of factors to prevent imperialism from doing as it pleases. The powerful ship of communism is sailing with the wind, and it is only necessary not to allow division to damage it. As matters stand now, world Communist unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the main condition for the final defeat of imperialism. The 1960 Statement points out that the interests of the struggle require Communist unity of will and action.

Loyalty to proletarian internationalism is the outstanding feature of the Communist movement. It is prompted by the absolute identity of the interests and ideals of the working class of the world and by the fundamental fact that each Communist Party is accountable, not only to the working people of its own country, but also "to the entire working-class and Communist movement of the world" (1960 Statement). Marxist-Leninists never forget Lenin's message: "the international unity of the workers is *more important* than national unity."

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# MID-TERM ELECTIONS IN FOUR STATES IN INDIA

In India, more than 100 million voters in the four northern states of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal went to the polls to elect new State Legislative Assemblies in the first week of February 1969.

Fresh mid-term elections in these four states became necessary because in the Fourth General Elections, held two years ago, the ruling Indian National Congress Party failed to get a majority in the State Legislative Assemblies in these states. Non-Congress Governments were formed in these states in which Communists, Socialists and other democratic elements were also represented. In particular, in West Bengal, Communists were a leading force in the United Front Government formed after the Fouth General Elections.

The leaders of the Congress Party did not like these developments. They organized defections in certain constituents of these non-Congress Governments and undemocratically used the powers

of the Central Government to dismiss the Ministries in these states and to dissolve the Legislative Assemblies last year.

The Communist Party of India gave the call for a United Front of all Left and Democratic parties, based on a minimum program, to defeat the discredited Congress Party with its anti-people, reactionary policies and to provide popular, progressive, stable Governments:

"The vested interests are trying their best to drive a wedge between the Left and Democratic parties with the mischievous slogan of a so-called non-Congress, non-Communist Front . . .

"But the rapid disintegration of the Congress shows that the efforts of the vested interests can be turned into a fiasco and peoples' will can be made to prevail, if only the parties belonging to the Left and Democratic camp come together, adopt an agreed program and fight shoulder to shoulder for the defeat of the Congress in the coming mid-term elections" (from the resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the CPI, November 1968).

In West Bengal, the Communist Party of India, the breakaway Communist Party (Marxist) and other Left and Democratic forces strengthened their United Front with a common popular program, put up common candidates and organized joint election campaigns. This unity generated such tremendous enthusiasm among the popular masses that the Congress Party suffered a crushing defeat. It could win only 55 seats in the 280-member State Legislative Assembly. On the other hand, the United Front won 210 seats including 30 seats by the CPI and 80 seats by the CP (M). The United Front is expected to form the Government in West Bengal.

In the other three states there was no such United Front of Left and Democratic Parties. The leadership of the Samyukth (United) Socialist Party, one of the three important national Left parties, showed lack of a clear political perspective, indulged in opportunism in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh where it is an important force. It refused to have a United Front with the Communists on a clear-cut minimum democratic program. In Punjab, the breakaway CP (M) played the game of disruption and opposed Left unity.

The Congress Party could not get a majority in any of the other three states. In Punjab, the Congress Party could win only 37 out of 103 seats in the State Legislative Assembly. The CPI got three and CP (M) two seats.

As was pointed out by Comrade C. R. Rao, General Secretary of the CPI:

"The extremely unstable political situation created by the fast disintegration of the Congress Party, which held monopoly of power during a long period of twenty years, offers the Left and Democratic parties and forces new opportunities . . .

"West Bengal and Kerala have shown the way forward. There

United Fronts of Left and Democratic parties have been forged." (*New Age*, February 9, 1969).

*IB release*

## AN HISTORIC VICTORY*

West Bengal has indeed made history in the midterm elections. The Congress has been literally routed and the rout is a total one. The United Front has won a thundering victory and will presently be back in power, with its prestige immensely heightened and its popular base equally greatly reinforced and broadened.

The significance of the majestic UF victory in West Bengal, however, extends far beyond the equation of seats or the borders of that state. By all accounts this victory is a national achievement and it eminently projects into the country's future.

Under the leadership of the United Front, West Bengal has taken a decisive step to break from the Congress regime and to create a truly popular and democratic alternative to that hated, insufferable rule. It is no accident that the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra Party have not been allowed to gain by exploiting legitimate anti-Congress sentiments. They have both been given a big zero.

The image of the United Front which has emerged can not be conceived without Left and democratic unity and the heroic mass struggles that the Front and its constituent parties have led. This image, now at the height of its glory, cannot but have a profound positive impact on the larger national scene where the masses, disillusioned and disgusted with the Congress and misled and tricked by anti-Congress demagogy of certain reactionaries and opportunists, are searching for an alternative loyal to the people's cause. West Bengal's United Front, in its stupendous successes, has indeed presented a picture of this much needed alternative.

We have no doubt that as the new UF government implements its common minimum program and the UF leads the masses in struggle against oppression and exploitation, the example will galvanize the whole nation into new strivings for radical change.

Our Party has in its program put before the people the perspective of national democratic front, using all democratic classes in it. In this front the working class is destined to play increasingly a leading role, not by declarations from housetops but by fulfilling the concrete tasks of the movement. Here in West Bengal's United Front one can see a prototype of precisely this national-democratic unity. The path blazed by the United Front is unquestionably the one for the whole nation to take to complete the unfinished tasks of our freedom fight and set this country on the road to socialism.

In more immediate terms, West Bengal's United Front has an-

*Abridged from **New Age, editorial**, February 16, 1969.

swered the Congress rulers' criminal policy of "operation topple," and so have the people in the other three states. Judged by the results of the mini-general elections, the Congress has really forfeited the right to rule at the Center. But to evict the Congress from the seat of real power would call for, on a national scale, the same unity as well as struggles which have brought West Bengal its historic victory.

# FOR A POWERFUL YOUTH MOVEMENT AND A STRONG DEMOCRATIC YOUTH LEAGUE IN JAPAN

## RESOLUTION* OF THE NINTH PLENUM OF THE CC CPJ

1. Today, when the reactionary forces of America and Japan want Japan to take its cue from the United States, when militarism is re-emerging and repression, exploitation and want are on the increase, a substantial section of the youth, discontented and angry, is rising to fight. This is seen in the growing student movement and in increasing action against "rationalization," for the annulment of the Japanese-American Security Treaty and for the complete restitution of Okinawa. An important duty of the Communist Party of Japan and the politically conscious section of the youth and students is to stimulate the progress of the youth and student movement along the right path, to help young people see their radiant future, to fight for an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous Japan.

The reactionaries influence the younger generation through propaganda, cultural media, the schools and universities, social education and the mass information media. Their object is to use young people's energy and their desire for justice as a means of restoring militarism, that mainstay of reactionary politics, and to turn the younger generation into an obedient contingent of low-paid wage labor.

To rouse the youth to the struggle for an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous Japan or to allow it to be involved in reviving and strengthening militarism taking guidance from U.S. policy are alternatives of the utmost importance in determining the nation's policies.

*Abridged from **Akahata**, March 5, 1969.

2. The coming battle for the annulment of the Security Treaty and the complete restitution of Okinawa is an exceedingly important task for young people and students championing independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and a higher standard of living.

To accomplish this task, it is necessary, as well as campaigning against the U.S. military bases, war production, the shipment of military supplies, the education of young people in a reactionary spirit, and other concrete effects of the Security Treaty, to encourage united youth action for the collection of signatures against the Security Treaty and for the complete restitution of Okinawa, to organize everywhere youth action units against the Security Treaty and to intensify their work. The Communist Party should increase its assistance to and guidance of the youth and students and their struggle, its effort to help the younger generation set up a united youth front as an important component of a united front of the democratic forces of the country.

It is necessary to ensure that the youth, in taking part in the solution of national political problems, steps up its fight in defense of its living conditions and its rights.

More and more young workers are coming to play an important part in production. Monopoly capital has lately been trying harder to influence young employees by intensifying ideological indoctrination, which it regards as the basis of cooperation between labor and capital. It has been stepping up the exploitation and oppression of young workers by managing labor on the American model, taking recourse to fixed pay and discrimination in the form of low wages, and in other ways. It is vastly important for young workers to fight for a substantial wage increase, equal pay for equal work, a minimum wage, shorter working hours, and democratization of the enterprises. At the same time young workers must be helped to study more effectively and heighten their class consciousness. A task of primary importance facing the youth movement is to work for the consolidation of the trade unions and their youth sections on a democratic, class basis.

A special policy should be developed to influence young workers in small enterprises where there are no trade unions and where working conditions are bad.

The proportion of young people in the countryside is dwindling. But according to the Union of Agricultural Workers and in view of the fact that the countryside is becoming a stronghold of the Liberal Democratic Party, work among the rural youth is still an important duty of our Party and the youth movement.

The Party should strive to improve its work among young people in the countryside, make proper use of their energy to strengthen peasant organizations and to democratize the agricultural cooperatives, and intensify the autonomous, democratic activity of youth

organizations, which wield tremendous influence in the countryside.

The students have become politically active in numerous universities. The universities and the student movement pose a big political problem. In a document published last November under the title "For the Solution of the Pressing Problem of the Universities: an Opinion of the Communist Party of Japan," the Party pointed to the causes of student action and indicated ways of solving the problem. Its concept was widely supported and made for a correct approach to the problem of the universities. Every Japanese Communist, in studying the policy of his Party towards the universities and in drawing proper lessons from the experience of the latest struggles in the universities, should take a firm stand against the reactionary university policy of the government and the Liberal Democratic Party and against Trotskyist provocations, for the correct development of the student movement.

There are over four million boys and girls in the upper grades of secondary school. They constitute a generation which is ideologically in the making. However, many of them are keen on politics and social problems, show a sound critical spirit, are full of energy and have a sense of justice.

The reactionary forces have lately been trying to mould education in the upper grades of secondary schools in their own way. Trotskyist influence in these grades has been growing.

It will not be long before boys and girls in the upper grades of school become students or workers and take charge of some aspect of the youth and student movement. To protect them against reactionary attacks and help them correctly to develop a movement of their own is an important task of the democratic youth and student movement.

3. Young people play a role in social and political affairs but, on the other hand, they are still studying in order to take over in the future. Longing for knowledge as they do, they readily assimilate the scientific world outlook and theory of social development. On the other hand, they readily yield to the influence of reactionary and petty-bourgeois ideas. It is essential for the Communist Party to impart the Marxist-Leninist theory and world outlook to the younger generation, to intensify its class education, improve young people's knowledge of the machinery of exploitation and the trade union movement, and acquaint them with the lasting revolutionary traditions of the Party. A particularly important task is to intensify educational work and propaganda inspiring young people with confidence in the victory of a new people's democratic revolution and in the fruitful building of socialism after this revolution. Besides, the Party should encourage student activity in the movement and help them take a correct view of their studies. Marxism-Leninism is the highest scientific theory

developed by taking into account and carrying forward all the valuable knowledge gained by mankind in the past. It enables one to assimilate bourgeois knowledge and culture correctly, from a critical point of view.

4. In determining the policy to be followed by Japan, the formation of a united democratic front is a primary task if the struggle to annul the Security Treaty and to bring about the complete restitution of Okinawa is to succeed. The establishment of a youth and students' council for joint struggle against the Security Treaty during the nationwide movement for the abolition of the Treaty in 1960 played a tremendous role in both extending the movement and setting up the All-Japan Council Against the Security Treaty.

Unity of the youth front is very important today, one year before 1970. (The year when the Security Treaty is due to expire. —*Ed.*) To bring it about, the organization of democratic youth and students should develop united action for the abolition of the Security Treaty and the complete restitution of Okinawa and taking advantage of last year's gains, create a joint fighting body comprising diverse youth organizations. For the same purpose it is necessary to criticize the attitude of the Socialist Party and the General Trade Union Council of Japan, which refuse to contribute to the establishment of a united youth front and to the foiling of the disruptive and provocative activity of the Trostkyists. The necessity for a united youth front and its importance for the struggle should be explained to the youth still more vigorously.

The Trotskyists advocate "anti-imperialism and anti-Stalinism" as their program. But they are in reality counter-revolutionary instigators pursuing anti-Communist objectives under the guise of anti-imperialism. As soon as the mass movement begins to gather momentum, they raise obstacles to it and provoke ultra-leftist incidents, posing as Marxists. They raid students' congresses, terrorize democratic-minded students and take a hostile stand on the mass movement and the democratic forces, especially the Communist Party and the Democratic Youth League. They utter leftist phrases but their views are counter-revolutionary and adventuristic and have nothing to do with revolution. Their activity is nothing but a series of provocations leading to stronger repression and greater disruption of the democratic movement by the reactionaries.

The Liberal Democratic Party and the government enable the Trotskyists to keep afloat, and plan to use them against the democratic movement. The Socialist Party once described Trostkyist student groups as an "allied army," and its statements in the press show that it has not essentially renounced its practical support of the Trotskyists. Lately Mao Tse-tung and the groups of his blind followers have been openly establishing closer links with the

Trostkyists, helping them, collaborating with revisionist anti-Party elements and Trostkyists and adjusting their activity to that of these elements. Part of the press and some writers have been making an increasing effort to whitewash and back the Trostkyists.

The result is that the Trotskyists retain some influence among young workers in the upper grades of secondary school despite their anti-student and anti-popular moves. To ensure that the youth movement makes proper progress and that the youth front is united, it is particularly important to defeat Trotskyism.

5. The resolution "For a Stronger Democratic Youth League," adopted by the Ninth Plenum of the CC CPJ in 1960, after the Seventh Party Congress, played a historic role in promoting the youth movement and the Democratic Youth League.

As a result of the implementation of this resolution, the League increased its membership several dozen times over. Alarmed by this growth, the reactionaries stepped up their attacks on the League, so that at one time it was organizationally weakened. This difficult situation has been overcome by now thanks to improved Party guidance and the use of new, more effective working methods in accordance with the resolution of the Tenth Congress of the League. The League is again winning new members. Nevertheless, the gravity of the situation and the importance of the tasks facing the League make it essential substantially to expand and strengthen the League.

In line with the resolutions of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee (1960) and the latest plenum and on the basis of the actual progress made so far, the Communist Party must, with a view to building up a powerful Democratic Youth League, see to it that the League (1) takes an active part in important and urgent political struggles for the annulment of the Security Treaty and the complete restitution of Okinawa; (2) leads the campaign for the legitimate rights and the living conditions of the youth and students in all factories, districts, schools and universities: (3) promotes independent studies, cultural, sports and other activities by young people; (4) democratically strengthens the trade unions, their youth sections, peasant unions, student self-government councils and youth organizations and strives for unity of action of the youth organizations and for a solid youth front.

To foster the youth movement, the Communist Partv must lead and help it; it must work actively and hold a focal position in it.

Besides. it is necessary to pay special heed to the League members' studies, encourage the study of the Marxist-Leninist theory and heighten the membership's political consciousness. League members should be educated in a way that enables them resolutely and completely to thwart the schemes of the Trotskyists and all other anti-Communist, counter-revolutionary elements with revolu-

tionary firmness and courage, undaunted by difficulties, using the right working methods and keeping labor discipline as they unfold their abilities in the theoretical and organizational fields.

To develop a powerful youth movement and accomplish the long-range task of building up the Party and increasing its membership, the CPJ must prevail on the Democratic Youth League to draw up a long-term plan for considerably increasing its membership. The Party should regard fulfilment of this plan as an important component of its third overall plan and should help carry it out. The local branches should strive to ensure that for each of its members who has joined the Party the League is reinforced by two new members. Besides, Party members elected to district committees of the League or elected to be group organizers of the League should be instructed to perform their duties properly, without shifting them on to the shoulders of League members on the plea of having other Party duties.

Some Party members have wrongly tended to see the Democratic Youth League as a branch organization of the Party. The Party should respect the autonomy of the League and boldly entrust young people with important functions.

The Communist Party of Japan will do its utmost to foster a powerful youth movement and build up a strong Democratic Youth League. It will help the youth and students show their strength in the coming victory of the people's democratic revolution.

"We are the party of the future, and the future belongs to the youth."

# LENINISM: TWENTIETH-CENTURY MARXISM

Lenin's historic contribution lies in the fact that, taking guidance from the general laws of social development discovered by Marx, he brought out the characteristics of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism and the eve of the socialist revolution.

Lenin's analysis of imperialism and his revolutionary theory retain their vast importance to this day. In Marx's and Engels's lifetime, capitalism was advancing and they therefore considered it impossible for the socialist revolution to triumph in one country. Analysis of the imperialist stage of capitalism enabled Lenin to carry forward this proposition of his great predecessors and brought him to the conclusion that the socialist revolution *can* win in one country.

Elaborating Marx's theory, Lenin formulated the concept of a Marxist revolutionary party, a party of a new type. He stressed that the organized strength of the working class and its vanguard are requisites of a victorious socialist revolution.

The party of the working class, closely linked with its class and through it with all exploited people, enjoys the full confidence of the masses. Lenin held that the party must operate as the general headquarters of the working class, that it must fight, generalize the experience of the revolutionary movement, and collectively carry forward its theory. The party must, he pointed out, work out the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle with due regard to the processes of social development. The party cannot correctly analyze these processes unless it relies on Marxism, the scientific theory of the revolution. The party can further the interests of the movement only when its members are united by a common ideology and discipline.

Lenin combated opportunism and isolationism, an activity which was, and still is, important for the international revolutionary movement. Opportunists believe that the period of revolutionary storms is over and that capitalism is gradually turning into socialism according to objective laws. This concept led them to renounce the class struggle. They wanted the working class to make concessions to and compromise with the bourgeoisie. Lenin proved that socialism cannot be achieved in their way. Developments proved this conclusion, drawn by Lenin late in the last century, to be correct.

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*Abridged from **Al Akhbar** editorial, February 23, 1969.

Lenin exposed the isolationists' revolutionary adventurism as a reflection of the views of the petty bourgeoisie and small employers.

From the struggle of the Russian working class Lenin deduced that strikes and peaceful demonstrations are not enough for the revolution to overcome the forces hostile to it and win. He spoke of the need to carry on an active fight, and use arms if the situation called for it.

Lenin proved the necessity for a united front of the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples and the socialist movement of the proletariat against the common enemy, imperialism. Application of the principles of proletarian internationalism in the fight against great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism, and full support for the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples by the working class of the imperialist powers are the main conditions for establishing a united revolutionary front. The national problem cannot be solved in favor of the working people without proletarian internationalism, without the workers and other working people of the world supporting one another, without joint work and fraternal cooperation.

Leninism is a powerful weapon of the world revolutionary movement. It is the continuation of Marxism, its creative advancement, in new historical conditions. Bourgeois ideologists, revisionists and dogmatists oppose Lenin and Marx. They allege that Leninism is a purely Russian phenomenon applicable to only Russian reality. On the other hand, they contend that Marxism is a nineteenth-century theory that is no longer valid. These views have been defeated. Marxism-Leninism is the only harmonious doctrine steadily developing on the basis of new historical experience.

Leninism is continuously enriched through the experience of the world Communist movement and the national liberation movement. This means that Leninism is the new and higher stage of Marxism, that it is twentieth-century Marxism, the Marxism of our time. It developed as a result of the revolutionary and theoretical activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties, and found expression in documents and programs collectively formulated by the international Communist and working-class movement.

Today all Marxist parties and the whole of progressive mankind turn to Leninism and the experience of the CPSU—the party founded by Lenin—as they tackle urgent social and political problems.

# LENIN'S LITERARY HERITAGE*

Lenin's literary heritage covers 30 years of theoretical and revolutionary work, from his early writings of 1893 to the last articles written in 1923. It includes hundreds of books and pamphlets, thousands of articles and letters. And to this should be added his speeches at Party and Soviet conferences, Communist International congresses and at workers' meetings, authentic texts of which have gone into the *Collected Works*. In all 12,000 Lenin items, articles, speeches, documents, etc., have been published in Russian. The archives of the Marxist-Leninist Institute in Moscow contain more than 30,000 Lenin items. But many of Lenin's prerevolutionary manuscripts have yet to be located; possibly some will never be found.

Five editions of Lenin's *Collected Works* have been put out in the USSR.

The fourth Russian edition has been translated in Bulgaria, Hungary, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia (including a Slovak edition), and the work is still in progress in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Cuba.

Translations of the fourth Russian edition, complete or separate volumes, have been put out in Greece, Argentina, France, Italy, Japan and other countries. An English edition, now completed, was prepared by Progress Publishers in Moscow.

Another important element of the Lenin literary heritage are the Miscellany volumes, 36 of which appeared between 1924 and 1959. They contain articles, letters, telegrams, notes, etc., that have not appeared in the *Collected Works*.

The *fifth complete* edition of the *Collected Works* came out in 1958-65. It contains practically everything Lenin wrote, including a wealth of valuable preparatory materials, i.e., plans for articles, notes, drafts, etc. Of the 9,000 or so items brought together in the 55 volumes, more than half were not published in early editions and nearly 1,100 are published for the first time. The fifth edition has been put out in a total of 13,603,000 copies and an additional printing of 110,000 copies will be completed by 1970.

The complete edition or parts of it are being published in Rumania, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Greece and Japan.

In the Soviet years, there have been 9,202 publications of

*Abridged from **World Marxist Review**, No. 4, 1969.

Lenin's works—more than 344 million copies, of which 260,000,000 in Russian, 60,600,000 in other languages of the USSR.

A 20-volume edition of the *Selected Works* has been put out in Sweden and Japan; a 6-volume edition in Britain, Argentina, the Netherlands, Denmark, Italy, Norway, the USA, Sweden and Japan; a 4-volume edition in Argentina, Israel, Canada, Mexico, Switzerland; a 3-volume edition in Britain, France, Denmark, Brazil and USA; a 2-volume edition in Austria, Britain, Belguim, the Netherlands, Greece, Israel, India, Italy, Norway, the USA and Japan.

Separate works are published in large editions abroad. Thus *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* has been published in 15 countries, *The State and Revolution* in 28 countries, and *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and *"Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder,* in more than 30 countries.

Lenin is being increasingly widely read in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many of his works are now available in Marathi, Malayalam, Punjabi, Gujarati and other languages of India. In fact, it would probably be no exaggeration to say that practically people of all nations can now read Lenin in their native tongues.

Lenin is the world's most translated author. According to incomplete UNESCO figures his works have been translated into 117 languages, published in 50 countries, printed in about 100 cities (outside the USSR). These figures are proof that Lenin's message is studied and accepted by millions in every part of the world.

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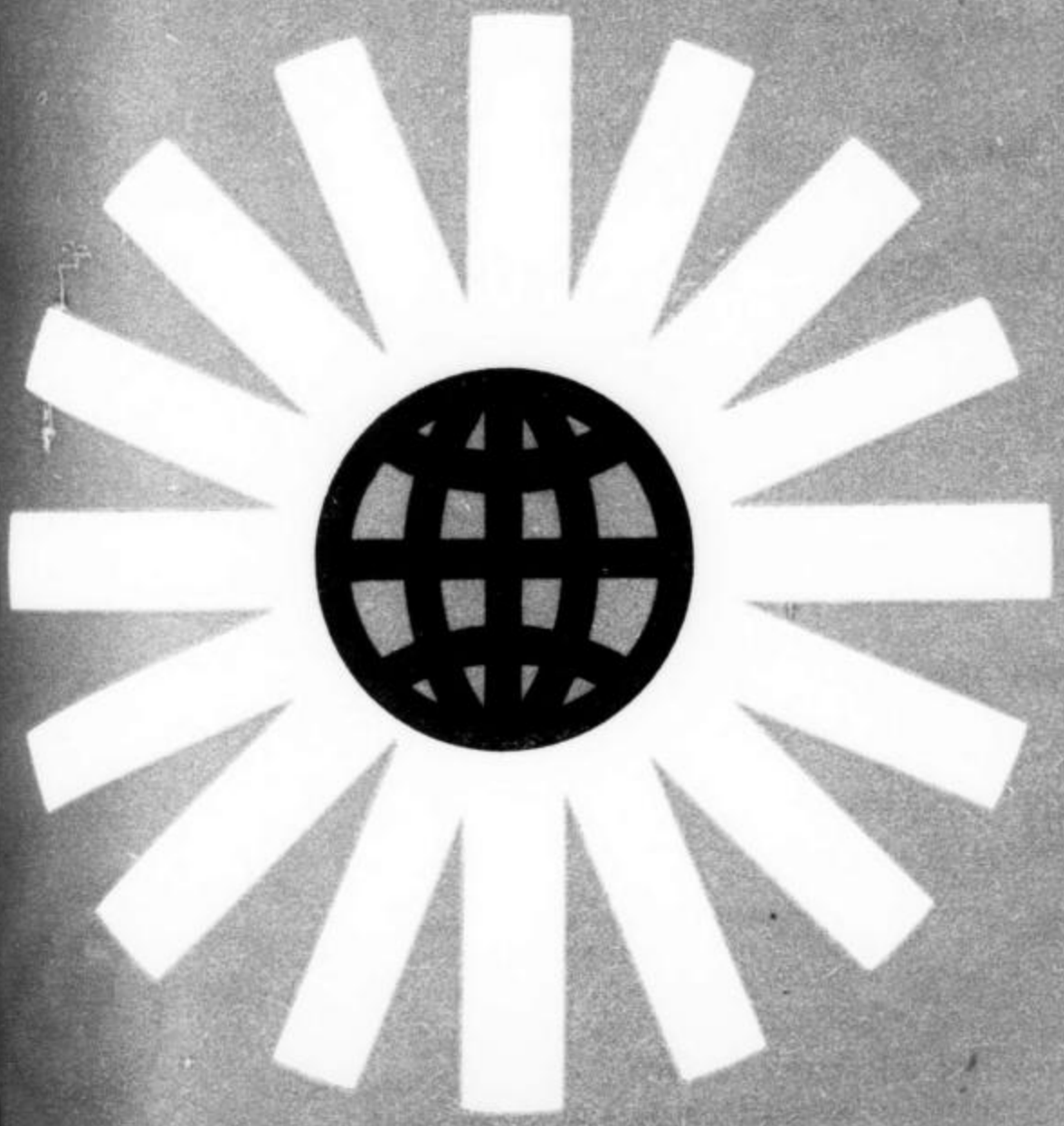
# INFORMATION



## BULLETIN

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# STRENGTHEN COMMUNIST UNITY*

A few days ago fraternal parties concluded in Moscow discussions of great importance to closer unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. The Working Group, entrusted with drafting documents for the coming international conference of the fraternal parties, met in session. The Preparatory Committee deliberated too, its meetings attended by delegates from 67 fraternal parties of all continents.

The Preparatory Committee discussed the draft of the fundamental document of the conference, whose agenda, determined by the Consultative Meeting, is "The tasks of the struggle against imperialism at the present stage and the unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties and anti-imperialist forces." Under an agreement reached earlier the Committee decided to send the draft to the central committees of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The Committee also agreed on the procedure of preparing other materials and discussed organizational questions relating to the conference, which is to open in Moscow on June 5.

The closing communique says that "the work of the Preparatory Committee, conducted in an atmosphere of comradely cooperation, afforded further proof of the growing aspirations of Parties towards unity in the fight against imperialism, for common aims on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism."

The fraternal parties' Moscow meetings continued the important work of convening the new conference that the Communist parties had been carrying on for many months.

The Consultative Meeting, which met in Budapest in February and March 1968, initiated the actual preparations for the conference. Ever since then the parties concerned have periodically held meetings of the Working Group and Preparatory Committee. They have dealt with problems of the conference in an atmosphere of comradely discussion and a frank exchange of views. This fact alone shows that the Communists of the world regard the conference as a most important step fully according with the objectives and tasks of the Communist movement.

The political situation in the world today is characterized by the steady growth everywhere of the forces opposed to the imperialist policy of aggression, oppression and subjugation. Hundreds of millions are joining in an active fight for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

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*Pravda, March 28, 1969.

The anti-imperialist forces are acquiring more and more opportunities of achieving their lofty, humane goals. However, realization of the new opportunities provided by the new epoch for revolutionary action against imperialism hinges on a decisive condition. This condition is closer unity of all who are against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

There are three major revolutionary forces fighting against imperialism: the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement. In this revolutionary struggle, the socialist system—that great historic achievement of the international labor movement—has been, and is, the decisive factor. Marxist-Leninists see their internationalist duty in unremittingly defending and strengthening the positions of world socialism, in fighting with determination against imperialism, for the vital interests of the working people.

To bring about closer unity of action of the anti-imperialist forces, primarily of their vanguard—the Communist parties—is a highly important problem today. It is the Communists that the working people of all countries expect to furnish solutions of the pressing problems of today. It is the Communists, who have a guide as dependable as Marxism-Leninism and unexcelled experience in political struggle and in leading the greatest revolutionary battles, that can properly estimate the world situation and decide on effective means of conducting the offensive against imperialism.

On the world scene, historic changes are taking place in favor of socialism, the labor movement and the national liberation movement. The closer the unity of the revolutionary forces against the common enemy, the more important these changes will be.

Proletarian internationalism has always been a powerful asset of the Communists in building up the anti-imperialist front of the peoples. The fact that Communists have succeeded in leading the peoples of numerous countries to victory over the bourgeoisie and that in those countries still dominated by capitalism the Communist-led proletariat has been wresting new positions from the class enemy in hard-fought struggle, is largely due to the revolutionary labor movement counterposing the strength of internationalist proletarian solidarity to the strength of world imperialism.

Devotion to proletarian internationalism by no means implies ignoring the complexity of the present-day world in any way, nor does it call for the mechanical application of a standard pattern in solving the specific problems which the people have to cope with as they fight in various parts of the globe and in various conditions. Marxist-Leninists see their task in furthering proletarian, socialist internationalism as a most important standard of relations within the world Communist movement, while strictly respecting the independence, equality and sovereign rights of each fraternal party. Fu-

sion of these principles provides a solid basis for the cohesion and solidarity of the Communist movement as an international force.

The preparations for the new international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties help to carry forward these principles. They have added new content to the standards of relations between the fraternal parties. Collective discussion of topical problems of the struggle against imperialism makes for the cohesion of the Communist and Workers' parties. Collective meetings of fraternal parties enable each of them to contribute its share to the solution of common problems.

The progress of the work carried out in Budapest and Moscow confirmed that collective effort by the Communist parties enables them to arrive at common views on a wide range of issues facing the movement. The draft documents being prepared for the conference are a fruit of collective effort. They embody the experience of dozens of Communist and Workers' parties of the world.

It is an open secret that the world Communist movement is experiencing difficulties. But the course of preparations for the coming conference shows that solutions can be found to the most challenging problems if there is a sincere desire for unity and good will to cooperate. The objective community of the interests of the Communist parties, of all contingents of the worldwide revolutionary movement, is stronger than the factors that have given rise to differences or divergences.

The vital interests of the mass of the people require Communist unity, which the conference can do much to bring about. The fight between the forces of social progress and imperialist reaction is gaining in intensity.

The continuing U.S. military aggression against Vietnam is the most obvious proof of the fact that imperialism will stick at no crime to impose its will on other peoples.

Imperialism remains a dangerous enemy of all peoples. Joint actions by the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement constitute the force which can curb the imperialist aggressors and put an end to their crimes. Marxist-Leninists regard the coming conference of the Communist and Workers' parties as a big step towards mobilizing the masses for a still more active and effective fight against imperialism.

The desire for Communist unity is growing. The Communists of the Soviet Union, like those of other countries, firmly believe that the international conference will enhance this trend which will be of tremendous importance to the world Communist and liberation movement as a whole, to the fight against imperialism.

The preparations for the new conference have entered the closing stage. Marxist-Leninists are resolved to carry them through to a fruitful end.

The preparations for the conference are coming to a close at a time when the Soviet people, Communists, workers and other working people all over the world are preparing to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the great Lenin's birth. This is an outstanding date for every Communist and every people of the world. The commemoration of the Lenin centenary will powerfully stimulate the advance to the goal to which Lenin devoted his life.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, educated by Lenin, will do all in its power to further the cohesion of the Communists and other fighters against imperialism and reaction, to promote the cause of peace, democracy, national independence, socialism and communism.

# PRE-ELECTION RESOLUTION* OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY, MARCH 1969

The Conference of the Communist Party of Norway states that the Party is making progress. It endorses the Central Committee decision on the necessity for the CPN to take part in the general election all over the country. CPN participation in the election will provide an electoral alternative to the policy of the bourgeoisie. The nomination of candidates has begun in all provinces.

Conference calls on the membership to make every effort to strengthen the position of the Party.

Conference signifies its support of all efforts for the unification and cooperation of the Left-wing forces during the election campaign. At present it is important to maintain contacts between Communists, Socialists and other progressives both centrally and locally in order jointly to discuss political issues on which the Left should unite in the 1969 election campaign.

If we achieve unity on this we will be able to cooperate during the election campaign in one form or another.

We propose discussing the following main points:

1. People's rule.

The people should be able really to influence the life of society as a whole.

(a) Nationalize private insurance companies and big private banks.

(b) Workers and other employees should have a say in matters bearing on production, investment, the use of profits, and employment.

(c) Guarantee freedom of action to the trade unions. Labor conflicts must not be settled forcibly. Revise the law on labor conflicts and call off all provisions restricting the unions' freedom of action.

(d) Democratize all governnemt agencies, including the military and police apparatus, so that they may not be used against progressive popular movements. Abolish political surveillance and revoke reactionary emergency legislation.

(e) Democratic student bodies should be set up in all educational institutions—from secondary schools upwards——enabling the students to particiapte in decision-making. Guarantee the student freedom of association and speech.

2. A development plan meeting the interests of the people.

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Friheten, March 24, 1969.

Stop lopsided economic development. Provide equal conditions for all regions, trades and professions. This calls, specifically, for the following measures:

(a) an active public investment policy, especially in the underdeveloped areas of the country;

(b) control over industrial development to guarantee the development of profitable industries;

(c) public measures to ensure the interests of the fishermen and small proprietors. The state should be answerable for the solution of acute fishing industry problems by ensuring sales and prices;

(d) the government proposal for a new tax system envisaging a surtax is anti-social and hence must be rejected;

(e) give priority to public house-building and combat land profiteering. Revise the legislation on expropriation.

3. The right to work.

Guarantee the right to work to every citizen at his place of residence. Expand government agencies to solve this problem. This calls for an amendment of Article 110 of the Constitution.

4. National security and self-determination.

Norway should renounce alliances with forces suppressing and exploiting other peoples. The country must not submit to any foreign authority.

(a) Norway should withdraw from NATO and contribute to international détente and disarmament.

(b) Norway should take an active part in the cooperation of the Northern countries for the good of the people and not of monopoly capital. It should withdraw its application for EEC membership.

(c) Solidarity with all peoples fighting for national and social liberation, against imperialism and capitalist exploitation. Full support for the liberation struggle of the Vietnam people. Recognition of the DRV and the NLF of South Vietnam.

# THE DOMESTIC SITUATION

Statement* by the Political Bureau of the Syrian Communist Party

In the middle of March the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party met under the chairmanship of Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary, to discuss the present situation in Syria in the light of deepening differences in Baath (Arab Socialist Rebirth Party) and to examine measures to overcome the differences. It also discussed the urgent tasks that must be fulfiilled to eliminate the present difficulties and to ensure the country's progress.

The Political Bureau assessed the measures and efforts designed to surmount the differences on the sound basis of principle so as to preserve the unity of Baath in carrying on the progressive anti-imperialist policy launched after February 23, 1966, when the Rightists were removed from the leadership of Baath and the government. The SCP has been working on the same lines.

The Political Bureau stresses, however, that the situation threatens an explosion at any moment. Hostile forces in and outside Syria are making desperate efforts to aggravate the diffierences and to strike at the elected bodies and institutions of Baath. This could lead to clashes and set developments on a course favorable to the selfish plans and aspirations of the Rightists. The Political Bureau points out, furthermore, that the main object of the Anglo-American-West German conspiracy was to carry out this plan. This is evident, in particular, from the hue and cry raised by imperialist and Israeli radio stations, the venal press of Lebanon and some Western news agencies in an effort to play up the differences.

The Political Bureau considers that the hostile reactionary forces the fundamental patriotic lines indicated above, the Israeli rulers will be in a position to continue their aggression and their crimes, and home reaction will have great reason to hope that the development of the country will be reversed and the policy of national progress cut short, with the result that far-reaching social and economic gains and the national liberation movement itself will be threatened. In that case, their actions disguised by the slogan of balancing between the two camps and taking advantage of existing contradictions, by the talk about the alleged Communist menace and by the stock-in-trade of reactionary imperialist propaganda, would lead to a deterioration of Syria's relations with the Soviet Union and other friendly socialist countries.

*Al Akhbar, March 23, 1969.

The Political Bureau considers that the hostile reactionary forces are prompted to act by their fear for their present and the future of the country. They are aware of how deeply the changes taking place in Syria—nationalization, the agricultural reform, the execution of numerous projects, including the great Euphrates dam—impress the working class and the people. They realize that they lack a following among the small traders and the handicraftsmen, whose economic condition has become stabilized and who know propaganda allegations about the progressive patriotic policy of Syria endangering their property to be false. It is beyond doubt that the effort of the armed forces to increase their efficiency, to master modern weapons and to acquire fighting experience, all of which is made possible by cooperation with the Soviet Union, alarms the imperialists and the Zionists, because it contributes to the efforts to remove the effects of the Israeli aggression, free the occupied areas and defeat the schemes of imperialist oil interests.

This is why the Political Bureau calls on the Left progressive organizations, all patriots and all citizens to rally together irrespective of their present position or outlook and to be on their guard. It calls on the workers to be vigilant towards reactionary attempts to abolish the nationalization and the gains achieved. It calls on the peasants to keep a watchful eye on attempts to nullify the agrarian reform and the rights won by the peasants. It calls on all fair-minded citizens to defend the various economic projects forming the basis of the progress of the country and the building up of its defensive and fighting power. It calls on patriots and all Left-wing progressives from other national movements, parties and forces to stand up for the progressive patriotic policy of Syria and its far-reaching social and economic achievements and to strengthen the country's defenses.

At present the Political Bureau lays special emphasis on the tremendous importance of promoting and strengthening all-round cooperation of the Left Baathists, Communists and other progressives within and outside the framework of the regime. In this connection it notes the important role of progressive and patriotic-minded officers, NCOs and men. The Political Bureau holds that this is the only way to overcome difficulties and differences on the sound basis of principle, increase Syria's role in its struggle alongside other progressive fraternal Arab countries, specifically the UAR, to eliminate the effects of the treacherous Israeli-imperialist aggression, bring about the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, consolidate the independence of the Arab countries and promote democracy, social progress, socialism and genuine Arab unity..

# DOCUMENTS* OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA

## I.

Ever since the military coup of October 11, 1968, which installed the present dictatorship, the regime has been trying above all else to abolish democratic liberties. The coup resulted from a clash between the National Union bloc, in particular its Panamanianist wing, and the National Guards. The clash reflected the contradictions between the national bourgeoisie represented by the Panamanianist Party and the oligarchy represented by the military, who felt wronged by the Arnulfo Arias government. The national bourgeoisie, which had contrived to win support for its interests among large sections of the population, now takes, in one form or another, a conciliatory stand on the military dictatorship. One of its groupings seeks agreement with the military and oligarchic circles, while another, first of all the Panamanianist Party, is eager to make a deal with the Americans. The national bourgeoisie has betrayed the people in the fight against repression and dictatorship, and the two groupings are operating behind the backs of the people, searching for a counter-revolutionary way out of the situation.

The Panamanian people have lost perspective in the struggle against the dictatorship through the loss of political leadership, which until recently had been provided mainly by the national bourgeoisie. The reality of repressive measures and of curbs on democratic liberties prompts the masses to oppose the military junta and strive to replace it by a democratic government based on wide popular representation. Such a government would be expected to prevent the restoration of oligarchic rule, guarantee democratic liberties, impose respect for the people's will expressed in elections or in some other suitable form, set about solving important economic and social problems in a patriotic and popular spirit, and put an immediate end to the persecution of democrats for political or ideological reasons.

The policy proposed by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Party—a policy calling on the whole Party to lead the popular movement for revolutionary, democratic popular representation—is correct. Our Party can in the specific conditions of Panama play its role of genuine revolutionary vanguard, take part in the political struggle for power as an independent force

*Abridged text of resolutions adopted by extraordinary meeting of the CC PPP, March 1969.

representing the working class and the peasantry, and mobilize the masses for pressure from below in support of the demand for the implementation of the minimum program required for organizing the people under the political leadership of the worker-peasant alliance.

The extraordinary plenum of the Central Committee resolves:

1. Vigorously to advocate the minimum program proposed to all popular forces by our Party: to organize and support a campaign for a people's democratic government to be brought to power by the people's will. To organize pressure by the masses in broad alliance with diverse forces interested in solving the problem in a progressive spirit, and to demand the immediate restoration of democratic liberties and an end to persecution as a precondition for the whole of subsequent evolution and the subsequent determination of the character of the future government, to be brought into being through elections or in some other way according with the freely expressed will of the people.

2. To ensure that our Party, untiring organizer of patriotic and democratic struggles and militant defender of the people's interests, participates in political decision-making and in due course enters a democratic and popular government to serve the interests of the workers, peasants and students.

3. To take requisite measures for our Party to bring home to the masses our Marxist-Leninist ideology, our concepts and our program for the Panamanian revolution, as well as our policy line, by carrying on propaganda, agitation and organizing work within the framework of the fight against the dictatorship.

## II.

## PROGRAM OF THE ALLIANCE AGAINST AUTHORITARIAN MILITARISM, FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION OF THE CRISIS IN THE PEOPLE'S INTEREST

Restore and extend the democratic rights of the people, release all political prisoners immediately, stop political and ideological persecution and end the anti-Communist campaign. Abolish all coercive bodies operating against the people, imprison and mete out proper punishment to all murderers and other criminals, as well as to CIA agents active in these bodies.

Punish all judges and public prosecutors who prosecute people for political or ideological reasons.

Form a provisional democratic and popular government that would establish a democratic and progressive system in the country. This government should be brought into being through elections or in some other form meeting the fundamental interests of the people.

Deport all political representatives of U.S. imperialism, such as the military mission, the group of CIA agents, and others, who are responsible, among other things, for the political situation in Panama today.

End all imperialist interference in our foreign policy.

Demand officially effective sovereign rights for the Canal Zone.

Pursue a more active economic policy firmly and explicitly stimulating industrial and agricultural production through the use of our natural resources and ending subservience due to the commercial approach imposed on us by imperialism and a parasitic bourgeoisie.

Put our natural resources in the service of the nation and refuse all further concessions to the imperialist monopolies, which are intent on gaining possession of our mining resources. Found state monopoly companies to exploit our natural resources with national and foreign aid.

Demand a substantial increase in the country's share in the profits of the foreign monopolies, which the Panamanian state cannot nationalize as yet. Nationalize the companies which we can manage by ourselves, as we did in the case of Fuerza y Luz.

Plan an agrarian reform fully abolishing the latifundia held by national and foreign owners, and enabling the state to engage the peasants in production on a public and not an individual basis, as distinct from the proposals of the advocates of the American model of "farmerizing."

Insist officially and immediately on the Panamanian government's sharing in profits from the exploitation of the Canal and from other economic activities in the Canal Zone.

Raise the standard of living of all working people by putting up wages, cutting the cost of living, extending social maintenance and considerably reducing unemployment.

Improve public health by guaranteeing free medical care and by nationalizing the importation and production of medical supplies.

Speed implementation of the housing program for the people.

# RESOLUTION* OF CC CP OF BRAZIL

(February 1969)

The coup of December 13, 1968 (the aim of the coup was to strengthen the influence of extreme reaction over the government, destroy the last vestiges of the independence of the legislative and judicial authority and abolish whatever was left of the guarantees of the 1967 constitution; these measures of the dictatorship were legalized in the so-called Institutional Act No. 5—*Ed.*) was one more episode of the struggle between the reactionary and venal circles, on the one hand, and the democratic and progressive forces, on the other.

## THE INSTITUTIONAL ACT NO. 5 AND ITS IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES

The formation of the government of military dictatorship (April 1964.—*Ed.*) was followed by a spate of pro-imperialist measures tying the government to the interests of Washington's foreign policy.

The steps taken by the dictatorial government in the wake of the Institutional Act No. 5 testify to the preservation of the dictatorship's close links with the interests of foreign monopolies. The numerous projects favoring these monopolies, which lay shelved away in ministerial files because constitutional considerations made their adoption difficult, were promptly put in effect owing to the new powers which the dictatorship arrogated to itself on December 13. These measures conform to its orientation since 1964: to turn over more of the state resources to foreign monopolies to the detriment of national interests, and to step up the exploitation of the working class and all wage workers.

The government used the Institutional Act No. 5 to continue the anti-labor policy dictated by the International Monetary Fund. Minister Passarinho's demagogic promise to stop the inflationary downturn in wages, given to win support for this reactionary act, turned out to be a mere bait and was immediately disavowed. In reality, the additions to the nominal wages, won by the working people, were reduced; the long-service guarantee fund was affected; the income tax was modified to make it still worse for those who live on their wages, and the decision regarding the mass dismissal

*Abridged.

of state employees was changed in a way that will aggravate the unemployment problem.

The Institutional Act No. 5 substantially changes the conditions of the struggle against the dictatorship. The population now lives in an atmosphere of unrestrained intimidation and terror. Even strata of the ruling classes are constantly threatened with violence and persecution if they oppose the will of the dictatorship. Thus, changes have taken place in the regime which deepen the dictatorship's reactionary character. We live under the rule of a fascist military-police dictatorship. The Institutional Act No. 5 means a contraction of its social and political base. Some strata which supported the dictatorial regime have gone over to the side of the opposition or have been neutralized. This has broadened the social and political base of the anti-dictatorship front. The abolition of the few surviving freedoms makes exposure of the dictatorial regime still easier. New political forces and new social strata are beginning to see in it an enemy which has to be combated and defeated. A possibility has thus presented itself of broader and more vigorous actions by the democratic trends.

Nevertheless, the Institutional Act No. 5 has complicated the democratic and patriotic struggle, for Congress has been dissolved, severe censorship has been imposed, judical organs have been deprived of their powers and prerogatives, all freedoms have been curtailed, and so on. The government's demagogic measures can also generate some illusions among some sections of the masses against the dictatorship.

With the closure of Congress and the actual discontinuation of the activity of the ARENA and MDB parties political struggle has acquired a clearer shape in the barracks, which have become the main political decision-making centers. Contrary to official pronouncements, the armed forces are not solid and united, and one can foresee a deepening of disagreements in them as more obstacles arise to the solution of the serious economic, financial, social and political problems.

The December 13 coup took place at a moment of a certain relaxation of international tension, in an atmosphere unfavorable to the forces of world reaction. This explains the general protest against it. World public opinion protested against the Institutional Act No. 5. International solidarity plays a major role in our struggle, for it strengthens the anti-dictatorship forces and contributes to the weakening of the dictatorship.

## TACTICS OF THE PARTY IN THE NEW CONDITIONS

The forces of the dictatorship are trying to prevent action by the masses; to remove their leaders; to destroy, by violence and terror,

the organizations fighting against the dictatorship (for instance, the students' organizations); to break up the national structure of the Communist Party; to prevent the population from learning about the actions of some forces (such as church organizations). They are arming terroristic groups to bully the democratic organizations and leaders of the opposition and of the opposition press.

The Political Resolution of the Sixth Congress formulated the main principle of our policy by pointing out that "the process of isolating and defeating the dictatorship is a process of development of the struggle of the masses and of unity of action by the democratic forces." The main and constant efforts of every Party organization and every Communist should be directed towards achieving this chief goal. In the present conditions the winning of democratic freedoms through mass action will be the beginning of an irreversible process of advance on the political and social plane, which imparts an indisputably revolutionary character to the struggle for freedoms. Defense of the demands of the masses is in full or partial conflict with the policy of the dictatorship. Hence the close connection between the struggle for these demands and the fight against the dictatorship, and the great political significance which the struggle for popular, even most elementary demands is acquiring today. Great importance attaches therefore to the struggle against the economic and financial policies of the dictatorship, especially as regards the wages and all measures infringing on the interests of the masses of urban and rural working people. It is also necessary to fight against actions affecting the urban and rural middle strata and national enterpreneurs.

A correct stand should be taken on the attitude of the church towards the government. The arrests of priests have sharpened the clash between them. Hundreds of priests of foreign descent are in danger of mass deportation. In many places priests and bishops are being persecuted by the police. The actions by clergymen in defense of the interests of the people and democratic freedoms are opening up new and still greater possibilities of struggle. That is especially important in the present conditions.

It is necessary to work for mutual understanding with the Left trends which are waging a mass struggle against the existing regime, although we do not accept their narrow-minded and hasty policy. We should strive for unity of action with these forces in order to broaden the struggle.

The armed forces do not remain unaffected by the struggle against the regime, which enables the democratic forces to conduct large-scale work for winning over part of the military. It would be a dangerous mistake to fight against the armed forces as a whole in the name of abstract pacifism. We should positively appraise even the vaguely expressed patriotic feelings of the majority of our

soldiers and non-commissioned officers and many officers. We should expose the assertions of the "Sorbonne" group (Higher Military School.—*Ed.*) regarding national security, which reduce the army to the position of a punitive force acting in the interests of U.S. policy. We should expose the actions of those who are trying to turn the armed forces into the country's only political party, a fascist-type party suppressing the people.

In the struggle against the dictatorship it is essential to be able to accumulate forces and to avoid their unnecessary waste, without confusing militancy, revolutionary courage and fighting mettle with adventurism. But it is also necessary to combat the passive opportunistic views of those who avoid struggle by referring to the impossibility of victory or to the need for a wait-and-see stand. Nothing can justify this temporizing mood.

The possibilities for legal struggle have diminished considerably. Great importance has been acquired by underground forms of work. But this should not signify use of these forms only. New forms will emerge from the experience of the masses themselves, as the recent strikes show. Whenever possible, it is necessary to strive to make mass actions really legal, to secure the support of the masses, which can hamper or even prevent police repressions.

In conditions of growing dictatorial violence the masses should be made ready to counter it with violence in defense of their demands, in defense of democracy. This should be done without adventuristic actions, without the use of forms not conforming to the level of consciousness of the masses.

At present strikes, demonstrations, meetings, etc., are such forms of struggle against which the dictatorship employs violence.

Some political trends, including even those which support the reactionary constitution of 1967, are opposed to the Act No. 5, which narrows down the dictatorship's field of action. Taking this into consideration, and fighting for the basic points of the united anti-dictatorship front platform which we advanced at the Congress, we should single out some demands which can become common for all these forces, namely: release of political prisoners, freedom of the press, restoration of the right of habeas corpus.

The Party should intensify its work for rapprochement with all forces opposed to the dictatorship. We should maintain close contact with them and bring home to them our unitary stand and our conviction of the need to find such forms of organization, even if embryonic ones, which will make possible united and coordinated actions against the dictatorship. And if coordination on a nationwide scale is still impossible, experience shows that joint work on concrete issues can be conducted at a local level, which is very important for the development of the anti-dictatorship struggle. The expansion of the anti-dictatorship front is such that many of

its sectors which are not prepared yet to act jointly with us will be able to undertake actions aimed, like actions by our Party, against the dictatorship.

The Communists, who are working for the establishment of a revolutionary government, are the staunchest fighters against the dictatorship, the most convinced champions of unity of all forces opposed to it. To fight against the dictatorship today means to fight against U.S. imperialism and those reactionary forces upon which it relies. The winning of democratic freedoms is closely connected with the aims of the revolution at its present stage and with the development of the struggle of the working class for socialism.

The Brazilian Communist Party, which has repeatedly addressed the anti-dictatorship forces with the proposal of joint action to defeat the dictatorship, declares that it will fight, together with the other forces opposed to the dictatorship, for the establishment of a government of anti-dictatorship forces which will declare a general amnesty, guarantee democratic freedoms and the freedom of organization for political parties, and convene a Constitutional Assembly elected by universal secret voting.

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**CORRECTION**

Bulletin No. 5-6 (141-142): Article on Salazarism, p. 47, is abridged.

# CHARTER OF UNITY*

1. The workers' parties known as the Popular Entente Party (PEP) and the Haitian Democrats' Union Party (HDUP) resolve to merge into the Unified Party of Haitian Communists (UPHC) on the basis of common ideology, program, tactics, leadership and Rules.

Working out the Program and Rules of the UPHC will be the responsibility of the leadership of the new Party and will be done on the basis of the agreements reached in the course of negotiations.

2. The UPHC is the class-conscious and organized vanguard of the working class fighting under the banner of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Conceived according to Leninist organizational principles, it will lead the class struggle of the proletariat to accomplish the Haitian revolution, win power and build socialism.

3. The unified Party is based on the historical, theoretical and practical achievements of the HDUP and PEP. It will have to heighten the capacity of its new organization by establishing close links with the working class and the peasantry, as well as with other progressive forces interested in the democratic national liberation revolution.

4. The principal political tasks of the democratic and national revolution are to overthrow the Duvalier dictatorship and take power on behalf of the united front of all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces led by the working class in order to destroy the present economic and social regime and effect the essential changes required by the national liberation revolution in the social, economic, political and cultural spheres.

5. The democratic and social changes are intended to bring about complete political independence, promote economic development and clear the ground for new relations of production. These changes include the agrarian reform, nationalization of the property of foreign, mostly American, imperialists, the monopoly of foreign trade, cancellation of the public debt, the introduction of democratic procedures into public life and the abolition of illiteracy. All these revolutionary measures and their subsequent intensification come within the perspective of the advance towards socialism, of which the democratic and national revolution is a necessary stage.

6. The social classes objectively interested in the national liberation revolution are the working class, the peasantry, the middle strata and that segment of the national bourgeoisie which rejects the economic and political domination of U.S. imperialism. The

*The full title of the document, adopted on January 18, 1969, reads "Charter of Organic Unity Between the PEP and HDUP and of the Formation of the Unified Party of Haitian Communists (UPHC)."

working class and the peasantry constitute the principal motive forces of this revolution.

The UPHC will strive for an alliance of these national classes within a united front to be established mainly in the course of the revolutionary war. The Party will endeavor to ensure that the working class allied with the peasantry, the principal mass force, wins the political leadership of the proposed front. The main blow of the motive forces of the revolution will be aimed at the reactionary pro-imperialist bloc comprising the feudal landowners, the bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie, the officialdom segment of the middle strata and the institutions serving them, specifically the armed forces and the militias.

7. In view of the nature of the political regimes of our feudal dictatorships, the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle of the Haitian nation poses special demands with regard to political alliances. The UPHC, while maintaining its ideological, political and organizational independence, by no means rejects the specific forms of transient cooperation with other socio-political forces opposed to the dictatorship so long as the latter do not act as mere flunkeys of the imperialist policy of the United States towards Haiti.

8. The reactionary violence of the Duvalier regime must be countered with organized revolutionary violence by the classes fighting to crush it. The road of the Haitian revolution is still one of armed struggle. Each phase of this process, which will be long, difficult and bloody, will involve a combination of non-armed and armed forms of struggle until the latter become the principal form. This road makes the countryside the main theatre of the people's war, with guerrilla war as the central factor. Since the regime's violence is continuous, indiscriminate and generalized, recourse to armed resistance in both town and country prior to the emergence of guerrillas is a political method suitable and necessary fer providing subjective conditions for the revolution.

9. Chief among the present tasks of the UPHC is to prepare the formation of guerrilla units. The training of social, political and military forces for the people's war and the national revolution is a duty of every organization of the unified Party in both town and country, in areas favorable to guerrilla warfare as well as in other areas.

10. The UPHC is the Haitian contingent of the world Communist movement. It pledges itself to solve the problems of the national liberation struggle in keeping with the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat. The UPHC proposes to maintain fraternal links with all Communist parties. It will work for world Communist unity respecting the independence of each party and adhering to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The UPHC respects the revolutionary traditions of every people in the socialist

camp. While joining the international Communist movement as a party perfectly independent in judging controversial issues, the UPHC considers critical assimilation of the experience of brother parties as an earnest of victory for the revolution in Haiti. The Party is ready to ensure its militant solidarity to the revolutionary parties of the Dominican Republic and to the revolutionary organizations of the world and the continent.

*Haitian Democrats' Union Party*
*Popular Entente Party*

*Haiti, January 18, 1969*

# FROM THE THESES* FOR THE 16th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

(Concluded)

## THE CAUSES OF THE SPLIT IN THE PARTY IN 1965

A great crisis befell our Party in 1965—the crisis of the split. Our 15th Congress took place at the climax of the crisis, when the nationalist group of Sneh and Mikunis, which had split the Party, held a congress of their own, receiving the applause of all reactionary forces in Israel. Poisoned arrows were directed aplenty from every side at our Jewish-Arab Communist Party of Israel.

But they could not overcome it. With immense pains and efforts the work of the Party was reconstructed. Now, after more than three years, it is possible to sum up and state that we have overcome the crisis.

The 15th Congress of the Party was able to arrive at only a preliminary summary with regard to the split that had occurred in our Party. This summary at the 15th Congress has remained correct to this day, but it is incomplete. In the meantime the positions of the leaders of the Mikunis-Sneh group have become clearer.

What were the objective conditions for the split in the Party, a split which, as a matter of fact, occurred only among the Jewish members

*a. The Influence of Zionist Policy and Ideology on the Jewish Population.*

The Zionist leadership has a long-standing tradition of collaboration with imperialism against the anti-imperalist Arab national movement, against the Soviet Union and communism in the international arena, of class peace (Burgfrieden) at home.

At the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties, the country had a period of economic prosperity, a kind of Israeli 'economic miracle'. It was unavoidable that these factors should affect the internal social situation in Israel and encourage petty-bourgeois tendencies.

The strong interference of the Government in economic life and means of mass communication which control all propaganda has made it possible for the ruling Zionist circles to exert heavy economic and immense ideological pressure on the masses.

The fact that the majority of the Jewish population is new in the country, creates an additional difficulty.

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*Information Bulletin of the CPI, January 1969. (For beginning see p. 13, No. 5-6)

These conditions cause exceptional difficulties and obstacles to the expansion of the Communist Party of Israel's strength and influence among the Jewish public. In this situation, unstable elements in the Party lost confidence in its Marxist-Leninist way and searched for a way out by adjusting themselves to nationalist and liquidationist tendencies.

The influence of these conditions is illustrated by the fact that even the Zionist Left has never been strong in the State of Israel. MAPAM, the party of the Zionist Left, received eight to nine mandates at the Knesset elections, compared with which the Communist Party of Israel received three to six mandates.

*b. The Israeli-Arab Conflict, its Continuation and Sharpening*

With the intensification of the use made by the imperialist powers of Israel's ruling class as an instrument for the realization of their policy in our region, with the intensification of tension and the war danger, additional difficulties and obstacles were continuously placed in the path of struggle of the Communist Party of Israel. The Party had to stand up against chauvinism when it called for a peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict on the basis of respecting the just national rights of both peoples.

It is obvious that the absence of a stable positive plan on the part of the Arab national movement for the solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Palestinian question, respecting the rights of the peoples concerned and according to the general interests of the anti-imperialist struggle, causes great difficulties to the Communist Party of Israel.

*c. Interference of Hostile Forces in the Party.*

The hostile class forces which interfered in our Party were interested in liquidating the internationalist policy of the Party. Their calculations were not solely 'Israeli'. They needed an 'Israeli communist party' supporting the Israeli ruling circles in their aggressive policy in the service of the imperialist powers; a party which in the name of communism incites against the Soviet Union; a party which throws dirt at the anti-imperialist Arab national movement; a party which penetrates into the international Communist movement and the international democratic organizations, and also into the democratic Jewish organizations, which penetrates into places where the official Zionist organizations either could not set foot or could not proceed far in their penetration. These factors needed an anti-Soviet herald posing as an 'Israeli communist'. Those who interfered in the Party in order to split and liquidate it as a Marxist-Leninist party, arranged for themselves also in advance the 'Israeli communist' backing for a new war to be unleashed, similar to the Suez-Sinai war in 1956. Indeed, since the June 1967 war until this day, hostile class forces in their propaganda point to 'communist'

backing, in order to justify their policy of war and territorial expansion.

*d. The Situation in the International Communist Movement.*

In sections of the international Communist movement opportunist and revisionist interpretations were given to the conclusions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. These falsifying interpretations were adopted and 'developed' by Mikunis and Sneh.

The splitting policy and dogmatic sectarianism of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party had and still have destructive results in the Communist movement. They have created confusion among various circles, revisionist reactions and a feeling of anarchy in the movement.

This is the objective background to the split. But it would be incorrect to conclude that the objective conditions unavoidably caused the split in our Party. Against the background of these objective reasons—Israeli, regional and international—the nationalist group in the Central Committee organized itself as a faction and in the end split the Party.

## DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AT TIME OF THE SPLIT

The differences of opinion in the Party were about most fundamental questions deciding the Party's policy:

*a. What Is the Main Contradiction in Our Region?*

The standpoint of the Communist Party of Israel was and has remained that various contradictions exist in our region, and among these the Israeli-Arab conflict, but that the main contradiction in our region is that between imperialism and the people, between imperialism, on the one hand, and the movement for national liberation in the Arab countries and the anti-imperialist forces in Israel on the other hand. No other contradiction may be considered detached from this main contradiction.

Right from the beginning of the split, the minority (in the Central Committee, previous to the split, *transl.*) confused this main contradiction on principle.

Thus, for instance, M. Sneh mixed up all contradictions already at the congress of his group (August 1965) in the following words:

"In the Middle East there is a great tangle of contradictions. There is a contradiction between the world capitalist system, influencing the region, and the world socialist system which has begun influencing the region. There is a struggle between the imperialist forces, which are still strong, and the strengthening anti-imperialist forces in the region. There is a struggle and contradictions among the imperialist forces themselves. There is a struggle between Soviet influence and Chinese influence within the anti-imperialist circles.

There are contradictions and strife and conflicts among the countries of the region themselves, also among the Arab countries themselves. There is an internal struggle within each country between the opposing class forces. There are contradictions between one people and another one in various countries, where the national question has not yet been solved—between Greeks and Turks in Cyprus; between Arabs and Kurds in Iraq, between the North and the South in Sudan. And there is also the Israeli-Arab conflict."

The work of confusion continued until the leaders of the Mikunis-Sneh group stated that the main and decisive contradiction in our region is that between two nationalisms—the Jewish and the Arab. In logical continuation of their non-Marxist position, they more and more ignored the imperialist factor in our region, and completely ignored the imperialist factor in the 1967 war, presenting it as a war between two nationalisms.

*b. The Source of War Danger in Our Region.*

Our Communist Party of Israel has always considered that the main source of war danger is the imperialist interference in our region and not "the struggle between two nationalisms." We said this was the case in 1956, and a similar danger exists also in the future.

As against this, the leaders of the Mikunis-Sneh group saw the center of gravity of the war danger in the anti-imperialist Arab national movement, and considered the fact that the Arab countries 'do not recognize Israel and want to destroy it'. In articles and speeches the leaders of the Sneh-Mikunis group wrote and spoke of the war danger in our region as a danger stemming from the Arab states which "want to destroy Israel."

*c. The Assessment of the Eshkol Government.*

Life has proved the correctness of this assessment.

As against this, the leaders of the Mikunis-Sneh group saw a qualitative difference between the policy of the Eshkol Government and that of Ben-Gurion's Government. Thus from the moment of the split until this day the leaders of the Mikunis-Sneh group have contributed to the strengthening of rightist trends in Israeli society and have particularly contributed to the weakening of the left sector inside MAPAM and to the turn to the right by that party.

*d. The Question of the Way to Israeli-Arab Peace.*

We saw the essence of the Palestinian problem and of the Israeli-Arab conflict in the fact that while one people, the people of Israel, had realized its right to self-determination and national independence by establishing the State of Israel, this right had been denied to the second people, the Palestinian Arab people. In these conditions Israel has to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, and first of all the right of the Arab refugees to choose

between return to their homeland and receipt of compensations, according to the UNO decisions.

However, the leaders of the Mikunis-Sneh group wished to transfer the center of gravity of communist struggle in Israel from the struggle for a change in Israeli policy to a struggle against the Arab countries which refused to recognize Israel.

The June 1967 war has proved to anybody who may still have doubted it, that the Mikunis-Sneh group is a pro-government group, which sided unhesitatingly with the aggressive war. Now the Mikunis-Sneh group opposes the retreat of the Israeli army to the lines of June 4, 1967, and supports the government line of forcing agreements on the Arab countries under conditions of military occupation, from positions of strength.

*e. The Position Regarding the Anti-Imperialist Arab National Movement.*

The Central Committee viewed as positive the anti-imperialist development in the Arab countries, both from the aspect of the general interest of progress and from the aspect of Israeli national interest and the prospects of Israeli-Arab peace. At the same time, it dissociated itself from chauvinist and reactionary positions, such as any chauvinist position towards Israel, persecution of Communists, etc.

The leaders of the Mikunis-Sneh group actually took a negative stand towards the anti-imperialist Arab national movement. Their propaganda centered on inciting the Israeli public against the anti-imperialist Arab national movement and against the Arab Communist parti.es. As they understand it, the essence of the character of the Arab national movement is the common 'pan-Arabic' aspiration to destroy Israel.

As far as the Mikunis-Sneh group are concerned, the anti-imperialist Arab national movement resembles the nazi movement.

*f. Proletarian Class Standpoint.*

The Mikunis-Sneh group has no class point of view but a nationalist one. The Mikunis-Sneh group considers as the essence the unity of Jews against Arabs, without distinguishing between fighters for peace and warmongers, progressives and reactionaries, anti-imperialists and pro-imperialists.

The discussion was between 'Jews, unite, the Arabs are going to annihilate us, as the nazis did', and 'anti-imperialist fighters for peace, Jews and Arabs, unite in the struggle against the common imperialist enemy and against Jewish and Arab reaction.' Not with imperialism against the Arab peoples, but with the Arab peoples against imperialism.

*g. Revision of the Standpoint on Zionism.*

The Mikunis-Sneh group have more and more gone over to the positions of Zionist ideology in the Jewish national question. Already

at the congress of his group in August 1965, M. Sneh said:

"There are problems which stem from the attachment between the State of Israel and the Jewish communities in the world. This is a serious question. When we write a program, we shall have to consider this problem and we shall have to find an ideological and political-practical basis enabling us to solve these concrete problems according to the scientific fundaments of Marxism-Leninism and in collaboration and cooperation with other elements in the Israeli workers' movement, and this difficulty must be overcome".

*h. The Question of Unity of Action.*

The Party has struggled during all the years for unity of action of the working class and all toilers and for the establishment of a national-democratic front.

Today the Mikunis-Sneh group boast of the broadest unity of action with all other parties, achieved by them in the country on the reactionary basis of common support for the June war and of opposition to retreat to the armistice lines of June 4 according to the Security Council Resolution (' Neither the lines of June 4, nor the lines of June 11' they declared.).

Under cover of the demagogical smoke screen of independence from the CPSU and the international Communist movement, the Mikunis-Sneh group made themselves dependent on the Israeli Foreign Ministry and the general policy of the Eshkol Government.

The Mikunis-Sneh group have completely abandoned the principle of international solidarity of Communists and anti-imperialist forces. In their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist incitement they have attained records. In his unbridled anti-Soviet assaults, M. Sneh dared to compare the role of American imperialism in Vietnam with the role of the Soviet Union in the Middle East.

*i. The Communist Party Norms; Democratic Centralism.*

The leaders of the nationalist minority in the Central Committee stepped upon Party democracy and Party centralism alike, placing themselves above the majority in the Central Committee and the Party cadres. They spoke and wrote openly that not all comrades were equal, that there were members with a particular 'specific weight', and that a Jewish member was 'worth more' than an Arab member, and other similar racist theories.

The minority undermined the democratic norms. They contacted the bourgeois press and provided it with inside information on the Party, in order to mobilize the hostile press for a provocative and misrepresentative crusade against the majority in the Central Committee and the line of the Party.

To sum up: The Mikunis-Sneh group abandoned Marxism-Leninism, the doctrine of the working class and changed over to the bourgeois world view.

The political-ideological education in the last years preceding the

split, was at various times quite intensive. It was centered mainly on the struggle against the deviations which had sprung up in the international Communist movement and which threatened our Party too: at a certain time—the revisionist deviation, and then the 'leftist' dogmatic deviation. We succeeded at all times in repelling the deviation that was topical in the movement, in our Party. But here some weaknesses appeared:

1. At the time of our struggle against dogmatism, we did not pay attention to the growth of revisionist and liquidationist concepts within our Party, which questioned fundamental premises of Marxism-Leninism.

2. We neglected in those years almost completely Marxist-Leninist teachings concerning the Jewish national question and Zionism. In this manner we opened a way for the penetration of Jewish-nationalist, neo-Zionist views.

To sum up: The consistent struggle of the majority in the previous Central Committee for the prevention of the split, and the struggle of the Central Committee of our Party for the reunification of the Party after the split—were correct and vitally necessary. The concern for the unity of the Party is a matter of principle. At the same time, there had been weaknesses and errors in this important battle which was an honor to the Party.

We go to the 16th Congress while our ranks are united and our Jewish-Arab unity is as strong as ever.

A savage campaign was conducted against our Party, in which the leaders of the Mikunis-Sneh group took a most active part. In an arbitrary way we were deprived of the possibility to run in the elections under our own name—the Communist Party of Israel, and were forced to appear with our lists for the elections to the Histadrut and the Knesset under the name "New Communist List in Israel" (Rakach). However, notwithstanding the fullest backing given to the Mikunis-Sneh group by the rulers, notwithstanding the campaign of hatred and threats directed against our Party, notwithstanding the atmosphere of terror and nationalist chauvinistic incitement against our Communist Party, the Party succeeded in attaining important achievements in the elections.

In the Knesset elections our Party elected three deputies, compared with one representative of the Mikunis-Sneh group; in the elections to the municipalities, our Party received representation in 14 councils, while the Mikunis-Sneh group did not attain any representation at all: as a result of the elections to the Histadrut (Jewish Federation of Labor) Congress, our Party was represented in the Histadrut Executive Committee by two representatives (the same number as received by the Mikunis-Sneh group). These important achievements testified to the ability of our Party to overcome the immense difficulties and to reorganize in short time.

## IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND THE WORKERS' RIGHTS

The members of the Communist Party of Israel were among the initiators and activists in the organization of many campaigns of workers and struggles of wage earners. Our comrades were among the activists in the action committees set up by workers' committees, which organized countrywide protest strikes, workers' mass meetings and sending of delegations of workers' committees to the Histadrut Executive Committee and the Knesset.

Great importance is attached to the activities in our country for solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the aggression of American imperialism.

Great importance has to be attached to the activities in the democratic organizations, particularly in the present political situation. This activity creates possibilities for non-party people and for sympathizers.

## THE JEWISH QUESTION AND ZIONISM IN OUR DAYS

In Israel a struggle is taking place between the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the working class and the bourgeois Zionist ideology. This class ideological-political struggle is also taking place among the Jewish communities abroad.

The predominant ideology in Israel is the Zionist ideology. Guided by this ideology, the ruling circles of Israel are conducting a policy which contradicts the true national interests of the people of Israel, a policy which ties the State of Israel to the imperialist powers in their struggle against the Arab anti-imperialist national movement, against the Soviet Union, against the international Communist movement and all forces of socialism, national liberation and social progress in the world.

Zionism must not be confused with the people of Israel or with the Jewish people.

The struggle against the Zionist ideology and policy constitutes an integral part of the general struggle against ideological subversion by the opponents of socialism and proress. This is an Israeli national interest, a Jewish interest and a general revolutionary interest alike.

### What Is The Jewish Question?

Jews are living in various countries under different conditions and regimes. Therefore it is impossible to speak about a "Jewish question" as a worldwide question, existing in all countries on earth, in capitalism and socialism alike.

When we talk of the Jewish question, we mean the question of the discrimination, persecution and even annihilation (especially under Nazi rule) of Jews for being Jews. The problem of the solution of

the Jewish question is, therefore, the problem of liberation of the Jewish masses from the virus of anti-semitism, which appears in various forms in the society of class exploitation. The problem is, therefore, how to uproot the virus of anti-semitism completely, how to ensure the Jewish popular masses freedom and equality of rights.

The Marxists view anti-semitism as one of the forms of national and racialist discrimination and oppression. The general causes for anti-semitism are the same causes which bring about the discrimination and oppression of other peoples, too.

Marxists view racialism, including anti-semitism, as a reactionary means used by the ruling exploiting classes, especially in times of upsurge of revolutionary struggles against the regime, in order to divert the attention and fury from themselves to an imaginary enemy, to a scapegoat, the Jews, Negroes or persons belonging to other peoples.

The struggle against anti-semitism is a common cause of the Jews in the various capitalist countries, where it exists. At the same time, the struggle against anti-semitism is not solely a Jewish cause. It is a cause for all democratic and progressive forces, an inseparable part of the general struggle against racialism and national discrimination, and for democracy and socialism.

The Jewish question, the question of discrimination and persecution of Jews for being Jews, does not exist in the socialist regime. In the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries the social basis for the phenomenon of anti-semitism was liquidated, since the exploiting classes were defeated, since the oppression of nations and national minorities was eliminated. In the socialist countries the struggle continues against the remnants of prejudices concerning the relations among peoples. In the Soviet Union and other socialist countries anti-semitism was outlawed, and any propaganda and any deed that bears an anti-semitic character is forbidden.

## Zionist Ideology

Zionist ideology is based on a bourgeois-nationalist attitude to the Jewish question. Contrary to Marxism-Leninism, which is based on a proletarian class attitude to the national question, Zionism presents the problems of the Jews as problems elevated above classes which supposedly derive inevitably from the very existence of Jews among other peoples.

Zionist ideology maintains that the cause for anti-semitism is just hatred of Jews, without any relation to the given social regime, without any relation to the social, political and class struggles taking place in society.

According to Zionist ideology, anti-semitism is thus eternal and independent of the social regime.

Since Zionism detaches the Jewish question from any social-

class background, it reaches the conclusion that as long as Jews live among non-Jews, anti-semitism will exist. From this conclusion regarding the eternity of anti-semitism, Zionist ideology arrived at opposing integration of the Jews into the social struggles in the countries in which they live, and it commends the organization of the Jews in separate organizations.

Zionist ideology stands for a "family peace between classes," between the Jewish exploiters and exploited, millionaires and unemployed, as a counterweight to the Marxist slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!"

In accordance with the Zionist outlook, the Jewish workers and bourgeoisie have more in common than the Jewish workers have in common with the American or Russian workers. Zionism negates the possibility of a change in the situation of the Jews as a result of their integration into the struggle of the workers and popular masses for democracy and socialism; it works for their detachment from social struggles against the diseases of capitalist society, including the struggle against anti-semitism.

Instead of integration into the general democratic struggle, into the struggle for socialism, Zionist doctrine presents as a solution, immigration, the territorial concentration in Palestine (today in Israel).

In contrast with the Communists and other progressive forces, which have fully condemned and rebuffed anti-semitism as a reactionary movement that sabotages the revolutionary struggle, Zionism has precisely attempted to build its structure on anti-semitism.

This Zionist attitude to anti-semitism stems fundamentally from the fact that Zionist doctrine as well as anti-semitism derive from the same premises: the Jews are in all countries a foreign element, different from the rest of the population.

Another assumption of Zionist doctrine says that the Jews constitute "an ex-territorial world nation," and as such the general social laws do not apply to them. Zionist doctrine bases the existence of a "world Jewish nation" upon the fact of the existence of anti-semitism, which imposes on the Jews isolation from the peoples among which they live and a separate national cohesion, and also upon an ethnic criterion, according to which the Jews in the whole world belong to the same "Jewish nation," as being united by the common origin from the ancient Hebrews.

Marxists have always rejected the unrealistic and reactionary Zionist theory about the supposed existence of a "world Jewish nation"; that the Jews in the whole world constitute, as it were, one nation.

Zionist policy, which is also the policy of the Israeli Government, is not only not intended towards non-identification of the Jews in the world with all regimes, but is explicity directed towards iden-

tification with capitalism, with imperialism, and in particular with the American one.

The recent conferences of the Jewish millionaires from the USA, Britain and other countries, which were held in Israel, stressed the anti-worker class character of support for the regime existing in Israel and its pro-imperialist, anti-Soviet character in respect of its international policy.

## Zionist Policy

Since Zionism was shaped into a political movement by Th. Herzl and the other Zionist leaders, Zionist policy was based on collaboration with the forces of reaction, with the imperialist powers against the revolutionary socialist movement and against the national liberation movement.

An important place in Zionist policy is occupied by incitement and subversive activity against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, against the international Communist movement.

The anti-Soviet Zionist propaganda in the Jewish question is part of the general anti-socialist policy of the Zionist leaders who aspire to "liberate" the Jews of the Soviet Union from socialism, just as international imperialist reaction aspires to "liberate" all the peoples of the Soviet Union from socialism. It was and has remained an inseparable and important part of the cold war conducted by the imperialist centers of subversive ideological warfare against the socialist countries.

In recent years, the Israeli Government has determined a line of official identification of Israeli foreign policy with the ideological struggle of Zionism against the SU and other socialist countries. Official representatives of the Israeli Government started using the rostrums of UNO and its commissions for delivering speeches of incitement against the SU and other socialist countries.

The anti-Soviet Zionist propaganda was intensified after the June war, but its successes diminished. Since the June war, world public opinion knows more about how the Israeli rulers—the Zionist standard-bearers—treat the Arab population, the Arab refugees, the question of uniting families.

Pro-imperialist Zionist practice attained a new dimension in the collaboration of the Israeli rulers with the imperialist powers, in their neo-colonialist policy.

## The Zionist Movement is not a National Liberation Movement

Zionist ideology and policy prove that the Zionist movement, comprising all its many organizations, is not a national liberation movement, but a nationalist, reactionary political current, one of

the important instruments of the Jewish bourgeoisie, which is used by imperialism in its struggle against the three revolutionary forces of our time.

The Zionist movement is not a movement for national liberation, as its program and its practice are not anti-imperialist, but based on coliaboration with imperialism:

1. In the countries of capitalist rule the Zionist movement collaborates with the big bourgeoisie of those countries against the revolutionary workers' movement, against communism, preaching the severance of the Jewish workers from their class brothers, from the struggle for changing the regime, for socialism.

2. In the Middle East the Zionist movement has served, since the Turkish rule, through British rule and up to our days, as the loyal ally of all sorts of imperialists fighting the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples, contrary to the national interests of the people of Israel.

3. In Israel the Zionist movement acts against the interests of the toilers, for the isolation of the Jewish workers from the Arab workers. It fosters distrust between them and propagates chauvinism and national arrogance. Zionism in Israel works against the national liberation of the people of Israel from the chains of foreign capital and dependence on imperialism, and it conducts a policy of territorial expansion with the assistance of imperialism.

4. Zionism serves as one of the tools of imperialism in its global struggle and its work of ideological and political subversion against the SU and the entire world socialist system, with the aim of shaking the socialist regimes from within.

5. In Asia, in Africa and in Latin America Zionism assists the neo-colonialist activities of the USA, West Germany, Britain and other imperialist states.

## The State of Israel and Zionism

The Zionist ideologues identify Israel with Zionism, just as they identify the Jews with Zionism. In a vast and expensive propaganda campaign they describe matters to public opinion in such a manner as to create the impression that anyone opposing Zionist ideology, Zionist policy, the policy of the Israeli Government, becomes an anti-Israeli or even an anti-semite. By such a demagogical distortion the Zionist leaders try to silence any criticism of the policy of the Israeli Government inside the country and of general Zionist policy in the international arena, presenting that criticism as an anti-semitic, anti-Israeli position.

In a cynical manner the Zionist leaders exploit the terrible sufferings of the Jewish people under Hitler, the historically unprecedented mass extermination of millions of Jews in the nazi con-

centration camps and gas chambers—in order to prevent criticism of the policy of the Israeli Government and of the general Zionist policy.

The all-sided collaboration existing between the rulers of Israel and the neo-nazi rulers of West Germany is an additional proof of the fact that the Zionist leaders do not express the true interests of the Jewish popular masses and of the people of Israel.

There exists a possibility of cooperation between Jewish organizations of various countries on the basis of progressive aims, such as the struggle for peace, against anti-semitism and revival of nazism in West Germany, etc.

The unscientific and incorrect identification of Israel with Zionism plays also a role in the propaganda of the Arab chauvinists.

On the basis of this false identification, Arab nationalist leaders attempt to prove that the State of Israel has no right to existence.

By conducting an ideological struggle against Zionism, our Communist Party leads a campaign for releasing the popular masses in Israel from chauvinism, for bringing them to the main road of a scientific-socialist world outlook and a policy that suits the true national interests of the people of Israel, and also the interests of the Jewish working masses all over the world.

# AFRICA'S CHANCE FOR SOCIALISM

**N. NUMADE**

If Russia continues to pursue the path she has followed since 1861, she will lose the finest chance ever offered by history to a people and undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist regime.

(Marx-Engels Selected Correspondence, p. 312)
—Karl Marx, November 1877

The movement for African unity grew out of the concrete situation in which the peoples of Africa found themselves at the end of the Second World War. The imperialist countries of Europe who for so long had been subjecting the entire continent to ruthless exploitation, were in a much weakened position. On the other hand the firm friends of African freedom, the anti-imperialist Soviet Union—now joined by a dozen more countries of Europe and Asia that adhere to socialism—emerged with tremendously enhanced strength and authority. This was the main factor which gave our people all over Africa—as in Asia—the opportunity and the inspiration to build up their liberation movements to unpredecented heights and to challenge imperialism as never before. In one African territory after another—whether in the course of armed conflict or of peaceful negotiation against a background of militant mass action— the Western powers were compelled to concede the right to formal political independence.

These were great achievements of the African Revolution—of the revolutionary peoples of Africa. Whatever disappointments have been encountered in the post-independence period, we must never lose sight of the fundamental historic significance of the achievement of political independence; the indispensable groundwork for all we have achieved and hope to achieve.

The winning of independence by each African territory was the fruit of struggle by the people of that country—but not of that country alone. Not one of our independent states could have broken free from control by its former European masters but for the moral and practical support and assistance of others—in the first place of their fellow Africans. It is of course profoundly true that the fight against imperialism is worldwide. The great breakthrough made by the Russian workers half a century ago presaged and enormously facilitated the emancipation of African and other peoples from colonialism in our time, just as our Vietnamese brothers and sisters

*Abridged from **The African Communist**, No. 36, 1969.

are fighting our battles as well as their own. But to that general truth must be added a particular one—that the emancipation of our continent is a task which can only be accomplished by the concerted endeavors of all the Africans, in whatever area they may be living.

Alone there is not a single African state which could successfully resist and defeat the enormous resources accumulated by international imperialism (so much of whose resources have been and are still being looted from us and our brothers of Asia and Latin America). But *standing together against imperialism and neo-colonialism,* backed by our allies in the socialist countries and the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries, we most certainly can and will achieve those great and formidable tasks—that history has inexorably placed before every African leader and patriot today. To complete the process of seeing that Africa is governed by Africans, especially in the Portuguese colonies and the enslaved South; to mend the havoc and destruction wrought by the colonialists so as to enable our peoples—by owning and developing African resources for their own benefit—to overcome the real inequality, continued dependence and alien exploitation of present-day independent Africa—these are the inescapable challenges which face every African government and state.

When the heads of all the thirty then existing African states came to Addis Ababa in May 1963 to lay the foundations of the OAU it was a signal victory for the cause of African unity and freedom. That the African countries resolved not merely to improve their economic relations but also to unite as one force in helping the freedom fight in the Portuguese colonies, Rhodesia and South Africa was of immense historic importance.

The historic summit of 1963 was followed by a series of striking advances in various regions of the continent. KANU swept the board in the Kenya elections. This was paralleled by the formal establishment of the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Federation in the West. Zanzibar rose, expelled the British-backed Sultanate and united with its mainland to form Tanzania. Algeria, adopting the revolutionary Charter of Algiers, opted for socialism. The Aboud dictatorship was overthrown in Sudan.

Unfortunately that intoxicating tempo of sweeping advance was not maintained. The more recent period had seen a series of tragic setbacks to the cause of African unity, African freedom and African socialism. It is only necessary here to mention such depressing events as the series of army coups, above all that in Ghana which installed a junta of military men who have opened the doors to neo-colonialism and who are still eroding the historic gains of the Ghanaian working people.

These reverses have naturally been accompanied by a corresponding decline in the authority, political content and sense of driving

mission in the OAU. French imperialism has succeeded in once again reviving a "special grouping" of African states under its tutelage in the form of OCAM.

Despite outstanding and continuing support given to the Southern African liberation movements by a few African countries, the Committee established at its inception by the OAU has not lived up to the great expectations placed in it. South African imperialism has succeeded in a number of countries in covertly breaking through the boycott, extending its influence and investments, and buying a number of corrupt politicians of our continent. The OAU signally failed to rally to the side of one of its leading members, Egypt, when she was the victim of Israeli aggression.

Just as we have seen such setbacks to the cause of African unity, so we are witnessing in many of our countries a sort of retreat from the challenging slogans and aims of "African socialism" which but a year or so back were constantly on the lips of nearly all our politicians.

Of course, these negative phenomena do not make up a complete picture. In a number of African countries the abolition of exploitation and the starting on the road to socialism remain very much on the agenda; both Tanzania and Zambia combine policies of support for Southern African liberation with progressive and anti-capitalist internal lines of policy. Egypt's military reverses, however painful, have initiated a mass re-evaluation of the absurdity of combining socialist slogans with the total domination of bourgeois-minded people at every level of the civil and military services except the very top; and to take steps towards a purification of the ranks. The process of revolution is always uneven, richly complex, and by no means conforming to any prearranged pattern. We should not be unduly depressed by the reverses referred to above, but remember that the people are unconquerable and the next wave of our continuing African Revolution is bound to be more deep-reaching and transforming than our earlier independence struggles.

But if we are to cope with the tremendous problems that will inevitably face us in the coming new wave of our revolution, I think we must re-think some of the propositions which we tended to oversimplify or gloss over ten years ago.

Both African unity and socialism are concepts capable of realization in Africa. But in order even to begin fighting for these concepts we need to take a cool and realistic look at the main difficulties and obstacles which stand in the way of their realization.

African unity, independent of imperialism, is a goal which cannot be obtained while such a large part of the continent, and one of such crucial political and economic significance, remains under the control of white racialists and Portuguese colonialists. To speak of unity without remembering this all-important fact, is in fact to play

with ideas. The main single task facing every African patriot in every part of the continent was and remains that of assisting the freedom-fighters in the South and in the Portuguese colonies. For, without the South, Africa will continue to be mutilated and dismembered; and full independence will remain a myth.

Very large areas of Africa have still not developed to the stage of capitalism—if there are any industrial or agricultural enterprises employing large numbers of wage-workers they are usually owned by foreigners. Exchange-economy has hardly made its appearance. Most of our people, whether individually or communally, are still stuck in the rut of subsistence farming, growing food for their own consumption, not for the market.

It is this circumstance which leads many people to doubt even the possibility of socialism for Africa, for socialism is the most modern system, the successor of capitalism, basing itself on advanced, large-scale industry and agriculture; upon public ownership and planning of production; upon the leading role of a substantial class of men and women who have acquired the habits of discipline and the advanced outlook of the modern proletariat.

These are weighty objections containing a grain of truth; yet I think they are basically wrong. Marx, nearly a hundred years ago, saw the *possibility* of Russia by-passing capitalism (due to the lack, at that time, of a powerful indigenous capitalist class and also the still-intact system of communal land ownership) and seizing "the finest chance ever offered by history to a people"—i.e., advancing directly towards socialism. Africa today still has a similar glorious chance—even more so, since she is regaining independence at a time when the world is in transition to socialism and more than a third of humanity is already building it.

Marx coupled his "optimistic" forecast with a sombre warning—if Russia continued the path of reaction she would *lose* that chance, and have to undergo all the cruelty and injustice, "the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist regime." She did indeed lose the chance; it was not until 1917 when the workers of Russia—after a miserable half-century of capitalism—put an end to it. But his vision of what was *possible* remains valid, borne out brilliantly by the triumphant experiences of Mongolia and other pre-capitalist societies which *were* able to skip the capitalist stage.

That chance remains open to Africa still. But if we are able to take it at all, we must clearly recognize certain blunt facts. Among these are:

Socialism can't be built in a country whose economy is dominated by foreign imperialism.

Socialism can't be built on the basis of small-scale, primitive agriculture and industry.

Socialism can't be built without the most ruthless struggle

against bourgeois and pre-bourgeois exploiters, feudalists, tribalists, selfish, get-rich-quick state officials and the like.

The building of socialism demands as its leading and guiding force an organized working class, headed by a Party of scientific socialists, Marxist-Leninists.

This means that it's absolutely useless and harmful to keep on *talking* about socialism without taking the practical economic, political and organizational measures to turn that idle talk into action. Industrialization, elimination of imperialist control and influence, sweeping land reforms, the rapid development of transport, communications, educated cadres—all these are absolute essentials: so is the building of a revolutionary Party of workers and peasants who study Marxism and apply its universal lessons to the concrete conditions of their own region.

Failure to implement these measures at once will certainly lead to our missing that "finest chance" of which Marx wrote in relation to Russia.

What about the argument that there is no industry, no working class? That may be so for certain regions. But if we have the imagination to look at the continent as a potential economic region, we must take into account the area which does have a massive industrial base, a numerous and experienced working class, and the possibility—given its *early emancipation*—of acting in relation to most of the continent in the role which developed Russia played towards the more undeveloped parts of the Soviet Union.

As with the problem of unity then, so with the problem of bypassing capitalism and advancing to socialism. Both are finally and inevitably dependent on the liberation in the near future of the South.

Unity and socialism—both are possible and realizable goals. Without them Africa is doomed for a long time to weakness, instability, backwardness and inequality.

For a capitalist Africa there can never be any real independence. Socialism is our only hope.

But let us not forget that the road to socialism is hard and difficult; that the most crucial battlefront is that still awaiting us beyond the banks of the Limpopo River.

# RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, SWISS PARTY OF LABOR

(MARCH 1969)

On April 22, 1970, the international labor movement and the world of socialism and progress will celebrate the 100th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. Lenin founded the Bolshevik Party—the CPSU—which led the Russian working class to victory, overthrow the rule of the tsars, big landowners and capitalists and established the world's first socialist state.

Lenin carried forward Marx's and Engels' theory of scientific socialism in accordance with the specific conditions of our epoch, the epoch of imperialism, imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions. He fought without compromise against reformism, the policy of social peace and reconciliation with the bourgeoisie, all anarchist and semi-anarchist trends in the labor movement, all "revolutionary" phrasemongering, and unorganized action virtually serving the bourgeoisie.

Lenin founded the Third International and the world Communist movement. He always regarded proletarian internationalism and the international solidarity of the working people as the most valuable asset of the working class and an earnest of its victory.

Lenin, who during World War I lived for some time in Switzerland, seriously concerned himself with the state and problems of the Swiss labor movement. He contributed to the formation of a Social-Democratic Left-wing in Switzerland and helped it develop a genuinely socialist revolutionary policy. In celebrating the Lenin centenary, the Swiss Party of Labor, which adheres to Marxism-Leninism, will lay special emphasis on its significance for the Swiss labor movement.

The Central Committee entrusts the Party leadership with preparing guidelines and planning specific measures for the appropriate commemoration of the Lenin centenary throughout the country.

*Vorwärts, April 3, 1969.

# CULTURAL REVOLUTION OR COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY COUP?*

## WANG MING

The author of this work, Wang Ming, is a veteran of the Communist Party of China and of the Chinese people's struggle for socialism. He was a member of the central leadership of the party through the years of arducus and perilous underground struggle against the bloody repression by which Chiang Kai-shek tried to destroy the Party physically by murdering scores of thousands of the finest sons of the working class—thousands of them by beheading in public without even the pretence of a trial. From January 1931 until January 1935 Wang Ming was the First Secretary of the Party under the illegal party name of Chen Shao-yu.

In January 1935, in the course of the famous Long March Mao Tse-tung became First Secretary and Wang Ming was assigned to the position of representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Communist International. In that capacity he participated actively in the preparation of Georgi Dimitrov's famous report to the 7th World Congress and he was elected by the Congress to the Executive Committee.

Wang Ming worked as the representative of the Chinese Party in the world center of the Comintern until that body was dissolved in 1943. After that he continued, by decision of the leadership of the Chinese Party, to be its representative in Moscow. He negotiated and arranged the details of the decisive assistance that was extended to the Chinese revolution by the Soviet Union. Throughout those years he continued to be an active member of the leadership of the CPC and he was re-elected to its Central Committee at its Eighth Congress in 1956.

While, constitutionally, Wang Ming is a full member of the Central Committee of the CPC, he is not able to play an active role in the Central Committee of the Party in China today. Those who read this document will readily understand why.

### TEN MAJOR CRIMES COMMITTED BY MAO TSE-TUNG IN CHINA

1. *He is trying to expunge Marxism-Leninism from the*

*Abridged from **Canadian Tribune,** March 19, 1969.

*minds of the Communists and working people of China and replace it with the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist thought of Mao Tse-tung.*

He insists that the "thought of Mao Tse-tung must capture all ideological positions," that the "thoughts of Mao Tse-tung are the highest instructions in all spheres of life," and so forth. At the same time he declares that Marxism-Leninism is "obsolete" and trumpets that "the world has entered a new epoch—the epoch of the thought of Mao Tse-tung."

He has banned the reading of Marxist-Leninist literature. He burns progressive Marxist-Leninist literature. He calls Marxism-Leninism "revisionism" or "dogmatism." Earlier he had called Marxist-Leninists "dogmatists," now he calls them "counter-revolutionary revisionists" and persecutes and destroys them. He has made the persecution and destruction of Marxist-Leninists ideologically, politically, organizationally, spiritually and physically the principal means of eradicating Marxism-Leninism in China.

2. *He is smashing the Communist Party of China and preparing to replace it with an essentially anti-Communist Party which will be "Communist" in name only.*

In a tatzupao written by him personally on August 5, 1966 he proclaimed the slogan "open fire at the headquarters." which was the signal for the rout of the CPC. He crushed the CC CPC that was elected by the Eighth Congress of the CPC. According to reports from various sources, of the 174 members and alternate members of the CC CPC nearly four-fifths have been subjected to repression. All the members of the Political Bureau of the CC and its Standing Committee as well as of the Secretariat of the CC, elected prior to the 11th Plenary Meeting of the CC, with the exception of Mao Tse-tung and a few persons from his group, have been brutally persecuted on the basis of all sorts of false accusations. Wherever it has been possible he has sent hungweipings, tsaofans, the military and the police mercilessly to smash territorial bureaus of the CC CPC, provincial, municipal, district, county and regional Party committees, and Party cells at workshops, factories, mines, transport organizations and rural production teams, and also brutally to persecute and destroy leading functionaries and cadres of the Party committees.

The persecution and physical annihilation of Party leaders, cadres and rank-and-file members has become Mao Tse-tung's main means of destroying the CPC.

Mao Tse-tung and his group have dealt our Party a severe blow such as the international imperialists, the Peiyang warlords or the Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei could not inflict in the course of decades. But they have not been able to

destroy the Party, which has nearly 25 million members and enjoys tremendous prestige and the all-round support of the working class and the whole people.

3. *He has smashed state organs of the democratic dictatorship of the people and is replacing them with the machinery of his personal reactionary military dictatorship.*

Mao Tse-tung tried to use the slogan of the destruction of the old bourgeois state machine as a pretext for crushing the constitutional state organs of people's power in China. He has completely paralyzed the higher legislative body—the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee, both of which had been elected in accordance with the Constitution.

To all intents and purposes, the State Council, which is the highest organ of executive power in China, has also been paralyzed.

With the exception of the Defense Ministry and a few other offices, the ministries and state committees subordinated to the State Council were placed under the control of hungweipings and tsaofans and then an integrated military control was established over them. Many high-ranking officials of the State Council and Ministries have been killed, wounded, baited until they lost their health or were subjected to other repressions in the form of unbearable, humiliating or health-destroying hard labor.

Provincial and lower people's congresses and people's councils have been done away with, and legal organs—people's courts and people's procurator's offices of all levels—have likewise ceased to function. Their heads and cadres have been either persecuted or physically destroyed. The exceptions are the members of the national bourgeoisie in all legislative and executive bodies. They have not been touched at all by Mao Tse-tung.

Mao Tse-tung has elected to liquidate the Party backbone and foremost representatives of non-Party people in organs as the cardinal means of destroying these organs of power. In planting so-called "revolutionary committees," Mao Tse-tung counted on creating a weapon of his personal military dictatorship. Their paramount task is to persecute and annihilate Communists, Young Communist Leaguers, revolutionary servicemen and foremost workers, peasants and intellectuals. As soon as a so-called "revolutionary committee" was set up, hungweipings led by the chairman of the "revolutionary committee" publicly smashed the signboards of the local CPC committee and of the people's committee. Are these not typical features of an anti-communist coup of any counter-revolution? The key role in the "revolutionary committees" is played by military people whom Mao Tse-tung still manages to delude. The so-called "Leftist elements" (hungweipings and tsaofans) are merely their assistants, while the few former Party and administrative

cadres who have been recruited with the help of the "tripartite alliance" slogan play the role of supernumeraries. In spite of Mao Tse-tung's having proclaimed the slogans of "struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" and "defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat" he is destroying the people's power and replacing it with his personal reactionary military dictatorship.

4. *He is inflicting harm on the People's Liberation Army, splitting its ranks and employing it as a blind tool for his own personal ends directed against the Party and the people.*

Mao Tse-tung has used part of the PLA as an instrument of the counter-revolutionary coup and reactionary personal military dictatorship, concentrated part of the PLA on seizing power from the Communist Party and the people's government, killing Communists, workers, peasants and intellectuals; incited one part of the PLA against another part and ordered the PLA to pursue his reactionary policy of "three supports"* and "two military measures."**

He utilized the abolition of military ranks as a means for isolating at one blow the marshals, generals and officers who held no military posts from any contact with the army. Mao Tse-tung has purged and persecuted marshals, generals, officers and sergeants of the PLA. Of the nine marshals, all except Lin Piao have been subjected to brutal persecution and indignities and some, for example, marshals Pen Teh-huai and Ho Lung, have even been arrested.

The number of generals and admirals of the army, navy and air force removed from their posts and persecuted, runs, according to incomplete data, from 70 to 80.

Still more commissars and political workers were persecuted among the medium-rank and junior officers. More than half of the personnel in the General Staff and the Central Political Administration of the PLA have been removed from their posts and persecuted; the removal and persecution of the commanders of the Peking Military Area and the Peking garrison was even reported on two occasions.

Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao are ruthlessly purging the Communist backbone of the PLA and are planning to replace wholesale the cadres of Communists and members of the Young Communist League in the PLA with the new men tried and tested in the course

*Three supports: "support of the Lefts," meaning support of the hungweipings and tsaofans, "support of industry" and "support of agriculture," which means the establishment of military control over the country's entire economy.

**Two military measures: "military administration," which signifies the establishment of a military regime in the cities and countryside, in factories, offices and educational establishments to watch the workers, peasants, intellectuals and students and persecute them: "military training," which means that the entire population, young and old, is forced at the point of the bayonet "to study Mao Tse-tung's thought" and that military drill is introduced in schools and higher educational establishments.

of the "cultural revolution." All this is being done to make it easier for Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and Chiang Ching to usurp all the power in the PLA and to convert, in a conspiratorial way, the People's Liberation Army, created and led by the Communist Party, into their personal anti-communist hordes directed against the people.

5. *He is ruining the younger generation; he has disbanded the Young Communist League of China and is replacing it with the reactionary organization of hungweipings.*

On the one hand, Mao Tse-tung has disbanded the Young Communist League and the Young Pioneer Organization and is brutally persecuting the leaders of the YCL and the Young Pioneers, their functionaries and YCL members. On the other hand, utilizing the military and the police as the leading core and backbone of command, he has by coercion and deception compelled part of the university students and secondary and elementary school pupils to organize in hungweipings and to play the part of the storm detachments in vilifying, hounding, insulting, beating up, arresting and killing people and in arranging arson—all according to his wishes—to act as small fry, as bullies who shed their blood to stage the "rebellion" and the seizure of power he wanted.

He has compelled millions of young people and children to waste their valuable time, to drop their studies, to undergo moral corruption and to lose their health and life. He has committeed a grave crime, crippling the growing generation of the Chinese people. He has wounded the soul of tens of millions of fathers and mothers anxious for the fate of their young sons and daughters.

Replacing the Young Communist League and Young Pioneer Organization, by hungweipings and hunghsiaopings, Mao Tse-tung thereby wanted not only to abolish the assistants and reserve of the Communist Party, but also to abolish the most politically conscious, the most organized vanguard of the youth and children, the vanguard richest in revolutionary traditions, in order to make the young people and children easily susceptible to his fraud and convert them into his personal reactionary tool for any crime.

Today many hungweiping detachments have escaped this control and millions of young people have become aware of the criminal character of the "cultural revolution" and the reactionary nature of Mao Tse-tung's "thought." The Mao Tse-tung group is brutally suppressing them, sending millions of young men and women to remote areas and to the countryside in order that they should not be able to raise a rebellion against Mao Tse-tung and his group in the cities under the selfsame slogan "a rebellion is a just cause!"

But this does not save the situation, because they can raise an anti-Mao "rebellion" not only in the villages, together with the masses of workers, but also in the villages, together with the peas-

ant masses. There is no doubt whatsoever that China's younger generation cannot tolerate for long the present situation. It will necessarily rise up more and more to struggle against the baneful regime of Mao Tse-tung and his group, for a bright future for themselves and their country.

6. *He is attacking the working class and splitting its ranks. He has disbanded the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.*

He has disbanded mass organizations of the working class—the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and trade unions of all levels, is brutally persecuting the leaders, functionaries and rank and file of the trade uions.

Mao Tse-tung is openly advocating a reduction of wages. He has abolished piece-rates and bonuses. He openly calls for lowering the living standard of the working class to that of the rural population. On the pretext of "the struggle against counter-revolutionary economism," he is against improving the life of factory and office workers, is arresting and killing all who adovcate an improvement in the life of factory and office workers.

Ignoring the difficult living conditions of the workers, he pursues the so-called "combination of industry, agriculture and military affairs," compelling the workers, in addition to their jobs, to engage also in agriculture and to undergo military drill. He has sent to each industrial, mining and transport enterprise military units for permanent billeting in order to institute military control over the workers and other employees and to bring military pressure to bear on them. Before their shift starts, workers and other employees are forced to recite and sing "quotations" in front of Mao Tse-tung's portrait. This is called "asking Chairman Mao for directives;" at the end of the shift, they also recite and sing "quotations"—"report to Chairman Mao about their work for the day." Military men make use of every free minute to compel the workers and other employees "to study Mao Tse-tung's thought," depriving them of any possibility of resting.

By coercion and deception he forces part of the workers and other employees to organize into so-called tsaofans, to attack the overwhelming majority of the workers and other employees at factories, mines and on transport as conservatives and reactionaries, to rebel against them and capture power from them. This splits the unity of the working class and causes conflicts in their ranks.

The aim pursued by Mao Tse-tung in splitting the working class is, on the one hand, to prevent the working class from being a solidly-knit and united foremost leading force in China's political and social life and, on the other, to prevent the working class from acting as a solidly-knit and united force against the counter-

revolutionary military coup of Mao Tse-tung.

Recently, under the demagogic slogans that the "working class must lead everything" and "the proletariat must exercise its dictatorship in the entire superstructure, including all the spheres of ideology and culture," Mao Tse-tung has forcibly organized so-called "workers' brigades for the propaganda of Mao Tse-tung's thought." Actually these are a kind of detachment of storm troopers who act merely as assistants of military units in suppressing the intelligentsia, hungweipings and other student youth; they have nothing in common either with the "leadership of everything by the working class" or with the dictatorship of the proletariat. This venture of Mao Tse-tung is foul mockery of the ideas of scientific communism about the leading role of the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Though Mao Tse-tung resorts to various methods of blackmail and deception in an attempt to rally the working class under the banner of "Mao Tse-tung's thought" to support his reactionary rule, the facts show that the working class of China wishes to rally only under the banner of Marxism-Leninism so as to fight unitedly against the anti-Marxist "Mao Tse-tung's thought" and the anti-communist, anti-proletarian Mao group.

### 7. *He is persecuting the working peasants and is ruining socialist construction in the countryside.*

Mao Tse-tung is shifting the responsibility for the failure of the people's communes in the countryside onto rural cadres and the peasants. Since 1962, he, under the guise of the "movement for socialist education," has been effecting brutal persecution of the peasants, named the "four purges" (that is, "purge of ideology, purge of politics, purge of organizations and purge of the economy").

He, as before, adheres to the erroneous division of the middle peasants into three sections: higher, average and lower, constantly compelling and provoking the so-called poor and lower middle peasants to hound the so-called average and higher middle peasants; he is wrongly ousting the well-to-do middle peasants from the middle-peasant ranks and destroying them as the main representatives of capitalism in the countryside. All this is ruining the internal solidarity of the peasants, undermining their labor enthusiasm and impeding the development of socialist agriculture.

Far from abolishing the system of the food tax, far from establishing single rational rates and purchase prices of farm produce, he even decided to raise the food tax, increasing thereby the burden borne by the peasants.

On the pretext of fighting against "counter-revolutionary revisionism" he is rejecting the system of workday units, based on the principle of payment according to work done, and also material

incentives—rewards for increasing production. Under the cover of the notorious slogan of "reliance on one's own forces," the state does not render the necessary financial, economic and technical assistance to collective farming which was just getting under way, assistance to the peasants who lead a wretched and hard life. As a result of Mao's pursuing this entirely wrong policy China's agriculture, as hitherto, is extremely backward and the life of the peasants remains poor and hard.

But the working peasants cannot tolerate such a situation for long. They necessarily will rise up more and more to resolute mass struggle against Mao Tse-tung for improving their material and cultural standards.

8. *He is destroying culture and education, destroying the cultural heritage, persecuting and annihilating the intelligentsia.*

To "defend the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung and of Mao Tse-tung's thought," he is destroying the precious national cultural heritage accumulated and preserved in China throughout the millenniums; he is also seeking to wipe out the influence of progressive foreign culture. He is burning Marxist-Leninist literature published in China and other countries, destroying progressive books of national and foreign origin.

Under the guise of "struggle against authorities" he brutally persecutes prominent intellectuals in all fields of knowledge.

Under the slogan "seize all the positions of public opinion," Mao Tse-tung routed newspaper and magazine offices throughout the country, and arrested, humiliated and exiled to hard labor or killed newsmen. More than 500 newspapers and magazines have been closed down.

Under the slogan of struggle against the "counter-revolutionary revisionist system of education" he, in effect, stopped the work of all educational institutions in the country. Mao Tse-tung harshly persecutes and annihilates educationalists, he has burned the bulk of the textbooks and decided greatly to shorten the period of study in all educational establishments and to turn all higher, special and military-political schools into short-term courses (from a few months to a year) of the Kanda type that existed from the close of the 1930s to the beginning of the 1940s in Yenan. He forces young people and children to read less and even not to read at all. He has instructed all educational institutions to replace scientific and literary text-books with his book of "Quotations" and "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung."

This discloses his great fear of intellectuals and of knowledge. That is why he not only persecutes and exterminates the best part of the Chinese intelligentsia, but also pursues a policy of stupefying

the people, thus preventing the younger generation of China from becoming knowledgeable people and turning them into a crowd of fools. Knowing only Mao Tse-tung and his thought they can become no more than the blind tools of Mao Tse-tung and his group and would be ready to fulfil all their wishes and suffer any sacrifice for their sake.

9. *He conducts a barbarous great-Han chauvinistic policy with regard to the national minorities and annihilates their revolutionary leaders and cadres.*

Following the traditions of the reactionary regimes of Chinese feudal emperors, the Peiyan warlords and Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Tse-tung uses military-police forces to decimate national minorities; he steadfastly enforces a policy of great-Han chauvinism which finds its expression in discrimination, disparagement, repressions, forcible assimilation or resettlement and disrespect for the faiths, customs and traditions of the national minorities.

Hungweiping detachments destroyed temples and mosques, insulted the believers, committed murders and arson, "rebelled" and seized power. He used military units deceived by him to annihilate cadres and ordinary citizens—Mongols, Tungkangs, Chuangs, Tibetans, Tais, Miaos and others. Mao Tse-tung arrests and persecutes Party, administrative and military leaders of the Mongol, Uighur, Tungkang and other peoples. He tests atomic and hydrogen bombs in regions inhabited by the national minorities, caring little for their health or lives.

He dispatched military units consisting of national minorities to Canton to attack the workers and the troops remaining loyal to the revolution, and incited them to fratricidal slaughter making cat's paws of other people to be able to fish in muddy waters.

These crimes of Mao Tse-tung are alien to Marxist-Leninist national policy and a betrayal of proletarian internationalism. They evoked not only vigorous resistance and armed struggle of the national minorities, but also opposition to his reactionary policy and compassion for the national minorities on the part of those local Party and administrative workers and servicemen of the Han people who adhere to the Marxist-Leninist internationalist tradition. Accordingly in some regions inhabited by national minorities, the leaders, cadres and the masses of the Han people* have been rallying together with the national minorities for joint resistance against Mao Tse-tung.

10. *He does everything to protect the national bourgeoisie and cooperates with domestic and external reaction.*

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*There are more than 50 nations and nationalities in the CPR. The Han nation accounts for over 90 per cent of the total population.

He attaches particular significance and grants special privileges to the national bourgeoisie in the spheres of policy, economy and social status.

In the economic sphere, immediately after the country's liberation Mao Tse-tung acceeded to the demands of the national bourgeoisie and allowed them to retain capital and profits, thus fostering the development of capitalism. In 1956, after the establishment of the joint state-private administartion of industry and trade he decided to pay an annual five percent guaranteed profit to the capitalists for a period of five-seven years. In 1962, upon the expiration of this term, Mao Tse-tung decided to prolong the payment of profits for another five years. This period has also expired and he has once again decided to continue paying out profits for another 10 years.

At the same time the administration of all state-private enterprises in effect remained in the hands of the capitalists. Occupying the posts of directors, managers, engineers and so forth, capitalists receive salaries several times higher than those paid to other people holding the same jobs.

Foreign correspondents after visiting China and seeing the life of the Chinese bourgeoisie, unanimously agree that in the China which is living through the so-called "cultural revolution" the bourgeoisie is the sole flourishing and contented class. It is not surprising, therefore, that the bourgeoisie, in the course of all its major conferences, has always sent telegrams of greetings to Mao Tse-tung calling him "beloved father and teacher" and thanking him for his profound solicitude and all-round care.

Mao Tse-tung is striking a secret diplomatic deal with the U.S. imperialists. The Chinese and American ambassadors have already had 134 meetings in Warsaw. Both sides have made the subject of their talks a complete secret from the Chinese and American peoples and from the world public. A U.S. State Department representative frankly admitted that Washington and Peking have been maintaining direct contact ever since the Geneva Conference of 1954 and that although the USA has no official diplomatic relations with Washington, the successes that have been achieved at the Warsaw talks by far surpass those achieved by Britain and other countries who have diplomatic relations with Peking. It is clear from the above that the secret diplomatic deal between China and the United States has already attained considerable scope and level.

Such are the 10 principal crimes committed by Mao Tse-tung within the country. These 10 crimes demonstrate with especial clarity and precision that Mao Tse-tung is engaged not in some kind of a "cultural revolution," but in an armed counter-revolution, an anti-communist counter-revolutionary military coup directed against the people. Even at the time when the vaunted "cultural

revolution" was only getting under way, Marxist-Leninists of all countries pointed out that the so-called "great proletarian cultural revolution," launched and led by Mao Tse-tung personally, far from having anything to do with either the proletariat or culture, or the revolution, was indeed spearheaded against the proletariat, against culture, against revolution; far from having anything in common with Marxism-Leninism, it was spearheaded against Marxism-Leninism; far from resembling in any way the policy of a Communist Party and a socialist sttae, it was spearheaded against the Communist Party and socialism. The entire course of subsequent events has increasingly demonstrated the absolute correctness of such an appraisal.

In his speech on September 7, 1967, at a brotherhood meeting in Budapest* Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, noted: "What has been named the 'cultural revolution' by the Mao Tse-tung group would be more correct to call counter-revolution."

Making use of the military power he usurped in the Party and the difficult international situation during the early period of the Hitlerite attack on the Soviet Union, Mao Tse-tung began the so-called "campaign to rectify style," which formally was called the "campaign to rectify three styles" (that is, the Party style, style of education and literary style); actually it was a campaign of "four antis" (that is, anti-Leninist, anti-Comintern, anti-Soviet and anti-Party).

In preparing it and in the course of conducting it, Mao Tse-tung himself repeatedly said that by carrying out the campaign he wanted to achieve three aims: 1) to replace Leninism by Maoism; 2) to write the history of the Chinese Communist Party as the history of Mao Tse-tung alone; 3) to elevate the personality of Mao Tse-tung above the Central Committee and the entire Party. Why did he have to do it? He himself replied: this would give him two opportunities: first, to capture the chief leading place in the Party leadership and all power in the Party in his own hands; second, if he already has taken the first place in the Party leadership, no one should ever be able to oust him.

To achieve these ends he did the following in this campaign: (1) he declared Leninism to be Russian suitable only for leading the Russian revolution and unsuitable for leading the world and the Chinese revolution; (2) declared that the leadership and assistance of the Communist International to the CPC was entirely wrong; (3) declared that the all-round support given by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet Union to the Communist Party of China and to the Chinese Revolution was not only "invalid" and "ineffective" but even "harmful"; (4) accus-

*See Information Bulletin, No. 106(18) 1967.

ed the entire Party of "non-recognition of Maoism" and of "loyalty to Leninism and the Communist International" and of "adherence to the CPSU (B) and the Soviet Union."

And who was to blame for all this? Tao Tse-tung held that the blame lay with all the leaders and important cadres of the Party who had studied in the Soviet Union and spread the influence of Leninism, the Comintern, the CPSU (B) and the Soviet Union in China.

He placed all the Communists who had studied in the Soviet Union or engaged in ideological and political work and also those who socially originated from the intelligentsia into the so-called "pro-Soviet and dogmatic Wang Ming grouping. All the Communists who engaged in practical work or who were of working-class and peasant social origin he placed into the so-called "empiristic grouping." At the same time he declared that the empiristic grouping was a "captive and assistant" of the dogmatic grouping.

Moreover, Mao Tse-tung held that in order to write the history of the CPC as the history of Mao Tse-tung alone it was necessary not only not to recognize the services of Leninism, the Comintern, the CPSU (B) and the Soviet Union in the history of the CPC and the Chinese Revolution. It was necessary to deny that any leader, any Party functionary or member had rendered any service to the CPC and the Chinese revolution.

After the Seventh Congress and until the so-called cultural revolution, for more than 20 years, Mao Tse-tung constantly conducted campaigns under different names. But their chief content, chief aims, chief methods and chief objects of attack in the main were the same as in the first "campaign to rectify style" of 1942-45.

The first "campaign to rectify style" was a rehearsal of the so-called cultural revolution. The various campaigns which followed it, were to one or another extent direct preparatory measures for the "cultural revolution."

In the course of the "cultural revolution" Mao Tse-tung issued so-called "latest instructions" such as "we must fight egoism and criticize revisionism," "combat clannishness" and so forth as the main trend in continuing the "cultural revolution" in an attempt to reduce the steadily mounting discord and split within the Maoist group and, in particular, among the hungweipings and tsaofans; to charge cadres of Party, administration, military and mass organizations of all levels who oppose Mao Tse-tung with "revisionism" and also "egoism" in order to have an additional pretext for slighting or persecuting them; to use the bugbear "egoism" against non-Party workers, peasants and intellectuals inasmuch as in their case it was more convenient than the bugbear "revisionism." But the main thing was that he aimed to use these slogans to mask what for the entire nation were the increasingly evident ugly features of the

counter-revolutionary military coup, which he was accomplishing for the sake of his own extremely egoistic, careerist interests and those of his wife and other members of his group.

Therefore, despite the fanfare surrounding the publication of these slogans, he failed to stimulate the lauded "great unity of the whole country" or the notorious "unity of the three sides" and he failed to reduce the split and conflicts among the hungweipings and tsaofans. All he did was to increase the split and the bickering among the forces forming his immediate mainstay; moreover, all he achieved was that those in whom political consciousness, Party conscience and a sense of justice still live are rising against Mao Tse-tung and his group, who are committing any crime for the sake of their egoistic interests.

The so-called "Group for Cultural Revolution Affairs of the CC CPC" consisted of 17 persons handpicked by Mao Tse-tung. Twelve of them have been subjected to repression, and only five are left. Even people like Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Mu Hsin and Ling Chieh, who had displayed exceptional zeal in the "cultural revolution," found themselves in disfavor, and today one after another they are declared to be "counter-revolutionary black bandits" who have opposed the "thought" of Mao Tse-tung, the "Group for Cultural Revolution Affairs" and Chiang Ching.

These facts best of all bear out the aforesaid.

No matter what cunning Mao Tse-tung and his group resort to in their demagogy and no matter what masks they put on, whether it be the "cultural revolution," Marxist-Leninist "Leftist" verbiage, the slogan "struggle for power of two groups" or any other new screen which they may yet conjure up, they cannot hide the truth about their anti-Communist, anti-popular counter-revolutionary military coup. The ten crimes committed by their hands are ten indictments which they themselves have inscribed.

## FIVE MAJOR CRIMES COMMITTED BY MAO TSE-TUNG IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

1. *His frenzied attacks against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.*

He organized a siege of the embassies and other diplomatic offices of the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Mongolia in China, insulted the leaders of these countries and caused the manhandling and baiting of diplomats and members of their families. Like the Pieyan warlords and Chiang Kai-shek he in effect does not recognize the Mongolian People's Republic as an independent state, openly threatens its sovereignty and lays claim to its territory. He persists in his frenzied opposition to joint action with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in

the rendering of assistance to the Vietnamese people in order to repulse United States aggression, and seeks to undermine the Vietnamese people's bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, thereby encouraging U.S. imperialism to keep escalating the war of aggression in Vietnam. He spreads slanderous rumors, insulting and undermining the prestige of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, thereby encouraging provocations against the KPDR by aggressive United States troops and the South Korean puppets. Besides bringing trade and economic pressure to bear on Cuba after the manner of the U.S. imperialists, he engages in subversive activities against the Communist Party and revolutionary Government of Cuba. He openly proclaims his intention of "demolishing" the USSR and other socialist countries, constantly fans anti-Soviet hysteria in China and fosters hostility to the Soviet Union.

Mao Tse-tung savagely attacks the CPSU and the Soviet Union because the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded and reared by Lenin, has the longest history, the most extensive experience, the most imposing achievements and the greatest prestige, because the great Land of Soviets, created by Lenin and embodying Marxism-Leninism, is the world's first socialist country with the longest history, the most impressive achievements and the greatest might, because led by the CPSU the Soviet Union is indeed the mightiest and most reliable mainstay of the world revolution and of world peace, that it is indeed the most enduring and consistent revolutionary bastion of the struggle against imperialist cliques and reactionaries of all the capitalist countries headed by the USA.

Mao Tse-tung has turned frenzied anti-Sovietism into his banner of struggle against Marxism-Leninism, against the Communist and Workers' Parties, against socialism and communism, against the world revolution and peace in order to gain the approval and understanding of the imperialist clique headed by the USA and to obtain the possibility of collaborating with it.

Another reason for the violence of his attacks on the Soviet Union and the CPSU is that the Great October Revolution has witnessed its 50th anniversary. The Great October Socialist Revolution and its brilliant achievements in the building of socialism and communism over the past 50 years have opened the vista of a bright future for all mankind. This is the greatest force inspiring the working class and all other working people throughout the world. It is the greatest force inspiring the CPC and the Chinese people, who are at present afflicted by a great tragedy.

Through furious anti-Soviet campaigns Mao Tse-tung seeks to rupture the long-established, traditional friendship and fraternal relations between the Communist Parties and peoples of China and the Soviet Union. He is beset by a harrowing fear that the Chinese

Communists and the Chinese people will learn of the immense achievements which the Soviet people, led by the CPSU, have attained in the course of the fulfilment of the new Party Program and the decisions of the 23rd CPSU Congress, in the building of communism, in the struggle for world peace and in rendering support to the Communist and working-class movement in different countries and to the national liberation and social-progressive movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

He is exceedingly afraid that the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people will learn that the material and cultural life of the Soviet people is steadily improving, that they are gradually moving from the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" to the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," in other words, that they are moving towards a prosperous and happy life under communism.

Mao Tse-tung is extremely afraid that if the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people learn the truth in all these questions they will see more clearly the gross absurdity and perniciousness of the so-called "thought of Mao Tse-tung" and of his policies. They will then inevitably and unanimously demand that China take the correct Marxist-Leninist road of socialist construction and of the struggle for peace, which has been followed by the Soviet Union. After appreciating all this they will rise with greater determination, on a larger scale, in a more organized manner and in greater unity against Mao Tse-tung and his "thought," against the counter-revolutionary coup of Mao Tse-tung and his group. That is precisely why anti-Sovietism has become the focal point of Mao Tse-tung's foreign policy and the core of his policy at home.

The armed provocative attack of the Mao Tse-tung clique on Soviet frontier guards of March 2 on Soviet territory on Damansky Island in the Ussuri river and in this connection the new anti-Soviet racket in China and abroad accompanied by outrageous territorial claims against the USSR are not accidental events. Internally, they represent an attempt by Mao Tse-tung to distract the attention of the Chinese people from the incredible and growing difficulties of a political and economic character arising out of the consequence of the so-called "cultural revolution," as well as the preparation for the carrying through of the so-called "Congress of the CPC" in an atmosphere of exceptional anti-Soviet, anti-communist hysteria.

Externally, this armed provocation and anti-Soviet propaganda ballyhoo represents an act of assistance to the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist sorties of the ruling circles of the USA and of the German Federal Republic, in particular in regards to the Bonn venture to carry through presidential elections in West Berlin of March 5 and even more so serves as an encouragement to the revanchist claims of Bonn to reshape the map of Europe. It also represents an

attempt to interfere with the International Conference of Communist and workers parties which aims to achieve the strengthening of the unity of the world Communist and workers' movement and the unity of action of all anti-imperialist forces.

Simultaneously these facts clearly show the absurd, shameful, adventurist and dangerous point reached by the anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism of Mao Tse-tung.

2. *He venomously attacks the Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' parties of all countries.*

He goes to extremes to intensify his splitting and subversive activities against the overwhelming majority of the militant contingents of Communists in different countries, organizes a fifth column to combat Communist and Workers' parties, openly slanders them, calling them "counter-revolutionary revisionist" parties, and publicly proclaims his intention of "destroying" them. He has slandered the Karlovy Vary Conference which was attended by representatives of 24 Communist and Workers' parties, calling it a "conference of scabs and traitors," and he has called the leaders of each of these parties "a handful of traitors and scabs." The Budapest Consultative Meeting, attended by representatives of 66 Communist and Workers' parties, has been named by him "the Budapest farce," while the parties which attended it have been called a "handful of traitors and scabs."

In Western Europe he concentrates his attacks mainly on the largest and most influential Communist parties. He not only maliciously attacks Comrade Waldeck Rochet and other leaders of the French Communist Party but also slanders the late Maurice Thorez, the great fighter for communism. He not only maliciously attacks Comrade Luigi Longo and other members of the Italian Communist Party but also slanders the late Palmiro Togliatti, who was another great fighter for communism.

At the same time he fiendishly attacks the heroic Communist Party of Spain and its glorious leader Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, a party which is in the forefront of the struggle against fascism. He intensifies subversion and splitting activities against the Communist parties of the USA, Canada and Latin America as well as against the Communist parties of the Arab countries. He makes a special effort to split and undermine the Communist movement in Asian countries neighboring on China. The Communist Party of Indonesia which came under the influence of Mao Tse-tung's "Leftist" and reactionary ideas, suffered a tragic defeat as a result of which millions of Communists and non-Party workers, peasants and intellectuals suffered horribly. Mao Tse-tung drew no lesson whatever from this. Instead, he imputed the blame to the leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia, who died heroically.

He ceaselessly engages in splitting and subversive activities

against the Communist parties of India and Ceylon, causing enormous difficulties in their work. In the case of the Communist Party of Japan, which urged Mao Tse-tung to create a united front of struggle against U.S. imperialism and came out against the Maoist anti-Soviet "united front," he did not confine himself to open slander and splitting and subversive activities. He organized Chinese residents in Japan into hungweiping gangs in order to manhandle Japanese Communists and attack and destroy the building housing the Society for Japanese-Chinese Friendship; he bribes hooligans and Trotskyite elements to attack offices of the Japanese Communist Party. In Peking, acting on his instructions, hungweipings beat up and seriously injured alternate member of the Presidium of the CC CPJ Itiro Sunama, correspondents of the CPJ newspaper, as well as Japanese students. Moreover, he openly proclaims his intention to "demolish" the CPJ and calls for the liquidation of top leaders of the CPJ, Comrades Sandzo Nosaka and Kendzi Miyamoto.

Thus, Mao Tse-tung mouths "Leftist" verbiage about a "world revolution" but in fact engages in splitting and subversive activities with the object of "demolishing" the foremost contingents heading the revolutionary movement in different countries; he speaks of a "struggle against the imperialist clique and reactionaries of all countries headed by the USA," but does exactly what the U.S. imperialists and all reactionaries want but cannot do.

A striking example in this respect is his attitude towards the developments in Czechoslovakia. He and his group level dirty slander and fabrications at the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as against the healthy forces in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and among the Czechoslovak people, thereby directly and openly adding grist to the mill of U.S. and West German imperialism and of the counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist forces within Czechoslovakia.

3. *He plans to split and undermine the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, pursuing a policy of openly pressuring the developing countries of Asia and Africa.*

He does his utmost to split and undermine the Afro-Asian unity movement and the movement for solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the joint struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. He is, in fact, helping to put into effect the imperialist design of crushing the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America one by one. He makes every effort to undermine the friendship and unity of the national liberation and social-progressive movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as with the international Communist movement, thereby seeking to isolate the national liberation and social-progressive movements in Asia,

Africa and Latin America and deprive them of the all-round assistance of the socialist countries and the international Communist movement. Mao Tse-tung keeps talking about support and assistance for the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but no sooner does U.S. imperialism undertake aggression against any Asian, African or Latin American country than he, in effect, sides with U.S. imperialism.

When Vietnam was made the target of armed aggression by U.S. imperialism, instead of taking joint action with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to help the Vietnamese people repulse this aggressor, Mao Tse-tung directed his efforts towards slander and provoking a rupture of the Vietnames people's friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in order to isolate the Vietnamese. Similarly, in 1962 when Cuba was confronted with armed aggression by U.S. imperialism, instead of taking joint steps with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to defend the Cuban revolution, Mao Tse-tung concentrated on slander and on provoking a severance of the Cuban people's friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in an effort to force Cuba into isolation and thereby help U.S. imperialism to smash her.

When the Arab states were subjected to U.S. imperialist stage-managed Israeli aggression, instead of taking joint steps with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to help the Arab states, Mao Tse-tung directed his efforts towards slander and provoking the breaking off of the Arab countries' friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in order to isolate them and thereby facilitate U.S. and Israeli aggression.

At a time when the vast majority of countries have applied economic sanctions against the South African Republic, which, created by the British imperialists and colonialists, proclaimed barbarous apartheid as its policy at home, Mao Tse-tung acts at one with the U.S. and British imperialists. He has used this opportunity to promote trade with the South African Republic, not only purchasing chromium ore from that racialist Government but selling it armaments and munitions, thereby helping in the repressions against the indigenous population of the South African Republic. In effect, he sides with the white racialists.

During the "cultural revolution" Mao Tse-tung still further intensified his policy of pressure founded on barbarous great-power chauvinism with regard to developing Asian and African countries, which had recently shaken off imperialist rule.

The policy pursued by Mao Tse-tung with regard to developing Asian and African countries is fully in line with the Great-Han "Celestial Empire" policy of the Chinese feudal emperors. Its substance is that a foreign state must become either a vassal of the "Celestial Empire" or its enemy. Having become the victims of Mao

Tse-tung's insults, the Asian and African countries have replied to him by word and action that they have no desire to be vassals of Mao Tse-tung.

4. *He plans to provoke a U.S.-Soviet and world war.*

At the Moscow International Meeting in 1957 he openly pressured for a nuclear war which would destroy about one-third to half of mankind. In documents attacking the world Communist movement, published in April 1960, he continued to call for a nuclear war, which could destroy the entire world. He constantly shouts that the "atomic bomb is a paper tiger," that the "hydrgen bomb is a paper tiger," that atomic and thermonuclear war is not "terrible at all."

The purpose of all this is to demoralize the world anti-war movement and instigate a world war. He constantly comes out against any action taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the international stage to relax international tension, avert a world war and secure peaceful co-existence and peaceful conditions for the building of communism and socialism. His objective is to undermine world peace. He slanderously accuses the leadership of the Soviet Union of "modern revisionism," of "capitulating to U.S. imperialism," of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration in order to rule the world together." The motive underlying these accusations is that in upholding the interests of the Soviet people and of all mankind, the leadership of the Soviet Union does not accept his mad proposals for the unleashing of a U.S.-Soviet and world war.

The main reason for Mao Tse-tung's constant displeasure with the U.S. rulers is that, being aware that by starting a thermonuclear war against the USSR they would be signing their own death warrant, they do not dare to begin a thermonuclear war against the USSR. Therefore, while the presidential campaign in the USA was under way in 1964, Mao Tse-tung openly called upon the American people to vote for the leader of the "hawks," Goldwater, who shamelessly urged war against the USSR, a world war. Inasmuch as Mao Tse-tung's plan to provoke a U.S.-Soviet thermonuclear war cannot be realized to this day, he has turned his hopes on some local war growing into a U.S.-Soviet and world war.

For that reason he welcomes the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam and wants it to continue as long as possible and to acquire the largest possible scale. He welcomed the frontier conflict between India and Pakistan and opposed the agreement on the cessation of hostilities and a peaceful settlement of the differences between the two countries. For that reason he came out against the Tashkent talks and the agreement that was signed there. He welcomed Israel's war of aggression against the Arab states, a war inspired by U.S. imperialism, and was opposed to a halt of the Israeli forces and a ceasefire as preliminary steps towards abolishing the consequences of the aggression and restoring peace in the Middle East.

He has frankly stated that one of the aims of the so-called cultural revolution is preparation for an international war and that one of the aims of the hungweiping movement is likewise preparation for an international war. What is this international war for which Mao Tse-tung is preparing? Were he preparing for a war against imperialism he would never have started a counter-revolutionary military coup, which was internally directed against the Communist Party and the people and externally against the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement, as a means of preparing for war. On the contrary, considering that he regards the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, anti-popular counter-revolutionary coup as a preparation for an international war, it is clear that his entire activity not only does not foreshadow some sort of international war against U.S. imperialism, but, on the contrary, is designed to promote the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist plans of the U.S. imperialists and to curry favor with them with expressions of loyalty.

In recent years he has been extending a hand of friendship to the neo-Nazi and militarist ruling circles in West Germany. In the sphere of commercial and economic relations with China, the FRG has already surpassed Britain and France and now holds first place among the European countries. The West German government is cooperating with Mao Tse-tung in the armaments field and is sending specialists to help him expand the war industry, particularly the production of nuclear weapons and rockets. According to reports from different sources, Mao Tse-tung and Bonn are intending to establish closer political ties. It is common knowledge that cooperation between Mao Tse-tung and Bonn rests on anti-Sovietism, anti-Communism, disruption of peace in Europe and Asia and incitement to war.

Hence it is vital that the Chinese people and peace supporters in all countries should keep a vigilant eye on Mao Tse-tung's intrigues. In the current situation when he is beset by increasing difficulties and has to face ever gloomier prospects, Mao Tse-tung, spurred on by his extreme selfishness and extreme nationalistic fanaticism, can really plunge China into a reactionary and adventuristic international war.

Why is Mao Tse-tung so impatient to provoke a U.S.-Soviet and world war? Because he views it as a means of attaining his extreme individualistic and selfish aims. He believes that if he would succeed in provoking a U.S.-Soviet and world war, he would not only attain his goal of "killing two birds with one stone," but would also see his dream of "winning twice on one stake" come true. What he means by "killing two birds with one stone" is that he wants a war in which while destroying the USSR and the international Communist movement, both deeply hated by him, the USA would also be destroyed together with other states whom he deeply envies for

having a higher level of economic and scientific development. His dream of "winning twice on one stake," if it were to come true, would permit him to spend the remainder of his years enjoying the longed-for life of a sovereign and ruler of that part of China's territory where, according to his imagination, "there would still be people," while at the same time he would make an attempt to realize his age old dream of becoming the "master of the world" and instituting hs rule over it on the ruins left in the wake of a world thermonuclear war.

5. *In the economic sphere he is severing all ties with the world socialist system and transferring them to the capitalist camp.*

This, above all, is clearly seen in the changes that have taken place in China's foreign trade. In 1950, right after the country's liberation, China's foreign trade still bore the old semi-colonial features: 74 per cent was with the capitalist countries of which 50 per cent fell to the share of the imperialist states, while the share of the socialist countries and the USSR was 26 and 23 per cent respectively. By 1959, China's foreign trade had undergone radical changes: all foreign commerce with capitalist countries dropped to 32 per cent of which the imperialist states accounted for 23 per cent, at the same time trade with socialist countries went up to 68 per cent including 60 per cent with the USSR. Here we have a clear manifestation of the distinguishing feature of the foreign trade of a socialist country. But by 1967, the situation in China's foreign trade became even worse than in 1950: commerce with the non-socialist countries went up to 80 percent including 57 per cent with imperialist states, while trade with socialist countries fell to 20 per cent of which only 7 per cent was with the USSR. Today China's chief trading partners are not only Britain and the cauntries of the British Commonwealth — Canada, New Zealand and Australia — not only Japan and West Germany, but also the USA which Mao Tse-tung daily showers with invectives and curses but with which he has established economic ties through Hong-Kong. Thus, in the sphere of foreign economic relations China has once again become dependent on imperialism.

In the beginning of the 1960s, preparing to curtail economic ties with socialist countries Mao Tse-tung launched intensive propaganda of such thoughts as "reliance on one's own forces" and "rejection of outside assistance." Today facts show that they were a pretext for severing foreign economic ties with the world socialist system and going over to the capitalist camp. He views as necessary economic cooperation with the capitalist world as part of his platform of "reliance on one's own forces," and economic ties with the world socialist system as unnecessary "outside assistance." All this is striking indication of the fact that in the sphere of foreign policy,

just as in the sphere of domestic policy, Mao Tse-tung has taken the road of political and economic rapprochement with the bourgeoisie directed against the proletariat and the working people, that he is supporting capitalism and is against socialism.

The crimes of Mao Tse-tung and his group in international affairs just as in China's internal affairs, merely play into the hands of imperialist circles and reactionaries in all countries headed by the USA. Therefore they have been welcomed in imperialist countries with unfeigned pleasure.

No matter how Mao Tse-tung and his group shift and dodge and no matter what screen they set up around themselves—whether it be the slogan of "struggle against modern revisionism" or the slogans "spur the world revolution" and "support the national liberation movement," and no matter what double-dealing they engage in under the mask of "we are against the USSR and against the USA" in order to camouflage their anti-Sovietism and their make-believe struggle against U.S. imperialism, no matter what old and new intrigues they may employ to conceal their activity—they cannot cover up the real character of their anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and man-hating crimes in international affairs. The five crimes they have committed, are five indictments writen with their own hand.

*Inasmuch as such 10 major crimes inside the country and five major crimes in international affairs were perpetrated on the initiative, under the personal supervision and on instructions of Mao Tse-tung, he has become not only an enemy of the Communist Party of China but also the common enemy of the international Communist movement. He has become not only the enemy of the Chinese people, but the common enemy of the entire progressive and peace-loving humanity.*

*Mao Tse-tung spares no effort to commit every kind of infamy chiefly for the sake of achieving his extremely egoistic goals, namely while he lives he wants to preserve his unlimited imperial rule in China and to prevent anyone from overthrowing his power. And when he leaves this world nobody will be able to make him pay for the terrible crimes he committed during his lifetime. Yet facts shows that his intentions are not destined to materialize and that everything will be totally unlike his expectations.*

*Mao Tse-tung is aware of his real position and realizes the dangers arising from his hostility towards the Communist Party of China and the international Communist movement, towards the whole Chinese nation and all progressive and peace-loving mankind. He can be likened to a coward who is walking in a cemetery at night and trying to dispel his fright by whistling. He requires a daily dose of sedatives. And so on his instructions Chinese newspaper editors daily give a great deal of space to articles describing how the Chang's, Wan's, Li's and Chao's throughout their country "dearly*

*love Chairman Mao," how they are "devoted to Chairman Mao" and wish him "long, long years."*

*They also publish other stereotype eulogies, which can only evoke a feeling of disgust and loathing. This is supplemented by false reports allegedly coming from abroad that in all countries citizens A, B, C, D, etc., "dearly love Mao Tse-tung," that they are "devoted to Mao Tse-tung" and his "thought" and that they wish him "innumerable years of life." All this is just as shameless and absurd as his personal deification as the "sun," or the all-seeing and omnipotent "living god." All this is just as comical and ridiculous as his claims that this "thoughts" are a talisman capable of "miraculously and immediately transforming any wish into reality," and that his "Three Old Articles," "Book of Quotations" and "Selected Works," are a "Magic Encyclopedia" or "sacred books." All this is by no means a sign of his strength, but of his extreme weakness. It shows the morbid fear and desperation of a person held in a vice of difficulties at home and abroad, of a man abandoned by his near ones and associates, a man who in solitude faces a dismal future.*

*No matter what Mao Tse-tung invents or does to elevate or praise himself, to deceive or soothe himself, historical facts prove that only one destiny awaits a man such as Mao Tse-tung is today, and that destiny is inevitable defeat, which neither charlatanism, incantations, demagogy, slander, nor resort to killings, arson "rebellions," "capture of power" or other like methods can avert. Such is the irrevocable law of historical development. And such will be the inevitable end of Mao Tse-tung, of his "thought" and of his policy.*

*Why has Mao Tse-tung fallen so low? It is by no means an unexpected phenomenon but the inevitable outcome of the natural evolution of the thought and policy of Mao Tse-tung over the decades. All this has its ideological and theoretical as well as historical and social roots. But these questions have to be studied separately.*

# PROVOCATIONS ON DAMANSKY ISLAND

## ISRAEL

### AGGRAVATION OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS*

The Central Committee views with anxiety the bloody encounter on the Sino-Soviet border, an incident which is the fruit of the nationalist, divisive and anti-Soviet policies of the leaders of People's China. The incident has brought about the aggravation of Sino-Soviet relations, to the joy of imperialism and to the sorrow of all communists and of all progressive people in the world.

The policy of the leaders of People's China gravely harms the great Chinese people, the Communist Party of China, the international communist movement and the general cause of peace, national independence and socialism, the struggle of the peoples against imperialism.

The Central Committee condemns the adventurist road followed by the leaders of People's China and wishes the Communist Party of China, the possessor of a glorious past, again to follow the path of unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement, the path of Sino-Soviet friendship.

The Central Committee expresses its solidarity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which despite the provocation against it on part of the leaders of People's China, manifests restraints and supreme concern for the unity of the international communist movement.

*Resolution of the CC, CP of Israel March 7-8, 1969. Information Bulletin, Communist Party of Israel, February 19, 1969.

## USA

### MAO'S BORDER VENTURE*

The impelling factors in last Sunday's attack on Soviet territory by Chinese military forces were both internal and international.

Domestically, the Mao Tse-tung ruling group in China is preparing for the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in May, which is expected to adopt a new constitution which will tighten dictatorial control over the Chinese people, assert China's leadership of world Communism, call for war "to overthrow . . . modern revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique." The

new constitution omits any reference to planning to improve the economic conditions of the Chinese people.

This constitution is supposed to initiate a program to perpetuate Maoism 10,000 years. The Peking Journal, Kwang-ming Jih Pao, asserted last week:

"Chairman Mao's new 10,000-year plan will prevent revisionism and will rear true successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause."

But "Mao's new 10,000-year plan" is in itself a confession of the vast dissension and discontent engendered in China with the unleashing of the urban student Red Guards to destroy the Communist Party and make permanent the Mao dictatorship. Having lost control of the Red Guards, and fearing their continued presence in Peking and other cities, the Mao ruling group is now proceeding with the forced permanent migration of the urban students to the countryside, where they are supposed to become a part of the rural population.

But the scores of millions of urban student Red Guards, double-crossed by the Maoists, are not rushing "heroically" to the countryside. They are resisting this forced integration with the peasants. They do not want to live under the backward conditions forced upon the peasants by the Maoist policies. They want to complete their education and move on to careers in the cities.

Nor do the peasants want this forced integration of the urban students. It has only added to their burdens. The students make poor agricultural workers. They create more crowded housing conditions. And they add to the already acute rural food problem.

It is, therefore, necessary for the Mao ruling group to divert the peasants and the urban students from struggle to block this forced integration. That is the objective of the provocative action by Chinese military forces against Soviet territory by whipping up national chauvinism.

Internationally, the aim of this Chinese military provocation is to weaken the Soviet Union's position in world affairs, to foment dissension at the world conference of Communist Parties scheduled for May and to encourage the anti-Soviet, anti-socialist malcontents in eastern Europe.

The world is faced today with a crisis in the Middle East, the need for halting the arms race, heightened tension over West Berlin, the urgency of peace in Vietnam. A strong Soviet position is essential to the solution of these critical problems in favor of the peoples of the world.

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*Daily World, March 8, 1969.

# INDIA

## ARMED ANTI-SOVIET PROVOCATION*

Anti-Sovietism has long become a main plank in Peking's ideological exercises and statecraft under the Maoist leadership. We are only too familiar with the anti-Soviet frenzy and provocations that perenially flow from the "Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung." The latest armed provocation by the Chinese forces on March 2 against the Soviet border guards in the Ussuri river region is only another instance.

Peking has however come out with a thundering accusation against the Soviet Union and sought to cover its provocative action by calling it an "extremely grave border armed conflict."

We have had enough experience of Peking's adventurism and propaganda to straightaway reject the Chinese version of the border incident. No one can beat Peking Radio in making black white and white black. As for the Soviet behavior in international affairs, and especially in its relation with the socialist countries including the People's Republic of China, the Party and the Government of the Soviet Union have always been displaying commendable restraint and tolerance. In fact, the entire Soviet policy, whether in foreign affairs or in regard to the international communist movement, is one of strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces. This is exactly what Peking, on the other hand, is systematically assailing and undermining.

It is a great tragedy that the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people should have been subjected to such anti-Soviet and disruptive provocations that greatly harm not only the larger cause of the international working class movement but also that of the Chinese people themselves.

In so far as the internal situation of the Chinese People's Republic is concerned, the only silver lining is that more and more Communists and working people are beginning to rise, though in extremely difficult conditions, against the present Maoist leadership which has substituted big nation chauvinism for Marxism-Leninism. In a situation like this it is the bounden duty of all Communists, loyal to our great cause, to raise their voice in protest against the line pursued by the Peking leadership as well as its provocative actions like the one committed on the Manchurian border. The powerful voice of the international communist movement cannot be long shut out from the Chinese Communists and working people.

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*Abridged from **New Age**, March 9, 1969.

# FINLAND

## STATEMENT* BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU, COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

The Communist Party of Finland has repeatedly stated that the policy and conduct of the leading group of the Communist Party of China are taking forms increasingly foreign to socialism and contradicting the common goals of the Communist movement.

Continuous attacks on the CPSU and other fraternal parties, the latest border conflict and the putting of territorial claims to the Soviet Union bear out the estimation that the policy being followed by the Chinese leadership is dangerous and harmful and runs counter to the fundamental interests of the Chinese people. It is a policy which helps the imperialist forces and weakens the fight against imperialism.

This is particularly dangerous at a time when imperialism persists in acts of aggression in various parts of the globe and when united action by all anti-imperialist, anti-militarist and democratic forces, primarily in support of the people of Vietnam, is more imperative than ever.

The Communist movement should steadfastly continue its effort to mobilize the anti-imperialist forces. This object can be substantially promoted by the forthcoming international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties.

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*Kansan Uutiset, March 12, 1969.

# MEXICO

## STATEMENT* BY THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CC, MEXICAN CP

It is most regrettable that such incidents should take place between socialist countries, whose very nature rules out all national enmity, let alone armed clashes designed to settle political or ideological differences.

The responsibility for these developments falls on the government of the PRC, as the facts show.

This responsibility is all the greater because the Chinese political leaders, rather than seeking positive solutions to their differences with the Soviet leaders, are fanning anti-Soviet hysteria in an all-out nationalist campaign intended, in all probability, to increase tension between the two great socialist nations.

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*Abridged from La Voz de México, March 13, 1969.

Such conduct cannot but anger democratic and revolutionary opinion throughout the world.

The Mexican Communist Party considers that this trend at a time when the socialist countries should contribute by joint effort to the fight against imperialism and its militarist policies requires, more than ever before, a search for ways of attaining mutual understanding and of preventing such incidents. There must be no policy of hostility or tension between socialist countries. The peoples, who firmly rely on the community of socialist countries in their desire for peace and progress, hope that the road to negotiations will be opened, the only road towards settling differences and conflicts.

Workers of the world, unite!

On behalf of the Presidium of the CC MCP
(signed) *Alejo Méndez*

*Mexico City, March 13, 1969.*

## MONGOLIA

*Unen*, organ of the CC MPRP, writes editorially* that the Mao group is poisoning the Chinese people with the venom of great-power chauvinism and systematically pushing China onto the dangerous road of aggresson against countries of the socialist community.

Noting numerous provocations of the present Chinese leadership against China's neighbors, the newspaper stresses that the aggressive aspirations of the Mao group should be regarded in close conjunction with the grievous economic situation in China itself. It is not accidental that the armed provocations of the Mao group against the Soviet Union have taken place at a time when the Communist and Workers' parties are preparing for the forthcoming Moscow Conference of Communists.

Condemning the slanderous campaign and anti-Soviet hysteria being stoked up by the Maoists in China, *Unen* points out that the Chinese people will be able to save the destiny of their country against the adventuristic actions of the bankrupt Mao group.

No matter what hostile actions the present Chinese leaders may undertake against countries of the socialist community, no matter how hard they may try to deceive Chinese public opinion, sooner or later the Chinese people will see the truth and rise to defend their socialist gains.

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*Novosti Mongolii, March 15, 1969.

# CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## WE AND CHINA*

The Hsinhua news agency reported that anti-Soviet demonstrations in the People's Republic of China involved over 400 million Chinese, or more than half the population of the country, including children and old people. It would be hard to give a more vivid idea of the scale of the mob hysteria against the Soviet Union deliberately fanned in China.

In this campaign—in Hsinhua articles, for example—Czechoslovakia, the Warsaw Treaty and the 21st of August are cited against the "Soviet revisionists." It will be recalled, however, that ever since the sixties Chinese propaganda, in dealing with the CSSR and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, has used hostile language, and ever since January 1968 it has attacked the policy of our Party and the Action Program even more sharply as a new version of "Czechoslovak ultra-revisionism."

That is why today, when Chinese propaganda speaks of the Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, suggesting that China sympathizes with the CSSR, we cannot dissociate this from what was said earlier and find it hard to take those words as sincere. On the contrary, we suspect that an attempt is being made to sow discord between our country and the Soviet Union exclusively in China's own interests, which are alien to us.

However, direct references to Czechoslovakia in Chinese articles are not the only reason why we cannot remain indifferent, "impartial" observers of the Soviet-Chinese border incident or the new upsurge in passions in the PRC. Our position on China began to shape years ago, when we admired the Chinese Communists' heroism during the Great March and the Chinese revolution and when, twenty years ago, we hailed the establishment of the People's Republic of China, a great socialist power in Asia. We still regard the PRC as a fruit of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist revolution. We see it as a component of the socialist community, from which it should not be excluded but from which China *should not exclude itself to begin with,* in particular, by surrounding itself with an impenetrable wall through which it is hard to see the meaning of developments inside the country. It is bad that China should attract worldwide attention by such facts as armed incidents on the border with another great socialist power, territorial claims (which should not exist at all between socialist states) or ideological campaigns against the USSR, the socialist countries and the Communist parties, which Chinese propaganda labels as "revisionist" mainly

*Abridged from **Rudé Pravo,** March 15, 1969.

because they do not recognize the "triumph of the ideas of the great teacher Mao," and hence the "leading role" of the CPC.

In the case of China, the problem of frontiers (with India, Burma, Mongolia—hence not with the Soviet Union alone) is an expression of general political objectives and a form of political pressure designed to solve other problems. It is a kind of methodical component of Chinese foreign policy.

As for the Soviet Union, many foreign observers, too, admit that it does not seek in border incidents a pretext to "avenge" itself on China. In some areas bordering on China, it has established a "no man's land" and does its best to ease tension on the border. Soviet representatives have more than once before demonstrated this to official spokesmen of the PRC. But the latter, considering the Soviet Union "Enemy Number One," have reacted by putting forward maximum demands.

The CSSR and its foreign policy strive for peace and peaceful coexistence (whose five principles—Pancha Shila—were formulated, incidentally, with appreciable PRC cooperation) with countries having different social systems and different ideologies. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia bases its attitude to the PRC and the Chinese people on the principles of internationalism, which is a principle of cooperation of the anti-imperialist forces. As a socialist country and a Communist Party we cannot, therefore, agree to the Chinese shelling of Soviet territory nor to the present campaign in China, because this cannot benefit socialism and progress but rather the enemy, imperialism, against which the PRC mobilizes its people in the same way as the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the Communist parties of the five continents.

## CHILE

### GRAVE CHINESE PROVOCATIONS*

It would be wrong or even absurd and dangerous to imagine that the border incidents, the territorial claims advanced by the Chinese and the latter's threat to "destroy" the Soviet Union concern solely the relations between the two countries.

All this is bound to have a disastrous effect on the struggle for progress, against neo-colonialism and the expansionist aggressiveness of the United States, Britain, Israel, the FRG and the reactionary forces of the world in general.

Over the past nine or ten years there has been evidence of a frantic bid for world hegemony, which has impelled the Chinese leaders to split the Communist movement and try to assume the

*Abridged from El Siglo, March 18, 1969.

leadership of the national liberation movements in the underdeveloped, colonial and dependent countries. Seeing their attempts foiled and being rent by internal political and economic contradictions, the CPC leaders did not hesitate to ally themselves overtly or covertly with certain states which present a serious threat to the socialist camp, as the case of the FRG shows only too clearly. The FRG is a state in which the revival of militarism and fascism has gone a long way, so much so that Bonn tries to ignore the results of World War II and makes no secret of its desire to annex the GDR and parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland.

It is perfectly obvious that the Chinese leaders' hatred for the Soviet Union today is not limited to the first socialist state but extends to other socialist countries, including even the DRV, a victim of aggression, and all Communist parties, with the self-evident exception of Albania.

There is no doubt that the Chinese leaders contribute to the aggravation of critical situations mankind passes through and are intent on paralyzing or nullifying the efforts of the Communist and Workers' parties for unity. Their provocations are unwarranted and lack historical justification. The movement of the peoples cannot be stopped by the adherents of this religious and racial fanaticism which has caused so much damage to human society.

## HUNGARY

### BORDER PROVOCATIONS BY CHINA*

For seven days there were violent anti-Soviet demonstrations outside the Soviet Embassy in Peking. Every day 300 military trucks and buses brought the demonstrators while the leaders supervised, arriving on the spot in big streamlined cars. At the same time public meetings and processions took place all over China during which the *Chinese version* of the Damansky Island incident of March 2 was publicized and the participants recklessly slandered the Soviet Union and the "leading Soviet clique of renegades and revisionists and its satellites." For ten days after March 2, when a treacherous attack resulted in the killing of thirty-one Soviet frontier guards and the mutilation of their bodies, the men behind it all marched 400 million Chinese to meetings of "protest against the treacherous Soviet attack."

The only object of the provocation on the Ussuri was to break the internal opposition: by fomenting chauvinism, the Mao group is trying further to change the situation in its favor. Peking will evidently continue and step up its disruptive activity in the inter-

*Abridged from **Nepszabadsag**, March 16, 1969.

national working-class movement. It would like to sow distrust towards the CPSU, something which squares with the effort to foil the convening of the international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. The new foul provocations, of which the March 15 provocation brought on more deaths, fully revealed *the Chinese leaders' desire methodically to undermine state relations between China and the Soviet Union.* Violations of the border, armed attacks planned beforehand, and senseless killing have become an everyday practice of the Peking leaders.

These crying infamies are planned and directed by men who loudly call themselves "proletarian leaders" and spokesmen of communism. What they are doing has nothing in common with the cause of the proletariat, with communism or the real interests of the peoples of China. Every fair-minded person, everyone who is truly loyal to communism, dissociates himself from these infamous acts, sorrows over the victims of the treacherous attacks and fully identifies himself with the Soviet Union, on whose side are law and justice, a clear conscience and a sense of responsibility.

## BULGARIA

### THE PROVOCATEURS ARE ASSUMING GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY*

The criminal armed provocation launched by the Chinese authorities against the Soviet Union on Damansky Island on March 2, 1969, aroused anger both in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in the world. All fair-minded people emphatically condemned the perpetrators of the unwarranted, wanton attack, which serves the dirty aims of the top Maoist group in Peking and, indeed, is of considerable benefit to the more aggressive forces of imperialism.

The purpose of the Maoists' criminal moves and the anti-Soviet hysteria they have been fanning in recent weeks is to efface from the working people's minds friendly feelings for the Soviet Union, which rendered China tremendous assistance in the most trying period of the Chinese people's fight for liberation and in the early years of socialist development. Besides, the piratical attacks on Soviet territory are aimed at diverting the Chinese people's attention from miscarriages in the home policy and the dire consequences of the notorious "cultural revolution."

The unlawful, perfectly groundless territorial claims to the Soviet Union are the most striking proof of the great-power chauvinist mania of Peking spearheaded against the world's first socialist state, the strongest bulwark of socialism and peace.

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Abridged from Rabotnichesko Delo, March 16, 1969.

The current criminal acts of the Mao clique are a real boon to the worst enemies of socialism and peace. This clique is joining them in a common anti-Soviet front, ranging itself alongside the Pentagon aggres ors, the Bonn revanchists and their like.

The organizers of continuous armed provocations on the Chinese-Soviet border are assuming a most grave responsibility.

History teaches that anyone who ventures to encroach on Soviet territory badly burns his fingers. The Peking provocateurs, whose ventures constitute a very serious betrayal of the interests of their people and the cause of socialism and peace, would do well to ponder this lesson of history.

Our people, consistently loyal to their indestructible friendship with the peoples of the great Soviet Union and thoroughly devoted to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, resolutely condemn the new infamous acts of the Peking adventurers. Now as in the past, we are with our Soviet brothers.

## LEBANON

### STATEMENT* BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Peking leadership continues feverishly to press forward its hostile, anti-Soviet campaign which reveals some objects of the Mao Tse-tung group's organized dangerous provocation.

It shows how low these leaders have sunk in rejecting the principles of proletarian internationalism, the traditional relations between socialist countries and, indeed, the elementary standards of international relations. The Chinese aggression marks a new stage in the Mao group's subversive, conspiratorial activity against the socialist countries, the world Communist movement, the national liberation movement and all progressive forces of the world.

The events of recent years have confirmed that each new anti-Soviet campaign launched by the Peking leadership invariably coincides with a definite stage in the growing imperialist aggression against the socialist countries and the national liberation movement, specifically in Vietnam.

It is now difficult to draw a demarcation line between the intensification of the Mao group's anti-Soviet campaign and the growth of imperialist aggressiveness in the world arena.

At a time when all anti-imperialist forces and the world forces of progress and socialism must act together to resist and repulse imperialist attacks, the Peking leaders are campaigning against the main force of the international anti-imperialist front and the world

*Abridged from **Al Akhbar**, March 16, 1969.

citadel of socialism and liberation.

Nor is it accidental that this new anti-Soviet campaign has been launched when preparations are under way for the international Communist conference in Moscow which is going to discuss the problems of strengthening the unity of the Communist movement and problems of the joint struggle against world imperialism.

The piratical attack on the Soviet border and the anti-Soviet hysteria reflect the Mao group's aims in China itself. This group has been fomenting national fanaticism and anti-Soviet hysteria to divert the Chinese people's attention from the grave economic difficulties engendered by the Peking leadership's policies, by political failure and isolation from the national liberation movement and the progressive forces of the world.

The Mao group's dangerous moves and policies are directed not only against the Soviet Union but against the anti-imperialist forces fighting for freedom, progress and socialism. This is why fair-minded people all over the world deeply resent them. The Lebanese Communists, who in common with their people and all Arab peoples are waging a grim fight against imperialism and the aggression of Israel, that imperialist puppet, join the world forces of progress in condemning the Mao group's criminal activity against the Soviet Union, the chief ally and mainstay of the forces of progress. The Mao group's activity directly helps our chief common enemy, imperialism, in particular U.S. imperialism, and its tool and agent, Israel. No amount of "revolutionary" talk can cover up this reality, which is also evident from the Peking leadership's refusal to fight against imperialism and for its failure to identify itself with the Arab peoples.

The intensification of dangerous actions by the Mao group should give fresh impetus to the process of unification of the revolutionary forces of the world against imperialism, for national liberation, progress and socialism.

*Political Bureau of the CC,*
*Lebanese Communist Party*

## ITALY

### FROM A STATEMENT* BY GIAN CARLO PAJETTA, MEMBER OF THE ICP LEADERSHIP, IN ALEXANDRIA

We cannot and, of course, do not want to, conceal the gravity of what has happened on the Ussuri River . . . Our stern stand with regard to the splitting activities of the leaders of the Communist Party of China and our criticism of their whipping up of polemic

*L'Unita*, March 17, 1969.

and mobilizing the Chinese masses under slogans which incited them against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were dictated by the concern that it could come to ruptures and serious clashes similar to those about which we have learned today.

## POLAND

### THE LOGIC OF FACTS AND RESPONSIBILITY*

The situation created on the Soviet-Chinese border by China's armed provocations against the territorial integrity of the Soviet state must cause deep concern to world opinion and, first of all, to public opinion in the socialist countries. Besides the armed provocations themselves, there are at least four additional factors for this.

First, the PRC authorities ignored the serious warning given by the Soviet Union after the attack on Damansky Island on March 2 last.

Secondly, the armed action by Chinese units during the attack on March 15—the use of guns and mortars—indicates that the Chinese authorities are determined to extend and intensify the provocations.

Thirdly, the armed attacks in the Ussuri River area were not isolated military operations but were part of a politico-psychological campaign aimed at arousing anti-Soviet sentiments among the Chinese people. This is only too obvous from the anti-Soviet demonstrations held in Peking and other Chinese cities, in which literally tens of millons of Chinese took part with official encouragement and for which a vast organizing machinery was used.

The fourth factor is, indeed, a whole set of political issues covering a wide international field. The March 2 provocation was organized three days before the election of the West German President in West Berlin, a move against which the Soviet Union, GDR, Poland and other socialist countries had sharply protested.

After all, it is an axiom confirmed again and again in the past and being borne out now, that conflicts between socialist countries can benefit none but the imperialists. One has only to read the Western press to see how the principal seats of imperialism gloat over the situation on the Sino-Soviet frontier.

The PRC government knows this only too well. It knows that the lack of unity between the socialist countries gives free rein to the imperialist forces, encouraging them to attempt new ventures, and prompts them to step up their policy of war and provo-

*Abridged from **Trybuna Ludu**, March 18, 1969.

cation on all fronts, especially on a front so near geographically to China. The fate of the war in Vietnam would have been different and the American invaders would now be under a qualitatively different pressure if the PRC government had worked for closer unity of the socialist commonwealth rather than doing its utmost to undermine and destroy it. Yet the PRC government has quite deliberately chosen precisely the latter policy and has been implementing it with a thoroughness worthy of a better cause. Armed provocations on the Sino-Soviet border are a component of this policy, one that is particularly likely, by virtue of its character, intensity and timing, to aggravate the situation.

The Soviet Union, proceeding in the interest of the community of socialist countries, has been taking steps to head off clashes. It has been doing so out of the conviction that provocateurs cannot embroil the peoples of the Soviet Union and China.

These are the facts. In accordance with them, the responsibility for the harm done to the international Communist and working-class movement and to peace as a result of the Chinese attacks on the Soviet border must fall on Peking.

## WEST BERLIN

*Die Wahrheit,* organ of the Board of the SUP of West Berlin, writes: "The Chinese military provocations on the Soviet border are a betrayal of socialism and communism. These provocations—it is time to state that clearly—are an act of betrayal against the Soviet Union, the cradle of revolution. Nor can we regard as accidental the fact that Soviet soldiers were attacked at the very time when the Bonn militarists and revenge-seekers were actively utilizing West Berlin for their purposes. . . . The Chinese attacks constitute outright support of Bonn's aggressive policies."

*Neues Deutschland, March 23, 1969.

## DENMARK

### FROM A SPEECH* BY CPD CHAIRMAN KNUD JESPERSEN

What purpose do these events on the Ussuri serve? They serve the reorganization now under way in China, designed to secure for China new relations with West Germany and the United States. This is testified to by the direct and open Chinese provocations.

*Land og Folk, March 18, 1969.

## CEYLON

*Forward,* the Communist weekly of Ceylon, stresses the coincidence of the recent Chinese provocations on the Sino-Soviet border with the West German provocations in West Berlin. The relations between People's China and West Germany, which likewise puts forward territorial claims, have become very close during the last five years. Everyone knows that the U.S. imperialists would never have dared to escalate the war in Vietnam had they not felt certain China would not cooperate with the socialist countries in supporting Vietnam. The people of Vietnam are compelled to pay in blood for the refusal of Mao and other Chinese leaders to cooperate with socialist countries.

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**Neues Deutschland,** March 19, 1969.

## BELGIUM

S. Noudelhole, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, wrote:

"One can only condemn a policy leading to such excesses, as well as the unprecedentedly violent anti-Soviet campaign which the Peking leaders are carrying on. This is the sad culmination of a policy based on renunciation of peaceful coexistence and of the alliance of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces, on rejection of the fundamental ideas of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, on anti-Sovietism and a desire to impose Peking's views and leadership on the world Communist movement. Now, the Belgian Communists have not forgotten how this interference manifested itself in their own party.

"The Chinese rejection of the idea of a common front proposed by the Soviet Union in defense of Vietnam enabled the United States to escalate the war in Vietnam to an extent that would otherwise have been impossible. Today the aggravation of the Soviet-Chinese conflict helps the Americans to overcome the difficulties engendered by the spectacular reverses inflicted on them by the Vietnamese people's heroic fight."

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**Le drapeau rouge,** March 21, 1969.

# SYRIA

## SUSPICIOUS PROVOCATIONS OF THE MAO CLIQUE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION, THE FIRST LAND OF SOCIALISM*

At the beginning of March 1969 the world learned about armed clashes on the Soviet-Chinese border.

Not content with this 1001st incident, with the killing of the wounded and the mutilation of their bodies, the Mao clique resorted to new provocations, staging new border clashes, and inside China it fanned up chauvinism and a hostile campaign against the world's first socialist country.

Every more or less informed person knows that it is by no means a case of borders or "annexed" Chinese territories. Had it been so the Mao clique would have thought first of liberating Taiwan, whose belonging to China is not disputed by anyone and which is ruled by the Americans jointly with their henchmen, Chinese reactionaries, or of liberating Hongkong, this Chinese territory converted by the British into their Far Eastern naval and air base, which the United States uses as a testing ground for military specialists and a springboard against Vietnam and which has been turned by world imperialism into a market for American, British and West German goods and an international exchange for speculation in gold.

It is no secret that these dangerous actions are being undertaken at a moment when, on the one hand, the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism is increasing, its activities aimed at resuming aggression against the DRV are being stepped up and its punitive operations against numerous contingents of the national liberation movement are continuing, and when, on the other hand, the Marxist-Leninist Communist parties headed by the CPSU are striving to overcome difficulties, remove disagreements and unite wth other progressive forces in order to meet and repel this imperialist onslaught, as is evidenced by the work to ensure the success of the Moscow Conference forthcoming in June. Therefore every progressive-minded patriot considers that in the final count the Chinese provocations serve only the plans of U.S. imperialism. This truth cannot be refuted by ultra-revolutionary verbiage, by slogans and phrases.

Every progressive-minded patriot, whether he is a Communist or not, realizes that the purpose of such reckless actions is to create conditions for suppressing peaceable progressive internationalist sentiments within the Chinese working class and the CPC, to cover up the consequences of the Mao clique's failures in the cultural, economic and political fields.

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*Abridged from **Nidal al Shaab**, No. 21, March 1969.

# FRANCE

## STATEMENT* BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU, FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party is seriously concerned about the grave incidents provoked on the Chinese-Soviet frontier.

The Mao group's policy of adventurism, chauvinism and anti-Sovietism, recurrent violations of the frontier, and sustained attacks on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Communist parties greatly prejudice the cause of socialism. Furthermore, the militarization of political and social life in China leads to distortions of communism.

The Chinese leaders' activity at a time when the U.S. imperialists are continuing their aggression against the people of Vietnam and when tensions in the heart of Europe, in the Middle East and elsewhere persist plays into the hands of world reaction and benefits the latter.

This policy contradicts the interests of peace and freedom throughout the world. It conflicts with the 1960 Moscow Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties, among which was the Communist Party of China. It injures world Communist unity.

We are convinced that the CPC, the working class and the whole people of China will in the end find in themselves the forces to enable the People's Republic of China to maintain and extend the gains of socialism and resume a policy in keeping with the principles of proletarian internationalism

The FCP, for its part, will work hard for the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement and all anti-imperialist forces.

*L'Humanité, March 22, 1969.

# GDR

## FROM WALTER ULBRICHT'S SPEECH* AT NATIONAL FRONT CONGRESS

We have been deeply aggrieved by the military provocations of the Mao group, whose action does considerable harm to the cause of peace, socialism and the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples the world over.

If some factors bearing upon the correlation of world forces

*Neues Deutschland, March 23, 1969.

cannot be fully effective in the interests of socialism today, great responsibility for this rests with the Mao group, which pursues a divisive and adventuristic policy. By so doing this group aids U.S. imperialism and West German imperialism is their struggle against socialism, against the liberation of the peoples from imperialist oppression. Regrettably, we cannot regard as accidental the fact that the Chinese military provocations against the Soviet Union reached a climax at a time when the West German imperialists, aided by the United States, carried out in West Berlin their serious provocations against the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union.

## ARGENTINA

### PROVOCATIONS ON DAMANSKY ISLAND ARE A PRETEXT FOR PEKING*

For more than a decade numerous conflicts have been taking place all along the length of the Chinese border. Declaring that "China is striving for world hegemony," the Moscow radio pointed to the circulation of millions of copies of maps of China on which territories belonging to the USSR, Burma, Korea, Vietnam, Mongolia and other countries are presented as Chinese. These maps give an advance notice of the Mao group's expansionist, predatory aims which have of late been assuming a much more serious and threatening character.

The reasons for the Chinese provocations should be sought in the internal situation. The failure of the "big leap" in 1959, the economic regression and disruption in the two years of the "cultural revolution" compel the Chinese leaders again to blame the growing economic difficulties on so-called external enemies, above all those in the Soviet Union and in the community of socialist countries.

But where is the Mao group's policy leading, and whom does it benefit? Nationalism has led it to the proclamation of the notorious "living space" theory. The West German neo-Nazi newspaper *National Zeitung* upholds the Chinese attitude on the basis of precisely that theory. Bonn does not yet dare to openly voice its support of Peking, but there is no doubt that the Chinese provocations objectively fit into the framework of its revanchist strategy.

The Bonn press prints and disseminates Peking's propaganda in the interest of its anti-Soviet campaign, in the course of which it can refer now to "communist sources." The West German magazine *Stern* has called China "a new ally of the FRG."

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*Abridged from **Nuestra Palabra,** March 24, 1969.

The policy of Mao and his group is highly beneficial to revanchism in West Germany and directly aids U.S. imperialism, especially in Vietnam.

## GREAT BRITAIN

### DISRUPTION*

In its comment on President Nixon's announcement about the building of a U.S. anti-ballistic missile system, the New China News Agency said that this is "fresh proof that U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are ganging up against China militarily."

This allegation that the Socialist Soviet Union is in league with the imperialist United States is typical of the wrong, dangerous and disruptive policy of Mao Tse-tung and those associated with him.

For years they have expressed opposition to the Communist principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

But now they have gone beyond the stage where they only use agreements between the Soviet Union and capitalist states as a pretext for belaboring the Soviet Union.

They now actually seize on a U.S. decision directed against both the Soviet Union and China to try to justify their charge of U.S.-Soviet collusion.

This is on a par with their attitude to the clashes on the Sino-Soviet border.

While the immediate cause of dispute is an island in the Ussuri River, the Chinese authorities have raised the question of their right to hundreds of thousands of square miles of Soviet territory, including such cities as Vladivostok and Khabarovsk.

If they have such aims in mind, no wonder that they have refused to come to a peaceful agreement on the existing border between the two countries.

There are territories held by imperialism which are indubitably Chinese—Taiwan (Formosa), Hongkong, Macao. What motive can there be for attempting to arouse far more nationalist hysteria about Soviet territory than about these imperialist-occupied areas?

The concern of Communists everywhere, whatever may be their differences, should be to unite in the common fight against imperialism.

It is this common fight that the Chinese leaders are disrupting, and that is why their policy is condemned by the great majority of Communist Parties.

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*Morning Star, March 18, 1969.

# CANADA

## MAO AND SOCIALISM*

Who does Mao consider as his main enemy? Is it the American imperialists, who not only occupy Chinese territory, but blockade its waters, who have been the implacable foe of the Chinese revolution since its inception? Or is it the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the international Communist movement?

The whole process that has been known euphemistically as the "Sino-Soviet" dispute for years, has caused joy in many alien quarters. The Saigon generals, who have had little to cheer about for a long time, the German revanchists who naturally love any and all divergent pressures on the socialist world, and of course the Americans with their pet vulture Chiang Kai-shek, see the turmoil and internal disruption and foreign policy madness in some cases as a new lease on life and in others as a golden opportunity. A golden opportunity they could not dare dream about when the Chinese people emerged triumphant in 1949.

The invective and slogans that Mao hurls at the Americans are exposed for what they are in the bayonet thrusts against Soviet border patrols, and the menace of Maoism for the whole revolutionary movement is exposed in its actual dimensions.

The provocation on the Soviet-Chinese borders is a logical sequence to the great power, adventurist policy of Maoism. The timing of this provocative action with the equally provocative action by the West German government in Berlin and sharpening tensions in the Middle East is no accident. It is part of a premeditated plan to create a new seat of tension in the east as a background for the coming Party Congress in China. Maoism is purposely fanning the flames of anti-Sovietism to quiet opposition to the disastrous results of the "proletarian cultural revolution."

How far this has gone can be seen in the decision of the Chinese Government to stop the trans-shipment of war materials from the Soviet Union to the Vietnamese people via China. Such acts cannot be reconciled with a socialist state.

Sooner or later the Chinese people will overcome this situation, strengthen solidarity with the socialist camp and the peoples of the world in the struggle against the real enemy of mankind—imperialism.

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*Abridged from **The Canadian Tribune,** March 19, 1969.

# GREECE

## STATEMENT* OF THE CC OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

The armed provocations organized by the group of Mao Tse-tung on the Soviet-Chinese border and the intense anti-Soviet campaign launched by it right after the incidents on the Ussuri are a characteristic manifestation of the adventuristic, anti-Soviet policy this group has been pursuing for a number of years. This policy is doing tremendous harm to the building of socialism and to the world working-class and liberation movement, and rendering difficult the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and all peoples fighting against imperialism, the Greek people included. It encourages the aggressive plans of U.S. imperialism in Western Europe and Southeast Asia, in the Middle East and in other regions of the world, and prejudices the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement.

The recent events clearly show once again what is concealed behind the high-sounding Leftist slogans which the Mao Tse-tung group has been for years proclaiming for the whole world to hear. It should be noted that Chinese troops tried to cross into Soviet territory at a moment when Bonn was organizing provocative elections in West Berlin and when the Israeli aggressive circles, encouraged by the United States, were trying, as they are doing now as well, to rekindle the war in our region.

The CC of the Communist Party of Greece and the working-class of our country, greatly alarmed by the adventuristic actions of the Peking authorities, strongly condemn these actions.

We believe that the Chinese people, the healthy forces in the CPC, will be able to overcome the current crisis, safeguard and develop the socialist gains in China, and rejoin the world Communist family.

The Communist Party of Greece will devote, as it has always done in the past, all its forces to the cause of the world Communist movement, to the cause of unity of all anti-imperialist forces.

*A Voice of Truth broadcast, March 28, 1969.

# URUGUAY

## "EL POPULAR" EDITORIAL*

No one can underestimate the significance of border conflicts, of their alarming possible perspective, especially in connection with

*El Popular, March 28, 1969.

many other aspects of the policy which the Chinese leaders have been long pursuing both on the domestic and above all international plane. In undertaking such acts the Chinese leaders are objectively turning into a negative factor in the development of unity of the Communist movement, into potential and perhaps effective allies of the policy of imperialism and its global strategy of world domination.

The events on Damansky Island are not accidental; they are connected with the frankly anti-Soviet policy and with the situation in the PRC, whose revolutionary gains have been prejudiced by the leaders of the country.

As a result of the replacement of Marxism-Leninism by "Maoism," by rabid nationalism, by an expansionist chauvinistic orientation and an adventuristic attitude, which on the domestic plane has led to a deliberate destruction of the party of the working class behind the façade of the "cultural revolution" and on the external plane to a split with many tragic consequences (witness Indonesia), the Chinese leaders have been staging provocations at crucial moments of international development.

Alongside this, there have been further talks with U.S. diplomats in Warsaw, flirting and agreements with representatives of the Bonn regime, abuse of trade with socialist countries (as was the case with the sale of rice to Cuba), actions by provocateurs—many times in the guise of Hsinhua correspondents (even in the USSR and Cuba), and the knocking together of splinter groups opposed to fraternal parties. U.S. imperialism is condemned only in rhetorical phrases which are accompanied by acts of consideration for its agents.

If, for instance, in our continent Fidel Castro publicly speaks about Soviet military aid to Cuba and Raul Castro puts forward, as a principal task, the education of new Cuban soldiers in the spirit of combat solidarity with the armies of the Warsaw Treaty states and specifically with the glorious Soviet Army, the "comrades" from the Chinese leadership are pouring out streams of dirty verbiage, directing the fire of their machine-guns at Soviet frontier guards.

The pressing need for strengthening the Communist movement and all revolutionary forces makes it necessary to condemn the actions of the group of Chinese leaders and expose, however lamentable that may be, their coordination, their connection, their tacit agreement with the interests of the imperialists. And if this fact is evident in many fields, it is particularly evident in the field of propaganda which the imperialists themselves and representatives of their oligarchies and bourgeoisie are conducting in countries influenced by them, Uruguay included. It is perfectly obvious that

these representatives rejoice over these grave problems and tirelessly repeat the slanders of the "Maoist" propaganda aimed against the USSR and hence against the entire Communist movement.

## BRAZIL

### ON THE CHINESE AGGRESSION AGAINST THE USSR

Statement* by the Executive Committee of the Brazilian CP

The Brazilian Communist Party condemns the violations of the Soviet frontier, the invasion of Soviet territory and the attack on Soviet troops by the Chinese militarists. This armed provocation, organized by the Mao Tse-tung camarilla, injures the supreme interests of world Communist unity and all the forces fighting against imperialism, and gravely prejudices the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam.

The BCP calls on the working class and other democratic and progressive forces of our country to express their support for and solidarity with the Soviet people, whose firm and calm position constitutes a new appreciable contribution to the defense of peace and the Chinese people themselves.

*Executive Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party*
*March 1969.*

# ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

(March-April 1969)

## CONGRESSES, PLENARY MEETINGS, CONFERENCES

### PERU

The Fifth Congress of the Peruvian Communist Party, held in March, set the task of establishing a broad national anti-imperialist front as a stage on the way to an agrarian anti-imperialist revolution, the first step towards the building of socialism.

Jorge del Prado was re-elected General Secretary of the Party.

### COSTA RICA

In March the Party of the People's Vanguard held an extraordinary congress to discuss the internal and international situation.

It was noted at the congress that the Maoists' provocations are doing incalculable harm to the heroic Vietnamese people by obstructing Soviet aid and helping the United States to block progress at the Paris talks.

### NORWAY

On March 24 the newspaper *Friheten* reported that a conference of the Communist Party of Norway had been held in Oslo. The conference heard the report of Party Chairman Reidar Larsen on the tasks of the Party in connection with the general election (autumn of 1969) and discussed the program of the Party's activity for the next four years and problems of the world Communist and working-class movement.

### ARGENTINA

The 13th Congress of the CPA, held clandestinely, completed its work in Cordoba Province on April 2. The congress unanimously approved the program and rules of the Party and elected its leading organs. Victorio Codovilla and Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez were re-elected, respectively, Chairman of the Party and General Secretary of the CC.

A unanimously adopted resolution stresses the importance of unity of the world Communist movement, condemns the Maoist clique's provocations on the Soviet-Chinese border and expresses solidarity with the Soviet Union.

## FINLAND

On April 4-6 the CPF held its 15th Congress, which adopted a resolution on the international situation, entitled "For Peace and International Cooperation," a resolution in connection with the Lenin centennial and the 150th birth anniversary of Frederick Engels, and a number of other resolutions. The concluding session adopted the decision "On Further Improving the Political and Ideological Work of the Party."

Aarne Saarinen was unanimously re-elected Chairman of the Party and Erkki Salomaa, Vice-Chairman. Arvo Aalto is the new General Secretary.

## CANADA

The 20th Congress of the Canadian Communists, held over April 4-6, adopted a resolution approving the decision on convening, in Moscow on June 5, an international conference of fraternal parties. The Congress condemned the splitting policies and provocative actions of the Maoists. Party Chairman Tim Buck delivered a report devoted to the 100th birth anniversary of Lenin. William Kashtan was re-elected General Secretary of the Party.

## WEST GERMANY

The Congress of the German Communist Party held in Essen on April 12 and 13, brought to a completion the organizational period of the Party's formation.

Kurt Bachmann was elected Chairman and Herbert Mies, Vice-Chairman, of the GCP.

## VENEZUELA

The 12th Plenum of the CC CPV, held on March 2, adopted a statement pointing out that the legalization of the Party is a success of the Communists and the entire revolutionary movement.

The CC expressed solidarity with the people of Vietnam. The Communist Party will consistently act in the interests of unity of the world Communist movement and defend this unity.

## MONGOLIA

On March 14 the Montsame agency reported that a plenum of the CC of the People's Revolutionary Party had passed a decision on the transfer of machine and service stations to agricultural cooperatives.

## SWITZERLAND

A plenum of the CC of the Swiss Party of Labor, held in Lausanne on March 29-30, adopted a resolution stating the Central Committee's decision to take part in the new preparatory meeting, slated for May 23, and in the international conference, to be opened on June 5, fully retaining the positions of principle which were determined at the last congress of the Party.

## ITALY

At a plenum held on April 1-2, the CC ICP renewed the composition of its permanent commissions and adopted an appeal on recruiting new members of the Party and the Communist Youth Federation.

## BELGIUM

The CC CPB, at a plenum held at the beginning of April, demanded that the government undertake concrete steps with a view to stopping the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, securing recognition of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and establishing diplomatic relations with the DRV.

The resolution of the plenum urges the government to accept, without delay, the proposals contained in the Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty states to all European countries.

The Belgian Communists also insist on the recognition of the GDR and the existing European borders.

## POLAND

A plenum of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party, convened in Warsaw on April 3-4, approved the activities of the Party's delegation taking part in the work of the Preparatory Committee of the international conference, and instructed the Political Bureau to continue work connected with the participation of the PUWP in this conference. The CC expressed conviction that the conference

would contribute to the consolidation of the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement in the struggle against imperialism.

The CC supported the Budapest Appeal for calling an all-European conference which, it stated, would strengthen security and promote cooperation on the European continent in the interests of universal peace.

## WEST BERLIN

The Board of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, at a meeting on April 9, voiced confidence that the international conference in Moscow would facilitate the establishment and consolidation of the unity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and would further strengthen the anti-imperialist front of the peoples.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On April 17, 1969, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia met in plenary session to discuss organizational and personnel matters. It elected Dr. Gustav Husak First Secretary of the CC CPC. The newly-elected Presidium of eleven is composed of Vasil Bil'ak, Peter Colotka, Oldrich Cernik, Alexander Dubcek, Evzen Erban, Gustav Husak, Jan Piller, Stefan Sadovsky, Ludvik Svoboda, Lubomir Strougal and Karel Polacek.



## PARAGUAY

On March 10 Prensa Latina reported on the manifesto which the Communist Party of Paraguay issued on January 1. Among other things, the manifesto points out that the Party is working for the establishment of a front to unite the militant forces of the working class, the peasantry, the students and the entire people into a single democratic liberatory stream having a clear-cut program of popular and national solutions and a course of action capable of mobilizing the masses with the use of all forms of struggle demanded by the present conditions.

## BULGARIA

A meeting to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Comintern was held in Sofia on March 14. In a report read at the meeting,

Angel Balevsky, President of the Bulgarian Academy of Science, pointed out that the Comintern's historic service consisted in uniting Leninism with the world working-class movement. By its varied activities the Comintern gave answers to all main problems posed by the new epoch and contributed to the maturing of revolutionary leaders deeply loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

## FRANCE

"The Communist International," a book by Georges Cogniot devoted to the 50th anniversary of the Comintern, appeared in Paris (Editions Sociales publishing house).

*L'Humanité* reports that the book describes Lenin's tireless struggle for the revolutionary unity of the proletariat, against Right-wing opportunism and sectarian Leftism.

* * *

A delegation of the Communist Party of Chile visited France over March 9-14 on the invitation of the CCFCP. As *L'Humanité* reported on March 11, the delegations of the two parties, after a study of the conditions in which the preparations for the international conference proceed, put on record their identity of views on the principles which are to ensure the success of the conference. Both delegations consider that the conference in Moscow, which is to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, will constitute an important stage in the anti-imperialist struggle which unites, in the name of proletarian internationalism, the three great forces of our time—the socialist world system, the working-class of the capitalist countries, and the liberation movement of the peoples.

## BRITAIN

The Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty States to all European countries on convening an all-European conference was characterized by John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, as one of the most important events of recent times. As the *Morning Star* reported on March 22, John Gollan declared that the Appeal suggests "the idea of an all-European conference as an alternative" to the division of the world into military blocs and the continuation of the arms race. He called upon British public opinion to support this important initiative and demand the government's immediate and favorable reply to it.

## FRANCE

The Appeal of the leaders of the socialist states, members of the Warsaw Treaty, shows to all European countries and peoples that there exists a possibility of creating in Europe a system of security and peace and thus preventing a new miiltary conflict, *L'Humanité* comments in its March 24 issue. The newspaper points to the FRG as the principal opponent of this initiative. Its official circles are opposed to the principle of recognition of the existing European borders, the existence of two German states and the fact that West Berlin is not a part of West Germany. The Budapest Appeal, *L'Humanité* declares, is addressed not only to the governments but also to the peoples.

## USSR

A scientific session devoted to the 50th anniversary of the Comintern was held in Moscow on March 25-26. Opening the session, M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, said that the activities of the Comintern had helped the world Communist movement to become the most influential political force of our time.

The 1,000 participants included Party leaders, scientists, veterans of the revolutionary movement in Russia and representatives of the international Communist movement many of whom had made an important contribution to the work of the Comintern.

## DENMARK

On March 27 *Land og Folk* carried a statement of Ib Norlund, member of the Executive Committee of the CC of the Communist Party of Denmark, on the results of the work of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Fraternal Parties. A new important step has been made towards ensuring the success of the conference, Ib Norlund writes. The CPD is satisfied with the work of the Preparatory Committee. Our proposals, submitted at the Committee, were well received. The work of the Committee was aimed at securing close cooperation on a common basis so as to deal a common blow at the principal enemy, imperialism.

## SWEDEN

In an editorial devoted to the preparation of the international conference of Communist and Workers' parties *Norskensflamman,*

the newspaper of the Left Party-Communists (Sweden), stresses that it will not be easy to resolve the problems of the struggle against imperialism, which constitute the main subject of the conference. To postpone the conference till the time when all Communists finally agree on all problems means to waste precious time. It is an important success that so many parties are sending their representatives to Moscow.

The Communists of Sweden, the newspaper stresses, should not stand aside from this struggle. They should send their representatives to the great forum in Moscow.

## CHILE

The sessions of the Preparatory Committee of the international Communist conference were an important event, declared Orlando Millas, member of the Political Commission of the CC of the Communist Party of Chile who had taken part in the work of the Committee. The Committee discussed in detail, on a fully democratic basis, the draft documents to be submitted to the forthcoming conference. The sessions of the Committee produced positive results. The main theme of the conference will be struggle against imperialism, for unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties and all anti-imperialist forces. The Chilean Communists have favorably received the draft of the main document of the conference, which deals with problems vital for the working class and the entire people of Chile. The Chilean Communists consider that this document will constitute a good basis for the international conference. In Millas' opinion, the results of the work of the Committee testify to successes of the world Communist and working-class movement.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Hermann Axen, alternate-member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, characterized as highly positive the results of the March session of the Preparatory Committee of the international conference. The real achievements of this session consist in the following two points:

First, the international conference will open in Moscow on June 5. Second, the political and organizational preparation of the conference has been conducted by the delegations of 67 Communist and Workers' parties in the most democratic and collective form. Axen stressed that these successes on the way to unity of action of the international Communist movement had been achieved despite considerable difficulties within our movement. For cohesion of the movement in the fight against imperialism is more necessary

than ever. The striving of the Marxist-Leninist parties for unity of action (which is the subjective factor) is growing constantly, owing also to the collective work on preparing the international conference. Axen declared that Communists highly appreciate the efforts of the members of the Working Group and the Preparatory Committee aimed at achieving agreement on the most important problems of the joint struggle and clarifying the different opinions. The democratic business-like approach displayed by the participating delegations has produced positive results.

Axen praised the unanimous decision of the Preparatory Committee to submit to the Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow a document devoted to the Lenin centennial.

## PARAGUAY

On March 27 the Political Commission of the Communist Party of Paraguay issued a statement pointing out that by their infamous provocation on the Soviet-Chinese border the Chinese leaders tried to sow distrust towards the CPSU and the Soviet government, countries of the socialist community and the Communist parties, to undermine and destroy their unity and cohesion, and torpedo or belittle the importance of the historical international conference of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow.

In the face of these facts, the statement says in conclusion, the Communist Party of Paraguay vigorously condemns the chauvinistic and adventuristic policy pursued by the Mao clique, a policy which serves, in fact, the global strategy of imperialism in its struggle against the socialist world system, against the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries.

## BELGIUM

"No Gambles by the Right!" Under this headline the information bulletin of the Communist Party of Belgium printed, on March 27, a statement of the Political Bureau of the CC dealing with the political situation in the country. The present coalition government, the statement points out, is unable to offer acceptable solutions either to the language problems or to the problems of defending the national economy and raising the living standard of the working people.

The labor movement and the democratic forces should make it clear that they will on no account tolerate any gambles by the Rightist forces.

## CHILE

Representatives of the political commissions of the CC of the Communist and Socialist parties met in Santiago, Chile, on March 29, to discuss problems of coordinating actions against the onslaught of the reactionary forces and the repressive policy of the Frei government. They agreed on concrete measures to intensify the struggle of the working people and decided to hold new meetings to discuss the work of the two parties in the trade unions and among the peasants and students.

## RUMANIA

Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC of the Rumanian Communist Party, and CC secretaries P. Niculescu-Mizil and M. Dalea met with a delegation of the Communist Party of Israel consisting of Meir Vilner, General Secretary, and Political Bureau members Saliba Khamis and David Henin.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party, led a delegation which visited the GDR on the invitation of the CC SUPG, *Neues Deutschland* reported on April 12. It had talks with a SUPG delegation headed by Walter Ulbricht.

It was unanimously stated that the expansionist policy of West German imperialism and militarism constitutes, as before, the main source of tension and insecurity in Europe.

The communique stresses the importance of the Budapest decisions of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty for ensuring the security of the peoples and the peaceful development of the socialist states.

The SUPG and the PUWP will continue to take an active part in the concluding preparations of the international conference. Both delegations voice conviction that this conference will consolidate the unity and strengthen the world Communist and working-class movement in the anti-imperialist struggle for peace and socialism.

## CYPRUS

The communique of the Political Bureau of the AKEL, published in the newspaper *Kharavghi* on April 3, stresses that "the AKEL considers it its duty to warn the Cypriots against the dangerous

situation that has been taking shape recently. According to local press reports, a fascist organization has been set up on Cyprus. It is inspired and lavishly financed by imperialism and its secret services." The main purpose of this fascist activity, says the communique, is to disrupt the course for the solution of the Cyprus question, proclaimed by President Makarios in January 1968 and approved by the people in the presidential elections.

## MOROCCO

The Moroccan Party of Liberation and Socialism has circulated, under the heading "Long Live Moroccan-Soviet Friendship!" a statement for the press saying that N. V. Podgorny's visit to Morocco ushers in a new period of fruitful technical and economic cooperation between the two countries, cooperation which strengthens the agriculture and industry of Morocco and broadens its foreign trade.

## FRANCE

Since the beginning of 1968 the French Communist Party has admitted 20,000 new members and set up 450 new cells, among them 260 at industrial enterprises, *L'Humanité* reported on March 24.

## ITALY

According to *L'Unita,* at the end of March the Italian Communist Party had 1,328,000 members.

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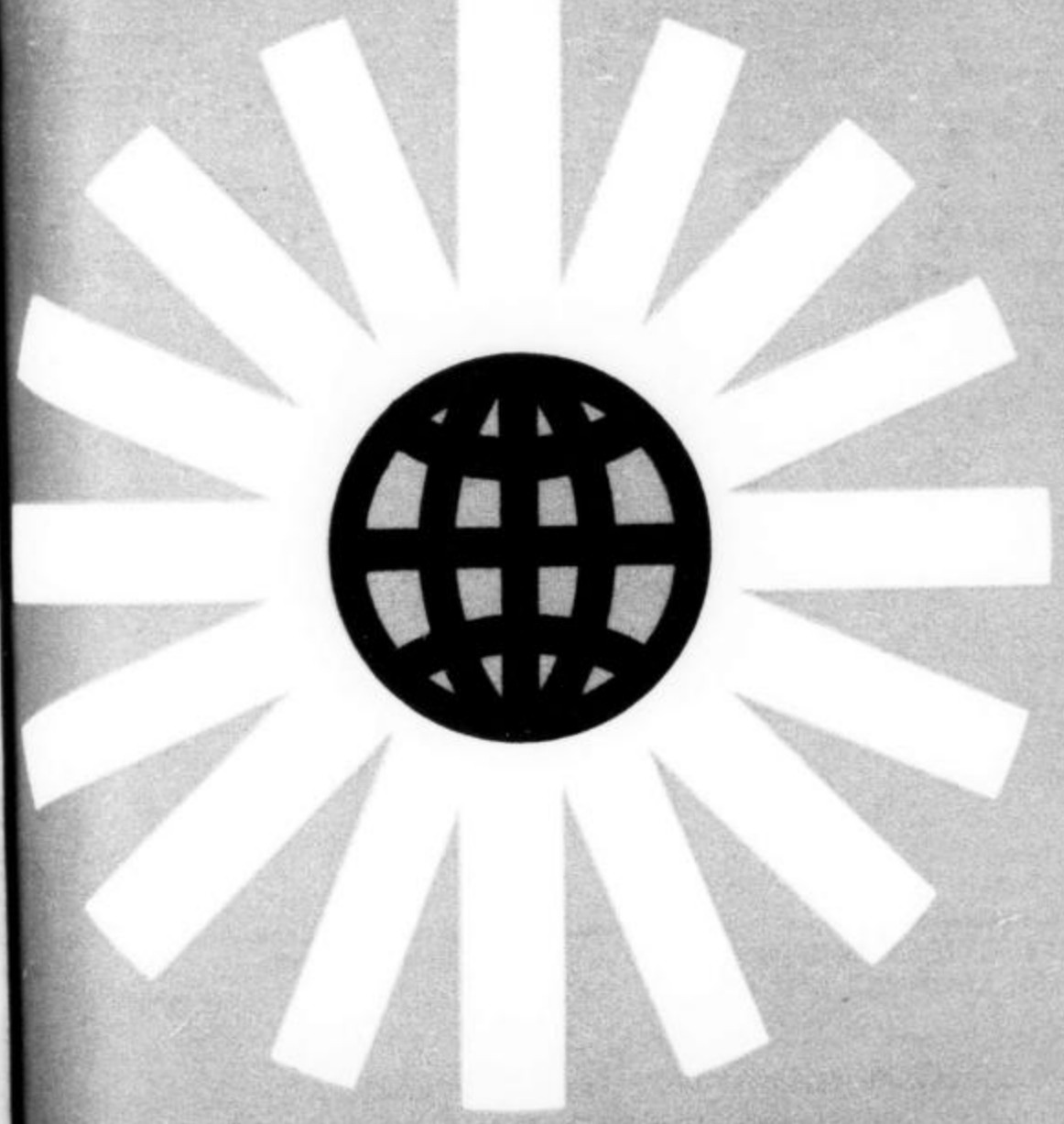

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—I. V. Kapitonov

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# LOYALTY TO LENINISM IS THE FOUNTAINHEAD OF ALL OUR VICTORIES

Report Delivered by V. I. Kapitonov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the Anniversary Meeting Devoted to Lenin's 99th Birthday, on April 22nd, 1969

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the working people of our country are solemnly observing Lenin's 99th birthday.

The red-letter date is also being observed by the working people in the fraternal socialist countries, by the international working class and the world Communist movement, and by all progressive mankind.

Lenin's name has always been and always will be dear and near to every Soviet person, to working people all over the world.

Lenin's name is immortal. The most outstanding developments of the 20th century are linked with it: the founding of a new type of proletarian party; the Great October Socialist Revolution; the emergence of the first state of workers and peasants; and the history-making victories of socialism, of the international Communist, workers' and national liberation movements.

Lenin embodied the magnificence of a thinker and revolutionary. A theoretician of genius, he based all his work on a profound study of life and the experience of the masses, and subordinated it to the cardinal interests of the working people. A great revolutionary, he built all his practical work on the solid foundation of Marxist theory, and strictly observed its principles. In the struggle against revisionists and opportunists, Lenin upheld "the living spirit of Marxism" as a creative revolutionary teaching, and enriched it with new conclusions and premises which comprise a new era in the development of Marxist theoretical thought.

The great architect of scientific communism, Karl Marx, coined the popular expression which says that the philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it. The titanically complex task of the revolutionary changing of society was solved for the first time by Lenin, by the Communist Party which he founded, by the working class, and by our country's working people.

---

Pravda, April 23, 1969.

Guided by the Party, the Soviet people are firmly and confidently following the Leninist course, building up a new society, upholding the cause of peace and socialism, freedom and the independence of peoples.

Under Lenin's banner we have built socialism. Under that banner we have upheld in bitter battles the freedom and independence of the socialist Motherland! Under Lenin's banner we are marching to new victories of communism!

## LENIN'S PARTY IS THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S MILITANT VANGUARD

Lenin's great historical merit is his founding of the Bolshevik Party, the Party of consistent and courageous champions of the interests of the working class and all working people, champions of the victory of communism.

Basing himself on the ideas of Marx and Engels, Lenin evolved a systematic and comprehensive teaching of the proletarian party, and worked out its ideological, organizational and political principles. Only a party based on constructive Marxism, a party of revolutionary action, could have become the inspirer, organizer and leader of the working class's victorious struggle. It was just such a party that Lenin forged. He built it in the face of a barrage of enemy fire, trained and steeled it in stern class battles, and led it forward through all the trials to the great goal: the overthrow of capitalism, establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the building of a new society.

Lenin waged an uncompromising struggle for party unity, he taught that this unity should be safeguarded at all costs and that unbreakable loyalty to revolutionary principles should be preserved. He repeatedly indicated that those who revise Marxism, those who undermine the leading role and the unity of the Communist Party, assist in fact the bourgeoisie and betray the cause of the working class, the cause of socialism.

Loyal to Lenin's behests, our Party has always protected the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and the ideological and organizational unity of its ranks. It resolutely opposed the Trotskyites, Right opportunists and nationalists who attempted to lead the Party astray from the Marxist-Leninist path. The complete elimination of anti-Leninist trends was one of the important requisites for the successful implementation of the Party's general line.

Historical experience convincingly shows that leadership by a Marxist-Leninist party is the decisive factor in the revolutionary remaking of society. It is not merely by chance that world reaction conducts frantic attacks upon Communist Parties, and uses any methods in an effort to undermine the confidence of the broad

masses in them, to weaken their influence on social life. Our class enemies are striving thereby to disarm the working class in its struggle against exploiters, to turn the peoples from the road to socialism, and to hold up the world revolutionary process.

On this point revisionists of all colors make common cause with bourgeois propaganda. Some of them act from the right, others from the "left", but this does not alter the substance of the issue. Both the former and the latter distort the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the Party and belittle its leading role. This explains why the bourgeoisie cheers with such zeal these defectors from Marxism-Leninism, and regards them as its own accomplices.

Under such circumstances, Marxists-Leninists increase their revolutionary alertness, intensify the struggle against any designs of imperialism, denounce revisionism and dogmatism, and rally and consolidate their ranks.

One of the most important features in the life of our society is the further increase in the role played by the Communist Party as the militant vanguard of the Soviet people. Thanks to the beneficial influence of the 23rd Congress decisions, the Party has become stronger and more united, and its contacts with the working people have become wider and more solid. The importance of the Party's theoretical work is increasing and its role as political leader, organizer and educator of the masses is growing.

The Soviet people give their complete confidence and support to the Communist Party, and its militant headquarters—the Leninist Central Committee. The unity of the Party and the people is a reliable foundation of the socialist system's strength, and a guarantee of the successful accomplishment of the objectives of communist construction.

The Party's guiding and directing influence is felt in all aspects of society's material and spiritual life. The CPSU is the force which lends a scientifically validated, planned and organized character to all the work involved in the construction of communist society. In working out the policy, and determining the objectives, the Party at the same time indicates the principal methods of carrying out these tasks. The unity between theory and practice, between political and organizing work, and the conformity of words with deeds is an important tenet of Party activity.

The Party's great prestige as the revolutionary transforming force of society, and the people's profound respect for and confidence in the Party, stimulate Soviet people into linking their lives with the Party, both ideologically and organizationally. More than 1,800,000 new members joined the Party in the last three years. At present, CPSU membership stands at 13,755,000. What a really powerful force the Party, which was founded, reared and tempered by the great Lenin, has become!

The CPSU's tremendous responsibility to the people makes high demands upon every Communist. Lenin once wrote that those who become Party members just for show are absolutely useless to us. Our Party, a party of the revolutionary working class, he pointed out, is primarily concerned about the quality of its ranks.

The 23rd Congress, being guided by Leninist behests, emphasized that concern for the purity of Party ranks and for seeing to it that every Communist bore with dignity and justified the noble name of a member of the Party should be an intrinsic law of the Party and of all its organizations.

The political leader of the Soviet people and its militant vanguard, the CPSU, has been and remains the spokesman of the working class's ideology. As society's most progressive and organized force, the working class exercises its guiding role also in the period of communist construction. It is gratifying that the number of workers among those admitted to the CPSU has been continually growing in recent times. Last year workers accounted for 52.4 per cent of those admitted as candidate members of the Party. This is in line with the nature of our Party, with the place and role of the working class in the life of socialist society.

The Party is replenished by the foremost representatives of the collective farm peasantry, and Soviet intellectuals. Twenty-six per cent of those admitted last year as candidate members are scientists, workers in the fields of literature and art, and specialists in economy. At present, one out of every three engineers, every second agronomist or livestock expert, one out of every four teachers, and one out of every five doctors are Party members. It is noteworthy that many young people who have passed through the Komsomol organization are joining the Party. This is a real corroboration of Lenin's words: "We are the party of the future, and the future belongs to the youth. We are a party of innovators, and it is always the youth that most eagerly follows the innovators" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 354, Eng. Ed.).

While replenishing its ranks with the finest representatives of the working people, the Party is at the same time constantly educating Communists to be active, thinking, ideologically staunch champions of Lenin's cause.

The fundamental law of a Marxist-Leninist party, the foundation of its strength lies in strict observance of the principle of democratic centralism and of the norms of Party life. This principle and these norms, formulated and substantiated by Lenin, have stood the test of time. Every retreat from them invariably leads to the weakening of the Party's role, to the loss of its militant revolutionary positions.

After the 23rd Congress, the process of the further development of inner Party democracy, which augments Communists' activity and initiative, has been continuing in our Party. The principle of

collective leadership is being carried out with consistency. Cardinal questions of the country's domestic and foreign policies have been discussed at the Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee in recent years, and measures have been worked out for improving the guidance of the most important aspects of society's life. The role played by the Plenary Meetings, the bureaus of local Party committees, and by Party meetings has become greater. The flow of Party information is improving. The Leninist spirit of partisanship, the collective wisdom and collective will of the Communists permeates the Party's entire work.

The daily life of Party organizations is characterized by the growing development of businesslike, principled criticism and self-criticism. Lenin said that criticism and self-criticism is definitely necessary for every dynamic and viable party. The Party cannot live, work and make normal progress without subjecting to criticism and self-criticism the errors and shortcomings, without eliminating all the things which hinder our progress.

The Communist Party's strength lies not only in community of views, but also in unity of action. Lenin indicated that once the will of the majority has been determined and a decision has been taken, all Party members act as one person. The Party cannot be divided into those who criticize and those who do the work. Everything is discussed, decided and carried out jointly; everybody makes his contribution to the common cause. Inner Party democracy is organically linked with Party discipline, and the combination of these two fundamental provisions of democratic centralism is the fountain-head of our Party's strength.

The Party organizations' forms and methods of work are being perfected under the influence of the decisions of the 23rd Congress and of the Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee. Party Committees now have a better mastery of the Leninist style of work, and they consistently act as organs of political leadership. The realistic, comprehensive approach to any problem and an all-round analysis and critical appraisal of the results is being more and more practiced. This corresponds to the spirit of Party work which, by its very substance, is energetic, constructive work alive to the needs of the time.

There has been a noticeable improvement in the viability of primary Party organizations, which now number 360,000. They have grown numerically and have become stronger organizationally. The primary organizations comprise the link which puts into focus the processes of Party development, its multifaceted activity, its concerns and deeds. The recent Party meetings, held to hear reports and elect new bodies, at which more than three million people spoke, have displayed the Communists' high standards of activity, political maturity, and awareness of their responsibility for the

work of their organizations and of the Party as a whole. All Communists, all Party organizations demonstrated their cohesion with the CPSU Central Committee and its Politbureau, and expressed their preparedness to work with even greater vigor for the implementation of the Party's Leninist general line.

Lenin taught that the pivot of organizational work is the selection of personnel and the checking on the fulfilment of assignments. The Party's Central Committee and its local organs continually focus their attention on these questions and daily concern themselves with the selection, placing and education of the leading cadres of the Party and the state.

At the present time, which is characterized by the rapid growth of the scale and complexity of economic and cultural construction tasks, the training and retraining of cadres acquires added importance. In this connection, our country has launched large-scale work to improve the cadres' qualifications and ideological-theoretical standards. This work has never been conducted before on such a large scale.

The Party now has at its disposal a big army of well-trained experienced, leading workers who are loyal to the cause of communism and enjoy prestige. This enables the Party to successfully settle complicated domestic and foreign-political problems.

A party whose ideals and policy become the cause of the entire people is invincible. Communist construction in our country has become the cause of millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals. In the course of socialist construction, as a result of the Party's tremendous educational work, a new man has been moulded—a thinking worker, dedicated champion of the ideals of communism. The communist ideology unites different generations of Soviet people—the heroes of the October Revolution and the Civil War, those who carried out the first five-year plans, the soldiers of the Great Patriotic War, the postwar generation and the young people of the sixties.

The interests of communist construction and the international situation make it mandatory that the Party organizations should continue to improve all their ideological-educational work. The worthy continuation of Lenin's cause, and the implementation of our plans in the future depend considerably on the way this task is being tackled today.

A matter of particular Party attention is the upbringing of the younger generation, which is called upon to continue and add to the revolutionary, militant and labor traditions of their fathers and elder brothers. We can justly be proud of our fine young people, of their industriousness, courage, and loyalty to the Communist Party and the Socialist Motherland. Last year our country and the entire Soviet people observed the fiftieth anniversary of the Leninist Kom-

somol—the Party's loyal reserve and militant assistant. The Komsomol, which has a membership of more than 24 million, continues to be a splendid school for the communist upbringing of young men and women.

The April (1968) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized that the present stage of international development is distinguished by a sharp heightening of the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism. In these conditions, an improvement in the standard of the educational work and an uncompromising struggle with hostile ideology is acquiring singular importance. The Party's efforts are directed towards developing in all Soviet people communist dedication, patriotism, internationalism, a conscious attitude to social work and socialist property, and strict observance of the norms of our life.

The Party and the people highly appraise the work of intellectuals, pedagogues, propagandists and all who actively participate in the education of the new man—the builder of communist society.

The Party sees to it that the entire work of education and upbringing is based on a profound mastery of contemporary science and technology, on the study of the heroic road covered by the Soviet people, on the experience of socialist construction, and on the moulding of a Marxist-Leninist outlook.

"Our Party," said L. I. Brezhnev, in the Report "Fifty Years of Great Achievements of Socialism", "has a great and eventful history, and if we have successfully traversed a long and difficult road and withstood all trials with honor, it is due above all to the fact that we have always used our most reliable weapon, the Marxist-Leninist teaching, undeviatingly adhered to it and developed it further . . . For us Leninism has become, in the true sense of the word, the science of how to win, and such it will remain forever."

The Communist Party embodies the finest features of the working class and of the Soviet people. As Lenin said, it is the intelligence, the honor and the conscience of our times. The further consolidation of the Party, its greater influence upon all aspects of the life of society is the surest, the most reliable guarantee of fresh successes in the struggle for communism.

## LENIN'S IDEAS TRANSLATED INTO REALITY

The entire life of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the entire force of his intellectual genius, his mighty willpower and revolutionary passion were given to the main task of the working class—to the struggle for the new society, for socialism and communism.

The victory of socialism in the USSR and the successes in communist construction are the living fulfilment of Lenin's ideas and plans. The working people of our country have accomplished, under

the guidance of the Party, and in a historically brief period of time, the greatest transformations in all fields of life. The social and political unity of society, the unbreakable alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and the friendship of the peoples are the most important gains of socialism.

Lenin taught that after the establishment of the power of workers and peasants, the economy becomes the main arena of struggle for the triumph of the new social system. For the transition to communism, he stressed, "an enormous step forward must be taken in developing the productive forces" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421, Eng. Ed.). Following this behest, the Soviet people concentrate their efforts on the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

At present our economy is in an important stage of its development. The rapid scientific and technological progress opens up great new possibilities for socialist production. Both our progress and the further change in the balance of forces in the world arena in favor of socialism will depend, in great measure, on how these possibilities are realized in practice.

By creatively developing the Leninist principles of socialist economic management, the Party is carrying out large-scale measures on the further improvement of production relations and is making a new approach to managing the economy. The Party's present economic policy, which was elaborated at the 23rd Congress and in the decisions taken by the Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, has completely justified itself in practice and proved its viability and strength.

The consistent fulfilment of the economic reform makes it possible to utilize, in a more complete way, the richest possibilities and advantages of socialism for the benefit of the people. This basis secures the further growth in labor productivity, an increase in the efficiency of social production and the acceleration of the tempo of development in the country's economy.

The national annual income of the country used for consumption and accumulation increased, over the course of the last three years, on the average by 7.2 per cent, whereas in the previous Five-Year Plan period the increase was 5.7 per cent. The scale of our achievements can be judged by the fact that the growth in the national income during these years was equal to the entire production of the national income in 1950.

Industry, which is the leading branch of socialist economy and the foundation of the might and the defense potential of the country, is developing successfully on a new level of higher quality. Industrial output increased by more than 29 per cent in 3 years.

The industrial potential of the country grows continually. Last year we produced 107,000,000 tons of steel; 309,000,000 tons of oil,

and 638,000 million kwh. of electric power. That means that we produce now six times more steel, ten times more oil, and thirteen times more electric power than we did in 1940, before the war.

The structure of industrial production is being perfected. The branches which secure engineering progress in the economy of the country — machine-building, power-engineering, metallurgy and chemistry — are developing at priority rates.

Capital construction is being undertaken on a great scale. 1,100 major industrial enterprises have been built since the beginning of the Five-Year Plan. Every day one new industrial enterprise, on the average, is put into operation in our country. Measures are being taken for strengthening the material and technical basis of construction work, and for improving its planning and estimates for designs. Labor remuneration of the builders is being increased. All that creates the conditions for the more effective utilization of capital investments, for cutting down the time of construction and for increasing the quality of building work.

The Party and the Government are paying tremendous attention to the further development of agricultural production—that vitally important branch of the economy. The course mapped out at the March (1965) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee has been approved by the entire nation and is yielding good results.

In the last three years the average annual rates of growth in agricultural production have nearly doubled, as compared with the previous five-year period. The country's average per-hectare yields of grain crops have increased by nearly 30 per cent during this time. Last year the gross intake of grain was more than 169,000,000 tons, or 10,300 million poods. The production and the state purchases of animal husbandry produce, sugar-beet, cotton, vegetables and other agricultural produce have also increased. Because of this, and also as a result of the constant growth of working people's incomes, the per capita consumption of the main food items has increased noticeably.

Major tasks face agricultural workers this year. As is known, in a number of areas of the country a part of the winter crops was damaged and cattle-breeding also suffered as a result of unfavorable weather conditions this last winter.

The Party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government have rendered in good time the necessary aid to the areas which suffered from the unfavorable winter conditions. On this basis, the collective farmers and the workers of the state farms are stubbornly overcoming the aftermath of the grim winter and are mobilizing the reserves to fulfil the obligations which they have taken upon themselves to increase the output of each farm. At present the farm workers are directing their main attention towards a successful spring sowing campaign so as to provide an ample supply of grain

and other products for the country this year, too.

The October (1968) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, basing itself on the cardinal interests of communist construction, posed the task of a more rapid development of agricultural production. It directed the Party and all the working people to tackle more important problems, such as the greater use of chemicals, land-improvement work and comprehensive mechanization. This constitutes the main pre-condition for achieving further progress in agriculture.

The new Rules of the Agricultural Artel, the draft of which is to be published soon for broad discussion, will be of tremendous importance for the development of socialist agriculture, and for improving both the social relations in the countryside and collective farm democracy. The adoption of these Rules at the Congress of Collective Farmers will be a major political event in the life of the Soviet countryside and the whole of our society.

While paying due respect to the achievements in the development of industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy, the Party also sees the still unsolved problems and takes steps to get rid of the existing shortcomings. It concentrates the attention of the Party and government organizations, trade unions, economic managers, and all working people on the maximum utilization of the reserves and on the unconditional fulfilment of the state plans.

The collectives at industrial enterprises, construction sites and on collective and state farms are mobilizing all their forces so as to make this decisive year of the Five-Year Plan a year of shock work and of high labor productivity. The Muscovites and Leningraders, as well as the working people of other regions, territories and republics, have initiated a large-scale socialist emulation drive throughout the country. The aim of the drive is the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan assignments ahead of time, the introduction of scientific organization of labor, high quality of output and the quickest possible utilization of the designed capacities.The CPSU Central Committee has fully supported and approved these patriotic initiatives.

The jubilee Communist Subbotnik in which millions of Soviet people took part at the call of their hearts was a new vivid expression of the people's initiative and creative endeavor. In doing so they have once again expressed their love and profound respect for Lenin, who regarded the first Communist Subbotniks as a great beginning, as the start of the new, conscious approach to labor, and as the living shoots of communism.

The Soviet people have greeted with great satisfaction and approval the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government to use the means derived from the unpaid labor given during the Subbotnik to build in Moscow a major cancer research center for treating cancer diseases and for the creation of a scientific

research complex for developing agriculture in Siberia and the Far East.

Lenin showed the great significance of science and engineering in communist construction. The Party is persistently working to make science an everyday factor in our society's life, to make it the basis for the further movement forward, and to develop it into a mighty productive force.

Today over 820,000 research workers—one-quarter of all the research workers in the world—work in our country. The Soviet Union now occupies leading positions in many fields of science and engineering. A vivid expression of this are the successes in space exploration—from the launching of the first sputnik and the first manned space flight to the creation of the world's first manned orbital station.

The award of decorations of the Soviet Union to the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and to a number of research institutions reflected the nationwide recognition of the services of Soviet scientists. The Soviet people cordially greet the new group of Heroes of Socialist Labor — the outstanding men of Soviet science. The Party and the people have a profound conviction that the scientists and our people's intelligentsia will give their Motherland new discoveries in science and engineering, and will multiply with their labor socialism's material and cultural wealth.

The Communist Party regards the concern for the well-being of the people to be the supreme meaning of its activities. Lenin stressed that only after the transition to socialism has been achieved, does there emerge the possibility of really subordinating social production and the distribution of products to the interests of the working people.

Basing themselves on the successes achieved in economic development, the Party and Government are doing everything possible to satisfy, in a more complete and all-round way, the people's material and cultural requirements. The Soviet people's living standards are constantly rising. In the current Five-Year Plan the working people's real incomes have been increasing at a higher rate than envisaged in the Directives of the 23rd Congress.

In 1968, the average wage of our industrial and office workers increased by 7.5 per cent. The labor remuneration of collective farmers has been raised. The country's population receives more and more payments and benefits from the public consumption funds, which last year stood at 55,000 million rubles. A large-scale program of cultural construction, and improvement of public education, health services and social maintenance is being carried out.

Housing continues to be built on a tremendous scale. Suffice it to say that from the beginning of the Five-Year Plan period 33,000,-

000 people, i.e., every seventh citizen of our country, have either moved into new accommodation or improved their living conditions. More favorable conditions for rest and for improving the Soviet people's home life are being created. Never before has our state channelled so much money into the improvement of the people's well-being as it has done in the last few years.

The socialist system secures for the working people broad socio-political rights and genuine democracy. Lenin wrote that socialism means "... the rise of a *new*, epoch-making *type* of democracy ..." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 54, Eng. Ed.).

Lenin divested bourgeois democracy of its embellishments, disclosed its false nature and revealed its essence as a class exploiter. Speaking of the viability of the petty-bourgeois illusions about "pure" democracy and about "absolute" freedom, he taught that these illusions could be overcome more rapidly, if the advantages of the new, socialist type of democracy were revealed more fully.

Real democracy is to be found where the means of production belong to the people. "... While property remains in the hands of the capitalists," Lenin emphasized, "all democracy will be nothing but a hypocritical cover for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 414, Eng. Ed.).

Only public socialist ownership creates the basis for genuine democracy. It is only on this basis that it is possible to get rid of class antagonisms and exploitation; without their elimination all talk about the power of the people remains an empty phrase. Socialism does not simply proclaim the ideas of democracy and freedom; it fulfils them in practical work. The socialist system does not simply declare the working people's complete power; it implements it in deeds. The socialist system does not simply declare the equality of nations; it actually creates the conditions for their equality, and for the friendship and fraternity of nations. It does not simply condemn exploitation, unemployment and poverty; it does away with all these social evils.

What can the capitalist system, torn asunder by irreconcilable class antagonisms, counterpose to these great gains of socialist democratism? Capitalism is a system wherein one person has boundless wealth and another is forced to sell his labor power, wherein one man exploits another, wherein millions of people cannot find work and wherein such an important field of social life as production management is closed to the working people.

Real democracy is to be found where the people really manage the affairs of the state. In our country we do not have a single field of public life where the cardinal problems are not decided by democratic procedure; and there is no social section which does not take part in the running of the country. Through the Soviets, trade

unions, the YCL and the other mass organizations, which act under the guidance of the Party, the working people solve the most important problems of production management and of handling state and public affairs.

More than 2,000,000 deputies and over 25,000,000 activists of Soviets; about 7,000,000 people working in organs of public control; more than 5,000,000 participants in the Permanent Production conferences, and scores of millions of members of Party, trade union, YCL, cooperative and other public organizations—such is the living and really operating mechanism of Soviet socialist democracy: Our people proudly repeat the words of Lenin: "We are the State" (*Complete Works*, Vol. 44, p. 397, Russ. ed.).

The recently held elections to the local Soviets were a new expression of socialist democratism and of the unity of the Party and the people. Nearly 150,000,000 electors unanimously voted for the candidates of the people's bloc of Communists and non-Party members. The working people sent their best representatives to the organs of power. Two-thirds of them are workers and collective farmers, the foremost members of industrial enterprises and collective and state farms. Among the deputies we find specialists in the country's economy, workers in the fields of science and culture, representatives of different nations and generations, Communists and non-Party people.

Soviet socialist democracy means the working people's activity and initiative, the high standards of their organization and discipline. The barrack-style bureaucratic system, anarchist lack of discipline and disregard of social norms and interests are alien to the Soviet way of life. The high degree of consciousness and responsibility of the members of society are dictated by the very nature of socialist democracy.

The strengthening of the socialist state and the further development of socialist democracy are in keeping with the most vital interests of the working people, and are a most important condition for our country's successful progress along the road to communism!

## INTERNATIONALISM IS THE FIRM BASIS OF THE LENINIST COURSE OF THE CPSU

Each new victory achieved by our country in building communism is at the same time a landmark in the struggle of the international working class and all the progressive forces for the revolutionary remaking of the world. Our Party has always been true to Lenin's behest: to do "the utmost possible in one country *for* the development, support and awakening of the revolution *in all countries.*" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 292, Eng. ed.).

To act jointly with the whole of the world revolutionary move-

ment is a Bolshevik, Leninist tradition that has become infused into the Soviet people. We are internationalists, wrote Vladimir Ilyich.

In the new historical era, Lenin raised aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism. He fought vigorously against social chauvinism and nationalist narrow-mindedness which the opportunists inculcated into the workers. Lenin set the model of the practical implementation of proletarian internationalism's ideas. He was the founder and leader of the Communist International, the 50th anniversary of which was observed recently by the world Communist and workers' movement.

Leninism provides the key to the solution of the present-day problems concerning the world revolutionary movement's unity. The need for such unity is greater now than ever before. Although international imperialism has suffered great historical defeats, it remains a strong and dangerous opponent. It continues to tighten the press of capitalist exploitation, wages bloody wars against the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence, has built up a huge war machine and is capable of bringing grave disasters to mankind. World reaction tries to undermine the unity of the socialist countries and the international revolutionary movement.

By frustrating these calculations and opposing the intrigues of reaction with a united front of revolutionary forces, we shall open up new prospects for an offensive against imperialism and greatly advance the cause of the social and national emancipation of the peoples.

Imperialism fails in its designs when it is opposed by vigorous actions of the fraternal socialist countries and all the world's progressive forces. A convincing example of this is Vietnam. The heroic exploits of the Vietnamese people, their courage and staunchness in the struggle against imperialism will go down in history. An important factor in the victories scored by the Vietnamese people was the extensive economic and military assistance rendered by the socialist countries, and the solidarity of the world progressive public.

The Soviet people, true to their internationalist duty, will continue to render fraternal assistance to the people of Vietnam The aggressors will not succeed in breaking the proud spirit of the Vietnamese patriots! The just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph!

The Soviet people side with the Arab states, supporting their just struggle for the liquidation of the aftermath of Israeli aggression, which had been inspired by certain imperialist quarters.

World reaction will not stop the peoples' irresistible movement towards freedom and independence, because in their struggle they have the solidarity and support of all the detachments of the anti-imperialist front.

The historical task of our era, as the documents of the interna-

tional Communist movement stress, is to combine the actions of the three main revolutionary forces of our day—the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement—in a single common struggle against imperialism. The road to victory over imperialism lies in the unification of these forces.

The major element in the solution of this task is the strengthening, in every possible way, of the might and unity of the countries of the socialist community—the bulwark of the international revolutionary movement. The unity of the social and economic system, the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the coincidence of the fraternal peoples' vital interests create a firm foundation for their economic, political and military cooperation.

Of course, the development of the world socialist system is a complex historical process which has its difficulties and struggles. This is due, among other things, to the fact that the external and internal enemies of socialism do not cease their attempts to undermine the socialist system, to fan petty-bourgeois sentiments and nationalistic passions.

The working people of Czechoslovakia came up against such intrigues of reaction in sharp forms. The events in that country have shown that the Right-wing, anti-socialist forces, with the support of international imperialism, resorted to the most perfidious forms of struggle in order to undermine the foundations of socialism and set Czechoslovakia at loggerheads with its true friends, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. History and life have proved that the cause of socialism is invincible. All the attempts of reaction to turn Czechoslovakia from the socialist road are doomed to failure!

The Communist Party and the working people of Czechoslovakia are today concentrating their efforts on strengthening the socialist system, on solving in a practical manner problems of the country's economic advance, and on developing socialist democracy. These tasks were defined by the decision taken at the November (1968) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The keynote of the latest, April Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, was struggle for the fulfilment of these tasks. We are sure that this Plenary Meeting will be of great importance in strengthening and consolidating the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet Communists and all Soviet people are sure that the Czechoslovak people will, under the guidance of their vanguard—the Communist Party and its Central Committee—be able to overcome the difficulties which have cropped up and will achieve new successes in socialist construction. In their turn, our Party and the Soviet people will do everything to ensure that the traditional fra-

ternal friendship and cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, between the nations of the Soviet Union and the nations of Czechoslovakia will continue to develop and strengthen.

This friendship, sealed by the blood jointly shed in the battles against fascism and cemented by the joint labor for the creation of the new society, will continue to serve our common great cause —the struggle for socialism and communism!

The further consolidation of the socialist countries' military and political cooperation is of great importance in the face of the intrigues of international imperialism. The socialist countries are obliged to reckon with the fact that Western bellicose circles are activating NATO, the breeding-ground of militarism and military provocations. West German imperialism's revanchist plans are being nurtured under NATO's wing, and its nuclear appetite is growing.

Because of this, the CPSU and the Soviet Government show unflagging concern for further strengthening our state's defense potential, which is in keeping with the interests of the Soviet people, the interests of safeguarding general peace. The courageous men of the Soviet Army and Navy are loved and respected by all our people. They firmly guard our country's frontiers. Let the lovers of military gambles know that the Soviet Union is safely protected against any encroachment from outside. "No matter from whence such an encroachment may come—from the north or the south, from the west or the east," L. I. Brezhnev said, "the aggressor will encounter the all-conquering might of our glorious Armed Forces."

The Warsaw Treaty plays a tremendous role in the struggle for the maintenance and consolidation of peace in Europe. The Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, recently held in Budapest, took a number of important decisions aimed at strengthening the socialist states' defense potential within the framework of this alliance. The Budapest Conference participants adopted an Address to all European countries on the preparation and convening of a general European Conference on questions of European security and cooperation. This Address has the support of the Soviet people and has gained the extensive response and understanding of the peace-loving peoples and the progressive public.

A session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, with the participation of the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties and government heads of the CMEA countries will open in Moscow tomorrow. This is an event of great international importance. The further development of the socialist countries' economic and scientific-technical cooperation accords with their vital interests and strengthens the world positions of socialism.

The socialist community continues to be the leading force in the

struggle against imperialism, and for peace and the national and social emancipation of the peoples.

The international working class is intensifying its struggle against imperialism. Suffice it to say that whereas 74,500,000 people took part in strikes in developed capitalist countries in the two decades before the war (1919-1939), 263,000,000 people have participated in them in the two decades since the war (1946-1966).

The year 1968 was particularly notable for the intensity of the class struggle. Workers' strikes took place on a mass scale, even on a nation-wide level on many occasions. The working people quite often went over from demands of an economic nature to sharp attacks on the very mainstays of the capitalist system. This is shown by the working people's powerful actions in France and Italy, by the growing mass movement against Franco's dictatorship in Spain, by the wave of anti-racist and anti-war demonstrations in the United States, and by the outbreak of the youth and student social protest in many countries of the capitalist world. The sharpness of the class battles convincingly refutes the allegations of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists who claim that the proletariat of the capitalist countries has lost its revolutionary spirit.

The liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is growing in scale and strength. They realize ever more clearly that real national liberation is possible only through profound socio-economic transformations, through the liquidation of all forms of dependence and exploitation. In their struggle against neo-colonialism they find support in their close alliance with the countries of socialism, with the international working class.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are marching in the van of the struggle against imperialism. The strength of the Communist Parties, the source of their growing influence lies in selfless service to the interests of the working class, and all the working people. The Communists are the finest sons of their people, capable of heading the masses and leading them in the struggle for their age-old hopes and aspirations, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Communists carry aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of the struggle for unity of all the detachments of the revolutionary movement. Internationalism is the most important criterion of the Marxist-Leninist maturity of any Party or any leader. Departure from it undermines the cause of the working class and socialism.

This is clear from the example of the Mao Tse-tung group's great-power, chauvinistic policy, which greatly damages the interests of the world revolutionary movement. The systematic kindling of hatred and hostility toward the USSR and other socialist countries, and Marxist-Leninist Parties, shows the Chinese leaders have abandoned the principles of proletarian internationalism.

We know that of late the Chinese authorities have resorted to armed provocations on the Soviet-Chinese border, which have called forth the wrath and indignation of the entire Soviet people, the peoples of fraternal socialist countries and the progressive world public. Our glorious frontier guards offered a fitting rebuff to the provocateurs, who had encroached on the sacred Soviet land!

However, the Soviet people have always been in favor of good-neighborly relations between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, in favor of friendship with the Chinese people.

The USSR Government declared that it was necessary to take immediate practical steps to normalize the situation on the Soviet-Chinese border. It called upon the CPR Government to refrain from actions which might cause complications, and to settle differences, should they crop up, in a calm atmosphere and by means of negotiations. We are waiting for an answer to these proposals from the Chinese Government.

Resolutely condemning the Peking leaders' current dangerous course, we proceed from the fact that, in the long run, the Soviet and Chinese peoples' vital interests will make it possible to remove and overcome the difficulties in Soviet-Chinese relations.

The consistent implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism is a necessary condition for the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and for strengthening the cohesion of the world Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism. Our Party and its Central Committee hold that even if there are differences over individual questions, the Communist and Workers' Parties can and must work for joint action in the vital problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. This approach is winning ever broader recognition among the fraternal parties.

The Communist movement is now preparing for its international Conference. The CPSU Central Committee is satisfied with the way preparatory work is proceeding. The work that has been carried out is conducive to the growth of mutual understanding among the fraternal parties, and to the drawing of their views and positions closer together.

Our Party hopes that the forthcoming Conference will play an important role in strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement and of the entire front of those forces coming out against imperialism. The Party will do its utmost to make the international Communist Conference a success.

Comrades, the 100th birthday anniversary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin is only a year off.

Everything really great and significant that has gone down in the revolutionary history of the age was inspired by Lenin's ideas. Leninism is international in its revolutionary essence, because the

cause of the working class, of socialism and communism is international, too. Everything Lenin did is the pride of our people, of our Party, and is the cherished heritage of the world Communist movement.

Our Party and the Soviet people are preparing together with their brothers who belong to the same class and who are also constructing the new society to fittingly mark the 100th birth anniversary of the great leader of the great revolution. Preparation for the Lenin centenary has become the cause of the entire Party and the people and has evoked the tremendous labor and socio-political enthusiasm of the masses.

The Soviet people know well that the best way of marking the Lenin centenary is to achieve new successes in industry and agriculture, to enrich science and culture with new discoveries and works, and to contribute to the common cause of communist construction.

The Soviet people's loyalty to Lenin's immortal ideas is vividly expressed in the people's creative endeavor, enthusiasm and activity.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the inspirer and organizer of all our victories!

Long live the unity and solidarity of the international Communist and workers' movement!

Long live the all-conquering banner of the great Lenin!

# URGENT TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

Today, with the terror regime established in Indonesia as a result of the Right-wing coup accomplished during the latter months of 1965 by internal reactionary forces, the destiny of the Indonesian revolution depends on the unity and determination of all the democratic and anti-imperialist forces, on the ability of the Party of the working class, on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist program and employing Marxist-Leninist tactics, to restore its forces and become the leader of the revolution.

To restore the Communist Party on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and on the foundation of the general line of the international Communist movement many tasks have to be carried out, among them important ones like uniting Marxist-Leninist elements organizationally and ideologically; restoring the people's confidence in the Communist Party; combating both Right- and "Left"-wing opportunism; forming a United Front of Left democratic forces on the basis of an alliance between the workers and peasants; a persevering struggle by the Party to win over the masses through an active defense of the vital interests of the masses; utilizing all forms of the class struggle, including legal possibilities; military preparation of the Party cadres for an armed struggle.

History shows that although Communist Parties have suffered defeat, they nonetheless re-emerged, mustered strength, entered the front ranks of the revolutionary struggle of their respective peoples and won an honorable place in the international Communist movement. This has been borne out by the experience of the CPI itself. But "re-emergence after defeat" does not come of itself. It is achieved by a struggle by Party members capable of withstanding gruelling trials, remaining loyal to the cause of the Party and the people and displaying enough bravery to reconsider critically the experience of the past.

The rout of the Party after the events of the "September 30th Movement" had such far-reaching consequences that today the Indonesian Communists have, in effect, "to begin from the beginning" under far more difficult conditions than in the past.

Since the events of the "September 30th Movement" the balance of forces in Indonesia has changed drastically. Because of fright and prostration, all the forces previously allied with the Party have now left the ranks of the National Unity Front. Part of the middle forces, which, within certain limits, had adhered to a "middle line" have now swung to the Right, but as further developments show

these forces are still undecided, especially in face of the activities of the ultra-Right-wing groups.

The present regime in Indonesia is a military fascist dictatorship. The Armed Forces, the Army in particular, are the backbone of this regime. Its political mainstay consists of the big bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic capitalists, the bureaucracy in the Armed Forces and the civil service as well as in the corrupt parties, the profiteers and plunderers of state property, the feudal and semi-feudal landowners and other exploiters in the countryside, the compradores and other groups economically interested in the large-scale infiltration of foreign capital. These were the social forces behind the reactionary coup in 1965-66 and the establishment of the military fascist dictatorship.

The regime now in power in Indonesia has nothing in common with the interests of the masses; it is an anti-popular regime.

The working class of Indonesia finds itself in unbearable conditions. In a situation marked by total economic dislocation, the workers are unable to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families and, in addition, are denied the legal possibilities for waging a struggle for an improvement of their economic position. Essentially, they have been deprived of their right to work and are constantly faced with the threat of dismissal and unemployment. The plight of the plantation workers, of whom there are vast numbers, is the most difficult of all: the wages are very low and they are employed for only a few months in the year. Female and child labor is ruthlessly exploited on the plantations. By opening the door to foreign capital, the present regime sells the workers of Indonesia into bondage to the old and new colonialists. The Armed Forces have, in fact, become the watchdog of foreign capital interests.

The working peasants, who form the bulk of the population of Indonesia, have lost even the little they had gained, with the help of the Communists, from the Basic Regulations on Agrarian Principles adopted in 1960. The feudal lords and rich peasants instituted a reign of terror on a huge scale in the countryside after the CPI was routed. Frightened into inertness, the peasant masses see no prospects for the future. Championing the interests of the rural exploiters, the authorities in Indonesia flatly refuse to implement the Basic Regulations on Agrarian Principles and the Basic Regulations on Crop Division and actively help the landowners and rich peasants to retrieve the land allocated to landless and land-starved peasants, and maintain and, in practice, approve the most ruthless forms of exploiting the peasants. They are wiping out the last vestiges of autonomous administration in the villages. Having destroyed the peasant progressive organizations, they have created all the conditions for unbridled brutality on the part of the landowners.

The events that followed the failure of the "September 30th

Movement" strongly influenced the destiny of the national bourgeoisie. The intense activity of the foreign monopolies and the flourishing of "domestic" bureaucratic capital tied up with foreign monopolies are strangling the genuinely national entrepreneurs, who are unable to compete with them. The urban petty bourgeoisie and especially the artisans are becoming bankrupt and are unable to maintain even the minimum living standard.

The large numbers of intellectuals who received their training during the national revolution are likewise in unhappy circumstances. The most grievous circumstances are experienced by tens of thousands of teachers, who have been thrown out of their jobs by the present regime. Most intellectuals in Indonesia have always been in the front ranks of the fighters for a genuinely national art and for social progress. The brutal persecution to which the people's intelligentsia is subjected, apart from being inhuman, directly harms the national interests.

Openly pro-imperialist, ultra-Right-wing forces, headed by the Masjumi and Right-wing Socialist elements, are now appearing on the scene. In the Armed Forces they depend on the support of adherents of the reactionary generals. They thirst for power and want to turn Indonesia unconditionally into a political and military bridgehead of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia.

The ruling military fascist dictatorship is itself multiplying the ranks of the forces which will oppose and ultimately bury it. These ranks consist of workers, peasants, artisans, intellectuals, the national bourgeoisie and so on and so forth.

Many Party leaders perished and a great number of functionaries and hundreds of thousands of Party members died in the white terror, which ran amuck after the events of September 30, 1965. Organizational contacts were largely disrupted. To date our Party does not have a united central leadership. Those who toady to Peking are, by their splitting activities, undermining the as yet numerically small underground forces. This is fertile ground for the appearance of renegades, traitors and provocators. In its effort "to annihilate all Communists" and "to weed out the remnants of the CPI up to the last", the present regime pays a great deal of attention to undermining underground Party groups from within, recruiting and infiltrating agents into these underground groups. The activities of these agents result in arrests and the annihilation of hundreds of Communists and give rise to anxiety and fear among some sections of the underground organization.

The Maoists in Indonesia ignore the fact that the Party has been routed and disorganized. To uphold Mao Tse-tung's "thought", they want to go so far as to throw the remnants of the Party against the bayonets of the generals, although no revolutionary situation exists at present and, after their defeat, the revolutionary forces are

in a state of despondency and disorganization. In other words, these people continue to push the Party to the old road of Leftist adventures, which have led to defeat.

This activity clashes with the interests of the working class of Indonesia and of its vanguard, the Communists. It serves the "Great Power" interests of the Maoists. In their efforts to press on the Communist movement in Indonesia the slogans calling for an "immediate armed struggle of the people" and for the "encirclement of the town by the village", the Maoists seek to force Indonesia to take the pernicious course that has brought it to an impasse, isolated many Communist Parties in Southeast Asia from the masses and held up for some years the development of the revolution in a number of countries in Southeast Asia. Nothing save condemnation is deserved by these individuals who claim to be Communists. Although they criticize the personality cult which once infected the CPI, they ignore class interests and national dignity, and worship and extol the personality of Mao Tse-tung.

It is important to draw attention to the bitter fact that by means of deceit and by playing up the errors that have been committed in the past, the Party's enemies have succeeded, for the time being, in depicting Communists as an "anti-national" force in the eyes of part of the people. That is why the new adventures which some individuals, styling themselves leaders, want to press on the Party give the Party's enemies an additional weapon for sustaining the anti-Communist delirium.

Moreover, the Communist ranks are being infected by the dangerous disease of liquidationism, i.e., the discontinuation of all Party activity. This springs from the wavering and fear in some circles of the underground organization. These threats, both from the "Left" and the Right, menace the very existence of the Communist movement in Indonesia.

The Program and the Rules of the Communist Party of Indonesia stress that the non-violent parliamentary struggle is the best, ideal way of achieving the transition to a people's democratic system, which is the preparatory stage of the socialist system. If everything depended on the Communists, the non-violent road would be chosen. Besides, the Program and Rules of the CPI provide for the possibility of violence, because we know from experience that the exploiting classes do not relinquish power voluntraily. That is why the working people must always be prepared for either a non-violent or an armed struggle.

If today the question is asked whether the military clique will voluntarily relinquish the state power it has usurped even if its unpopularity is proved by "general elections", the only answer we can give is—"No!". Nobody must harbor the illusion that in Indo-

nesia the generals and reaction as a whole will voluntarily surrender power at the request of the working people.

For that reason, as a result of the changed balance of forces, the Communists, being the most conscious political force, are obliged to chart, on the scientific foundation of Marxism-Leninism, new tactics combining international revolutionary experience with the specific conditions obtaining in Indonesia today.

At present, in view of the weakness of the revolutionary forces, the Communists must pursue a policy aimed at changing the balance of political forces in favor of the working people and the development of the revolutionary situation. The success of this policy will depend on both objective and subjective factors: the unmasking of the present regime by the failure of its home policy, the breakdown of the "new order", and political work by the Communist organization among the masses. Political activity must be directed at explaining to the working masses the indisputable fact that the present regime cannot solve the economic and political problems confronting the Republic of Indonesia. These problems can only be solved by an anti-imperialist, democratic national government. Mass action by the democratic forces of the Indonesian people must be organized against the military fascist dictatorship with the purpose of overthrowing the anti-popular regime.

In order to counterbalance the class enemy, which is armed to the teeth and wields state power, we must have, in addition to a strong political organization, our own military detachments, i.e., Armed Forces of the revolution, which will, at the appropriate time, support the mass actions of the democratic forces in town and countryside aimed at overthrowing the anti-popular regime.

The Marxists-Leninists of Indonesia hold that it would be premature to launch armed action before the completion of painstaking revolutionary work of a preparatory nature, before the emergence of a clear-cut revolutionary crisis that would bring about a revolutionary situation, before the formation of an organized and highly influential Marxist-Leninist Party as the nucleus capable of heading the armed struggle and ensuring it with the mass support of the forces allied to the working class. This is an indispensable condition of the success of revolutionary action. Without this condition such action would be an adventure objectively playing into the hands of the counter-revolution, for it would enable the numerically-superior enemy to cut the bleeding remnants of the Party to pieces. Every effort must be made to preserve these remnants in order to create a Marxist-Leninist organization in Indonesia which, in cooperation with other democratic forces, would prepare the ground for the overthrow of the military fascist dictatorship and its replacement by a democratic national government.

Retaliation against the butchers should be prepared by gathering

all forces into a powerful fist. Ultra-revolutionary phrases about the "immediate armed struggle of the people" and the "encirclement of the town by the forces of the village", borrowed from the arsenal of others, are ridiculous because they do not conform to the real situation in Indonesia and can only lead to the squandering and annihilation of the revolutionary forces that have survived the September tragedy. Although the present situation does not favor the Communists of Indonesia, the military detachments now being formed by the Party can and must take retaliatory action against the acts of terrorism and crimes of the present regime. Such action must be planned to envisage sudden attack, a quick retreat and secure hiding places. The butchers must know that they will not escape retaliation.

It is imperative to appreciate fully the actual state of affairs no matter how bitter it may be. This by no means implies the cessation of the revolutionary struggle. An objective, undistorted assessment of the balance of forces is absolutely vital for the success of the struggle. Only a frank and honest analysis of the situation will make it possible to work out the most suitable course for this struggle. Lenin teaches that "only *conformable* resistance to reaction serves the cause of the revolution" (the word "conformable" was underlined by Lenin). Lenin said: "Today we are faced by oppressors. It would be most correct to reply to oppression with a revolutionary war, with an uprising, but, regrettably, history teaches that oppression cannot always be countered by an uprising, although renunciation of an uprising does not signify a renunciation of the revolution.

*Today it is important to restore and unite an unencumbered and independently-thinking Communist Party on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism, to revitalize its role of vanguard in our country, its role of fighter for national independence and socialism.*

Besides, a Communist Party can function successfully in its country if its activities dovetail with the fulfilment of its internationalist proletarian duty.

The defeat of the CPI has inflicted considerable damage on the international Communist movement: one of its contingents has been routed and the errors of the CPI leadership have been clearly twisted by the anti-Communist reactionaries and presented to the people as being "the general line of world communism". Besides, some individuals, who aspire to the leadership of the CPI without any rights, use new phrases to screen the old course, which has ended in a fiasco, portraying it as conforming to Marxism-Leninism and thereby objectively helping to discredit the ideas of communism in Indonesia. In this situation, in addition to denouncing the old adventurist course, it is important to show that it fundamentally clashes with the general line of the international Communist movement. It is quite obvious that to adopt the course urged by Mao's agents means to

betray the cause of communism, to neglect the interests of one's people and to desert the ranks of the world anti-imperialist front.

The history of the revolutionary struggle of the CPI shows that as long as its leadership championed the interests of the working people, pursued an independent policy in line with the will of the majority of the working people and thus served the interests of the Indonesian nation as a whole, this policy represented a contribution to the common cause of the world revolution and had the support of the international Communist movement.

The Marxist-Leninists in Indonesia stand in great need of the solidarity and support of all fraternal Parties. Throughout the world these Parties expose the provocative tactics of reaction, which, by accusing the *whole* of the CPI of the adventure of September 30, 1965, has routed the Party and accomplished a Right-wing coup in the country.

The international Communist movement has emphatically condemned the anti-Communist terror in Indonesia. The fraternal Parties have made statements in defence of Communists and members of democratic mass organizations who have been arrested and sentenced without grounds.

The international Communist movement has scored further successes in its efforts to restore unity in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence and socialism. An International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is to be held in Moscow in May 1969.

Indonesian Communists, who adhere to Marxism-Leninism, are free of Maoist influence and are guided by the spirit of proletarian internationalism, wholeheartedly support the desire of the fraternal Parties to strengthen the internationalist solidarity of Communists and cement their unity in the struggle against imperialism.

Indonesian Communists regret that due to the situation in their country they could not take an active part in the preparations for the Meeting, but they express their solidarity, support and readiness to make every possible contribution towards the success of the Meeting.

Being internationalists, the Indonesian Communists cannot confine themselves to national problems however important and urgent they may be. The Communist movement in Indonesia cannot be isolated from the international Communist movement, from the forces of world revolution and socialism. In the present situation when the forces of imperialism, headed by the United States, are activating their aggressive policy and seeking to attack socialism, democracy and peace, the internationalist duty of all Marxist-Leninists in Indonesia is to work for the unity of all Communist, democratic and progressive forces in order to give a rebuff to imperialism. The Communists of Indonesia express their profound solidarity with the

peoples fighting imperialist aggression. We admire the courage of the fraternal Vietnamese people, who are heroically fighting the heavily armed United States Army. We express our solidarity with the peoples of the Arab countries who are subjected to acts of aggression by Israel, which is supported by the imperialists of the USA, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and other imperialist states.

After the severe ordeals of the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s, the CPI reconsidered and drew conclusions from its experience and framed a strategy that was inscribed in the Party Program (5th Congress of the CPI). In particular, in this Program it is stated that socialism is the prospect before the revolution in Indonesia and that the task at the present stage is to form a people's democratic government, which the Party regards as a government of the National Unity Front representing all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces and carrying out democratic reforms. In this Front—within the framework of its tasks—the working class must play the leading role. Resting on the powerful revolutionary movement of the masses, above all, on its vanguard, i.e., the working class, the Communists, as envisaged by the Program, must steadily guide the proletariat into the leading position in the revolution. The Congress stressed that the revolution in Indonesia would be a long and intricate process.

In the course of a number of years this strategic line ensured major successes for the Party. But later the Program was distorted and buried beneath Leftist deviations and Right-wing opportunism. Without any foundation at all the Program was depicted as being aimed directly at the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, some people rejected the Program, calling it "opportunist and revisionist". They arbitrarily invalidated the decisions of the 6th Congress, tried to seize the leadership of the Communists of Indonesia and continued to impose on the Communists of Indonesia deviations of all kinds, which ultimately developed into a totally new strategy, which harmed the Party and brought about its defeat. These people reproached the CPI leadership not for having deviated from the Party Program, but, on the contrary, for having, in their opinion, not deviated enough from the Program, for having failed to bury it completely. At the same time, the criticism levelled against deviations from the strategic line was used demagogically to discredit the line itself. This disgraceful method was used by them to justify the failure of the adventurist policy imposed by the Maoists in their own interests.

The course towards an alliance with the anti-imperialist forces of the national bourgeoisie, with the simultaneous maintenance and strengthening of the political independence of the proletariat, was replaced by the leaders of the CPI with a policy, which, in effect,

served the interests of the bureaucratic capitalists, who appeared on the scene under the Sukarno administration. The CPI leaders pinned their hopes on winning power "with Sukarno as the screen" and by means of intensive infiltration into the state apparatus. Some leaders of the CC CPI and members of the "Delegation of the CPI in Peking" drew the conclusion from the failure of this altogether erroneous policy that an armed uprising of the peasants is the only and absolutely indispensable method of revolutionary struggle in any situation. On top of that, what they feared most was the objective answer to the question: "Who is to blame?" In defending themselves, they seek to put all the blame on Comrade D. N. Aidit, who fell in the struggle, bypassing the question of who pushed Comrade Aidit and the entire CPI leadership onto that disastrous road.

This shameful intention is strikingly borne out by a document entitled "Self-Criticism of the Political Bureau of the CC CPI" distributed in the underground Communist organization. Although they drew many correct conclusions regarding the diseases and errors of the CPI, the compilers of this document did not set themselves the aim of restoring the CPI's independent Marxist-Leninist line which would conform to the obtaining situation. All they sought was to parry accusations from Party members, so that these accusations would not hit the leaders responsible for the distortion of strategy and tactics which brought about the Party's defeat.

The eyes of the authors of this document continue to be bleared by the "thought" of Mao Tse-tung, and for this reason they are unable to draw up an independent program of action and persist in urging that the Party adopt the Peking-inspired course, an adventurist course which has clearly collapsed.

Is the following theory correct: "The only way to achieve victory in our revolutionary struggle is to rally the peasant masses in the countryside to a guerrilla war under the leadership of the workers' Party, launch an agrarian revolution, set up bases in the countryside, surround the town by the countryside and, finally, capture the town and liberate the whole country"? Looked at superficially, this theory seems to be correct. Every Marxist-Leninist realizes that a military fascist dictatorship cannot be overthrown by non-violent means. Such a regime will not surrender without putting up a resistance. It can be overthrown only as a result of an armed struggle, and the forces of reaction must be opposed by the popular forces.

But the above theory does not say how these forces are to be built up. Yet the authors of the "Self-Criticism" want Indonesia to adopt the "Chinese road" and, at the same time, they criticize Comrade Aidit particularly for having in the 1950s repeatedly stressed the difference between the situation in China and in Indonesia. To set up a liberated area on China's outskirts near the frontier of a socialist state is quite different from trying to set up such an area on the

small island of Java with its dense population where every kilometer is exposed to enemy fire. To fight the Japanese colonialists and their puppets with the support of the bulk of the population, as was the case in China, is quite different than trying to start an armed uprising in the present situation in Indonesia, where the overwhelming majority of the people does not yet realize that an armed struggle is the only way to overthrow the regime, which has betrayed the national interests of our country. We can ask those who always maintained that the difference of geographical location between China and Indonesia has no significance at all: What would have been the fate of the Chinese Red Army if after the defeat in 1934 it had been unable to retreat over a distance of thousands of kilometers? The Communists of Indonesia do not have such a vast region behind them.

Those who give themselves out as "leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia" said nothing about the necessity for a struggle for the day-to-day needs of the workers and peasants. But if the Communists do not head this struggle, the workers and peasants will not consider them consistent champions of their interests. In such a situation who will stir the workers and peasants to an armed struggle?

It is indeed necessary to set up Party bases in the countryside so that the peasants, particularly the poorest peasants who form the vast majority, can resolutely side with the Communists and become a faithful ally of the workers and a major force in the revolution. However, these bases must become primarily political bases for thorough-going and scrupulous political and ideological work so that it would be possible first and foremost to deactivate the poison of anti-communism, neutralize the anticommunist activities of reactionary religious organizations and bring the truth of Marxism-Leninism to the peasant masses. In other words, we must work without haste yet perseveringly so as to restore the good and glorious name of the CPI in the countryside and make the peasants realize that it is precisely the Communists who are fighting for their vital interests.

The fundamental distinction between the situation in China in the 1940s and the present situation in Indonesia is that the Communist Party of China was already then the tested and influential vanguard of the Chinese people in their struggle against imperialism and feudalism, while we are confronted with the task of restoring the Party's forces and reviving the faith of the working people in our ability to fight, to head the struggle of the people and lead them to victory. Only people completely isolated from reality can presume that the methods of carrying out this task will be absolutely identical with the tactics used by the Chinese Communists in the 1940s.

The passive and one-sided orientation for our relations with the Communist Parties of other countries, as suggested in the "Self-

Criticism", does not represent anything new. This is precisely the orientation that was adopted by the CPI leadership in 1963-65, i.e., when the attacks on the fraternal Parties were started. This orientation, which in effect contributed to the split in the international Communist movement, to a large extent isolated the CPI in the international arena, weakened the CPI's position in face of reaction and helped Suharto and others to attain their criminal objectives.

In armed struggle victory does not fall from the sky. Nobody can foretell exactly what form the armed struggle will take: whether it will be a people's uprising that will break out in one of the large towns or in the countryside, or whether it will be a guerrilla war that will steadily spread and grow fiercer. However, in both cases the following precious words by Lenin hold true: "To be successful, insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. This is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon *a revolutionary upsurge of the people.* That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon such a *critical moment* in the history of the growing revolution when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when the *vacillations* in the ranks of the enemy and *in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution are strongest.* This is the third point." Lenin emphasized that without these conditions "it would be not only folly but a crime" to throw the advanced contingent into decisive battle.

It must be noted that although we continue to be at the same strategic stage of the Indonesian Revolution, the conditions for gaining the leading role for the proletariat are today much more difficult than in the 1950s. All the more, therefore, does this give grounds for setting the task, parallel with the general strategic objective, of overthrowing the military fascist dictatorship in Indonesia and creating a government which would ensure the independence and sovereignty of the Indonesian state, guarantee democratic rights and freedoms and take steps to implement the aspirations of the workers and peasants, of broad sections of society. Such a government can only appear as a result of a fundamental change of the alignment of class forces in favor of the revolution. Bitter experience has shown the Indonesian people that the Communists were right when they warned of the danger from the Right-wing to the Republic of Indonesia. All genuinely patriotic forces of the people must be called upon to create an anti-imperialist National Unity Front with the participation of Communists.

The struggle for the formation of the NUF with the ultimate aim of setting up a people's government must be founded on a realistic assessment of the true balance of political forces *within the country.* The slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the immediate task will only frighten away the middle forces of the peasants and

intellectuals and remove the prospect of their alliance with the Communists.

Haste and the leaping over a stage of the revolution that has not yet been passed only play into the hands of the enemies of the revolution.

What are the most urgent tasks of the Communists of Indonesia?

1. The struggle to rehabilitate the Party in the eyes of the broad masses, to restore and strengthen its ideological prestige, i.e., the teaching of Marxism-Leninism among the Indonesian people, and to surmount anti-communist sentiments is the prime task of all genuine Communists of Indonesia. First and foremost, we must explain to the masses that the responsibility for the errors of the past devolves not on the CPI with its three million members and not on any one man, but on a group of leaders who, in effect, fenced themselves off from the Party and deliberately or unwittingly mirrored interests alien to the Party and objectively counterposed themselves to the entire Party and the world working-class and Communist movement; that far from conforming with the decisions of the CPI and the line of the international Communist movement, the political line of this group diverged from them; that the ideological slogans of this group were based not on Marxism-Leninism but, on the contrary, clashed with its principles and played into the hands of the splitters. *It is quite obvious that the future of the Communist Party of Indonesia directly depends on a swift, determined and open dissociation from these people and thus depends on the consolidation of the Party's independence and its deliverance from the harmful influence of Mao Tse-tung.*

2. *In order to restore the Party it is absolutely vital to create and strengthen a staunch Marxist-Leninist nucleus of leaders who would be capable of working in the underground for a long time in extremely difficult and dangerous conditions.* This nucleus must consist of carefully selected comrades who are devoted to the revolution. In view of the obtaining situation this nucleus must not be numerous. On the other hand, instead of being a hindrance, the fact that the nucleus would be numerically small would help to enhance its influence and strengthen its role as the leader of the Party ranks. Its cadres must combine great courage with the strictest adherence to the rules of underground work, vigilance and caution, without which it is impossible to ensure the life of the Party. In this Marxist-Leninist nucleus there must be absolute unity of views on ideological and organizational problems as well as iron-clad discipline. This nucleus must ensure contact with groups of Communists in the localities not by sending its own cadres to direct the work of local organizations but by training and steeling experienced and tested Party cadres in each district.

3. Lenin teaches that the launching of a real mass struggle must

be preceded by long, painstaking and careful work aimed at forming a strong Party capable of sufficiently great endurance. He wrote: "Objective conditions require that the foundation of the Party organization should consist of small illegal workers' cells corresponding to the forms of the struggle. These cells must display considerably more initiative and independence, especially as frequently they will be unable to obtain assistance from senior, more experienced comrades. These cells will be unable to carry out the task of constantly influencing the masses and maintaining relations of mutual assistance with them without, firstly, establishing firm contact with each other and, secondly, without creating bases in the shape of various legal organs." This advice, given by Lenin in 1910, when counter-revolutionary terror reigned in tsarist Russia, may be applied by the Marxist-Leninists of Indonesia to the task of restoring the Party of the working class. As regards the admittance of peasants to Party membership, this, as Lenin said, is "not abnormal or dangerous *provided* the proletarian Party can re-educate these elements, who come from without, and subordinate them instead of becoming subordinated to them" (underlined by Lenin). This extremely pertinent advice from Lenin was forgotten by the CPI leadership. But it must not be forgotten again. The Indonesian Communists must always bear in mind that a proletarian Party is being restored and that the non-proletarian cadres in it must be re-educated in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

4. *The issue of periodicals of the CPI must not be delayed by the Party's Marxist-Leninist nucleus.* Firstly, the healthy forces of the Communist Party will rally round such periodicals; secondly, such publications will make it possible clearly to demarcate anti-Leninist groups and expose the anti-Marxist nature of their pseudo-revolutionary slogans; thirdly we can use Marxist-Leninist publications for a campaign to rehabilitate the Party in the eyes of the masses; fourthly, by reading these publications, the Communists and non-Party people will see that the CPI is pursuing a Marxist-Leninist policy; fifthly, these publications will help directly in the struggle against the present regime, exposing the real meaning of the "new order," its anti-popular and anti-national policy, showing the masses the horrible danger of Indonesia's conversion into a military-fascist state serving the interests of the imperialist monopolies, in other words, they will give rise to a popular resistance movement against the present regime and help to form the NUF.

5. In view of the fact that at present the Marxist-Leninists are taking only the first steps towards the restoration of the CPI, that the workers and peasants of Indonesia are terrorized, demoralized and intimidated into passivity, that both these class forces are not yet ready to follow the Communists, that, as a result, the Marxist-Leninists do not as yet have a mass political army, we cannot

consider an armed uprising as an effective and the basic or only form of struggle at the present stage. When the Party is smashed and lies bleeding, when the forces of the revolution are paralyzed, the working class is disorganized and terrorized and no revolutionary situation exists, the slogan of "an immediate mass armed struggle" is tantamount to suicide and, objectively, a provocation leading to the destruction of the numerically small forces at the disposal of the underground Marxist-Leninist organization. *Nonetheless, the Party cadres must be prepared for an armed struggle.*

The idea that Marxism does not bind "the movement to any one particular form of struggle" and that it "positively does not reject any form of struggle" is clearly expressed in all of Lenin's works. Following the great leader of the world proletariat, Stalin said: "The task of the Party is to master all forms of struggle, to be able to use them on the battlefield and skilfully sharpen the struggle in precisely those forms that best suit the specific situation." Lenin pointed out that the implementation of one form of struggle or another depends on the development of the masses, on their consciousness, and on the real balance of forces at different stages of the revolution.

Marxism, Lenin said, "recognizes the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not 'concoct' them but only generalizes, organizes, gives conscious expression to these forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement." In the polemic with Right-wing opportunists, Lenin pointed out that the armed struggle in 1905 "was inevitably the outcome of the *entire* course of development and not the result of the subjective desire of some groups or parties" (words underlined by Lenin).

Lenin sharply condemned any attempt in principle to avoid an armed struggle, including a guerrilla struggle. "Guerrilla warfare," Lenin wrote, "is an inevitable form of struggle at a time when the mass movement has actually reached the point of an uprising and when fairly large intervals occur between the 'big engagements' in the civil war." Along with an uprising, guerrilla warfare in a civil war is one of the most acute forms of the class struggle. When the Party considers it opportune to start guerrilla operations, Communist guerrillas use in these operations all forms of violence against the class enemy, against the imperialists. Besides killing the enemy in battle, guerrillas hunt and execute provocators, confiscate money from the enemy, raid prisons and administer revolutionary justice on hangmen. Genuine revolutionaries scorn those whose prattle about the "immorality" of violent methods only screens their base cowardice. Armed action of this kind, which shows no mercy for enemies and traitors, does not under any circumstances, directly or indirectly, harm the working people. In the hands of Communists

weapons are used exclusively to defend the interests of the people against the class enemy.

At the same time, under certain conditions Marxist-Leninists consider it is in the interests of the Party and the people to refrain from armed action. In a period when reaction runs riot, when a "counter-revolutionary situation" obtains and a revolutionary upsurge is non-existent (such an upsurge will not arise through solely the subjective desire of Communists), the "specific task is to prepare and muster forces and not to take direct and determined action." That is what Lenin taught.

We can appreciate the mood of some rank-and-file Communists who are eager to go into open battle to force the enemy to pay for the blood he has shed. These lofty feelings are played on by those who in blind and fanatic homage to the "thought" of Mao want to throw CPI members into battle so that they would perish without contributing anything to the struggle of the Party, and yet these same people claim they are the "saviors and leaders" of the Party. While recognizing that "the forces of the counter-revolution are at present on the upswing" they nonetheless, in spite of logic, toy with the slogan calling for the immediate "armed struggle" of the whole people.

The principal task of the Communists of Indonesia is to conduct political work among the masses, muster the revolutionary forces and, at the same time, assemble military cadres and prepare secret weapons caches for armed action by the people under the leadership of the Party. In the present situation the success of the efforts to muster a political army depends on carefully conducted explanatory and organizational work among the masses. We must flexibly combine illegal activity with activity in legal mass organizations where Communists have the possbility of conducting work of an educational and organizational nature, namely in political parties, trade unions, cultural and other organizations, explaining to the deceived masses the aims and methods of the Communist Party's struggle. It is necessary to inject organization into the spontaneous actions of the working people, above all of the workers, by rendering the masses every possible assistance in the setting up of various associations and societies protecting their day-to-day interests: trade unions, cooperatives, cultural, sports and mutual-aid societies and so on.

6. *The Communists of Indonesia must display initiative in exposing the demagogic subterfuges of the ruling circles, tear off their mask of "champions of the interests of the people" and show the people the true face of these circles.*

The ruling circles in Indonesia are now shouting from the rooftops that they intend to promote the welfare of the people and declare that what they call the "old order" is responsible for the present

economic dislocation. It is the duty of Communists to show that the purpose of declarations of this kind is to conceal the enormous growth of bureaucratic capitalists, who are increasing their profits by exploiting the country's wealth, that the present regime has done nothing tangible to surmount economic difficulties, that, on the contrary, it is adding to these difficulties by its policy, that those who have been ruling the country since October 1, 1965 are responsible for the drastic drop of the people's standard of living, that this regime embodies and concentrates in itself the worst aspects of the "old order" and, lastly, that the ruling clique cannot pursue any other policy because it is tied by a thousand strings to its masters, namely, the big bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic capitalists, the landowners, the swindlers, the corruptors and the profiteers.

The ruling clique has failed in its attempts to shift the blame for this drastic drop of the Indonesian people's living standard onto the CPI. At present it is trying to direct the growing wrath of the people into the channel of chauvinism and racism, mainly of anti-Chinese pogroms. It is the task of Communists to show the masses that the ruling clique itself is most of all interested in a growth of chauvinistic sentiments, that this clique hopes the wave of racism and chauvinism will halt the growth of dissatisfaction with the present regime.

7. *The contradictions between the different Right-wing groups must be skilfully utilized.* For example, if one Right-wing group openly seeks to enter the military alliance being set up in Southeast Asia by the imperialists headed by the USA, while another group, for one reason or another, directly or indirectly, actively or less actively opposes this policy, it must not be forgotten that both the one and the other are enemies. Here our tactics must be resolutely to oppose the imperialist policy of the first group, "support" the neutralist line which the second group expresses sincerely or by compulsion, and mobilize all forces in order to use the contradictions and discord between these groups to undermine their political positions.

8. One of the cardinal tasks of the Party in the present situation is to wage a *ruthless struggle against traitors, provocators and spies in the underground organization.* In this struggle we must remember Lenin's precept that the destruction of spies is the "*duty* of every honest person." *Any person who betrays the Party and becomes a spy voluntarily, by compulsion or for money, must know that from the moment he begins his dirty provocative work he is under a sentence of death which will be infallibly carried out.*

Enhanced revolutionary vigilance and the ability to hunt down and expose traitors no matter what position they occupy in the Party are an absolute condition for the restoration of the Party and for the Party's normal life.

9. In the situation prevailing at the present stage, the CPI cannot set as its direct objective the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat or the creation of a government founded on a political bloc with the participation and under the leadership of Communists. Objectives of this kind are unrealistic. Alone the Communists are unable to achieve these objectives, while the masses, the majority of workers, the majority of the working people are as yet not prepared to support the Communists. Therefore, due to objective necessity, present demands can only be of a limited nature, above all of a democratic nature, and this opens up the possibility of uniting the patriotic national forces and broad sections of the population on the basis of these demands.

After closely studying the present situation, we have come to the definite conclusion that the Communists of Indonesia are prepared to support and fight for the following aims which spring from life itself:

—a democratic, anti-imperialist national government representing the interests of peasants, workers, partisans, honest civil servants, progressive soldiers and officers, patriotic national entrepreneurs and other democratic elements;

—a determined struggle against the military fascist dictatorship in Indonesia, for the democratization of the state apparatus and society; the holding of general elections while being fully aware that although under the military fascist dictatorship such elections cannot be free and democratic they will nonetheless provide the possibility, even if it is a limited one, of condemning the present regime;

—drastic reduction and purge of the state apparatus, both military and civil, chiefly by expelling from it parasitical and anti-popular elements, and the merciless denunciation of corruptors and the return to the state of the wealth pillaged by them;

—the immediate cessation of the reign of terror and the granting of a general amnesty to political prisoners;

—the abolition of the shameful law "banning" the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the cessation of the persecution of all progressive ideological trends;

—the immediate cessation of the policy of expelling Left elements from political life and the state apparatus, and the discontinuance of the mass "purge" in the state apparatus and the Armed Forces;

—the surmounting of the economic decline and an improvement of the exceedingly difficult life of the working people;

—the consolidation and strengthening of the state sector in vital branches of the economy;

—the establishment of effective state control of the activities of private capital, of foreign private capital in particular;

—the adoption of a progressive labor law embracing all industrial and agricultural enterprises;

—the establishment, in view of the present inflation and economic decline, of an adequate standard of living for workers and other working people and the satisfaction of their day-to-day requirements;

—the provision to workers and other working people of the possibility of conducting an organized economic and political struggle for their rights and interests;

—the implementation of the law on crop division, the restriction of the right to land ownership, the banning of feudal and semi-feudal methods of exploiting peasants, the prohibition of the practice of driving peasants from their land under any pretext, and the institution of a democratic system of village administration;

—the granting of state aid to national enterprises and the pursuance of a policy of preferences in customs tariffs;

—the implementation of a really free, active anti-imperialist and anti-colonial foreign policy, the renunciation of military blocs, and cooperation with socialist countries, with developing Asian and African countries and with progressive forces in the capitalist states;

—firm and unshakable adherence to the following conditions for utilizing foreign economic aid and for importing foreign capital: 1. outright renunciation of political concessions, which the imperialists demand as a condition for granting credits and for the investment of capital; 2. an effective system of state control of the activity of foreign capital to safeguard our national interests.

With the above program it is evidently possible to create a National Unity Front incorporating various sections of society persecuted by the present regime and whose dissatisfaction cannot be openly expressed in political parties or other existing organizations. Such a Front must not become the concentration point of existing parties and organizations; it must be a new association whose object would be to win the masses over from reactionary organizations and attract rank-and-file members from these organizations. On the basis of the above program the Front would facilitate the consolidation of all anti-imperialist forces in the country. However, even from the very birth of the NUF, every effort must be made to enhance the role of the workers and peasants in it, because without their active participation no alliance can grow strong enough to prepare the conditions for changing the balance of the political forces in the country in favor of the people. At the same time, the Communist Party's participation in the NUF can be justified on the sole condition that it retains its ideological and organizational independence. Each Communist or group of Communists working in the NUF is subordinated first and foremost to the Party leadership and implements the Party's line in questions of cooperation with other parties

and organizations. The CC CPI or the provisional body deputizing for it directs all military activity and prepares, in the event of necessity, the forces and facilities for joint action with other members of the NUF.

The unity of all national forces on an anti-imperialist and anti-feudals basis, with the Communists retaining complete ideological and organizational independence as an indispensable condition, fully embodies Lenin's precept to the Communists of the Eastern countries in 1920. The correctness of this precept has been tested by time. Neglect of this precept inescapably leads to defeat and, on the contrary, if it is observed it opens the road to victory for the Communist parties.

Every member of the CPI who in the present extraordinarily difficult situation decides to continue the struggle for the cause of the Party and who remains devoted to Marxism-Leninism, must firmly remember an exceedingly important conclusion drawn by Lenin: The hegemony of the proletariat must *derive* from long, painstaking, persevering and planned work by the Marxist Party to unite the democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces of the entire nation; recognition of this hegemony must by no means be made by Communists a *preliminary condition* for the admittance of future allies to a united National Front for a joint struggle against the common enemy. Such is the teaching of Lenin, and such is the experience of history.

Having drawn conclusions from what has been said above, the Marxist-Leninists of Indonesia put forward the following main tasks:

1. The restoration of the CPI on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.
2. Persevering day-to-day work among the masses of town and countryside in defense of the interests of all working people, for the exposure of the anti-popular, anti-national substance of the military fascist dictatorship of general Suharto.
3. A struggle for the creation of the NUF consisting of all the patriotic forces of the nation on the basis of the program of democratic aims.
4. Active and thorough preparations for an armed struggle aimed at overthrowing the anti-popular regime and the setting up of a National-Democratic Front Government with the participation of Communists.
5. Restoration of unity and close cooperation with the international Communist movement.

These five main tasks can be carried out only by a Marxist-Leninist leading nucleus consisting of Communists unassociated with the errors of the past. Those who have soiled their name, have tried or are still trying to turn the Communist Party of Indonesia into a toady of Mao Tse-tung, and are unable to think and act freely and

independently of Peking or anybody else must be resolutely kept out of the leadership.

At the same time, comrades from among the old leading cadres, who are able to head the implementation of an independent policy by the CPI and mobilize the broad masses for the struggle for their class interests must be enlisted into the work.

The situation in Indonesia bears evidence of the total failure of the anti-popular policy of the "new order." The squandering of Indonesia's national wealth into the hands of the imperialist monopolies and the offensive against workers, peasants and intellectuals is giving rise to mounting dissatisfaction among the masses.

The Communist Party of Indonesia has suffered defeat but its Marxist-Leninist cadres continue to live and work in order to draw conclusions from the errors of the past and continue the struggle for the triumph of the national-democratic revolution and socialism.

A great defeat, Lenin wrote, "gives the revolutionary parties and the revolutionary class a real and very useful lesson, a lesson in historic dialectics, a lesson in the understanding of the political struggle and in the skill and art of waging it."

Down with the military fascist dictatorship!

Long live national patriotism and proletarian internationalism!

Long live the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Indonesia!

With fresh inspiration, forward to the victory of the Indonesian Revolution under the red banner of Marxism-Leninism!

*Marxist-Leninist Group of the CPI*

*Djakarta,* February 1969

# STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The majority of the French people has rejected the referendum. The people have said "no" to de Gaulle, his party, the reactionary policies he has been following for eleven years, and one-man rule.

This is a very important development, a big step towards removing authoritarian power and replacing it by a developed political and economic democracy paving the way for socialism.

The French Communist Party, which from the outset has fought unrelentingly against one-man power, made a decisive contribution to this victory.

To ensure that the people's desire for a complete change in the political orientation is realized, it is necessary to create an alliance of the labor and democratic forces that will provide the requisite basis for rallying the energy of the whole people. The FCP will therefore continue its efforts for the elaboration of a common program as a basis for agreement between the Left-wing parties and major trade union organizations with a view to establishing an entirely new regime in keeping with the interests of the working class and other working people and with the national interest.

Thus it will depend on the progress of united action of all working people and all democrats whether the success of today will lead to a developed democracy.

*Political Bureau of the French Communist Party*

Paris, April 27, 1969.

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**UNITY IN STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, SOCIALISM**
**—W. Kashtan**

**STATEMENT BY CP OF BOLIVIA**

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# ARGENTINA'S FIGHT AGAINST MONOPOLY DICTATORSHIP AND THE COMMUNIST STAND

REPORT* BY GENERAL SECRETARY GERONIMO ARNEDO ALVAREZ TO THE 13th CONGRESS OF THE CPA (MARCH 25-29, 1969)

## CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The issue of the fight for the freedom and independence of our country is being decided not only inside Argentina but also in the world arena—in Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, Berlin, the Middle East, Peru. The struggle between the forces of democracy, national independence, socialism and peace and the forces of reaction, imperialism and war is being waged on a world scale. Therefore, the national tasks of our working class and our people are closely interwoven with their international tasks.

In the five years since our 12th Congress the international situation has been developing as scientifically predicted by creative Marxism-Leninism of our time.

In this sense the analysis made almost ten years ago at the 1960 Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties and supplemented by various resolutions adopted in the subsequent period has been fully confirmed.

Indisputably, the balance of world forces goes on changing in favor of the camp of socialism, democracy and peace, and that new peoples, groups and social strata are being drawn into the movements of national and social liberation, into the fight for peace and national independence.

The capitalist world headed by its most aggressive force, the United States, is experiencing the consequences of an aggravation of the third stage of its general crisis. The covert struggle between the imperialists (the U.S., Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, etc.) is being intensified as a result of internal social contradictions in each of these countries, the financial crisis which is shaking their foundations, and the fierce fight for markets and ever greater neo-colonialist penetration.

The struggle of the working class and the entire people is mounting in the very citadel of imperialism, the United States, where actions for economic demands and for peace in Vietnam, in which

*Abridged from a booklet of the same title.

blacks and whites, women and young people are taking part, are assuming an unprecedented scale. With equal force the struggle is gaining in scope in France, Italy, Spain, West Germany, Japan and other capitalist countries. All this testifies to the growing political and social instability of capitalism. At the same time the socialist camp is confidently advancing in the building of a developed socialist society headed by the Soviet Union, which is already establishing the material and technological basis of communism.

Not long ago Lyndon Johnson, summing up the results of his activity in the White House, had to admit, to his regret, that in the postwar period the Soviet Union has become "a great modern nation." Indeed, the Soviet Union is the first industrial power in Europe and second in the world. In the forty years between 1929 (the first year of the first Five-Year Plan) and 1968, its industrial output has grown 66-fold. It doubles industrial output on an average of seven years, whereas it takes the United States 18 years and Britain and France 28 years to achieve the same result. A similar process of development and consolidation of the national economy has been observed in other socialist countries.

As was rightly stressed at the 1960 Conference, the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is becoming the decisive factor in historical development. The Soviet Union's successes, world outlook, policy, example and firmness are a source of inspiration and most generous assistance to all the peoples fighting for national emancipation and progress, for democracy and peaceful coexistence.

Fresh strength is gained daily by the world revolutionary movement which comprises three main streams: the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

Therefore, analyzing the actions of imperialism, which is the deadliest enemy of the working class fighting for its liberation and which fiercely persecutes the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, one can see that all its attacks are primarily spearheaded against the socialist camp and above all the Soviet Union.

From this it follows, as Lenin noted, that the revolutionary forces should merge into a single revolutionary stream in order to defeat the counter-revolutionary forces which are active on a world scale but are already losing ground and influence.

This growing and inevitable weakening of positions and the loss of influence by imperialism and by the very capitalist system is accompanied by the growth of its aggressiveness, for, as Marx said, forces doomed by history do not leave the battleground without a frantic struggle.

But imperialism remains a dangerous enemy which possesses tremendous resources and can do much harm.

And it was in this international situation that the clique of Mao

Tse-tung and his supporters decided to pursue, within its country and without, an aggressive Trotskyist chauvinistic policy aimed at splitting the world Communist and revolutionary movement. In fact it is breaking with Marxism-Leninism, repudiating the principles of proletarian internationalism, obstructing the generous aid which the socialist world and the Soviet Union are rendering to the valiant fight of the Vietnamese people, and objectively facilitating the realization of the plans of U.S. imperialism .

It is not without reason that the more sagacious and better informed imperialist circles are beginning to display sympathy with and interest in this position of the Mao clique, a position of open enmity towards the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the Communist parties. Not long ago this attitude manifested itself in the criminal provocations of the Mao clique on the Soviet-Chinese border which cost the lives of dozens of border guards of the glorious country of socialism. Only those who have deserted the field of battle against imperialism can commit such a monstrous crime—and this at the time of serious international tension—and set their people against the Soviet Union, the standard-bearer of revolution, communism and peace all over the world!

The Communists of Argentina, confident that they express the deepest feelings of the members of our Party and the Communist Youth League, the working class and the democratic anti-imperialist forces of our people, resolutely condemn the criminal provocation organized by the Mao clique against the great Soviet people. We voice our warmest fraternal solidarity with the great Party of Lenin, the government of the Soviet Union, its people and its glorious army.

But the proletariat, the peasantry and the fraternal people of China possess considerable revolutionary reserves which countervail the adventuristic and aggressive course imposed by the Maoist elements. And in the ranks of the Communist Party of China there have been forged, in the many years of struggle, Marxist-Leninist cadres loyal to the spirit of internationalism who come out against Mao, his clique, and brutal repressions. They have the solidarity of the entire world Communist movement and, of course, of our Party.

At present we are witnessing a dangerous aggravation of the international situation. U.S. imperialism is seeking to set up hotbeds of conflict and provoke or spread "local" and "limited" wars which can at any moment trigger off a world catastrophe. The aim of its policy is to maintain tension in the world and continue the arms race, which is bringing fabulous profits to the U.S. monopolies, and to contain the development of liberation and progressive movements on different continents.

The genocide in Vietnam is the most brutal manifestation of this policy. But on this road, imperialism is meeting with only setbacks and defeats. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, sup-

ported by the constant fraternal aid by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and by acts of international solidarity, has frustrated the Pentagon's diabolical war plans. At the same time, the crimes committed in Vietnam have shown up the real nature of imperialism, evoking world-wide indignation.

It was this that compelled the U.S. leaders to discontinue unconditionally the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and agree to the participation of a legitimate representative of the people of South Vietnam, the National Liberation Front, in the Paris talks. This is a great victory whose significance should not be underestimated.

But the imperialist leaders have not drawn lessons from this, and are continuing their provocations.

As is known, in the Middle East they supported Israel's aggression against Arab peoples so as to suppress their liberation movement, depose the progressive governments of the UAR and Syria, and preserve the privileges enjoyed by the Western oil monopolies. They continue to push the Israeli leaders, who still occupy and try to appropriate the seized Arab territories, into new gambles. Thus the tension in the Middle East has further grown and threatens to erupt into a conflict of an unprecedented scale.

Nixon's recent visit to Europe was designed to strengthen the aggressive NATO bloc, rather weakened at present. Moreover, France's withdrawal from it points to the contradictions existing between the imperialists. At the same time, it was to reaffirm U.S. support for the revanchist and neo-Nazi circles in West Germany. The Bonn-Washington alliance creates a serious source of tension in the very heart of Europe, and the revival of Nazism, encouraged by the United States, endangers security and peace the world over.

In Africa, imperialism is at pains to restore its rule by provoking reactionary coups, strengthening the ruthless racist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia, and helping the Portuguese colonialists to resist the liberation struggle in their colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Island.

On the other hand, U.S. imperialism continues to conspire against Cuba and maintains the blockade, vainly trying to prevent the consolidation of the first socialist state in America. But all these provocations have failed in the face of the determination of the Cuban government and people relying on the firm support of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, on the solidarity of the peoples of Latin America and of the rest of the world.

In order to ensure the continued plunder of the wealth of Latin America, and taking into account the exposure of the "Alliance for Progress" — Nixon is despatching Rockefeller, the Standard Oil and munitions magnate, to our continent, so as to offer a sugared pill of new plans, not less insidious than before. Seeking to retain

its domination in this part of the world, threatened by the mounting struggle of the Latin American peoples, Washington stakes above all on a policy of coercion. Therefore it encourages coups and supports military juntas, while not renouncing its plans for the establishment of a repressive multilateral force under some or other false sign, such as, for instance, "integration and coordination of American armed forces."

This policy is manifested in the outrageous activity of the "Green Berets" as instructors of an army founded by San Martin, and in the participation of General Westmoreland, a butcher beaten in Vietnam, in the conference of American army commanders held in Rio de Janeiro last September, in order to instruct his colleagues in new U.S. methods of suppressing popular movements.

According to the *U.S. News & World Report*, the United States is currently waging a secret war in different countries in which it employs 25,000 specially trained people and on which it spends 2,000 million dollars annually. On February 24 the Associated Press reported that more than 20,000 Latin American officers and men had undergone special training in the United States and more than 25,000 in the Caribbean area. It is there that training is given to specialists in coups which systematically result in changes of government in countries of our continent.

This and many other examples show clearly that the national liberation struggle is closely connected with the struggle against the aggressive imperialist policies and for the preservation of world peace.

But the present dangerous situation calls for a further growth and consolidation of the world movement against war in order to frustrate the new intrigues of the imperialists. In this sense a special responsibility devolves on Argentina.

Speaking of the assessment of the events in Czechoslovakia, the CPA General Secretary stated the position of the CC and declared that the clear-cut, firm and consistent internationalist stand adopted by us from the very beginning and reflected in numerous communications printed in *Nuestra Palabra*, *Nueva Era* and other Party periodicals, had been of great help to our comrades, to the working class and the anti-imperialist forces in the country in resisting the monstrous lying propaganda of the reactionary press, radio and television, correctly assessing the events in Czechoslovakia and adopting a just stand on these events.

We must stress, with a feeling of revolutionary satisfaction, that the reaction of our Party and the Communist Youth League throughout the country was unanimous. There were neither hesitations nor frictions regarding the Czechoslovak problem. And the very initiative of the regional, local and primary Party organizations, which released their own statements and issued leaflets expressing a

consistent internationalist attitude at the very outset of these events, testifies to the Marxist-Leninist maturity and firmness of the entire Party and its leading cadres.

## OUR INTERNATIONALIST DUTY

Unswervingly abiding by the principles of proletarian internationalism and bearing in mind the need for greater unity of the world Communist movement, our Party has been invariably advocating the calling of a new international conference of Communist and Workers' parties to analyze the changes in the world arena in the past decade, and to clear the way to the unity of the revolutionary movement of all peoples.

That is why it participated in all meetings and sessions of the Preparatory Commission of the conference, specifically in the recent meetings in Budapest in 1968. In March we again took part in the work of the Preparatory Commission in Moscow.

At all these meetings our Party emphasized the importance of the document signed at the 1960 Conference in Moscow. Still fully valid are the principles approved at that conference: the characteristic of the present epoch and of the changed correlation of world forces in favor of socialism and peace; the basic contradiction of our epoch—between socialism and capitalism; the Leninist theory of revolution and proletarian dictatorship; peaceful coexistence; the vanguard role of the Soviet Union, etc.

At all international conferences their tremendous importance was stressed, as was that of bilateral and multilateral meetings of Communist and Workers' parties held to exchange experience, strengthen the unity of action and ideological unity of the front-rank contingents of the world proletariat, and at the same time further develop their stubborn struggle against imperialism, in defense of national independence, democracy, peaceful coexistence and the socialist system.

Fulfilling a lofty duty of Communists, our Party attended the congresses of the fraternal parties of Mexico, Ecuador and Peru and had bilateral meetings with the fraternal parties of Uruguay, Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Peru and Colombia, as a result of which joint statements were signed to reaffirm the fraternal relations existing between our parties. These statements pointed to the need for joint efforts in the fight against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and to a firm determination to defend consistently the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and unity of the world Communist movement.

## MAJOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST ACTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

Our continent is also taking part in the great battle developing in all corners of the world.

Undeniably, Latin America is living through a major social upheaval. We can say that the life of all the capitalist countries of the continent has one common feature: a rise of the struggle of the workers, peasants, young people and the masses in general and the growing participation of new social strata in the movement for national and social emancipation.

All these large-scale battles developing in Latin America against the predatory policy of the imperialist monopolies and against the social forces upon which imperialism relies in every country are certainly a prelude to a new stage, that of more acute revolutionary struggle on our continent. Argentina is part of this process.

Imperialism and in the first place U.S. imperialism has experienced strong jolts of the squall of the revolutionary movement of national liberation which has been rapidly spreading in African and Asian countries, where the pillars of its colonial policy are tumbling down. Confronted with this new phenomenon, imperialism certainly does not give up its policy of domination; it is trying to find in Latin America a reliable support for its actions and to turn this part of the world into a reserve of its neo-colonialist intrigues.

But U.S. imperialism has obviously miscalculated. The facts show that the patriotic anti-imperialist trends are daily merging into a veritable stream of struggle for national liberation which extends to all social strata. There is no doubt that these emancipatory ideas are taking deep root in the minds of the Latin American people and finding expression in concrete forms of struggle and resistance to the predatory policy of U.S. imperialism.

A recent and significant example is furnished by the events in Peru, where a nationalist government of highly motley composition was brought to realize, under the pressure of the masses, the damage being caused by U.S. imperialism and decided to confiscate all property of the International Petroleum Company, a branch of Standard Oil. The reason is very simple: the imperialist trust owes Peru debts amounting to a tremendous total of 700 million dollars. It has for more than half a century been plundering the long-suffering Peruvian people. It pockets millions of dollars annually, deceives the state and, in addition, tries to interfere in its internal affairs and direct the policy of the country.

The confiscation of the I.P.C. property was unanimously supported by the people, who had been demanding this for years. But the main thing is that it was unanimously and instantly supported by other Latin American peoples, those of Argentina included, who in various ways expressed their full approval.

It remains to consolidate these first measures, continuing along the road leading to the solution of the problems which plague the working class and all people of Peru.

Our Congress hails the patriotic firm position adopted by the

fraternal Peruvian Communist Party. On January 31 *Unidad*, the central organ of the PCP, pointed out that in view of the threatened application of the Hickenlooper amendment and other forms of blackmail, "the most resolute defense of the oil nationalization and the mobilization of the masses to resist the aggression is the solely correct stand."

But another important fact should be mentioned: the Peruvian government adopted a correct policy as soon as there appeared the threat of fraud and blackmail by the imperialists' resort to the Hickenlooper amendment. It restored diplomatic relations and concluded trade agreements with socialist countries, the Soviet Union among them. These agreements, according to spokesmen of the Peruvian government, open up new and interesting prospects for the foreign trade and national economy of the country .

The possibilities for the adoption of positive measures and for the conclusion of similar agreements have begun to be studied in Ecuador, Colombia and other Latin American countries suffocating in the grip of imperialist monopolies.

Times have changed. Imperialist blackmail ceases to bear fruit. Every people who courageously and staunchly fights for its national liberation receives and can hope to receive in the future generous and growing assistance and firm support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Latin America is the site of a great democratic battle against oligarchies and imperialism. Struggle is on the rise in Colombia, Venezuela and Chile. Struggle is being waged in Guatemala, whose people are coming out against a campaign of brutal repressions. We should note the development of a broad strike movement in Uruguay, where the Communist Party has played an important role in the fight for immediate economic demands and against Pacheco Areco's "emergency security measures" recently called off under the pressure of the masses.

Struggle is mounting against the "gorilla" dictatorship of General Costa e Silva in Brazil. This struggle is headed by the Communist Party of Brazil. Steps towards unity are being undertaken by the Marxist-Leninist forces of Haiti, who are establishing a new Communist party. We hail this positive development.

The Communist parties of Chile and Venezuela have won important positions. In Chile the CP has become the third party for the number of votes polled. It received 16.6 per cent of the votes, increasing the number of votes for it from 346,000 to 380,000, and now has 22 deputies and six senators.

A similar picture, with variations, is to be observed in all Latin American countries, which testifies to a rise of the democratic and anti-imperialist movement on the continent. In other words, we are

witnessing a shift of the masses to the left, towards anti-imperialist struggle.

It would be appropriate to recall here the words spoken by Augustin Adwards, chairman of the Inter-American Press Society, at the concluding session of the society's annual assembly held in our country in October 1968. A specific feature of the moment, he said, is that values and old guarantees are in a state of crisis. Criticism, distrust and attacks on the existing order in all forms are a general phenomenon. For this, philosophical arguments, theatrical productions, propaganda, shouts, cobblestones and dynamite are used. The year that has just ended is a summary, as it were, of this dramatic and contradictory turbulence.

These eloquent words of one of the agents of imperialism draw a picture, unwelcome to imperialism, of the situation shaping up in Latin America.

Everything shows that Latin America is not only turning from a secure rear upon which U.S. imperialism relied into a reserve of the revolutionary movement, but is becoming an active force, an arena of hard struggle of the masses for national and social liberation. We are entering a period of major popular upheavals which are beginning to assume a vividly anti-imperialist character.

The heroic Cuban revolution constituted, without doubt, a glorious milestone in this struggle for the freedom and economic and political independence of the peoples of Latin America. Cuba has opened up new horizons before the revolutionary movement on the continent and pointed to new conditions and possibilities for paving the way to victory in the struggle against imperialist oppression.

*Nuestra Palabra* has printed a series of articles devoted to the big gains of the Cuban revolution. We should make this one of the principal themes of our propaganda in order to show objectively, with the help of facts, that this is precisely the road which should and will be taken by all the peoples of the continent in order to win independence, genuine freedom, progress and prosperity.

Historical experience shows us that struggle for liberation and complete national independence inevitably leads to struggle against obsolete structures and to frontal battles of the masses against the oligarchies and imperialism.

However, today the course of events in the world is no longer determined by the imperialist camp but by the socialist camp. Imperialism has lost the initiative, which is beginning to be more resolutely taken by the peoples themselves.

We cannot forget that the national liberation movement of the peoples against imperialist oppression achieved a scale unprecedented in history after the victory of the 1917 revolution in Russia. The impact of the October Revolution on Asia, Africa and Latin America was as great as is the present-day role of the Soviet Union

and the socialist camp, the mainstay of the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation.

The important victories of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, in all fields of the economy, science, culture, the military art, etc., are, without doubt, decisive factors in the consolidation and successes of the revolutionary and national liberation movements.

This is a sure indication that socialism and the ideas of communism have become a great force of attraction and are taken closely to heart by the masses.

This is a part of the new political process now taking place among the masses, despite the extensive rabid anti-Communist campaign conducted by imperialism and reaction.

On the other hand, participants in the revolutionary movement are beginning to realize their internationalist duty, to see that the national liberation movement cannot and must not be restricted within the confines of a particular country. On the contrary, it should broaden its base, establish firm contacts with the liberation movements in other countries, strengthen the spirit of solidarity in the fight for greater unity of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, and consolidate friendship with the socialist camp and all the peoples of the world fighting for peace, progress, social development and national independence.

In this struggle, inspired by the ideas of proletarian internationalism, we must particularly stress the role of the fraternal Communist Party of the United States of America which, working in the very center of U.S. imperialism, exposes before the people the policy of war and aggression, displays solidarity with other dependent peoples or victims of imperialist aggression — with Vietnam, for instance — and fulfils with honor its duty to the world revolutionary movement.

It is perfectly obvious that in the future the situation will be increasingly favorable for the fusion of the anti-imperialist forces of the continent to ensure the necessary coordination of their forces and greater effectiveness of joint action for the common aims of the Latin American anti-imperialist movement.

We should not foregt that imperialism and reaction have an international character and seek to secure the support of the entire camp of world reaction in order to defeat the peoples fighting for their national independence and against imperialism. It is our duty to give guidance to the masses in the course of this process and to show them that an earnest of their victory lies in consolidating their links and solidarity, in coordinating their struggle with that of the entire revolutionary camp on the scale of the continent and the entire world.

We should counter nationalistic chauvinism encouraged by world reaction with the banner of proletarian internationalism.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Summing up the political situation in our country and the tasks following from it, we should say: the government of the dictatorship of the monopolies imposed upon the country as a result of a coup is a government of oligarchic pro-imperialist minorities.

There are few governments in the world evoking such discontent and general protest, as can be seen in the case of various strata of the Argentinian people.

This government does not have the support of the masses. It systematically experiences internal crises, but, speculating on the split among the anti-dictatorship forces, tries to knock together a movement upon which it could rely for support.

On the other hand, there is arising a large popular-based opposition some leaders of which do not yet dare to embark upon creating a co-ordinating center of struggle with a view to launching a resolute offensive against the dictatorship and defeating it.

The majority of political parties, democratic organizations, trade union centers, peasant associations, cooperative movements, student federations and various mass organizations have voiced their readiness to find common programmatic points as a basis for joint action.

A powerful anti-monopoly movement is broadening and deepening, and the need is growing for progressive structural changes.

Conditions already exist for uniting the Argentinian people in a common front of struggle against the dictatorship and for an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy government.

Such is the principal task of every Argentinian patriot who wants to see his country free from the imperialist yoke and advancing along the road of social progress.

Communists will apply every effort to this end and will fight resolutely for the realization of this historical task set by our people. They will work to ensure that our Party organizations, with characteristic enthusiasm and vigor, having accumulated experience of work among the masses, raise aloft this great banner of unity and send their best cadres to work in this field.

Communists will resolutely fight for the only possible way out of the existing situation: unity of action and establishment of a coordinating center of struggle against the dictatorship of the monopolies; a national democratic front and formation of a provisional government of a broad democratic coalition which would realize an agreed minimum program and convene without delay a Constituent Assembly based on proportional representation of all the political forces and groups of the people.

In these conditions the working class and the people will say their word and determine the new forms of government and also the socio-economic structure needed by the country, so as to march forward along the road of progress.

Obviously, today our Party is more closely than ever uniting round its Central Committee and the correct political and tactical line adopted by the 12th Congress and supplemented at the 7th Conference and subsequent meetings.

If, as Lenin said, practice is the only criterion of truth, then we can say that our political line victoriously keynotes all the great battles of the proletariat and the entire Argentinian people. This, naturally, gladdens the leaders, functionaries and rank-and-file fighters of our Party that has been steeled in battles.

The entire process of preparation for this Congress has shown what deep roots have been struck among the mass of our members and especially among middle-rank and leading cadres by the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism: boundless faith in the masses; hegemony of the working class; leading role of the Party; unity of action and united front; struggle for a government of a new type with the prospect of building socialism; proletarian internationalism and international solidarity; deep love for the Soviet Union and its Communist Party.

Advancing along this road and enjoying the support of the working class and the masses, full of revolutionary enthusiasm, we shall win a provisional government of a broad democratic coalition. It is beyond doubt, comrades, that our working class, our people have the necessary forces and important democratic reserves which will enter the arena of struggle in order to drive reaction out of the government and eliminate monopoly domination.

Communists, heading the struggle for freedom, democracy, national independence and peace, should vigorously propagate among the masses this slogan: *Overthrow of the monopoly dictatorship, establishment of a national democratic front to topple the dictatorship.*

Forward to struggle for the democratic, anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, looking boldly to the bright socialist future, to the only social system which can ensure genuine national independence to our country and constant progress and happiness to our people!

Long live the unity and cohesion of the socialist world system and the international Communist movement on the firm basis of Marxist-Leninist principles!

Long live the revolutionary forces of the movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national and social liberation, and may they go from strength to strength!

Long live the great country of world socialism, the Soviet Union, and its valiant Communist Party!

Long live heroic socialist Cuba, the first free country of America!

Long live the fraternal Communist parties of the American continent, and may they grow stronger!

For a great mass Communist Party, forward to new successes!

# UNITY IN STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, SOCIALISM

## EXCERPTS* FROM THE KEYNOTE ADDRESS OF WILLIAM KASHTAN, LEADER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, DELIVERED AT THE PARTY'S 20th CONVENTION

Canada is full of these sharp contrasts and contradictions. The concentration of wealth and power in fewer and fewer hands, continues. Multi-national corporations, in the main U.S.-owned, increasingly dominate the economic and political life of the country. Science and technology which could bring abundance and ease man's labor, is subordinated to the interests of profit and creates insecurity and unemployment instead. Underneath the so-called affluent society mass poverty exists while exploitation of the working people increases in intensity.

People now sense there is no need for such a state of affairs. More and more of them see the difference between what is and what could be. That is why they do not take kindly to those who tell them to wait for tomorrow, the next day or next year. They want their high hopes and expectations realized today. It is this which is at the heart of the democratic upsurge in our country today. It is this which explains the restlessness in the working class, the rebellion amongst students, the insistence of farmers for a better deal. . . .

This growing demand for meaningful change coincides with a growing disillusionment with the Trudeau Government. . . . The Trudeau Government is the instrument of monopoly, not the people, and no one should have illusions on that score.

This is why the war on poverty and for a Just Society has not gotten off the ground, why the housing crisis remains as acute as ever, why the crisis in the countryside mounts. . . .

Neither has Prime Minister Trudeau fared any better on the question of English-French relations, one of the main reasons he was pushed forward as Prime Minister by the Establishment and monopoly interests. The policy of "One Canada, One Nation" which was the center-piece of his election campaign satisfied the Establishment but it could not resolve the crisis of relationships which have their source in national oppression and economic inequality of the French-Canadian people. Bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism cannot wipe this out. Neither can the substitution of civil rights

*Abridged from **The Canadian Tribune**, April 9, 1969.

for individuals replace the collective rights of the French Canadian nation. The crisis will therefore deepen, as it is in fact doing, as long as the reality of the two nations and its consequence is ignored and is not embodied in a new relationship of equals in a voluntary partnership, based on a new Canadian Constitution.

Such a Constitution must be based squarely on the recognition of the right of the French-Canadian nation to self-determination, the recognition of its right to a national state.

The Communist Party stands opposed to the fragmentation of Canada, a process which would weaken the political unity of the working people of both nations against their common enemies, monopoly capitalism, and Canadian and U.S. imperialism.

What is evident is that monopoly's effort at diverting the widespread desire for change is not succeeding, nor has it been able to check the growing process of radicalization which is shaping up in the country. It cannot do so because the root of that radicalization is the growing crisis in Canadian society, a crisis which reaches into the economy, the state structure, the tax system, the educational system, a crisis which cannot be dealt with by superficial, partial or limited measures but which requires fundamental changes in society itself.

Only a powerful democratic movement united in its aims can bring such changes about. The components of such a democratic alliance are beginning to take form in the growing national, democratic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist actions in English and French Canada alike. However, we are only at the beginning of what the draft resolution calls for, the forging of a new alliance, a national, democratic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist coalition, led by the working class, and it may be necessary to pass through various stages before reaching that objective. In any case it is to the working class we must turn because it is the principal driving and mobilizing force in bringing about this democratic alliance. Without it or against it there will be no democratic alliance and no effective or conclusive struggle for fundamental change.

Those who consider the working class a conservative and declining force are selling the working class short. Everything which is shaping up in the working class disproves the false argument that the working class has become satisfied with its way of life in today's society, that it has become bourgeoisified and middle class in its outlook, or that technology, according to Mr. McLuhan, has replaced the doctrine of the class struggle.

It is not only the apologists of capitalism who try to convince themselves and the working class that it has become a self-satisfied and conservative force in society. This same line is peddled in the trade union movement by the right-wing as a pretext for dampen-

ing down the rising militancy in the organized labor movement and holding the working class within the confines of the capitalist structure. However, it is not the working class that has become self-satisfied but some of its leaders who are out of touch with the new needs and the moods of working men and women, young and old. . . .

The crux of the matter is that the working class alone is the force on which all progressive forces of society can rely, that the working class alone is the mainstay, the chief organizing and creative force in the construction of a new society. This means that those who are looking to the future and working for it must look to the working class, base themselves on the working class, start from the working class in developing effective policies of radical change.

The most important task of the Party therefore is to strengthen its links with the working class, the organized working class in the first place. Without this, the Party will be suspended in mid-air, unable to change the situation. The daily struggles of the workers against capital, of the people against monopoly, must be the basis of the work of the Party from first to last, the focal point of the work of the entire Party and all its members.

All the signs point to a sharpening of the class struggle as the working class is impelled to fight back against monopoly's offensive. Restlessness in the working class is rising as it sees its standards constantly eroded by rising prices, taxes, rents and interest rates. This indirect form of wage-cutting coupled with the fact that wage increases won through struggle lag behind increased labor productivity, speedup and a rise in monopoly profits, is compelling them to engage in sharp struggle with employers for a larger share of the wealth they produce. This will particularly be the case this year with half a million workers in negotiations.

It is with an eye to this situation that the Government is permitting unemployment to rise to 5 per cent and over and at the same time trotting out the bugaboo of inflation with which to press workers into accepting cheap settlements. However, while monopoly makes a big to-do about inflation, it is not too concerned with it because this gives it the opportunity to jack up prices and amass additional profits. It is not inflation they are concerned with so much as the growing strength of the working class and its organizations.

It is this they are trying to change through more direct state interference in the trade union movement, in the collective bargaining process and by efforts at regulating wages. Through such measures state-monopoly capitalism is striving to integrate the working class into the capitalist system and weaken its ability to struggle against monopoly and its policies. . . .

Workers don't want to be mere cogs in the wheel. They want the power to decide, to have a say over technological change.

The Communist Party supports the efforts of workers to achieve substantial wage increases. No guidelines set by Governments on behalf of employers should be allowed to stand in the way of their achieving what their united strength makes possible. Our Party likewise supports the efforts undertaken by the trade union movement to organize the unorganized, seeing in this a decisive element in changing the balance of power in favor of the working class.

One of the questions to which our Party should give particular attention is that of the guaranteed annual income. . . .

The organized working class is fighting for a guaranteed annual wage and for guaranteed weekly wages. It has fought and will continue to fight to extend social security measures, particularly maternity and sickness pay benefits, as it will continue to press for increases in family allowances, unemployment insurance and pensions. At the same time it is in its interests to press for a guaranteed annual income for all Canadians as a right. . . .

To the argument of where the money is to come from to cover the costs of such a program, we would reply: take it out of the defense budget and by democratic reform of taxation, including a capital gains tax.

Our Party should be a foremost champion of such a measure and press for its adoption by the Federal Government.

The growing demand for change finds particular reflection among young people. One of the most significant developments of the recent period has been the radical upsurge among young people. Among working class youth it finds its reflection by their entry into the trade unions and in active participation in the class struggle. Among students it finds its reflection in a growing demand, backed by various forms of action, for democratic reform of education and for a voice in the administration of university life. A growing body of students link the struggle for democratic reform of education with the struggle for a democratic restructuring of society and for an end to monopoly control. This development is of considerable significance, adding an additional force to the growing movement for far reaching change in our country.

Our Party has been slow in understanding the underlying factors which give rise to the growing rebellion among students. A tendency exists to look at the social composition of the students which in fact is changing as a result of the technological and scientific revolution, and not at what is primary—the criticism of a system which breeds wars, racism and oppression and which cannot satisfy all the needs of the students or give them a meaningful future. The rebellion amongst students is thus an additional proof of the deep-going crisis of the capitalist system itself.

Communists do not stand aside from this movement amongst students. They actively participate in these movements. Their task is to spread Marxism, the science of scientific socialism among students, at the same time explaining and exposing the dangers inherent in anarchist and pseudo-revolutionary theories spread among them, theories and practices which are self-defeating. Communists work to strengthen understanding among students of the leading role of the working class in the struggle for a radical ideology of society and are foremost champions of the demand for democratic reform and modernization of education, modernization which would insure its Canadian content . . .

In examining these developments in the young generation we cannot but conclude that we need to work for the establishment of a Communist youth organization, an organization based on the class struggle and on socialism expressed through the political power of the working class and its allies. We are mindful that the task of building such an organization will not be easy. On the other hand the growing interest in Marxism and socialism, the ferment taking shape among our young people, indicates that an objective base exists for such an organization fraternally related to the Communist Party.

Side by side with building such a youth organization our Party should redouble its efforts to attract revolutionary-minded young workers and university students into its ranks. We see no contradiction in building a Communist youth organization which can attract working youth, teenagers and young people generally to the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and the strengthening of the Party's influence among the young generation.

As we can see, the forces opposed to monopoly, and these include the farmers, are growing and will continue to grow. What is decisive now is the strengthening of unity of action, particularly of the democratic left and the genuine socialist currents emerging in English and French Canada. Unity of action of these forces will create more favorable conditions for forging a new political alliance, a democratic alliance capable of drastically curbing the power of monopoly and opening the door to socialist advance . . .

The struggle for unity of action and the strengthening of the independent role and work of the Party are therefore not contradictory aims. They facilitate and complement each other. But it should be clear: the stronger the Party the more likely will unity of action be achieved. The more it makes its presence felt the sooner will unity of action come about. To build the Party is to build the motive force of united action.

Similarly, the struggle to bring about a new political alliance and a new majority in Parliament, is not in contradiction to the strengthening of the mass movements of the working class, students,

farmers and other sections of the people. If we emphasize mass action and movements of the most varied kinds it is because these are the decisive factor in the struggle for socialism itself, as they are the decisive element in forging a new political alliance in our country. In short, mass action must complement and reinforce parliamentary activity at every level.

We cannot separate domestic from international developments. The Canadian people are affected daily by these events which could determine their future, indeed their very lives.

A fierce struggle is going on between imperialism and socialism on all fronts. Imperialism is striving might and main to reverse the course of history, weaken and undermine the positions won by the working class and national liberation movements throughout the world. It uses various forms of struggle, be it ideological subversion or military measures, to accomplish its aims. It is much easier to see its hand when it takes military action as in Vietnam or elsewhere. It is not so easy to see its hand when it undertakes ideological subversion. We, like many other parties, have been slow in seeing this side of imperialist strategy and have tended to underestimate this more cunning and subtle line which is directed to establishing Trojan horses within the socialist camp, within the national liberation movement, within Communist and Workers' parties. In reality of course ideological subversion and military action are part of one package, to change the course of world history and alter the balance of world power in favor of imperialism.

This is the essence of the struggle on a wide number of fronts in the world today, be it in Vietnam, in Europe, in the Middle East, in Africa or in Latin America.

Worldwide pressure finally compelled the U.S. Government to agree to negotiate in Vietnam. The world hoped this would lead to an end to U.S. aggression. It is apparent however, that the decision to negotiate which was forced on it by the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people themselves, the pressure of American public opinion and the increasing support given the heroic people of Vietnam by the socialist countries, has not yet led U.S. imperialism to conclude that it should withdraw its troops and bases from that country. President Nixon's warning about stepping up escalation again, an escalation which has already begun, coupled with Mr. Laird's statement that U.S. troops will stay for an indeterminate time in South Vietnam is a clear warning to the world that a period of sharp and dangerous struggle still lies ahead, and that efforts need to be redoubled to compel the complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. This is one of the most important tasks today.

The situation is further aggravated by the ceaseless efforts of West German imperialism to rearm with the connivance of NATO

and to try to get its finger on the nuclear trigger, with the aim of recarving the map of Europe. West German imperialism is today the chief obstacle to a detente, to peace and international security.

The situation is further sharpened by the refusal of the Israeli Government to arrive at a political settlement in the Middle East, based on the UN Security Council resolution which provides the basis of a just settlement . . .

The struggle for peaceful coexistence is an integral part of the fight for world peace. However, as we have had occasion to say more than once, peaceful coexistence does not mean maintaining the status quo between capitalism and socialism, between the national liberation movement and imperialist aggression or between capital and labor, the people and monopoly. The worldwide struggle between capitalism and socialism also goes on in our own country represented in the struggle between democratic and socialist advance and monopoly rule. The struggle against monopoly and imperialism and their defeat will in the final analysis rid the world once and for all of oppression and of war . . .

I have referred previously to the new offensive strategy of imperialism which includes as one of its aims the fostering of divisions and splits in the world Communist movement, the working class and revolutionary forces throughout the world. We cannot but take account of this global strategy which our Party must reply to by working to strengthen international solidarity in every way possible.

The international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties to be held in Moscow on June 5 can be an important step in this direction. We see this conference as of decisive importance, opening the door to the consolidation of the unity of the world movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is why our Party has worked and will continue to work for its successful outcome.

The trend to consolidating the unity of the Communist movement despite many continuing difficulties stands in sharp contrast to the recent provocative actions of the Maoists on the Soviet-Chinese borders. Why was it undertaken? Whose interests does it serve?

One cannot separate this provocative and adventurist action from the fact that a Party Congress is taking place in China and that the Maoists, faced with internal difficulties and internal opposition, are whipping up anti-Sovietism to drown opposition to their policies.

Neither can one separate the coincidence of this provocative action from the election provocation engineered in West Berlin by the West German Government and by U.S. escalation in Vietnam.

It is no accident that reactionary forces in the U.S., West Germany, Japan, and elsewhere, have suddenly become friends of China

and try to get close to Mao in whom they see a potential ally in the struggle against socialism.

What is clear is that the strategists of imperialism hope to take advantage of the present situation to bring about a change in the balance of power in their favor. What is equally clear is that Maoism is objectively playing the game of the imperialists—the undertaking of a two-front drive on socialism. Thus do the right and left meet.

Our Party condemns these provocative actions undertaken by the Maoists which are nothing less than a betrayal of socialism and of internationalism. These events bring home the fact that what has emerged in China in the course of the so-called cultural revolution is a military bureaucratic dictatorship, with the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, the trade union movement and other public institutions destroyed, and replaced by "revolutionary committees" under the control and direction of the military forces.

They no less bring home the fact that Maoism has moved over from ideological struggle to provocative and adventurist actions against the Soviet Union and against socialism, of which the border incident is but a prelude. We would be remiss in our duty if we failed to see that the struggle against Maoism has gone beyond ideological questions and reached a new and dangerous stage. In saying this we also wish to say we are confident that the Chinese Communists who adhere to Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese people, will eventually assert themselves. Marxism-Leninism will sooner or later win out in its contest with Mao's petty bourgeois nationalism. The place of China is with the socialist camp, with the world Communist movement, with all anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace, independence and socialism. . . .

In drawing attention to these more recent events we do not close our eyes to what transpired in Czechoslovakia where an effort was mounted to take that country out of the socialist community. The decisive action of the five Warsaw Treaty states prevented it and history will surely record the fact that the imperialist counter-offensive against the forces of socialism and progress, prepared over a long time, suffered a severe defeat as a consequence of this action.

Our October Central Committee meeting supported this action and the steps taken by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to normalize the situation, and we are confident this Convention will uphold that position . . .

If the recent events in China have their "logic" in the left opportunism of Maoism, the events in Czechoslovakia have their "logic" in right opportunism and revisionism. Both left and right opportunism have their roots in nationalism, in a negation of proletarian internationalism, in anti-Sovietism. Both roads finally lead to a

weakening of the leading role of the working class and of the Communist Party, and strike at the very foundations of socialism.

History abounds with facts showing that anti-Sovietism has always been the common factor drawing together all enemies of peace and socialism. This is why those who are concerned with the struggle for peace and for socialism must never forget that the Soviet Union is the decisive force in the world struggle against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

Saying this is not to deny the independence and sovereignty of each Communist Party. But the assertion of that independence and sovereignty does not and cannot lie through the road of anti-Sovietism. It lies in asserting the independence and sovereignty of Communist and Workers' Parties from the capitalist class and their policies, by standing firm on the platform of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. One can't be for socialism and against the Soviet Union. This is why our Party will never take the road of anti-Sovietism no matter how disguised.

We stand on the firm ground of proletarian internationalism. It is with this in mind that our Party needs to undertake a consistent struggle against nationalism and chauvinism. Imperialist strategy focuses on stimulating nationalism with which to undermine international solidarity. We focus on international solidarity which is a decisive component of the strategy of advance in the struggle against the enemy of mankind—imperialism . . .

The argument is advanced in some circles that our Party is too conservative and in fact has ceased to be a revolutionary party. Those who say this tend to mix up pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering with serious activity directed to help the working class and its allies to find and take the path of revolutionary change of society.

What does it mean to be a revolutionary today?

To be a revolutionary is to relate the Party to the contemporary situation and the tasks which flow from it, and work to win support for the policies of the Party among the people. To be a revolutionary today is to stand with the working class as the main force for social change, with the working people in the struggle to defend their interests. To be a revolutionary today is to work to curb the power of monopoly, for unity of action of the democratic left and for a united trade union movement around militant policies. To be a revolutionary today is to fight to defend and extend democracy in the economic, educational and political arena. To be a revolutionary today is to be in the front ranks of the fight for peace and against imperialism. To be a revolutionary today is to build the Party of socialism, the Communist Party.

Our Party will not be side-tracked from its responsibilities to its class and the nation, either by pseudo-revolutionary phrasemonger-

ing or by the admirers and apologists of state monopoly capitalism who strive to integrate the working class into the capitalist system and the status quo.

Of course the proof of the pudding is in the eating. It is not enough to say we are relevant, that we are the vanguard. We must earn it every day by our work amongst the working people, the students, women, farmers and intellectuals. The most important thing we must do in this connection is establish our presence and be part of the growing movements all around us. But in the first place what we must do is strengthen the Party and build it and the press, among the industrial workers, the most advanced of the working class.

Some comrades argue that the Party can and should be united in action and that differences insofar as they exist on some questions, be allowed to continue. However, we are not only a Party of action but a Party of unity of will as well, that is, a Party with a common ideological standpoint, one political and tactical line. To lose sight of this basic fact would undermine the unity of the Party. To have comrades go their own way except on those questions of action they may agree with is to undermine the revolutionary character of our Party and make it impotent.

Some comrades say the differences insofar as they exist have to do only with an estimation of the events in Czechoslovakia. Certainly the events there have many lessons for Communist and Workers' Parties and many of them are beginning to draw appropriate conclusions from it. However, the pre-convention discussion showed that differences with the draft resolution exist on a wide number of questions other than the events in Czechoslovakia and include such questions as the united front and electoral policy, the national question, the task of building a Young Communist organization, the events in Czechoslovakia, the struggle on two fronts, nationalism and internationalism.

Some comrades say that the main danger we are faced with is that of dogmatism and sectarianism, not left and right opportunism and revisionism.

But who can deny that bourgeois ideology has penetrated the thinking and work of the Party and led to an erosion of Marxism-Leninism? Who can deny tendencies which have arisen to elevate national peculiarities to one of principle and downgrade what is a matter of principle—the universal character of Marxism-Leninism? Who can deny that the capitalist environment and the role of state monopoly capitalism in making some concessions to the working class has not corrupted some sections of the working class and stimulated opportunism and reformism in their ranks? Who can deny that tendencies have arisen to water down class principles so

as to present a more acceptable image of our Party? Who can deny in these circumstances that left and right opportunist tendencies have not affected the work of the Party?

Saying this is not to suggest that a consistent struggle should not be waged against dogmatic and sectarian tendencies. Such a struggle must be waged and it has particular meaning in light of the dangerous positions being taken by Maoism in China. But it would be foolhardy indeed for the Party to close its eyes to opportunist tendencies which have their social roots in the soil of capitalism and its pressures, a soil in which our Party has to work and which requires steadfastness and firmness on all matters of principle while exercising the utmost flexibility on questions of tactics.

When the Party does not effectively counter bourgeois ideology with socialist ideology, bourgeois ideology moves in. When the Party does not fight opportunism, opportunism takes over. This is why the struggle against left and right opportunism is a long-term struggle.

There can be no question therefore of the need to fight on two fronts—against left and right opportunism and revisionism and against dogmatism and sectarianism while focussing our attention at this time on the struggle against opportunism and revisionism as the main danger. In saying this we are not labelling anyone but rather establishing what it is we have to fight against. What is basically involved is the ideology of the Party, its place and role in the struggle for socialism in our country.

Unity around a firm, clear line does not mean that discussion should or will end in the Party. There are a number of programmatic questions which our Party needs to go into in a thoroughgoing fashion so that by our next Convention we can update our Program in conformity with changes taking place since it was adopted. These include questions of the peaceful parliamentary road to socialism, of multi-party government and of opposition parties under socialism. The discussion on these questions should help to strengthen the Party ideologically at the same time as it should assist in outlining the path to socialism and the building of a socialist society in Canada.

Our discussions will be helped by virtue of the fact that next year we shall be commemorating the life of that man of genius—Vladimir Lenin—and above all his theoretical and practical work which led to the success of the great October Revolution and with it the beginning of the process of changing the world. Only Marxism-Leninism provides real answers to the questions confronting mankind and only socialism opens up prospects for solving the problems of the present day world. Lenin fought consistently against opportun-

ism and sectarianism and for the creative development of Marxism. This we must always remember and it is with this in mind we should prepare likewise for the 50th Anniversary of our Party in 1971. Our Party not only has a rich past full of contributions to labor and democracy. It has an even richer future. This Convention has the task of laying the groundwork today for that future. Above all it needs to give meaning and substance to the widespread desire for change which permeates ever growing sections of the Canadian people. The best way to do that is to build the Party of socialism. This is the most important task of this Convention. This in fact is the real challenge for our Party as we enter the '70s.

# STATEMENT*

## BY THE CC, CP OF BOLIVIA

The political, economic and social policies of the dictatorship confirm the counter-revolutionary process in Bolivia.

### A. IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD

This process is characterized by the unconditional adaptation of the dictatorship to a neo-colonialist pattern meeting U.S. monopoly interests and providing the United States with sources of cheap raw materials and with markets. The denationalization of the mining industry, the alienation of oil with the growing domination of the Bolivian Gulf Oil Co., the policy of granting credits to organizations linked with the U.S. which use the credits to meet American demands, a taxation policy adjusted to the requirements of the International Monetary Fund, the "rural development" program, colonization plans, etc., constitute control levers and sources of profit for the ruling camarilla, and instruments of neo-colonialist penetration by imperialism.

Submission to U.S. neo-colonialist control incapacitates the Bolivian government from following a consistent policy to safeguard the prices of our raw materials. When the General Service Administration (GSA) puts its tin stocks on the market to bring prices down, government protest does not go beyond pitiful lamenations. One material reason for the instability typical of Bolivian policy has to do with tin, the cardinal problem of our economy. Tin export is the umbilical cord of the dependence of our main industry on British smelters and places us in a sort of battlefield between the American and British imperialists.

Bolivia, which during World War II sold its tin at low prices, handed its fate to the Americans, who use their reserves as a sword of Damocles against our economy. The GSA markets its tin reserves to counter the British companies, which are the main go-betweens, but the blow hits the producing countries. In the light of this contest between imperialists for the control of raw materials, it is easier to see the role of "aid" as an absorber of the impact of declining prices on a poor country like ours.

During the nationalization of the mines the Communist Party stressed the need to end the imperialist monopoly on our foreign trade, being convinced that this would release our economy from

*Abridged.

its fetters. Our Party spoke clearly of the necessity for smelting tin in Bolivia and for extending our trade and diplomatic relations, in particular with the socialist countries at whose head is the Soviet Union. But the ruling bourgeoisie vacillated, with the result that the country has already lost 17 years.

There is now talk of smelting tin, but the Klockner plant cannot solve single-handed the problems involved in smelting the bulk of Bolivian tin ore, which has a low metal content. This explains the recurrent mention of flotation and volatilization plants. West German smelters hold no patent for smelting inferior ore nor for upgrading the final product. Unless we are to go on shipping tin bars to Liverpool and if we want the Vinto Smelting Company to serve its purpose, Bolivia must seek technical assistance from the Soviet Union or the GDR. In other words, the thesis of the working class must be implemented.

In view of the crisis due to underdevelopment and a dependent position, the ultras insist on a status quo leaving outdated social structures intact. This means a dictatorship denying all freedoms and rights to the people, and imposing tremendous sacrifices and hardships on the working man. It is a process of degeneration and counter-revolution on Francoist lines. There are also those who propose certain changes within the framework of the bourgeois system but do not dare to resist imperialism. They are sham reformists who encourage foreign investment and do not feel strong enough to follow a course of their own for fear of compromising their class positions. As far as industrialization is concerened, these people do not go beyond the idea of replacing imports or building tin plants that would not affect imperialist interests. It is a policy fostering quantitative changes and a certain growth but not of reshaping old structures.

The Bolivian bourgeoisie, being weak and reactionary and tied by compromises with the imperialists, cannot lift the country out of the critical stage of underdevelopment and dependence so as to attain the goals of self-sustaining capitalist development. Small wonder that the gorillas have established their dictatorship.

The conciliatory bourgeoisie, backed by the imperialists, advocates Latin American economic integration as a way out of stagnation. With regard to the problem of integration, the ruling bourgeoisie seems to have no strategy of its own. The Barrientos government expresses the views of the oligarchies of Argentina and Brazil, the most reactionary oligarchies on the continent. Bolivia is something of a water-shed dividing two major regional markets. It is connected with both the Andean and the La Plata market, being in fact the region where the reactionary and the less reactionary trends clash. This is another material reason for the instability of the policy of the ruling classes and the conflicts it breeds.

## B. IN THE POLITICAL FIELD

In matters of foreign policy the regime servilely aligns itself with the U.S. State Department (anti-communism, support for the Israeli aggression in the Middle East, provocations against Cuba in the OAS, support for gorilla regimes, a chauvinist policy of provocation in some cases and a tendency towards integration with the Latin American oligarchies in others, support for collective police measures against "subversion," acceptance of a joint military command within the inter-American security system, that is, under the tutelage of the Pentagon, and so on).

The dictatorship refuses to extend diplomatic and trade relations which would enable the country to pursue a sovereign and beneficial policy, not only with the socialist countries, but even with countries the U.S. does not favor. When there is talk about negotiations with socialist countries on the level of self-supporting entities or universities, the aim is merely to mislead the people or to wrest handouts from the Americans.

The regime takes offensive action against the labor movement to subdue the working people and bring them under the paternalist control of the employers and the government. It enforces regulations of a fascist, vertical and corporative type aimed at reducing the trade unions to agencies of the Ministry of Labor, the corps of labor attaches of the U.S. Embassy or the Inter-American Regional Organization of Labor, that is, the CIA.

The policy of intolerance, frank distrust and repression in respect of the non-proletarian mass organizations of university students, of teachers, the professions, and so on, is designed to intimidate and neutralize if not to defeat them.

The fiction of liberal democracy, legality and rationalization of powers has paved the way for flouting the prerogatives of the legislative and judicial authorities, which have been reduced to agencies run by the government.

The dictatorship has begun a new stage of the counter-revolutionary offensive to implement American plans for agriculture. It has launched a counter-reform to bolster the positions of the bourgeoisie (bourgeoisified ex-holders of latifundia, rural exploiters and the urban bourgeoisie) on the basis of land monopoly and the abolition of peasant property. The peasants are finding it harder and harder to sell their produce because of the inadequate industrial development of the towns and unfair competition on the part of so-called surplus products of U.S. agriculture.

In the countryside, emissaries of the Peace Corps, Evangelists and the coercive bodies recruit peasants for the alleged purpose of training "community leaders." These "leaders" are trained in secret schools under the direction of Peace Corps instructors. After being

"tested," and if recommended by the Evangelists, they are assigned to the military intelligence service or the police. Thus a police system has been set up in the rural areas and even in the towns.

The government uses peasant leaders corrupted by previous bourgeois governments to further its economic plans. It staged a "peasant economic congress" in an effort to inveigle the peasants into approving the Single Agricultural Tax.* But its plan miscarried because a substantial proportion of the delegates denounced the maneuver and foiled the congress.

Meanwhile the generals, the Peace Corps, Civic Action, Inter-American Regional Organization of Labor, and USIS daily foment anti-communism as they carry on their political campaigns in town and countryside. They refuse to defend the rights and political positions of the working people, university students and teachers, members of the professions, civic organizations, etc.

## C. IN THE SOCIAL FIELD

The government's anti-labor policy translates itself into a wage freeze, the abolition of rights and social benefits and disregard of legislation protecting the working people. Never before has the working class been exploited more brutally than today. It is denied the right to association, speech, assembly, petitioning, etc. The wages of industrial workers, which the International Monetary Fund froze in December 1956, have been put up by 15 per cent in exchange for the application of "rationalization" rates increasing labor intensity 100 per cent, for example, by operating two looms instead of one. The cost of living in La Paz rose 61.8 per cent from 1956 to 1967, which gives an idea of the drop in real wages. On the issue of wages the government resorts to "inflation blackmail" while plundering the treasury. The miners' plight has become even worse with wages cut by half. Recurrent assassinations, dismissals for political reasons, disregard of the trade unions, raids on the seats of mass organizations and the destruction of workers' radio stations add up to an indictment of the despotic and anti-labor regime.

The results of the popular and democratic struggles of the masses or some groups of the population against imperialism and its successive agents show in the main what still characterizes the situation since May 1965, namely, that the counter-revolution still has the initiative and that the balance of forces is still unfavorable to the revolution. Nevertheless, they already indicate an incipient trend towards searching for forms of popular and democratic unity.

A change has come about on the campus. It expresses itself in dissociation from the ruling groups, in the radicalization of youth, who are explicitly taking a stand against the dictatorship, in de-

*A tax which the government plans to levy on all peasants irrespective of income.—Ed.

fense of democratic liberties, against surrender to the U.S., for unity with labor, and so on.

However, the most noteworthy fact of recent date is the rise of a genuine peasant opposition, the beginning of a break-up of the monopoly of the military, inherited from the period of *cacique* power and of division encouraged by the bourgeoisie and the imperialists in the countryside. It is now possible to intensify the independent activity of the peasants, to pass from propaganda to action so as to bring a worker-peasant alliance into being. To be sure, this incipient process has yet to assume a clear-cut character.

The government registers with dread the existence of an independent trend among the peasants. It resorts to provocation and even assassination to prevent the peasants from reorganizing their "blocs," unions and associations. It fosters the essentially counter-revolutionary, bourgeois "military-peasant" pact, which has begun to crack. The peasants, seeking support and guidance, have approached the universities to form a "peasant-university-working people's pact" against the former as a means of imposing respect for the peasants' democratic gains, furthering progressive demands and fighting against the dictatorship.

The struggle against the Single Agricultural Tax makes it possible to organize the opposition in the countryside, in which diverse trends will develop. One of these trends must be combated even now. Its proponents do not take a determined stand against the tax but call for a reduction of it, which means that in principle they have nothing against it.

It is necessary to re-establish the trade union movement by using new forms of organization and activity in the mining centers according to the actual situation and the conditions of legality or illegality, and to revive the activity of COB (Labor Federation of Bolivia) at medium level and in the various bodies, from top to bottom. The Communist Party should help to restore the FSTMB* and COB. The labor and trade union movement needs leadership using the most flexible forms of organization and unity of action, a leadership which the working people will recognize and respect for its firmness, ability, authority and loyalty.

The working people's forces should be regrouped as the yellow, disruptive trade unions dominated by the employers are countered and unmasked with a view to re-establishing the traditions of the revolutionary trade union movement. The important thing in the ideological and political struggle is to raise the mass of working youth to the level of the experienced revolutionary core of the working class. In this struggle it is necessary to combat the rotten ideology of imperialism: anti-communism, a disruptive outgrowth

*Federation of miners of Bolivia.—**Ed.**

of this ideology, and economism, which is the policy of the bourgeoisie among the working class. We are striving to ensure that the working people identify their destiny with that of their class as a whole and that they fight by revolutionary methods.

It is true that the working class is distrustful of teachers and the academic staffs of universities, especially since the events of May 1965.* But this attitude is changing as developments show that it is possible to make common cause with these unstable groups, if only to take one step forward. What should be borne in mind is the danger of vanguardist attitudes among the non-proletarian strata of society and their tendency to compromise on plans foreign to the working class. The fundamental task in the policy of alliance is for the working class to put its political imprint on the struggle and, above all, to ally itself with the peasants, its natural and most reliable allies. Thereby the working class will establish its hegemony and win any subsequent struggle.

At the present stage of political activity against the dictatorship the universities are real bulwarks of democratic struggle and points of convergence of the ideas and standpoints upheld on the national scene. Hence the importance of forums, round-table discussions, public meetings, etc.

The policy of alliances implies taking advantage of the contradictions corroding the regime, of the splits and rifts appearing in the opposite camp. These contradictions exist in the armed forces, among which there is resentment at the enrichment of the top leaders in addition to the fact that the servicemen's patriotic feelings are hurt by the infiltration on the part of U.S. intelligence services, by American control and the general anti-national and anti-democratic orientation of the Bolivian government.

The possibility of unity of the popular, democratic and nationalist parties will become a reality as the objectives of unity are clearly specified; the disruptive and collaborationist positions of some leaders are defeated and the trends towards a new alignment of radical forces in each of these parties grow stronger, that is, as reactionary positions are eliminated and awareness of the need for uniting the people against the dictatorship gains ground.

The revival and further development of the labor and trade union movement will depend on the working class being politically organized and on whether there is an influential party having a mass basis. Unity of the working people, reorganization of the trade unions, cohesion of the democratic, popular, patriotic and anti-dictatorial forces will depend on the Communists' explanatory and unifying work and proper political orientation. The future movement of the masses and the regrouping of the working people's forc-

*Following a pay rise school and university teachers withdrew from the struggle they had been carrying on in common with the working class.—**Ed.**

es is conditional on the Communist Party reorganizing its cadres and heightening its activity. There can be no question of a powerful trade union or mass movement without a strong, politically and ideologically united Communist Party. The task now is, therefore, to strengthen the proletarian class positions of the Party and define the ideological boundaries, establishing the differences in conception and in revolutionary tactics and strategy between Communists and other groups which call themselves revolutionary. Besides, we must clearly dissociate ourselves from what the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties think or do. This is not to say that the ideological struggle implies the adoption of isolationist or exclusive concepts of a sectarian type. On the contrary, it will help to specify the common points on which unity can be achieved in concrete activity and struggle. The necessity for concluding alliances and political agreements does not exempt Communists from establishing theoretical differences over theory and principle or from combating adventuristic petty-bourgeois conceptions and Right-wing duplicity. All that divides and misleads the working people, hampering their revolutionary advance, paralyzing their activity or, indeed, leading them to defeat, must be unrelentingly combated.

The National Liberation Front can play an important role alongside the Communist Party, provided it abandons its inactive stance —a reflection of the situation which the Communist Party has gone through. Furthermore, it must readjust its line, tactics and methods to the existing conditions. It can become a factor helping to restore the popular and anti-imperialist forces. It can become a force contributing to the formation of an anti-dictatorial front and a component of this front without losing its importance.

The critical situation due to the underdeveloped and dependent state of the country is a source of great social and political instability and the forerunner of revolutionary storms. The alternative arising from this is revolution or counter-revolution, a break-up of the relations of production handicapping and holding back the country's progress, or a process of degeneration and retrogression based on the maintenance and consolidation of backward relations of production and the state of dependence.

The necessity for a real, revolutionary way out will become increasingly manifest. But revolutionaries should remember that, no matter how strong a crisis is, a revolutionary situation may be wasted and the revolution drowned in blood, or the bourgeoisie may give the situation a different turn if the revolutionary forces are not adequately prepared nor ready to take power by storm. Although the bourgeoisie is historically doomed, no situation is hopeless for it as yet, because it always finds a loophole through which to push forward its exploiter regime.

This explains the vast importance of the subjective factor, the

class consciousness of the labor movement, without which the revolution cannot take place even if the objective conditions are ripe. The events of 1967 in our country showed that incorrect tactics prompted by a fallacious conception may jeopardize and hold up a revolutionary process. At that time the guerrilla war, waged according to the concept of hot-beds, not only brought an easy victory to a tottering government hated by the people, but weakened and put back the entire mass movement, strengthening the positions of the dictatorship.

Hence the Communists of Bolivia must develop correct tactics enabling the people to fight successfully and adapted to the need to heighten the class consciousness of the masses through their own experience, until the revolution becomes a matter of life and death to them.

In recent years the bourgeoisie has betrayed the revolution and joined the enemies of the people, making it easier for the counter-revolution to win the upper hand. This stage is characterized by the counter-revolution tightening its grip on all levers of power and by the lowest ebb of the revolutionary movement. This presupposes a period, or rather an active, militant process, of regrouping and rallying forces capable of effecting changes whose prerequisites are provided by the very course of developments and which the people must concretize in the main:

(a) The struggle against imperialism in its neo-colonialist form is a standing objective of our political activity. Our main blow is directed against imperialism. We must expel imperialism and destroy its internal, "national" pillars as a necessary condition for the triumph of the revolution. The people's anti-imperialist task today is to form a patriotic front against the dictatorship. Unless the dictatorship is overthrown the people cannot achieve higher objectives of their anti-imperialist struggle, such as the formation of an anti-imperialist government. At the moment the people's anti-imperialist struggle has a democratic anti-dictatorial content. It is the link connecting the present stage of the struggle with the entire revolutionary process and making it possible to achieve some of the goals so as to win everything afterwards. As the fight against the dictatorship goes on forces will rally together that will eventually bring about deep-going, revolutionary changes. In present conditions the political front has a broader content and encompasses forces fighting to overthrow the dictatorship even though they do not advocate revolutionary change. The purpose of the current struggle is to overthrow the dictatorship. The anti-dictatorial front includes certain segments of the bourgeoisie whose interests are affected by the anti-national policies of the dictatorship.

(b) The Party's political, educational and organizing work is

focussed on the working class (in town and country) and on the poor peasants—landed and landless alike. This is not to say that the non-proletarian sections of the urban population or the middle peasants are ignored. The Party must be active everywhere, but above all among the proletarian masses.

The Communist Party of Bolivia adheres to Lenin's doctrine which says that a party should have a minimum program—and a maximum program. The basic problem today is to achieve unity, to overcome the dispersion, confusion, discord and division among the popular forces, a situation beneficial chiefly to the dictatorship. To force the dictatorship into retreat and to defeat it, we must unite the people. To reach unity means providing conditions for a polarization of forces and drawing a clear and definitive demarcation line between the two camps—the dictatorship and the people.

At present the Party should concentrate on the fight for patriotic goals, in defense of the nation's patrimony and sovereignty, of the real economic and political independence of the country, curbing defeatism. It should set itself democratic objectives, uphold the people's gains and rights, the right to association and assembly, freedom of the press, of speech and travel, and advocate the legalization of mass organizations and political parties. It should support the immediate demands of the working class and the whole people, fight for a higher standard of living, adequate pay and the right to work. These are current objectives making up our minimum program, which means that subsequently they will have to be extended as they are won and the mass movement makes progress.

Working-class unity must be achieved through the struggle for economic demands, which should be raised to the level of a political struggle. It is necessary to specify the demands of each particular section of the working class and link them with the general demands of all working people. The struggle of the working class should be linked with that of the urban and rural population, of the students and intellectuals, and raised to a higher political level by insisting on rights, gains and freedoms and the defense of the national patrimony. It is necessary to study the possibility of bringing in various committees, commissions, and so on, that can serve as connecting links between the trade unions or the leadership of legalized unions and branch organizations. These bodies should, however, be real instruments of the actual struggle—they should support the unions and unite the working people. The legal unions should be used in as many fields as possible.

Peasant unity has its peculiarities. The revolutionary position has been and is, therefore, to support the democratic and progressive demands of the peasants. The fight against the Single Agricultural Tax is the principal aspect of the peasants' struggle against the dictatorship, the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

Unity of the active sections of the population, which include part of the so-called national bourgeoisie, should be achieved through actions against the policy of abusive exactions, extortion and taxation which weigh heavily on those concerned. Wealthy foreigners and their "national" agents, who make profit by exploiting the people and plundering the country, should be made to pay more.

The people need unity to solve urgent problems of health, the service industry, road-building, etc.

The greatest danger threatening us Communists in our activity comes from sectarian, Leftist and adventuristic positions. Internally, it lies in Rightist, opportunist and conservative positions and in inaction. These positions essentially set the Party trailing behind the masses and lose it the role of vanguard.

To set the two camps apart means helping to strengthen unity against the dictatorship. It is therefore necessary, as well as calling for unity, to expose the reactionary maneuvers of bourgeois leaders, who are committed to offering U.S. imperialism a political combination as a new relay force in support of its domination, although every relay force enjoys some degree of mass support.

Nor should we ignore the designs of those political leaders who count on setting up a front to overthrow the present government after isolating the working class and its party. It is most unlikely, of course, that in the future the working class will be a mere tool in the hands of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, for it has learned to do its own thinking.

We must also resist those extreme groups which are willing to join any political alliance if it holds out the promise of overthrowing the dictatorship at any cost.

Obviously, unity is not easy to achieve. In any case, it implies a clash of viewpoints and clarification to defeat those who are trying to divert the working class and the people onto a road foreign to its own goals.

## D. FOR A PATRIOTIC, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT ON A POPULAR BASIS

The patriotic and democratic demands, the demands of the working people, constitute the set of urgent tasks to be tackled by the government that will succeed the present dictatorship and will be an expression of the immediate aspirations of the people.

The program of this government, to be brought into being by the anti-dictatorial forces, should contain the following essential points:

1. A policy of national sovereignty and economic independence, of restoring the main mineral, forest, power and other resources to the nation. Protecting and strengthening the government enterprises. Abolishing all gas, oil, zinc, tin and other concessions granted

to foreign monopolies. A sovereign foreign policy, a policy of maintaining world peace. Removal of foreign colonial and espionage missions from the country. Establishing diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist countries and all countries which accept the principles of mutual respect and benefit and territorial integrity.

2. Respecting democratic liberties and restoring the social gains of the working people. Freedom of assembly, association, speech, the press, travel, and so on, for the working people. Revoking the law on state security and the fascist trade union statutes. Removing all hurdles to the functioning of mass organizations and political parties. Restoring their property to trade union organizations. Respecting university autonomy and the Educational Code of Bolivia.

3. A general readjustment of wages and salaries. Concrete steps against the high cost of living. Restoring miners' wages to the level won in May 1965. Confiscating the property of those who make up the dictatorship. Providing sources for new jobs. A policy of protecting the national economy against excessive taxes and duties, against the Single Agricultural Tax. Enforcing the laws on social insurance, old age pensions, accidents, irreplaceability, indemnity, and so on. Solving the urgent problems of the population relating to electricity, drinking water, health, housing, urbanization, etc.

These three points sum up the demands on which the vast majority of Bolivians is at one, and agreement can be reached between different parties, political groups and social forces fighting for an immediate revision of Bolivian policy, for the overthrow of the dictatorship in favor of a patriotic democratic government on a popular basis.

There is no force capable of stemming the people's advance. Neither the dictatorship, its brutality, nor its anti-labor orientation can check the course of history. Developments suggest that the time is not far off when the people will have to decide their future. We must be prepared for that time and must know what is to be done. This object is met by the present appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia.

*Presidium of the Central Committee,*
*Communist Party of Bolivia*

*La Paz,* January 1969.

# REVIEW* OF MID-TERM ELECTIONS AND OUR TASKS

## GENERAL FEATURES AND CONCLUSIONS

The mid-term elections in West Bengal, U.P. and Punjab, the mini-general elections, have brought about important political developments in our country. They reveal in bold relief some significant lessons not only for the Left and democratic parties, groups and individuals but also for the Communist movement, which have to be taken into account if the ganging up of the reactionary forces is to be thwarted and the country is to be lifted out of the bog in which it is stuck at present and taken onto the road of economic development, full-fledged democracy and all round social progress.

There are also important lessons for our Party which we have to take into consideration in our future course of action in building the mass movement and in further strengthening the Party's mass base and organization.

The first important development is that the fond hopes of the Congress leadership of winning a majority of seats single-handed in all the four States and regain the monopoly of State power which it had lost during the fourth general elections, have been dashed to the ground once and for all. The process of breaking up of the monopoly of State power of the Congress which came into bold relief in the fourth general elections, got further confirmed and deepened.

In the 1968 general elections, the Congress was defeated and reduced to a minority in six States, which included West Bengal, Bihar and Punjab, where mid-term elections were held recently. Though it had won a majority in U.P., Haryana and M.P., the Congress Governments in these States fell a short while after the general elections because of defections of certain Congress legislators in the background of the demoralization and loss of faith caused by the defeat of the Congress at the polls. The Congress lost its ruling position in nine States, comprising more than half the total population of our country.

The Congress leadership refused to see the basic change that has come about in the political scene and learn the lessons of the results of the last general elections. It estimated that the United

*Abridged from Review of the Mid-Term Elections adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India. Press release, April 11, 1969.

Front Governments with their serious political and ideological positions (as in Bihar, U.P. and Punjab) among the constituent units of the fronts cannot last long because they cannot deliver the goods. Hence they will be discredited among the people and collapse like a house of cards.

The Congress leadership also thought that by using its power in the Center and other States, it can create troubles for these Governments and hasten this process and bring these Governments down soon. It was confident that under these circumstances, the situation will again turn in its favor and the masses would come back to the fold of the Congress.

Using the Central power in its hands, the Congress leadership resorted to all types of devices—financial, administrative and political—to disrupt the United Front Governments in which the Communist and other Left Parties were playing a significant role. It used the Governors as instruments in this game, violated all the democratic principles and the constitutional conventions of our country to throw out these Governments. Their attitude to the various United Front Governments is the clearest example of this. It installed puppet Governments in West Bengal, Bihar and Punjab with defectors and hoped that gradually it could swallow the puppets and thereby restore its ruling position. However, this game was also foiled because of people's anger at these vile maneuvers. As a result, these puppet Governments were thrown out of power followed by the mid-term elections in the four States . . .

Now, with the defeats suffered in the mid-term elections, the Congress has lost all hopes of retaining the monopoly of State power once and for all. It has realized that even in the Center, it cannot rule single-handed and in the 1972 general elections they are sure to suffer a defeat. They are, therefore, searching for allies even from now on. Some of the known extreme Rightist leaders are searching for a combination of extreme Rightist elements, while others are in search of other types of combinations. Hence the factional-cum-political struggle inside the Congress leadership is being intensified and leading to further disintegration of that organization.

The second important development of the mid-term elections is that the vague anti-Congressism which dominated the minds of the people at the time of the fourth general elections is now giving place to a more positive attitude towards the formation of a progressive, democratic Government . . .

Now, with the experience of the U.F. Governments and the performance of different parties in these, this mood is steadily changing. They have begun to look to the program and practice of the parties before voting.

When a broad United Front of Left and progressive parties and

groups was presented as an alternative to the Congress, as in West Bengal, the masses got enthused and routed the Congress without hesitation.

In other States, that is, in Bihar, U.P. and Punjab, where such United Fronts could not be forged, the masses could not be enthused because they could not be shown any alternative to replace the Congress. Hence the Left Parties could not secure a majority in Bihar, though the Communist Party did not lose its original strength. But in U.P. and Punjab, they even lost some of their earlier strength gained in the last general elections.

Such a front of Left and democratic parties could be forged where the Communist movement (led by the CPI and the CPM) is strong and the two parties were able to come to a common agreement. These conditions were fulfilled in West Bengal.

In U.P. and Bihar, though this time the CPI and the CPM came to an adjustment of seats and were together, the Communist movement as such is not powerful enough to persuade other Left and democratic parties to come together. In these States, the biggest Left party, the SSP, did not see the need for a UF of the Left and democratic parties. It continued to repeat its old slogan of an all-in unity of anti-Congress parties, including the extreme reactionary Jana Sangh and the Swatantra. In these States, if the United Front has to be formed and an alternative has to be presented to the Congress, it is very necessary that the SSP gives up its slogan of an all-in non-Congress Front and takes the slogan of a Front of Left and democratic forces.

In Punjab, no Communist unity could be achieved because of the opportunist and selfish attitude of the State leadership of the CPM which made an unilateral adjustment with the Akali Party in order to defeat the CPI and show that they are the bigger Party. If the CPI and the CPM had remained together, it would have perhaps been possible to persuade the Akali Party into some sort of an adjustment of seats, by which not only the two Communist Parties but other Left parties and progressive individuals would also have got more seats, enabling them to play an important role in the state assembly and the political scene of Punjab.

With all these things, the net effect of all the experiences is that the idea of a United Front of Left and democratic parties, groups and individuals, which our Party has been tirelessly projecting on the political scene of our country for the last so many years, has received an added strength. The positive experience of West Bengal, the resounding victory of the United Front and the formation of a UF Ministry in that State has attracted the attention of the entire people of our country as well as the Left and democratic parties and individuals. It has shown the way, along with the UF Government in Kerala, to the future course before our country. The

experience of the other three states has also confirmed the same thing from the negative end—of failure due to the disunity of the Left and democratic parties.

The third important lesson is that our Party could put up a good show only in those constituencies where it is firmly based on the toiling people, i.e., the basic masses—workers, agricultural laborers, poor peasants and other sections of the urban and rural toilers. Where we are firmly based on these basic masses, we could get allies from other classes, i.e., the middle-classes, certain sections of the lower strata of the bourgeoisie, middle and rich peasants, etc. For every party, there are basic sections of the population on whom they mainly rely and then get allies. The Congress bases itself upon the vested interests and other richer elements in the towns and countryside. Our Party has to base itself on the toiling and downtrodden people and get allies from other classes. In this respect, the problem of unity of the entire peasantry must receive our earnest attention.

The experience of these mini-general elections is that where we could firmly base our Party on the basic masses and also were able to forge a broad united front, we were able to secure victories as in West Bengal. But even in the absence of a broad united front, where we had strong positions among the basic masses, we were able to survive the storm and win seats, though we were forced to fight alone. Though we stood alone in Bihar, we won six prestige seats in the working class centers and also in some rural constituencies and obtained 60 per cent more votes than in 1967. In Western U.P. we were swept away by Charan Singh's BKD where our Party had influence in the upper sections of the peasantry though not among agricultural labor and poor peasants, as we did not organize the peasants through movements and struggles or even explain our stand when we were in the Ministry. We won with a big margin in Amritsar West seat of Comrade Satpal Dang where we were firmly based on the working class and rural poor despite all odds. In the rural seats, we won where we have living links with agricultural labor along with the peasantry.

The fourth important thing to be noted is that the biggest and most organized party of extreme Hindu communal reaction, which has a big base in the Hindi States, has received a setback. Though in Bihar it has increased its seats, in U.P. where it aimed at getting a majority of seats it has been badly defeated. In Punjab, it has lost most of its prestige seats in the big towns, despite its alliance with the Akali Party. In West Bengal, the Jana Sangh is nowhere in the picture.

The setback suffered by the Jana Sangh is significant because of the image it has been fostering on the Indian political scene that it is the "coming party" and that it is going to come to power even

in the Center in 1972. This image has been created because of its increasing strength in the State legislatures of the Hindi area and the Parliament during the last general elections, its spectacular victories in the Hindi-speaking States in the 1967 general elections, its huge mobilization in public meetings and the absence of serious dissensions in its organization as in other parties.

This setback suffered by the Jana Sangh in the mid-term elections and loss of its image is a setback for Hindi communial reaction. It is a favorable development for the Left and democratic parties provided they learn the lesson and unite to present a Left and democratic alternative to the Congress.

In several constituencies in all the States, the Muslim vote was a decisive factor and the Muslims voted for the Congress as an effective alternative and in many places for the Communists.

The masses of people are now eager for a shift to the Left and their aspirations can be fulfilled only if a stable progressive alternative is placed before them. This has been proved positively by the results of the mid-term elections in West Bengal and negatively by those of Bihar and U.P. The very fact that such a U.F. is absent on a national plane, the Rightist forces are getting a longer lease on life.

As the Congress is disintegrating much faster than the growth of Left and democratic forces, Rightist forces are getting the opportunity to combine, the result of which will seriously undermine parliamentary democracy.

Certain parties raised the slogan of a non-Congress non-Communist Front. Such a policy resulted only in disrupting the Left and democratic forces and helped the Congress, Jana Sangh and other reactionaries by splitting votes. In West Bengal this policy got a rebuff from the people.

On the all-India plane, a United Front of the Left and democratic forces does not come into being mainly because the FSP and the SSP have so long refused to forge a U.F. together with the Communist Party on the basis of a minimum program. The attitude of the CPM has not been favorable to this so far.

Experience of the mid-term mini-general election must open their eyes to the bankruptcy of such a policy as well as the immense prospects and possibilities for the democratic forces through a U.F. of all Left and democratic parties, including the Communist Party of India and the Marxist Communist Party. It goes without saying that closer understanding, cooperation and unity of action between the two parties has a distinctive significance in building the unity of all national democratic forces by bridging the gulf between Communists and non-Communists belonging to the Left and democratic camp. While carrying on debates and discussion in fraternal manner on major ideological and political differences, it

should be recognized that there is much common ground for developing common understanding. Nevertheless, the unity of the entire Communist movement including the Communist revolutionaries otherwise known as Naxalites* is an important factor for the development of common mass struggles.

The mini-general election, as well as the post-election political developments have once more substantiated the correctness of the Party Program. A growing split within the Congress and the ranks of the national bourgeoisie, the potentiality of a national democratic front and the role of the Communist Party in this front as a decisive force are now becoming clearer to almost every Party of the Left, though the realization is yet lagging behind the rapidly developing new political situation.

Undoubtedly, our Party's initiative to carry on and extend mass struggle for democratic rights, for living conditions and for urgently needed reform in every sector of the society is an indispensable lever for forging such unity. This is amply corroborated by the experience of struggles in West Bengal after the U.F. ministry was toppled. It was these mighty struggles which made the difference between 1967 and 1969 in the U.F. as a whole and in the relations between the Communist Party of India and the Marxist Party. This experience must be carried forward in all the States and further extended in West Bengal itself so that a United Front of the Left and democratic forces can become a reality and obtain such support of the masses as to replace the Congress government at the Center and wipe out all bastions of the Right reactionary forces.

The crisis in the Congress is the result of the bankruptcy of the capitalist path, exposed to such an extent that the Fourth Plan has been reduced to a farce. The growing offensive of the capitalists against the working class, the rising tide of unemployment and the failure to solve the agrarian problem are the biggest factors isolating the Congress from the masses and leading to splits within it. Mass struggles for the defense of people's rights, betterment of their condition, extension of democracy, resistance to Center's interference against progressive moves of the United Front governments and the fight for the extension of state autonomy are the lever to build up a broader front and smash the remaining bases of the Congress and other reactionaries. It will be wrong to underestimate the strength of the reactionaries because even in West Bengal the Congress has obtained 40 per cent of the votes and the Jana Sangh is strong in a number of States. But the main hindrance to the development of nationwide mass struggles is also the absence of the unity of the Left and other democratic forces coupled with the

*The term **Naxalite** is applied to those ultra-revolutionaries in the break-away CP(M) who advocate very sectarian and adventurist tactics and forms of struggle. They have now formed a separate party—a third Communist Party.—**Ed.**

weakness of the Party in many States. These lags must be removed by the Party taking the initiative for mass struggles on a national scale and simultaneously to forge the unity of all the Left and other democratic forces.

Our Party must now find out and adopt concrete measures to bring the Left and democratic forces together. In order to do this it is necessary to adopt certain immediate steps to set up a common platform of the CPI and CPM in order to abandon mutual hostility and for coordination to fulfil common tasks. For this purpose an all-India coordination committee between the two parties is urgently needed; other steps can follow from joint deliberations. The National Council directs the Secretariat to open talks with the leaders of the CPM in order to implement this. The National Council is of the opinion that the formation of a bloc of the CPI and the CPM in the Parliament and the legislatures where the united Left Front exists would be of great help in lending strength to the struggle against the Congress government. It will also be helpful in building up a wider Left and Democratic front in the Parliament. Hence the Party proposes the formation of such a bloc. Finally, the National Council appeals to all parties of the Left and other democratic elements to abandon anti-communism and such slogans as a non-Congress, non-communist front because experience has proved the danger as well as the futility of such a front. The National Council calls upon them to meet together with the Communist Party as early as possible for joint deliberations to devise ways and means for bringing about a united front on an all-India scale. The Communist Party will do all it can through bilateral talks in preparation for such a meeting. The vacuum that is being created by the decline and disintegration of the Congress must be filled up by the Left and democratic forces joining together for countrywide mass struggles on national political issues and specific demands of the masses. The Communist Party will do all it can to unite all Left and democratic parties on a national scale on the basis of a minimum program as the progressive alternative to the Congress Party and reactionary combinations.

# STATEMENT

## OF THE CC, IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

In the course of many weeks the government has been stepping up violence against opponents of its policy, specifically against the progressive forces of different trends which are known to have contributed to the fight against imperialism, the dictatorship, reaction and division. The latest campaign has resulted in the arrest of more than 200 patriots who have been snatched out of their families and out of their work in Baghdad and other regions of the country. In carrying it out the government employs "national guard" gangs known to the people of Iraq and to the entire public opinion since 1963 as the most terrible weapon of bloody violence against the masses and the progressive parties. The detainees are incarcerated in the former royal palace Kasr al Nihaya (Palace of the End), in which, in 1963, the fascist regime put to death Communists and other progressives. And now again the rulers have chosen these dungeons as places of torture to wrest confessions from patriots. Many of those who actively participated in the "investigation" commissions of 1963 can be seen among the torturers and persecutors of today.

The present rulers of Iraq are gradually reviving the methods of 1963 and trying to cover up their terroristic acts against the masses and their progressive parties by the words "proposal" to and "dialogue" with the progressive forces. These campaigns of violence are taking place at a time when Israel is intensifying its aggression against Arab countries. Our people see in them an attempt to suppress the patriotic and progressive forces opposed to the present regime and the prevalent trends which guide the hand of those who dream of power and fiercely hate democratic freedoms of the people.

Voicing the demand of the people for the restoration of democratic guarantees for the patriots, for eliminating the aftermath of the former dictatorial regimes through a general amnesty for all the persecuted and hounded patriots, for the repeal of death sentences which have been unlawfully passed on dozens of them, and for an end to the terror and arbitrary rule in the prisons and concentration camps, the Iraqi Communist Party regards the current campaign against progressives and patriots as a disgusting manifestation of dictatorship. It stresses the responsibility of the rulers for the consequences of the persecution and demands that the unlawful campaign be stopped and all arrested patriots released.

Our party calls upon all honest citizens, all those who do not want a repetition of the bloody tragedy of a recent past, to protest against the terroristic and unlawful acts and demand the discontinuation of the terror.

We urge the progressive parties and organizations, all those the world over who stand for freedom and human rights, to expose the campaigns of terror and persecution in Iraq and demand an end to the terror and tortures and the release of the arrested patriots.

The Iraqi Communist Party declares again that the policy of terror and persecution of patriots increasingly isolates those who pursue it and can only end in their defeat.

March 1969

# STATEMENT*

## OF THE CC, PORTUGUESE COMMNIST PARTY

### THE PARTY AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY "ELECTIONS"

The fascist government of M. Caetano is busily preparing for "elections" to the National Assembly. On the one hand, it bans steering electoral commissions and on the other, instructs the fascist census-taking commissions to falsify polling lists. While launching a broad political campaign it prohibits publication of documents of the opposition. The repressions continue to the accompaniment of an increasingly loud "liberalization" palaver.

Continuing Salazar's tradition and employing his methods, the government is preparing a new electoral farce with polling lists falsified, the democratic forces deprived of all rights and freedoms, and the opposition unable to control the conduct of elections.

The task of the opposition is to demand conditions which would ensure the holding of at least minimally serious elections, to utilize the elections for the further development of democratic political actions, for the consolidation of organizational work during the election campaign, for the extension and intensification of the popular mass struggle for economic, social and political demands.

The possibility to nominate anti-fascist candidates is neither the result of the new situation in the country nor a gift from "liberal" fascism. It is a conquest of the democratic movement, the result of its correct tactics of utilizing all legal possibilities (even the most limited and accidental ones) for struggle against the dictatorship, a success of the opposition prepared by the long struggle against fascism. Participation in the "election" campaign does not signify support of the demagogic machinations of the fascist camarilla; it is an important form of struggle for the basic demands of the democratic movement.

Dangerous trends have surfaced in connection with the fascist "elections": Leftist and sectarian trends on the one hand, and conservative on the other. While the former denounce "traitorous elections," the latter, with their "moralizing" over "support through participation," call for non-participation. At the same time, some representatives of the democratic camp who have fallen for Caetano's "liberalization" demagoguery, declare for "accurate" participation within the narrow limits established by the government for the toothless opposition. Some of those who have renounced

*Abridged.

their democratic past even contemplate nominating candidates jointly with the fascist National Union.

These trends negatively affect the preparation of the democratic forces for struggle on the electoral front. Should they prevail, the result would be passivity, capitulation before the fascist policy, and refusal to utilize the real possibilities for action, which would only play into the fascists' hands.

The opposition can neither keep away from the elections, boycott them nor refuse to nominate candidates, just as it should not nominate obedient and harmless candidates ready to collaborate with the dictatorship or with people who can step down prematurely out of fear of the struggle of the masses. The opposition should not acquiesce in hushing up the most pressing national problems by non-participation in political life or restricting the sphere of its political actions.

There are such important factors of promoting the anti-dictatorship struggle as nomination of opposition candidates, announcement of participation in the "elections," organization of a broad movement and measurees in support of the opposition candidates, the presentation of demands for the observance of conditions to impart at least a minimum of authenticity to the elections, and the linking of electoral struggle with the struggle for the vital immediate demands of a democratic character.

The opposition needs courageous candidates enjoying the confidence of the people and possessing qualities which would guarantee their consistency in the fight for democratic demands and intrinsic connection of their activity with that of the masses.

The Communist Party stands for the nomination of unitary opposition candidates in all areas.

However, a certain part of the opposition adheres to an anti-unitary stand, presents demands of a discriminatory nature and strives to place itself above the rest of the opposition—an attitude which facilitates the government's repression of the Left-wing of the opposition. One can assume that it will not hesitate to nominate its own candidates in the hope of acquiring a "monopoly" right to represent the opposition.

Those political circles in which unitary trends prevail cannot reconcile themselves to the discriminatory measures of the forces which want to split the democratic movement. Urgent measures should be taken to nominate unitary candidates on the basis of broad popular support and to launch a broad mass movement around them.

In the event of the opposition entering the elections with several lists, this should not be allowed to harm the spirit of anti-fascist unity, the unity of Communists, progressive-minded Catholics, So-

cialists and liberals, and to affect the struggle against the common enemy, the fascist dictatorship.

In its striving to split and intimidate the opposition and isolate the strongest anti-fascist party, the PCP, the government is waging a fierce anti-Communist campaign. It is regrettable that some opposition spokesmen are consciously or otherwise helping these intrigues by circulating scandal, slander and most ridiculous inventions against the PCP.

The democrats of all trends should counter the fascists' efforts to secure support and win over the most hesitant elements of the opposition on the basis of an anti-Communist platform, with democratic unity on an anti-fascist platform.

Fascist dictatorship or democracy is the dilemma facing the Portuguese people. It is around this dilemma that the electoral struggle should develop.

As a counterweight to the candidates of the fascists, monopolies and big landowners we should nominate candidates of the people linked with the people and their actions.

The fascist policy of Portugal's subordination to imperialism, the policy of exploitation, terror, colonial war and obscurantism, should be countered with struggle for the realization of the tasks of the national democratic revolution.

The democratic forces should advance and energetically fight for the following conditions:

1. Freedom for democrats to organize an electoral movement.
2. Freedom of electoral propaganda, presupposing equal opportunities in the use of the mass media.
3. Freedom of assembly, including equal opportunities in the use of public facilities.
4. A possibility of control over the drawing up of polling lists and of making copies of them.
5. A possibility of control over the course of elections.

Despite Caetano's electoral demagogy (which is, naturally, intensified on the election eve), the fascist government will never satisfy these demands of its own free will. Only a consistent and staunch struggle, only the impact of the popular movement can force it to give in.

The fight for these demands should be started already now and continued right up to the elections, and the government's refusal to satisfy them should not serve as a pretext for refusing to nominate candidates or for prematurely withdrawing them, which would be tantamount to a renunciation of political struggle in the pre-election period.

The nomination of opposition candidates and participation in the "elections" should be also closely bound up with the struggle for the immediate concrete aims:

1. Against repression, which includes release of all political prisoners, an amnesty, the return of political emigres, the abolition of security measures and the dissolution of PIDE.

2. For the right of free expression, which includes the abolition of censorship, an end to the confiscation of books and periodicals, and free access to the mass media for spokesmen of different views.

3. For the right to set up organizations of a democratic character, for a guarantee of their free and democratic functioning, for the lifting of restrictions connected with the principle of corporatism.

4. For the satisfaction of the most pressing demands of the working class and all working people, such as higher wages, an end to the growth of prices and taxes, and trade union freedoms, including the right to strike.

5. For an immediate discontinuation of the colonial war, for contacts and talks with the legitimate representatives of the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique.

6. For a foreign policy of peace and peaceful coexistence, which includes establishment of relations with all states, especially socialist ones.

The content of the democratic movement is not limited to electoral struggle. The latter constitutes but a part of the general struggle against fascism, for freedom. It is being prepared in the course of everyday actions throught expanding the fight for the above-mentioned concrete aims, and a real success of the anti-fascist movement can be brought about only by the consolidation of its unity and organization and by concrete actions.

Experience shows that a broad struggle against fascism can be waged only on the basis of a strong organization. Work should be launched on the establishment of all kinds of commissions throughout Portugal, having in mind both the tasks of the struggle for the enumerated concrete aims and other tasks to be tackled by commissions for participation in the elections, for civic rights, commissions for the election of nominated candidates, and so on.

The establishment of a nationwide dense network of democratic commissions in the districts and regions, at enterprises, at estates and in villages, in universities and schools, among all strata of the population, is the best guarantee of successful development of the struggle on the electoral front.

The Communist Party stresses the importance which unitary organization of the opposition embracing all its political circles, all those who stand and fight for unity, acquires today.

The repressive measures against the workers' and students' struggle, the threats and intimidation in connection with democratic initiatives show that the government, despite the "liberalization" demagoguery, is firmly resolved to continue the Salazar poli-

cy of police terror. It will do everything it can to prevent anti-fascist struggle on the electoral front and, sensing danger, will not hesitate to take repressive measures against democrats and the masses.

The democratic movement cannot and should not allow itself to be intimidated. The regime is experiencing grave difficulties, it is being torn by ever-deepening contradictions. If the democratic forces, impelled by the unitary spirit, display greater initiative and strengthen their organization, if they rely on the masses for support and mobilize them for struggle, the "elections" being prepared by the government can develop into a great battle for the most vital demands of the Portuguese people.

The anti-fascist movement has made several important steps forward in recent months. The working class has shown in deeds, in the course of numerous strikes and meetings held already in 1969, that it stands at the head of the anti-fascist fight. The students carried through a number of major actions and achieved important successes, which could be greater still, had it not been for the Leftist trends which were used as a pretext for provocations and repressions against the student movement. The intellectuals stand in the front ranks of the political struggle. The fight against repression and censorship, for an amnesty, for the right of assembly and organization, against the colonial war, is mounting, drawing in new broad strata of the population.

The political and economic struggle is growing in scope. The working class is taking an ever more active part in political actions and in the preparatory work connected with the opposition's participation in the fascist "elections". No time should be wasted in accelerating the organization of the entire movement. The struggle of today should prepare ground for still greater battles of tomorrow for democracy and freedom.

April 1969

# ON PREPARATIONS FOR THE LENIN CENTENARY

## RESOLUTION* OF THE CC SUPG

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany calls on all full and candidate members of the Party, all the parties and organizations in the National Front of Democratic Germany, and all citizens of the GDR — workers, cooperative peasants, intellectuals and other working people, as well as the youth—to prepare for, and fittingly to commemorate on April 22, 1970, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, in common with the Soviet people and the whole of progressive mankind.

Lenin continued Marx's and Engels's work and enriched Marxism with new conclusions. He furnished scientific proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism in every respect and demonstrated that the victory of socialism on a world scale is inevitable. His doctrine of the party, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, his outstanding theoretical works on political economy, philosophy and scientific socialism, and his practical activity show generations of working people the road to action. Leninism is the Marxism of the twentieth century, of the period of the downfall of the capitalist system, the period of the social revolution of the proletariat and of democratic and national colonial revolutions, the period of the victory of socialism and communism.

Lenin evolved the theory of imperialism as the highest and last stage of capitalism and discovered the law of the uneven economic and political development of the capitalist countries under imperialism. This discovery brought him to the conclusion that the proletarian revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat are possible and necessary and that socialism can win in one country — a conclusion of decisive importance for historical development.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was steeled in three revolutions. Its selfless, heroic struggle and its creative activity were the basis on which the Soviet Union rose to the stature of a socialist world power, an unshakable bulwark of all progressive forces, a basis of struggle for social progress, peace, democracy and socialism. The Soviet state has exerted a decisive influence on

*Abridged from **Neues Deutschland,** May 1, 1969.

international developments ever since it was founded by Lenin. The historical experience of the CPSU has become part of the international treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism. The whole world can see the enormous influence of the CPSU and its founder and leader, Lenin, on historical development.

One of the fundamental postulates of Leninism is that only a party which, being the vanguard and the highest form of socio-political organization of its class, takes guidance from the revolutionary theory of Marxism can provide correct leadership of the working people in the struggle against imperialism and in the solution of the challenging problems of building a socialist and communist social system in every sphere of public life.

Thereby Lenin gave the working class of all countries a clear perspective of struggle against imperialist war and capitalist exploitation. He became the recognized leader of the world proletariat. His profound ideas and his principled fight for the purity of Marxism, against revisionist and dogmatic distortions of revolutionary theory, are outstanding examples of revolutionary thought and action.

Lenin exerted a deep influence on the development of the German labor movement. It was with his direct assistance that the Communist Party of Germany became a revolutionary militant party, a party of a new type.

In accomplishing the anti-fascist democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, the SUPG—the party of the working class—constantly based itself on Lenin's teachings, first of all on his doctrine of the development of the bourgeois democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

A developed social system of socialism and its basis, the economic system, are a result of the concrete application in our conditions of Lenin's theoretical propositions on the socialist social formation. At the same time they are the prerequisite of the most effective realization of the scientific and technological revolution in the interests of all working people. Lenin saw in the principle of democratic centralism as the unity of central state planning management and democratic responsibility of the enterprise staffs and local government bodies the only form of social organization of state and economy in socialist society corresponding to the objectives of socialist production and to the political conditions of the worldwide competition between socialism and imperialism.

Lenin regarded the mastering of the art of managing the economy and the state by the working people and the drawing of all working people into this process as the essence of socialist democracy and the only form of real and consistent democracy. This behest of Lenin's is being faithfully carried out in the GDR.

We in the GDR follow Lenin's counsel by building up a developed

social system of socialism as an integral whole and by perfecting its components. We apply the universally valid principles of Marxism-Leninism with due regard to specific conditions, and carefully study the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union. Thus we utilize all advantages and motive forces of socialism. We are fulfilling the historical mission of the GDR, which is clearly to show everyone the superiority of our socialist social system over the state monopoly system existing in West Germany.

Our supreme goal is to strengthen in every way the GDR, the socialist state of the German nation.

The GDR is inseparably bound up with Lenin's country, with the CPSU and the world's first socialist state. Our Party, the SUPG, will do its best in the spirit of Leninism to promote the community of the socialist countries and strengthen the unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. In this effort of ours, Lenin's life and work will guide us as an unfading example.

*CC SUPG*

*Berlin*, April 29, 1969.

**MPR**

On April 21 the *Montsame* news agency reported the decision on preparations for the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth adopted by the Political Bureau of the Party CC. The resolution says that the greatest revolutionary achievements of this century are linked with Lenin's name and that the MPR regards it as its foremost internationalist duty to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism. The PB CC put forward a plan of preparatory measures for the Lenin centenary.

**KPDR**

On April 22 *Nodon Shinmun* carried an editorial on the 99th anniversary of Lenin's birth under the heading "Lenin's Ideas Are Winning". It says that Lenin, who continued the great cause of Marx and Engels, gave an all-powerful weapon to the working people of the world fighting against capitalist oppression and exploitation, and greatly contributed to the progress of the world revolution.

The Korean people, who were entirely devoted to their national and international revolutionary duty and carried high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary banner of the anti-imperialist and anti-American struggle, would continue—in unity with the peoples of the socialist countries, the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and all progressive peoples of the world—to fight with determination against imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialists, for the triumph of the cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism.

**CYPRUS**

An AKEL statement on the Lenin centenary appeared in *Kharavgi* on April 22. It notes that the working people of the world are preparing to celebrate in April 1970 the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lenin, a great humanist and unrelenting champion of social justice.

To commemorate the Lenin centenary, AKEL has resolved to help study the great leader's immortal works in order to popularize his teachings.

**DRV**

On April 22 the central press published items on the 99th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

Under the heading "Combine Genuine Patriotism with Internationalism," *Nhan Dan* carried an editorial saying, in particular, that on the occasion of the anniversary and in conditions of the revolutionary action of the spring, the whole people of Vietnam, who constantly satisfy themselves of the vitality of Leninism, express their unqualified devotion to the great leader.

Speaking of the relation between genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the article stresses that the Vietnamese Communists' patriotism differs entirely from any kind of nationalism that has ever existed in Vietnamese society, and more particularly from feudal and bourgeois nationalism. The Party of the Working People of Vietnam is fighting with might and main for the unity and cohesion of the socialist system and the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

**CHILE**

The progressive public of Chile commemorated the 99th anniversary of Lenin's birth. The Chilean Institute of Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union held an anniversary meeting in Santiago University which was addressed by Pablo Neruda, the poet. Branches of the Institute held similar meetings in other towns.

On the occasion of the anniversary the Soviet films *Lenin in October*, *Lenin in Poland* and *The Man with the Rifle* were shown with success throughout the country.

**MEXICO**

On April 24 the Mexican-Soviet Institute of Cultural Relations held a meeting dedicated to the 99th anniversary of Lenin's birth. Sanchez Cardenas, a leader of the Socialist People's Party, read a paper on Lenin's life and work. He pointed out the importance of the UNESCO decision that the centenary of Lenin's birth be celebrated all over the world, stressed the need to study Lenin's writings

as a means of furthering the progressive movement in Mexico at the present stage and called on the Mexican public to take an active part in the preparations for a celebration of the centenary.

**KENYA**

Items on the coming hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth appeared in the *Daily Nation* on April 25. The article "Lenin and Africa" stressed the great role which Lenin's teachings have played in bringing about the disintegration of the colonial system and the triumph of the national liberation forces of the continent.

The items gave prominence to the world-wide preparations for the Lenin centenary.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

## APRIL-MAY 1969

**ITALY**

The CC ICP, meeting in plenary session, on April 1, heard a report by Giorgio Napolitano, member of the Political Bureau, on the Party's tasks in the present political situation and on its efforts to extend and assure the success of the people's struggle and movement for a reform of the educational system.

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A delegation of the CP of Austria, led by Franz Muhri, Chairman of the Party, visited Rome early in May at the invitation of the ICP, whose delegation was led by Enrico Berlinguer, Deputy Secretary of the Party.

The two parties discussed at length the international situation and prob'ems of the Communist and working-class movement. They declared for unity of action of the Communists and all anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

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A delegation of the Rumanian CP, composed of P. Niculescu-Mizil, member of the Standing Presidum and secretary of the CC RCP, and M. Dalea, secretary of the CC RCP, met on May 13 with E. Berlinguer, Deputy General Secretary of the Italian CP, and C. Galluzzi, member of the ICP Leadership.

The two sides exchanged views on the international situation, paying special attention to the problem of European security.

**POLAND**

The CC PUWP, which met on April 3 and 4, discussed methods of drafting the economic plan for 1971-1975 and the problem of raising the effectiveness of economic investments. It heard an account of the preparations for the international conference to be held in Moscow and on the Budapest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

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A delegation of the Rumanian CP, led by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC RCP, paid a friendly visit to Poland in May at the invitation of the CC PUWP. Among the problems discussed in the course of the talks was that of the economic relations and cooperation between Poland and Rumania.

## MEXICO

On April 15 Ramon Danzos Palomino, member of the CC Presidium of the Communist Party, General Secretary of the independent peasant Center, was unlawfully sentenced to prison. The total of political prisoners has almost reached 200. The fight for their release has become a pressing task for Mexican revolutionaries and democrats. As this fight goes on our people will rely, as they have done before, on the international solidarity of the revolutionary contingents and all democratic forces of the world. The CC Presidium of the Mexican Communist Party calls again for a campaign to bring about the release of Mexico's political prisoners.

## CHILE

The Central Committee of the Communist Party, which sat from April 13-16, discussed the internal political situation and the results of the general election of March 2, and specified the Party's tasks in the 1970 presidential elections. Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CPC, condemned the provocations of the leadership of the Communist Party of China and called on the meeting to approve the draft of the fundamental document of the coming Moscow conference.

The CC meeting resolved to hold the 14th Party Congress from November 24-30, 1969.

## ISRAEL

The CC CPI held its Third Plenum on April 18 and 19. The plenum resolution states that the government of Meir-Dayan-Beghin has shown beyond all doubt its unwillingness to reach a peaceful settlement of the Mideast crisis and that the CC CPI warns the people of the government's adventurist and irresponsible policy, which may undermine the effort for a peaceful settlement and aggravate the situation by bringing the threat of a new war nearer.

The CC CPI thinks highly of the preparations for the Moscow conference. The Party will continue its effort to contribute to closer unity of the world Communist movement.

## ARGENTINA

On April 26 the CC CPA unanimously approved the draft of the fundamental document worked out by the Preparatory Committee of the international Communist conference during its March session in Moscow.

The CC CPA expressed confidence that the conference will be an important event in the world Communist movement and will help to strengthen cohesion of the movement, a necessary condition for the success of the struggle for the unity of all democratic and

anti-imperialist forces in every country and for heightening the role of the working class in the fight against imperialism, for peace.

## BULGARIA

A delegation of the CC, CP of Belgium, which visited Bulgaria on April 28, held talks with a delegation of the Bulgarian CP during which the two delegations positively assessed the preparations for the international Communist conference to be convened in Moscow. The closing communique expresses confidence that the conference will make for greater cohesion of the brother parties and for stronger unity of action of all anti-imperialist forces against the common enemy, imperialism.

* * *

A meeting of delegations of the Communist parties of Bulgaria and Greece took place in Sofia on May 16. The Bulgarian delegation was led by T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee, and the Greek delegation by K. Koliyannis, First Secretary of the CC CPG.

During talks conducted in a comradely atmosphere the two delegations informed each other of the activities and tasks of their respective parties and discussed topical problems of the international Communist and working-class movement.

## DENMARK

On April 28 the CC, CP of Denmark adopted a statement saying that the Communist Party of Denmark will do all in its power for the Moscow Conference to make substantial progress towards strengthening the unity of the Communist movement.

## GDR

The 10th Plenum of the CC SUPG met on April 28 and 29. Erich Honecker presented a report on behalf of the Political Bureau. Kurt Hager made a report on the main problems of spiritual life under socialism.

At the close of the plenum Walter Ulbricht took the floor.

The CC approved both reports. It adopted a decision on preparations for the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth and a statement on the results of the March session of the Preparatory Committee of the Moscow conference.

* * *

A Party and government delegation of the PRB, led by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRB, was on an official visit to the GDR from May 5-9 at the invitation of the CC SUPG.

Both sides pointed out the great significance of the decisions

unanimously adopted by the 23rd special session of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

The SUPG and BCP actively support the preparations—now drawing to a close—for the international conference of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow.

## NORWAY

The Communist parties of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland held a conference in Oslo on April 28 and 29. The participants exchanged information on the situation in the labor movement in the Northern countries and on Communist activity. They also exchanged views on the forthcoming international Communist conference.

* * *

A delegation of the Rumanian CP, led by M. Gherea, alternate member of the Executive Committee and secretary of the CC RCP, stayed in Norway from May 5-10 at the invitation of the CC, CP of Norway.

The delegation had an interview with R. Larsen, Chairman of the CPN. The two parties exchanged views on problems of common interest relating to the international situation and the Communist and working-class movement. They consider that unity of the international Communist and working-class movement is imperative for peace and socialism.

## FINLAND

The CC CPF, which met on April 23, discussed steps to strengthen Party unity, pressing social problems, and preparations for the general election. It approved the composition of the Secretariat, which is made up of Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Party, Arvo Aalto, General Secretary of the Party, Erkki Kauppila, Erkki Kivimaki and Olavi Poikolainen.

The CC CPF, which met in Helsinki on May 17 and 18, discussed the country's home and economic policies. The relevant report was presented by Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Party.

## FRANCE

The CC FCP, meeting in plenary session on May 2 and 3, approved the report presented by Paul Laurent, member of the Political Bureau, on the political situation after the referendum and the tasks of the Party, and the report of George Marchais, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC, on the preparations for the Moscow international conference, and passed a relevant resolution.

The meeting approved the composition of the Party delegation to the Moscow conference. The delegation will be led by Waldeck Rochet.

A delegation of the Korean Party of Labor, led by Kim Don Gyu, alternate member of the PB CC, stayed in France at the invitation of the CC FCP.

According to *l'Humanité* of April 21, the two delegations exchanged views on the activity of their respective parties and on topical international problems. They expressed satisfaction over the relations of friendship and fraternal solidarity uniting the two parties. They reached agreement to strengthen these relations in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

**FRANCE**

Delegations of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the French Communist Party held talks in Paris on May 8 (*l'Humanité*, May 10).

The two delegations registered complete identity of views on the preparations for the Moscow international conference. Their statement stresses that the two parties will do their best to assure the success of the conference, contributing thereby to closer unity of the Communist and Workers' parties, and enhancing the fighting capacity of the world Communist movement, vanguard of the fight against imperialism.

**USA**

The 19th Congress of the CP USA met in New York from April 30 to May 4. It was attended by 275 delegates with the right to vote. It adopted the new Marxist-Leninist program of the Party, elected the leading committees of the Party, passed the main political resolution and approved the draft of the fundamental document of the coming conference of Communist and Workers' parties. Gus Hall was re-elected General Secretary of the Party and Henry Winston, National Chairman.

**ECUADOR**

The CC CPE, which met from May 3-5, approved the report of Pedro Saad, General Secretary, on the political situation in the country and the drafts of the fundamental document and the appeal for peace to be discussed by the Moscow international conference. The meeting discussed and approved a plan of preparations for the Lenin centenary.

**VENEZUELA**

The 13th Plenum of the CC CPV opened in Caracas on May 6. In his opening speech Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Party, said that the Central Committee was again in a position to meet freely after seven years of underground struggle. The plenum discussed tasks in strengthening the Leninist orientation of the Party,

increasing its influence on the working people and achieving Communist unity.

The plenum also discussed the plan of preparations for the Fourth Party Congress, participation in the international conference of Communist and Workers' parties, the commemoration of the Lenin centenary and the Party's tasks in the fight for democracy, against imperialism, and elected a new Political Bureau of the CC.

**BELGIUM**

On May 6 the CC CPB discussed the draft of the fundamental document of the coming Moscow conference and approved its objectives and principles.

**RUMANIA**

A delegation of the CP of Australia, led by L. Aarons, National Secretary of the Party, visited Bucharest in May at the invitation of the CC RCP.

**AUSTRIA**

The CC of the CP of Austria, which met in Vienna on May 12 and 13, discussed, in particular, the results of the recent provincial and communal elections in Vienna and Salzburg.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

A delegation of the CP of Belgium, led by M. Drumaux, Chairman of the Party, met on May 13 with Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia.

The Belgian delegation was informed of the political situation in the CSSR and the present tasks of the CPC. The Belgian comrades, for their part, spoke of the fundamental principles of the activity of their Party. There was an exchange of views on topical problems of the world Communist movement.

**HUNGARY**

Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia, was on a friendly visit to Hungary on May 15 and 16 at the invitation of the CC HSWP.

During the visit G. Husak and Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, exchanged views. The first secretaries of the two brother parties informed each other of the situation in their respective parties and countries, the progress made in building socialism and the possibilities of extending relations and cooperation between the CSSR and HPR. They also exchanged views on the international situation and important problems of the world Communist and working-class movement.

## USSR

By agreement between the Party leaders and statesmen of the Soviet Union and the SRR, a group of Party leaders and statesmen of the SRR led by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC RCP, visited Moscow on May 16.

The Rumanian leaders had a meeting with L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, which proceeded in a comradely spirit. There was a comprehensive and frank exchange of views on matters of common interest relating to the Communist and working-class movement and the world international situation, including the tasks in the fight for peace and security in Europe. The two sides also examined problems of the relations between the two countries. They reaffirmed their desire to promote friendly Soviet-Rumanian relations.

* * *

A delegation of the CP of Cuba visited the Soviet Union in May at the invitation of the CC CPSU to study experience in Party work in industry.

## LESOTHO

Writing in the March-April issue of *Madjammoho*, the CP of Lesotho called for a united front of democratic opposition forces in the 1970 general election campaign.

The journal said editorially that the people are looking forward to the coming election as an opportunity to reject the present neo-colonial regime by constitutional methods and to replace it by a regime of genuinely national independence, a democratic regime following a policy of economic independence and social progress.



**Documents adopted by International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties — Moscow, June 5-17, 1969.**

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**CORRECTION**

**INFORMATION BULLETIN #10 (146) should have been #10-11 (146-147).**

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# COMMUNIQUE
## on the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties

An International Conference of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties took place in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969. Participants in the Conference see it as a big event in unfolding the struggle against imperialism, in achieving anti-imperialist united action by the broadest masses of the people throughout the world, as an important stage in cementing the unity of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism.

Delegations of the following Communist and Workers' Parties participated in the Conference: Communist Party of Australia, Communist Party of Austria, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Belgium, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, People's Van-

guard Party of Costa Rica, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labour, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, United Party of Haitian Communists, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, People's Party of Iran, Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Irish Workers' Party, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Jordanian Communist Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Lesotho, Communist Party of Luxemburg, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Nigerian Marxist-Leninists, Communist Party of Norway, Communist Party of East Pakistan, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto-Rican Communist Party, Reunion Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, San Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, South-African Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, Sudanese Communist Party, Swiss Party of Labour, Syrian Com-

munist Party, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of the USA, Communist Party of Venezuela and two parties working underground whose names are not mentioned for considerations of security. Delegations of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Left Party-Communists of Sweden were present at the Conference as observers, and set out their positions.

The Conference adopted a Document, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces." Expressing themselves also in favour of cementing the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, of all anti-imperialist forces, the delegations of the Communist Parties of Australia, Italy, San Marino and Reunion declared themselves in full accord only with that section of the Document that sets forth the joint programme of struggle against imperialism, while the delegate of the Dominican Communist Party did not support the Main Document.

The participants in the Conference discussed the question of observing the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth, and warmly and enthusiastically approved the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin."

The Conference addressed the peoples of the world in an Appeal, "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam." It warmly welcomed the establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The Conference issued an "Appeal in De-

guard Party of Costa Rica, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labour, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, United Party of Haitian Communists, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, People's Party of Iran, Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Irish Workers' Party, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Jordanian Communist Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Lesotho, Communist Party of Luxemburg, Martinique Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Nigerian Marxist-Leninists, Communist Party of Norway, Communist Party of East Pakistan, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Puerto-Rican Communist Party, Reunion Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, San Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, South-African Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, Sudanese Communist Party, Swiss Party of Labour, Syrian Com-

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fence of Peace." It adopted a statement in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression and statements of solidarity with Communists and democrats exposed to brutal repressions and waging a selfless struggle in difficult conditions against reactionary dictatorial regimes supported by international imperialism.

The Conference took place in an atmosphere of frankness and fraternal solidarity, and was assured extensive publicity. The principle of the equality of all Parties and collective methods of work were strictly observed both in the preparatory period and in the course of the Conference.

The participants in the Conference expressed their readiness further to develop ties among the Communist and Workers' Parties. They reaffirmed the desirability of bilateral and regional meetings, and of international meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties when necessary, for the purpose of exchanging opinion and experience and for collective discussion and elaboration of topical political and theoretical questions, problems of struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

* * *

It has been decided to send the proceedings of the Conference also to Communist and Workers' Parties that did not take part in the work of the Conference.

The participants in the Conference are deeply convinced that its results accord with the interests of each Communist Party and of the international communist movement as a whole.

# TASKS AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND UNITED ACTION OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES AND ALL ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES

**Adopted on June 17, 1969**

The Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties took place in Moscow at a very important juncture in world development. Powerful revolutionary processes are gathering momentum throughout the world. Three mighty forces of our time—the world socialist system, the international working-class and the national liberation movement—are coming together in the struggle against imperialism. The present phase is characterised by growing possibilities for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces. At the same time, the dangers brought about by imperialism, by its policy of aggression, are growing. Imperialism, whose general crisis is deepening, continues to oppress many peoples and remains a constant threat to peace and social progress.

*The existing situation demands united action of Communists and all other anti-imperialist*

*forces so that maximum use may be made of the mounting possibilities for a broader offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war.*

The Conference discussed urgent tasks of the struggle against imperialism and problems of united action by Communists and all other anti-imperialist forces. As a result of the discussion, held in a spirit of democracy, equality and internationalism, the participants in the Conference reached common conclusions concerning the present world situation and the tasks arising from it.

## I

Mankind has entered the last third of our century in a situation marked by a sharpening of the historic struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and imperialism. This clash is world-wide and embraces all the basic spheres of social life: economy, politics, ideology and culture.

The world revolutionary movement continues its offensive despite the difficulties and setbacks of some of its contingents. Notwithstanding the counter-offensives launched by it, imperialism has failed to change the general relationship of forces in its favour. It has been possible to prevent the outbreak of a world war thanks to the growing economic, political and military might, and the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states; to the actions of the international proletariat and of all fighters against imperialism; to the struggle for national liberation; and also to the massive peace movement. Socialism, which has triumphed

on one-third of the globe, has scored new successes in the world-wide struggle for the hearts and minds of the people. The events of the past decade bear out that the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the character, content and chief trends of the present epoch is correct. Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

At present there are real possibilities for resolving key problems of our time in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism, to deal imperialism new blows. However, while the world system of imperialism has not grown stronger, it remains a serious and dangerous foe. The United States of America, the chief imperialist power, has grown more aggressive.

The core of the aggressive policy of imperialism is the drive to use all means to weaken the positions of socialism, suppress the national liberation movement, hamstring the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries and halt the irreversible decline of capitalism.

Global in scale, the basic contradiction between imperialism and socialism is growing deeper. Under conditions where the struggle between the two world systems is becoming sharper, the capitalist powers seek, despite the growing contradictions dividing them, to unite their efforts to uphold and strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression and regain the positions they have lost. US imperialism strives to retain its influence over other capitalist countries and pursue a common policy with them in the main spheres of the class struggle.

The spearhead of the aggressive strategy of imperialism continues to be aimed first and foremost against the socialist countries. Imperial-

ism does not forego open armed struggle against socialism. It ceaselessly intensifies the arms race and tries to activate the military blocs organised for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It steps up its ideological fight against them and tries to hamper the economic development of the socialist countries.

In its actions against the working-class movement imperialism violates democratic rights and freedoms and uses naked violence, brutal methods of police persecution and anti-labour legislation. Moreover, it has recourse to demagogy, bourgeois reformism and opportunist ideology and policy, and is constantly in quest of new methods to undermine the working-class movement from within and "integrate" it into the capitalist system.

In its struggle against the national liberation movement, imperialism stubbornly defends the remnants of the colonial system, on the one hand, and, on the other, uses methods of neo-colonialism in an effort to prevent the economic and social advance of developing states, of countries which have won national sovereignty. To this end it supports reactionary circles, retards the abolition of the most backward social structures and tries to obstruct progress along the road to socialism or along the road of progressive non-capitalist development, which can open the way to socialism. The imperialists impose on these countries economic agreements and military-political pacts which infringe on their sovereignty; they exploit them through the export of capital, unequal terms of trade: the manipulation of prices, exchange rates, loans and various forms of so-called aid; and pressure by interna-

tional financial organisations.

The gulf between the highly developed capitalist states and the majority of the other countries of the capitalist world is growing wider; hunger is an acute problem in a number of the latter. Imperialism provokes friction in developing countries and sows division between them by encouraging reactionary nationalism. Through anti-communism it tries to split the ranks of the revolutionaries in these countries and isolate them from their best friends—the socialist states and the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries.

Through military-political blocs, military bases in foreign countries, economic pressure and trade blockades imperialism maintains tension in some areas of the world. It provides reactionary organisations with financial and political support and intensifies political oppression. It resorts to armed intervention, savage repression—especially in countries where the struggle acquires the most acute forms and where the revolutionary forces fight arms in hand—counter-revolutionary conspiracies, reactionary and fascist coups, provocations and blackmail.

In face of the strengthening of the international positions of socialism, imperialism tries to weaken the unity of the world socialist system. It uses the differences in the international revolutionary movement in an effort to split its ranks. It places its ideological apparatus, including mass media, in the service of anti-communism and its struggle against socialism, against all progressive forces.

In these past years, imperialism has time and again provoked sharp international crises which

have pushed humanity to the brink of a thermonuclear conflict. However, US imperialism has to take into account the relationship of forces in the world, the nuclear potential of the Soviet Union and the possible consequences of a missile-nuclear war, and it is becoming more and more difficult and dangerous for it to gamble on another world war. Therefore the ruling circles of the United States, without abandoning preparations for such a war, lay emphasis on local wars.

However, the contradiction between the imperialist "policy of strength" and the real possibilities of imperialism is becoming ever more evident. *Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces.*

The war in Vietnam is the most convincing proof of the contradiction between imperialism's aggressive plans and its ability to put these plans into effect. In Vietnam US imperialism, the most powerful of the imperialist partners, is suffering defeat, and this is of historic significance. The armed intervention in Vietnam holds a special place in the military and political designs of US imperialism. The aggressor planned to destroy an outpost of socialism in Asia, block the way for the peoples of Southeast Asia to freedom and progress, strike a blow at the national liberation movement, and test the strength of the proletarian solidarity of the socialist countries and the working people of the whole world.

Despite the huge quantity of armaments which

it has brought into play, US imperialism has been compelled to cease the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unconditionally and to send its representatives to sit at the negotiating table with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

This has been brought about by the unexampled heroism of the Vietnamese people, the farsighted policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the many forms of assistance rendered to the Vietnamese people by the socialist countries, by the Soviet Union in particular, and the militant and ever-growing international solidarity throughout the world, including the United States itself. The criminal intervention in Vietnam has resulted in considerable moral and political isolation of the United States. It has turned ever broader masses of people, new social strata and political forces against imperialism and speeded up the involvement of millions of young people in many countries in the anti-imperialist struggle. It has aggravated existing contradictions between the imperialist powers and created new ones. The successes of the heroic Vietnamese people are convincing proof that in our day it is becoming increasingly possible for peoples resolutely using all means to defend their independence, sovereignty and freedom and enjoying broad international support, to defeat imperialist aggression.

In the *Middle East* a grave international crisis has been precipitated by the Israeli aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria, and Jordan. Through this aggression, imperial-

ism, that of the US above all, tried to crush the progressive regimes in the Arab countries, undermine the Arab liberation movement, and preserve or regain its positions in the Middle East. This it has failed to do. Nevertheless, supported by world reaction, including Zionist circles, the ruling forces of Israel continue to ignore the demands of the Arab states and of the peace-loving peoples, and the UN decisions on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, persist in their policy of expansion and annexation, and ceaselessly commit fresh armed provocations. This policy is opposed by the Communist Party and other progressive forces of Israel. The Arab peoples resolutely continue the struggle to uphold their freedom, independence and national progress, and to recover the occupied territories, for recognition of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The resistance movement against the occupation is growing, assuming diverse forms and is enjoying ever greater support. On the side of these peoples are the USSR and other socialist states, the international communist movement, the solidarity of the forces of national liberation, and ever wider public circles in the capitalist countries.

US imperialism has not abandoned its plans to strangle revolutionary *Cuba*. It continues to threaten the independence of the Republic of Cuba and in flagrant contravention of international law tries to blockade it economically and carries on provocative and subversive activity against it. But the courageous people of Cuba, led by their Communist Party and supported by

the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, progressive forces of Latin America and the entire revolutionary movement, staunchly defend their sovereignty and freedom and thereby the outpost of socialism in the American continent.

In *Europe* the North Atlantic bloc, the chief instrument of imperialist aggression and adventurism, continues to be active. The axis of this bloc is the alliance between Washington and Bonn. Contrary to the will of the peoples of Europe, the ruling circles of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain are doing their utmost to prolong the existence of this bloc, strengthen its organisation and maintain the military presence of the United States in Europe.

West German militarism, the main source of the war danger in the heart of Europe, was revived and grew strong mainly with NATO assistance. The imperialist ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, where neo-nazism and militarism are gaining strength, persist in their revanchist programme of revising the results of the Second World War and of changing the frontiers of a number of European countries. This policy, aimed primarily against the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist workers' and peasants' state in German history, threatens the security of all European peoples and the peace of the world.

The *Mediterranean* countries occupy an important place in the plans of imperialism. US imperialism, which has important military bases in Spain, continues to support the Franco regime, thereby helping it to survive in opposition to the struggle of the fighting Spanish people.

The US 6th Fleet and the system of military bases, which are a threat to the peoples and to peace in this area, serve as a permanent instrument of political and military pressure in the Mediterranean. The repeated exacerbation of the situation in Cyprus and the fascist coup in Greece are likewise the handiwork of the imperialists, who support the colonels' junta.

*Southeast Asia and the Far East* are one of the main areas of imperialist aggression and military gambles. In addition to SEATO, ANZUS and the so-called Security Treaty between the United States and Japan, there is the virtual occupation of the Southwestern Pacific and the Indian Ocean by US armed forces. This entire system is spearheaded primarily against the socialist countries of Asia, against the national liberation movement, as well as against the neutral and non-aligned states in this area. The US imperialists continue to occupy Taiwan, which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, and obstruct the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations. The US imperialists continue armed provocations against the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the military occupation of South Korea and exercise arbitrary rule, suppressing progressive forces striving for freedom and the unification of the country. They commit acts of aggression against Laos and provocations against Cambodia. They have set up and are enlarging strong military bases in Thailand. They persist in their attempt to pressure India into abandoning her path of non-alignment and independent economic development. The imperialists supported the anti-popular coup in Indonesia, accompli-

shed by reactionary circles, who have physically destroyed hundreds of thousands of Communists and other democrats and continue to commit bloody outrages; all this leads to the destruction of all the gains of the Indonesian revolution and threatens to deprive the country of her independence.

Imperialism has become more active in a number of *African* countries. It tries to halt the growth of the liberation struggle and preserve and strengthen its positions in that continent. The British and French imperialists, and the imperialists of the USA, West Germany and Japan are making extensive use of neo-colonialist methods of economic, political and ideological infiltration and subjugation. The armed intervention in the Congo (Kinshasa), the reactionary coups in Ghana and some other countries, imperialist moves designed to dismember Nigeria, the political and military support given to reactionary and anti-national cliques, to the fascist and racialist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the fomenting of inter-state conflicts and inter-tribal strife, economic pressure and monopoly expansion—all serve to further imperialist plans. The Portuguese colonialists, backed by NATO, try to keep their possessions by force of arms.

US imperialism continues to step up its economic penetration, as well as its political, ideological and cultural intervention in the *Latin American* countries. In alliance with the local reactionary forces it has been pursuing a policy designed to prevent the peoples from following the example of Cuba. It suppresses any step

leading to economic and genuine political independence.

To promote this policy the US imperialists put forward the Alliance for Progress programme and resort to new, camouflaged forms of domination. They use the Organisation of American States and the Inter-American military alliance, exert efforts to set up the so-called "Inter-American Peace Forces" and have arrogated the right to military intervention against any Latin American country as they have done against the Dominican Republic and against Panama. The US imperialists maintain or install reactionary dictatorships, often by way of military coups, intensify splitting activities in the trade union movement, extend their influence over the armed and police forces and inspire repressions against the popular movement. They have taken a direct part in military operations against the guerilla movement in some Latin American countries. However, the policy of US imperialism is encountering great difficulties. It fails to stabilise reactionary regimes or secure the agreement of all the governments to the setting up of the "Inter-American Peace Forces." The Alliance for Progress programme has failed.

Other imperialist powers, particularly West Germany and Japan, likewise seek to entrench themselves in that continent.

This policy of imperialist aggression which threatens world peace and the security and independence of nations is facing growing resistance in the capitalist countries from the working class, peasantry, young people, students, from the broadest masses irrespective of their

political views and ideology. The mighty protest movement against US aggression in Vietnam strengthens the militant actions of the democratic forces against US imperialist policy as a whole and the policies of the governments supporting it.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has stimulated in Japan and other Asian countries the movement for closing the US military bases and the renunciation of treaties which bind these countries to the policy of the Pentagon. In the USA itself—which is the main source of aggression—a militant mass movement against war and militarism has developed.

In Western Europe the movement against the aggressive NATO bloc, for the normalisation of relations and the development of co-operation between states and for safeguarding European security, encompasses ever wider strata of the population. Forces actively opposed to revanchism and militarism are growing in West Germany, too. In countries where the USA maintains military bases, demands for eliminating these strongpoints of aggression are becoming more articulate.

The Latin American peoples are fighting against oppression and brazen interference of US imperialism in their internal affairs. The strike movement of the workers, the actions of peasants, students and other strata show that broad masses throughout the continent are intensifying resistance to the dictates of the USA and its military designs. In some countries the revolutionary forces are resorting to armed struggle against the domination of the oligarchy and imperialism. The national feelings of the

peoples and economic difficulties might compel even some governments to take important measures against imperialism; this determines the tendency to establish or extend relations with socialist countries, including Cuba. The Communist and Workers' Parties are heading the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle, and despite persecution by reactionary camarillas they are fighting with dedication and courage for the demands of the masses and for revolutionary changes.

The upsurge of the national liberation movement of the Afro-Asian peoples has been a telling blow at the positions of imperialism on these continents. Despite serious difficulties, these peoples are continuing to struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism and contribute to the general offensive against imperialism.

*The events of the past decade have laid bare more forcefully than ever the nature of US imperialism as a world exploiter and gendarme, as the sworn enemy of liberation movements.* The US monopolies have penetrated the economy of dozens of countries, where they are increasing their capital investments and seeking to gain control of key positions in the economy.

West German imperialism is increasing its economic strength, building up its war machine, reaching out for nuclear weapons and intensifying its drive for domination over Western Europe. It opposes all steps leading to disarmament and the easing of international tension, and pursues a policy of neocolonialism and expansion in relation to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Despite the weakening of British imperia-

lism, Britain remains one of the major imperialist powers and strives to maintain its positions in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East by neocolonialist methods and sometimes by direct military intervention. On the principal issues of world politics Britain acts as one of the most active partners of the United States. It is a leading aggressive force in NATO and seeks a closer alliance with West Germany.

Japanese imperialism is gaining in strength, intensifying its expansion, especially in Asia. Militarism is again rearing its head in Japan. Linked by many ties with US imperialism, the ruling circles of Japan have virtually turned the country into a US arsenal in the war against the Vietnamese people, and take part in conspiracies against the Korean people.

French imperialism tries to maintain and consolidate its positions in world economy and politics. It persistently continues to build up a nuclear strike force and refuses to join in measures that would promote disarmament. It retains its colonial domination over the peoples of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion and some countries of Africa and Oceania, and refuses to recognise their right to self-determination and to govern their own affairs. It uses the influence it still has in its former colonies and, employing new methods of colonialist policy, is particularly active in Africa.

Italian monopoly capital is likewise stepping up its expansion.

Economic development is becoming more uneven among the various imperialist powers and in the capitalist world as a whole. Life demonstrates the correctness of the Marxist-Le-

ninist theory of struggle between the imperialist powers and between the capitalist monopolies for spheres of influence. Industrial and commercial competition is growing sharper, and the financial and currency war is spreading. Competition is growing in Western Europe, including within the Common Market, and also between the capitalist countries of Europe and the USA. Japanese imperialism is energetically joining this struggle for markets and maximum profits.

The inter-imperialist contradictions are manifest not only in the economic sphere. NATO is undergoing a serious crisis. The aggressive blocs established in Asia—CENTO and SEATO —are beginning to crack up. Western Europe is becoming an arena of discord among the capitalist countries. This weakens the world system of imperialism and upsets US imperialism's plans for hegemony.

Contradictions are also growing deeper within the ruling circles of the imperialist countries, between the most belligerent groups who gamble on extreme measures, on war, and those who, reckoning with the new relationship of class forces in the world, the growing might of the socialist countries, tend to take a more realistic approach to international problems and to solve them in the spirit of peaceful coexistence between states with different systems. The ruling circles of some countries realise the need to reckon with the real situation which has taken shape in Europe as a result of the war and of post-war development and are beginning to see that the German Democratic Republic must be recognised. A number of countries have recog-

nised the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of China despite US pressure.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, the working class and the anti-imperialist forces take into account all the contradictions in the enemy camp and strive to deepen and utilise them in the interest of peace and progress.

Each imperialist power pursues its own aims. At the same time, together they form the chain of the world system of imperialism.

Present-day imperialism, which is trying to adapt itself to the conditions of the struggle between the two systems and to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution, has some new features. Its state-monopoly character is becoming more pronounced. It resorts ever more extensively to such instruments as state-stimulated monopolistic concentration of production and capital, redistribution by the state of an increasing proportion of the national income, allocation of war contracts to the monopolies, government financing of industrial development and research programmes, the drawing up of economic development programmes on a country-wide scale, the policy of imperialist integration and new forms of capital export.

However, state-monopoly regulation, exercised in forms and on a scale which meet the interests of monopoly capital and are aimed at preserving its rule, is unable to control the spontaneous forces of the capitalist market. Practically no capitalist state has been able to avoid considerable cyclical fluctuations and slumps in its economy; in some countries, periods of rapid

industrial growth alternate with periods in which there is a slowdown and often a drop in production. The capitalist system is in the grip of an acute monetary and financial crisis.

The scientific and technological revolution offers mankind unprecedented possibilities to remake Nature, to produce immense material wealth and to multiply man's creative capabilities. These possibilities should serve the general welfare, but capitalism is using the scientific and technological revolution to increase its profits and intensify the exploitation of the working people.

The scientific and technological revolution accelerates the socialisation of the economy; under monopoly domination this leads to the reproduction of social antagonisms on a growing scale and in a sharper form. Not only have the long-standing contradictions of capitalism been aggravated, but new ones have arisen as well. This applies, in particular, to the contradiction between the unlimited possibilities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution and the roadblocks raised by capitalism to their utilisation for the benefit of society as a whole. Capitalism squanders national wealth, allocating for war purposes a great proportion of scientific discoveries and immense material resources. This is the contradiction between the social character of present-day production and the state-monopoly nature of its regulation. This is not only the growth of the contradiction between capital and labour, but also the deepening of the antagonism between the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation and those of the financial oligarchy.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries, millions of people suffer the torments of unemployment, want and insecurity. Contrary to assertions about the "revolution in incomes" and "social partnership," capitalist exploitation is in fact increasing. The rise in wages lags far behind the growth rates of labour productivity and the intensification of labour, behind the social needs and even more so behind the growth of monopoly profits. The position of the small farmers continues to deteriorate and the living conditions of a considerable part of the middle strata are becoming more difficult.

The instability of the capitalist system has increased. Socio-political crises are breaking out in many countries, in the course of which the working masses are becoming aware of the necessity of deep-going and decisive changes.

This became primarily evident from the events in France in May and June 1968, from the powerful strike movement there, in which the Communists played an important role and the working people made considerable gains. A serious clash took place in that country between the working class and considerable section of the intellectuals and students, on the one hand, and the Gaullist regime and monopoly rule, on the other. This clash opened up new possibilities for the struggle for democracy and socialism.

In Italy, the steady growth of the strike movement on a national scale, the big political battles and the electoral successes of the Left-wing forces strongly shook the policy of the Centre-Left, which the ruling classes reckoned on using to stabilise capitalism.

In Spain, the struggle of the masses continues to undermine the fascist dictatorship of Franco, which was compelled to introduce emergency measures; despite these repressions, the struggle is expanding, and new social strata and broad social circles are joining the anti-Franco opposition.

In Great Britain, major class battles are unfolding, including political strikes in defence of the trade unions and of the right to strike, which are under attack by the Labour Government.

Class battles, strikes and other actions by the working people, students and other social segments have been stepped up in Japan, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, the Federal Republic of Germany, Uruguay, Belgium, Portugal, Chile, India, Pakistan, Turkey and other countries and also in West Berlin. The growth of the democratic movement has also been reflected in the election achievements of the Communists and other progressive forces in a number of countries, including Japan. Democratic front governments with the participation of Communists, have been formed in some states of India. In Finland, the Communists take part in the government.

Moreover, the depth of the crisis in the capitalist world is also strikingly revealed by the advance of the mass struggle in the United States itself, that main pillar of world imperialism. A wave of rebellions against racial discrimination, poverty, starvation and police brutality has swept the Negro ghettoes. Scores of American cities and towns have been the scene of fierce clashes with troops and police, which took a

great toll of lives and led to the arrest of thousands of Negroes.

In the USA militant strikes for economic demands take place often in defiance of government pressure and threats and contrary to the will of reactionary trade union officials. In the unions the rank and file and progressive forces are becoming more active. Large sections of the working people oppose the Vietnam war.

Intellectual, professional and religious circles in the USA are becoming more and more active in the movement of social protest and for peace. Young people, students in particular, black and white, are in revolt in different ways against the Vietnam war, military conscription, racism, and monopoly control of universities. Reaction replies to this with the assassination of public figures, mounting repression and massive violence. The notorious "American way of life" is being discredited in the eyes of the world.

Everywhere the monopoly bourgeoisie tries to create the illusion that everything the working people aspire to can be achieved without a revolutionary transformation of the existing system. To conceal its exploiting and aggressive nature, capitalism resorts to theoretical whitewash ("people's capitalism," the "welfare state," the "affluent society," etc.). The revolutionary working-class movement exposes these concepts and wages a determined struggle against them. It thus deepens the crisis of imperialist ideology; increasing numbers of people are turning away from this ideology.

The conscience and intellect of mankind cannot be reconciled with the crimes of imperia-

lism. Imperialism bears the guilt for two world wars which snuffed out the lives of tens of millions of people. It has created a gigantic military machine which devours tremendous human and material resources. Intensifying the armaments race, it plans the production of new weapons for decades ahead. It is fraught with the threat of a thermonuclear world war which would annihilate hundreds of millions of people and turn entire countries into deserts.

Imperialism gave birth to fascism—the system of political terror and death camps. Wherever it can, imperialism wages an offensive against democratic rights and liberties; it tramples underfoot human dignity and cultivates racialism.

Imperialism is responsible for the hardship and suffering of hundreds of millions of people. It is chiefly to blame for the fact that vast masses of people in Asian, African and Latin American countries are compelled to live in conditions of poverty, disease and illiteracy and under archaic social relations, and that entire nationalities are doomed to extinction.

The course of social development shows that imperialism comes into conflict with the vital interests of workers by hand and by brain, of different social strata, peoples and nations. As a result, growing masses of working people, social movements and entire peoples are rising against imperialism.

*The working class, the democratic and revolutionary forces, the peoples must unite and act jointly in order to put an end to imperialism's criminal actions which can bring still graver suffering to mankind. To curb the aggressors*

*and liberate mankind from imperialism is the mission of the working class, of all the anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.*

## II

*The world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle.* Each liberation struggle receives indispensable aid from the world socialist system, above all from the Soviet Union.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, the triumph of the revolution in China and in several other countries—in Europe and Asia—the emergence of the first socialist state in America, the Republic of Cuba, the rise and development of the world socialist system, comprising fourteen states, and the inspiring influence of socialism on the entire world have created the prerequisites for accelerating historical progress and opened new prospects for the advance and triumph of socialism throughout the world.

Socialism has shown mankind the prospect of deliverance from imperialism. The new social system based on public ownership of the means of production and on the power of the working people is capable of ensuring the planned, crisis-free development of the economy in the interest of the people, guaranteeing the social and political rights of the working people, creating conditions for genuine democracy, for real participation by the broad masses of peo-

ple in the administration of society, for all-round development of the individual and for the equality and friendship of nations. It has been proved in fact that only socialism is capable of solving the fundamental problems facing mankind.

The contribution of the world socialist system to the common cause of the anti-imperialist forces is determined primarily by its growing economic potential. The swift economic development of the countries belonging to the socialist system at rates outpacing the economic growth of the capitalist countries, the advance of socialism to leading positions in a number of fields of scientific and technological progress, and the blazing of a trail into outer space by the Soviet Union—all these tangible results, produced by the creative endeavours of the peoples of the socialist countries, decisively contribute to the preponderance of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism.

The socialist world has now entered a stage of its development when the possibility arises of utilising on a scale far greater than ever before the tremendous potentialities inherent in the new system. This is furthered by evolving and applying better economic and political forms corresponding to the requirements of mature socialist society, which already rests on the new social structure. The building of socialism and its further development rests on the support, participation and initiative of the broadest masses inspired and led by the working class. The Communist Party is the vanguard of socialist society as a whole. The forces of socialism are strengthened and unity of will and action of

the people is promoted by the steadily increasing political activity of the working people, by the greater activity of their social organisations, extension of the rights of the individual, irreconcilable struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and by the all-round development of socialist democracy. The improvement of socialist democracy, the growth of the productive forces, the political and cultural progress, the superiority of human and moral values enhance the influence of socialism on the working people of the world and reinforce its positions in the struggle against imperialism, a struggle of world-wide significance.

Practice has shown that socialist transformations and the building of the new society are a long and complex process, and that the utilisation of the tremendous possibilities opened up by the new system depends on the Communist Parties in the leadership of the state, on their ability to resolve the problems of socialist development the Marxist-Leninist way.

The application of science in various social and economic fields and the full utilisation of the potentialities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution for speeding up economic development and for satisfying the needs of all members of society are made possible by socialist ownership, the planned organisation of production, and the active participation of workers by hand and by brain in guiding and managing the economy. An important requisite for the development of socialist society is to give full scope to the scientific and technological revolution, which has become one of the main sectors of the historic competition between ca-

pitalism and socialism.

The formation of the socialist world constitutes an integral part of the class struggle being waged in the international arena. The enemies of socialism are keeping up their attempts to undermine the foundations of the socialist state power, thwart the socialist transformation of society and restore their own rule. To give a firm rebuff to these attempts is an essential function of the socialist state, which relies on the broad masses led by the working class and its Communist vanguard.

The defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists.

The development and strengthening of each socialist country is a vital condition of the progress of the world socialist system as a whole. Successful development of the national economy, improvement of social relations and the all-round progress of each socialist country conform both to the interests of each people separately and the common cause of socialism.

One of the most important tasks before the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries is to develop all-embracing cooperation between their countries and ensure fresh successes in the decisive areas of the economic competition between the two systems, in the advance of science and technology. As the struggle between the two world systems grows sharper, this competition demands that on the basis of the socialist countries' fundamental interests and aims and of the Marxist-Leninist principles underlying their policy, the socialist system should place greater reliance on the international socialist division of labour and vo-

luntary co-operation between them, which rules out any infringement of national interests, and ensures the advance of each country and consolidates the might of the world socialist system as a whole.

Relying on its steadily growing economic and defence potential, the world socialist system fetters imperialism, reduces its possibilities of exporting counter-revolution, and in fulfilment of its internationalist duty, furnishes increasing aid to the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, and promotes peace and international security. So long as the aggressive NATO bloc exists, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation has an important role to play in safeguarding the security of the socialist countries against armed attack by the imperialist powers and in ensuring peace.

The successes of socialism, its impact on the course of world events and the effectiveness of its struggle against imperialist aggression largely depend on the cohesion of the socialist countries. Unity of action of the socialist countries is an important factor in bringing together all anti-imperialist forces.

The establishment of international relations of a new type and the development of the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries is a complex historical process. Following the victory of the socialist revolution in many countries, the building of socialism on the basis of general laws is proceeding in various forms, which take into account concrete historical conditions and national distinctions. Successful development of this process implies strict adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism, mutual

assistance and support, equality, sovereignty and and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Socialism is not afflicted with the contradictions inherent in capitalism. When divergences between socialist countries do arise owing to differences in the level of economic development, in social structure or international position or because of national distinctions, they can and must be successfully settled on the basis of proletarian internationalism, through comradely discussion and voluntary fraternal co-operation. They need not disrupt the united front of socialist countries against imperialism.

Communists are aware of the difficulties in the development of the world socialist system. But this system is based on the identity of the socio-economic structure of its member-countries and on the identity of their fundamental interests and objectives. This identity is an earnest that the existing difficulties will be overcome and that the unity of the socialist system will be further strengthened on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

*In the citadels of capitalism the working class, as recent events have shown, is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement.* The present period is characterised by a sharpening of the struggle of the working class and of the broad masses of working people not only for an improvement of their economic conditions but also for political demands. While defending their vital interests, the working people fight for social rights and democra-

tic freedoms. These demands are increasingly directed against the system of domination by monopoly capital, against its political power. The desire of the working masses to effect a radical change in the economic and social system based on the exploitation of man is growing ever stronger. The big battles of the working class in a number of capitalist countries are undermining the power of the monopolies, intensifying the instability and contradictions of capitalist society. These struggles foreshadow new class battles which could lead to fundamental social change, socialist revolution, and the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with other segments of the working people.

Recent class battles have struck a blow at the illusions spread by partisans of neo-capitalism and reformism, and have given fresh proof of the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism. In contrast to the Right and "Left" opportunists, the Communist and Workers' Parties do not counterpose the fight for deep-going economic and social demands, and for advanced democracy to the struggle for socialism, but regard it as a part of the struggle for socialism. The radical democratic changes which will be achieved in the struggle against the monopolies and their economic domination and political power will promote among the broad masses awareness of the need for socialism.

In the new situation, the need for working-class unity has become even more urgent. Facts and the experience gained by the working class in the course of their struggles, and the sharp criticism of opportunist views by the Communist

Parties—which remains a constant task—deepen the crisis of reformist concepts. A differentiation is taking place in the ranks of Social-Democracy, and this is also reflected in the leadership. Some of the leaders come out in defence of monopoly capital and imperialism. Others are more inclined to reckon with the demands of the working masses in the economic and social fields, and in the questions of the struggle for peace and progress.

Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working-class unity, are in favour of co-operation with the Socialists and Social-Democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future. They will do everything they can to carry out this co-operation. Communists are likewise in favour of cooperation with other democratic parties and organisations interested in the renewal of society. To advance on this path, it is, of course, necessary for the Socialist parties and other political organisations favouring socialism resolutely to break with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and to pursue a policy of effective struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The trade unions, the largest organisations of the working people, play an important role in the struggle against the monopolies. But for the division in the trade union movement in the capitalist world they might be playing an even larger role. Some leaders create artificial obstacles to unity of action by trade unions of different orientation, on a national and international scale, but the desire for such unity has, nonetheless, been growing in the trade union

movement in recent years. Communists are consistent champions of trade union unity within the framework of each country and in the international arena.

The Communist policy of united action by all the Parties of the working class and the trade unions draws growing support. This policy of unity affords the working-class movement greater opportunities in the anti-imperialist struggle and makes it possible to bring into this struggle that section of the proletariat which is still unorganised or still follows bourgeois parties. Communists will improve their political and ideological work with an eye to securing working-class unity.

Domination by finance capital and the realisation of "agrarian programmes" by the monopolist states lead to the ruin of ever larger sections of the small and middle farmers. Lately, the farmers have been putting up growing resistance to these measures, conducting mass actions supported by urban working people. The strengthening of the alliance of workers and farmers is one of the basic prerequisites of the success of the struggle against the monopolies and their power.

Big capital tramples on the vital interests of the majority of the urban middle strata. Therefore, despite their lack of unity and special susceptibility to bourgeois ideology, large masses of the middle strata are coming forward in defence of their interests, joining the struggle for general democratic demands, and becoming increasingly conscious of the vital importance of united action with the working class.

In this age, when science is becoming a di-

rect productive force, growing numbers of intellectuals are swelling the ranks of wage and salary workers. Their social interests intertwine with those of the working class; their creative aspirations clash with the interests of the monopoly employers, who place profit above all else. Despite the great diversity in their positions, different groups of intellectuals are coming more and more into conflict with the monopolies and the imperialist policy of governments. The crisis of bourgeois ideology and the attraction of socialism help to bring intellectuals into the anti-imperialist struggle. The alliance of workers by hand and by brain is becoming an increasingly important force in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, for the democratic control of production, of cultural institutions and information media and for the development of public education in the interests of the people.

The convergence of interests of the working class, farmers, urban middle strata and intellectuals as well as their growing co-operation reduce the social foundations of monopoly power, sharpen its internal contradictions and promote the mobilisation of broad masses of people for the struggle against monopolies and imperialism.

The numerical growth and mounting political activity of young people have become an important factor in social affairs in Western Europe, America, Japan, Turkey and other countries.

Action by young people reflects the deep-going crisis of contemporary bourgeois society. Working youth, primarily young industrial

workers, who are subjected to super-exploitation and see no prospect for themselves under capitalism, are entering the class struggle to an ever greater extent, joining the trade unions and Communist and other democratic organisations. Broad masses of students take a stand not only against the defects of the obsolete system of education and for the right to organise and share actively in the affairs of educational centres but also against the policy of the ruling classes. Inspired by the struggle of the Vietnamese people and by other examples of heroic struggle against imperialism, growing numbers of young people actively participate in major mass actions against imperialism, for democracy, peace and socialism.

Communists think highly of the upsurge of the youth movement and actively participate in it. They propagate in its ranks the ideas of scientific socialism, explaining the danger of various pseudo-revolutionary ideas, which could influence young people, and seeking to help young people find the right path in the struggle against imperialism and for defence of their interests. Only close unity with the working-class movement and its Communist vanguard can open for them truly revolutionary prospects.

An important feature of our epoch is the large-scale participation of women in the class struggle, the anti-imperialist movement and, in particular, the struggle for peace. This is strikingly demonstrated in the massive protest campaigns against the US aggression in Vietnam. The number of women engaged in production and other spheres is increasing. Their political consciousness is growing and their struggle for economic

and social rights is becoming more active. Working women demand an end to discrimination in the remuneration for their work, full equality in civil rights, a maternity protection programme and so on. They are participating more and more actively in the battles of the workers and democratic forces, and are joining the trade unions in increasing numbers. The Communist and Workers' Parties, in whose activity women members participate on the basis of complete equality, emphatically support their demands and regard the emancipation of women as an important element of the general democratic movement. The example of the socialist countries, where women are guaranteed full equality, is a great attraction to women engaged in struggle in the capitalist world.

Owing to the considerable aggravation of social contradictions, conditions have arisen in many capitalist countries for an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist alliance of the revolutionary working-class movement and broad masses of religious people. The Catholic Church and some other religious organisations are experiencing an ideological crisis, which is shattering their age-long concepts and existing sctructures. Positive co-operation and joint action between Communists and broad democratic masses of Catholics and followers of other religions are developing in some countries. The dialogue between them on issues such as war and peace, capitalism and socialism, and neocolonialism and the problem of the developing countries, has become highly topical; their united action against imperialism, for democracy and socialism, is extremely timely. Communists are convinced

that in this way—through broad contacts and joint action—the mass of religious people can become an active force in the anti-imperialist struggle and in carrying out far-reaching social changes.

In the course of anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist united action, favourable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends into a political alliance capable of decisively limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned. of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favourable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism. The main force in this democratic alliance is the working class. These objectives can be achieved, above all, by diverse forms of powerful mass action by the working class and the broadest sections of the population. While making use of all possibilities of parliamentary activity, Communists emphasise that the mass movement of the working class and of all working people is the decisive factor in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The collapse of the colonial system has considerably weakened the position of imperialism. *In the past decade the role of the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the world revolutionary process has continued to grow.* In some countries, this movement is acquiring an anti-capitalist content.

In many *Asian and African* countries the national liberation movement has entered a new phase. A large number of national states has

emerged in this area, substantially altering the world political structure and changing the balance of power to the detriment of imperialism. The old colonial empires have been almost completely abolished.

Of great importance for the future of Africa and the cause of peace is the liberation of southern Africa, one of the last areas of colonial domination. The armed struggle which is being waged in this area by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is inflicting heavy blows on the coalition of fascist and racialist regimes, which are supported by the imperialists, and is opening up prospects for fresh big victories of the African revolution.

The Arab liberation movement is playing an outstanding role in the battle waged against world imperialism. It is exerting a positive influence on the entire movement against imperialism and neocolonialism in the Middle East and Africa. The struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and the Israeli aggression is a part of the general struggle between the forces of freedom and socialism throughout the world, on the one hand, and world imperialism, on the other.

The growth of the movement for national liberation, and the social progress of the peoples in this strategically important and oil-rich area, evokes the violent hatred of the imperialists and the oil monopolies, which are weaving a web of intrigues and plots against this movement, and resorting to wars and aggressive actions.

To repel these actions, defeat these plots, and safeguard all gains, the deepening of the

social and economic changes, the progressive national fronts, and the democratic freedoms for the masses and for the activity of the progressive national forces are, among other things, of great significance.

Social differentiation is developing in the newly independent countries. There is a sharpening conflict between the working class, the peasantry and other democratic forces, including patriotic-minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and, on the other, imperialism and the forces of domestic reaction, the elements of the national bourgeoisie which are increasingly accepting a deal with imperialism. In a number of young states the social role and political activity of the working class have increased. The importance of international ties between the young proletariat of the countries of Asia and Africa and the working class of the socialist countries and the capitalist states is growing.

The toiling peasantry has great revolutionary potential. It is taking an active part in the struggle against imperialism, for the national liberation of peoples, and for consolidating the independence of the young states. Communists are intensifying their activity among the peasant masses and are carrying proletarian ideology into their midst.

In most of the independent Asian and African states, along with the task of consolidating and safeguarding political independence and sovereignty, the central problems of social progress are to overcome economic backwardness, set up an independent national economy, including their own industry, and raise the people's standard of living. The solution of these prob-

lems involves far-reaching socio-economic changes, the implementation of democratic agrarian reforms in the interests of the working peasantry and with its participation, the abolition of outdated feudal and prefeudal relations, liquidation of oppression by foreign monopolies, radical democratisation of social and political life and the state apparatus, regeneration of national culture and the development of its progressive traditions, the strengthening of revolutionary parties and the founding of such parties where they do not yet exist. The pressing problems of social development of these states are the object not only of sharp struggle between the peoples of these countries and the neocolonialists, but also of internal social conflicts. The establishment of relations of friendship and effective co-operation with socialist countries is of great importance for independent Asian and African countries.

Under the impact of the revolutionary conditions of our time, distinctive forms of progressive social development of the newly free countries have appeared, and the role of revolutionary and democratic forces has been enhanced. Some young states have taken the non-capitalist path, a path which opens up the possibility of overcoming the backwardness inherited from the colonial past and creates conditions for transition to socialist development. In these countries the socialist orientation is making headway, overcoming great difficulties and trials. These states are waging a determined struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

Countries which have taken the capitalist road have been unable to solve any of the ba-

sic problems facing them. Confronted with rising popular discontent, the internal reactionary forces in these countries are intensifying with imperialist support their assault on democratic freedoms. In a number of cases they are brutally suppressing the mass democratic and patriotic movements. They are kindling conflicts between national, ethnic, religious, tribal and linguistic groups, thereby jeopardising the independence won by these countries.

The imperialists show special hostility toward states with progressive regimes. To turn these countries away from their chosen path the imperialists seek to subvert their political parties, subject educational and cultural institutions and mass media to their influence, organise counter-revolutionary activities through their agents and back reactionary elements in the state apparatus and the armed forces. They try to utilise anti-communist prejudices to spread discord among patriots.

The way to carry out the tasks of national development and social progress and effectively rebuff neocolonialist intrigues is to raise the activity of the people, enhance the role of the proletariat and the peasants, rally working youth, students, intellectuals, urban middle strata and democratic army circles—all patriotic and progressive forces. It is this kind of unity the Communist and Workers' Parties are calling for.

Communists fight for the freedom, national independence and socialist future of their peoples. They are bearers of the ideas of scientific socialism and fight in the vanguard of the national liberation movement. This movement, the

social progress of the peoples in the newly liberated countries demand close co-operation between the Communist and Workers' Parties and the other patriotic and progressive forces. A hostile attitude to communism, and persecution of Communists harm the struggle for national and social emancipation.

Most of the *Latin American* countries won state independence early in the last century. They have, by and large, travelled a long way along the road of capitalist development; a large proletariat has emerged, is growing and becoming steeled in struggle both in town and country, and there are Communist Parties in practically all these countries. The Latin American peoples are struggling against a common oppressor and exploiter, US imperialism, which has placed the entire continent in a position of dependence, regarding it as its strategic hinterland. Some of them are still fighting colonial domination. The struggle for genuine national sovereignty and economic independence is intertwined with an acute class struggle against capitalist exploitation and, above all, against the foreign or local monopolies and the latifundistas. Feudal survivals have remained in many countries where there is a great mass of landless peasants. Struggles are being waged for democratic demands and against tyrannical dictatorships, which constitute a very negative factor in the historical development on the continent.

The Cuban revolution has broken the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin America and has led to the establishment of the first socialist state on the American continent, marking a historic turning point and opening in this region a

new phase of the revolutionary movement. In this part of the world militant democratic, anti-imperialist movements and revolutionary processes are developing which will pave the way to socialism.

The proletariat and the Communist and Workers' Parties play an increasingly important role in the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America. The existence and activity of the working class is an historic advantage and a guarantee of its further development. The struggle of the broad masses for their economic and political demands, and for their revolutionary aims assumes diverse forms. The popular movement in Latin America is gaining momentum in a grim struggle against aggressive imperialism and internal reaction. In some countries it takes the road of armed struggle. In the course of this struggle, the fighting spirit of the working class grows, the political consciousness of the peasantry is awakened, and the rural masses are aroused. The foundations of a workers' and peasants' alliance are thus being laid.

Wide sections of people, students, progressive intellectuals and the urban middle strata are forming an alliance with the proletariat. Joint action and anti-imperialist unity against reactionary regimes are gaining in strength. The mounting struggle against exploitation and the poverty of the masses, against imperialist oppression makes forward-looking religious circles sympathise with progressive aspirations. Patriotic and democratic trends are gaining ground in the armed forces of some countries.

*It is of paramount importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system,*

*the forces of the working-class movement and national liberation.*

## III

The social and political situation in the world today makes it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level. Decisive superiority over imperialism and the defeat of its policy of aggression and war can be secured by intensifying the offensive against it. This insistently demands concrete practical steps and actions on all continents in order to give a clear perspective to the democratic and progressive forces, to all the forces desiring a positive solution of the major problems worrying mankind today, the problems of the peace and the security of nations.

*The Communist and Workers' Parties represented at the Conference, aware of their historic responsibility, propose united action to all Communists of the world, to all opponents of imperialism, to all who are prepared to fight for peace, freedom and progress.*

1. A primary objective of united action is to give *all-round support to the heroic Vietnamese people.* The Conference calls on all who cherish peace and national independence to intensify the struggle in order to compel US imperialism to withdraw its interventionist troops from Vietnam, cease interfering in the internal affairs of that country and respect the right of the Vietnamese people to solve their problems by themselves. The final victory of the Vietnamese patriots is of fundamental importance for strengthening the positions of the peoples in the

struggle against imperialist diktat and arbitrary rule. Co-ordinated measures by all the countries of the socialist system and joint efforts by all Communist and Workers' Parties, all progressive parties and mass democratic organisations and by all other freedom- and peace-loving forces are needed to hasten this victory. The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties welcomes the formation of the Revolutionary Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and sees it as an important stage in the heroic liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people. The Conference calls for activity to assure a successful outcome of the Paris talks, which is perfectly realisable on the basis of the 10 points proposed by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

2. *The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war for world peace, against the menace of a thermonuclear world war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind.* A new world war can be averted by the combined effort of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all peace-loving countries, public organisations and mass movements.

3. *The defence of peace is inseparably linked up with the struggle to compel the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems,* which demands observance of the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial inviolability of every state, big and small, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the rights of every people freely to decide their so-

cial, economic and political system, and the settlement of outstanding international issues by political means through negotiation.

The policy of peaceful coexistence facilitates the positive solution of economic and social problems of the developing countries.

The policy of peaceful coexistence does not contradict the right of any oppressed people to fight for its liberation by any means it considers necessary—armed or peaceful. This policy in no way signifies support for reactionary regimes.

It is equally indisputable that every people has the inalienable right to take up arms in defence against encroachments by imperialist aggressors and to avail itself of the help of other peoples in its just cause. This is an integral part of the general anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

The attempts of imperialism to overcome its internal contradictions by building up international tension and creating hotbeds of war are hampered by the policy of peaceful coexistence. This policy does not imply either the preservation of the socio-political status quo or a weakening of the ideological struggle. It helps to promote the class struggle against imperialism on a national and worldwide scale. Determined class struggle for the abolition of the monopolies and their rule, for the institution of a genuinely democratic system, and for the establishment of socialist power, whatever may be the road leading to this goal, is an inalienable right and duty of the working people and their Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. The Communists of the world are in solidarity with this just battle.

Mass action against imperialism is a condition for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence. Directed as it is against the warmongers, reactionaries and monopoly arms manufacturers, this policy meets the general interests of the revolutionary struggle against every form of oppression and exploitation, and promotes friendship between all peoples and the development of fruitful economic, scientific, technological and other spheres of co-operation between countries with different social systems in the interests of social progress.

Communists regard it as their duty to combat the imperialist policy of whipping up international tension and any attempt aimed by them at bringing back the cold war, and to work for a relaxation of tension, which is one of the most insistent and urgent demands of the peoples.

4) *To preserve peace the most urgent task is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons* and to enforce the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. In urging the ratification of the treaty, the Communist Parties see this as a link in the chain of measures designed to lead to nuclear disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapon stockpiles. At the same time, it is necessary to secure a ban on nuclear weapons, the cessation of their production and testing.

The setting up of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world would be of great practical importance in improving the international atmosphere and strengthening trust between states. *The main effort should be directed towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons. Nuclear energy should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.*

It is necessary to step up the struggle for an effective ban on bacteriological and chemical weapons, which have been extensively used by the US forces in Vietnam.

The basic interests of the peoples demand the intensification of the struggle against militarism in all its forms, particularly against the military-industrial complex of the USA and other imperialist states. We call on all peace-loving forces to mount a struggle for a radical cutback in military budgets, for general and complete disarmament under effective international control so as to switch resources now absorbed by the arms race to improving the working people's life, promoting the health services and education and rendering assistance to the developing countries.

Alongside its universal tasks, the struggle for peace has very important tasks of a more specific or more regional nature whose aim is to assure security in some continents or geographic zones. The attainment of these objectives which are interlinked corresponds to the interests and aspirations of all Communists, all anti-imperialist forces, all the peoples of the world.

The interests of world peace call for the disbandment of military blocs. As before, the Communist and Workers' Parties consider that the existence of imperialist-imposed military blocs and military bases on the territory of other states are an obstacle to co-operation between countries. A genuine guarantee of the security and one of the conditions for the progress of each European country must be the establishment in Europe of an effective system of security founded on relations of equality and mutual respect

among all the states in the continent, on the combined efforts of all the European peoples. In this light the socialist countries have already declared for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. The Conference emphatically condemns the provocative attempts of the imperialist powers, particularly, the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany and Britain, to step up the activity of NATO. The disbandment of NATO would be a decisive step towards the dissolution of all blocs, the dismantling of all military bases on foreign soil and the establishment of a reliable system of collective security. In conformity with the interests of peace, the peoples demand that the imperialist states put an end to flights of bombers carrying nuclear weapons over foreign territories, that surface ships and submarines with nuclear weapons on board be barred from foreign ports, and demand the renunciation of any forcible actions and of the threat of force.

Attainment of lasting security in this continent is a problem which holds a paramount place in the minds and aspirations of the European peoples. The Conferences of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries in Bucharest in 1966 and in Budapest in 1969, and also the Karlovy Vary Conference in 1967 charted a concrete programme of action and measures to create a system of European security.

It is imperative to secure the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, in particular the frontiers along the Oder-Neisse and the frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, and to work for the international legal recognition of

the German Democratic Republic, for preventing West Germany from securing atomic weapons in any form, for the renunciation by the Federal Republic of Germany of her claim to represent the whole of Germany, the recognition of West Berlin as a separate political entity, the recognition that the Munich diktat was invalid from the very outset, and the banning of all neonazi organisations. Peace and security in Europe demand the curbing of the revanchist forces in West Germany, guaranteeing the European peoples their sovereign right to be masters of their continent without interference from the USA, mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technological co-operation among the European countries and the establishment of relations between them founded on a genuine relaxation of tension and mutual trust.

The principle of the inviolability of neutral states must be respected unconditionally. These states can make a major contribution to the policy of peaceful coexistence if they take advantage of every opportunity to act in a spirit of detente and peace. To achieve these aims energetic steps have to be taken in this direction and the problem of European security approached with initiative, with a will to achieve concrete practical measures.

The organisation of a broad congress of European peoples, which would prepare for, and facilitate the holding of, a conference of states, is the most important of all these peace initiatives.

5. *The Conference calls on world public opinion to display unflagging and active solidarity with the peoples and countries which are con-*

*stant objects of aggressive encroachments by imperialism*—the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the entire Korean people. The Conference calls for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the return of Taiwan at present under United States military occupation. It remains the duty of Communists and all other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces in Latin America and throughout the world to defend the Republic of Cuba.

*We Communists call for united action against all imperialist acts of aggression, against recourse to local wars and other forms of intervention by imperialism in any area of the world.* In face of the aggressive policy pursued by the imperialists and the ruling circles of Israel, we pledge solidarity with the Arab peoples who demand the return of the territories occupied by the Israeli invaders, this being an urgent demand and an indispensable condition for establishing peace and achieving a political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of a complete implementation of the November 1967 resolution of the United Nations Security Council.

6. *Communists reiterate their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America* for independence and national sovereignty, for liberation from every kind of economic and political hegemony of the imperialist circles and monopolies, for withdrawal from the system of military alliances and blocs imposed on them by the imperialist powers and against imperialist tendencies to step up the

arms race on these continents and to preserve and create new hotbeds of tension, for dismantling foreign military bases and for establishing relations conducive to the free development of every people.

*The demand of our epoch is to rid our planet completely of the curse of colonialism, destroy its last centres and prevent its revival in new, camouflaged forms.* We call on all men of goodwill, on all supporters of democracy, to work together to do away with the vestiges of colonialism and to struggle against neocolonialism. We urge effective international measures in support of the patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, in support of all oppressed peoples.

One of the big problems of our time to which the Communist and Workers' Parties are drawing public attention and which they are energetically striving to solve is the elimination of the backwardness of many countries and entire continents engendered by prolonged colonial and imperialist rule. The main task facing these countries today is to promote economic, social and political development, which can be achieved only within the framework of genuine independence from imperialism and as a result of far-reaching democratic and revolutionary changes. To solve this problem it is necessary to mobilise and unite all the progressive forces of each country and develop mutually advantageous ties between them and with the socialist countries.

7. *We consider it imperative to step up the fight against the fascist menace and relentlessly to rebuff profascist sorties.* Fascism is inten-

sifying its activity at a time when the crisis of imperialism is growing sharper, when reaction is increasingly inclined to use brutal methods to crush the democratic and revolutionary forces. In Greece neofascism has seized power. In Spain the ultras are trying to return to fascist methods of repression and are making futile efforts to halt a powerful mass movement. In Portugal, fascism, gripped by a crisis under the onslaught of the growing popular movement, is resorting to demagogy about liberalisation in an effort to cover up the actual continuation of its terroristic policy. In West Germany the neonazis have laid open claim to power. Neofascist forces are also becoming more active in other countries. Neofascist activity links up with that of imperialist intelligence agencies, which engineer reactionary coups.

All these manifestations of fascism are coming up against growing resistance from the people, and this demands united action by all the anti-fascist forces, and also greater international support from the Communist and Workers' Parties, from all democratic and progressive movements in every country.

The struggle against the fascist regimes is an essential part of action against imperialism, for democratic freedoms. It is the common task of all democrats, of all champions of freedom, irrespective of their political views, world outlook or religious beliefs, to redouble real support for the national progressive forces fighting centres of reaction and fascism, such as the governments of Spain and Portugal, the reactionary colonels' junta in Greece, the oligarchic military cliques in Latin America, and all other

tyrannical regimes in the service of US imperialism.

8. We Communists again call on all honest men in the world to unite their efforts in the struggle against the *man-hating ideology and practices of racialism.* We call for the broadest possible protest movement against the most ignominous phenomenon of our time, the barbarous persecution of the 25 million Negroes in the USA, the racialist terror in South Africa and Rhodesia, the persecution of the Arab population in occupied territory and in Israel, against racial and national discrimination, against Zionism, and anti-semitism, all of which are fanned by reactionary capitalist forces and which they use to mislead the masses politically.

Imperialism makes use of racialism to divide the peoples and maintain its rule. Wide sections of the people reject racialism and can be drawn into active struggle against it. In such action they will come to realise that eradication of racialism is closely connected with the struggle against imperialism and its ideological foundations.

9. The interests of the struggle against imperialism, which attempts to stifle basic human freedoms, demand a tireless fight to defend and win freedom of speech, the press, assembly, demonstration and association, for the equality of all citizens, *to democratise every aspect of social life.* A firm rebuff must be administered to any attempt and any legislation by reaction designed to nullify the democratic rights and freedoms won in the course of hard class battles. There must be systematic work both within these countries and in the interna-

tional arena to save the patriots and democrats who face death, to stop arbitrary court rulings against Communists and other patriots, and to defend the right to political asylum; there must be a fight for the release of the patriots and democrats lying in jail. We Communists oppose all forms of oppression of nations and national minorities. We want to see every nation or national group develop its own culture and language, and we firmly defend the right of all nations to self-determination.

We Communists are convinced that it is impossible to put an end to the policy of imperialist aggression, abolish colonialism and neocolonialism once and for all and uproot fascism and racial oppression without resolute struggle against the power of monopoly capital, for democratic demands which, once won, would weaken the positions of imperialism as a whole and strike at the very foundations of its rule. Such a struggle would create favourable conditions for achieving the ultimate goals of the working-class movement.

*The present situation demands greater militant solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries, of all contingents of the international working-class movement and national liberation in the struggle against imperialism.*

The Communists regard it as an urgent task today to expose the criminal policy of imperialism with greater vigour and to make public opinion more alive to the aggressive intentions and plans of imperialism.

The participants in the Conference call on all organisations representing workers, peasants, office employees, youth, students, intellectuals,

women, on various groups and social strata with different political, philosophic and religious convictions and views, on realistically-minded political leaders of the capitalist countries, on all democratic parties, national and international progressive public organisations to pool their efforts with those of the Communist Parties for concerted action in the anti-imperialist struggle for a relaxation of tensions and in defence of peace. We invite them all to join in a broad and constructive exchange of opinion on the widest possible range of issues bearing on the anti-imperialist struggle.

Communists favour the most democratic methods of preparing for and carrying out united action with all progressive patriotic and peace-loving forces on a national, regional and international scale. They will do all they can to bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence. Forms of co-operation, chosen freely and by common consent, will make it possible to raise the anti-imperialist struggle to a new level to meet the requirements of the present situation.

## IV

The participants in the Conference consider that the most important prerequisite for increasing the Communist and Workers' Parties' contribution to the solution of the problems facing the peoples is to raise the unity of the communist movement to a higher level in conformi-

ty with present-day requirements. This demands determined and persistent effort by all the Parties. *The cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces.*

The participants in the Conference reaffirm their common view that relations between the fraternal Parties are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, and mutual support, respect for independence and equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Strict adherence to these principles is an indispensable condition for developing comradely co-operation between the fraternal Parties and strengthening the unity of the communist movement. Bilateral consultations, regional meetings and international conferences are natural forms of such co-operation and are conducted on the basis of the principles accepted in the communist movement. These principles and these forms give the Communist and Workers' Parties every possibility to unite their efforts in the struggle for their common aims, under conditions of the growing diversity of the world revolutionary process. All Parties have equal rights. As there is no leading centre of the international communist movement, voluntary co-ordination of the actions of Parties in order effectively to carry out the tasks before them acquires increased importance.

United action by Communist and Workers' Parties will promote cohesion of the communist movement on Marxist-Leninist principles. Joint action aimed at solving vital practical problems of the revolutionary and general democratic movements of our time promote a necessary ex-

change of experience between the various contingents of the communist movement. They help to enrich and creatively develop Marxist-Leninist theory, to strengthen internationalist revolutionary positions on urgent political problems.

The participants in the Conference proclaim their Parties' firm resolve to do their utmost for the working people and for social progress, with a view to advancing towards complete victory over international capital. They regard joint action against imperialism and for general democratic demands as a component and a stage of the struggle for socialist revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man.

The participants in the Conference are convinced that the effectiveness of each Communist Party's policy depends on its successes in its own country, on the successes of other fraternal Parties and on the extent of their co-operation. Each Communist Party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class. The national and international responsibilities of each Communist and Workers' Party are indivisible. Marxists-Leninists are both patriots and internationalists; they reject both national narrow-mindedness and the negation or underestimation of national interests, and the striving for hegemony. At the same time, the Communist Parties—the Parties of the working class and all working people—are the standard-bearers of genuine national interests unlike the reactionary classes, which betray these interests. The winning of power by the working class

and its allies is the greatest contribution which a Communist Party fighting under capitalist conditions can make to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are conducting their activity in diverse, specific conditions, requiring an appropriate approach to the solution of concrete problems. Each Party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently elaborates its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and, depending on the circumstances, chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism, and also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country. At the same time, the diverse conditions in which the Communist Parties operate, the different approaches to practical tasks and even differences on certain questions must not hinder concerted international action by fraternal Parties, particularly on the basic problems of the anti-imperialist struggle. The greater the strength and the unity of each Communist Party, the better can it fulfil its role both inside the country and in the international communist movement.

Communists are aware that our movement, while scoring great historical victories in the course of its development, has recently encountered serious difficulties. Communists are convinced, however, that these difficulties will be overcome. This belief is based on the fact that the international working class has common long-term objectives and interests, on the striving of each Party to find a solution to existing

problems which would meet both national and international interests and the Communists' revolutionary mission; it is based on the will of Communists for cohesion on an international scale.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, regardless of some difference of opinion, reaffirm their determination to present a united front in the struggle against imperialism.

Some of the divergences which have arisen are eliminated through an exchange of opinion or disappear as the development of events clarifies the essence of the outstanding issues. Other divergences may last long. The Conference is confident that the outstanding issues can and must be resolved correctly by strengthening all forms of co-operation among the Communist Parties, by extending inter-Party ties, mutual exchange of experience, comradely discussion and consultation and unity of action in the international arena. It is an internationalist duty of each Party to do everything it can to help improve relations and promote trust between all Parties and to undertake further efforts to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement. This unity is strengthened by a collective analysis of concrete reality.

The policy of joint anti-imperialist action demands that the ideological and political role of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in the world revolutionary process should be enhanced. Marching in the front ranks of the revolutionary, liberation and democratic movements, Communists will continue to fight uncompromisingly against bourgeois ideology and to explain to the working people the real meaning of their strug-

gle and the conditions for victory. To wage a successful struggle against imperialism and to ensure the victory of their cause, Communists will propagate the ideas of scientific socialism in the working-class movement and among the broad masses, including young people; they will consistently uphold their principles and work for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and, in accordance with the concrete situation, fight against Right- and Left-opportunist distortions of theory and policy, against revisionism, dogmatism and Left-sectarian adventurism. These deviations tend generally to underestimate the importance of the real forces which can and must be drawn into the struggle.

*Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism, and dedicated and devoted service in the interests of their peoples and the common cause of socialism are a requisite for the efficacy and correct orientation of united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties, a guarantee that they will achieve their historic goals.*

The communist movement is an integral part of modern society and is its most active force. Hence, the banning of Communist Parties is an attack on the democratic rights and vital interests of the peoples. The participants in the Conference support all the Communist Parties of the world, without exception, which fight for their right of legal participation in the political life of their countries. We emphatically condemn the brutal repressions and terror which have claimed the lives of thousands upon thousands of Communists and other democrats and revolutionaries in Indonesia, Spain, Portugal, Gre-

ece, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Paraguay, Guatemala, South Africa, Thailand, Haiti, Malaysia, Iran, the Philippines and some other countries. We proclaim our solidarity with our fellow fighters in the common struggle who are lying in the jails of fascist and dictatorial regimes, in prisons in the capitalist countries, and we work for their release.

The participants regard this Conference as an important stage in the cohesion of the world communist movement. They consider that the absence of certain Communist Parties should not hinder fraternal ties and cooperation between all Communist Parties without exception. They declare their resolve to achieve joint action in the struggle against imperialism, for the common objectives of the international working-class movement, as well as with the Communist and Workers' Parties not represented at the present Conference.

* * *

The struggle against imperialism is a long, hard and strenuous fight. Tense class battles lie ahead and they cannot be avoided. Let us step up the offensive against imperialism and internal reaction. The revolutionary and progressive forces are certain to triumph.

*Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly-liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!*

# CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN

## Address of the International Conference

On the eve of the centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's birth the thoughts of this Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties turn to the undying genius of our revolutionary age.

Lenin's name has come to symbolise the victory of the Great October Revolution and those immense revolutionary advances which have radically changed the face of society on earth and signify the turning of mankind to socialism and communism.

Lenin was an eminent man of thought who developed in every aspect the science which Marx and Engels established: dialectical materialism, political economy, the theory of the socialist revolution and the building of communist society.

Lenin founded the Bolshevik Party, the first proletarian party of a new type, he led the world's first socialist revolution to victory and founded the first proletarian state in history, Soviet socialist democracy.

Lenin unflinchingly fought imperialism and reaction, he upheld unity in action of all sections of the working people in battle against the common class enemy; he was a thorough-going internationalist, he championed equality, peace and friendship among nations, he wrathfully denounced any manifestation of racialism and chauvinism; he was the friend of all oppressed nations and opened the way to victory in the struggle against colonialism, for the peoples' independence and freedom, for their right to determine their own destiny.

The acknowledged leader of the world working class, Lenin saw in the proletariat the leading force able to carry out the historic task of overthrowing capitalism and bringing about the socialist transformation of society. It was he who evolved the theory of the alliance between working class and peasantry. Upholding unity of the working-class movement, Lenin was irreconcilably opposed to opportunism in all its forms.

Generations of Communists, wholly dedicated to the working class, to the people and the socialist cause, have grown up under the influence of Leninism. Lenin's life and work, his supreme qualities as a revolutionary, a comrade and a human being, will forever by their example inspire millions of revolutionary fighters throughout the world.

It is under the banner of Leninism that the revolutionary movement in most countries has risen to a new height, Communist Parties have been formed and have grown strong, and the international communist movement has become a truly world-wide political force, the most influential political force of today.

All the experience of world socialism and of the working class and national liberation movements has confirmed the world significance of Marxist-Leninist teaching. The victory of the socialist revolution in a group of countries, the emergence of the world socialist system, the gains of the working-class movement in capitalist countries, the appearance of peoples of former colonial and semi-colonial countries in the arena of socio-political development as independent agents, and the unprecedented upsurge of the struggle against imperialism—all this is proof that Leninism is historically correct and expresses the fundamental needs of the modern age.

Today we have every justification for saying about Lenin's teaching what he himself said about Marxism: it is omnipotent, because it is true. Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in specific conditions permit scientific answers to be found to the questions facing all contingents of the world revolutionary movement, wherever they are active.

Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to this great international teaching, holds the promise of further successes of the communist movement.

Communists regard it as their task firmly to uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle against all enemies, steadfastly to make them a living reality, constantly to develop Marxist-Leninist theory and enrich it on the basis of present experience of waging the class struggle and building socialist society. Communists will always be true to the creative spirit of Leninism.

The approaching Lenin centenary is an hist-

oric date of world significance. The Communist and Workers' Parties meet it in a situation of increasing revolutionary activity and will mark it by stepping up political and ideological work among the masses and by extending and strengthening their ranks. They are exerting every effort to rouse the working people's revolutionary energies to struggle against imperialism, for the splendid ideals of socialism.

The participants in this International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties address to all Communists, to all fighters for the socialist transformation of society and to all champions of progress and peace this call for a worthy celebration of the centenary of great Lenin's birth. Study Lenin's works! There you shall find an inexhaustible fund of inspiration for struggle against reaction and oppression, for socialism and peace. Acquaintance with Lenin's works will help the rising generation to see more clearly the revolutionary prospects of our era. Spread more widely knowledge of the achievements of Leninism, of the successes of the socialist countries, Communist Parties and all revolutionary forces!

Working people in all countries, peoples of the world!

In the name of the triumph of Lenin's ideals, we call upon you to join actively in the great and noble battle of the working class for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism!

Let us raise higher the banner of Leninism in the struggle for the revolutionary renewal of the world!

Long live Leninism!

*June 17, 1969*

# INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM AND PEACE FOR VIETNAM!

## Appeal of the International Conference

The International Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties sends ardent greetings to the fraternal people of Vietnam and wholeheartedly congratulates them on their historic successes in the struggle against US aggression.

We send special greetings to the vanguard of the Vietnamese people—the Working People's Party of Vietnam and its Central Committee—and to the great patriot and internationalist Comrade Ho Chi Minh, outstanding figure of the international communist movement. The Working People's Party of Vietnam is the inspiring and guiding force in the struggle against US imperialist aggression. It consistently defends the national interests and the outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia.

We send warm greetings to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLFSV), the

lawful representative of the population of South Vietnam and tested organiser and leader of the heroic resistance against US aggression. The NLFSV's Political Programme is the basis for uniting the entire South Vietnamese population in its just struggle for liberation.

The International Conference unconditionally supports the 10-point programme—"Principles and Main Content of a General Settlement of the South Vietnam Problem as a Contribution to the Restoration of Peace in Vietnam"—put forward on May 8, 1969 by the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. This programme proceeds from the basic principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and from the present situation in Vietnam. It is based on the Political Programme and 5-point stand of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and coincides with the 4-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The proposed settlement of the South Vietnam problem fully accords with the national rights of the Vietnamese people and the interests of world peace. It guarantees the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people and lasting peace in Vietnam and also accords with the interests of the other peoples of Indochina.

*In fighting to defend their homeland the Vietnamese people exercise the sacred and inviolable right of all peoples to self-defence.*

Their struggle for freedom and independence evokes the deep respect and admiration of all nations. Their staunchness, heroism and confidence are an example and inspiration in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and for the li-

beration of peoples from exploitation and oppression. By defending their homeland, the Vietnamese people simultaneously fulfil their internationalist duty and serve the noble cause of world peace. In this most just struggle of the Vietnamese people we have been and shall be firmly linked in solidarity with them.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression is a key component of the world-wide battle between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of progress and those of reaction.

By undertaking armed intervention in Vietnam the imperialist forces of the USA made an attempt to destroy one of the outposts of socialism in Asia, bar the road of the peoples of Indochina to peace, freedom and progress, strike a blow at the revolutionary national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and test the solidarity of the socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces.

These plans of US imperialism are doomed to failure.

With massive support from socialist countries, primarily from the Soviet Union, as well as from all peaceloving peoples in the world, the Vietnamese people have demonstrated to the USA, the most powerful force of imperialism, that its might is not limitless.

The barbarous crimes of the US interventionists against the Vietnamese people, the use of biological, chemical and other means of mass annihilation, which is nothing less than genocide, outrage the conscience of mankind. This has revealed to all the peoples the true, anti-human essence of imperialism.

All this has led to the growing political and moral isolation of the aggressor among broad strata, including ruling circles of some capitalist countries. In the USA itself growing sections of the population are opposing the dirty war in Vietnam, the consequences of which are shaking American society.

The epic struggle of Vietnamese people is a decisive factor in the movement of the peoples against imperialism and is also manifested in the militant actions of the youth and students.

Although the aggressors have set a huge war machine in motion, they were compelled to cease unconditionally the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and agree to quadrilateral negotiations with the equal participation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. In South Vietnam the people's liberation armed forces are uninterruptedly dealing heavy blows at the US interventionists and their puppets. People's power has been established in by far the greater part of its territory. The bankrupt puppet regime is kept in power solely by the bayonets of US imperialism.

These are major successes of the heroic Vietnamese people, the world socialist system, the international communist and working-class movement and all other peaceloving and progressive forces.

The successful struggle of Vietnam mirrors the changes in the international balance of power and the growing might of the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation on a global scale.

The broad movement in support of Vietnam against US aggression strikingly and concretely

shows the striving of the international communist movement, as well as of all other anti-imperialist forces, for cohesion and unity of action in the fight against imperialism, which is the common enemy of mankind.

The struggle of the Viêtnamese patriots shows that *a people which consistently fights imperialism for freedom and independence and has on its side the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries and the peaceloving forces of the whole world is invincible.*

*The stronger the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement and all other anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism—the greater will be their successes.*

*The more resolutely the Communist and Workers' Parties uphold the freedom of peoples and head the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression, the broader and more effective the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples.*

Despite their heavy defeats, the militarist circles of the USA have not yet renounced their aggressive, neocolonialist plans with regard to Vietnam and continue their attempts to secure a military settlement of the Vietnam problem. They persist in following the dangerous road of escalating the military conflict, as evidenced by the increasing bombing of Laotian territory and constant acts of provocation against neutral Cambodia.

The US Government and its representatives in Paris stubbornly refuse to conduct businesslike and realistic talks on the just demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of

South Vietnam, particularly the demand for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of US troops and other participants in the aggression in South Vietnam. Instead, they seek to mislead world public opinion by demagogic manoeuvring and to secure through pressure success at the negotiations which they were denied on the battlefield.

They evade the basic issue of the complete and unconditional withdrawal of US and satellite troops from South Vietnam and insist on what they term as a reciprocal withdrawal of troops. With this the aggressor is put on the same level as the victim of aggression. However, US imperialism will never succeed in concealing the fact that it has unleashed and stubbornly continues the aggression in Vietnam.

The US intervention in Vietnam is a permanent threat to world peace and a direct challenge to all peoples fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism and in the spirit of fraternal solidarity, the international communist and working-class movement will continue to render the Vietnamese people all the assistance they require until the final triumph of their just cause. They thereby make a large contribution towards the cause of world peace, the cause of freedom and socialism.

The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties emphatically declares that a just settlement of the Vietnam problem can only be secured by guaranteeing the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people.

Today when the struggle of the Vietnamese people has entered an important stage, when

thanks to the initiative of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam all the necessary conditions have been created for a just political settlement, we demand:

the United States must renounce its obstructionist stand at the quadrilateral conference in Paris;

the United States must forthwith cease its acts of aggression in Vietnam and completely and unconditionally withdraw its troops and those of its satellites from South Vietnam;

the United States must recognise the right of the population of South Vietnam to decide their internal affairs by themselves without foreign interference;

the United States must end all actions directed against the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

the United States must cease its interference and aggression in Laos and its violations of the territorial integrity of Cambodia, recognise her frontiers, abondon its aggressive aims with regard to the states of Southeast and East Asia and strictly abide by the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements.

We demand that Thailand, New Zealand and Australia, the South Korean puppet regime and also the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan end their open or veiled participation in the US aggression in Vietnam!

On behalf of the many millions of Communists we appeal to all men of good will who cherish peace, justice and the freedom and independence of nations:

to protest with greater determination through-

out the world against the criminal war waged by US imperialism in Vietnam!

to take a still more active part in the international movement of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people!

to demand the withdrawal of US and satellite troops from Vietnam!

to demand the prompt peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem on the basis of ensuring the inalienable rights of the Vietnamese people!

to support the 10 points of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam!

We call for the immediate initiation of further, still more powerful, varied and coordinated action by the anti-imperialist, peaceloving forces in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression!

Boycott transportation of troops, weapons and supplies for the interventionists and their satellites!

Let us turn July 20, the anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreements, into an international day of solidarity with Vietnam, a day of struggle to stop US aggression!

Honour and glory to the heroic Vietnamese people fighting with dedication for freedom and independence!

Hold higher the banner of international solidarity!

Independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam!

The just cause of the Vietnamese people will triumph!

*June 10, 1969*

# TELEGRAM

## of the International Conference to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, convened in Moscow, warmly welcomes the creation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The 75 Parties represented at the Conference regard this event as a new and important stage of the heroic struggle for liberation waged by the Vietnamese people. They assure the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the entire Vietnamese people of their invariable support for their struggle for final victory.

*June 12, 1969*

# APPEAL IN DEFENCE OF PEACE
## Adopted on June 16, 1969

We representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties gathered in Moscow for the International Conference call upon all peoples of the world, regardless of their convictions and political views, to act jointly to defend and consolidate the peace.

A struggle is being waged for the greatest cause of all—the future of mankind. In the first half of this century two world wars claimed more than 70 million human lives and wiped thousands of thriving towns and rural communities from the face of the earth. The sinister atomic mushroom over Hiroshima is a tragic warning of the possible consequences of a third world war should imperialism succeed in starting it.

Today, when nuclear bombs can reach any continent within minutes and lay waste vast territories, a world conflict would spell the death of hundreds of millions of people and the dest-

ruction and incineration of the treasures of world civilisation and culture.

Wars, acts of aggression and violence, encroachments on the freedom of nations—all have their roots in the policies of imperialism.

It is imperialism, US imperialism in particular, that is stepping up the arms race, increasing international tensions, and sparking off conflicts and local wars in various parts of the globe. Sworn enemy of the freedom of nations, US imperialism seeks by all possible means to suppress the national liberation movement, organises reactionary coups and instals and maintains anti-popular regimes.

For many years the US imperialists have been waging an aggressive war in Vietnam employing the most barbarous means.

As a result of Israeli aggression against Arab peoples, a dangerous breeding ground of tension remains in the Middle East, which may at any time kindle the flames of war.

The provocative intrigues of imperialism against Cuba, off the shores of Korea and against many Asian, African and Latin American states are creating a constant threat to peace.

Bellicose West German imperialism is gaining strength and neo-nazism is rearing its head in the heart of Europe. Relying on the aggressive NATO bloc and acting in close alliance with US imperialism, the ruling circles of Bonn, who have not drawn the necessary lessons from the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, are pursuing a policy of revanche, eagerly reaching out for nuclear weapons and threatening the security of all European peoples. Military bases placed at the disposal of the US imperialists in various

NATO countries and in Spain are a threat to peace.

The policy of aggression and war, pursued for the profits of monopoly capital, intensifies, in the capitalist countries themselves, the exploitation of the masses, kindles racial discrimination, cultivates brute force, leads to the curtailing of democratic freedoms and jeopardises the vital interests of the people. The militarisation of the economy devours huge material resources, presses down the standard of living and places a heavy burden on the shoulders of working people. Imperialism is responsible for channeling the greatest achievements of science and technology, which throw open new vistas to humanity, for purposes of destruction, while at the same time hundreds of millions of people suffer from hunger and poverty.

That is why the struggle for peace merges with the struggle for the freedom of the peoples, for progress and democracy, for deliverance from alien domination, from colonialism and neocolonialism, reaction and fascist dictatorship.

Today lasting peace is no longer a utopia—it is a fully feasible aim. Mighty social and political forces exist in the world today which oppose war and work for a relaxation of tension and broad international co-operation. The consistent peace policy of the first socialist country—the Soviet Union and other socialist states, the intensification of the working people's struggle in the capitalist countries, the growth of the national liberation movement, and action by broad circles of world democratic opinion and by peace fighters remove the fatal inevitability of another world war and create a real

possibility for effectuating the striving of the peoples for peace.

Imperialism is no longer able arbitrarily to decide the destinies of the world. The US aggressors have been compelled to stop bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and agree to negotiations. A Treaty banning nuclear tests on land, under water and in outer space has been concluded, and a Treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons has been signed. This means that when the peoples act vigorously and unitedly they can achieve concrete results.

Although threat of military conflicts remains as long as imperialism exists, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is a realistic matter in our days. But peaceful coexistence demands a constant and persevering struggle of the masses against imperialism, against its positions of strength policy.

The struggle for peace embraces peace initiatives by the socialist countries, the victorious battles fought by the Vietnamese patriots in the jungles of South Vietnam, anti-war demonstrations in the cities of Europe and America, the Japanese people's struggle against US military bases. The cause of peace is served by the actions of the working class against the omnipotence of the monopolies, resistance of the Latin American peoples to the dictatorship of military juntas, the anti-colonial movements in the countries of Asia and Africa, and the Negro people's struggle for their rights in the USA. Every participant in this struggle, whether he works at a factory bench, tills the soil or labours in a laboratory, contributes to the common cause of upholding peace.

## WE ADDRESS OUR APPEAL

to working people—factory workers, peasants, intellectuals, to workers in science and culture, to all who want to save and multiply the fruits of labour and of the creative endeavours of mankind;

to mothers and fathers, who are concerned over their children's future;

to young people and students striving to realise lofty plans and visions and dedicate their strength and energy to furthering the prosperity of their countries;

to parliamentarians, statesmen and political leaders evincing anxiety for the destinies of their peoples;

to political parties, trade unions, and mass organisations and movements;

to religious communities and associations, to people of different creeds;

to participants in the peace movement and anti-war campaigns;

to all men and women:

to demand an end to US aggression in Vietnam, the withdrawal of US troops, respect for the sovereign rights of the Vietnamese people, and independence, freedom and peace for Vietnam;

to secure the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East on the basis of the UN Security Council resolution;

to work for the complete eradication of colonialism and neocolonialism and the attainment of independence by all the oppressed peoples, for the ending of the wars of the Portuguese colonialists, for the uprooting of disgraceful racialism in South Africa and wherever else it

is manifest, and the abolition of corrupt regimes serving foreign monopolies;

to exert greater effort in the struggle for the complete implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states regardless of their social system, for the relaxation of world tensions, and the settlement of outstanding international issues by negotiation, against the encroachments of the imperialists on the independence and sovereignty of the peoples, for their right to determine their own future, and for the promotion of broad and equal co-operation between countries on a basis of equality.

We appeal to all who suffered and remember the horrors of the last world war, to all the champions of peace in Europe, including peace-loving social forces in West Germany:

let us block the road to the policy of territorial claims pursued by the FRG and its striving to obtain nuclear weapons; let us compel the forces of neonazism to retreat!

Recognition of the real situation which has arisen in Europe as a result of the Second World War, the inviolability of existing frontiers and recognition of the German Democratic Republic are the indispensable conditions for a lasting peace on the European continent.

Let us launch a struggle for the establishment of an effective system of collective security in Europe and the elimination of the world's division into military groupings, for the creation of an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual understanding between nations. The road to this would be paved by an All-European Conference of states which has been proposed by the Bud-

apest Conference of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Peace on earth cannot rest on a "balance of fear". Lasting peace is inconceivable without a cessation of the arms race.

It is imperative to secure the creation of nuclear-free zones in different parts of the globe, the banning of all nuclear tests, the speediest possible enforcement of the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and the participation of all countries in this treaty, the banning of nuclear weapons and the destruction of their stockpiles.

It is imperative to demand the dismantling of military bases on foreign territory, the release of countries from the aggressive military pacts forced on them and the imposition of an effective international ban on all types of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

It is necessary to work, consistently and perseveringly, towards general and complete disarmament.

In face of all trials we Communists have preserved our boundless devotion to Lenin's ideas of peace and friendship among nations. Today, as before, we shall struggle for these lofty aims of the whole of mankind together with all who oppose the policy of militarism, aggression and war. For these aims we are ready to develop contacts and co-operate with the most diverse public and political forces.

The unity of all progressive, peaceloving forces is the demand of the day. United we shall ensure the triumph of the sacred cause of world peace.

# STATEMENT
## of the International Conference

Two years ago Israel launched an open aggression against the UAR, Jordan and Syria. Since then, the Israeli ruling circles, supported by the imperialists, above all by the US imperialists, world reaction and zionist circles, continue to occupy Arab territories seized as a result of the aggression, refusing to fulfil the UN decisions, including those of the Security Council; they are enforcing their expansionist and annexationist policy, perpetrating acts of repression against the Arab population in the occupied areas, and incessantly committing fresh military provocations.

The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties resolutely condemns Israel's continued aggression, which is a gross violation of the national rights of the Arab peoples, including the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, a gross violation of the UN Char-

ter, which condemns aggression.

In their just struggle against aggression the Arab peoples have the effective support of the socialist countries, primarily of the Soviet Union. In this struggle they are backed by the world communist movement, the national-liberation forces and ever growing sections of the public in the capitalist countries.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties holds that peace and tranquility in this area can be established only provided Israeli troops are withdrawn from all occupied Arab territories and the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967 is fully implemented.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties appeals to all progressive forces throughout the world to increase their effective support for, and enhance their solidarity with, the Arab peoples in their just struggle.

*June 7, 1969*

# STATEMENT
## of the International Conference

The representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties gathered in Moscow are deeply indignant at the fresh wave of terror, brutal court persecution, mass arrests and torture of Greek Communists, democrats and other opponents of the junta.

The dictatorial regime forced on the Greek people by the reactionary military with the assistance of the US imperialists and the aggressive NATO bloc is savagely persecuting the democratic forces of Greece, above all Communists, consistent champions of their country's freedom, independence and happy future.

The participants in the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties express their fraternal solidarity with the Communists and democrats of Greece who are fighting the military fascist dictatorship. The Conference calls upon the broad masses of working people, democratic and progressive forces in all countries to resolutely demand an end to the repressions and the immediate release of all political prisoners in Greece.

*June 12, 1969*

# ADDRESS
## of the International Conference to Indonesian Communists

On behalf of millions of Communists, we participants in the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties send fraternal revolutionary greetings to our Indonesian comrades.

Having proclaimed anti-communism as the foundation of their policy, the reactionary forces of Indonesia in alliance with world reaction have brutally put to death leaders of the Communist Party and massacred hundreds of thousands of Communists and other patriots, and subjected their families to repressions and persecution. This is the fourth year of unceasing bloodbath in Indonesia. Thousands of patriots are in prison or concentration camps, or exiled to certain death in the foulest parts of the country. The present rulers of Indonesia have banned the ideas of scientific socialism. They seek to exclude from Indonesian political life everybody

who cherishes the democratic gains of the people. The crimes of the military dictatorship in Indonesia and its anti-national policy are wrathfully denounced by the whole of progressive mankind.

The communist movement lives on in Indonesia despite the police terror. Under the extraordinarily difficult conditions of underground activity many Indonesian Communists are fighting to restore the Communist Party of Indonesia and uphold the interests of the working people. They courageously defend the country's national independence against the inroads of imperialism, which makes use of the anti-popular and anti-national policy of the Indonesian ruling circles.

The International Conference pays homage to Indonesian Communists who fell victim to the bloody terror and expresses its internationalist solidarity with those who are continuing the struggle. The Conference believes in the future of the fraternal Party, that it will overcome the difficulties of the present period. We are convinced that by firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the Indonesian Communists, in alliance with other progressive democratic forces of Indonesia, will lead their people to the triumph of the bright ideals of genuine national independence, progress and socialism.

*June 14, 1969*

# STATEMENT
## of the International Conference

The representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties, gathered in Moscow, received with anger and indignation news of fresh wholesale arrests and brutal killings of Communists, democrats and other patriots in Haiti.

Comrades Gerald Brisson, Daniel Sansaricq, Gerard Wadestrandt, Jacques Jeannot and other prominent Communist leaders, were murdered some days ago. The life of Comrade Joseph Roney, General Secretary, Central Committee, United Party of Haitian Communists, seized by Duvalier's cutthroats, is in danger.

In twelve years Duvalier's tyrannical regime, maintaining power solely with the support of the American monopolies, has turned the country into a concentration camp. Savage persecutions, tortures, death sentences, anti-popular legislation and, in particular, repeal of the right of asylum—all this is designed to suppress the re-

sistance of the Haitian patriots. The Duvalier regime aims the main blow against the members of the United Party of Haitian Communists, courageous fighters for the freedom, independence and bright future of their country.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties declares its fraternal solidarity with the Communists and Democrats of Haiti, daily risking their lives in the selfless underground struggle against tyranny.

The Conference calls on the toiling masses, the democratic and progressive forces of all countries, to demand resolutely an end to the terror, the slaying and persecution of Haitian Communists and other patriots.

The memory of the heroes who laid down their lives in the fight against tyranny, for the freedom and independence of their country, for socialism, shall live for ever!

We demand freedom for Comrade Joseph Roney!

We demand freedom for all political prisoners in Haiti!

*June 16, 1969*

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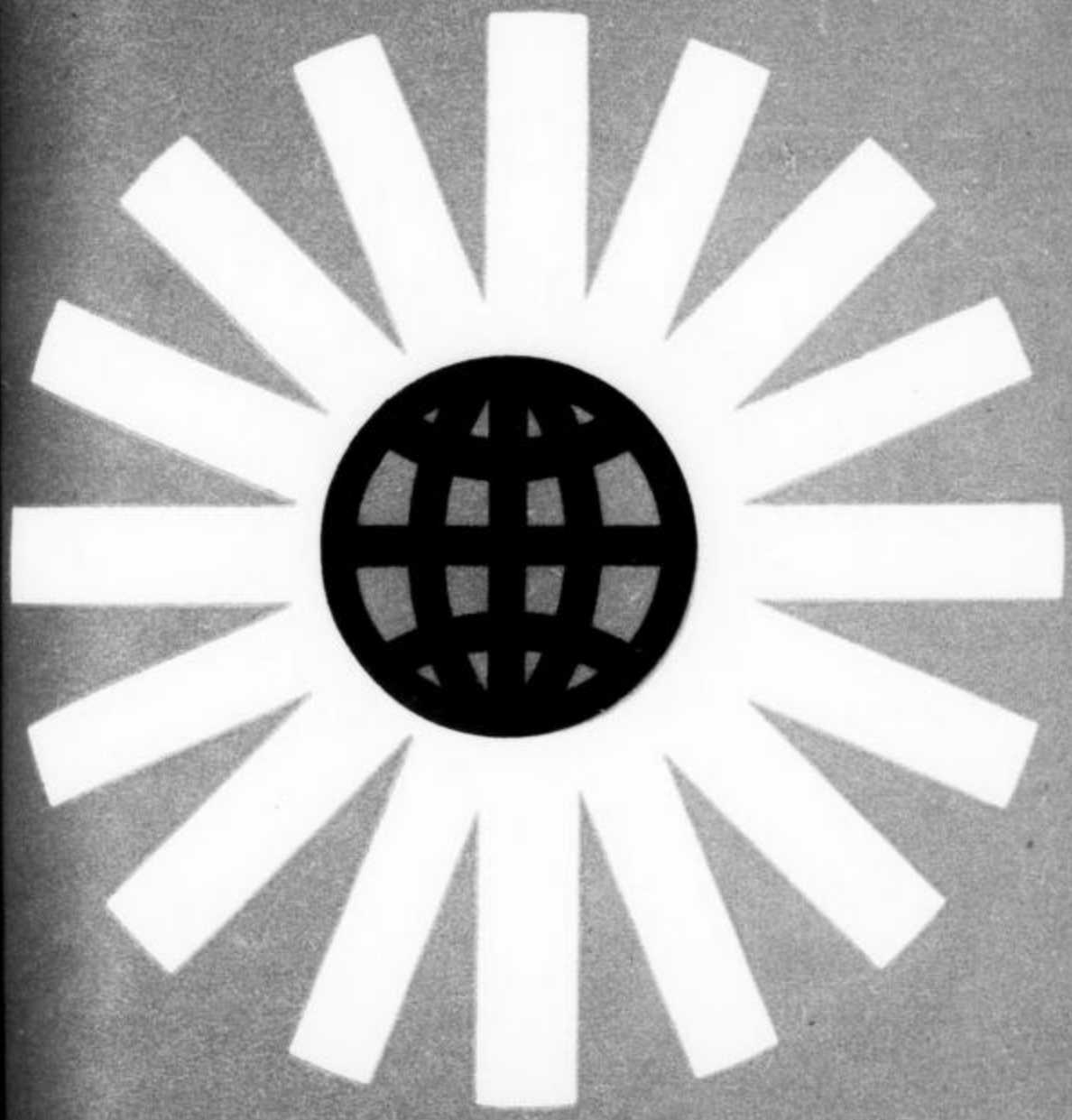

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# ON THE RESULTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

## CC CPSU RESOLUTION,* JUNE 26, 1969

Having heard and discussed the report of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "On the Results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties", the plenum of the CC CPSU fully approves the political line and the practical activity of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU aimed at furthering the cohesion of the world Communist movement, and the work of the CPSU delegation at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969.

The Central Committee considers the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties a big success of the communist, the working-class and the entire liberation movement. The Meeting will have a tremendous impact on the further struggle against imperialism based on the broadest unity of action of all democratic, progressive forces of the world. The Meeting constituted a new stage along the road of strengthening the cohesion of the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The very fact that such a widely representative meeting has been held is indicative of the Communist and workers' parties' high sense of responsibility for the future of a movement bearing upon the destiny of mankind. The entire course of the Meeting manifested the mounting tendency of the parties to achieve cohesion and unity for the sake of the movement's interests which are inseverable from the interests of each party. The free, democratic discussion of problems, collective elaboration of documents, extensive publicity and genuinely comradely, equal collaboration, and the methods used for preparing and holding the Meeting helped to develop and strengthen this tendency.

The documents adopted by the Meeting conform to the present-day objectives and requirements of the world Communist movement and to the tasks of intensifying the peoples' struggle for national and social emancipation, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The documents of the Meeting and the speeches of its participants sum up the tremendous experience of the Communist move-

*Pravda, June 27, 1969.

ment and contain a profound analysis of contemporary world development, thereby making an important contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

Of the greatest importance is the Document "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces" which was adopted by the Meeting. The Document stresses the indisputable fact that the forces of revolution and socialism, peace and national liberation determine, as before, the main trend of world development. It indicates ways of raising the entire struggle against imperialism to a new level, and of practically achieving unity of action of the broad masses throughout the world.

In the Document a Marxist-Leninist analysis of world development and the substance and possible consequences of imperialism's aggressive policy organically blend with a concrete platform of anti-imperialist unity of action. This makes it possible to struggle more purposefully for the cohesion of the three principal revolutionary forces of our time—the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

The Meeting reaffirmed that the socialist system is the bulwark of the world anti-imperialist, revolutionary movement. The success of the new world's struggle against the old in decisive measure depends on the further achievements and the cohesion of the socialist system, on the proper utilization by the ruling Parties of all opportunities inherent in the new social system. Hence, concern for strengthening the socialist world system is also concern for the development of the world revolutionary process, for effective struggle against imperialism.

The Meeting reiterated that undeviating observance of the principles of socialist internationalism, proper combination of national and international tasks of the socialist states and furtherance of fraternal mutual assistance and support are decisive for solidifying the socialist system. The Meeting emphatically declared that defense of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists.

The Meeting stressed that the working class remains the main motive and mobilizing force of the revolutionary struggle. It noted the great revolutionary potentialities of the working peasantry, progressive intelligentsia and young people, the significance of the entire democratic, anti-imperialist movement in the capitalist countries, and the growing role of the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the world revolutionary process.

The Meeting particularly emphasized that for the Communist and Workers' Parties the struggle against imperialism, for peace is inseverable from the struggle for the ultimate objectives of the working class, from the struggle against capitalism as a social sys-

tem, for the victory of socialism and communism in their counrties.

Of fundamental significance is the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" adopted by the Meeting. It reiterates the Communists' unswerving fidelity to Leninism and underlines its international significance, and defines in concise form the ideological basis of the unity of the international communist movement. The Address orientates the Communist and Workers' parties on using the Lenin centenary for extensively propagandizing Leninism and increasing communist ideological activity among the masses.

The Central Committee notes the importance and topicality of the other documents of the Meeting. The Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam" shows the whole world the militant proletarian solidarity of Communists, their resolve to continue joint actions in support of the Vietnamese people.

Continuing the militant anti-militarist tradition of the Communist movement, the "Appeal In Defense of Peace" sets forth the movement's common stand on one of the cardinal issues of the day, designed to unite the broadest democratic and peace-loving forces in the struggle to avert a world thermonuclear war.

The plenum notes with satisfaction the broad backing given both in the documents and in the delegates' speeches to the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state aimed at solidifying the positions of socialism, giving every support to the peoples fighting against imperialism, for their social and national emancipation, ensuring peace and the security of the nations, preventing a thermonuclear war, and affirming the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The Meeting reasserted the correctness of the course pursued by the Marxist-Leninist parties to surmount the existing divergences and strengthen the unity of the Communist movement. The way to this lies through joint actions against imperialism, utmost extension of ties and contacts between the fraternal parties, generalization of the theoretical work of the parties and defense and constructive development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The plenum attaches great significance to the conclusion reached by the Meeting that in order to strengthen the ranks of the Communist parties, enhance the international cohesion of Communists and to heighten their vanguard role in the whole revolutionary movement it is imperative to fight consistently for the purity of Marxism-Leninsm, against revisionism, dogmatism and nationalism.

The CC CPSU notes that the exchange of opinion at the Meeting has demonstrated the resolute opposition of the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties to the foreign policy course of the present CPC leadership, to its splitting activity.

The plenum unanimously reaffirms the stand expressed by the CPSU delegation at the International Meeting. The CPSU will con-

tinue to wage an uncompromising struggle against the anti-Leninist ideological line of the present Chinese leaders, against their splitting policy and their great-power foreign policy course. It will do its utmost to safeguard the interests of the Soviet people, who are building communism, against any encroachments. At the same time the CPSU holds that the basic interests of the Soviet and Chinese people coincide. The CPSU, as before, will strive to preserve and sustain the friendly feelings which exist among Soviet people for the Chinese people and which undoubtedly exist in the Chinese people with regard to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The plenum notes that the Communists and all working people of the Soviet Union express their international solidarity with the world Communist movement and fully support our Party's policy.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties has once again demonstrated that despite certain difficulties in its development the Communist movement is the militant vanguard of all the anti-imperialist forces, that it is the mightiest political force of our times.

The Plenum of the CC CPSU resolves:

1. To approve the Documents adopted by the Meeting: "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces"; the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin"; the Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam"; and the "Appeal in Defense of Peace."

2. On the strength of the results of the Meeting, to continue the CPSU's consistent course of consolidating the world Communist movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to develop in every possible way ties with the Communist parties along all lines, to struggle against bourgeois ideology for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, and against Right and "Left" revisionism, and nationalism.

3. The plenum approves the foreign policy line of the CPSU and the Soviet government. The foreign policy of the USSR is playing and will play a very important role in the common struggle of the anti-imperialist forces, in enhancing the might and cohesion of the socialist community, and will serve as an effective instrument in frustrating imperialism's aggressive plans, preserving peace and asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different political systems, and supporting the liberation struggle of the peoples.

4. Taking into account that economic successes, scientific and technological achievements and the strengthening of the defense potential are of exceptional importance for the building of communism in the USSR, for the anti-imperialist struggle and the furtherance of the revolutionary process, the plenum makes the special

point that Party, local government and economic bodies should ensure fulfilment of the state plans and attainment of the five-year plan targets, and the achievement of fresh successes in the scientific, cultural and artistic fields. Personnel at enterprises, building projects, and state and collective farms should concentrate on raising the efficiency of production, accelerating scientific and technological progress, boosting labor productivity, ensuring the earliest commissioning of new production capacities and fuller utilization of existing ones, and bringing in as much of the available reserves into production as possible.

5. It is most important to intensify ideological work in connection with the results of the International Meeting. Party organizations must actively propagandize the results of the Meeting and the documents it has adopted, extensively employing the press, radio, television, lectures and other forms for this purpose.

6. The Central Committee reiterates that the CPSU will, as before, educate our people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and friendship, fraternity and international solidarity with the peoples of the socialist countries, with all the peoples fighting for their social and national emancipation, for democracy, peace and socialism. Such qualities of a conscious Soviet citizen as pride for his Party and country, preparedness to give all his strength to make them flourish, and awareness of the international significance of the building of communism in the USSR are particularly important in present-day conditions.

7. An important conclusion which follows from the results of the Meeting is that it is essential in every way to promote scientific work in making a profound theoretical generalization of present-day problems, of the general laws and features of the world revolutionary movement, and of elaborating fundamental theoretical problems involved in the building of socialism and communism and the struggle of the world Communist and working class movement against imperialism. To this end it is important to hold more international theoretical conferences and seminars.

8. To discuss the results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties at the active of republican, territorial, regional, area, city and district Party organizations and at meetings of local Party organizations. To organize a thorough-going study of the materials of the Meeting by Communists.

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Taking into account the tremendous significance of the successes of the Soviet Union in the building of a new society the CC CPSU calls upon all Party organizations, all Communists and all Soviet people to work with still greater dedication for the fulfilment of the great plans of communist construction and for a fitting observation of the birth centenary of V. I. Lenin, the founder of the our Party and the Soviet state.

# REPORT* OF WLADYSLAW GOMULKA

## FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC PUWP, AT THE THIRD PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC PUWP

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow from June 5 to 17 was closely followed by world public opinion, by the Communists and working people in all countries, by the enemies of socialism and the anti-communist propaganda centers.

The keynote of the Meeting, its sittings and decisions was the desire to enhance the cohesion of the Communist movement on the basis of the Leninist principles of internationalism and rally all anti-imperialist forces in a united front.

The leaders and prominent functionaries of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties, representing the Communist movement in all continents took part in the Meeting. In other words, it was attended by representatives of the overwhelming majority of the existing 90 Communist and Workers' Parties which form the vanguard of all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces of the world.

It will be recalled that the proceedings were fully publicized. In the present difficult situation in our movement the free expression of views by all Parties testified to its political and moral strength and at the same time deprived anti-Communist propaganda of its meat, narrowed down its possibilities of distorting the facts, of spreading lies and misinformation.

This has been the third international meeting of the Communist movement since the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Today, when the world revolutionary processes are so diverse and the Communist movement no longer operates within the limits of a single international organization and has no leading center of any kind, both world-wide and zonal international meetings have become an experience, an indispensable method for co-ordinating the activity of Communists on a world scale and a concrete form of implementing the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The purpose of international meetings of Communist Parties is not confined to the elaboration of binding political directives. Nonetheless, by adopting specific decisions, the Parties taking part in the meetings voluntarily accept specific commitments flowing out of these decisions.

*Printed according to the abridged text released by PAP.

A little short of nine years have elapsed since the last Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which took place in Moscow at the close of 1960 and was attended by 81 parties. This long interval by no means signifies that there was no need to call another meeting at an earlier date. The main obstacle to its earlier convocation was the split in the Communist movement caused by the CPC leadership.

As we know, the early signs of differences and divergences between the CPC, on the one hand, and the CPSU and the overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers' Parties, on the other, appeared before the Meeting of 81 Parties. After a protracted and strenuous discussion the Meeting unanimously adopted a Statement signed by all delegations without exception, including the delegations from the CPC and the Albanian Party of Labor. This gave rise to the hope that the divergences in the Communist movement would be surmounted. Unfortunately, this did not happen.

Shortly after the Meeting the Chinese leaders began to revise the jointly approved appraisals and proposals set forth in the Statement. They renewed their attacks on the CPSU and other fraternal Parties over many fundamental issues, such as the thesis about the possibility of averting another world war or the thesis on the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and began to form splitter groups and factions in many of the Parties. In view of this a large number of Parties back in 1962-63 spoke up in favor of holding another international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties to curb mounting disruptive trends and re-establish the unity of the movement.

In its letters to the CC CPC of May 31, 1962 and February 21, 1963, the Central Committee of the CPSU suggested that another international meeting be held. Many Parties supported this initiative which at first was also approved by the CPC leadership.

But the Chinese leaders moved further and further away from the Marxist-Leninist line jointly accepted in 1960 and their anti-Soviet line became more pronounced. In its letter to the CC CPSU of May 7, 1964, the CC CPC wrote: "In view of the situation it might take four or five years, or even longer, to complete preparations for the meeting."

In March 1965 a Consultative Meeting of 19 Parties was held in Moscow which marked a definite stage in the discussion about the convocation of the Meeting. Taking into account the situation, the participants declared for a preliminary consultative meeting of the 81 Parties that were in Moscow in 1960 to discuss the question of another International Meeting. To settle this question, it was necessary to consult all these Parties. The Chinese Party sharply opposed the idea.

Thus, within a relatively short span of time the CPC stand underwent a radical transformation which took it from direct support for and then objections to the date and the procedure of the preparation, blackmail and threats of not attending the Meeting and convening a separate splitter conference, to slander and foul abuse of the parties favoring the Meeting.

Although the question of holding another International Meeting of the Communist movement remained on the agenda for many years, no practical steps were taken to call it until the autumn of 1967 for fear of exacerbating the divergences with the CPC. At the time many fraternal Parties, including our Party, still had hopes of withholding the CPC from further splitting activity and sharper attacks on other Parties.

The experience of recent years, however, dashed these hopes. The CPC leadership did not give up their splitting activity even when the USA attacked the DRV. They rejected all proposals to co-ordinate the actions of the socialist countries in assisting the fighting Vietnamese people. The rabid anti-Soviet campaign, the unceasing attacks on other Parties, the excesses of the so-called cultural revolution, the destruction of the overwhelming majority of the CPC cadres, the more and more obvious substitution of Maoism for Marxism-Leninism and the cult of Mao Tse-tung, carried to the point of absurdity, led to the isolation of the CPC from other Communist Parties.

It gradually became clear to all that to counteract the trends against unity and to rally the Communist and Workers' Parties against imperialism's mounting aggressiveness, it was necessary to hold another Meeting even if the participation of the CPC was out of the question. The evolution of the views of many Parties on this issue can be followed on the example of the Italian Communist Party.

In July 1965 the Central Committee of the ICP still entertained a negative view of the Meeting and argued that sustained and vigorous efforts to achieve unity "could lead to a change in the stand of the Chinese comrades and convince them of the need to search for effective forms of solidarity and co-operation together with other fraternal Parties". But in February 1967, a plenary meeting of the CC CPI stated clearly that "the possible convocation of the Meeting should no longer be made conditional on the participation of the CPC, which in the present state of affairs is evidently out of the question".

Our Party, too, believed that it was expedient and necessary to hold a regular international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties both with a view to assessing new facts and phenomena in the international situation and to intensify the struggle against imperialism's aggressive ventures, and from the viewpoint of the

situation within the Communist movement itself, which obliged us to take effective measures to strengthen its unity.

We can confidently say that the overwhelming majority of the other fraternal Parties supported this stand and this was fully reflected at all stages of the presentations for the Meeting.

Invitations and all the materials connected with the preparations for the Meeting were sent to all Parties irrespective of their attitude to the Meeting.

As regards to the CPC and the Albanian Party of Labor, they had always rejected these proposals to the accompaniment of abuse and slander. As to the few other parties which did not come to the Meeting, the reasons for their absence are very different. It would be a big mistake to lump them all together. The non-participation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was a logical outcome of the Yugoslav political concept which uses "non-involvement in blocs" and "non-alignment" as arguments for Yugoslavia staying outside the socialist community.

The Vietnamese comrades were not at the Meeting for other reasons. Although the Working People's Party of Vietnam adheres to proletarian internationalism and is in every way concerned with strengthening the unity of the socialist states and the Communist movement, it could not attend the Moscow Meeting in view of its singular situation which we know very well. In large measure this is also true of the Korean Party of Labor.

The Communist Party of Japan, with which our Party established close contact on this point, did not attend the Meeting in view of its ideological differences with the CPSU and other Parties, which persist if in a less acute form.

The Communists of Indonesia, who had sustained heavy losses as a result of brutal reactionary terror, were unable to come to the Meeting. The Indonesian Communist Party has split and does not carry on any activity under central leadership.

The position of the Meeting with regard to all the Parties, including those that did not attend, is clearly formulated in the Main Document, which says in part that "the absence of certain Communist Parties should not hinder fraternal ties and cooperation between all Communist and Workers' Parties without exception. They declare their resolve to achieve joint action also with the Communist and Workers' Parties not represented at the present Meeting in the struggle against imperialism, for the common objectives of the international working class movement." We fully share this view.

The fact that despite the difficulties caused by the splitting activity of the CPC and the differences and divergences that have appeared in our movement in recent years the June Meeting was

attended by 75 Communist and Workers' Parties was in itself an important success of the cause of international unity of the Communist movement. The calculations of the anti-Communist forces whose forecast was that the Meeting would fail because of last year's political crisis in Czechoslovakia and some Parties' critical appraisal of the August actions of the five socialist countries, fell through.

The Meeting largely owes its success to the democratic and collective manner in which it was prepared and held.

The method used to convene the Meeting was different from the one used in the past. Both the 1957 and the 1960 Meetings were held on the initiative of the CPSU. This time the initiative was collective in the full sense of the word.

Preparations for the Meeting were conducted in an atmosphere of free discussion and full respect for the right of each Party to state its point of view and have an equal say in the adoption of all decisions.

All the documents adopted at the Meeting are the result of the collective initiative and joint work of its participants. All the Parties which wished it took part in the work of the committees drafting the documents, both before and during the meeting. In March this year the draft Main Document was sent to the Central Committees of all Communist and Workers' Parties so that they could express their opinion about it. Many Parties introduced numerous remarks and amendments to the draft worked out by the Working Group prior to the Meeting. More than 70 amendments, moved by 24 Parties, were considered in the course of the Meeting itself.

And so it was a Meeting at which the principles of democracy, collective decision-making, equality and respect for each Party's independence were most fully applied in an effort to work out a common stand based on solidarity.

While the Meeting was in session centers hostile to socialism daily forecast its failure, blew up any divergency in opinions to the proportions of a split and endeavored to blunt and turn the true anti-imperialist edge of the Meeting. The fact that such a far-reaching unity of views on the most important questions of our struggle was attained at the Meeting showed up the utter falsity and futility of the anti-Communist propaganda. The results of the Meeting and its decisions proved to be so unequivocal that even our rabid opponents could not but concede that it was a major victory of the international unity of Communists.

Thus, the Main Document expresses the collectively formulated general line of the Communist movement against imperialism in a

struggle which is decisive for peace, the freedom of the peoples and social progress throughout the world.

It is neither possible nor necessary for our Plenary Meeting to discuss in detail all the problems that were taken up at the Meeting. I should only like to dwell on some of the issues and conclusions flowing out of the Meeting and on the problems which formed the basis of discussion.

The Meeting clearly defined the main dividing line in the present-day world: on the one hand, there is the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement, and on the other, the world system of imperialism with the domination of monopoly capital in the developed countries, with reactionary regimes and with neo-colonialist plunder of the less developed countries. Powerful forces are confronting each other on this front, the forces of progress and reaction, peace and war, and the scene is one of relentless struggle and rivalry between socialism and capitalism. Their historical outcome can only be the transition of mankind to the highest, socialist social formation.

The Meeting unfolded before us the vast, colorful and impressive panorama of the struggle against imperialism in all continents. It showed that whatever the maneuvers of the anti-socialist forces they cannot conceal, obscure or misrepresent this main, class line dividing the world today.

The Meeting was unanimous in its appraisal that despite the mounting aggressiveness of imperialism, particularly of its principal force, the United States of America, and despite the mobilization of vast resources for armed, political, economic and ideological struggle against socialism and the national liberation movement, imperialism has been unable to swing the balance of world forces in its favor.

The socialist world system, the Main Document states, is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. This role of the socialist system is determined above all by its increasing defensive and economic might, by the outstanding gains of the peoples of the Soviet Union, who are dedicatedly building communism under the guidance of the CPSU.

The Document makes the point that the socialist world has entered a period of development which opens possibilities for a considerably fuller and more effective utilization of the reserves inherent in the new social system. The utilization of these potentialities largely depends on the progress of the scientific and technological revolution in the socialist countries, on better planning methods, on arousing the creative initiative and social activity of the masses, on elevating the all-round cooperation of the socialist countries in the economic, scientific and technological fields to a qualitatively new level.

Noting that now as in the past imperialism's aggressive strategy is spearheaded against the socialist states, that the forces hostile to socialism persist in their attempts to undermine the foundations of the socialist system, the Document states that the essential function of the socialist state is to give a firm rebuff to these attempts and that the defense of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists.

The Meeting by no means idealized the relations between socialist states. The Document notes that the establishment of international relations of a new type and the development of the fraternal alliance of socialist states is a complex historical process. It is a difficult process, but socialism is not afflicted with the contradictions inherent in capitalism. Divergences between socialist states can and must be resolved on the basis of proletarian internationalism, through discussion and voluntary fraternal cooperation. They need not disrupt the united front of socialist countries against imperialism.

The shameful war of the USA against the courageous Vietnamese people is the most notorious example of imperialism's aggressiveness and inability to attain its military strategic and neo-colonialist objectives.

Imperialism has been unable to break the Arab peoples' will to resist and to subjugate them. It has been unable to strangle revolutionary Cuba, the first socialist republic in the Western Hemisphere, either by economic blockade or by direct intervention.

The main source of the war danger in the heart of Europe, the Document states, is West German imperialism which has been revived and strengthened mainly through the Atlantic Pact, with the alliance between Washington and Bonn as its axis. But the program of revising the results of the Second World War and of changing the frontiers of European countries, increasingly publicized by the militarists and revanchists in Bonn, clashes with the actual relation of forces and is encountering the mounting resistance of the peoples who are bent on achieving lasting security and peace on our continent.

Concerning the situation in the citadels of capitalism, the Meeting stated that the present period is characterized by the intensification of the struggle of the working class and other working people, not only to improve their material position and win a greater share in the distribution of the national income, but also for their main social and political demands. The Communist Parties of these countries spoke about major class battles, such as last year's strike of 10 million working people in France, this year's general strike in Italy in which 18 million working people were involved, the "spring offensive" of the working class in Japan in which 14 million people took part, the 5,000 strikes which

took place in the USA last year and about many other economic and political drives against monopoly domination which shook the anachronistic social structure of capitalist societies to its very foundation.

Various social groups and strata that are far removed from the working class and have a totally different way of thinking are joining in the struggle together with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement of the working class. Fascist terror and arbitrary rule in Greece, Portugal and Spain arouse universal protest. A mass protest movement against the reactionary excesses of imperialism, and the hegemony of "military and financial groups" is unfolding among the young people, even though it is often weighed down by an anachronism with its attendant desperate and adventuristic actions.

In a situation characterized by a fresh wave of mass class battles, the unity of the working class, the principal driving force in this struggle, becomes still more significant and urgent. The Communists, as the Document notes, favor cooperation with the Socialists and Social Democrats and other democratic parties and organizations working for progressive reforms and social renovation.

The Meeting devoted much attention to the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin American, African and Asian countries. The struggle against U.S. hegemnony is mounting with fresh force in many countries of Latin America where the Cuban revolution has become a powerful stimulus of the liberation movement. In many Asian and African countries, the national liberation movement has entered a new phase.

In view of these profound changes, antagonisms and the far-reaching social and political differentiation of Asian, African and Latin American countries the concept "third world" has lost the meaning attributed to it some 10 years ago. These countries have become the arena of great class battles and of the struggle between the policy in defense of the freedom of the peoples and social progress pursued by the international forces of socialism and the imperialist policy of neo-colonialism and suppression of the peoples' aspirations for liberation.

The unity of the Communist movement was the key problem discussed at the Meeting and not a single representative of the Communist and Workers' Parties failed to mention it in his speech. The main document states that the cohesion of the Communist Parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperalist forces.

The answer to the question what principles should underlie this unity is of cardinal significance because of the split brought about in the Communist movement and the socialist camp by the Chinese leaders, in conditions where there are signs of divergences between

individual Parties, and in connection with the difficulties with which our movement has been confronted in recent years.

The Meeting gave a clear answer conforming to the demands of the present stage of development of our movement. ". . . relations between Parties," the Main Document states, "are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity and mutual support, respect for independence and equality, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Strict adherence to these principles is an indispensable condition for developing comradely cooperation between the fraternal Parties and strengthening the unity of the Communist movement . . . All Parties have equal rights. As there is no leading center of the international Communist movement, voluntary co-ordination of the actions of Parties in order effectively to carry out the tasks before them acquires increased importance."

The national and international responsibilities of each Communist Party are indivisible.

Each Party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with national conditions, independently elaborates its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and the forms and methods of building socialism in its country. At the same time, the diverse conditions in which the Communist Parties operate, their distinctive approach to practical tasks and even differences on certain questions should not hinder concerted international action by fraternal Parties, particularly on the basic problems of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Constructively applied in specific conditions Marxism-Leninism remains an unfailing compass for all Communist and Workers' Parties just as it was the lodestar of the Bolsheviks on the road to victory in the first socialist revolution.

The address in connection with the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, unanimously adopted by the Meeting, states in part: "Today we have every justification for saying about Lenin's teaching what he himself said about Marxism: it is omnipotent, because it is true."

A major result of the Moscow Meeting and the main indicator of its success is the adoption of four documents submitted by the Drafting Committee. Three of them, the "Appeal in Defense of Peace", the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam" and the address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" were unanimously adopted. The delegations of the Parties attending the Meeting expressed their views concerning the Main Document of the Meeting entitled "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist

Forces" both in discussions and by affixing their signatures to it at the closing sitting.

Delegations of 70 Parties out of the 75 that were at the Meeting signed the Main Document. Four of them, delegations of the Communist Parties of Italy, San Marino, Australia and Réunion made the reservation that their signatures express full agreement only with the third section, which sets forth the common program of struggle against imperialism. The Document was not signed by the delegations of the Communist Parties of Cuba and Sweden, which attended the Meeting as observers; they expressed their views of the Document during the discussions. The delegations of the Communist Parties of Great Britain and Norway said that they had not been authorized to sign the Document and that the final attitude to the Main Document would be stated by the central bodies of these Parties. The delegation of the Dominican Communist Party was the only one not to support the Main Document as a whole.

The high degree of unanimity with which the Meeting approved the draft documents was a signal victory of the principles of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism. This unanimity is proof of the dominant will which inspires the world Communist movement to work for unity in the struggle against imperialism.

The majority of the Parties came to the Meeting prepared to sign its Document. This desire for unity was further strengthened during its sittings.

The views of the Parties which had serious objections to the Main Document were discussed both at plenary sittings—in the main speeches of some delegations—and during discussions of the amendments at the sittings of the Drafting Committee. This made it possible to get a better understanding of the divergences between Parties and in some instances to mitigate them and to bring the positions of the Parties closer together. The adopted amendments did not alter the basic Marxist-Leninist content of the Document.

The fact that some Parties did not support the Document as a whole does not detract from the significance of the Meeting and should not be viewed as abnormal. It is necessary to correctly appraise also the participation of these Parties in the Meeting, their preparedness to hold a constructive exchange of views with other Parties and to undertake joint, united actions against imperialism.

One of the main issues discussed at the Moscow Meeting was the assessment of the causes, essence and political and ideological consequences of the splitting policy of the present leaders of the Communist Party of China. If the problems arising out of this policy had been passed over in silence no one would understand the reason for this and there would be an unaccountable gap in the range of subjects discussed at the Meeting.

It will be recalled that the Ninth Congress of the CPC approved an anti-Soviet, chauvinistic and splitting course as the Party's official policy which exacerbates the international situation and weakens the socialist camp, the world Communist movement and the national liberation movement in the struggle against imperialism. Imperialism takes advantage of this policy to further its designs against socialism.

The vast majority of the delegations polemized with those who wanted to put the splitting policy of the CPC and the policy of good will and unity pursued by the CPSU and other fraternal Parties on the same plane. The facts of the past 10 years brought up during the discussion showed that the CPSU and other Communist Parties being attacked by the CPC had repeatedly attempted to avert the split. But all these measures to restore unity were deliberately rejected by the CPC.

Almost all the delegations that stated their attitude to the policy of the CPC were profoundly concerned over its splitting and anti-Soviet character. All who took part in the discussion vigorously protested against the anti-Soviet attacks of the Communist Party of China. It can be said that the Meeting fully supported the thesis set forth by our delegation that it was impossible to be against the Soviet Union and against the USA at one and the same time, that anti-Sovietism is incompatible with anti-imperialism. When it came to assessing the CPC policy the delegation of the Italian Communist Party, whose views on many issues were at variance with those of the majority of the Parties attending the Meeting, stated that in effect the basic distinguishing feature of the present epoch and the political situation is the fight between socialism and capitalism. The ICP delegation declared that in view of this and from the standpoint of the common interests of the struggle of the peoples for independence, social progress and peace, it considered that the CPC had fallen into a grave and dangerous error by equating the USSR and US imperialism, by attacking the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the majority of Communist Parties and many democratic and anti-imperialist movements.

In this connection the delegations of many Communist Parties noted the Soviet Union's decisive role in the fight against imperialism.

All Communist and Workers' Parties opposed to the splitting policy of the CPC sharply criticized the stand of the CPC leaders on the question of war and peace. The consequences of the splitting policy of the CPC in this respect are particularly grave. There are several aspects to this issue. By causing a split in the socialist camp, the CPC leaders made it easier for imperialism to perpetrate acts of aggression which increase the threat to world peace. At the same time the CPC leaders have ignored the danger of another

world war for many years. They assume, in effect, that war is inevitable and are reconciled to this prospect.

The erroneous line of the CPC in the question of war and peace acquired a particularly dangerous form when the Chinese leaders made territorial claims on the Chinese-Soviet border and unleashed a hysterical campaign of hatred against the Soviet Union.

"The combination of political adventurism of the Chinese leaders and the atmosphere of war hysteria which they are constantly fanning," Comrade Brezhnev said at the Meeting, "brings in new elements into the international situation which we cannot afford to ignore."

The Communist movement and socialist states counterpose to Mao's chauvinism an internationalist policy of furthering the interests of peace and socialism common to all peoples. Most of the Parties at the Moscow Meeting were guided by this line and it was from these positions that the Meeting opposed the policy of the present leaders of the CPC.

Touching upon the Czechoslovak events, some delegations criticized the decision of five socialist states taken in August last to send troops of the Warsaw Treaty countries to Czechoslovakia. Other delegations, however, approved this move.

The hopes of imperialist propaganda, which reckoned that the Czechoslovak problem would cause a split and call in question the success of the Meeting did not materialize.

This happened mainly because developments since August last have produced fresh convincing proof that the socialist countries had made the right decision and also because of the positive change that occurred in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia itself in April and May this year, when Marxist-Leninist Left-wing forces gained the upper hand over revisionist forces and Right-wing elements.

All this influenced the stand of those Communist Parties which only a few months ago, due to disorientation or the influence of revisionist trends and bourgeois propaganda, appraised the nature of internal processes taking place in Czechosolvakia from incorrect positions.

Our delegation and the delegations of the Parties from socialist countries had no intention of restating their position on the Czechoslovak question. The decision of the five socialist countries providing for a temporary stationing of their troops in Czechoslovakia was in line with the principles of internationalism, and was taken following a realistic assessment of the situation. It played the decisive role in frustrating the plans of prying Czechoslovakia away from the socialist community.

The decisions adopted at the latest — April and May — plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia showed that that Party is reestablishing its leading

role and regaining ability to steer the country's development along a correct socialist course. In these conditions, we held that the CPC delegation was more competent than anyone else to present its experience and its appraisal of the Czechoslovak crisis at the international forum of Communists.

Comrade Husak presented a deep Marxist analysis of the complex political changes in the CSSR.

Comrade Husak also replied to those who in their attacks on the five socialist countries concerned asserted that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak state bodies could have resisted the pressure of the counter-revolution with their own forces.

Comrade Husak emphasized that after August 21 of last year the situation did not change automatically because the political crisis persisted so long as the influence of revisionist politicians in the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia continued to paralyze the ability of this leadership to act.

The change was inaugurated only with the decisions adopted at the last two Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The delegates did not support the thesis advanced by some Parties to the effect that the step taken by the five socialist countries had inflicted moral harm on the entire international Communist movement. It is impossible to prove that there is any significant connection between the successes and setbacks of individual Communist Parties, on the one hand, and their stand on the Czechoslovak issue, on the other.

Comrade Arismendi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, was right when he said: "We, therefore, cannot agree with those who evaluate relations between the CPSU and the revolutionaries of the capitalist world according to a peculiar criterion: they take credit for the successes deriving from the historic changes in the socialist countries, while the inevitable consequences of the class struggle in the world arena and the need to defend the socialist system, which are also prerequisites for the development of the world revolutionary process, they regard as an obstacle to their own successes."

Some Parties linked up the Czechoslovak question with the more general issue of observing the principle of sovereignty of the socialist countries. Polemizing with this opinion, some fraternal Parties said that state sovereignty should be treated from class positions and not abstractly, which would contradict Marxism-Leninism. This was most fully expressed in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech: "Genuine internationalism also implies support of the existing socialist society by all fraternal Parties. We think highly of the stand of our friends who are irreconcilable to any and all slander of socialism. For Communists that is not only a natural expression of their

internationalist sentiments, but at once an approach to internationalism as a real policy serving the common cause of revolution. For example, all of us agree that new opportunities have arisen in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism by virtue of radical changes in the international arena in favor of socialism, to the detriment of imperialism. But this also means that any weakening of socialist positions in the world is bound to reflect negatively on the positions of all Communist Parties."

Many other matters besides the Chinese and the Czechoslovak issues, were discussed at the Meeting as, for example, the assessment of the nature and the social role of the protest movement of the youth in the capitalist world, mutual relations between the Communist and the national liberation movements, the attitude to Social Democracy, the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, the methods of struggle against imperialism in individual countries, the interdependence of the armed and unarmed struggle and so forth.

Views of different shades and diverging attitudes were expressed on each of these issues. Divergences on particular questions arising out of the specific nature of social phenomena in the given countries and also from the new and inadequately studied features of social development do not threaten a split. A discussion of these issues would contribute to the Marxist-Leninist analysis of social reality and enhance the political and ideological gains of our movement.

In this connection it would be worthwhile briefly to examine the issue which keynoted the discussion, namely, the interconnections of the specifics of national conditions in which each Party operates and common Marxist-Leninist principles. Needless to say, no Communist or Workers' Party at the Meeting questioned the importance of national or historical features; all said that these features had to be taken into account when a Party determines its political course. But some Parties were inclined to overestimate these features.

Dwelling on the sources of divergences in the Communist movement, Comrade Berlinguer said that the main, basic causes were objective, while others were subjective. The latter's sources should be sought in specific political positions, in the existing shortcomings and errors. The view that as they work out their political line the proletariat and the Communist Parties should proceed from the specific features and the conditions in which they operate, was also expressed by the delegate of the Rumanian Communist Party. In his opinion, the divergences in the Communist movement are chiefly due to the objective changes taking place in the world. Some other Parties, inclined to overestimate the objective conditions giving rise to differences and divergences in our movement, supported this view.

In our statement we set out our Party's stand on this question.

We recognize the far-reaching significance and consequences of the increasingly different conditions in which our movement is operating. These different conditions give rise to substantial distinctions in the tactics of individual Parties. But the strength and scope of the centrifugal trends that have appeared in recent years, particularly the split in the international Communist movement, cannot be explained by national features. On the main issues, for example, the attitude to the splitting policy of the CPC, there were signs of differences between Parties which in effect carry on their activity in similar objective conditions.

But the specifics arising from special, regional or national systems of social relations account for only some of the distinctions in the positions of the Communist Parties, primarily those concerning the methods of struggle for socialism in a given country. National features cannot serve as a justification for distinctions in political lines which lead away from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, counterpose one Party or group of Parties to the Communist movement and thus become a source of division.

Nationalism, whose social foundation is the pressure of the non-proletarian strata and classes on the Communist Parties, is the ideological source of the centrifugal and splitting tendencies in the international Communist movement. In practice nationalism unites with Right-wing revisionism, which is social-democratic in ideological content, Left-wing adventurism and all sorts of deviations from Marxism-Leninism. For all practical purposes, revisionism in some European People's Democracies is shot both with anti-Soviet nationalism and with cosmopolitanism with regard to the capitalist West.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties on whose proceedings we are reporting has enriched the treasure house of the political thought of the Communist movement with vast and enduring values. Again and again we shall turn to the appraisals formulated at the Meeting and to the propositions and tasks set forth in its documents.

During the preparations for the Meeting and at its sittings, our Party delegation acted in accordance with the general line set by the Fifth Congress of the PUWP. It was our main concern to strengthen the international unity of the countries of the socialist system and the world Communist movement. Beginning with the Consultative Meeting in Budapest our Party contributed its share at all the stages of the preparations for the Meeting. Our representatives on its committee took an active part in drafting the Main Document. Under the guidance of our Party the Subcommittee drafted the Appeal in Defense of Peace.

At the Meeting we strengthened cooperation of our Party with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Parties of

other socialist countries. We had talks and meetings with the leaders and functionaries of fraternal Parties from different parts of the world.

Our delegation signed the Main Document of the Meeting. In our practical policy and in our activity we shall do everything to discharge the obligations which our Party has assumed by signing the Document. By making a contribution worthy of our country to the struggle of the forces of socialism and peace against imperialism, we shall be fulfilling our internationalist duty and at the same time rendering our greatest service to the vital interests of the Polish working class and the Polish people.

In its activity in the international arena our Party will continue to strengthen its contacts with fraternal Parties and support all efforts to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement.

The achievements of the Moscow Meeting must form part and parcel of our Party's ideological arsenal and become an important factor of educating its ranks in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the liberation struggle of the working people of all countries.

# STATEMENT* BY WALTER ULBRICHT

## FIRST SECRETARY, CC SUPG; CHAIRMAN, STATE COUNCIL OF THE GDR

We have come back from the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the decisions of which have world-wide historic significance. At the Meeting delegates of Communist and Workers' Parties from 75 countries discussed the tasks of the peoples' movement against imperialism and united action by Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces.

We are happy to report that the Meeting adopted the Main Document, which promotes the unity of the anti-imperialist struggle, the fight for peace, democracy and socialism. On producing a scientific appraisal of the new imperialist phenomena, the participants of the Meeting said:

"The working class, the democratic and revolutionary forces, the peoples must unite and act jointly in order to put an end to imperialism's criminal actions which can bring still graver suffering to mankind. To curb the aggressors and deliver mankind from imperialism is the mission of the working class and all anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism."

Assuring lasting peace is now a perfectly practicable aim, because powerful social and political forces exist in the world, waging a consistent struggle for peace. The United States war against the Vietnamese people proves the aggressiveness and barbarian essence of imperialism, while the heroic embattled people of Vietnam prove that a small people, too, is able to inflict defeat on US imperialism if supported by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and if forces championing world peace show their solidarity.

What marked the interventions of almost all delegates at the Meeting was the desire to secure the unity of the world communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist science. We were impressed by the scientific thoroughness with which the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties set out their attitude to the vitally important problems of the peoples and by the sense of purpose and audacity with which they substantiated joint measures in the common struggle. This showed how much the vast majority of the Communist and Workers'

*Neues Deutschland, June 19, 1969.

Parties have grown in ideological and political terms since the last Meeting in 1960. The fraternal parties are fully conscious of their great responsibility to the world communist movement, as well as to their own people.

The peoples of the world were informed quite thoroughly by the press of the proceedings at the Meeting. The critical utterances and opinions that diverged from those of the majority were also reported, and that is of importance for the shaping of public opinion on all continents.

We know of the great interest with which the citizens of the German Democratic Republic followed the grand discussion at this International Meeting.

What was the worldwide historical significance of the International Meeting?

1. Proceeding from the greatest ideological movement of our time—Marxist-Leninist theory and the practical experience of the vanguard of the working class—the Meeting produced appraisals of the vitally important problems facing mankind and pointed out ways of adjusting them.

2. The importance of the Meeting lies in the consolidation of the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement and the invigoration of the anti-imperialist forces. Imperialism is incapable of regaining its lost historical initiative and turning back the clock of history.

The main direction in the development of mankind is determined by the socialist world system, the international working class and all revolutionary forces. To compel imperialism to accept the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, it is necessary to link closely the joint action of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with the national liberation movement and the popular struggle in the capitalist countries.

The Meeting was important because it examined the problems of the transition from capitalism to socialism in the present stage and discussed the complex problems of fighting to win political power.

3. The Main Document is a document of unity in the full sense of the word. It was drafted collectively, in conditions of free discussion. The Meeting was prepared over a long period, with thoroughness and by common effort in a collective spirit. The suggestions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, those of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, of the Arab, African, Latin American, Asian and capitalist countries, were discussed in a comradely atmosphere and evaluated as an important contribution to the Main Document.

4. The Document contains a sweeping program of action, listing the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle, ranging from all-round

support of the heroic Vietnamese people, of the struggle of the Arab countries against the Israeli aggressor to struggle against the racialist terror in the United States and the barbarian policy of oppression pursued by the fascist and authoritarian dictatorial regimes.

5. The Document stresses that the contribution of the socialist world system to the common anti-imperialist struggle hinges, first and foremost, on the precipitous economic growth of the socialist countries. The advantages of the socialist system and the scientific and technological revolution pave the way for accelerated economic growth and the satisfaction of the requirements of all members of society. Unfolding the scientific and technological revolution has become a decisive area in the historical competition between capitalism and socialism and is a necessary condition for the development of socialist society.

So may the ideas of this important document conquer the minds and hearts of all peace-loving and progressive people throughout the world. I should like to stress that the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was an especially purposeful and uniting factor at the Meeting. The speech of comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, is of fundamental significance.

The citizens of the GDR showed a special interest in the appraisal of the international balance of forces and the tasks of the struggle against imperialism on German soil. We are in Central Europe where West-German imperialism and neo-Nazism has reared its head west of the border of the GDR, the peace-loving German state. The Main Document and the Appeal in Defense of Peace contain a clear answer to the question asked by the citizens of the GDR and those of the West-German state. The Meeting noted that German imperialism, the main agent of the war danger in the heart of Europe, has come back to life and gained strength in West Germany with NATO aid. West German imperialism is eager to revise the outcome of the Second World War and recut the borders of a number of European countries. It aims its main blow at the first German socialist worker-peasant state, the GDR, and imperils the security of all European peoples and world peace.

The International Meeting recalled the proposals put forward by Warsaw Treaty member-countries in 1966 and 1969, and those of the Karlovy Vary Conference in 1967 concerning a system of European security. We are able to report that all the delegations of Communist and Workers' Parties from all parts of the world agreed with the demands of the German Democratic Republic concerning disarmament, immunity of the existing European frontiers, recognition of the GDR in international law, West Germany's abandoning its claims to sole representation, recognition of West Berlin as an independent political unit, barring West Germany

from access to atomic weapons in any and all forms, and banning all neo-Nazi organizations.

The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out to the peoples: no other task is more urgent than that of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and enacting the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The problem of erecting an effective European security system based on the equality and mutual respect of all European countries was thoroughly thrashed out.

Although the danger of armed conflicts will persist so long as imperialism exists, the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is a realistic task by virtue of the increasing power of the world Communist and working-class movement and the movement for world peace. However, what we need is a steady and persevering struggle by the people against imperialism.

So may the lofty ideas of peace, democracy and socialism inspire all citizens of our German Democratic Republic, all men and women, to cooperate in securing the unity of the progressive peace-loving forces. Then the victory of peace, democracy and socialism will be assured.

# REPORT* TO THE 19th CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

BY GUS HALL

## I. HISTORIC TURNING POINT

This 50th Anniversary Convention of our Party has the serious task of making an assessment and an analysis, and of projecting a line of policy and tactics in a period of continuing crises, storms and upheavals.

We do so from a positive point of reference.

We see the storms as a necessary force, clearing the path for social progress. We see the unrest, the turbulence, as created by the forces of reaction who refuse to submit to a verdict of history.

Our point of reference is positive because we see the social storms as a part of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. The task of this Convention is to examine where we are along this path, how we are contributing to it, what are the problems before us, and how we will move to the next level of battle.

The transition from capitalism to socialism is history's greatest happening. It is human society's most explosive qualitative leap. But it is both a historic process and a current event.

This transition from capitalism to socialism and communism is life's way of resolving the main contradiction of our times — the contradiction expressed in the class struggle and the world revolutionary process, giving birth on a world scale to the two social systems—socialism and imperialism. Other contradictions affect the process of transition, but only the class contradiction gives rise to it. Resolution of other contradictions may influence events, but only the transition to socialism will remove this, the main obstacle to human progress.

An important part of our assessment of each period is a determination of where we stand in the process of transition. This process has resulted in a historic shift in the world balance of forces. The struggles of the transition go on—but they now take place in more favorable circumstances, in conditions of a new balance between contending forces. It is the anti-capitalist and the anti-imperialist forces, and the overall struggle against im-

*Abridged.

perialism, which now determine the overall course of human events.

These revolutionary forces and ideas have blocked U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. They have forced this most powerful of all imperialist states to admit that it cannot win a military or political victory there. They have resulted in the Bay of Pigs defeat, and in the setback for U.S. imperialism in the Caribbean crisis.

What has fundamentally and irreversibly changed the world scene is the rise of the three currents making up the world revolutionary process. The powerful world socialist system of states, and, in the first place, the Soviet Union, the world-wide national liberation movements and the working-class movements in the capitalist world—these are now the main movers of history. There have been setbacks in Ghana, in Indonesia and elsewhere. They are serious and they are costly. They must be carefully studied.

The opportunistic and nationalistic influences on some working-class parties have also weakened the revolutionary process. The Maoist policies have set back the building of socialism in China, and their policy of anti-Soviet slander along with their efforts to create divisions in the world revolutionary forces have clearly been negative factors.

Such wrong policies adversely affect the balance of world forces. But they do not fundamentally change them.

If one takes note of all of the factors in the course of the transition, including the downward dips, the thrust of the elevation remains upward. It has not been and will not be reversed.

Imperialism is not now the dominant world force. It cannot regain its initiative. It cannot reverse world developments. The direction, the elevation of the path of human development is determined by the three forces of the world revolutionary process. This is the granite foundation of today's objective reality. This is also the undoing of U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism has suffered setbacks but it has not given up its slave-master like dream of the "American Century". To this end it squanders nearly a hundred billion dollars of taxpayers' money every year. To this end it piles nuclear overkill on top of overkill. To this end it is planning on spending 500 billion dollars on the fraudulent ABM system. To this end it maintains 3,401 military bases in 33 foreign countries, not counting Vietnam, at a cost of five billion dollars annually.

The concentration of naval and air power off the coast of People's Korea has created a new theatre of war. Here is a new act of U.S. imperialist aggression.

And finally, one has to ask—has world imperialism as a whole become more stabilized, or is it more unstable?

I believe the answer to all these questions is obvious. These are all important plus factors on the scale of assessment.

U.S. imperialism remains dangerous and aggressive on all fronts. Any illusions on this score can lead to disaster.

U.S. imperialism remains the chief danger to the independence of peoples and nations. It is the most ruthless exploiter of peoples. It has heightened the danger to world peace everywhere. It is the center of the world forces of reaction fighting against socialism. Its aggressive economic policies are a menace to economic standards and to economic independence throughout the non-socialist world. Its escalated ideological offensive aimed at the softening up and infiltration of socialist and liberated countries has created a new danger to the progressive forces of the world. These efforts at ideological penetration now receive top billing.

The Nixon Administration talks of negotiating while it continues to escalate the war. Its talk about secret negotiations for peace is only a cover for its continued aggression. It talks about this period being one of negotiations and not of confrontation while it pushes for the ABM system.

U.S. imperialism stands as the evil mover behind every danger spot in the world. West German imperialism is motivated by its own greedy ambitions, but it has the backing and the big-brother partnership of U.S. imperialism behind it. Israel continues its aggression against its Arab neighbors, but it does so with the backing of U.S. imperialism and the arms it supplies. It continues its policy of aggression against the People's Republic of Cuba. It is the aggressive, ever penetrating, evil force in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The policies of aggression have continued, and because of this the crises of imperialism have deepened. A hundred billion or even a two hundred billion dollar war budget is no cure for its crises.

## II. THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION

It is necessary for the working class to use the electoral instruments of a capitalist society. But it is also necessary to know the limitations of their use. This has never been so clearly demonstrated as during the events of recent years. The mass upsurge of struggle forced Johnson to retire. But after showing such power, the people ended with Tricky Dick in the White House. There are many lessons in these events.

The Nixon Administration continues the policies that were under way in the Johnson Administration. These are:

—Policies of imperialist aggression, coupled with policies of making the working people pay for them.

—Policies of further militarization of the life of the country and

cutbacks in all fields of social welfare and public services.

—Policies of racist oppression and the containment of the ghettos by brute force.

Because it is these policies that have resulted in these crises, their continuation can result only in a further aggravation and deepening of the crises.

As the crises deepen, the problems of the poor, the working class, the ghetto residents, the elderly, the sick, the unemployed, the families on the land, slowly sink from want to malnutrition, from desperation to hopelessness. In most states, it is now not a war on poverty but a war on the poor. The living standards of the poor are now at the barest subsistence level. In a city like San Antonio, Texas, 100,000 people go to sleep hungry every night.

The basic essence of our internal reality could be stated in one sentence. There is some measure of crisis developing in every phase of our life — except one. This exception is corporate monopoly profits; here there is no crisis. This one sentence is not only an assessment of the *way* things are, it is also a statement of *why* things are as they are. It indicates who is the enemy and in what direction the struggles should be aimed. The root cause of all the expressions of crisis is the unending, limitless, unremitting drive by the capitalist class for maximum profits.

Capitalism has created its own monster. But it has also created something more. It has given rise to a militant working class. It has created a mass revolt. It has generated a courageous, militant black freedom movement. It has given life to a youth and student revolt. It has set into motion and struggle millions of Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and American Indians in a struggle against the special features of its oppression.

It has spurred a mass struggle for peace and against militarism, which cuts across class lines and has penetrated deeply into the armed forces of U.S. imperialism, shaking the authority of brass-hat arbitrariness and absolutism.

It has stirred into action millions of women who in many areas of the struggle are the most active and militant. It has given rise to a deep probing—to a national uneasiness, to dissatisfaction, distrust and contempt for the "establishment."

In a word, it has created a storm of protest and struggle.

Since our last convention this storm has grown and multiplied in intensity. We projected this at that convention. But few of us dared to believe that less than three years later the storm would have spread so far, increased in fury so much.

It is a storm of great power and there are no signs of letup.

The experiences of these struggles are giving rise to a process of radicalization, to a higher level of consciousness.

It is the basis on which a revolutionary and socialist consciousness

is developing. In many ways the process of radicalization on our national scene is what the revolutionary process is on a world scale.

It is militancy—but it is more than militancy. It is a leftward moving process.

For us this process of radicalization is the most vital factor of present-day reality. We must have faithful and precise assessment of it at all times. We must take note of the overall process, and we must see its different component parts. Our tactics must reflect it. We must work with it and we must influence its direction.

The mass upsurge of struggle continues—but there are some new problems we must we aware of. The further development of the movement forces us to take a look at these new questions. This is also necessary because in all likelihood these new problems will emerge in even a sharper form in the period ahead.

The most important factor creating the new problems is the increasing attacks and counter-measures on the part of the forces of reaction. Among the first results of these sharpened attacks is that they influence and frighten some of the liberal elements. When the going gets tougher either they lose their voices or they join the reactionary pack, in which case their voices get louder. We, of course, are not surprised.

Some old weaknesses now become more serious.

We all know that during the past period the upsurge has been propelled by a strong spontaneous force. Like an electric current, a powerful upsurge mass creates its own spontaneous magnetic field of force.

Some of this spontaneity will continue. But when the attacks grow and the resistance stiffens, it is not enough to sustain the movement.

We are, therefore, now in a period when the struggles need better organization, better planning, better leadership, clearer perspectives, firmer alliances, a higher level of commitment. They need a deeper class understanding. They need organized initiatives and stimulation.

Because of the spontaneous element of the past, the movement did not have to consider questions of classes and their roles. But because of the attacks, the movements are now compelled to seek for more reliable forces—forces that do not crumble under the first blows. This explains the changing attitude towards the working class and towards our Party in growing sections of the movements.

In considering the new problems one has to keep in mind that the attacks of the enemy take place in all areas of struggle. They take the form of attempts at open police attacks, prison sentences, terror. They take the form of ideological war, of racism, nationalism, anti-communism and anti-working class ideas. All this is intended to creat division and confusion. The attacks also take the form of provocations from within. This form has now emerged as a very important weapon of U.S. capitalism.

These new problems of the mass movements present a very special challenge for us, because it is clear that the new level of struggle moves closer to class issues—to the class struggle.

Therefore, it needs a perspective that only Marxism can give.

Therefore it needs to draw on the worldwide history of working-class experiences that only our Party can provide.

## III. THE ECONOMICS OF STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

Today the economy does not simply move spontaneously in response to economic laws. It is also manipulated by giant monopolies and cartels. It is very much regulated by the government, acting on behalf of these monopolies. Of course, there are limits to what they can do. In the last analysis, they cannot ward off the operation of economic laws. They cannot escape the contradictions generated by capitalism itself. As the crisis of U.S. imperialism deepens, their range of choice narrows. The laws now operate in a more advanced stage of capitalist development and in a world in which there are two social systems.

What is the strategy of big business today in economic policy? What pressures affect their course? What are they trying to accomplish?

First, they are trying to slow down the economy.

Every statement of the President's economic advisers makes it clear that this is no short-term move, but a strategy for a whole period of years, running well into the next decade. This is not party politics; it is the policy of monopoly capital as a whole. It is their answer to the problems growing out of the new epoch.

Now, isn't that remarkable? Here is the United States, losing ground in economic competition with Japan, West Germany, and other capitalist countries. Here it is losing ground especially to the Soviet Union—this year may prove to be the historic year in which the USSR surpasses the United States in steel production. Yet the government is working to hold back production.

Certainly, to slow down the economy will undermine the long-term position of U.S. imperialism in the world. And yet powerful pressures drive the rulers in that direction. There is the crisis of the dollar. Every year the United States suffers a deficit of some billions of dollars in its international payments. And every year it loses more of its shrinking stock of gold.

But the faster the U.S. economoy grows, the larger is its international deficit and the gold it loses. And vice versa. So the bankers and the international investing corporations prefer to sacrifice the domestic economy to maintaining a little longer their international financial position.

While this effort to slow down the domestic economy at the

workers' expense is being made, U.S. imperialist holdings overseas keep climbing. Nixon has already removed even the minor restrictions on capital investment abroad. In place of solely national enterprises, there have emerged on a large scale multi-national industrial corporations with plants and production in dozens of countries.

Altogether, the foreign empires of U.S. big business are larger than the total national product of any other capitalist country.

But—I repeat—while doing everything they can to swell still further this overseas empire, they are striving to hold back the very base of that power here in the United States .

For U.S. capitalism this is a totally new phenomenon. It has never before been forced to resort to such a policy except partially and for short periods. Now it is going all the way, and for a long time to come. It is a further step along the path of the general crises under world capitalism.

The drive to slow down the economy is being made in the name of fighting inflation. But the main source of inflationary pressures is the growing war economy. There can be no serious effort to eliminate inflation—or to reduce taxes—without ending the war in Vietnam and cutting military budgets.

Already prices have gone up much more than during the Korean war.

But inflation and higher unemployment are not the only sources of rising profits in the midst of deepening crises. Another is the continual shifting of the tax burden from the capitalists to the workers and the pouring of the taxes taken from the workers into the pockets of the monopolies through war orders and subsidies.

Amercan workers are entering the battle over taxes as they have entered no national battle in decades. Now from all parts of the country come demands for tax relief for the poor and for taxing the rich—demands emanating from mass meetings of trade unionists and expressed in mass signature campaigns and in election results which the Congressmen cannot help noticing.

This is a mere beginning. But even this beginning has drawn first blood. It has induced Nixon to offer slight concessions on taxes, in the attempt to cut short this mounting working-class campaign.

True, these concessions offer nothing to most workers *now*. And the relief they offer next year with one hand, they would take away with another. Yet, this is the first time in decades that an Administration has proposed tax changes that even in the slightest degree would increase the share of taxes paid by the rich.

The tax struggle is item number one today. But it is connected with another developing struggle on a national level—the struggle over the budget.

For years the peace forces in this country have been demanding

spending for welfare, not warfare. But they could show little success. The bulk of the trade union movement stood aside from this struggle, or was misled by the monopoly-inspired slogan of "guns and butter".

Now this is changing. Important sections of the trade union movement are demanding a real cut in military spending, together with a real increase in spending for the social needs of the working people. This is beginning to give the trade union struggles a new direction. Already this is having its effect. There is an unprecedented drive in Congress to cut military spending by five billion dollars. Never have so many so vigorously denounced the military-industrial complex, which is now being subjected to half a dozen separate Senate investigations.

We are at an early stage of development of the people's political struggle against monopoly capital. But it is not too soon to look ahead. Inevitably the demand will grow for more labor representation in the regulation of the economy, for more restraint by labor on the operations of the giant conglomerates.

Demands for labor representation, labor influence, labor participation in decisions, must be supported. But from what viewpoint? From what objective?

True, it is necessary to fight for representation, for a voice, for positions from which to fight for the advantages of the class. But this must not be used to create illusions of "partnership". The exploiters remain the exploiters, and the exploited remain the exploited.

Neither labor representation nor even government ownership of this or that industry can be regarded as steps toward socialism. But they can all be used as positions in the struggle of the working class for immediate demands, as means for strengthening the anti-monopoly coalition.

The lessons of such positions can and must be used to show the need for exclusive working-class power which assumes all the decisive positions in the economic life of the country, rather than "partnership" in which the capitalists continue to hold the whip hand. The fight on the front of government regulations and state monopoly capitalism in general must always be conducted from the viewpoint of strengthening the forces of the ultimately necessary socialist revolution, and never from the viewpoint of stabilizing the existing system.

## IV. THE WORKING CLASS

The acceleration of the process of radicalization now evident in the working class sector is the most significant development of this moment.

Its effects are showing up everywhere. It is reshaping and revitalizing the trade union movements. In its train it is bringing a new level of trade union and class consciousness.

This process takes different forms in the ranks of the working class than among other groups. Here it is more closely related to economic issues and struggles. Here it is the reaction of a class that is the most direct victim of exploitation. Here it is the response of a class that is at the dead end of a class society.

The new factors that feed the radicalization are the new forces in the class structure, the new elements in today's drive for maximum profits. In the old boss-worker relationships, militancy against a particular boss served the purpose. Now, by itself, it is more and more inadequate. The high degree of monopoly development, the growth of multinational corporations and conglomerates, have raised new problems for the working class. The open, brutal use of the state machinery as a class instrument in the drive for bigger profits has further complicated the struggle.

This has resulted in a sharpening of the class contradictions—a sharpening which gives rise to the process of radicalization. The process is also a reflection on the changes in the makeup of the working class. It is a reflection of the large number of young workers, black workers and women who have entered its ranks.

The process of radicalization is also a reaction to the increasing attacks on labor. The escalation in the rate of exploitation has been accompanied by escalation of a reactionary anti-working-class drive. The legislative hoppers are full of anti-labor bills. The courts grant anti-labor injunctions for the asking.

These new developments and problems have further widened the gap between the top labor leaders and the masses of organized and unorganized workers. This is not an age gap; rather, it is a class gap. The rank and file are moving toward policies of class struggle and the top echelons of leadership more and more openly toward class collaboration. Never in the history of our country have the dominant sections of the trade union leadership been so completely and openly in the camp of the class enemy. It is a millstone around the neck of the working class.

Class collaboration under any circumstances is a disservice to one's class. In periods of sharp class battles, it turns into open betrayal of the working class.

*Rank-and-File Movements*

The most dynamic and potent expression of the radicalization process is the rapid growth of organized rank-and-file movements. The power of these movements can be seen in the union elections. It can be seen in the rank-and-file led strikes.

What motivates this rank-and-file upsurge is the new problems of the class struggle, the special problems of black workers, and the desire to reshape and retool the trade union movement as an instrument of class struggle, so that it can meet the problems of today.

The workers who make up the rank-and-file movements are the shop militants, the radicals, the Left and the Communists.

This development is the key link in the class struggle. More, it is the key link in the struggle for social progress. It is the developing, the growing feature of the American scene. History will forget or overlook our missing some political buses, but it will never forget or forgive if we miss *this bus* of the class struggle. We can be on this bus—from the very first stop. Indeed, in many areas we are. For us, the greatest danger, in this area, is not to see what is happening, not to see the new possibilities. In short, our danger is that of conservative hangups, of underestimating the process of radicalization.

Our aim must be to win the leadership of this upsurge—not by manipulations, but by programs, tactics and forms that truly reflect the upsurge.

The struggle for unity of black and white in the labor movement is on a new level. "Don't rock-the-boat unity" is out. Unity based on full equality and representation is in. The high-level struggle of the black caucuses against racism is in the interests of the whole class. Their struggle against speed-up and poor working conditions raises the job standards of all workers.

The fight for black participation at all levels of trade union leadership is fundamental to the fight against racism. With two million black workers in the AFL-CIO there is one retired man on its Executive Council. The fight to expand and to change the system of electing the top leadership of the AFL-CIO must include the fight to multiply the number of active black trade union leaders.

Racism is not inherent in white workers, but emanates from capitalism as a foul instrument to divide and weaken the working class. The Communist Party must constantly expose white supremacy, anti-Semitism and other aspects of racism as capitalist ideology that is a threat to all workers.

The surest way to build a united front at higher levels of trade union leadership is to base it on the militant movements of the rank and file.

All these factors have created a new basis for a Left current in the working-class movement. These objective developments have made a Left current a necessity. But objective developments have never by themselves organized anything. We have to take the initiative. Together with other militants on all levels, we have to probe, to bring it together, to give it form.

What the struggles make necessary is an organized Left current based on a Left program of struggle. There is no other reason for an organized Left.

The Left current can become the dominant influence if it takes an advanced position on some of the following questions:

1. *Automation*: The starting point must be the interest of the whole class. It must break with the concept of being concerned only with the workers who remain in the production process.

2. *Imperialism*: All the problems of the working class are sharpened by the development of imperialism. It has tied together ever more closely the interests of all workers in the capitalist world. The development of an anti-imperialist consciousness in the working class movement has become an acute necessity. This is a task the Left must accept.

3. *Racism*: We are for a Left program that concretely takes up the task of eliminating every form of racism at every level of the production process and at every level of the trade union structure. The Left must be the force that unifies within itself the entire class, black and white—and then uses this as the base to fight racism in the industries and the unions.

4. *Political Independence*: Breaking out of the two-party entrapment remains the historic task facing the working class. This is the task the Left must take upon itself. It must present and fight for an independent class position in elections. It must boldly initiate new forms of class independence. It must raise to a level of high principle the election of workers to public office.

The advanced Left position in these areas must be related to a Left position on the more direct self-interest issues such as job security, wages, taxes and the right to strike.

It is clear that there are new problems in the class struggle. But if we see only this and not also the new opportunities that are present, we will miss that bus. And to be on this bus of history is the cardinal task of this Convention. We will be a working class party only when these questions become the main questions for every member and every Party Committee.

## V. BLACK LIBERATION

The historic struggle of the 25 million Afro-Americans for freedom and equality continues on a very high level, but it is also confronted with many new problems.

After ten years of militant and heroic struggles, even though some important victories were won, the special system of oppression remains intact.

The Nixon Administration operates on the concept of halting any further steps in guaranteeing civil rights. This policy is not

"spotty," as some call it—it is a policy on the side of racism. It is racism.

The cuts in housing, education, health, the head-start program affect the poor generally, but they are a blow in the first place against the poor of the ghettos.

Side by side with this, there is also the escalation of the attacks on the militant section of the movement. The deadly poison gas, mace, now in every cop's pocket, is symbolic of this escalation of terror.

This attack is coordinated. It takes place from the outside and from within the movement.

Any realistic assessment of the brutal oppression of the 25 millon of our Afro-American citizens must start from the three-fold character of the oppression. It is racial oppression; it is class oppression; it is oppression of a national minority. The black freedom movement is a struggle against all forms of this oppression.

## NATIONAL MINORITIES

This process of radicalization is very much a factor in the rising militant activities of the eight million Mexican-Americans. They are the working class base in a number of states and cities. They are a powerful factor in the movements for political independence in such states as California, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado and Arizona.

They are the militant base of the drive to organize the agricultural workers. They are the base of the poor farm revolt for land in states like New Mexico.

There is a fast rising revolt against being treated as second-class citizens. They are developing their own forms of organization and struggle, based on their specific problems and experience.

There is a need for our Party to take the lead in the struggle against the chauvinism directed against the Mexican-Americans. There is need for our Party to take the initiative in breaking down all bans and discrimination against Mexican-Americans in trade unions.

The same must be said about the role and rising militancy of the more than one million of Puerto Ricans in the United States. They are workers, many in basic industries. Together with black workers, they are the militant base in many industries.

During the past years, there has been a rapid increase of public attention to the original Americans—the American Indians. The genocidal character of the U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people has brought to the forefront the cruel fact of the genocidal war against the American Indians since the earliest days of our country. During recent years, when people have become alert to the

poverty in our country, the spotlight has been turned on the brutal poverty of the Indian reservations. And as the struggle against racism has become a major issue in our country, the policy and practices of the white Americans in relation to the original people of this land has become one of the crucial testing areas of that struggle.

The special oppression of 40 million Americans within the boundaries of the United States is a demonstration of the especially brutal and inhuman character of U.S. capitalism. But it also gives the class struggle a special character. It places the need not only for special attention to these sectors but dictates also the need for special attention to their unity as vital to the unity of the working class of which most of them are a part.

## VI. ELECTORAL STRUGGLES

The present two-party system is not now and never will be a path to political power for any sector other than monopoly capital.

The main new feature of the 1968 elections was the emergence of important political movements of independence on both levels.

The independent movements around the Democratic nomination campaigns were without precedent. They resulted in a deep crisis in the ranks of the Democratic Party. They moved in the direction of breaking out of the entrapment. Some important forces did make the break. But in a mass sense this did not happen. The threat of a mass breakaway deeply shook up many of the liberal forces who were associated with these movements.

In many ways this was the critical juncture of the upsurge. This is also where its weaknesses showed up. The weakness of its ties with the working class and the Afro-American community became critical. As we know, there were many sectarian and wrong attitudes toward these developments on the Left and in our Party. These led to negative estimates of this development, resulting in strong pulls of separation from it. The results of these wrong concepts also showed up at this critical moment.

The election of black mayors in Cleveland and Gary, the election of the first black Congresswoman and other electoral victories cannot be separated from this upsurge of political independence. They are an important part of its positive consequences.

Our last regular convention decided to work for an independent presidential ticket. We saw this as reflecting a new level of independence, but one not yet ready for a new party. Some have said that the fact that it did not become a reality proves it was a mistake. I don't think so. Looking back, I think it was a correct and a realistic policy.

Any people's political movement in the USA must, in a basic

sense, be judged by its attitude and its relationships to the working class and the Afro-American communities.

This is the key to any meaningful political independence.

A new danger signal on the electoral scene was the emergence of a racist ultra-Right political formation. This was much more than a Wallace campaign. It was the surfacing of an open fascist-like movement which did not disappear with the elections. The nine million votes that Wallace received constitutes a serious danger signal. They show how it is possible to mislead sections of our people, including sections of the working class, under the umbrella of racism, jingoism and extreme demagogy.

The Communist presidential campaign was an important break with past hangups. With all its shortcomings it was an important campaign. It exposed some of the basic weaknesses in fighting for the Party and its independent role. The struggle for Communist candidates must be continued, and it must be combined with legal and mass struggles against the anti-Communist election laws.

We have made an important beginning in the fight for the electoral rights of our Party, and have combined this with mass struggles on issues. However, we have far to go to make this a major campaign.

## VII. AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR POLICY

The fight for peace continues to be our central task. U.S. imperialism has been forced to maneuver, but it has not changed its brutal, aggressive character. It ceaselessly strives to extend its grip, to seize new territories and bases, to subvert more governments, to subject more millions to its exploitation. It never stops trying to instigate counter-revolution in socialist countries. It never stops preparing for a possible thermonuclear war against communism.

The Nixon administration is trying to win at the peace talks in Paris what the Johnson administration could not win on the battlefield in Vietnam. It calls on the American people to exercise patience, while hundreds of Americans and thousands of Vietnamese die every week in the U.S. aggressive war.

The U.S. government continues to encourage the Israeli aggressors to hold onto their seized territory indefinitely, while the U.S. oil trust gains an extra billion dollars a year of profits because of the closing of the Suez Canal, but they are not having it all their own way. The April mass actions for peace reaffirmed the strong feelings of the American people against the war policy. These feelings are no longer merely sentiment—they are expressed increasingly in meaningful action.

They are expressed by the militant actions of hundreds of thousands of students against the ROTC and against military research projects at their schools.

And what is distinctly new about this phase of the struggle is that these battles are being won. In many colleges ROTC is going. Military recruiters are getting the boot. In some places, even military contracts are being cancelled. Princeton has agreed to sell its stocks in companies investing in South Africa.

The anti-war feelings of the people are being expressed in new ways and by much broader circles of the population. The mass protests against the ABM, involving in effect whole cities and areas, is a case in point. The people have made this a particular point of contest in the struggle against militarism, and for the realization of the long-deferred hope for disarmament. And this fight can be won.

There is a new mood of anger against the military-industrial complex. It is expressed in the opposition to unlimited military appropriations, as well as in the unprecedented six or seven simultaneous investigations of the Pentagon by Congressional committees. The high military outlays have come into sharp focus in relation to the tax load, to the crisis of the cities, to the growing destitution of the poor, etc.

We must pay special tribute to the heroism of the GI's who are challenging the whole regime of brass-hat absolutism, who are raising the banner of peace and equality, who are exposing the aggressive character of U.S. imperialism's wars—in the barracks, in the induction centers, at the bases.

Never before in the history of this country have so many members of the armed forces taken direct action against militarism. Just look at the official figures: more than 53,000 desertions in the year ending June 30, 1968. This means that in the two-year hitch of the average GI, approximately one out of 30 men risks long prison terms and being ostracized for life, because his conscience will not permit him to act as an instrument of the racist, colonialist, genocidal U.S. military.

There are more than 23,000 draft delinquents. There are thousands fleeing the U.S. for Canada. There are added thousands seeking refuge from foreign bases in Sweden, France and many other countries. There are anti-war papers published by the GI's on the major bases. No wonder the ruling classes are exploring the possibility of abolishing the draft and raising salaries enough to hire a large mercenary army.

A new mass wave of sentiment is developing against the war—against the military. New sectors of our people are ready to move.

Sections of the working class are coming into action. The UAW and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are among a number of unions which at top levels have entered the struggle against the ABM. Practically the entire organized labor movement except the

Meanys and Lovestones is up in arms against the Vietnam war surtax.

By now most sections of the black liberation movement are openly and definitely against the Vietnam war and against U.S. imperialism. They have learned the connection between racism at home and abroad, between the killing of black GI's in Vietnam and of black youths by police killers in the ghettos, between the exploitation of South Koreans by U.S. imperialism at wages of fifty cents per day and the exploitation of black farm workers in the South at wages of $2.50 per day.

The new unity can develop around the new immediate issues of the peace struggle. Let this be the priority task of our Party, connected with all the other campaigns in which we are engaged.

Our demands must be:

End the war in Vietnam. Unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops.

End the draft. Complete civil rights for GI's. End racism in the armed forces.

Cut the military budget to the bone. Spend the money for the needs of the cities and the poor.

Withdraw from all foreign military bases.

Recapture the war profits. Break up the military, industrial complex. Take the military out of the colleges. Convert war factories to civilian production.

## VIII. THE YOUTH

The shock brigades of the revolutionary transition, the youth, are continuing to set the pace. The ruling circles are praying for the return of the good old days—the days of the panty raids and goldfish swallowing. The liberals are now also worried because the students are not just letting off steam but have presented some non-negotiable demands.

These demands go into some very basic issues of our capitalist society. They are demanding that higher education be recognized as an inherent right and made a realistic possibility for all youth. They are demanding the end of a system in which the wealthy benevolently dole out college entrance permits. They are demanding an end to the racist bars and the system of tokenism in all institutes of higher learning. They are demanding that educational institutions break their ties with the military-industrial complex. They want to close the doors of our colleges and universities to recruiting for the military and for the manufacturers of lethal gases and other instruments of mass death. They want to abolish the goose-stepping ROTC.

The young workers who are new in industry in great numbers

are also becoming the shock brigades for the working class. They spark the rank-and-file movements. They are pushing for a revitalization of the trade union movement. It is these young workers, many of whom were themselves recently students, who form the link between the student and the working class.

## IX. ON RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES AND PARTIES

As you know, one of the controversial questions which has appeared in the international Communist movement has been that of the relations which should prevail between socialist states and between Communist and Workers' Parties.

In regard to the relations of socialist states, the view is that it is necessary to combine the principle of national sovereignty with the defense of the common interests against imperialism and for mutual economic assistance. In other words, it is necessary to combine strict adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism and mutual assistance and support with firm regard for the equality, sovereignty of socialist countries and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

The same is essential for the relations between Communist and Workers' Parties. The national and international responsibilities of each Communist Party are indivisible. Communists are both patriots and internationalists. They reject both national narrow-mindedness and the negation or underestimation of national interests.

In this connection I must deal with two arguments which are directed against these concepts. One is the argument that the CPSU is for "limited sovereignty" of socialist nations. This is false, in fact, a slander. It is a repetition in our ranks of capitalist propaganda intended to discredit the Soviet Union and divide Communists. The Soviet Union has been the foremost fighter throughout its long history for the independence and full sovereignty of nations. This is evident in regard to the Vietnamese, to Cuba, to the Arab countries and many others.

With regard to Czechoslovakia, about which this false charge is made against the Soviet Union, there is no nation that has done more for its independence. The Soviet Union resolutely declared its readiness to defend Czechoslovakian independence in 1938, when the U.S., France, Great Britain and the capitalist class of Czechoslovakia, headed by Benes, were not willing. It routed the Nazi invaders in 1945 at the cost of 140,000 soldiers who lie buried in Czechoslovakian soil, and in 1968, together with the other Warsaw Pact nations, came to the aid of socialist Czechoslovakia against the dangers of subversion by anti-socialist elements linked with world imperialism.

Would Czechoslovakia have retained national sovereignty had the corrosion of Party leadership gone unchecked and the anti-socialists, together with the revisionists, have come to power? The Czechoslovakian Party itself, in May 1968, in the words of Comrade Dubcek, recognized that "the most serious danger at this stage . . . is the emergence of anti-Party and anti-socialist forces that might launch a struggle for power." This danger worsened after May, resulting in the Bratislava meeting which recognized joint responsibility of the socialist nations to defend the socialist gains against the encroachment of counter-revolutionary forces.

The socialist countries cannot stand aside when a fraternal socialist country, in the very heart of Europe, in the very center of the socialist community, is in danger of losing power to the anti-socialists because of failure of the leadership to act resolutely against the mounting forces of anti-socialism and anti-Sovietism, because of narrow nationalism under the pressure of petty-bourgeois elements influenced by imperialist propaganda and encouraged by the Right-opportunist and revisionist capitulators within the Party.

In 1957, the Declaration of the 12 Communist parties recognized the responsibilities of the socialist community when it stated that national sovereignty and equality do not exhaust the relations between the socialist states, that *fraternal mutual aid is part and parcel of these relations and that this aid is the striking expression of socialist internationalism.* (Emphasis added.)

As for Chinese-Soviet relations, matters have worsened. The armed border attacks on the Soviet forces were due to the Mao dictatorial leadership which is following a path of rank nationalism and great-power chauvinism. Anyone who knows the policies of the Soviet Union and of Mao cannot but conclude that the provocation was from the side of the Chinese. The Mao leadership has deliberately aggravated Soviet-Chinese relations and further whipped up nationalist and chauvinist feelings either to create a chauvinist atmosphere in connection with the just completed 9th Congress, or to interfere with the progress of the coming world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, or to bring about conditions intended to interfere with the advance of the Soviet Union. At any rate, the action follows a long campaign of the Mao leadership, which has raised territorial claims against the Soviet Union in areas which have for centuries belonged to what is now the Soviet Union. In fact, in 1949 Mao Tse-tung, on his arrival in Moscow, acknowledged that the Soviet Union has been the first to annul unequal treaties with China. We can only express severe condemnation of this crass and dangerous violation of socialist unity and socialist internationalism and we hope that the initiative of the Soviet Union

in calling on China to settle the dispute through peaceful negotiations will be fruitful.

Unity against imperialism, the common enemy of socialism and the world revolutionary forces, is imperative despite ideological differences. Lenin wrote, "Capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood is needed. We are opposed to national enmity and discord, to national exclusiveness. We are internationalists" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293).

## X. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

Many of the weaknesses and problems of the working-class movement, including the weaknesses of our Party, are discussed under the canopy designated as opportunism. At sharp turning points in history the danger of opportunism becomes especially sharp and critical.

The progress of an opportunistic development is a procession of always covering up for the previous weakness with further retreats. Most opportunistic positions start as tactical lines presented as being necessary to meet some specific contour of reality. They start as tactical concessions. Of course, such concessions are not necessarily opportunistic, provided that they reflect the actual reality of the situation.

This has happened with some of our comrades in the field of mass work among the Jewish people. Years ago they correctly said that, to be able to influence Jewish masses we have to find ways of avoiding coming into clash with their feelings of nationalism. This is a matter of tactics; this is necessary. But it did not remain on this level. As the pressures became greater, the concessions became bigger. The legitimate tactical adjustments in how to present problems gradually become opportunist accommodations to the pressures. Instead of seeking ways of effectively coping with Jewish nationalism, they yield to it and in the end, on tactical grounds, they themselves adopt nationalist positions.

A tactic is an adjustment in order to advance against the enemy. An opportunistic accommodation is a form of retreat or, at best, an acceptance of the status quo.

On a world scale, one of the forms of opportunism is accommodation to anti-Sovietism. It is an accommodation to imperialism's main ideological spearhead of attack.

We have both Right and "Left" pressures on our Party. At times they are very sharp. On some issues one pressure is greater than the other.

Our Party has conducted a fight on *both* fronts. In so doing we have also made mistakes. We have at times weakened under one

or the other of these pressures. But in the over-all balance of things we have fought off both pressures.

There are endless opportunistic responses to anti-Communism. Thus, the plans for new radical parties all try to "bypass" the redbaiting charges of "Communism." They do it opportunistically, as a rule they do a little redbaiting themselves.

Within the Party itself, such opportunism leads to liquidating the Party. It starts by liquidating its role, and it ends up by seeking for something new to replace it.

The struggle against opportunism is a struggle for working-class revolutionary policies.

## XI. THE PARTY

Comrade Winston will make the report on the work of the Party. That must be the focal point of this Convention, for that is what we are all about.

The period since our last convention has been a stormy one. There have been storms within the world revolutionary movement that have also affected our own Party. The ideological and political deterioration has continued in China under the banner of a so-called "cultural revolution." There was also the breakdown of Communist leadership and the emergence of an anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary threat in Czechoslovakia.

On the positive side, of course, there is the process of consolidation of the world movement that will be reflected at the coming Moscow Conference. Also, the latest events in Czechoslovakia are proof that the danger is being overcome and that the threat was a last thrust, the last belch of capitalist thought in that land.

Since our last convention our Party has made important headway. The Party has become more consolidated. Our influence is greater. We have sharpened up our strategic and tactical concepts. We have grown somewhat. But most important, we have grown amongst workers.

One of our greatest achievements is our Daily Marxist paper. And we can say without any reservation that it is a great paper.

Yes, we have made headway. But we have also exhibited serious weaknesses and shortcomings.

We are not yet a party of mass struggle. We do not yet conduct widespread popular propaganda for socialism. We have many political and ideological hangups. There are Right and "Left" pressures.

We are not yet a strong enough force in the struggle against racism.

We are only beginning our industrial concentration policy.

We are not yet a party of and in the working class.

We have not yet won a mass circulation for our paper.

We have grown too slowly.

We still have bureaucratic hangups.

We have not taken seriously enough the building of a Marxist youth organization.

Yes, our Party is more consolidated. But we would not be honest if we did not also take stock of some discordant notes. During the Czechoslovak crisis some in our leadership showed their total disregard for Party discipline and for democratic centralism.

There is also some factionalism. A small number of leading comrades have developed some factional methods of fighting against adopted Party policies. This Convention must take note of this fact. We must demand an end to all such methods. We must demand new standards of conduct for members of our leading Party bodies.

We must continue to keep the avenue of democratic discussion open. We must encourage criticism and self-criticism. We must involve our membership in policy-making. But we must put an end to a situation where a small number of comrades can keep the Party in constant internal turmoil. We must return to the Leninist concept of democratic centralism. In coming to political decisions we must try to get unanimity if it is possible. If not, we will decide by majority vote when it is necessary. But we must demand unanimity in carrying out the agreed-upon policies.

If decisions are meant only for those who agree with them, then there is no need for decisions or votes. That decisions become binding on all is the only factor that gives any meaning to making decisions.

I think our Party has now reached a qualitative turning point. We are now ready to move on to a new level of work. We are ready, and the new level of the class struggle demands it. That is the real challenge to this Convention.

# MAIN TASKS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

## **GUSTAV HUSAK'S** REPORT* TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Our last Central Committee plenum on April 17 examined the profound crisis situation in our Party, in society and in international relations. It came to the conclusion that there must be a turn in Party activity and an accelerated search for a way out of the crisis. It was in this spirit that it elected a new Central Committee Presidium, instructing it to submit to the next plenum proposals for a way out of this disquieting situation. In the six weeks since then the Central Committee Presidium has discussed every aspect of Party and government activity in our international relations in the light of the April plenum. It adopted a number of concrete measures as a starting point for solidifying the position in the Party, in society and in our international relations. We now submit to the Central Committee draft directives for the guidance of the entire Party, all its branches and members, the aim being to consolidate the situation. The directives cover the period up to the 14th Party Congress.

We must give the Party and society a full and clear picture of the situation in which we find ourselves and how we conceive the way out, what we want and what we reject, what we are striving for, so that every Party member, every citizen, has a clear idea of the Party's policy and can act accordingly.

What are we striving for?

1. We want to re-establish Party unity on the basis of Marxism Leninism, the Leninist principles of Party life, the political platform adopted by the Central Committee, so as to give the Party more action ability, to raise the revolutionary combat ability of the entire Party.

2. We want to re-establish the leading role of the Communis Party in society, especially in the mass organizations and th National Front affiliates, in state organizations and in the economi and cultural fields.

3. We want to work out, or at least prepare, integrated measure for the solution of the country's difficult economic problems.

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*Abridged. **Rude Pravo,** June 2, 1969.

4. We want to strengthen the functions of the socialist state as the power-organ of the working class and the working people.

5. We want to pursue a principled course in relations with the fraternal Communist parties of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, for these relations are the determining factor of our foreign policy.

The crisis situation affects all these five decisive areas, they are closely interconnected, and therefore call for an integrated solution. Consequently, all our measures, all Central Committee decisions, must be based on an integrated approach to these crucial issues.

We are not today in a position to give the Central Committee and the public a detailed and scientifically substantiated analysis of developments over the past years and in the more recent period. That will be the job of the 14th Party Congress, and of the Central Committee and the entire Party in the period of preparation for the Congress. Nonetheless, it is our duty to explain to the people how things stand and give them proper orientation.

In our opinion, the initial crisis developments in our society emerged in the fifties, when the Party leadership began to violate the Leninist principles in relation to the Party and society, when there began the growth of sectarian and subjectivist aspects, socialist legality was violated and wrong or ill-conceived measures were introduced in the economy.

The beginnings of these crisis elements date back to after the Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress. If at that time our Party leadership had honestly, in a Leninist way, put an end to negative elements in Party and state life, then, in all probability, our development would have followed a different course. But half-hearted and inconsistent decisions tended to conserve rather than resolve these negative crisis phenomena, aggravate rather than remove them. And so, contradictions in the political and economic field were gradually building up, and so were contradictions in the thinking of Party members and the public. The subjectivist approach of the Novotny leadership to these problems over many years worsened the position and gradually brought on a crisis situation.

The January turn in Party policy was necessary, indeed an inevitable part of our development. Most Party members and the general public welcomed these changes, which would enable us to rectify the mistakes and deformations of the preceding period, provide more room for socialist democracy, and resolve unsolved or half-solved political, economic, national and other problems. There were wide opportunities for Communists and all citizens to share in the search for a new approach and new decisions. But we know that, at the same time, the past year and the early months

of this were marked by increasingly sharp crisis phenomena in the Party and society and by shattering upheavals in home and foreign affairs.

The basic reason for these crisis growths in the past year and the early months of this one, we think, lies in the fact that, with this vast accumulation of problems, the process of renewal and democratization was not conceptually regulated nor firmly directed. The Party allowed a spontaneous public movement in which, alongside positive activity by the pro-socialist majority, the door was flung open to the anti-socialist forces and to various opportunist groups within the Party. And during this year these forces were able to capture many important political instruments of power—for instance, decisive influence in the press, radio and television, in some links of the Party structure, the mass organizations, etc. Their influence on the mass media—after the Party leadership abolished censorship in February 1968 without providing other means of ideological direction of these important instruments of political power—energized the opportunist and anti-socialist offensive, helped disorient a section of the Party membership and population, the dissemination of liberal anti-Marxist, anti-communist and anti-Soviet views and sentiments, and led to pressure on Party, public and government organizations. There was open tolerance of the activity of diverse avowedly anti-socialist organizations, such as Club-231 and the Committed Non-Partisan Club. There was tolerance of Rightist attempts to re-establish the Social-Democratic Party, form new clerically-oriented political organizations, etc. The Right opportunists had their representatives in lower, intermediate and top Party bodies, in the state apparatus, National Front organizations, and so on. There was a sharp political struggle for control of the Party, the mass organizations, the state organs of power, positions in the economy, etc.

Unfortunately, the Party leadership at that time, the Central Committee and its executive organs, were of two minds and there was not unity of action. As a result, despite the essentially correct decisions on some questions, this lack of unity at the top spread to practically the entire Party, hampering realization of decisions, weakening the Party's combat ability and heading it towards a full-scale crisis. This situation was bound to affect the entire society, all the more so since the anti-socialist and opportunist forces were acting more aggressively. They inflated criticism of the mistakes of the fifties and of the Novotny regime to a point where all the activity of the Communist Party and its members, the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the Party Program, the very foundations of the socialist system, communist internationalism in relation to the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties, were

grossly vilified. The period of socialist construction, which had produced such sterling results in the economic, cultural, social and other fields, was denounced as a period of darkness. There were appeals for a return to the days before February 1948, idealization of "Masaryk democracy," and so on and so forth.

It is sometimes asked: whence these anti-socialist forces after twenty years of building socialism? True, nationalization of the means of production deprived the bourgeoisie of its economic basis, and subsequently also of opportunities for legal political activity. But we should not overlook the fact that the generation which owned most of the means of production is still aive. The same goes for numerous representatives of the privileged classes. Nor have the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces vanished, though after February 1948 they could not legally pursue their political aims. Lastly, there is the generation which for many years was active in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois movements and parties, and which to a certain extent has kept alive the political and ideoligical concepts of the pre-February period. These forces and strata, supported by Western propaganda and other Western influences, believed that after January 1968 there was a chance of changing our socialist society, reshaping it according to their sights—though an occasion they gave verbal support to socialism—so that gradually it would be possible to undermine the dominant political position of the working class and working people, or demolish, or at least weaken, working-class power, disintegrate the Communist Party as the principal political force, and set our peoples on an adventurist course.

Meanwhile, inside the Party opportunist trends were taking shape and developing. They used Party criticism of the mistakes, misconceptions and deformations of the past to boost their slogan of a new "model of socialism." They rejected the basic principles of the Party, its leading role in society, its internationalist character and obligations, etc. And these forces were working legally within the Party, right up to its supreme bodies, exerting a decisive influence on the mass media and exploiting such catchwords as freedom, democracy and humanism. They were able to disorient a considerable number of honest Communists and honest citizens. They sowed dismay and confusion in an attempt to undermine all the fundamental ideas of socialist society. They formed a truculent group within the Party and were able to win dominant positions in what was, in effect, a drive for power in the Party and the state.

The Party leadership did not adequately counter these developments on the home front. This was bound to generate misgivings, apprehensions and anxiety not only among a section of the population and Party members, but also in the Communist parties of

allied countries. The incitement of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and continuation of the crisis gravely disturbed our Party's relations with fraternal workers and Communist parties and states.

The course of developments in the past year and attempts to check it are well known. For example, such attempts were made at the May, 1968 Central Committee plenum. Something is also known of our various negotiations with fraternal parties on these issues. The Communist Party leadership in neighboring allied states were gradually losing confidence that, in the conditions that had arisen, our Party leaders were capable of arresting the development of the crisis. Then came the events of August 1968. We do not propose at this time to give an appraisal of these events, their causes and consequences. We shall have to return to this question and find a truthful, honest, Marxist appraisal of the situation as it then took shape. After the stormy upheavals of August 1968, the Party leadership and the Central Committee found a way out of the extremely difficult and complicated situation in the Moscow protocol signed in the closing days of August. What our mistakes were in the post-January period should now have been perfectly clear, also the need was to prevent subversion by the anti-socialist and opportunist forces and bring the state and public mass media under the Party's ideological and political influence. That was emphasized time and again, but the word was not matched by action.

Differences in the Central Committee and its executive bodies continued, and were aggravated by the rising wave of nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

Last November's Central Committee resolution indicated the positive goals of the Party and society and the ways and means of attaining them. Again the anti-socialist and the opportunist forces within the Party were singled out as the main danger. There was a good opportunity to unite all the healthy forces of the Party and society. Why, then, was there no consolidation in the Party and society on the basis of the November resolution? For the same reasons that operated before August—lack of firm leadership to direct the country's political life. Disunity in the Central Committee and its executive bodies, violation of Leninist principles in Party work, indecision and lack of firmness in the leadership—all this left ample scope for the anti-socialist and Right-opportunist forces to spread their influence, all the more since they still controlled a decisive segment of the mass communications media. And we know how this was exploited by groups of fanatical students; how the Rightist forces used nationalist hysteria to entrench themselves in part of the Revolutionary Trade Unions, youth and other mass organizations, and tried to gain control of them; we

know how certain Party committees acted then. Last November and December and this January were replete with subversive actions by anti-socialist and opportunist forces, and more than once this brought the country to the brink of catastrophe. Towards the end of March, they launched a new offensive, and in some places their actions were patently counter-revolutionary. Again they brought our society to the razor edge of catastrophe.

That was the situation for which the Central Committee sought a way out at its plenary meeting of April 17. Today, six weeks after, we can confidently say that the majority of the Party and society understands and accepts the policy charted out at that plenum. It is now clear that honest people are eager jointly with us to find honest starting points for a way out, are prepared to work, with full responsibility, to solve the problems of our socialist development; that experience is convincing most people of the imperative need for a consolidation effort; that they have no intention of allowing more upheavals, crisis situations and unrest; that they demand a climate conductive to calm constructive work, a climate which will re-establish and develop human and socialist values, give confidence and guarantees and enable us to debate our tasks and accomplish them in a democratic manner. The people want an end to the activities of the perpetrators of chaos, anarchy and disintegration of our public life. We can now see that our people can separate the wheat from the chaff, sincere and realistic efforts to solve our problems from demagogy, hysteria and rash adventurism. This was fully demonstrated in the celebrations of May 1 and 9 which proceeded in a dignified manner throughout the country. True, there are still some who take a different view of our problems, do not understand us, see in the necessary consolidation measures a return to the old times, to the period before January 1968. And the anti-socialist and opportunist forces are using this to sow distrust and in that way retain their positions.

In recent weeks the Party leadership has concentrated on strengthening the Party's influence and authority, fully restoring public order, eliminating hesitation and wavering in the work of the Party and the state, giving the Party and its policy a clearly expressed and consistent Marxist-Leninist orientation, politically isolating the forces which in the past provoked tension, inculcated anti-socialist views, formed opposition platforms against Party policy—in short, the forces responsible for the crisis situations. The chief results of our work in this short period are evident: an unquestionable change of political atmosphere, a more pronounced healthy, realistic socialist trend, stronger opposition to extremist phenomena and adventurous campaigns. It appears that the adventurist and anti-socialist forces, once they are deprived of the mass media, do not have mass support.

We were able to change the political atmosphere also because over these past weeks we have considerably strengthened the leading role of the Party in the press, radio and television. We have, in effect, restricted anti-socialist and Right-wing influence in the mass media.

Further, we have made the first steps towards more responsibility, discipline, order and observance of socialist laws.

Measures have been introduced to eliminate shortcomings in the life of the Party, to strengthen democratic centralism and to enhance the Party's action ability. This necessitated certain personnel changes in the Central Committee apparatus and in regional and district committees.

The Party leadership has begun a thorough examination of economic policy problems and has taken action in this respect both in the Party and the government.

We have done much to normalize relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The measures we have set out to implement are part of a political struggle in which we want to win the confidence and support of the vast majority of our people.

The basic factor in overcoming the crisis in society is overcoming the inner-Party political crisis,

How can this be done? How can we restore the ideological unity of the Party, its capacity for effective action, its combat ability? There is the tried and tested Leninist method.

We must clearly set out the Party's political tasks, clearly say what kind of Party we are and what we want. Having agreed on this, and consistently guided by Leninist principles and the Party Rules, we should work to unite the maximum number of Party members. The experience of the Party in Slovakia shows that, given consistent action by the Party leadership at all levels, this method can be successful.

As pointed out elsewhere, the November Central Committee resolution is the basic Party document, our starting point. Some of its major propositions were taken from the Action Program. However, the latter was drawn up hastily and under the influence of a crisis situation. It therefore contains many hazy formulations that allow of contradictory interpretation, as well as some formulations which are wrong. All this has to be clarified and the Program further elaborated, if we are to use it, as a whole, as an operative document. In the fourteen months since the Action Program was adopted, the Party and country have gone through many upheavals and have acquired experience which we cannot afford to ignore. Consequently, the November resolution and subsequent Party decisions much more closely accord with the situation and the Party's requirements.

Some reproach us, affirming that we want to go back to the pre-January deformations. The Central Committee and the Party leadership have repeatedly clearly and unequivocally declared that they want to continue the post-January policy. Who, then, is holding up this bogey of a return to the Novotny deformations, to subjectivist and bureaucratic methods? Above all the anti-socialist and opportunist elements who plunged the country into one crisis after another; those who abused the broad democratic freedoms, freedom of the press, speech and assembly to forment hostile sentiments, disorient Party members and the public, sow confusion, malign the Party and its functionaries and whip up anti-Sovietism. As for the apprehensions of honest people about a possible return to the deformations, bureaucratic and illegal methods of the pre-January leadership, we again declare that we resolutely dissociate ourselves from all these negative phenomena of the past and are working to set the Party and the country on a democratic, Marxist-Leninist path, as befits an advanced, modern state

In discussing the political tasks of the Party, it is proper to revive some basic concepts. One of these is that we are a Party of the working class and working people, a party of the Marxist-Leninist type that accepts and is guided by Leninist principles; that profound international solidarity with other Communist and Workers' parties and socialist states is an inalienable component of our ideology and policies; that the Party's leading role and defense of socialist power, the power of the working class and the working people, are essential components of a socialist society.

We must unite all the healthy forces of the Party on the political platform endorsed by the Central Committee. As already pointed out, this is not a matter of formal unity. First we must dissociate ourselves from erroneous views, ideas and standpoints so that in the struggle against them we can unite on a new basis, on a political program and the Leninist principles.

And if we want to achieve that we must consistently, in all Party activity, be guided by the Leninist norms of Party work, above all democratic centralism. If in this difficult situation the Party is to discharge its mission—and no one can discharge it for us—it cannot accept a situation in which such principles as obligatory fulfilment of Party decisions, observance of the Party Rules, the obligation of lower organizations and Party members to carry out the decisions of higher bodies, are allowed to lapse, and are often totally negated in practice and even in Party documents. Such gross violation of Leninist norms, which was tolerated—and virtually legalized—for nearly one and a half years, produced the present state of affairs in the Party. We must protect the rights of Party members, but we must also strengthen discip-

line and responsibility of Party members, no matter where they were, in the Party apparatus or Party committees, in elective, administrative, economic or public organizations. It is inadmissible and incompatible with the Leninist norms and with the Party Rules, for Party branches to come out against decisions adopted by higher bodies, criticize them, reject them, organize opposition to them, or interpret them arbitrarily, as has been the case in the past. This paralyzed all Party activity and placed in question our entire policy. It must be categorically stated that if we want to find a way out of the situation, there can be only one policy on fundamental issues, the policy adopted by the Central Committee, the highest Party authority in the period between congresses. And that policy is binding on every Party organization and every Party member. We shall consistently put this into effect.

The Central Committee, its members and alternate members should set an example to the membership. In the past, lack of unity and differences within the Central Committee, non-observance of Leninist principles and norms by some Central Committee members, were a bad example to the entire Party and, properly speaking, legalized organizational and ideological anarchy.

All this has to be stopped. The success of our work depends on a resolute change. And the fight for ideological and action unity of the whole Party must begin with the Central Committee.

Some might regard emphasis on these principles of the Communist movement as a retreat from inner-Party democracy, from democratic procedures in the Party. We contemplate nothing of the sort. Differing views on various issues and confrontation of views in a democratic debate will remain, for the best solution comes from business-like and principled discussion. We want to retain and uphold the principles of inner-Party democracy to promote conscious Party discipline, commitment and dedication. These have been intrinsic features of the Party for many long years and without them it would not have scored the successes with which its history is so rich.

Another prerequisite of successful work is a much higher standard of political and organizational activity, more exacting demands in our cadre and ideological and political work. The pre-January system of directing Party organizational work and control disintegrated, and in the stormy months after January it was not possible to replace it by another system.

There was much slandering of the Party apparatus. Honest and devoted comrades were wronged and abused. That is not to say that there were no shortcomings and errors in the work of the Party apparatus and Party committees; of course there were. But we should reject indiscriminate condemnation of Party functionaries and give them the assurance that the Party will reckon with them

and defend them in their honest work, in their efforts to uphold Party policy. In many cases these comrades were discriminated against and maligned causing them moral, even material harm. And only because they had staunchly defended the Party, abided by its internationalist program and did not give in to the psychological terror of the anti-socialist and the Rightist forces. Party committees and branches should examine such cases, correct mistakes and re-establish the honor of these men. That is both our duty and in the interests of Party work.

Our cadre policy must be premised on principles. We do not intend to carry out a mass check-up of Party members. Communists' attitude to the Central Committee political platform, their activity in operating our policy, will do that. The following are the chief political criteria of our cadre policy today: who and to what degree helps the Party, who is active in these difficult times, prepared to shoulder responsibility and is fully committed to the great cause of the Communist movement and socialism.

We should—and this brooks no delay—review all our political and ideological work. This refers to general political education and training, at all levels, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and, at the present stage, also to principled ideological and political struggle against incorrect, opportunist views and trends. We must actively react to incorrect views and positions, refute them by convincing arguments, and win people over to our side. As already stated, we shall not retreat one inch from our Marxist-Leninist position on any fundamental issue. But that does not mean that we should be insensitive to men holding incorrect views. On the contrary, we are fully aware of the need for more intensive and more profound political work in every Party branch, at every factory and in every village.

In uniting the Party we must discard the methods and deformations of the pre-January period and get rid of the residue of sectarian, dogmatic and conservative views. Their supporters do not appreciate the changes that have taken place in our society, do not realize that social development is bringing with it much that is new. They do not see the changes in social structure, the higher level of our society, and the impact of the technological revolution on political leadership, the leading role of the Party, proper functioning of the political system, and the need to deepen socialist democracy.

Here, too, conviction and a political approach is the chief method of our struggle.

Everything we do to consolidate inner-Party relations is, as already emphasized, of crucial importance in overcoming crisis situations in the country. The ideas put forth here are not new; most of them are set out in Party documents. What is new is the determination of the Central Committee Presidium consistently and vigorously to put these principles into practice. And the Presidium is

convinced that in this it can rely on the wholehearted support of all Central Committee members. The Party must pass from words to concrete actions on a wide front. We must pass from ceaseless discussion, doubts and wavering, to restoration of the combat ability that has been so characteristic of our Party at every critical period. For the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is the chief uniting force of our state, it concerts the efforts of classes and social strata, of our peoples and national minorities, in resolving the problems involved in assuring the people's freedom and happiness.

The speaker then dealt with the need to strengthen the leading role of the Party, to increase the influence of Party policy in relation to the political system, the National Front and its components. The Party's leading role must find expression in all the work of the National Front. The class-political struggle in this country was resolved in February 1948, when the bourgeoisie and political reaction were defeated and power passed to the working class and the working people. We cannot, and must not, depart from this fundamental premise, and this applies to all the component parts of the National Front. It has to be said—and this is legislatively consolidated in the law on the National Front—that ours is a completed political system, and that no organization desirous of participating in political life can have any legal status outside the National Front. The need today is to strengthen the socialist character, the socialist substance, of the National Front and its affiliates.

The extremist forces referred to in this report have in the past year and a half been active in some of the national Front affiliates. To a certain extent this deformed their political activity. And it was with a definite feeling of anxiety that we followed the activities of some organizations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Czechoslovak People's Party, and certain aspects of the work of the Slovak Revival and Freedom parties. Many of their officials began to revert to the ideas, programs and concepts of the bourgeois political parties defeated in February 1948, regarding themselves as their heirs or continuers. They admitted into their ranks discredited politicians of the pre-February bourgeois parties, and these exerted a negative influence, inciting extremist trends among part of the membership and local branches. They also admitted discredited leaders of Club-231 and the Committed Non-Partisans Club and various other reactionary, anti-socialist and anti-Soviet elements, whose only purpose was to reorient the policy of these parties in defiance of National Front principles. The press of the above-mentioned parties repeatedly revealed anti-socialist, bourgeois and opportunist tendencies, the initiators of which wanted to exploit political passions to strengthen these parties in anticipation of elections, and to make an active bid for political power. In some places these parties became rallying centers for extremist elements, and for the

spread of anti-socialist and anti-Soviet sentiments, hopes and campaigns. We think that the leaders of these parties will find the courage and strength to purge their ranks of these elements, critically review their activities over the past year and a half and assure that their movement, and the activity of their parties consistently follow socialist lines and the National Front Program. These questions will be the subject of negotiations between the leaders of our and other political parties. And just as our Party is purging itself of tendencies harmful to our socialist development, we expect the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Czechoslovak People's Party and all other political parties to lose no time in dissociating themselves from these phenomena, purging their ranks and becoming firm links of the National Front, its policy and socialist program.

The National Front should be given precise guidelines that will bar the way to anarchistic and Right-wing elements and prevent attempts to control or exploit National Front affiliates. Our Party has repeatedly declared that it rejects a "pluralistic" political system, or "free play of political forces" and similar Social-Democrat and petty-bourgeois concepts of political life in a socialist country. The National Front is not a coalition of political parties and mass organizations, and there can be no talk, therefore, of "partnership" in the sense of political rivalry. These petty-bourgeois, anarchist tendencies led to a situation where many National Front affiliates officially declared that they considered themselves an "independent political force," that is, independent of Communist Party influence, of our policy and of the National Front concept. There were also attempts to form various opposition blocs outside or against the National Front. For instance, the "workers' and students' bloc," the "intelligentsia, workers' and students' bloc." Then there were agreements between individual components of the Front without its knowledge or consent and directed against its political concept. We reject all these theories and the actions that follow from them. We regard them as illegal political actions and say that all such agreements have no validity and are not binding from the standpoint of National Front policy.

Some people, specifically part of the students, tried to launch political action outside the National Front. They even demonstratively announced that they would not join the National Front, that they represented an independent political force owing allegiance to no one. Using demagogic and anarchist slogans, small groups of irresponsible and callow youths were on occasion able to influence part of the students and the youth. I want to make it perfectly clear that we will not tolerate any action outside the National Front; we will not stand for irresponsible and adventurist groups exploiting the political immaturity of the youth. We have given the youth and the students ample opportunities to organize on the basis of

National Front policy, develop their political understanding, participate in and influence public life. But we shall use every political means, and where necessary means provided for by our laws, to cut short all destructive tendencies on the part of these groups.

During the last eighteen months some cultural workers have been quite active in politics, trying, as I said earlier, to smuggle in oppositional points of view. To carry on their politically oppositional, and often downright subversive activity, they took advantage of the freedom of expression, particularly through the mass information media and the press of the creative unions. When we criticize their political positions or take requisite steps in the information media, they describe these steps as an encroachment on culture, science or the arts. That is no more than a fraudulent misrepresentation of concepts. We have taken no administrative measures in the sphere of science, art or culture, nor are we taking any. On the contrary, the November resolution clearly expressed our Party's positive view and support of scientific, artistic and cultural activity. But whoever engages in militant destructive action in the political sphere, and whoever clashes with the policy of our Party and the National Front, should accept the risk of political struggle and not hide behind catchwords about the defense of culture, science or the arts. We will strictly set earnest effort in science, art or culture apart from their political abuse for anti-Party or, indeed, anti-socialist ends.

Our Party intends to support the policy of the National Front and to carry it forward in such a way as to ensure that the diverse social classes and strata and the masses outside the Party have a legitimate basis for participating in political activity and that they take part in shaping and implementing policy and in exercising control over its implementation. The National Front is not a coalition of different and antagonistic political forces in the bourgeois sense but the political expression of the class alliance of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people, an alliance of socialist society.

Negative and opportunist trends also gained some ground in some echelons of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. Various Right-opportunist or even frankly anti-socialist elements profited by the political turmoil last year and early this year to seize positions in the revolutionary trade union movement, from the factory committees to the highest trade union bodies. Under the slogan "Trade unions without Communists" or by agreement with Party members who have given in to opportunist and nationalist trends, they won some positions in the factories and on the highest union bodies. They concluded political agreements with students and cultural workers who shared their political views and began to mount common actions without the knowledge of our Party and the National

Front and against them. Those forces are still active in some segments of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

This calls for a clear statement of position. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia came into being as the revolutionary party of the working class and has been regarded as the political spokesman of the working class ever since. Our party is and will be concerned primarily with the interests of the working class and other working people. We Communists cannot look impassively on if opportunist and occasionally anti-socialist forces try to mislead the working class, as they did and still do. The Party—from its highest committees to the local organizations—must carry on a persistent political fight against all opportunist forces in the enterprises, and particularly in the trade union movement. Our Party has always owed its strength chiefly to the enterprises and the labor movement. Building up the Party's ideological influence in the enterprises and isolating the opportunist forces is therefore a task brooking no delay. We must increase the Party's leading role in the factories and other enterprises, must work in the Party groups of trade union organizations at all levels and gear the effort of Party members in this field to vigorous and earnest political work.

The opportunist and partly anti-socialist tendencies which found expression in some leading committees of the various sections of our youth movement have taken root in these sections to a dangerous extent. The whole Party should concern itself much more with the problems of the younger generation and with political work among youth.

The Party cannot stop influencing the entire cultural policy nor its shaping. We have big shortcomings in this field. We must therefore draw up a cultural program for our Party that interprets the Party's policy in this field from the Marxist point of view and that provides for specific measures at Party and government level. Much has been missed in this respect during the past eighteen months. Some people active in the sphere of culture and education, including Party members, have yielded to the influence of spokesmen of opportunist groups or have been misled and confused. The role of the intellectual community in modern society is exceedingly important and is steadily growing. We propose to win the overwhelming majority of our intellectuals for our Party program, and to draw them into fulfilling the challenging tasks ahead, by conducting honest and intense political work, and by showing consideration for the diverse groups of our intellectual and cultural community.

The economic situation is grave and highly complicated. Slackened Party and state management of the economy led to an accentuation of elements of spontaneity and disintegration, to growing spontaneous pressures and demands regarding investments and wages, with all the adverse effects you know of. Planning and the regulation of

economic processes lost in importance. The issue of the economic reform was only too often treated as a propaganda item. We did little to make a detailed study of the experience of other socialist countries. Our "own model," unfinished in terms of theory, was uncritically publicized. It was not given proper thought as to concrete objectives, nor was it carried into practice. We moved from the extreme of bureaucratic management to the other extreme, an all but complete lack of management.

Negative trends intensified menacingly in the first quarter of this year. Industrial output in that quarter grew by only 3.8 per cent and labor productivity, by 2.6 per cent. Consumer goods production is stagnant. Output of building materials was below last year's. The same applies to a number of industries, such as textiles, clothing, footwear or foodstuffs. Exports to the socialist countries dropped by 10 per cent and to the capitalist countries, by five per cent. Meanwhile incomes go on increasing at a very high rate. In the first quarter they showed a total increase of almost 15 per cent, wages went up 12.5 per cent and average pay in industry, roughly 7.8 per cent. Retail trade increased by more than 16 per cent. One does not have to be an expert in economics to show, by means of these few figures, the dangerous trend of our economy today.

In May of this year the Presidium of the Party Central Committee carefully discussed the overall situation in our national economy.

We came to the conclusion that, first, we must fully restore the leading role of the Party in the economy, from the center to the production units;

second, we must strengthen government and economic guidance in all economic matters on all levels and re-establish the authority of the economic management;

third, we must enhance the role of the government plan in the economy;

fourth, we must achieve stricter regulation of wages, prices and investments and increase the role of the state in foreign trade;

fifth, we must take very energetic measures to stop adverse development and stabilize the economy;

sixth, we must critically revise the lines of the economic reform, its various phases and targets with a view to deciding definitively on the point of departure.

The Communist Party, the main political force in our country, should apply itself primarily to economic problems in all their magnitude and in each of its committees, first of all in the material production sphere. By consolidating the Party and the entire life of society, we will create political conditions enabling us to concern ourselves in decisive measure with the solution of the main economic problems. Communists should be reminded in no uncertain

terms of their responsibility for the fulfilment of economic tasks, whatever their field of activity.

We must re-establish planned, proportional economic management through a national economic plan ensuring for the good of the population that public, group and individual interests are met and that they are brought into mutual harmony.

We will have to reconsider within a relatively short time our measures of recent years, verify our road and finish work on a complete set of economic measures to carry our economy forward. We are not going to fall back on the bureaucratic administrative methods of economic management used in the past. We want, however, to properly weigh our every measure in the economic field, to prepare it earnestly and to carry it out at a minimum risk.

The object is to expedite structural changes based on contemporary processes and trends of the scientific and technological revolution. We must take advantage of them as a means of making more effective use of production reserves and at the same time exert effective economic pressure on the enterprises so as to induce them to search for ways of increasing output and, first of all, raising productivity. This means considerably intensifying effective price control and regulation of wages and strengthening the leading and coordinating role of federal agencies and the federal government.

In making our economic plans, we will bear in mind growing socialist integration, primarily among the socialist countries associated in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, in line with the decision adopted by the latest Council session.

We believe we will be able to complete before the 14th Congress of our Party work on the fundamental long-term economic strategy and decide on the guidelines of the five-year plan for the period 1971-1975, which we would like to discuss at the Congress.

Increasing the role of the socialist state and the entire system of state power, the national committees, security bodies and armed forces is an indispensable component of the policy of our Party. During the past period these highly important agencies were likewise put under disintegrating pressures which weakened their position, role and function, bred political discord among their personnel, weakened the general leadership of the state by the relevant bodies and led in many places to irresponsibility and lawlessness.

It is necessary to repeat that in our country the government bodies, the organs of state power represent the power of the working class and other working people and are very important as an instrument not only of maintaining socialist power but of building socialist society. We will heighten the role of our socialist state in economic and social development in every field, tighten state discipline and insist on respect for the laws. We will strengthen—

above all politically—our armed forces, to which we are going to devote special attention, and will consolidate the security system. Naturally, we will see to it that our laws are unfailingly respected by these agencies. Both the armed forces and the security bodies must be guided in greater measure by the Party Central Committee.

On the other hand, we want to concern ourselves with efficient and progressive forms of functioning of the socialist state. We have no intention, as I have already said, of falling back on bureaucratic administrative methods. However, we want to proceed in this matter earnestly and in businesslike fashion, according to Marxism-Leninism and with due regard to the conclusions of modern social science.

Consistent implementation of the leading role of the Party in every echelon of government administration is the main factor guaranteeing that the socialist state will perform its function, that it will express the interests of the working class and other working people and will jointly and rationally carry out its tasks for the good of society as a whole.

Another important political condition for the socialist state to regain its prestige and efficiency is strict and steadfast adherence to the law and order in force, in terms of both promoting the citizens' legal security and consistently enforcing the laws. That is why a few days ago the Presidium of the Party Central Committee also discussed measures to improve the functioning of the procurator's office as a politically important government agency safeguarding socialist leaglity. Our time puts just as important and imperative demands to the courts and the security bodies.

The next prerequisite for consolidating the socialist state and its agencies is to complete its reorganization on federal principles. The federal organization of our state was a correct measure, but five months' experience has revealed the existence of some problems regarding the division of labor, the responsibilities of the federal and national bodies and the coordination of decisive tasks at all levels.

We *did* expect that certain doubts and difficulties would crop up as we went about introducing the federal system. We must study these matters as quickly as possible and organize the whole state machinery and system of agencies in such a way as to enable them to function in coordinated fashion, without any moot points about their powers. To begin with, our Party, which is the force integrating the whole of society, should help to solve outstanding problems. The federal system should not weaken the unity of our state. It occasionally happens, however, that the federal and national agencies cannot properly coordinate their activities. The Central Committee Presidium will see to these matters. The Party has not been federalized—on the contrary, it is a single body—and we are answerable

for the Communists' activity at all levels, federal and national alike.

Lately the Central Committee Presidium has also discussed preparations for the general election and has approved an action plan to earnestly prepare a conception of the electoral system according to the Marxist-Leninist idea of the state, to the changes in our political and government activity and to the democratic principles of electoral legislation laid down in the Constitution of the CSSR. We presume that the relevant Party bodies will discuss the political principles of the new electoral system to ensure that the Communists in the National Front and in government agencies adhere to a common position, which will pave the way for the proper drafting of electoral legislation. It is our desire and we will strive to ensure that the general election to be held after the Party Congress in 1970 is really dignified, democratic and successful from the point of view of the objectives of our Communist Party, and that it completes the consolidation process in our country.

A prerequisite of peaceful life for our citizens and of the effective solution of internal state problems is to safeguard our state and its citizens against external danger. The historical experience of the Czech and Slovak peoples and fifty years of Czechoslovak statehood led our Party and our people during and after the Second World War to the conclusion that we can best safeguard the freedom of our peoples and the sovereignty of our state in alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. These are matters of vital importance predetermining the fortunes of nations, especially small ones, who seek allies. Our peoples amply satisfied themselves of this in 1938 and 1939, when fascist Germany liquidated the Czechoslovak state and when the freedom of our peoples was suppressed. This year we will commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Slovak National Rising, to which we owe the rise of the first liberated Czechoslovak territory and the beginning of the national and democratic revolution in our country. We are also going to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the fighting at Dukla, where Czechoslovak troops began in cooperation with Soviet troops to free the subjugated Czechoslovak people. Less than a year from now we will celebrate the 25th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovak territory by the Soviet Army and of the rebirth of the Czechoslovak state. It is necessary to recall these facts, particularly in this stormy period, to recall this alliance as a permanent factor in safeguarding our national freedom, political existence, independence and socialist development. These have been the foundations of our foreign policy and national security since World War II, and it is our duty to preserve and strengthen this guarantee of the security of socialist Czchoslovakia.

Some people pretend not to know how divided the world is, not

to know that there is a camp of imperialist countries and a camp of socialist countries, and that the place we firmly hold is precisely in the socialist camp. Imperialism has given up none of its designs or plans. As the power of the socialist countries countries prevents it from launching military ventures in our area, it uses other methods, other, subtler, political and ideological means. During the past eighteen months Czechoslovakia has been a testing ground for every kind of imperialist and bourgeois influence, from politico-ideological influence to the activity of agents. The plans of the imperialist world, which pinned its hopes on the activity of the anti-socialist and opportunist forces in our country, have fallen to the ground. That is why the runaway agents of these forces slander us so viciously from Free Europe and other information and propaganda centers of the West.

The world is divided into classes and we should know well where our friends are, who are those we can count on, whom we can rely on in an eventual crisis or international conflict. We have found a guarantee of international security in the alliance with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of the Warsaw Treaty. Thus we have a safeguard of the vital interests of the peoples of Czechoslovakia, which borders on the imperialist world.

The great idea of international solidarity of the Communist parties and the working-class movement is a component of our Marxist-Leninist theory and program. It is inseparable from our doctrine and program and Party policy. And this explains why our Party has always held it necessary and correct to state in all its main documents that the principal aspect of the Party's political practice is to preserve comradely and friendly relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties, as well as the relations between Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries. That, too, is a lasting and inseparable component of our post-January policy and is stated in all the main documents adopted by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia since January 1968.

A document which our Party participated in drafting and which it has signed is the Bratislava Declaration adopted by the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries on August 3, 1968. It is an important document from which our Party should proceed in its ideological and practical activity in the sphere of home and foreign policy. The principle stated in that document, namely, that our parties "will never allow anyone to drive a wedge between the socialist states, to undermine the foundations of the socialist social system" remains valid.

We must say in so many words that whoever departs from the policy of our Party and from the international commitments of our socialist state is differing with our Party over a fundamental issue, for in this case it is a question of strengthening the internal and

international position of the republic, of the security and sovereignty of our state.

In these past six weeks we have been taking steps to restore comradely and friendly relations between our Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties and states.

During talks with leaders of the CPSU and other parties which attended the session of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, as well as in talks with the leaders of brother parties during my visits to Hungary, Poland and the German Democratic Republic, we satisfied ourselves that these parties, their leaderships and the peoples of the allied countries concerned entertain friendly and comradely feelings for our Party and the people of the CSSR and sincerely desire all-round and close cooperation with us on a mutually beneficial basis in every field of Party, government and social activity.

That is why the policy of our Party will be to fully re-establish mutual confidence and to foster relations all along the line between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other fraternal parties and states, in the political, economic, military, cultural and all other fields. In the economic field we will strive, in line with the latest decisions of the CMEA, for deeper integration of our economies.

In the world Communist movement, we attach great importance to the forthcoming International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow as a factor for promoting the ideological cohesion and unity of action of the world Communist movement. We wish to contribute actively and constructively to the successful course of the meeting and to its conclusions. In this connection we would like to stress that as far as the problems are concerned which arose between us and our allies last year, we are solving and will solve them by reciprocal agreement, on the basis of confidence and with due regard to our national and international interests. The atmosphere of confidence, friendship and comradely relations that is being actively developed will be the best prerequisite for solving all these problems. We cannot therefore agree to the tendency to turn the so-called Czechoslovak question into an "international" issue, whatever the form this tendency may take. To pose questions in that way will not help. It will benefit neither the vital needs and objectives of our Party nor the interests of the world Communist movement.

If the development of our Party and society follows the lines we have indicated here we can be certain that the problems will be

effectively solved and our further progress made possible. That will enable us in the course of this year and the next to end the period of crisis in our society. Next year we intend to hold the regular 14th Congress of the Party, after it national congresses and after the congresses, elections to the representative bodies, so as to put an end in that way to various provisional measures necessitated by developments last and this year and to move on to a normal period when democratically elected Party, government and national bodies will begin to function.

One year is not too long a period for accomplishing tasks and achieving goals as difficult as these. We are deeply convinced that in this period we can achieve our chief goal, that is, to consolidate the situation in our country. The political objective is to assure a free and democratic life and social and civic security in the socialist state for all people. I have spoken here of the road leading to that goal. It is a road from uncertainty and crisis to peaceful and sunny days, to a better future.

It is in this direction that the Party leadership is going to lead the great army of Communists and all our people—purposefully, firmly and responsibly.

# STATEMENT* OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

## ON THE RESULTS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN FRANCE

The reactionary maneuver to compel Frenchmen to choose between two variants of Right policy, has failed. Responding to our call, millions of Frenchmen refrained from voting for Pompidou and Poher.

Those who abstained or dropped unfilled or invalid votes rose in numbers from about 22 per cent in the first round to 35 per cent, this being especially true of working-class constituencies. This increase is doubly significant, because many of those who had abstained in the first round were prevailed upon by opponents of our Party to participate in yesterday's voting.

To be sure, the split of the Left forces, for which the responsibility falls squarely on the Socialist Party, paved the way for the election of a reactionary. However, Georges Pompidou, who polled about 37 per cent of the votes, became President by a hair's breadth, with millions of Frenchmen denying him the right to represent them.

The response to our slogan, advanced in a most complicated situation, speaks of the high political consciousness of our people and stresses the confidence placed in the French Communist Party, which, having once been the only political party to oppose the authoritarian regime, is now the only part showing the way to a democratic replacement of Gaullism.

The millions of working people and democrats who responded to our call and thus declared for advanced democracy opening the road to socialism, constitute a considerable force.

That force is the backbone of the movement against the reactionary economic and social policy of the big capitalists and their government. It embraces all those who aspire to victory in the fight against the rule of the propertied and epitomizes the alliance of the working class and all democrats essential for paving the way to genuine, deep-going changes required by France's democratic future.

*'Humanité, June 16, 1969.

# STATEMENT BY THE PB CC, CP OF GREECE

The revisionist Partsalidis-Drakopulos-Brilakis group of splitters, condemned by the vast majority of the members and functionaries of the Communist Party of Greece, has carried its consistently disruptive policy even further by holding the so-called "extraordinary plenum of the CC." It has resorted to this policy just when our people and our movement are going through a trying period and when Party unity is more necessary than ever.

Because its attempt to impose a revisionist line on the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee failed the group has now announced the formation of the so-called "Unifying CC." It has also shown its hand in a series of conspiratorial moves.

For many years the group was against the association of Communists in Party groups, against the orderly and autonomous existence of the Party organizations of the CPG. It wanted to turn the CPG into a Social-Democratic type of party. Both before and after the 12th Plenum it engaged in factional activity, undermining the line and unity of the Party and trying to thwart all efforts towards regrouping the forces of the CPG and forming clandestine organizations to play the decisive role in rallying the anti-dictatorial forces to overthrow the junta.

At the same time the policy of trailing behind developments, of submitting to bourgeois parties—a policy which raised serious obstacles to the unification of the forces opposed to the dictatorship —became even more evident. In Stockholm, the group took part in signing a political agreement providing for the expulsion of the Communist Party of Greece, the most consistent democratic force, from the anti-dictatorship front. It accepts the reactionary Constitution of 1952, as well as the emergency measures of the civil war period and No. 509 Law. The terms of the agreement and the policy of splitting the democratic forces objectively make it easier for the reactionaries to carry out their plans and designs.

The Partsalidis-Drakopulos-Brilakis group is pursuing a policy of dissociating the Greek anti-dictatorship movement from its most determined ally and defender, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as from the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. A graphic illustration of the nature and role of the group is that international reaction backs it.

Life has vindicated the conclusions of the 12th enlarged plenary meeting of the CC CPG, conclusions to the effect that the group is following a revisionist policy alien to Marxism, a policy of subverting the leading role of the working class, of altering the revolu-

tionary character of the Party, of taking the Party out of the fraternal family of Communist and Workers' parties

The decisions of the 12th plenum proved correct. The vast majority of the Party forces, who are stirving to extend the illegal Party organizations, step up the anti-dictatorship fight and achieve unity of the forces opposed to the dictatorship, stands united behind these decisions and the policy of the Party.

Whereas the splinter group resorts to various distortions and strategems to disguise its anti-Party activity, most Central Committee members—both those who are at liberty and those in prison —support the decisions of the 12th and 13th plenums. The vast majority of the members and functionaries of the Party and almost all the Party organizations are united behind the Central Committee and are in the frontline of the struggle against the dictatorship. Not one member of the CC who is in the country attended the meeting held by the splitters. The Party organizations which constitute the life and soul of the Resistance are under the direct leadership of the Central Committee and its group in Greece.

The Central Committee and Political Bureau did their best to preserve Party unity on Marxist-Leninist principles. The Political Bureau repeatedly called on the CC members belonging to the group to realize the critical character of the present situation and to respect the statutory principles of the Party. In preparing for the 13th Plenum, the Central Committee appealed to all the CC members in the Partsalidis-Drakopulos-Brilakis group to attend, but they flatly refused to do so.

The group's efforts are doomed to fail. Opportunists of every shading have tried before to divert the Party from the revolutionary road. But the Party and the working class have dumped them. Today's opportunists will fare no better.

Bearing in mind the dangerous nature of the revisionist group's disruptive activity, the members and functionaries of the Party, enlightened by fifty years of Party history, and all Party organizations will carry the banner of Marxism-Leninism higher still. They will uphold the purity of the Party line and preserve Party unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They will strive to win over for the Party those of its functionaries and members who are following the group because they do not know the real situation or for other reasons. Party members and functionaries will fight on till the leading revisionist group of breakaway splitters is defeated. This will help to solve afterwards the problem of unity of the people and their anti-dictatorial forces, of unity as a guarantee and prerequisite of overthrowing the junta and bringing about a renovated democracy.

# WHAT IS BEHIND THE "NINTH CONGRESS OF THE CPC"*

Peking's propaganda media are at pains to make everyone believe that the so-called Ninth Congress of the CPC, held under the dark cloak of secrecy, demonstrated unprecedented unity of the Communists and the people of China and will be of epoch-making significance to the Party and the country.

Is that true?

During the preparations for the "congress" and, above all, on its opening day, it was clear that the "congress" would be a political show planned in advance and having nothing to do with what Marxist-Leninists regard as a Communist congress.

In convening the "congress," the Mao Tse-tung group was prompted by an anti-popular, anti-socialist bid for great-power hegemony. This is why it did not put on the "congress" agenda problems that China's millions are really concerned about, such as the situation in the national economy, paralyzed by the sadly famous "cultural revolution," and measures to improve the standard of living. Mao could have done no such thing, for it would have meant admitting the innumerable miscalculations and failures of his reckless policy.

There is another good reason to maintain that the Maoist "congress" did not represent genuine Communists. Its organizers violated the standards of inner-Party democracy and the elective principle by bringing together people who had distinguished themselves through unquestioning execution of Mao's instructions and boundless devotion to the "great helmsman." Is it a fact compatible with the lofty name of a Communist congress that attending the "Ninth Congress" as "honorable hero delegates" were Maoist toughs who had raised their hand against the world's first socialist country, the Soviet Union, and fired on Soviet border guards on the Ussuri? To give the "congress" a semblance of representativeness and continuity, the Maoists invited to it some veterans of the Party and the state, such as Chu Teh, Tung Pi-wu or Liu Po-cheng, whom they had long before eliminated from active politics.

Obviously, Mao Tse-tung needed the "Ninth Congress of the CPC" as a means of promoting his own selfish interests. For many years Mao, who regards himself as the unchallenged and infallible leader of the Party, used the subtlest strategems as he strove persistently and methodically to seize control of Party and state

*Abridged from **Unen**, 1969.

and establish his undivided rule in China. He advanced to this goal by sacrificing millions of the finest sons and daughters of the Communist Party of China. By dealing summarily with all dissidents, he caused enormous damage to the CPC, a major contingent of the world Communist movement, and put the socialist gains of the Chinese people in jeopardy.

And now Mao and his underlings are using the facade of the "Party congress" to legalize the coup they have carried out in Party and state. It means that Mao has formally dissociated himself from the policies approved by the Eighth Congress of the CPC and repudiated the great principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The newly-founded Maoist "party" is a political organization having a petty-bourgeois, nationalist platform. It is to serve, along with the armed forces, as a tool of the military-bureaucratic regime and an instrument of subversion against the brother parties of the socialist countries and the Communist movement as a whole. Another feature of the new organization is its monarchist shading, which is evident from the formal confirmation of Lin Piao as Mao's sole heir and the inclusion in the leading cadre of people linked with the leaders by family ties.

To whip up great-power, nationalist hysteria in the country while the political farce is on, the Maoists have advanced the shibboleth of "all-out prepartions for war and hunger."

The main foreign political task set by the Mao group before the organization it has just brought into being is to step up the fight against the Soviet Union, homeland of the Great October Revolution, against the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the brother parties of other socialist countries.

The progress of the Maoist "congress" and its documents show that not everything came off well. The "congress" resolutions therefore contain appeals to continue the "cultural revolution," which means that the Maoists will go on suppressing and humiliating loyal Communists and other finest sons and daughters of the Chinese people.

It is now clear to any sensible person that the dark clouds of Maoism are increasingly shutting out the sun of a new life that rose over China twenty years ago. There is no telling when the rays of that sun will pierce the clouds, but they certainly will shine over China again.

# LENIN'S GREAT BEHESTS—OUR LODESTAR

## DECISION* OF THE CC OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE LENIN CENTENARY

April 1970 will mark the 100th birth anniversary of Vladimir Lenin, the great continuer of the revolutionary work of Marx and Engels, the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet state, the organizer and leader of the world's first victorious proletarian revolution—the Great October Socialist Revolution—and the teacher and leader of the world proletraiat.

With Lenin's name are associated the aspirations and hopes of the working class and the peasantry, of the peoples of all countries for peace, social progress, freedom and happiness. Mankind's bright future scientifically predicted by the great teachers of the world proletariat, Marx and Engels, began to be carried into life under Lenin's guidance. Lenin charted the highroad of development in the 20th century, the road to communism.

Lenin, whose name will live through the centuries, is an embodiment of everything truly great and heroic in the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. He personifies their most remarkable traits—revolutionary daring and fearlessness, purposefulness and the will to victory, deep hatred for reaction and all manifestations of opportunism, all-conquering love of freedom and progress, an exceptionally developed sense of the new, consistent humanism and democratism, modesty and integrity.

Lenin lives in the hearts and minds of progressive mankind. He inspires the peoples in their fight for deliverance from exploitation and slavery, for freedom and prosperity.

Lenin has gone down in history as a brilliant Marxist theoretician and an unsurpassed organizer of proletarian revolution. His theoretical legacy and practical deeds bespeak tremendous intellectual power, insight, the ability to determine the motive forces of the revolution and to chart the correct strategy and tactics of struggle, confidence in the creative forces of the masses, and revolutionary optimism.

Leninism is a new stage in the development of Marxism; it is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and victorious proletarian revolutions, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, of the building of socialist and communist society.

Lenin provided scientific solutions to the principal problems of

*Otechestven Front, May 11, 1969.

the present epoch, he enriched and further developed the three component parts of Marxism. He generalized the contemporary revolutionary practice and the achievements of natural and social sciences and on this basis enriched dialectical and historical materialism with new conclusions and demonstrated the methodological significance of Marxist philosophy, the power of the revolutionary-critical and creative spirit of Marxism. Lenin resolutely carries forward the economic teaching of Marx. He characterized imperialism as decaying, moribund capitalism ripe for socialist revolution. Lenin discovered the law of uneven and spasmodic development of capitalist states in the epoch of imperialism and proved that the proletarian revolution can win at first in some countries or even in one country —where the imperialist chain is weakest. He evolved the strategy and tactics of the socialist revolution.

Lenin enriched the Marxist teaching on the role of the party of the working class. He created a comprehensive doctrine of the party of a new type called upon to rally and head the broadest masses in the socialist revolution and in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to give guidance to the building of a new society. Lenin substantiated the idea that the role of vanguard fighter for the socialist reconstruction of society can be performed only by the party of the proletariat equipped with revolutionary theory, founded on the unity of views and actions of its members and capable of giving correct political guidance to the masses and applying different forms and methods of class struggle. He performed a historic feat by building such a party, the party of Bolsheviks, the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by working out its ideological, organizational and political principles and the norms of party life and leadership.

Lenin's scientific theory of the proletarian revolution is an inestimable contribution to the treasure-house of Marxism. Lenin convincingly substantiated the need for an unbreakable alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class as a supreme principle of the proletarian dictatorship. Under his leadership the October Revolution was accomplished and the world's first state of workers and peasants, the most democratic state in history, was built. Mankind will be eternally grateful to the Soviet people, who were the first to break the imperialist chain and are now blazing the trail to communism. Lenin charted a comprehensive program for building a new society, initiated the industrialization and electrification of the country and worked out a remarkable plan for the collectivization of agriculture, the accomplishment of a cultural revolution, and the solution of the nationalities problem. Under the leadership of the CPSU the Soviet people carried into reality a stupendous Leninist program of socialist

construction. Poor and backward Russia became a socialist giant, the bulwark and hope of the peoples. Mankind will be eternally grateful to the Soviet people for their historic exploit, the routing of anti-human Hitlerite fascism.

Lenin stressed that the basic law-governed features and principles of the proletarian revolution and of the building of a new society which manifested themselves for the first time in Russia are valid for all Communist parties and all countries. At the same time he resolutely condemned any underestimation of national peculiarities. Marxist parties, Lenin pointed out, are distinguished by their ability to reveal the peculiar forms in which common features are manifested.

Lenin raised still higher the banner of proletarian internationalism unfurled by Marx and Engels. He stressed that internationalism and patriotism are dialectically interconnected, that only a consistent internationalist can be a true patriot. He resolutely combated bourgeois nationalism, exposing those who tried to enclose their nationality within a Chinese wall and fragment the forces of the working people. He wrote: "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, *and only this*, line, in *every* country without exception" (*Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75). This genuine internationalism was made by him the basis of the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, which have consistently guided themselves by it ever since. Solidarity with the struggle of the oppressed and exploited, fraternal aid to other countries and peoples, alliance and cooperation with the countries of victorious socialism, collective action against the class enemy—such are the main features of the internationalism of every party, of every revolutionary movement.

The historical experience of the world Communist and working-class movement shows that the unity of its ranks imparts a tremendous force to revolutionary struggle. Lenin tirelessly worked to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement, to unite the worker contingents into a powerful and irresistible revolutionary stream. The global unity of the proletariat found an impressive expression in the Third, Communist, International built on Lenin's initiative and under his guidance, which played the decisive role in strengthening the Communist parties theoretically and organizationally, in promoting their growth as the militant vanguard of the working class. The international Communist and working-class movement is the most influential political force of our time, the organizer and leader of the masses in the struggle

against class exploitation and national oppression. It is an invincible front of the most devoted fighters against imperialism and reaction, for national independence and socialism, for peace and democracy.

Lenin enriched the theoretical heritage of Marx and Engels in an uncompromising struggle against attempts to distort and falsify our revolutionary doctrine; he vigorously defended its purity against the attacks of revisionists and petty-bourgeois radicals. Marxism-Leninism is irreconcilable towards any revision of its essence, towards any "accommodation" with bourgeois ideology. At the same time it is incompatible with any attempt to turn its truths into a dogma, with oversimplification and primitivism. Lenin waged a stubborn struggle against opportunism, branding it as betrayal of the interests of the working class, as a deviation from Marxism and proletarian internationalism. Leninist irreconcilability towards revisionism and dogmatism is a hallmark of every truly Marxist-Leninist party.

Lenin regarded revolutionary theory as a guide to action and not as a dogma. He set a magnificent example of revolutionary theory combined with revolutionary practice and displayed the unique ability to advance and temporarily to retreat in the interests of the revolution, creatively to develop proletarian ideology, to solve in a positive way problems posed by life. In Lenin's case, theory lights the way for practice, words and deeds merge into a harmonious whole, Communist adherence to principle is organically combined with revolutionary flexibility.

The essence of Leninism demands that Communists should act creatively in the concrete conditions of every country, that our theory should be developed and enriched in keeping with the changing conditions. The peoples have no other ideological weapon in the fight for socialism and communism than Marxism-Leninism. Any attempt to supplant or falsify it means betrayal of the interests of the proletariat.

The present epoch has most strikingly confirmed the tremendous transforming force of our revolutionary doctrine and proved that Marxism-Leninism furnishes correct answers to the most vital questions, that it alone shows the way to the solution of the main problems of social development. Socialism's conversion into a powerful world system is a veritable triumph of Marxism-Leninism. In the socialist community all progressive people see the real force capable of ensuring the development of the world revolutionary process and frustrating the plans of imperialism aimed at unleashing a thermonuclear war. The class battles against capitalist exploitation, against imperialism, are being fought on an ever greater scale. The role and influence of the world Communist movement,

which unites tens of millions of devoted fighters for socialism, are growing constantly. As Lenin predicted, the system of colonial slavery, this disgrace of civilized mankind, has collapsed under the blows of the national liberation movement. More than 70 independent states have emerged on the ruins of colonial empires.

Social development in the world indisputably confirms the correctness of Marxist-Leninist ideas. These ideas are being constantly enriched with the experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, with the collective wisdom of the world Communist movement. The Communist and Workers' parties scientifically analyze the character and the motive forces of the present epoch, the problems of war and peace, the essence, forms and trends of the modern revolutionary process, and are evolving new and more effective strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialist struggle. Vain are the attempts of bourgeois critics and especially modern revisionists to depict Leninism as a purely Russian phenomenon, to counterpose it to Marxism. The entire modern history of mankind proves irrefutably that Marxism-Leninism is a single revolutionary teaching of the international proletariat. Lenin's ideas are exerting and will continue to exert an irresistible influence on the broadest masses the world over. They are a reliable compass which shows mankind the way to new victories over imperialism, to the triumph of the dream of communism.

The revolutionary battles of the Bulgarian people for the victory of socialism are inseparable from Lenin's immortal ideas and deeds. Lenin is a great teacher also of the Bulgarian workers and peasants, of the Bulgarian people, of our Communist Party. The ever-living Leninist teaching will go on illuminating our road to victory.

Lenin, the great leader and teacher of the world proletariat, showed a lively interest in the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria and greatly respected our Party and its leaders. He spoke very highly of the Tesnyaki Socialists' bold and consistent fight against imperialism, social-chauvinism and war. Lenin called the *tesnyaki* "internationalists in deed."

The party of the Bulgarian proletariat founded and led by Dimitr Blagoyev, became one of the most consistent revolutionary Marxist trends in the international workers' movement. Its loyalty to Marxism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism, its unshakable faith in the forces and future of the working class, its active participation in all battles of the international proletariat against world capitalism, against opportunism, for the purity of Marxism, its conscious iron discipline, constituted the valuable qualities which made it a significant revolutionary trend in the Second International closest to Lenin and Bolshevism. These qualities of the Party ensured its further development along the Leninist road. Owing to

them it became a co-founder of the Communist International, entering it without a split and embarking upon Bolshevization.

The Bulgarian revolutionary Marxists hailed with tremendous enthusiasm the victory of the Russian workers and peasants in 1917. Dimitr Blagoyev characterized the Russian proletarian revolution as "one of the greatest historical events, an event of tremendous, global significance for the life of the peoples."

The October Revolution initiated the ideological rearmament of the BCP with Leninism, with the Leninist strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle. Now our Party had a motto: The road of the Great October is the road to the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. Learning from the Bolsheviks, our Party resolutely cleansed itself of the vestiges of social-democratism and doctrinairism, adopting Leninism as its ideological, political and organizational weapon. Waging an irreconcilable struggle against Right-wing opportunism and Left-wing sectarianism, it grew as a mature Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Bulgarian working people. The Party creatively applied the Leninist teaching on the alliance of workers and peasants, on the establishment of a united front, which found expression in the heroic September anti-fascist uprising of 1923.

A whole galaxy of prominent Leninist leaders boundlessly devoted to the revolutionary cause and educated in the Leninist spirit was tempered in the grim class battles which the BCP waged in the difficult conditions of fascist reaction. Towering among them is the figure of Georgi Dimitrov. At the Leipzig trial he proclaimed the Leninist truth for the whole world to hear, and his report at the 7th Congress of the Comintern constituted creative development, in new conditions, of Lenin's teaching on rallying the masses into a powerful front against fascism and imperialism. The Popular Front tactics, successfully applied by a number of Communist parties, remains a powerful weapon of the world proletariat in the struggle for socialism and communism.

Under Dimitrov's guidance the BCP overcame leftist sectarianism and embarked upon the Leninist road. It learned how to work among the masses in the Bolshevik way, how to build a broad anti-fascist front, to combine struggle for the immediate and vital interests of the people with advance towards the ultimate goal—socialism and communism. In the years of the Second World War the Party of Bulgarian Communists united all patriotic forces in the Fatherland Front and mobilized them for an onslaught on fascism and capitalism. Working in extremely difficult political conditions it succeeded in organizing mass armed struggle against fascism and capitalism.

The Leninist strategy and tactics enabled the BCP to isolate politically fascism and other reactionary forces from the people and to score, with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Union, the

historic victory of September 9, 1944. The struggle was crowned with success because the Bolshevization of our Party had enabled it to fight fascism and capitalism on a broad front, winning over and rallying all possible allies, all the patriotic and democratic forces of our people, boldly and flexibly employing legal and illegal forms of struggle and confidently heading this struggle at its highest stage, that of armed rebellion.

The socialist revolution in Bulgaria was a repetition of the basic law-governed features that were first manifested during the October Revolution. The victory of socialism in Bulgaria is a triumph of the eternally alive and profoundly innovatory Leninist ideas of proletarian revolution. The BCP creatively applied the Leninist teaching on the leading role of the working class and the Communist party in socialist construction, the worker-peasant alliance, socialist industrialization, the role of cooperatives in the socialist reconstruction of small-scale commodity production, the cultural revolution and the moulding of a new man.

The Party ably developed, in our conditions, Marxism-Leninism and made its contribution to the enrichment of revolutionary theory. It displayed, on many occasions, its ability to subject Bulgarian reality to scientific analysis and creatively to solve ripe problems at every stage of socialist development. Our Party resolutely rejects all attempts to absolutize national peculiarities in the socialist revolution and to underestimate its universal laws. It repudiates the bourgeois thesis on "national communism." The BCP invariably abides by the Leninist proposition on the dialectical unity of national peculiarities and internationally common features in the scoialist revolution and in the building of a new society.

In the course of the many years of struggle the Party drew amply on the treasure-house of the experience of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, being convinced that this is a prerequisite for painless and more successful advance towards communism. At the same time the Party learned, the Lenin way, from its own experience of revolutionary struggle and socialist practice, analyzing and generalizing this experience and drawing theoretical conclusions.

Now as well, looking back on the path traversed by it, the BCP resolutely confirms that creative application of Lenin's ideas, of the Leninist strategy and tactics, of Lenin's plan for the building of socialism is the guarantee of the liberation of every people and every country from oppression and exploitation, from backwardness and dependence, and of the achievement of freedom and prosperity within a historically short space of time.

A creative approach to the Marxist-Leninist teaching enabled the BCP to discover people's democracy as a form of the dictator-

ship of the proletariat. Resting upon the unity of all democratic and patriotic forces united in the Fatherland Front, people's power in Bulgaria is a concrete expression of supreme, socialist democracy, internationalism and humanism. People's democracy is a powerful organizing force which mobilizes the working people in the building of a developed socialist society in Bulgaria.

With Leninist skill, the BCP carried out the socialist reconstruction of our economy. In the years of people's power, with the fraternal unselfish assistance of the Soviet Union, the socialist industrialization of the country was accomplished. The BCP ably applied the Leninist cooperative plan. Agricultural cooperatives provided a correct way, conforming to the conditions of the country, to the socialist reconstruction of the countryside. Modern large-scale socialist farming was organized which freed the Bulgarian peasants forever from exploitation and poverty. No longer a backward country, Bulgaria now ranks among the industrial-agrarian states of the world. Our people have forgotten what misery, hunger and unemployment mean. Their well-being has radically improved and continues to rise.

Guiding itself by Leninist principles, the Party accomplished a cultural revolution in Bulgaria. The entire ideological and cultural front — education, science, art — was remodelled along Marxist-Leninist lines. Great successes were achieved in the education and culture of our people. Bulgarian science became a factor of primary importance in the economic and other development of the country, and the achievements of Bulgarian socialist art won international recognition.

The implementation of the Leninist plan of socialist construction was accompanied by cardinal changes in the class structure and outlook of our society. The exploiting classes were eliminated; new, socialist classes friendly to each other were formed; new social relationships took shape. Deep changes occurred in the consciousness and psychology of the people. The vast majority of the working people became convinced supporters of socialism. The socio-political and ideological unity of workers, peasants and intellectuals finds a particularly vivid expression in their loyalty to the BCP, in their readiness to overcome, under its leadership, any difficulties on the road to communism. Popular unity is a powerful accelerator of our advance towards socialism, an insuperable barrier to any encroachment on our socialist fatherland.

The stupendous tasks tackled by the Party and the country can be carried out only with the most active participation of the masses. Only the socialist organization of society provides ample scope for the revolutionary energy and creative initiative of all working people, for ever greater democratization of social life.

Improvement and development of socialist democracy in the country is a constant concern of the BCP.

Our Party displays Leninist care for the communist education of the younger generation. The great Lenin is to the Bulgarian youth a model of ardent patriotism and consistent internationalism, a man boundlessly devoted to the cause of the Party and the people, to the ideas of communism.

It is characteristic of the BCP that at all stages of socialist construction, implementing Lenin's behests, it correctly determines the directions and trends of our development, timely and successfully solves urgent problems of social life, and resolutely removes weaknesses, shortcomings and obstacles to our advance. Our experience invariably shows that consolidation of the leading role of the Communist Party is an essential law-governed regularity of socialist construction. This role will go on growing in the struggle to implement the complex tasks of building a developed socialist society.

At its 5th Congress the BCP opened up, with Leninist boldness and consistently, unlimited prospects of Bulgaria's socialist development.

This development was powerfully stimulated by the historic decisions of the April plenum of the CC. These decisions, imbued with the spirit of Lenin's ideas, constituted a turning point in our work. Their implementation led to the restoration of Leninist norms, principles and methods in the leadership of the Party and in the life of the country, and conditions were created for the full development of the creative initiative and energy of the Party and the people. The tremendous successes which the People's Republic of Bulgaria has achieved in socialist construction would have been unthinkable without the process of renovation started by the April plenum.

Our country's post-April development has been characterized by constant perfection of the scientific approach to all aspects of the life of society. The 9th Congress of the Party ruled that the raising of the scientific level of Party leadership is "the main and, in a sense, new principle which has to be systematically affirmed and developed in the activity of our Party."

Leninist creative daring was vividly manifested by the July plenum of the CC, which constituted a new stage in the development and application of the principle of scientific guidance of social processes. The plenum worked out a comprehensive program of building a developed socialist society. It again convincingly demonstrated the Marxist-Leninist maturity of the Party, its ability to explain and solve, in a scientific way, the problems of our social development. The BCP firmly abides by Leninist principles in its foreign policy. It is a policy of unbreakable friendship with the Soviet

Union and other countries of the socialist world system, a policy of unity and solidarity with the Communist and Workers' parties of the world, of all-round support for the national liberation movement and cooperation with the developing countries, of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, of good-neighborly relations with the Balkan peoples.

Our Party is unshakably loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is doing everything to defend and strengthen the socialist system, to promote the development of the world revolutionary process. Approaching the question of patriotism in the Leninist way, it educates the people in the spirit of devotion to the country and readiness to serve it. It always associates patriotism with Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and internationalist solidarity. Unity of the socialist world system, cohesion with the CPSU and the Soviet Union—such is the main prerequisite for the victorious development of the struggle of the peoples for peace, democracy and social progress. Therefore the BCP is loyal, as before, to the behest of Georgi Dimitrov, who said:

"There is not, nor can there be, a more correct criterion than the attitude towards the Soviet Union for determining who is a friend and who is an enemy of the cause of the working class and socialism, who is a supporter and who is an opponent of democracy and peace. The attitude towards the great country of socialism is the touchstone of the sincerity and integrity of every leader of the working-class movement, every workers' party and organization of the working people, every democrat in the capitalist world."

The world has become the arena of a titanic struggle between the forces of progress and reaction. Imperialism endangers the life of millions of people; it tramples underfoot the freedom and independence of the peoples, creates hotbeds of war and tension in Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Europe, and tries to bar mankind's way to socialism and communism. In its adventuristic policy it stakes above all on splitting the revolutionary contingents, on disarming them ideologically. The danger of imperialism's aggressive policy can be eliminated only by the coordinated actions of all the progressive forces of the world. It is the supreme duty of every Communist, every progressive-minded person, of all those who believe in Lenin's ideas and Lenin's cause, to fight selflessly for the rallying of the Communist ranks, for the consolidation of the internationalist unity of the working people of the world. The front of imperialism must be countered with an increasingly powerful united front of the anti-imperialist forces with the socialist world system and the international Communist movement as its backbone. Such is the slogan by which the BCP guides itself. "We Bulgarian Communists," Todor Zhivkov declared at the 9th Congress, "take pride

in being part of the great army inspired by the immortal teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin to which we have been and will remain unshakably loyal."

Lenin's ideas illumine and guide the entire activity of the BCP. Under the banner of Lenin our country has achieved remarkable successes on the road to socialism. Boundless devotion to Leninism is a guarantee of our future victories. That is why the Bulgarian Communists and all working people will mark Lenin's 100th birth anniversary as their great holiday.

With a view to ensuring a nationwide celebration of the Lenin jubilee, the CC BCP *resolves:*

1. To launch large-scale political and organizing work in connection with the Lenin centenary. The celebration should become a fresh stimulus to a deep study of Lenin's theoretical heritage, to the education of the working people in the spirit of firm devotion to the ideas of Lenin, to the cause of the BCP, in the spirit of love of our country, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and our liberator and brother, the great Soviet Union, in the spirit of consistent proletarian internationalism and irreconcilability towards bourgeois ideology and morality, towards all deviations from Marxism-Leninism.

The Party committees of the districts, cities, factories, communes and institutions and the primary Party organizations will work out their plans and guide all the work in organizing the celebration.

2. To organize, throughout the country, the reading of lectures and mass cultural activities with the aim of popularizing the ideas and work of Lenin. To arrange meetings, exhibitions, film showings, theoretical conferences and other activities. High-ranking Party and state functionaries and public leaders will address the population with talks, lectures and reports. Slides and short-reel films devoted to Lenin will be prepared.

To invite prominent Soviet ideological workers to read lectures on Lenin's ideas and activities.

On the eve of the anniversary, meetings will be held in towns and villages.

3. The Party will focus its ideological and political work on tireless efforts to implement Lenin's immortal behests, stressing the boundless devotion of the Party to Marxism-Leninism, the uncompromising struggle it has been waging against Right and "Left" opportunism, for the rallying of the international Communist and working-class movement, its Leninist consistency in the fight against bourgeois ideology and anti-communism. To show Lenin's historic role as a brilliant thinker and revolutionary, the founder of the party of a new type, the leader of the greatest revolution in mankind's history, the founder of the first state of workers and

peasants, the leader of the international working-class and Communist movement. To note the remarkable successes achieved by the Soviet people in the building of communism, the contribution of the CPSU and the Soviet Union to the development of the world revolutionary process and to the defense of universal peace. Vividly to illustrate the role of Leninism in the socialist reconstruction of our country, the primary importance of common laws of socialist construction and their specific manifestation in Bulgaria.

To stress, firmly and convincingly, that Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and cooperation is a guarantee of our socialist successes, a source of the victories and prosperity of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

4. To recommend to the Dimitrov Communist Youth League to organize large-scale political and educational work, in the spirit of Lenin's ideas, among young people and children. Lenin's life and work should become a great example for the younger generation. The League should give more effective assistance to Bulgarian young men and women in mastering Lenin's ideas, and intensify its work in educating them in the Leninist spirit as active builders of socialist society, as ardent patriots and internationalists.

5. To recommend to the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the National Committee of Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, the Bulgarian Women's Committee, the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union of Physical Culture and Sport, the Bulgarian Tourist Union and other mass organizations to arrange various activities in connection with the Lenin centenary.

6. To appeal to the workers of the theoretical front to explain still more comprehensively the historical role of Lenin's ideas in the development of Bulgaria along the socialist road, to tackle the most topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory having primary importance for further socialist construction and for the perfection of socialist democracy, to study and generalize the processes of the world revolutionary movement. The institutes of humanitarian sciences of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the Institute of the History of the BCP, the Higher Party School and the ideological departments of higher schools will hold scientific conferences and publish monographs, articles, etc., on these problems.

7. Further successes in socialist construction will be the best expression of our gratitude to Lenin for the great cause initiated by him. The nationwide movement in connection with the 25th anniversary of September 9 should develop into socialist emulation, dedicated to the Lenin jubilee, for the realization of the tasks set by the 9th Party Congress and the July plenum of the CC.

The Central Council of Trade Unions and the Central Cooperative Union will work out measures to ensure that the Lenin centenary

should be worthily greeted by the bodies of workers. Special attention should be paid to promoting the movement for communist labor, for the solution of the problems connected with technological progress and scientific management and organization of production.

8. To approve the proposed measures for the implementation of the resolution adopted by the Political Bureau of the CC on July 29, 1965.

9. The Ministry of Communications will issue stamps dedicated to the Lenin jubilee.

10. The editorial boards of Party publications and all other periodicals will work out plans for the publication of articles and other material connected with the Lenin jubilee and describing Lenin's life and activities, the struggle of the BCP to carry out Lenin's behests and the influence of Leninism on the revolutionary and national liberation struggles of the peoples.

The Bulgarian Radio and Television will work out programs devoted to Lenin's activities and ideological heritage.

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party is confident that the Communists and all working people of our country will mark the Lenin centenary by new major successes in all areas of socialist construction. The great behests of the leader and teacher of the world proletariat have been and will remain the lodestar in the struggle of our Party and people for socialism and communism.

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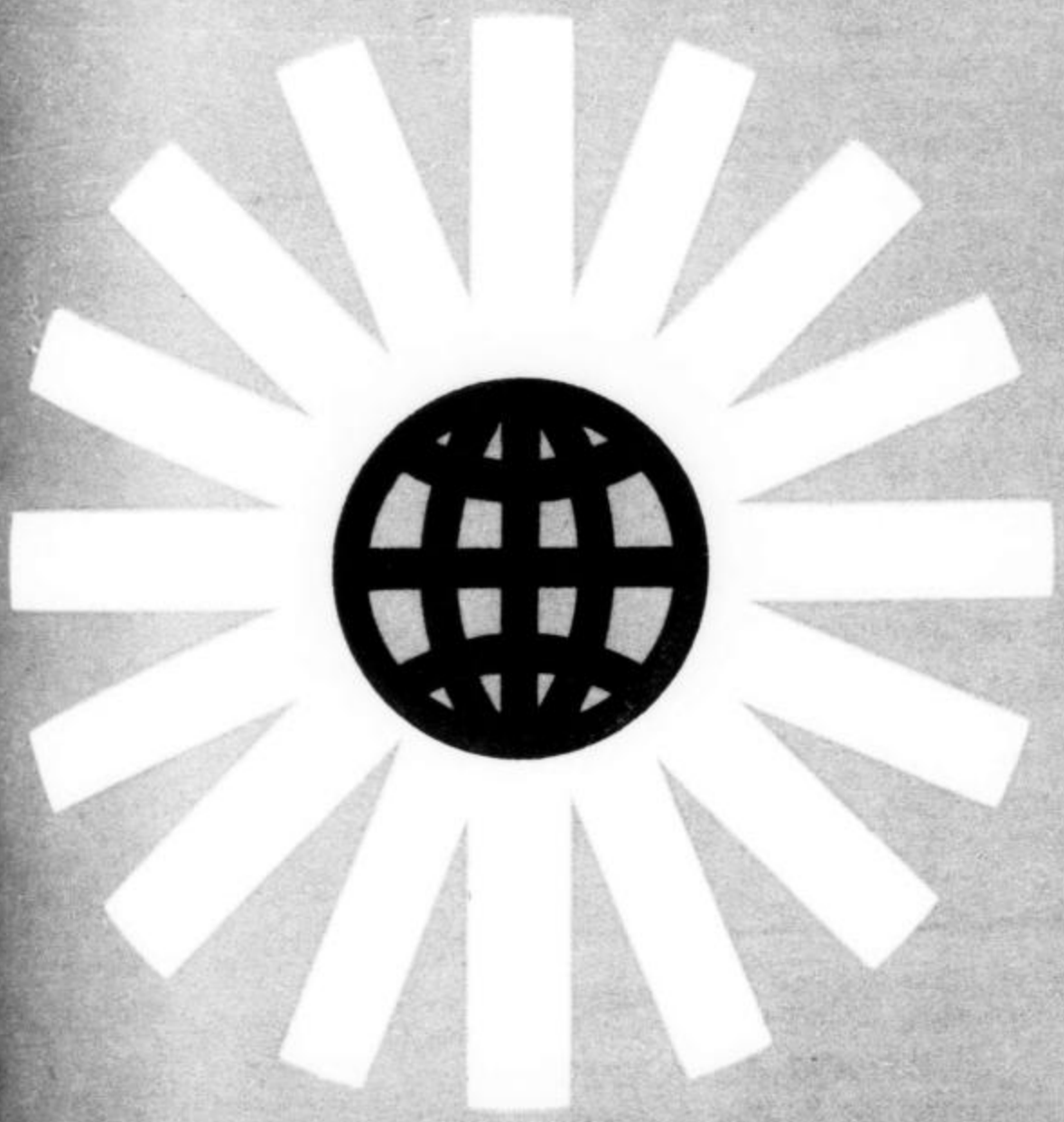

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# LANDMARK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT

## FRATERNAL PARTIES ASSESS THE RESULTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

## BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party regards the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties as a major success of the international Communist movement and the progressive and democratic forces in their common fight against imperialism, for peace, national independence and socialism. The Meeting, prepared and held in a spirit of collective work, democracy and loyalty to Communist principle, marked a new important stage in furthering the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The CC BCP hails the will for closer unity expressed by the brother parties. It thinks highly of their revolutionary experience, of which they spoke at the Meeting, and their desire to uphold the purity of the invincible Marxist-Leninist theory against Right- and "Left"-wing revisionism and against nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

The Central Committee of the Party fully subscribes to the criticisms offered by the delegations of brother parties and by our delegation, and to their stand on the present Chinese leaders' extremely dangerous anti-Marxist, chauvinist and anti-Soviet foreign policy and divisive activity.

The CC plenum notes with deep satisfaction that the greatest contribution to the successful preparation and fruitful work of the Meeting was made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The outstanding speech delivered by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, played an important part in assuring the success of the Meeting. By virtue of its comprehensive treatment of problems, its principled and realistic approach and its constructive spirit this speech is of programmatic significance to the revolutionary movement of today.

The Meeting was a vivid demonstration of the brother parties' esteem and love for the great Lenin's Party, the vanguard and teacher of all the fraternal Communist parties, the main unifying force of our movement, and for the Soviet Union, the mightiest stronghold

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**Rabotnichesko Delo,** July 3, 1969.

of the peoples in the fight against imperialism, for peace, freedom, independence and socialism.

The Plenum has a high opinion of the documents adopted by the Meeting. The Main Document, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggles Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces," is a product of the mature collective Marxist-Leninist thought and vast experience of the brother parties. By defining the strategy and tactics of the international Communist and working-class movement and other anti-imperialist forces in present conditions, it furnishes the revolutionary movement with a specific and effective political program for united action against imperialism. It contributes to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and stimulates work on new important problems of theory and ideology.

The Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" forcefully and convincingly stresses the loyalty of the Communists of the world to Leninism; its international significance makes for greater ideological unity of the Communist and Workers' parties. The Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!" and the "Appeal in Defense of Peace" are expressive of the militant traditions of the Communist and working-class movement and its international solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence, of its readiness to continue championing with might and main the cause of peace and social renewal of the world.

The Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties showed that despite difficulties the world Communist movement is growing and gaining strength, establishing itself as the most influential revolutionary force of our times.

The Plenum of the CC BCP resolves:

1. To put on record its unanimous approval of the results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969, and the documents adopted by it.

The BCP will carry on its activity in line with the estimations, principles and fundamental propositions of the Main Document and the other documents of the Meeting.

2. To approve the activity of the BCP delegation to the Meeting. The Plenum notes with satisfaction our Party's contribution to the success of the Meeting. The Central Committee greatly appreciates the speech delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, leader of the delegation, a speech inspired by the revolutionary internationalist traditions of our Party, by unqualified, Blagoyevist-Dimitrovist loyalty and devotion to the great communist cause. The speech makes out a strong case for the stand of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the most urgent problems of the world Communist movement and the anti-imperialist fight.

3. The foreign policy of the Party and the country should continue to serve closer unity of the international Communist and working-class movement and the socialist commonwealth, stronger fraternal friendship between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union and more extensive relations with the developing countries, giving full support to all anti-imperialist forces in promoting the world revolutionary process. Our international activity should always take into account the requirements of the class struggle against imperialism and against manifestations of opportunism, anti-Sovietism and nationalism, which are incompatible with the interests of the Communist movement and the anti-imperialist fight.

4. To intensify and carry deeper theoretical investigation and elucidation of the more important problems of today by the Party and the ideological front as a whole. Our theorists and those active in the sphere of social science should contribute in important measure to the elaboration and theoretical basing of the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement and the anti-imperialist struggle, of new phenomena in the evolution of imperialism, the role of the socialist world system, the social, economic and political problems posed by the scientific and technological revolution, the vanguard role of the working class, the youth and student movement in the capitalist countries. To carry on uncompromising struggle against opportunism, revisionism and other deviations from our revolutionary theory with greater vigor and on a higher theoretical level.

5. To launch extensive popularization and study of the documents of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. To hold to this end district conferences of Party activists and public meetings of the branch organizations. The press, radio and television should do more to discuss and elucidate topical problems of the world Communist and working-class movement and to expose bourgeois propaganda fabrications and anti-communism, imperialist ideological subversion, and "Left"- and Right-wing revisionism.

6. The Central Committee stresses that the principal task of Communists and all working people, of the Party, government and economic bodies, is to work harder in building a developed socialist society in our country. Progress in building socialism in Bulgaria constitutes our people's big internationalist contribution to a stronger socialist system and Communist and working-class movement, to the anti-imperialist fight and the world revolutionary process.

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party calls on all Communists and Young Communists and on our whole people to mark the 25th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the centenary of the great Lenin's birth by extending the nationwide emulation to fulfil and exceed economic plans, and to

score new important gains in every sphere of socialist development in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

## HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

A Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party opened on June 6, 1969.

Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the HSWP CC, reported on the work of the Hungarian delegation at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969.

The Central Committee discussed the report of the delegation, unanimously endorsed it and wholly approved the delegation's activity at the Meeting.

It is the opinion of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party that the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was an historic event in the international Communist and workers' movement. It was a very important step forward in the unremitting struggle of the fraternal Parties against imperialism, for social progress, national independence, socialism, peace, cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces and stronger unity of the international Communist movement.

The Central Committee fully accepts the very important documents adopted at the Meeting: "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces," "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!," "Appeal in Defense of Peace" and the address of the Meeting in connection with the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth. The Central Committee supports all statements of solidarity adopted by the Meeting.

The Central Committee attaches exceptional importance to the fact that the international Communist and workers' movement has a collectively elaborated common political platform for carrying out vital tasks. The fulfilment of the tasks formulated in the adopted documents, primarily in the Main Document of the Meeting, will be largely conducive to the success of the international Communist movement and at the same time assist all Communist and Workers' Parties operating in specific conditions.

In the Main Document the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties gave a correct and principled appraisal of the world situation, the correlation of forces and the basic trends of development, and worked out very important urgent tasks of the

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**Nepszabadsag, June 27, 1969.**

anti-imperialist struggle. All this makes the unity of all anti-imperialist forces more effective.

The Central Committee considers that the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was essential for summing up the militant experience of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, which, guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, are struggling for common objectives in diverse conditions. It welcomes and highly assesses the fact that during the preparations for the Meeting and at the Meeting itself the principles of complete equality and autonomy of the fraternal Parties, free comradeship, democracy and collectivism were fully implemented. This gave all Parties without exception a feeling of satisfaction and created the conditions for fruitful activity.

The Central Committee notes that the Meeting itself and the active participation of 75 Parties in it are vastly important and will have a mobilizing effect both on the activity of all Communist and Workers' Parties as a whole, and on the work of individual Parties. The Meeting demonstrated the fact that despite the differences which still exist over certain issues, all fraternal Parties who took part in it are at one in their desire to resolve common international problems.

The Central Committee believes that from the point of view of joint struggle in present-day historical conditions the Meeting did much to strengthen proletarian internationalism and to enhance the cohesion and solidarity of the fraternal Parties. The Meeting also clearly showed—and this is of enormous fundamental political importance—that the fraternal Parties' trust and respect for the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, the mainstay of peace and progress, have increased.

The Hungarian Communists are grateful to the fraternal Parties for their appreciation of the work performed by the HSWP during the preparations for the Meeting. By carrying out this work the HSWP fulfilled its internationalist duty.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party considers it its duty to elucidate as widely as possible the tasks set out in the documents of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and will make every effort to mobilize for their fulfilment the members of our Party, all our people who are building socialism.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Hungarian people who are building socialism, are continuing to fight resolutely against imperialism, for progress, peace, cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces, and for greater unity of the international Communist movement.

Guided by their internationalist convictions, they will continue to act in this struggle together with all other Communist and Work-

ers' Parties, with the Soviet Union and all peoples building socialism. In keeping with the common stand jointly worked out at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, we reaffirm our solidarity with the heroic embattled Vietnamese people, the Arab peoples, the peoples of Europe who are working for peace and collective security, with all those who in various parts of the world are working for the just cause, for freedom and peace.

The Central Committee considers that our Communists, all our people engaged in building socialism, must link up their work and struggle for internationalist objectives with the effective accomplishment of domestic tasks. Our Party, our working class, the Hungarian people can and will work together for a better future, for international progress most effectively by duly performing their constructive tasks, and successfully building socialist society.

## SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was an event of worldwide historic significance. It was held at a decisive stage in the global confrontation between the forces of peace, democracy and socialism and the forces of imperialism and reaction. The representatives of the 75 Communist and Workers' Parties who met in Moscow gave a Marxist-Leninist assessment of the trend of world developments in the past nine years, analyzed the present international balance of forces and oriented the Communist and Workers' Parties, all anti-imperialist forces towards a further offensive against imperialism, towards action for a radiant future for mankind, free of imperialist wars, oppression and exploitation.

The Political Bureau declares that it is in full accord with the results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. It approves the activity of the SUPG delegation led by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, and expresses its thanks to the delegation for its constructive activity at the International Meeting, which serves the unity and cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties, of all anti-imperialist forces.

1. The Moscow Meeting was the answer of the world Communist movement—the biggest ideological and political movement of our time—to the vital problems agitating peoples. Basing themselves on the Marxist-Leninist theory and the inexhaustible practical

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**Neues Deutschland,** June 25, 1969.

experience of all contingents of the world Communist movement, the Communist and Workers' Parties showed the way to resolving the key problems of our day. In the Main Document of the International Meeting and in the course of the big collective discussion at the Meeting the Parties gave a comprehensive analysis of the new phenomena in international developments. The revolutionary vanguard of the international working-class movement offers the peoples a universal program of action, a program of struggle against imperialism, and in the Appeal in Defense of Peace and the Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace in Vietnam!" it outlines the most important tasks on the decisive sectors of this struggle.

On the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation and its main trends, the documents of the International Meeting link the immediate tasks in the fight against imperialism with the ultimate goal of the revolutionary working-class movement —the triumph of socialism.

In a collective and creative spirit the Communist and Workers' Parties elaborated their strategy and tactics, the course of their joint struggle in accordance with the requirements of the new situation.

2. The International Meeting laid the beginning of a new stage in promoting and cementing unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties. Thanks to thorough and collective preparatory work, to a broad exchange of practical experience, comradely discussion of the basic issues of theory and policy of the Communist and Workers' Parties during the preparations for the International Meeting and at the Meeting itself, a major contribution was made towards reaching a common Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and practical unity of action of the Communist and Workers' Parties. The Meeting revealed the strong desire of the Communist and Workers' Parties for united action, for political and ideological cohesion on the basis of our invincible doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, and in conformity with the principles of proletarian internationalism.

3. Thanks to a creative, all-round exchange of views and experience the International Meeting added to the knowledge and experience of the entire international Communist movement and of each fraternal party. The Meeting demonstrated to the world the Marxist-Leninist maturity and sense of responsibility of the Communist and Workers' Parties in all countries.

The experience of the selfless work of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the experience of the Communist and Workers' Parties heading the class struggle and the struggle of the peoples in the developed capitalist countries and on the fronts of the national revolutionary liberation movement, proves the universal character and relevance of Marxism-Leninism, of the basic laws of social development.

The Address on the centenary of the birth of Lenin, which was enthusiastically adopted by the Meeting, reaffirms the significance of Leninism as the Marxism of our time, as the most effective weapon for accomplishing the historical tasks of our epoch. This fundamental document orients the fraternal parties on a worldwide offensive of Marxism-Leninism and its living propaganda, on stepping up their ideological and theoretical work, on waging a consistent struggle in defense of our scientific world outlook against all Right and Left opportunist distortions, against revisionism, dogmatism and Left-sectarian adventurism. By conclusively demonstrating the high degree of accord in the Communist and Workers' Parties and by showing the way to overcoming in a constructive manner and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism the existing differences of opinion, the International Meeting has become for the Communist and anti-imperialist forces of all countries a source of optimism and confidence in ultimate victory.

4. On the basis of the historical success of the three principal revolutionary streams of our time, the International Meeting proved how essential it was to intensify the offensive against the main enemy of mankind—imperialism—and what new possibilities existed for this. The Communists of all countries stressed the decisive role in this struggle of the socialist world system and its most powerful force, the Soviet Union. The representatives of the fraternal parties expressed their warm support of the CPSU, the party of Lenin, and of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state which as the builder of communism is today, more so than ever before, blazing the trail for mankind. History itself has put the Leninist CPSU in the vanguard of the international Communist movement. The prestige and authority of the CPSU whose patient, convincing and principled policy during the preparations for the Meeting and at the Meeting itself served as a guiding and unifying factor, are now higher than ever before. The speech of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, is a landmark showing the direction in which to develop the theory, strategy and tactics of the international revolutionary working-class movement.

The International Meeting sets before the Communist and Workers' Parties and before the peoples of the socialist states the task of speeding up the socialist world system's contribution to the common anti-imperialist struggle mainly by rapidly developing the national economy, using to the full the advantages of the socialist social system, further promoting cooperation and integration of the socialist states and by moving in step with the technological revolution.

The Meeting stated that socialism alone is able to resolve the

basic problems of humanity. It proclaimed defense of socialism the internationalist duty of all Communists.

5. The great success of the world forum of Communist and Workers' Parties gives new impetus to all anti-imperialist forces. It has dealt a heavy blow at imperialism's plans. U.S. imperialism stands exposed as a world exploiter and gendarme. The Communists analyzed imperialism's aggressive global strategy which is spearheaded at the socialist states, and its insidious policy of subversion and infiltration directed against the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the community of socialist states. They exposed the imperialist system of psychological warfare and ideological diversion. The Communist and Workers' Parties warned mankind against the adventurist and aggressive policy of imperialism which is trying through the maximum concentration of economic, military and political power and new adventures to arrest the historical process spelling its doom. The Meeting calls on the working class, democratic revolutionary forces and all peoples to unite and act jointly.

"To curb the aggressors and liberate mankind from imperialism is the mission of the working class, of all the anti-imperialist forces fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism." Proceeding from their keen sense of responsibility for the cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties, of all the anti-imperialist forces, the fraternal parties at the International Meeting gave a fitting rebuff to the divisive and great-power chauvinist policy of the Mao Tse-tung group. At the so-called Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China, complete departure from Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's line were declared official policy. Spearheaded against the Soviet Union, and the other socialist states, against the entire world Communist movement, this policy objectively encourages imperialism. The Communist and Workers' Parties discussed the new situation that has arisen as a result of the so-called Ninth Congress of the CPC and which is seriously affecting the general world situation and the anti-imperialist struggle. They called upon all honest Chinese Communists to put an end to the baneful policy of their present leaders and through joint actions against imperialism to find a way to unity with the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries.

6. At the International Meeting the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties spoke of the high appreciation their peoples have for the consistent policy of the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist state of the German nation. They expressed their solidarity with the policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany aimed at further reinforcing the bulwark of socialism and peace on German soil, and against the expansionist and revanchist policy of West German imperialism.

The International Meeting rightly denounced the aggressive policy

of West German imperialism—the main source of the threat to peace and security in Europe. It exposed the attempts to camouflage this policy with the help of the Social-Democrat ministers in the Bonn government.

The Political Bureau of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party wishes to thank all fraternal parties for their solidarity with the GDR in its fight against West German revanchism and militarism. The detailed program of action to establish a system of European security, to secure inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, particularly the Oder-Neisse frontier and the frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR, calling for the international legal recognition of the GDR, for preventing West Germany from securing nuclear weapons in any form, for the renunciation by West Germany of all claims to represent the whole of Germany, recognition of West Berlin as a special political entity, recognition that the Munich diktat was invalid from the very outset and the banning of all neo-nazi organizations—this program is an integral part of the universal program of action against imperialism.

The results of the International Meeting infuse the members and candidate members of our Party, the working class, the class of cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia, all our citizens who are working for the good of our socialist state, with new energy, with new strength in building a developed socialist system in the GDR in conformity with the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the SUPG.

The Socialist Unity Party declares that it wholly and fully stands by the obligations undertaken at the International Meeting concerning the joint anti-imperialist struggle, approves the documents adopted at the Meeting and considers them a guide to action. We shall continue to make our contribution towards victory in the worldwide confrontation between socialism and imperialism by strengthening in every way the German Democratic Republic as an integral part of the socialist community and as a reliable ally of all anti-imperialist forces.

Of fundamental importance in this respect is fulfilment of economic targets, of the 1969 plan and blueprinting the 1970 plan which will pave the way to the future long-term plan.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee calls on all Party organizations, on all comrades in government bodies, in the National Front of Democratic Germany, in public organizations, in industry and agriculture, in scientific institutions, in the spheres of culture and art, systematically and thoroughly to study, together with all citizens, the theoretical riches, political experience and lofty ideas of the documents and materials of the International Meeting. Of great help in this respect are seminars, conferences and other forms of joint study and discussion.

Working thoroughly and comprehensively in the political and

ideological spheres in the spirit of our victorious Marxist-Leninist doctrine and true to our internationalist obligations, let us meet the 20th anniversary of our German Democratic Republic with new victories.

## MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONAY PARTY

Having heard and discussed the report of the First Secretary of the CC MPRP, Y. Tsedenbal, on the results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969, the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the MPRP notes with deep satisfaction that the Moscow Meeting has been an event of great historical significance for the further development of the struggle against imperialism and constitutes an important stage in strengthening the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

The results of the Moscow Meeting which passed in a spirit of internationalism and comradely cooperation, in an atmosphere of equality and mutual trust, showed the firm will and resolve of the fraternal parties to unite on the basis of the struggle for the common cause, refuted the hopes and calculations of those who are staking on a split in the international Communist movement.

The documents adopted by the Meeting are a powerful weapon for all the contingents of the revolutionary movement in their offensive against the forces of imperialist reaction. These documents and the statements of many delegates enrich the revolutionary theory with generalizations of the new historical experience and constitute an important contribution to the elaboration of strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialist struggle at the present stage.

Of signal importance is the Document "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces" adopted by the Meeting. It gives a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist analysis of world development, discloses the essence of modern imperialism and its policy, appraises the role and the nature of the problems with which the forces confronting it—the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement—have to contend. This Document is a militant program of struggle defining the specific tasks to be fulfilled by the anti-imperialist forces and the ways of strengthening unity of action of the Communist movement.

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**Unen,** July 4, 1969.

Unanimous adoption by the Meeting of the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam," the Appeal in Defense of Peace and other documents was an inspiring manifestation of the fraternal solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, of their determination to continue their joint actions against the forces of imperialist reaction and aggression, for peace and national liberation.

The Plenary Meeting of the CC MPRP attaches exceptional importance to the document, "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin." This fundamental document focusses the attention of Communist and Workers' Parties on the need to unfold active propaganda of the ideas of Leninism, resolutely defend the principles of this internationalist teaching in the struggle against any adversaries and intensify political and ideological work among the masses.

The Central Committee of the MPRP fully supports the Meeting's assessment of the historical role of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, of its enormous contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle as the principal and powerful mainstay of the modern revolutionary movement, and of the tremendous significance of the headway in communist upbuilding in the USSR and the efforts of the CPSU to strengthen the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Sincere solidarity with the Soviet Union and its Leninist Party is a component of proletarian internationalism, and a most important criterion of loyalty to the ideals and goals of our common struggle. The Communists and the working people of the MPR will continue their consistent efforts to further the all-round strengthening and development of fraternal Mongolian-Soviet friendship and to combat any attempts to undermine it.

The Meeting stressed that the difficulties in the Communist movement should be overcome by enhancing joint concerted actions against imperialism and strengthening the cooperation of the fraternal parties. Resolute struggle against revisionism, dogmatism and nationalism is an essential condition for rallying Communists on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

In their speeches at the Meeting representatives of the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties justly criticized the Mao group's foreign policy, exposed the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and anti-Soviet content of its splitting policy and subversive activity which gravely injure the world revolutionary movement.

The Plenary Meeting of the CC MPRP unanimously reaffirms our Party's stand on this issue set forth in the statement of its delegation at the Meeting. The MPRP will conduct a principled struggle against the anti-Marxist, great-power chauvinistic policy and hostile actions of the present Chinese leaders, and at the same time will work to strengthen the friendship of the Mongolian and Chinese peoples and maintain normal relations between the two countries.

Members of the MPRP and the people of the MPR wholeheartedly approve the results of the Meeting which will undoubtedly contribute to the consolidation of the Communist movement, enhancing its strength and influence and mobilizing the Communists and the masses for active struggle against imperialism.

The Plenary Meeting of the CC MPRP resolves:

1. To approve the political course and the practical activity of the MPRP delegation at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties as being fully in line with our Party's foreign policy and its internationalist tasks.

2. To approve the documents adopted at the Meeting: "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces," "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin," "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam" and "Appeal in Defense of Peace."

3. The Plenary Meeting considers that it is necessary, in line with the conclusions and principles formulated in the documents of the Meeting, to do everything possible to promote the common struggle of the anti-imperialist forces and strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, develop and stimulate bilateral and multilateral ties in all fields with fraternal parties and all revolutionary forces, particularly in coordinating joint actions in the international arena, improving mutual information and pooling of experience.

4. To accomplish the tasks set out in the Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!," the "Appeal in Defense of Peace," and other documents, the Plenary Meeting of the CC MPRP makes it incumbent on Party, state and public organizations to launch extensive and many-sided campaigns to enhance solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people, with all peoples who are victims of imperialist aggression and with the victims of terror and arbitrary rule in capitalist countries, to safeguard peace and combat the threat of a world thermonuclear war.

5. An important conclusion to be drawn from the results of the Meeting is the need to intensify the Party's ideological activities. In the light of the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" and the resolution "On the Preparations for the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin" passed by the CC MPRP, the cornerstone of ideological and political work should be extensive propaganda of Leninism, the education of Party members and the people in the spirit of profound ideological conviction and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology and any form of opportunism, in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The Plenary Meeting of the CC MPRP instructs all Party organizations to organize a thorough study of the materials of the Meeting by all Party members and to popularize the results of the Meeting through the press, radio, TV and oral propaganda.

6. Supporting the proposals advanced at the Meeting for an extension of the joint elaboration and discussion of urgent theoretical problems by fraternal parties, the CC MPRP considers it necessary to enhance the role of the ideological institutions of our Party and our scientists in working out vital problems of the Communist movement, the national liberation struggle, socialist revolution and socialist upbuilding.

7. The Plenum of the CC MPRP instructs the aimak and town committees of the Party to discuss the results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties at meetings of the activists of aimak and town Party organizations.

8. Considering that the MPR's successes in socialist construction are our main contribution to the common anti-imperialist struggle and the might of the world socialist community, the Plenary Meeting of CC MPRP calls upon all Party members and working people more fully to mobilize their forces in order to achieve the targets of the fourth five-year plan of the economic and cultural development of the MPR.

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The Plenary Meeting of the CC MPRP is firmly convinced that by their selfless labor the Mongolian people, who have once again demonstrated their monolithic unity with their Party and Government in the recent elections to the Grand People's Khural and local government bodies, will gain fresh successes in the fulfilment of the historical tasks set by the 15th Congress of the MPRP, and fittingly mark the great anniversary—the centenary of V. I. Lenin, the brilliant leader and teacher of the working people of the world —and the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian People's Revolution.

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has discussed the report of the delegaiton of the CC CPC on the results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held from June 5 to 17, 1969 in Moscow.

It approved the statement and the general activity of the delegation of the CC CPC which were in line with the decisions of the

**Rude Pravo, June 21, 1969.**

Central Committee's plenary meeting in May. Thus the Czechoslovak delegation actively contributed to the success of this important meeting of Communists from all parts of the world.

The Presidium of the CC CPC supports all conclusions drawn by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. It views the documents adopted there as the point of departure for the Party's political and ideological activity, as a component of its domestic and foreign policy.

In its policy the CPC will consistently abide by the conclusions of the Moscow Meeting. It will continue to work for stronger unity of action of the Communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and for more extensive cooperation with all anti-imperialist, democratic and freedom-loving forces.

In our opinion it has been an undoubted success that 75 Communist and Workers' Parties have actively participated in the work of the International Meeting. The constructively orientated program of the Meeting, its course and results dashed the hopes and calculations of both overt and covert enemies of unity of the Communist movement, social progress, socialism, democracy and peace. The fruitful interaction of the fraternal Parties in tackling the problems taken up at the Moscow Meeting proves that the Communist Parties have found the correct way of achieving greater unity of the movement and further developing their activity on a world scale, and enhancing the unifying role of the Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism.

The Presidium of the CC CPC is confident that the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties has made an important step forward in elucidating very complex issues of the anti-imperialist struggle and in the search for effective means and methods of consolidating unity of action and enhancing the efficiency of Communist and Workers' Parties. The broad exchange of views and experience between fraternal parties, undoubtedly, made for a better understanding of the different conditions in which they are operating and of the viewpoints which they uphold. This has created a more promising atmosphere for further constructive, businesslike and principled discussions, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of all practical and theoretical issues of the movement.

The Presidium of the CC CPC attaches great importance to the results of the Meeting since they create favorable conditions for solving outstanding problems on which there is still no consensus. The Presidium is convinced that the existing differences in views can be overcome through comradely discussions between the fraternal parties, and subsequently to arrive at a common position. We consider that the Meeting was justified in criticizing the splitting

actvity of the Communist Party of China whose policy weakens and undermines the integral anti-imperialist front.

The keynote of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was the spirit of proletarian international solidarity and the constructive efforts of all parties present to unite on the basis of their common interests and tasks in the struggle against imperialism. Acting along these lines the International Meeting accomplished its mission. The proceedings of the Meeting, the documents it adopted, and the broad, democratic discussion in which all Parties enjoyed complete equality, were in keeping with the requirements and interests of Communist and Workers' Parties. The delegations of almost all Communist and Workers' Parties agreed on the most important trends and objectives of the anti-imperialist struggle and found an effective, collective way of rallying all revolutionary forces in their further class struggle against the monopolies, exploitation, all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism and war.

To fulfil these tasks the Presidium of the CC CPC approved a range of practical measures making it incumbent on all Party bodies and organizations, Communists in the Government and in the organizations of the National Front to familiarize themselves with the proceedigs and the results of the International Meeting of Communist Workers' Parties and to promote ideological education in the spirit of its documents. What this means above all is the need for an understanding and application of the principles of proletarian internationalism in the day-to-day activity of our Party and of each Communist.

Of particular significance is the document "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" which will guide the ideological education of Party members in the spirit of Lenin's teaching. The Presidium of the CC CPC has instructed the corresponding departments of the CC CPC, Communists working in the Foreign Ministry, in the field of social sciences and in the mass media to apply the decisions of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in their spheres of activity in a way that would enable the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to contribute most effectively to the implementation of the complex tasks of the struggle against modern imperialism, for socialism, social progress, democracy and peace among nations.

## FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

A Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, having heard a report by Comrade Georges Marchais, approves the activity of the

French Communist Party delegation led by the Party's General Secretary Waldeck Rochet at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The French Communist Party believes that the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties is a great success for the international Communist movement, the vanguard in the fight against imperialism, and for peace, independence and socialism. The Meeting is also an important stage in strengthening the unity of the Communist Parties and all other anti-imperialist forces. The efforts to strengthen unity, an earnest of fresh successes in the people's fight for freedom, security and welfare, must be continued. The FCP will act resolutely in this direction.

The FCP will base its action on the theses and principles formulated in the Main Document of the Meeting, "The Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces." The FCP Central Committee welcomes the collective and democratic methods which were used in preparing the Meeting and which found expression in the course of its work, and approves this important Document, which is a valuable contribution to the struggle of the Communists, to the struggle of the peoples of the world. The FCP Central Committee calls on all Party members to study and spread the ideas of the Document.

Loyal to proletarian internationalism, the French Communist Party will actively promote the achievement of the great aims defined by the Meeting.

For the successful fulfilment of its national and international tasks, the FCP will continue tirelessly to fight both the Leftist deviation and the adventurism which above all marks the chauvinistic policy of the Chinese leaders, and also the Rightist opportunist tendencies.

The FCP will develop ties of friendship, solidarity and cooperation with all the fraternal parties on the basis of the principles set out at the Meeting. The FCP will work for the cohesion of all the anti-imperialist forces in the fight for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

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**L'Humanité, June 30, 1969.**

## ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The ICP Leadership fully approves the activity of the delegation to the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and expresses its satisfaction at the course and results of the Meeting.

The Meeting made it possible to hold a broad and frank exchange of views on the situation in the world and in the Communist movement. It revealed the essential unity of the parties attending the Meeting on pressing tasks in the anti-imperialist struggle. The method used showed that it is possbile to achieve concrete unitarian goals of struggle even if there are differences over ideological and political issues.

This is why the ICP Leadership regards the results of the Moscow Meeting as a considerable advance towards strengthening proletarian internationalism on new foundations meeting the exigencies of the present situation.

The ICP Leadership calls on the whole Party to fulfil the tasks set by the Meeting, the first concrete stage of which is Vietnam Solidarity Day on July 20. It has resolved to enliven bilateral and multilateral relations with brother parties and to contribute its share to the joint struggle and the initiatives whose necessity was reaffirmed by the Meeting, so as to add depth to theoretical quests and discussions in connection with important economic, social and political problems of the contemporary world, specifically problems of the fight for socialism in the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe.

**L'Unita,** June 21, 1969.

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

The Political Bureau of the CPF Central Committee, having heard the report of the delegation of the Communist Party of Finland which attended the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, has taken a decision approving the activity of its delegation at the International Meeting. The Political Bureau recommends that the Central Committee should approve the documents of the International Meeting: "The Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all Anti-Imperialist Forces," the Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!," the "Appeal in Defense of Peace" and the Address "Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin."

The Political Bureau believes that the Meeting and the results of its work are of great positive significance. The International Meeting testifies to the strength and universal importance of the international Communist movement. No other socio-political movement today

**Kansan Uutiset,** June 27, 1969.

has such a considerable influence on social development as the international Communist movement. The International Meeting and its results help further to strengthen the unity of our movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The documents approved by the International Meeting, notably the Main Document, which the CPF delegation endorsed and signed, set out the common stand of all the Communist and Workers' Parties which participated in the Meeting—the most pressing and important task in the present conditions is to strengthen the solidarity and cooperation of the Communist Parties of the world in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism, and against imperialism and its dangerous aggressive policy. United action by the Communist Parties in the anti-imperialist struggle helps to create a strong foundation for extensive cooperation between the most diverse forces fighting against imperialism, and for the security and independence of nations, for social progress.

The Political Bureau of the CPF Central Committee is sure that the program of action in the anti-imperialist struggle approved by the Meeting is fully in line with the interests of the working class and working sections of the population of Finland, and with the country's national interests as a whole.

The Political Bureau recommends that all district and primary organizations of the CPF, and urges that all the Party's members and friends, should study the documents approved by the International Meeting, and take active steps to extend the broad anti-imperialist front in Finland, to strengthen the cooperation of the working class and the democratic forces for peace and the security of nations.

Of the utmost importance is a more vigorous campaign of solidarity with the Vietnamese people, a fight for a collective security system in Europe on the basis of the equality and sovereignty of states, and for recognition of the German Democratic Republic.

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

The Central Committee acknowledges the statement on the Moscow Meeting of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties made by Comrade Muhri, Chairman of the Party. It welcomes the success of the Meeting and approves the position and speech of the CPA delegation.

The frank, democratic and comradely debate at the international Meeting heightened mutual trust between the Communist parties which attended it and created better conditions for cooperation

with the parties that did not attend. The preparations and the Meeting itself led to new contacts between brother parties. The extensive exchange of opinions and experiences that took place was useful in clarifying problems and the conditions in which the various Communist parties have to operate, and thus helped to overcome differences and strengthen unity.

The information which various delegations supplied about their fight against imperialist aggression, for the common cause of peace, democracy and socialism, and worldwide solidarity in this fight increased awareness of the need for closer unity of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The outcome of the Meeting and the documents apprvoed by it provide an important basis for united action against imperialism. The Central Committee agrees to the decisions adopted and expresses its resolve to do its best to increase the Austrian Communists' contribution to the worldwide fight against imperialism.

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**Volksstimme,** July 11, 1969.

## ARGENTINE COMMUNIST PARTY

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties last June and its highly important conclusions add up to fresh evidence of the viability and growing cohesion of the Communist movement, revealing the total failure of imperialist designs to abort it through all sorts of provocations. The reactionaries engaged in wishful thinking and had visions of a split in the revolutionary ranks. Their hopes were blasted: even greater unity was achieved by the Meeting through the use of democratic methods. Fiasco was suffered by the Maoists, who have been staging criminal provocations on the Soviet borders for the same purpose—to break up the Meeting. But it was attended by 75 Parties and fulfilled all its tasks.

The Main Document of the Meeting arms the working class and the peoples with a program of anti-imperialist struggle, urging the unity of all forces wishing to deal a decisive blow at imperialism, the most vicious enemy of progress, prosperity, independence and world peace. The Marxist-Leninist approach to the present situation and the new economic, social and political phenomenon enabled the Communist and Workers' Parties to coordinate a program of unity and struggle. The three other resolutions—on Vietnam, defense of peace and the Lenin centenary—are permeated with the

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**Nuestra Palabra,** July 15, 1969.

same spirit. The Central Committee of the Argentine Communist Party, having heard the report of its delegation at its sitting on July 9, unanimously adopted a decision approving the documents of the Meeting and urging all Party organizations to take steps to implement them in their daily activity.

The methods used in preparing and holding the Meeting proved to be effective. The items on the agenda were discussed in a fraternal and comradely atmosphere, which helped to bring out every aspect of the various standpoints. There are no differences within the Marxist-Leninist framework in the communist camp which could hamper united action against imperialism and war, and for democracy, national liberation and socialism. The Lenin Centenary Address reaffirmed that Marxism-Leninism is an earnest of successful fulfilment of the historic mission of the Communist Parties. In line with the best traditions of the Communist movement, Marxist-Leninists, says the Main Document, are vigilant in face of Right and "Left" revisionism and especially of the threat of bourgeois nationalism. Imperialism, which is essentially cosmopolitan, tends to blow up nationalistic prejudice so as to sow strife within the socialist camp, to undermine the spirit of proletarian internationalism and to stimulate the bourgeois elements in the Communist Parties in an effort to weaken them. The great Soviet Union is the main objective of their attacks. Many delegates at the Meeting exposed these imperialist plans, emphasizing their friendly feelings for the CPSU, the senior and most experienced Communist brother. Strengthening of the socialist world system is the best guarantee for the revolutionary movement.

In accordance with the propositions formulated by the Meeting, the Central Committee of the Argentine Communist Party calls on all Communists and all Party organizations to redouble their efforts to create a national anti-imperialist front and a coordinating center for resistance to the dictatorship and to conduct a successful Leninist drive for new members.

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

# GANDHI CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS*

In India and throughout the world, widespread celebrations are taking place this year in honor of the centenary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi who is acclaimed by our countrymen as the Father of the Nation because he led our country to freedom.

Gandhiji, after conducting the historic mass satyagraha movement in South Africa for civil rights and equality for the colored peoples, returned to India seeking justice for his people.

The experience of life, of British imperialist oppression, of the terrible poverty of his people, roused the holy wrath of the noble soul. The Jallianwalla Bagh massacres, in particular, transformed him into an angry rebel who henceforth was to be the greatest organizer of the anti-imperialist movement and leader of the masses in revolt for freedom and independence.

He poured forth most passionate indictments against the satanic British imperialist rule. He called for the destruction of this rule as the essential pre-condition for the regeneration of India.

He wielded and used the great weapon of all-India hartals, the forerunners of today's *bandhs*, to unify, discipline and move into action millions of men throughout the country. He called upon the people to non-cooperate with the British imperialsts and to topple them by their gigantic, unified action.

He called upon the Indian people to refuse to work for the imperialists, to pay for them or to obey them. His message of mass struggle and movements as the means to destroy an evil system is of great relevance today.

Gandhiji preached the message of Swadeshi, of economic self-reliance, of achieving national dignity by achieving economic independence. This message, too, is vitally needed in India today.

Gandhiji dreamt of, tirelessly preached and consistently practiced the great message of Hindu-Muslim brotherhood. He made Hindu-Muslim unity the key slogan of India's political and social unity to resist imperialism and foil its tactics of dividing the Indian people.

He made no distinction between Hindu and Muslim, looked upon both as sons of India, insisted upon the strictest secularism and called for mutual tolerance and brotherhood. Communal riots cut him to the quick and roused him to action against this evil.

None can forget his tremendous fast for Hindu-Muslim unity in Calcutta, his trek through Noakhali and his tour of Bihar in the last days of his life.

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*New Age, April 27, 1969.

People of India can also never forget that the Mahatma was murdered by a rabid Hindu communalist, by an active leader of the RSS. The bullet that made Gandhiji a martyr was aimed at the heart of India itself.

The murderers of the Mahatma, the arch-reactionary Hindu communalists, have been on the rampage again. They continue to foul the atmosphere of our country, continue their nefarious game of pitting brother against brother in order to aid the enemies of our nation and its democratic advance.

As a great humanist, Gandhiji strove for the abolition of untouchability. He wrote, campaigned, fasted and wore himself out to restore to the Harijans their lost human dignity. Recent tortures and killings of Harijans all too poignantly remind us that this dream of Gandhiji is also unrealized two full decades after freedom.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India calls upon all Party units and members to celebrate the Gandhi Centenary on October 2 this year in such a way as to revive militant anti-imperialism, to rouse the common people for Hindu-Muslim unity, to unite the masses against the evil of untouchability and for the right of the Harijans to live as equals, to rouse the holy wrath of the masses against corruption and the insolence of wealth, for the dignity of man, especially the toiling poor.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India calls upon all Party units to hold public meetings on October 2, 1969, the birth centenary of Mahatma Gandhi, throughout the country and to pledge to carry forward all that was militant and democratic, progressive and unifying in the life and works of Gandhiji.

Let us remember the humility and selflessness and the defiance of the courageous fighter that the Mahatma was and which has made him a symbol of the urge of our people to come into their own and live with their heads held high in a land of equality and justice.

# REPULSE IMPERIALIST-ZIONIST AGGRESSION, FORM A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY

## RESOLUTION OF THE CC, JORDANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The main result of the struggle going on between the Arab peoples and the Zionist-imperialist bloc is that two years after they launched ther aggression the Israeli invaders are farther than ever from the objective they wanted to attain by going to war. Their war plans aimed at overthrowing progressive national regimes and bringing about surrender and submission have dismally failed.

Developments have shown that the aggressors' temporary war gains cannot last. The Arab peoples, their forces and progressive national regimes have refused to capitulate and, thanks to the resolve and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, have stood their ground and strengthened their position. *Their staunchness and their determination to resist the aggressor and expel him from the occupied areas are growing from day to day.* The progressive national regimes continue their advance in the face of difficulties and adverse factors, which need to be dealt with promptly and radically (in particular, it is essential to draw the masses and the progressive forces into politics and into preparations for repulsing and ending the aggression).

Resistance in the occupied areas is mounting. The armed forces of the Arab countries are gaining in efficiency and materiel. Israeli sorties do not go unpunished, as is evident, among other things, from the fact that in fighting along the Suez Canal Egyptian troops firmly beat off air and ground attacks and inflict telling casualties on the aggressor.

Relations of friendship, cooperation and alliance between the Arab peoples and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are growing stronger. *These fraternal relations are a vast source of strength to the Arab peoples and their struggle to repulse the imperialist-Zionist aggression.* The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are rendering increasing military and economic assistance and political and moral support to the Arab peoples in their just fight against the Israeli aggressor and his imperialist protectors. The presence of the Soviet Navy in the Mediterranean is a stern

*Al Taqaddum, May 1969.

warning to the rulers of Israel, their American masters and other colonialists in case they undertake new ventures.

The Israeli aggressors' isolation on the world scene is growing. Each passing day brings new facts exposing the aggressive, expansionist nature of the fascist rulers of Tel Aviv before world opinion. Much credit for laying bare these rulers' aggressive, expansionist designs is due to the courageous internationalist stance of the Communist Party of Israel, which from the outset has opposed the aggression and exposed the crimes committed by the Israeli authorities against Arab citizens in the occupied areas. Using every means at hand, the Israeli Communists stand up for the victims of the aggression and disclose the invaders' crimes, the assassinations, arrests and tortures in prisons and prison camps involving thousands of citizens, the destruction of houses, the acts of suppression, terror and violence perpetrated by the occupation authorities against Arab citizens on the western bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. The Israeli Communists' courageous stand is backed and admired by the people in the occupied regions, by all those in the Arab and other countries who are against imperialism and occupation.

The Arab peoples' struggle and just cause are winning more supporters throughout the world. *Support for the Arab peoples today holds a special place in the activity of Communist parties and international democratic organizations.*

The staunchness of the Arab peoples and their progressive national regimes, the growing struggle against the aggressors and their plans of expansion, the support our peoples are getting from the forces of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union, the Soviet initiative aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the Mideast crisis in line with the Security Council resolution, and the position of France, which is opposed to the Israeli aggression, have all compelled the United States and Britain to agree to four-power consultations despite the negative attitude and furious resistance of Israel and the Zionist movement.

The foregoing does not imply, however, that it has become easier to fight the Israeli invaders. The enemy has no intention of retreating either tomorrow or the day after.

Indeed, while the balance of forces during the past two years has changed considerably in favor of the Arabs, the enemy still has certain military and strategic advantages and constantly receives military, financial, political and moral support from the international Zionist movement, and from the United States, Britain and West Germany.

The enemy is vicious and treacherous. The fight against him will be long and difficult. It will require increasing political, military,

economic and technical effort by each of the Arab countries bordering on Israel. Furthermore, the internal fronts, the fronts of the Arab neighbors of Israel, and the Arab front as a whole have to be strengthened.

The struggle between the Arab peoples and the imperialist-Zionist alliance is taking place in intricate internal and international conditions. World imperialism, specifically U.S. imperialism, is trying to capitalize on the difficulties of the Arab countries hit by the aggression. It engineers conspiracies, hoping to achieve the goals it was unable to achieve through war in June 1967. World imperialism encourages the Israeli aggressors by backing them politically to continue the occupation of Arab territory and to touch off a new war by intensifying provocative military operations and increasing threats.

Imperialism takes advantage of contradictions inside and between Arab countries to incite the reactionary, Right-wing forces to actions disrupting the home front and Arab solidarity and to create difficulties for the Arab peoples. All this is intended to strike at the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples and their national progressive regimes.

The authorities of Saudi Arabia, constrained to help financially some of the Arab countries hit by the aggression, have set out on a course of collusion and conspiracy. They reject the Security Council resolution and refuse to participate in an Arab summit designed to foster Arab solidarity against the imperialist-Zionist alliance. All this is aimed at weakening the United Arab Republic. They also persist in their policy of conspiracy against the Yemeni Republic and the People's Republic of South Yemen. The Rightists in the UAR, like the authorities of Saudi Arabia, reject the Security Council resolution and international efforts for a peaceful settlement, and insist on immediate military action by the UAR. They would like to drag the UAR into a new defeat and to expose its progressive national regime to the danger of disintegration. In resorting to such maneuvers, they cash in on the people's legitimate hatred of the invaders, who trample their dignity and rights underfoot, and on the people's desire to end the occupation.

The positions of Leftist adventurers coincide with these dubious and dangerous positions in spite of a fundamental difference in their aspirations.

These maneuvers take place in Syria. The Right-wing forces there, profiting by the government's negative attitude to the Security Council resolution and the idea of a peaceful solution, insist on renouncing the implementation of economic development plans to release funds for the armed forces and for joining in battle, as if economic progress did not help to strengthen the armed forces and raise their efficiency.

As for the rulers of Jordan and Lebanon, they are following a different course. On the plea that they are for the Security Council resolution and a peaceful settlement, they not only refuse to strengthen the armed forces and to mobilize the people and the nation's resources for struggle but are trying to keep the people and the progressive national forces out of struggle, to pave the way for a blow at the national forces and at guerrilla operations. At the same time they flirt with the imperialist powers and are backed by them. They help the imperialists to extend their influence in the two countries, and persist in an undemocratic policy. These facts encourage the Right-wing, reactionary forces to demand shamelessly that an international police force be stationed on the frontiers of Lebanon.

The Right-wing, reactionary forces in the Arab world are involved, along with the imperialist-Zionist forces, in a campaign to slander and smear Soviet policy, the Soviet Union's assistance to the Arab peoples and its sincere desire for a peaceful solution of the Mideast crisis. All this is intended to undermine Soviet-Arab friendship and cooperation.

*It is surprising and regrettable that some progressive national forces are following this dangerous and disastrous road* at a time when greater vigilance is required in view of growing imperialist and reactionary intrigues aimed at isolating these forces from the Soviet Union and pushing them on to positions detrimental to the Arab national liberation movement and the Arab peoples' fight against the imperialist-Zionist alliance.

Imperialism and the Zionist movement, using the Mao Tse-tung clique's divisive, subversive activity inside the socalist community and the world Communist movement, especially its military provocations on the Soviet frontier, are stepping up their aggressive and provocative activity in Southeast Asia, the Middle East and elsewhere.

The Israeli aggressors, backed by the U.S., British and West German imperialists, are intensifying their provocations against the Arab countries, particularly against the UAR and Jordan. They are openly challenging the resolutions of the UN General Assembly and Security Council and world opinion as they try feverishly to frustrate efforts for a peaceable solution of the Mideast crisis.

The Israeli rulers are out to annex the Arab section of Jerusalem. They arrogantly refuse to pull their troops out of the areas overrun in June 1967. Being committed to a policy of expansion and annexation, they are setting up military settlements in the occupied Arab areas and use monstrous methods to expel the Arab population from those areas.

The aggressive policy of the Tel Aviv rulers, who are in collusion

with world imperialism, above all with U.S. imperialism, is a dire menace to the Arab peoples and to peace.

The situation in the occupied areas is characterized above all else by the continuing struggle of the masses, who are fighting arms in hand against occupation and aggression and are resolved to expel the invaders in one way or another.

In the occupied areas, the masses are past the stage of the bitterness brought on by defeat and of scattered actions. They are now fighting the aggressor in more organized fashion, resisting with great courage his terror and his fascist methods of suppression.

Armed resistance combines with other forms of struggle — demonstrations, strikes, and clashes with the occupying troops.

The struggle going on is, first and foremost, a struggle of the masses, of the workers, peasants and other working people, of the students, youth and intellectuals, against a treacherous foe. It is a long and difficult struggle in which diverse forms are used.

The fortitude of the masses in the occupied areas, their growing resistance and bravery, and the sacrifices they make in fighting the enemy are having a strong impact on the Arab peoples and their armed forces. The masses in the occupied territories know—and this bolsters their faith and their resolve to go on fighting—that they are not alone, that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, all the forces of progress and peace, are on their side, on the side of the Arab peoples, whom they support materially and morally.

The struggle on the western bank of the Jordan, to which our Party has been making a tangible contribution along with other progressive national forces, is now rising to a higher plane, using new forms and methods as it grows in depth and breadth. This expressed itself in the establishment of the People's Resistance Front on the western bank and in actions in common with the United National Front of the Gaza Strip. This demand that all progressive national forces work meaningfully and with a sense of responsibility to reinforce and close their ranks in order to resist the invaders and their plans of expansion and subjection.

There is every condition for establishing a broad front uniting parties, organizations and revolutionary forces, the workers, peasants and other working people and the students, a front that could really lead the masses in the occupied areas and help to raise the people's standards of political consciousness, militancy and organization, steadily improve their fighting methods and set up resistance committees in the towns, educational institutions, enterprises, villages and camps.

The resistance movement in the occupied areas was a reaction to the unlawful occupation of a part of our country. Our people

exercised in various forms of struggle their sacred right to resist the invaders and uphold their national dignity. In present conditions the increased aggressiveness of Israel, and the challenge it offers the resolutions of the UN General Assembly and Security Council by persisting in the occupation of Arab territories, on the one hand, and the growing resistance of the masses in the occupied areas and their entry into a new stage of struggle, on the other, demand that all progressive national forces and the guerrillas in the occupied areas and on the eastern bank of the Jordan rally together in a united front to press forward the fight in the occupied areas, to back the armed resistance on the eastern bank and turn it into a widespread and effective popular movement. They demand co-ordinated action by the diverse contingents of the resistance movement irrespective of the forms and methods used by these contingents.

During the past two years the people on the eastern bank have by their staunchness and selflessness furnished proof of unqualified readiness to resist the aggressors and to continue with fraternal Arab peoples the struggle to expel the aggressors and free their country from the invaders.

The examples of heroism set by the armed forces and the people of Jordan speak of readiness for sacrifice in the name of a just cause, the cause of fighting the aggressors and freeing the beloved country.

Despite the obstacles raised by the ruling quarters to the masses on the eastern bank striving to support the masses on the western bank, the workers and other working people, students, intellectuals and women have repeatedly identified themselves with the struggle or their brothers and sisters in the occupied areas by organizing demonstrations, processions and public meetings and by collecting funds. They raise their voice in protest against the invaders' crimes.

The people are willing to participate in every form of struggle. This, however, brings no response from official quarters, which, indeed, try to dampen this spirit. Developments during the past two years have shown that our Party was right in advancing the slogan of a government of national unity immediately after the attack on Jordan and fraternal Arab countries.

Two years have passed since the aggression began but the armed forces of Jordan still lack modern, effective weapons.

The authorities insist on purchasing arms in imperialist countries and refuse under various pretexts to buy them from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The ruling circles deny democratic freedoms to the people and their progressive national forces. At the same time they give free rein to the blackest reaction engaged in suspicious activities. The progressive national forces are denied the right to form political

parties, engage in politics, hold public meetings or publish newspapers.

The trade union movement is persecuted and curbed. The authorities have prohibited teachers' and students' associations. They have banned the formation of a Jordan-Soviet friendship society while permitting the formation of a society of friendshp with West Germany, which backs and arms the Israeli aggressors. They do their utmost to obstruct the women's movement.

The law against communism and other laws restricting civil liberties are still in force. Anyone found in possession of communist literature is persecuted and arrested.

There are some patriotic elements in the National Assembly but its functions are nominal and it is a tool in the hands of the country's rulers.

The administrative apparatus is infested with experts from imperialist countries, grafters and suspicious elements hostile to the people and their national movement.

The official information machinery is perfectly helpless. It is hard to believe that this machinery belongs to a country fighting the enemy. The mass media scarcely report on the popular resistance in the occupied areas; they do nothing to enhance the people's staunchness or promote their fight on the eastern bank.

Prices and the cost of living are going up unchecked owing to inflation and the shady deals of businessmen and profiteers, while handsome sums are paid to high-ranking officials.

Financial aid to the Arab countries is wasted on ineffective measures. As regards the relief for refugees which comes from various parts of the globe, it is openly embezzled. The lion's share of this relief settles in the pockets of high officials and businessmen and their agents.

The imperialist powers and their monopolies are penetrating deeper and deeper into the country's economy.

The overwhelming majority of the population is outraged by the arbitrary enforcement of the law on military service, as a result of which the sons of influential parents in high places and their likes are exempted from the call-up.

The refugee relief agency is not controlled by anyone, being a state within the state. It teems with foreigners and suspicious individuals, and bullies the workers, officials and, above all, the teachers working in it. All sorts of unsavory operations are carried out in it, while the refugees are left to their own devices.

The people were deeply distressed and alarmed by the bloody events of last November when many civilians lost their lives. The culprits have yet to be exposed and put on trial.

The Jordanian people are seriously concerned about imperialist

and reactionary activities designed to set the authorities against the guerrilla organizations, drench the country in blood, drag it into catastrophe, strike a blow at the national liberation movement, liquidate the guerrilla organizations and paralyze the growing resistance movement in the occupied areas.

The people are concerned about ceaseless Israeli attacks all the way from Irbid in the north to Aqaba in the south. All that the aggressors come up against is the courage of the armed forces and the resistance movement, the staunchness of the people and their readiness for sacrifice. Adequate means of defense and of effective resistance to the aggressors are lacking.

*The continuation of this state of affairs affects the people's staunchness, the resistance movement, the struggle of the masses in the occupied areas, the front of the Arab countries neighboring on Israel, the fight against the aggressors and the effort to do away with the effects of the aggression. What is more, it imperils the country's future.*

This dangerous situation demands a high degree of vigilance, a keen sense of responsibility and closer unity from all progressive national forces and the guerrillas. All differences of opinion should be put aside.

The only way out is for all progressive national forces and the guerrillas to campaign jointly for a government of national unity. The outcome of the battle with the enemy in this important sector of the front of the countries bordering on Israel will hinge mainly on the nature and program of this government.

*The paramount task of the people and all truly patriotic forces is to strive in common for a government of national unity.*

This government should rely on the people and should concern itself with the following tasks:

*At home:*

(1) equipping the Jordanian armed forces with up-to-date, effective weapons from socialist countries, and raising their efficiency;

(2) mobilizing, arming and training the people;

(3) mustering all resources and subordinating the economy to the needs of the struggle;

(4) granting democratic liberties to the people and all progressive national forces; repealing all the laws restricting these liberties;

(5) aiding and supporting popular resistance;

(6) extending material and moral support to the masses fighting in the occupied areas;

(7) ridding the state apparatus of anti-popular elements; abolishing corruption, bribery and protectionism;

(8) freeing the national economy from dependence on imperialist powers; taking effective measures to stop the growth of the cost of

living and end Big Business manipulation of popular funds and of foodstuffs; resolving the housing crisis; ending unemployment and stopping the outflow of specialists;

(9) calling a halt to the manipulation of refugee funds and providing the refugees with a livelihood.

*With regard to the Arab countries:*

(1) fostering solidarity with the Arab countries, particularly with the UAR, by fighting against the imperialist-Zionist alliance, and striving to eliminate the effects of the aggression and ensure the defense of the rights of the Arab people to Palestine according to the UN resolutions;

(2) reinforcing the eastern front with Syria and Iraq;

(3) renouncing separate solutions; and working for the execution of the Security Council resolution.

*On the world scene:*

(1) pursuing a resolute anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist policy; backing all national movements against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism;

(2) establishing friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and all friendly states.

The Soviet Union's efforts for a peaceful and equitable solution of the Mideast crisis in line with the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, and its participation in the four-power consultations meet the interests of the Arab peoples and accord with their movement for national and social liberation, with the interests of the Arab people of Palestine and their struggle to regain the rights usurped by Israel contrary to the UN resolutions.

The rulers of Israel have stated in public that the four-power talks in New York do not suit Israel. The soldiery of Israel declare that they are not going to accept the peace the great powers want to "impose" on Israel. Prime Minister Golda Meir of Israel recently alleged that a four-power agreement on a peaceful settlement of the Mideeast crisis would "exact a high price from Israel."

Nor is it accidental that the initial stage of the four-power talks was complicated by increasing Israeli provocations and acts of aggression aimed at obstructing the efforts of the Big Four.

The Soviet Union, prompted by its Marxist-Leninist policy and by concern for the interests of the Arab and other peoples and world peace, is trying to find a peaceful and equitable solution to the Mideast crisis. At the same time it continues to render economic and political assistance and moral support to the Arab peoples in their just fight against the aggressors and in their effort to remove the effects of the aggression.

*The relations of friendship and alliance between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on the one hand, and the Arab peoples*

*and the national liberation movement, on the other, are the fundamental and decisive factor in the Arab peoples' fight to preserve their independence and territorial integrity, in their just fight against the imperialist-Israeli aggression, for further progress and a new life.*

The Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party expresses its deep gratitude to the great Soviet people and their glorious Communist Party and government for the resolute support and vast assistance they give the Arab peoples in their just struggle to repulse the imperialist-Israeli aggression and remove its effects.

# FOR AN EARLY AGRARIAN REFORM*

In connection with the Presidential Message promulgating the Agrarian Reform Law, the Peruvian Communist Party states:

1. It fully backs the government decision to effect an agrarian reform transferring the land to those who till it, and ending the anachronistic, age-old and unlawful exploitation of the peasants by the big landowners, through the complete nationalization of the latifundia, the abolition of the minifundia, the promotion of cooperatives and the maintenance of enterprises processing farm produce.

2. Exploitation by the big landed proprietors has held the peasant population, or half the population of the country, in a state of misery by parasitically appropriating the greater part of the fruits of the farmer's labor. The latifundia are responsible for the peasants' negligible share in trade and for the slow growth of the home market, which has hampered industrial and economic progress. The radical agrarian reform, by raising the peasants' standard of living, will bring them into the national economy and help to create jobs that will substantially reduce unemployment.

3. The latifundia are responsible for the crisis in which agriculture and animal husbandry find themselves, a crisis which expresses itself in the exceedingly slow growth of food production. This growth is entirely insufficient to meet the increasing demand and accounts for continuous shortages, the mounting cost of living and the steep rise in food imports, one of the causes of the devaluation of 1967.

4. The latifundia are responsible for unemployment and the massive migration of landless and workless peasants to the towns. The towns are now surrounded by suburbs where people displaced from the countryside as well as the towns live in sub-human conditions.

The latifundia are responsible not only for the depopulation of the inland regions, but for their economic backwardness. The agrarian reform will call a halt to the avalanche of migration and provide a basis for the industrial development of all the regions of the country.

5. The latifundia are responsible for racial discrimination against "indigenous" working people, who have been subjected to every manner of personal bondage. The "Indian" problem, Mariategui pointed out forty years ago, is a land problem. The agrarian reform will make for unprecedented economic progress and, moreover, help

*Statement by the Political Commission of the Central Committee, Peruvian Communist Party, published in **Unidad**, June 26, 1969, under the title "The Party of José Carlos Mariátegui Calls for the Early Enforcement of the Agrarian Reform Law."

to use the immense potentialities of the working people, of those who are proud to be descended from the founders of the Incaic Empire and the millennial civilization of Peru. The agrarian reform will make it possible to integrate the nation and develop a strong Peruvian statehood.

6. The agrarian reform will constitute a revolutionary remaking of the semi-feudal system of the country. The government decision to carry out is backed by the will of the overwhelming majortiy of the people as stated by the political parties not committed to the oligarchy, by the trade unions and popular organizations, by the student federations and the associations of progressive clergymen.

The Peruvan Communist Party notes with deep satisfaction that the national decision to effect a deep-going agrarian reform vindicates its line and its program, which regards the agrarian reform as one of the fundamental changes the country needs in order to overcome its dependent and semi-feudal structure, the source of all its ills and misfortunes.

Furthermore, this resolve of the majority of the nation, now backed and taken up by the government, is a perfect rebuttal to the reactionary preachings of Haya de la Torre, Beltran, Belaunde and other stooges and agents of the oligarchy, who tried to thwart the agrarian reform, contending that it was necessary not to expropriate the latifundia but to settle the jungle.

7. The government decision to carry out the agrarian reform, nationalizing all latifundia, is the culmination of a hundred years of struggle for the land. This struggle carried forward the revolutionary tradition of Tupac Amaru, Santos Atahuallpa, Catari, Atusparia, Uchcu Pedro, Bustamante and many unknown champions of the agrarian reform who, like the *comuneros* of Pasco, the peasants of Cuzco and the rest of the country, were jailed, maltreated and tortured, and gave their lives fighting for the restoration of the land to its tillers.

The Peruvian Communist Party may proudly maintain that in this struggle the land problem and the "Indian" problem were posed in realistic terms by Jose Carlos Mariategui, its founder. Throughout the forty years of the existence of our Party, we Communists have been fighting unrelentingly to win the reform. We called for it when it was a crime to mention it, and now that its realization is becoming possible, we promise the working class, the peasants and the people that we will do our utmost to bring it about and to resist the plots and attacks of the oligarchy and its organizations and parties.

8. The agrarian reform will not be accepted by the National Agrarian Society nor the big landowners, who will try hard to frustrate it. They will resort to subversion and every kind of intrigue. They will plot on every level and everywhere, and will launch

every kind of provocation. Thy will try to discredit and paralyze it. And this means that the law is not enough. It is absolutely necessary to mobilize the people all over the country to ensure that the reform is effected promptly and thoroughly. The peasant, trade union and student organizations and the nationalist and anti-oligarchic parties must redouble their activity and fight in common to bring about the agrarian reform and foil the conspiracy of the oligarchy.

Lima, June 24, 1969.

# THE PROBLEM OF COPPER

## STATEMENT* BY THE POLITICAL COMMISSION OF THE CP OF CHILE

All Chilean patriots declare for nationalizing the copper industry. But the President of the Republic, exercising the authority with which a law rejected by the people has vested him, has signed an agreement on copper with the Anaconda Copper Co.**

The agreement was not announced by the President but was reported by the UPI from New York. The bosses of Anaconda boast of having won a price for each share—amounting to 49 per cent participation—that will make it possible to increase average net annual profit from January 1, 1970, to the date of completion of the purchase as follows: by eight per cent towards 1973 and by 7.5 per cent towards 1974; minimum profit, gradually and steadily decreasing, will become fixed, they add, at six per cent by 1977 and subsequent years.

In the light of this fact, the second stage is a real fraud. Besides, the agreement leaves out Exotica, the large new deposits taken over by Anaconda, which are as rich as, or richer than, the Chuquicamata deposits.

The Communist Party declares once again that nationalization of the copper industry brooks no delay. Anti-imperialist sentiment is gaining ground throughout Latin America and the oil deposits and sugar refineries of the Grace Co. in Peru have been successfully confiscated. In this situation, the Chilean people cannot be reconciled to the fact that the imperialist companies which have been plundering the country for decades and are responsible for its backwardness retain control of the Chuquicamata, El Salvador, El Teniente aand Exotica deposits.

The agreement between President Frei and Anaconda means not nationalization but the formation of a new mixed company. This monopoly will go on pocketing a substantial share of the profits and exploiting the deposits and will, indeed, have a say in the management of the new enterprises. The President's statement makes it immediately clear that the agreement affects our national interests. Here is why:

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*El Siglo, June 28, 1969.

**The agreement provides that the Chilean government will purchase the property of Anaconda, the U.S. company exploiting the copper deposits of Chile. The government describes it as "Chileanization" of the copper industry.—Ed.

—The treaty on technical aid is a camouflaged form of control by Anaconda, as in the case of the Huachipato mine of the Coppers Co. and in numerous other cases. This explains why Anaconda has preferred the disguise of "operative management" to "technical aid."

—The presence of three Anaconda directors on a board of seven means that the right of veto will assure interference blocking any decision beneficial to Chile.

—The unqualified recognition of all earlier contracts on copper sales restricts the nation's sovereign right to sell copper on the most advantageous terms.

—The price of the shares to be purchased is too high, nor has it been verified.

—It is demanded that the price of the remaining 49 per cent of the shares be estimated according to the profit they yield. This is why enormous sums will have to be paid.

—New criteria have been established for levying taxes, which makes it possible to reduce their amount.

—In view of the fact that the world price of copper is higher than the price on which the government tax stipulated by the agreement is based, Anaconda will have to pay the difference. But Anaconda has negotiated the right not to pay this difference if it ranges between 29.5 and 40 cents. And should the price exceed 40 cents per pound, Anaconda will pay the Chilean government the difference provided the conflict with the Kennecott Co. is settled.

The Communist Party insists that the specific agreements be published in full and submitted to Congress for approval. As for our own opinion, we emphatically reject them as running counter to the national interest. We regard the President's appeal to the political parties to discuss the agreements as a belated step, because he should have taken it before committing the country in any way. Now that the talks are over, we consider his gesture pointless.

Genuine nationalization should give the Chilean state the full and absolute right to exploit its copper deposits without imperialist monopoly interference. The draft laws on nationalization of the copper industry proposed by the Socialist Party, the movement for United Popular Action and the Communist Party, on the one hand, and by the Radical Party, as well as the draft proposed by Maira, the Christian Democratic deputy, on the other, meet this requirement. We Communists urge that the law be passed in accordance with these drafts.

The legislation on copper injures the nation's interests and should be repealed. The new agreement with Anaconda should be assessed in the same way as those with Kennecott, Andina and Exotica. Purported to be beneficial "economic levers," these agree-

ments have turned out to be predatory. They are a scandal and must be voided.

The Communist Party reaffirms its support of the massive actions and other measures of the United Working People's Federation elucidating the problem of copper and demanding the early nationalization of the copper industry. We do not think the sociopolitical forces championing nationalization should give in to resignation. We call on them to redouble their efforts to achieve this pressing patriotic goal.

# THE LENINIST TACTIC OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF COLOMBIA*

**JOSE CARDONA HOYOS**
Member, CC, CP of Colombia

I should like to outline some aspects of the practical activities of the Communist Party of Colombia and tell about its efforts to correctly elaborate the strategic and tactical tasks of the revolution so vital for our people. These tasks are charted in complete conformity with Marxist-Leninist theory, and are, despite their modest scale, a contribution to further developing the revolutionary doctrine left us by the great teacher and leader of the October Revolution.

A series of specific features of Colombian reality, stemming from national traditions, has engendered an important practice which we Colombian Communists call the simultaneous combination of all forms of struggle. In our opinion this is the Leninist form of interpreting the concrete conditions of the revolutionary development of our country, and one that leads the working masses to an ever higher level of struggle.

That has to be said for we are living in the epoch of the sweeping development of world revolution. But at the same time we see that tenacious efforts are being made to misdirect the revolution. At present a real internal danger exists both from the left and from the right, and the only effective way of combating it is to theoretically explain the problems of our movement and to raise the ideological level of our membership.

It is hard to imagine the multitude of incorrect interpretations of Leninism there are in the world today, for the most part ill-intentioned ones. Much of the responsibility for this rests with the Chinese leaders who are doing everything to slow down the world revolutionary process, to sow confusion and chaos in the minds of the revolutionary forces who are not sufficiently tempered ideologically. But even more serious is the fact that the Maoists are causing confusion regarding the different ways to the revolution and the different forms of struggle; they refuse to recognize that

*Documentos Politicos, N 81, May-June, 1969.

different conditions call for different tactical methods. They vociferate that there is only one way and only one method of accomplishing the revolution: through armed violence. And this the falsifiers and deviationists present as a theory stemming directly from Leninism, while everything else is qualified as "revisionism."

Some remarks are called for in this respect. The Chinese leaders who at the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties agreed with the formulation which theoretically considers the peaceful way to the revolution possible, have for some time now been conducting a campaign of abuse against the international Communist movement. This campaign is widely publicized by the Maoists who under the pretence of *defending Leninism,* sing the praises of the anti-Party elements wherever they may be.

However, the question of the paths to the revolution is not something that is absolute and final, and neither Lenin nor the loyal followers of Leninism ever put it that way. In the 1969 Statement this question is formulated as an alternative, depending on the concrete conditions of each given revolutionary situation. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the parties that firmly adhere to the general ideological line of the international Communist movement formulate this question in a similar spirit. The tentative choice of a certain path does not necessarily imply that it is final; this would be intolerable conservatism in view of the constant changes dictated by life and human progress. The adoption of one particular path should always be approached as a theoretical premise of what is most probable in the given circumstances and at the given stage of development.

It is quite evident that the attacks against the thesis regarding the possibilities of the peaceful path, which is being conducted on the pretext that this thesis is a "revision" of Marxism-Leninism, pursue malicious ends. Advantage is taken of the still poor ideological grounding of those sections of the population who have only recently adopted revolutionary positions. Needless to say, the thesis about the peaceful path was not invented by contemporary theoreticians of the socialist revolution. This thesis was widely and repeatedly expounded by Lenin in his day. And it is evident that historical development, which is reinforcing socialism's positions and immeasurably enhancing the prestige of scientific socialism's conceptions, far from narrowing the perspective of peaceful development of the revolution gives it a new and clearer outlook. This does not mean, of course, that this path is the only correct one for one or another country.

The thesis about the peaceful path to the revolution and its changing character is a Leninist one. This does not mean that it was elaborated after the death of Lenin. Lenin is the author of this

thesis. The question is a purely historical, chronological one. During 1917 the leader of the Russian revolution changed his approach to the ways of its development several times. He did so not because he was a political adventurer, and not because he was swayed by opportunism in assessing the situation in the country, but because he fully understood that dogmatic concepts undermine the strength of the masses and destroy their gains. He also knew that there cannot be one prescription for winning power by the proletariat. That is why in April when Lenin saw there was the possibility of the democratic development of the power just established by the bourgeoisie, he put the question of the peaceful path on the order of the day. He thereby taught us yet another lesson, which the present extremists forget, that revolutionaris should be able to appreciate and support every possibility of broadening democracy, that should discontinue doing so when it becomes clear that the bourgeoisie has taken a reactionary course. That is why Lenin subsequently changed his position regarding the peaceful path, and several months later raised the question of the violent way. However, in view of the situation that arose, which he himself described as a "particular one, which will obviously last only a very short time" he again in September, on the eve of the insurrection, discussed the question of the possibility of the peaceful path, provided a coalition government of Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries was formed with the support, but without the participation of the Bolsheviks and provided the former agreed to a series of conditions. Lenin deals with this question in his article "On Compromise."

However, as soon as this "particular" situation passed, Lenin advocated the path of insurrection as the way to winning power by the proletariat.

It is the duty of revolutionaries to be prepared themselves and to prepare the masses to take either of the two paths, to be able to correctly choose the one or the other in conformity with the conditions prevailing at the time of a revolutionary situation. Revolutionaries should know that as the revolution develops it is essential to ensure the decisive participation of the masses for they constitute its armed or simply numerical force with the help of which the power can be wrested from the ruling classes.

Contrary to the allegation of the extremists that we are tied for life to the thesis of the peaceful path, I should like to say that our Party considers the armed path the most probable for the development of the revolution in Colombia. But we are not tied in perpetuity to this thesis either, just as Lenin was not tied to the one or the other, making his choice only when it was no longer a matter of theory but an urgent practical task. Therefore, as long as there is the slightest possibility for this we do not refuse to fight for

the democratization of the country in the process of the accumulation of forces now under way in the country. We maintain that it is impossible to win democratic gains so long as the oligarchic, two-party and parity system exists. But we also realize that we must fight this regime even though a revolutionary situation does not as yet exist in the country. This gives us hope, true a very faint one, but one that should not be neglected, in view of the attitude of the masses to the present state of affairs. This fully accords with the Leninist criterion regarding the importance of a democratic situation for developing the revolutionary struggle, and the duty of all Communists to help bring about such a situation.

However, it is quite clear that one cannot rely on hopes alone in choosing the path of the revolution. A decisive factor that has to be taken into account is reality. And this reality has shown Colombians that on four occasions in the past 20 years our people had to take to armed struggle, using the guerrilla form; that twice the guerrilla movement had to retreat, to accept a respite and pass over to simple self-defense, owing to the changes in the political life of the country when the broad masses failed to see the necessity for continuing the guerrilla war; that in a number of cases this respite was violated by the aggression of the government's armed forces, and the people, realizing the necessity of resuming the guerrilla war, voiced their solidarity with the guerrillas; that every time the peasants were obliged to renew the war they grew more mature ideologically; that, taking into account the government's repeated determination to begin new, or later, a "preventive war" against the peasant mass organizations, the people can draw the conclusion that there can be no question of peace in Colombia so long as their destiny is in the hands of the oligarchy and imperialism. In other words, the question of the violent path has long since been on the order of the day, and this violence is inevitable in the present conditions of the revolutionary struggle in our country.

The retreats of the Colombia people's armed movement were never due to military reverses. They were dictated by political considerations, by the changing attitudes of the people every time our wily bourgeoisie refurbished the facade of its regime in order to save it. All this shows, in our opinion, the close connection between the people's war and civil policy. It would therefore be absurd to plan military operations and think that that is enough, that developments could take their own course without regard to the attitude of the bulk of the working people. Hence the conclusion can be drawn that every time the oligarchy used the word *peace* to deceive the masses, the guerrilla movement in Colombia had to temporarily pass over to "normal" conditions of life if it

was to preserve its ties with the masses and ensure its own future. It is true that the government is compelled to tolerate this transition from active guerrilla operations to self-defense, regarding it as an armistice. Even so, this armistice is undoubtedly a victory for the revolutionary forces.

In 1949, when the reactionary forces set up a reign of terror, unprecedented in the history of Colombia, our Party boldly advanced the slogan of *armed self-defense of the masses.* This slogan was and continues to be an appropriate, correct and necessary one. But the Party rightly foresaw possible alternatives in the political fight when it originally put forward this slogan. Therefore, taking into account both the necessity and the possibility, the Party decided to establish a number of organs which in themselves are a bold combination of various forms of struggle. It is obvious that the self-defense tactic accepted by more than 85 per cent of the guerrilla detachments of Colombia is first of all a weapon of the masses which besides preparing them for armed action is also employed for extensive peaceful activity. The extremists quite clearly do not understand this. That is why they often yell "Long live guerrilla warfare! Down with self-defense!" They do not realize that in the conditions of Colombia, the first is a continuation of the second and safeguards it during those grim periods when the working people won't hear of armed struggle. Self-defense invariably helped to preserve the organization of the peasant masses and operated whenever it seemed that dissolution threatened. The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia was absolutely right when it assessed the character and importance of this organization as follows: "It is a stage of formation and education for the coming battle on a higher level and at a certain moment. Bearing in mind the historical conditions of the political struggle in Colombia, it is indeed a school for the formation of revolutionary fighters and detachments. . . . The concept and the organization of self-defense, far from being erroneous, are the most correct and successful policy of the Colombian revolutionary movement in the historical conditions in which it is developing in our country. This policy made it possible to preserve the revolutionary movement for a long time in different sections of the population; it was a school for training thousands of peasant fighters, provided the people's organizations with arms, made it possible to organize the armed struggle and form guerrilla detachments in the countryside. Being a people's movement, which at certain stages of its development drew large sections of the people into the struggle and thereby did not doom them to passivity, it made it possible to continue the struggle in the countryside, combining the actions

for economic demands with the revolutionary struggle of the peasantry."

In upholding our thesis about correctly combining the different forms of struggle in the conditions of Colombia, we are combating both Right opportunism and Left sectarianism.

To the opportunists who consider that it is impossible to begin an armed struggle before a revolutionary situation has matured we say: such a struggle is not only possible but absolutely necessary in the countryside where the gangs of reactionaries, the police or the army pursue a policy of terror. It would be the height of folly if the revolutionary leadership were to agree to criminal inactivity. Such conduct would also be tantamount to agreeing to and approving the murder of peasants and the destruction of their political organization. But even more disastrous would be the loss of authority the Communists would suffer when placing new tasks before the working people of the countryside, now or at any other time. Our policy would then be supplanted by adventurism and extremism.

To the extremists who regard the armed struggle as the only correct form of revolutionary action we reply with deeds that demonstrate to them that for the people the practice of using the widest range of peaceful means of struggle is possible and useful. It is true that in Colombia we have not got the same possibilities for using legal forms of struggle as exist in a democratic situation. But the few possibilities that we do have are being made the most effective use of by the people under the leadership of the Party. But even without our leadership — although this would reduce their activity — the masses would spontaneously make the most of the existing possibilities for they fully realize that they stand to gain from them. Of course, we do not confine our policy to spontaneity and winning purely economic demands. We seek to bring the working people into close touch with the life of the nation, to organize them and promote their ability to influence social development and create the prerequisites for revolutionary change. It is in this spirit that we are working in the trade union movement, taking part in the struggle of the masses for their economic demands, in demonstrations and "peaceful strikes," in national solidarity campaigns and, in particular, in the actions of solidarity with the hundreds of political prisoners captured in the areas of the guerrilla operation; we participate in election campaigns, work in government institutions and public organizaitons. To deny the existence of conditions for developing such activity and its connection, sometimes most direct, with revolutionary development is to close one's eyes to reality. In the closing two months of the last election campaign, while the extremists were thundering about the lack of possi-

bilities for legal activity, in the department of Valle del Cauca alone the government granted us 135 permits to hold meetings and other public functions.

On the other hand, how is it possible, if you profess concern for the interests of the revolution, to forget about the possibilities in the country for using a wide range of methods of the people's and revolutionary struggle, which are neither peaceful nor legal, only because these posssibilities do not fit the framework of the extremist concept of the armed struggle? We Communists have no intention of telling the working people that they should not hold strikes prohibited by law. Such strikes should be held and we should talk about them. And of course we have no intention of condemning those who occupy the land in order to cultivate and live on it, just as we have no intention of condemning the people for resisting the increase in fares and the rising cost of essential services.

The ultra Lefts have made fighting participation in elections a profession. They regard such participation as being tantamount to an attempt to integrate with the system. In other words, the idea of fighting the reactionary institutions by participating in them is absolutely alien to them. But what is truly unheard-of insolence is their assertion that theirs is a Leninist platform. Needless to say, whatever Lenin had to say on the question of participation in elections is just the very reverse of what the extremists ascribe to him. Lenin clearly stated that Communists should participate in all, even the most reactionary, bourgeois institutions in order to wage a struggle in them against the entire system. He noted further that it was the duty of revolutionaries to participate in such institutions and to use them until they were strong enough to destroy them. Considering the situation in Colombia, to abstain from participating in elections because of revolutionary puritanism is to surrender the battlefield to the enemy and give him the opportunity to decide many of the country's problems as he chooses and without opposition from the people's representatives. The Colombian Communists therefore make the maximum use of election campaigns in order to establish contact with the people and to benefit as much as possible from this kind of mass activity. To act otherwise would be renouncing a weapon, even though not the most important one, but still a weapon that must not be surrendered to the enemy. Irrespective of the thousand and one forms the representatives of the people can use when working in government institutions, the debates in connection with the government's aggression in Marquetalia, the army's repressive actions, and the tyranny against political prisoners and also the message of greetings sent by the municipal council of Neiva to the guerrilla commander, Marulanda Velez, prove the value and correctness of the idea repeatedly expressed

by the guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) that even a few friends in these institutions is better than none.

Lenin demanded of those who wanted to be good revolutionaries that they combine legal and illegal forms of activity. The combination of different forms of struggle in our country fully corresponds to this criterion and we are developing it in accordance with national conditions, firmly combating all deviations. We consider that to renounce the armed struggle only because a revolutionary situation has not yet matured is to alienate the masses who want to fight with arms in hand and find this necessary. But at the same time we believe that to insist on the armed struggle as the only form is to alienate the masses who cannot and do not want to fight this way, but who can and want to wage the struggle by other means, given the proper leadership.

The combination of all forms of struggle is possible in Colombia because the armed struggle is not something artificial. What is more, our Party has never considered this form as irrevocable. Only dogmatists blindly adhere to one tactical line and as a result find themselves at the mercy of that particular form of struggle at times of social change. In fact, there were people who attempted artificially to create guerrilla centers without taking into account the level of the political development of the masses, and without consulting them. Naturally, these attempts were a failure and ended tragically. Even the National Liberation Army, which seemed to be the exception to the rule, is now experiencing a profound crisis.

FARC, on the contrary, is not an artificially created body. It is the direct result of the class struggle in the countryside, of the struggle for the organization of the peasants and for land. It would be correct to say that the armed struggle by the peasant organization, established as a result of the selfless efforts of our Party in the course of many years, is simply another form of the class struggle. It is the fitting answer to the aggression of imperialism, the monopoly bourgeoisie and the feudals. It is the class policy on a higher level. This is the source of the FARC detachments' close ties with the masses whom they are helping to educate and whose fighting spirit they are helping to elevate with all the means at their disposal. For FARC clearly realizes the importance for the revolution of combining the different forms of the people's struggle, that these forms are the most effective means for preparing the entire people for the decisive battle. It does not compel them to fight on a higher level than itself. But it involves them in all actions and enlists their solidarity. That is why FARC is invincible.

It is indisputable that by its experience the Cuban revolution enriched the peasant movement in Colombia. But in view of the

fact that many extremists claim that they discovered the armed form of struggle only after the glorious victory of the Antilles revolutionaries, it is pertinent to note that the armed struggle of the peasants in Colombia has a longer history, that this struggle was not the outcome of imitation but evolved as a result of the confrontation of classes, and that it is precisely because of this circumstance that it will continue as long as this will be required by the revolution in our country. That this armed struggle has not been crowned with success as it was in Cuba is explained by the fact that the process of historical and class development is dissimilar in the two countries.

Some theorists frequently try to resolve the problem of the principal form of struggle with the help of abstract criteria, forgetting that it is a question of an essential practical element of our orientation. They are incapable of treating facts and potentialities objectively, dialectically and materialistically. Anyone who approaches elaboration of the revolutionary path from idealistic, subjective positions confines himself to a rigid course which does not allow for alternatives, retreats, different variants. The person following such a course proclaims but one, immutable path and consequently, recognizes but one principal form that is just as ossified. But if we are to study facts, to tackle problems objectively, we cannot afford to be dogmatic. We must take cognizance of the changes brought by time and events. It is not for nothing that we always try to take into account the world balance of forces. If the revolutionary does not adhere permanently to the one or the other path of the revolution it is because he knows that the tactical forms vary and that the character of the principal path might likewise vary, depending on the attitude of the masses who, in the final analysis, are the ones to determine the form of struggle. At the present moment, the principal form of struggle in Colombia is the peaceful one, based on the actions of the masses. We are therefore centering our efforts on mobilizing the masses and ensuring their unity. In the guerrilla areas, however, the armed struggle is the main form to which all others are subordinate. Of course, if the armed struggle becomes widespread and gains the broad and decisive support of the people, it will become the principal form of struggle throughout the country.

On the other hand, the Colombian Communists cannot limit the concept of the armed struggle to its guerrilla form, even though it is part of our history and was instrumental in moulding the revolutionary consciousness of the people. The armed struggle takes many different forms, as the experience of Carupano and Santo Domingo in America shows. It is clear that this kind of struggle requires specific conditions; it is particularly important to

have a strong influence in the armed forces of the enemy. Such conditions have not yet matured in our country. But Marxism-Leninism shows how necessary it is to theoretically assimilate all the lessons of history. That is why particularly we Colombians, who aspire to draw the urban masses into the revolutionary struggle, cannot forget that on April 9, 1948 a major attempt was made to carry out an insurrection in our country, specifically in Bogota.

Up to a certain point it can be said that *Colombian traditions favor the combination of different forms of struggle* in revolutionary activity. We have a long history of guerrilla action, which began long before the war of independence, and which was widespread and successful. But we also have a no less long and important tradition of waging the struggle by peaceful means. The fight for their rights having become a virtual code of conduct for our people, it is relatively easy to mobilize them to support the fight for democratic liberties and in defense of persecuted political leaders. In our country the reaction *unlawfully* applies the death penalty, particularly in the countryside. But its repeated attempts to make the death penalty a *legal instrument of repression* have invariably suffered defeat because of the ingrained humanism of our people. In March 1967, when the military reactionary forces arrested more than 500 leaders of the Communist Party and the popular movement with the intention of exiling them to the jungles where they would surely have died from epidemics and the unhealthy climate, and beheading the revolutionary movement, a powerful national campaign was launched, forcing the government to release them. Even the relatives of President Lleras expressed their wrathful protest in articles published in the press. Our people have a strong sense of national pride, and are therefore very sensitive to the ideas of liberty.

Such are some of the reflections regarding the practice and theory of revolutionary life in Colombia, which I wanted to expound as a modest tribute to the illustrious memory of Lenin to whose immortal teaching we Colombian Communists shall always remain true. May the ideas of Lenin ever more strongly capture the minds of all the peoples. May they make it possible to realize the universal dream of a proletarian revolution in all countries of our planet!

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

## MAY-JULY 1969

### VENEZUELA

The CC CPV concluded its 13th Plenum in Caracas on May 15. It called on the people to fight for democratic liberties and constitutional rights, extend anti-imperialist action, uphold national sovereignty and independence, and foster their revolutionary and socialist awareness. In view of the coming centenary of Lenin's birth, the CC urged the Party membership and organizations to apply Lenin's ideas in the specific conditions of the revolutionary process going on in the country. The Fourth Party Congress, due to meet in a year's time, will proceed in the spirit of Lenin's ideas.

### BULGARIA

The CC BCP on July 2 approved the activity of the Party delegation to the international Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow and passed a resolution on Boris Velchev's report about the Meeting. (The text of the resolution appears in this issue of *Information Bulletin.*)

### SPAIN

The Executive Committee of the CC CPS has appointed a preparatory committee for the Lenin centenary and the 50th anniversary of the CPS, *Mundo Obrero* reported on May 24.

The EC resolution stresses that Spanish Communists will strive to study Leninism, and Lenin's life and work, more thoroughly.

### AUSTRIA

The CC CPA, meeting on July 7 and 8, heard and discussed a report on the relations between the CPA and the trade union unity group, and a report by the CC Political Bureau on the Moscow Meeting and the tasks of the Party.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The CC CPC on May 29 and 30 discussed Gustav Husak's report —"Main Tasks of the Party in the Present Political Situation"— and dealt with certain organizational and personnel matters.

### FINLAND

The CC CPF, meeting on June 14 and 15, discussed the situation

in the Party, the progress of talks to restore Party unity, and problems of collective bargaining and unity of the trade union movement.

**BELGIUM**

The CC CPB unanimously approved the report of the Party delegation to the Moscow Meeting presented by Jean Blume, member of the CC Secretariat. The meeting (Brussels, June 21 and 22) approved a new proposal on the status of Brussels as the Belgian capital, and the report of Urbain Coussement, member of the CC Secretariat, calling on Communists to work for the early unification of the progressive forces of Belgium.

**POLAND**

The Third Plenum of the CC PUWP (Warsaw, June 25) heard the Party delegation's report on the Moscow Meeting, presented by Wladyslaw Gomulka, and passed a resolution fully approving the activity of the delegation. The report was published in the previous issue of *Information Bulletin.*

**FRANCE**

The CC FCP, meeting in Paris on June 27 and 28, discussed the political situation in the country and the tasks of the Party membership after the presidential elections, heard the Party delegation's report on the Moscow Meeting and adopted appropriate resolutions. (See this issue of *Information Bulletin* for the resolution on the Moscow Meeting.)

**SOVIET UNION**

The CC CPSU, which met on June 26, passed a resolution on L. I. Brezhnev's report on the results of the Moscow Meeting. (For the resolution, see the previous issue of *Information Bulletin.)*

**KPDR**

The Working People's Party of Korea held an enlarged plenary meeting (June 27-30) which passed resolutions on the following issues:

(1) Enhancing the economic significance of public property and tightening austerity measures throughout the national economy;

(2) Introducing innovations into the fishing industry.

**BRITAIN**

The Executive Committee of the CPGB, which met on June 28 and 29, heard a report by Jack Woddis, head of the international

department of the CC, member of the Party delegation to the Moscow Meeting, on the Meeting and the activity of the Pary delegation. The EC approved the delegation's activity. The Moscow Meeting was an important contribution to the world Communist movement and the anti-imperialist fight, says the EC statement on the Meeting. It adds that the 75 parties represented at the Meeting showed a high degree of unity on problems of the fight against imperialism and the war danger. The fact that these parties reached agreement on cardinal problems of the fight against imperialism in spite of differences over certain other issues is, as the EC sees it, a sign of the strength of the movement.

**MPR**

On July 3 the Seventh Plenum of the CC, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party heard and discussed a report by Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC on the results of the Moscow Meeting. It also discussed preparations for the coming session of the Grand People's Khural of the MPR.

The meeting unanimously passed resolutions on the items discussed. (See this issue of *Information Bulletin* for the resolution on the Moscow Meeting.)

**ECUADOR**

The CPE organization of Guayas Province held a conference in Guayaquil on July 19 and 20. The conference unanimously approved the report on the Moscow Meeting presented on behalf of the CC CPE by Pedro Saad, General Secretary.

The conference also approved the Central Committee's plan for commemorating the Lenin centenary.

The conference declared in support of International Day of Solidarity with Vietnam and paid tribute to the gallant people of Vietnam.

**ITALY**

On July 29 the CC ICP discussed the political crisis in the country and problems of the fight for democratic change.

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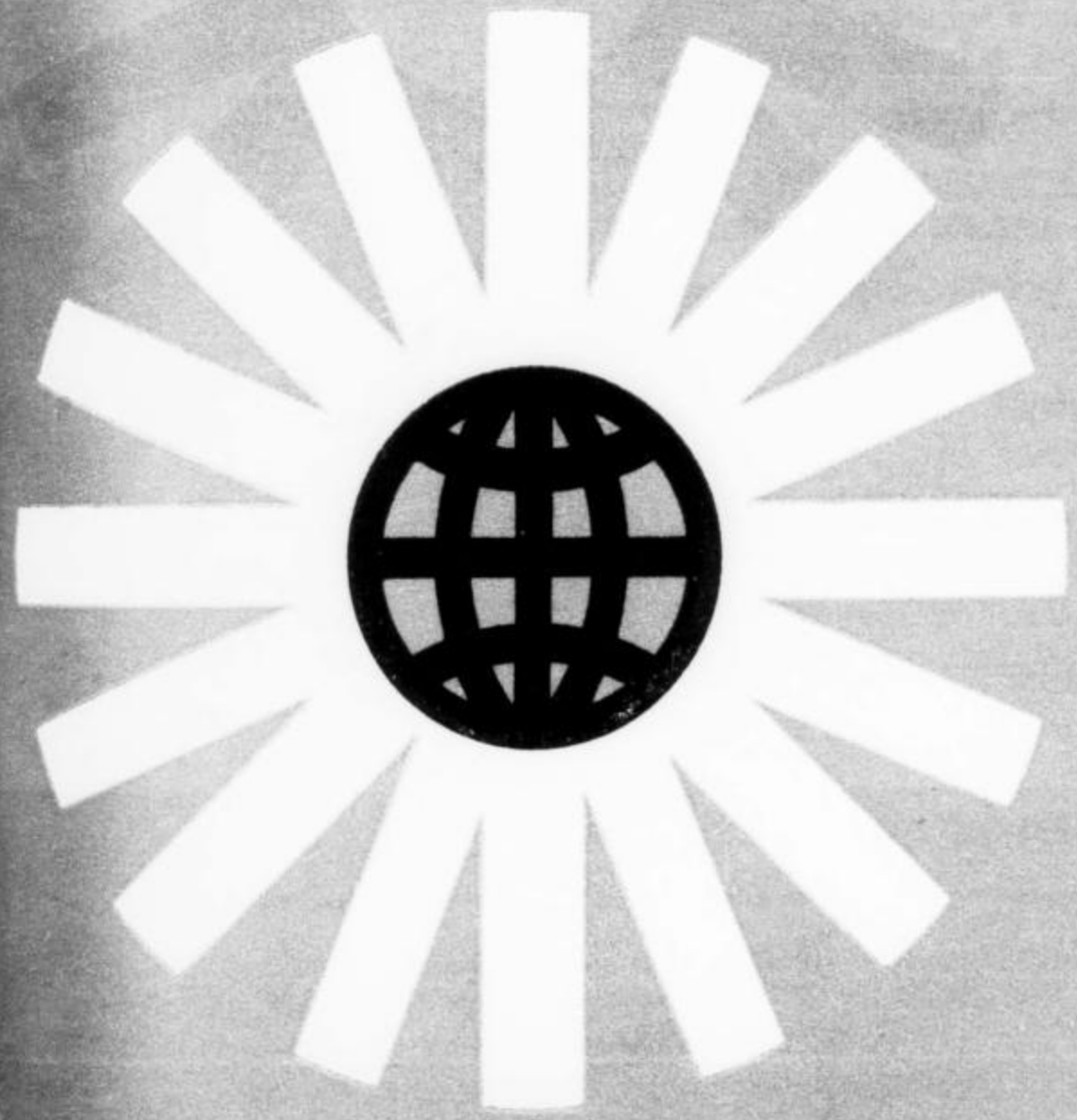

## BULLETIN

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In this issue

**THIRD CONGRESS OF SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY**

**SPEECH BY WLADYSLAW GOMULKA**

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# LANDMARK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT

Fraternal Parties assess the results of the
International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile, having heard the information submitted by Comrade Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Political Commission, approved the activity of the CPC delegation led, as is known, by Comrade Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Party.

The CC CPC endorsed all the documents approved by the International Meeting and fully supported the Main Document, the address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin," the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!" and the "Appeal in Defense of Peace."

The CC CPC stresses with satisfaction that the Moscow Meeting was a result of careful preparations over a long period involving various Communist parties, which attended five preparatory meetings—three in Budapest and two in Moscow.

The fact that spokesmen of so many Communist and Workers' parties from the five continents met in Moscow gave the lie to our enemies, who had asserted that the Meeting would not materialize. The Communist conference was a big victory for the world Communist movement in its fight against imperialism and its effort for unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Of course, it neither could nor was expected to settle all the differences existing in the Communist movement.

Fully eliminating all differences between Communist parties is a task which must be accomplished and which arouses the keenest interest.

The wide publicity of the deliberations, approved by the Meeting, deprived our class enemy and political adversaries of the opportunity to speculate by making various conjectures and distorting the facts, and showed the world Communist democracy in action and the vastness of the theoretical and practical knowledge gained by the Communist movement in recent years.

The confrontation of the positions of various parties on contro-

*El Siglo, July 9, 1969

versial problems revealed the maturity of the Communist parties and their keen sense of responsibility to the peoples and the world revolutionary movement. The numerous amendments proposed by many parties, including the Communist Party of Chile, with a view to improving the draft documents, were approved by the Meeting and taken into account in putting the documents in final form.

A fact of special importance was that, in analyzing the world revolutionary process, the Moscow Meeting emphasized the need of a more profound study of new developments in the struggle against imperialism and capitalism.

The Communist Party of Chile regards the Moscow Meeting as an important stage in the promotion of unity of action of the Communist parties and other revolutionary forces battling with imperialism.

The CPC will carry on its anti-imperialist fight and its policy of unity of the broadest revolutionary democratic and progressive forces according to its own line and to the Main Document of the Moscow Meeting.

Invariably loyal to proletarian internationalism, the CPC will continue to work hard for the great goals set in the Main Document.

The CPC will strive to strengthen fraternal relations and to express the most active solidarity with other fraternal parties, both those that signed the Main Document of the Moscow Meeting along with us and those that for one reason or another could not attend the great world forum of Communists.

The CPC will make a special effort to strengthen its traditional relations of fraternal solidarity with the Communist parties of America. It notes with satisfaction that the Meeting was attended by a delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba, messenger of the people who were the first on our continent to begin building a socialist society in their country.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile calls on all Party members to study the documents of the Moscow Meeting and asks its allies, the working class and other progressive forces of the nation, to do the same, for it is convinced that these documents constitute a weapon in the fight for the anti-impearialist unity of our people.

*Central Committee, CP of Chile*

*Santiago, July 8, 1969*

# COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK*

On July 2, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark discussed the work of the International Meeting of Communist Parties in Moscow.

Having heard a report by its delegation at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969, the Executive Committee approved the activity of its delegation, and its acceptance of the documents and decisions of the Meeting. The Executive Committee has asked the Central Committee to approve this.

We assess the whole course of the Meeting and its results as a success for the Communist movement. This constitutes a basis for moving to a new stage in strengthening the unity of the Communist movement and developing the whole anti-imperialist struggle.

We are deeply satisfied over the fact that the Communist parties of 75 countries were able to gather for such a fruitful, democratic and equitable discussion, thereby demonstrating their collective ability to conduct discussions whose results were approved by all. It is not the existing differences, but the urge for unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism that characterized the Meeting. On the contrary, the discussion helped to overcome many differences, which blasted all the expectations of the anti-communist forces and propaganda sensations.

The democratic spirit and forms of organizing the Meeting yielded positive results, expressed in the fact that decisions were taken either unanimously or by a majority.

The Main Document of the Meeting, *The Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action by Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces,* contains a further valuable elaboration of the common standpoints of the Communist movement.

The unanimous adoption of the solidarity appeal, *Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!*, other solidarity documents, and the Appeal in Defense of Peace, was a concrete step towards the firm line in the anti-imperialist fight.

Of great importance was the fact that the Meeting also unanimously adopted the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin," thereby emphasizing that Lenin's example and doctrine are an organic part of the general ideological principles of the Communist movement.

The Meeting also adopted decisions on further developing ties to exchange views and to unify all the anti--imperialist forces.

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*Land og Volk, July 6-7, 1969.

The discussion held at the Meeting was on the whole a considerable contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist thinking in present-day conditions. All the material was placed at the disposal of world opinion, being published in the press, and this we consider to be right. We shall strive to bring it also to the knowledge of Danish opinion.

We express our satisfaction over the fact that our Party's proposal in connection with the Meeting to circulate the popular and well documented *Indictment Against Imperialism* has been realized.

On the whole the Meeting and its course were a striking expression of the fact that the world Communist movement has been and remains a decisive political reality and the greatest political movement of our day. Accordingly, the Meeting will be an inspiration for Communists throughout the world for another big effort. The Meeting will also have an influence on all the forces which have yet to find their bearings.

We urge all Party members to make a study of the material of the International Meeting. We call on Party organizations to arrange joint study and discussion of this material.

Because the decisions of our Party's 23rd Congress are in full conformity with the decisions of the International Meeting, this study will help to realize the political line and tasks of our Party congress.

## SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF WEST BERLIN*

The 15th Plenary Meeting of the Board of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin was held on July 1, 1969.

Bruno Kuster, member of the Secretariat of the Party's Board, reported on the activity of the SUPWB delegation and on the course and results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which was held in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969.

The Board of the SUPWB approved the statement by the SUPWB delegation under the leadership of Gerhard Danelius, Chairman of the SUPWB.

The Party's Board declared that the International Meeting, basing itself on Marxist-Leninist theory and the inexhaustible practical experience of all detachments of the world Communist movement, has indicated the way to solve the big problems of our day. The Meeting has helped further to develop the strategy and tactics of the Communist and Workers' parties and has demonstrated the will and ability of the international Communist movement to unite. The Meeting has opened a new stage in achieving and strengthening

*Die Wahrheit, July 2, 1969.

the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Meeting is another milestone in the fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. In the fight against Right and "Left" opportunism, it has safeguarded Marxism-Leninism and has shown the whole movement its objective, direction and prospect.

The SUPWB Board declared its complete agreement with the Main Document and other documents adopted by the Meeting.

The Board called on all Party organizations and members to make a systematic study of the theoretical wealth, political experience and great ideological content of the documents and material of the Meeting and systematically to carry its message to workers, young people, students, and democratic and socialist forces.

Our Party will continue to activize its ideological-political work on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It will carry on even more consistently and purposefully its daily effort to unite the democratic and socialist forces and all opponents of the capitalist system.

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN, UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY OF CATALONIA, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE BASQUE COUNTRY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF GALICIA*

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, the Executive Committee of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, the leadership of the Communist Party of the Basque country, and the leadership of the Communist Party of Galicia, having heard and discussed a report by the delegation, headed by Comrades Santiago Carrillo and Dolores Ibarruri, which attended the Moscow Meeting, fully approve the work carried out by the delegation. They congratulate the comrades who represented the Party at the Meeting on their masterful and firm presentation and defense of their views during the Meeting, and also in the course of various discussions and talks during the Meeting.

We note the positive results of the Meeting on a whole series of big and important political problems.

An open sincere discussion took place at the Meeting, in the course of which the parties set out their views on the main questions of the anti-imperialist struggle, including the problems on which there are differences. These differences, far from weakening the decisions of the Meeting, in fact lend them greater force because they remove all confusion and ambiguities.

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*Mundo obrero, July 5, 1969.

The recent Meeting, by setting out the points of contact and the points of variance, must help to develop the unitary process, which, without avoiding the necessary political and theoretical discussions based on the principles of creative Marxism-Leninism, would help restore the unity of the whole international Communist movement.

Another novel feature of the Meeting is that the discussions at it were publicized. World opinion was kept in touch with what was being said at the Meeting.

In view of the free discussion in the course of the Meeting, in view of its open character, the Meeting in June 1969 marks the overcoming of the methods and habits which had made it more difficult for the working people of the world and for all revolutionary forces to gain a correct understanding of the present state of relations between the Communist parties.

The fact that the question of the Czechoslovak events was discussed at the Meeting is a positive phenomenon. The discussion turned into a reality the thesis, which the Communist Party of Spain had defended during the preparatory period, to the effect that the parties attending the Meeting, despite their serious differences over the events in Czechoslovakia, once again affirmed their will to be united in fighting the common enemy, in fighting imperialism.

Experience has shown that the open discussion of differences on serious questions does not lead to a break, and is carried out within the framework of strengthening unity in the fight against imperialism.

The course of the Meeting showed that the practice of the minority subordinating itself to the majority, the method of democratic centralism, which is a necessary part of the internal life of each Party, cannot be applied to the activity of the international Communist movement. Inclusion in the Main Document of the statement that there is now no governing center in our movement is not a mere formality. It is a reflection of reality, which was confirmed by the whole course of the Meeting's work.

A very important aspect of the Meeting decisions is that they do not contain condemnation of any Party. Moreover, the Main Document unequivocally comes out for joint struggle against imperialism, and for the common goals of the international working-class movement. In this fight, the parties which attended the Meeting will cooperate with those which did not. This stand, approved by all the participants in the Meeting, opens up favorable prospects for achieving unity of the whole international Communist movement.

In view of the new features of the Meeting, dealt with above, it is, we believe, an important step forward in achieving a *new unity*, which our movement now needs, and whose content was clearly defined in the report of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain at the Meeting.

Referring to the documents adopted by the Meeting, we emphasize the value of the call for solidarity with the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle. The fact that consultations were held on the document with the Working People's Party of Vietnam enhances its significance and importance.

The Main Document was the result of a very broad discussion in which many Communist and Workers' parties took part. The democratic methods used throughout the preparatory period proved to be effective.

We advise all Party organizations to study and discuss the Main Document of the Meeting, and also the texts of both statements by our delegation, which clearly set out our Party's view of the Document.

This study will confirm our Communists in the conviction that our Party's political line is correct, will inspire them to intensify the fight against the Franco dictatorship and for the freedom of Spain, and will help them to be more active in the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle. It will help them to obtain an even better understanding of the importance of the international solidarity of the Communist parties and all anti-imperialist forces at the present stage.

Referring to the document adopted by the Meeting on the Lenin Centenary, we declare once again our determination to mark this historic date on the highest level, so that the celebrations of the anniversary will enhance the political awareness of Spanish Communists and temper them further in the Leninist spirit.

After the Meeting we believe that one of the most important tasks is to strive to strengthen our fraternal relations with the Communist and Workers' parties. In this sense, the Communist Party of Spain plans over the next few months to carry out a series of bilateral meetings with the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, Cuba, the Korean Party of Labor and other Communist parties of capitalist and socialist countries. These meetings will help to strengthen our Party's ties with other brother Parties. We are sure that these meetings will be a contribution to the unity of the international Communist movement.

*Executive Committee, Communist Party of Spain*
*Executive Committee, USP Catalonia*
*Leadership, Communist Party of the Basque Country*
*Leadership, Communist Party of Galicia*

# HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY*

It took 18 months to prepare and hold the big International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, and one of the unquestionable results of this effort is that there is a new and more cordial form of greater respect for and confidence in the Soviet Union's role in helping progressive movements and progressive aspirations throughout the world.

Even the parties which did not share the majority opinion on this or that issue, like the brother parties of Italy and Australia, not only recognized but also emphasized at the Moscow Meeting that the Soviet Union is the main force of socialism and the mightiest champion of progress. Almost all the participants in the Meeting gave a clear affirmation to the positive assessment of the Soviet Union's historic role. Let us state that this was one of the most important and most frequent topics of the Meeting which was "not on its agenda." The broadest unity was displayed on this question. This is of very great political importance for the future development of the international Communist movement as a whole.

This has landed the "Kremlinologists" specializing in "communist problems," the bourgeois propaganda "experts," in a curious, you might say, ludicrous situation. They had wasted reams of paper in criticizing the monolithic unity of the Communist movement, and the Soviet Union's absolute prestige associated with it. When the parties began their open exchange of opinion and polemics in preparing the International Meeting, these men, conveniently forgetting what they had written, set about with great gusto analyzing all the details of the polemics, scanning the pages of our papers with magnifying glasses for any sign of disagreement, to prove that there was no longer any "monolithic unity in the Communist ranks" and that consequently "the Soviet Union's prestige has disappeared," and that "the world Communist movement is disintegrating." They now have to take note of the fact that even without "monolithic methods," namely, *in an atmosphere of open, sincere and frequently, let us say, polemical contacts, on the basis of respect for the independence of the socialist countries there is growing respect in the Communist movement for the role of the USSR, whose prestige is rising.*

But it would be wrong to minimize the impact and importance of bourgeois propaganda, even if one cannot help being ironic over the way bourgeois propagandists now and again put their foot in it.

The international Communist movement, even if it is undoubtedly

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*Népszabadság, July 27, 1969.

developing and being vigorously on the offensive, is constantly within the range of the bourgeois propaganda guns, and must keep fighting against the machinations of the West through its powerful mass media. The clichés used to discredit, say, the idea of internationalism may be well-worn, but they have not yet lost their effectiveness. It is still possible to bring pressure to bear on various parties by casting doubt on their stand for national interests if they recognize the Soviet Union's role of standard-bearer in the fight for the common cause.

Bourgeois propaganda tries to avoid using the words "Soviet Union" not out of ignorance or carelessness, but quite deliberately, and it is a rare day on which you will find a bourgeois paper using its full name of "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." Even when its official name is required, the bourgeois press will simply say "the Russians." It has been doing this for 50 years to depict the multinational union of republics, representing *international interests*, the common cause of socialism and communism, and the true interests of each nation, as a vehicle of a *single national interest*, that of the Russians. Today these daily insinuations are being used in an attempt to prove that the touchstone of a Communist Party's independence and national character is its distance from the "Russians," to be more precise, how strongly it denies the urge for unity of the international Communist movement.

In this way, the bourgeois propaganda machine is suggesting to some parties: show more restraint towards "Moscow," move away from it unnoticeably on one or two issues—that will release you from the pressure, and lo!—the billions going into Western propaganda are gradually beginning to serve you, you are being set apart, your national character is being emphasized in the eyes of the masses, the electors, in other words, you are being "reappraised."

Almost all the parties, without exception, which attended the Moscow Meeting, have not only become aware of these machinations, but have also started to fight them unequivocally, thereby showing their maturity and sense of responsibility. It did not escape the attention of the Communist parties that on the strength of this logic of bourgeois propaganda the Maoist party has become the most eligible for entry into the Western salon. More than two-thirds of the parties deemed it necessary to condemn—irrespective of the items on the agenda—the dangerous splitting policy of the Chinese leaders. In this way, the overwhelming majority of the parties voiced their gratitude to the Soviet Union for its sober stand, which springs from the common interest of the Communist movement, in face of the repeated Chinese violations of the Soviet border. Let us recall that there were fears that such statements by

the brother parties could harm the unity of the Communist movement. It has now been proved that *such statements served the cause of unity*. The brother parties spoke in this vein on all questions on which it is important for the whole Communist movement to take a common stand. Thus there was unanimous recognition of the Soviet Union's role in helping the liberation movements, including support for the Arab peoples fighting for their rights; Soviet aid for the Vietnamese people's liberation struggle, and the USSR's selfless efforts in the international arena to secure freedom and peace for Vietnam were qualified as the most crucial factor.

And so the Meeting has proved that the Soviet Union enjoys prestige in the international Communist movement above all because of its policy, its sacrifices for the common cause, that is, the way it fulfils its historic role. This bears a closer examination because prestige and historic role—mission, if you like—are two concepts which are being confused with especial satisfaction by those who deliberately manipulate them.

Prestige may depend on various subjective assessments. For the past 50 years, the bourgeois press has been using its own scale of values to argue that the Soviet Union has no prestige at all. Throughout these 50 years, the bourgeoisie has been mobilizing all its forces, means and propaganda facilities in fighting this quite real and intolerable prestige. However, the existing subjective differences in assessing Soviet prestige have done nothing to change the Soviet Union's *objective role*, which is that the USSR is the embodiment of socialism's greatest economic, political, diplomatic and military might, and that the USSR is the mainstay not only of the working-class movement but also of the revolutionary movement in general.

While the West has kept stressing how badly the Soviet Union needs its allies, how badly it wants to play the "leading" role in the working-class movement, nothing is ever said about how much the socialist countries, the other detachments of the world Communist movement and all progressive mankind need the Soviet Union. But that is the aspect of the question which it is most difficult to sidestep. After all, it leaps to the eye that over the past 25 years it is not so much Soviet construction sites that have been equipped with Hungarian, Polish, Chinese and Rumanian plant, as the majority of the young socialist countries that have laid the foundations of their industrial development with the aid of Soviet deliveries. It is not Hungary, the GDR or Czechoslovakia that are shielding the Soviet Union with their nuclear-rocket and naval submarine armory but, on the contrary, it is the forces of retaliation created by the vast effort of the Soviet people that are preventing the imperialists from trying to use armed force to restore

their domination both over the socialist countries and the former colonies. There is no doubt at all that no socialist country could assume this historic role even partially, let alone play it.

"Although we are equal," Janos Kadar told the Moscow Meeting, "we have an unequal responsibility and burden. For, measured by any standard, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, which have equal rights with us and do not lay claim to more, bear an immeasurably greater responsibility than any of us. Disinterestedly, acting in the spirit of internationalism, they have made, and are making, greater sacrifices than anyone else in the interests of communism, the freedom of the nations, for the prevention of a world war and for a happy future for mankind."

We could quote equally heartfelt statements at the Meeting by many other speakers, representing big and small parties, from countries building socialism and countries where the Communists still have to go through innumerable ordeals, dangers, prison terms and victimization on the way to victory. In paying tribute to the Soviet Union's international role, the participants in the Meeting were not actuated by the requirements of hospitality. They did so sincerely, in accordance with democratic methods, which help to strengthen the ties of the various detachments of the working-class movement. The Meeting formulated the proposition that in the Communist movement comradely, allied ties with the CPSU and the Soviet Union spring equally from each Party's national and internationalist duty. That is why the general recognition and approval of the Soviet Union's role became a common and key element, even if it was not on the agenda of the International Meeting, an element which permeated all its work.

# THIRD CONGRESS OF THE SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

## 1. CONGRESS COMMUNIQUE*

The Third Congress of the Syrian Communist Party met in Damascus early in June 1969. A historical national congress, it was preceded by extensive political, ideological and organizational preparations. The Central Committee drafted the following three important documents for Congress:

(1) Party Rules
(2) Economic Program
(3) Agricultural Program

Congress was attended by 101 delegates representing all regional Party organizations, delegates from the CC organizations, and representatives of organizations with headquarters in Europe.

The fraternal Communist parties of Iraq and Jordan were represented by guests.

Congress received messages of greetings from the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Poland, the GDR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and Cuba, the fraternal Communist parties of the Arab countries, France, India, Brazil, Argentina and numerous other European, Asian and Latin American countries.

Congress, which lasted about four days, proceeded under the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" and "Eliminate the effects of the Israeli-imperialist aggression, strengthen the national progressive regime in the SAR, promote socialism and Arab unity!"

Congress heard the Central Committee report presented by Comrade Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary.

The rapporteur spoke of the Israeli-imperialist aggression and of ways and means of ending it, of the more important stages of Party policy and history since the Second National Congress, of such serious aspects of Party activity as internationalism, nationalism and Arab unity, the Palestine question, friendship with the Soviet Union and Lenin's glorious Party, the problem of a national progressive front and the movement for the working people's demands, the present tasks of the Party and the country in consolidating the national progressive regime, championing radical socio-economic changes and providing the prerequisite of the transition to socialism.

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*Al Akhbar, July 6, 1969.

The rapporteur also dealt with organizational and political problems facing the whole Party.

After amply discussing the report in a spirit of profound democracy and on critical and self-critical lines, and after making a number of remarks, Congress unanimously approved it.

Congress heard the report of the committee drafting the Party's political program and was acquainted in general outline with the draft. It entrusted the Central Committee to edit the draft and submit it to all Party organizations for discussion and later to a national conference or extraordinary congress to be specially convened to approve it.

Congress next heard the report of the committee drafting the "Plan of Economic Measures to Consolidate Progressive Reforms in Syria and Create the Prerequisities of the Transition to Socialism." The delegates discussed the report, voted a number of amendments to the program and unanimously approved it.

After hearing and discussing the report of the committee drafting the agricultural program of the Party, Congress introduced some amendments into the draft and unanimously approved the program.

Thereupon Congress heard and discussed the report of the Rules Committee. After introducing a number of amendments Congress unanimously approved the draft.

Having heard the report of the committee charged with the drafting of the Congress resolutions, statements and messages, the delegates unanimously adopted the following documents:

1. Statement on the second anniversary of the Israeli-imperialist aggression against the SAR and other fraternal Arab countries.

2. Letter to the Communist and Workers' parties of the world and to other progressive forces thanking them for their support of the Arabs' struggle to eliminate the effects of the Israeli aggression and restore the rights of the Palestine Arabs in their homeland, and calling on them to increase their energetic support of and solidarity with this noble and just cause.

3. Message of greetings expressing gratitude and solidarity to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and acknowledging its historic role in pioneering mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and in supporting the just cause of the Arab countries, the fight of the peoples for freedom, democracy and social progress, against world imperialism, for peace.

4. Resolution on the significance and necessity of celebrating in our country the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great leader of the working people.

5. Message of greetings expressing admiration for the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the solidarity of our Party and people

with the heroic Vienamese people in their fight against the U.S. imperialist aggression, for the freedom, unity and territorial integrity of their country.

6. Resolution instructing the Central Committee to do its utmost to contribute to the success of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow and to the adoption of the Main Document of the Meeting.

7. Letter of greetings on behalf of Congress to the wife and children of Farajullah al-Hulw, the Communist leader who died in a Damascus prison fighting for the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and for the Party.

8. Message of greetings to the Palestine Arabs' resistance movement against the Israeli occupation, a movement to eliminate the effects of the aggression.

Congress then passed on to the election of the leading Party committees and elected by secret ballot the full and alternate members of the Central Committee and Auditing Committee.

That concluded the historic Third Congress of the SCP.

Congress was held in a spirit of unshakable loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. It constituted an impressive and unanimous demonstration of everlasting and unfading friendship for the great Lenin's Party and the friendly Soviet Union. It proceeded in an atmosphere of responsibility for the country's destiny and great goals, in a spirit of firm faith in the historic mission which the Party has been and will go on fulfilling.

The discussion of the Congress agenda was marked by a high standard of proletarian democracy and by Leninist self-criticism.

The Third Congress of the Syrian Communist Party was a milestone in Party history. It will undoubtedly make for greater cohesion and unity of the Syrian Communists on Marxist-Leninist principles and will enable them to increase and strengthen their role on clear-cut political, ideological and organizational principles, on the basis of a national progressive front. It will contribute to the national struggle to remove the effects of the Israeli-imperialist aggression, reinforce and consolidate the progressive national regime of the country and create the prerequisites of the transition to socialism, and will benefit the effort to promote Arab unity.

## 2. STATEMENT ON THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE ISRAELI-IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

The imperialist-Zionist aggression against the UAR, Jordan and Syria by the armed forces of Israel, which resulted in the occupation of vast Arab territories (the Gaza Strip, Sinai Peninsula, west bank of the Jordan, Golan Heights), was not an accident but a deliberate act prepared by the imperialist forces of Israel and inter-

national imperialism, especially by the imperialists of the United States, West Germany and Britain. It was an aggression to which Arab reaction contributed in one form or another.

On the one hand, these forces were alarmed by the revolution of the Arab national liberation movement and by the penetration into it of the ideas of progress, socialism and unity, which threatened both the existence of colonialism, imperialism and Zionism and the rule of the feudal lords and the big bourgeoisie. On the other hand, they saw that Israel, which is a base of imperialism in that area and is intent on aggression and expansion, could strike at the Arab national liberation movement as represented by the UAR and Syria and seize part of the territory of these two Arab states, Jordan and other neighbors. These forces therefore pushed Israel to mount the aggression of June 5,1967, and supplied it with arms and information. At the same time they used the activity of the reactionary forces in the progressive Arab countries in the interests of the Israeli aggression, on the one hand, and for the struggle against progressive reforms, on the other.

The imperialist-Zionist forces achieved some of their aims. They dealt a strong blow at the Arab armed forces in Egypt, Syria and Jordan and overran sizable portions of Arab soil. They refuse to pull out of these areas and are busy fortifying them, building camps and settlements.

In this colonial war of aggression thousands of Arab soldiers were killed—in the Gaza Strip, on the Sinai Peninsula and the west bank of the Jordan, in Syria—as a result of treason on the part of a number of Egyptian military leaders opposed to progressive reforms. Other adverse factors in addition to this role of the imperialist forces were the low standard of the combat preparedness of the army, the inadequate training of some leaders of the Syrian and Jordanian armies and the faint-heartedness shown by them. Most Arab soldiers displayed a high morale and a sense of patriotic duty in that battle. Many men and non-commissioned officers gave their lives defending their native soil. They did not retreat from their battle positions a single step, and preferred death to retreat.

On November 22, 1967, the UN Security Council passed a resolution urging Israel to withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab territories to their initial positions. Almost two years have elapsed since this resolution was adopted and yet Israel refuses to carry it out, just as it invariably refused to carry out earlier UN resolutions.

The issue of the Israeli troops' withdrawal from the Arab lands they occupy and of eliminating the effects of the aggression is a problem of vital importance to our Arab countries. Israel is out to colonize the territories it has seized and is robbing the Arab inhabitants of their land, expelling them to neighboring Arab countries.

Arabs in these territories are persecuted and repressed in various ways.

This is a grave situation fraught with dangerous consequences, and until the Israeli troops have withdrawn from the occupied areas, all Arab countries will be in danger together and severally, and world peace will hang in the balance.

The problem facing the Arab countries today, when vast areas of their territory are held by Israeli-imperialist forces, is not only military but social and ideological as well.

During the aggression the Arab people did not take proper steps to ward off the imperialist-Zionist danger, did not organize their forces to resist the aggression and defeat the aggressor. The Arab troops were not ready for action. Despite the great bravery shown by some units, the Arab troops were virtually unprepared for war, they had little training and their efficiency was low. There was hardly any cooperation between them, a revolutionary example they could emulate was almost non-existent, and the relations between men and officers were inimical and unsound. That is why, despite the numerous types of weapons, the great strength of the troops, the presence of numerous military experts and the fact that there was a cause—a patriotic cause—for which courageous men dedicated to their country were ready to die, the Arab army lost the battle. Today it is preparing—by reinforcing its units and removing shortcomings in the defense system—to defend the Arab territory and win back the occupied areas unless the invader relinquishes them.

The facts show that Israel obstinately refuses to withdraw from the occupied lands and blocks execution of the UN Security Council resolution. This is why the Arab countries and their armed forces must inevitably face up to the problem of defense preparedness and of winning back the seized territories. In the military field this calls for the following measures:

1) Ridding the army of officers who deserted from the battlefield or cannot set the rank and file an example in action for their country. Bringing all progressive and patriotic-minded officers back into the armed forces.

2) Training men, non-commissioned officers and military leaders for the skilful use of modern weapons.

3) Ensuring the cooperation of the Arab armed forces, especially of the troops of Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Jordan.

4) Improving work on the eastern front and its guidance.

5) Improving the conditions of men and non-commissioned officers and seeing to it that they are treated humanely.

6) Training the people for the use of modern weapons and methods of street fighting. Ensuring cooperation between them and the standing army.

7) Heightening the role of Soviet military experts in the training of troops for battle and the skilful use of modern weapons, and raising the fighting efficiency of the troops.

The Palestine resistance movement against the Israeli invaders is expanding, taking on diverse political and military forms. The guerrillas' cause is supported by the Arab masses and by the progressive forces and Communist parties of the world. To promote this movement, it is necessary to improve cooperation between various guerrilla organizations and prevent attempts by some organizations to control others.

The guerrilla organizations should show a keener sense of responsibility in taking political stands, especially in defining their attitude towards friends and above all the chief ally of the Arab peoples—the Soviet Union—and the world Communist movement. Guerrilla warfare never negates political struggle, for one complements the other. The guerrilla movement with its legitimate objective, liberation of the occupied territories, needs ever greater understanding and support on the part of world opinion and should therefore widely publicize its views and ideas.

In the development sphere it is necessary to continue fulfilling industrial and agricultural plans and building up our country's economic power. Defense capacity is inseparable from economic power, and to be efficient an army has to command a material and technical basis meeting every military requirement and linking the war front with the home front.

In the social and ideological sphere, our army, which comprises numerous workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, should be educated in a spirit of devotion and struggle and given an ideal to strive for.

In the international sphere there can be no doubt that world opinion is gaining a clearer idea of our cause and coming to appreciate its just character. That is why worldwide support for this cause is increasing, whereas Israel is finding itself in growing isolation.

The socialist countries, in whose van is the Soviet Union, back our cause politically and militarily. Relations with the Soviet Union, closer friendship and cooperation with it, are of decisive importance and should not be taken lightly, nor should their impact be underrated. The imperialists, Zionists and reactionary forces are doing their utmost to impair our relations with the Soviet Union and undermine the links between it and the Arab national liberation movement. They realize that the success of their aggressive schemes hinges on this. Our patriotic duty is steadfastly to further friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and expose enemy attempts to weaken or discredit this friendship. To promote this friendship means, in effect, increasing our military power and

strengthening our political positions at home and abroad.

The Syrian Communist Party calls on all workers and peasants, on young people and students, on men and women, on all who treasure the cause of their country and people, on all progressive forces, on Baathists and non-Baathists, to close their ranks and evolve the most effective forms of cooperation in a national progressive front against imperialism and reactionary conspiracies in order to eliminate the effects of the aggression and free the occupied territories.

# ITALY: SITUATION IN THE PARTY FOUR MONTHS AFTER ITS 12th CONGRESS

(Summary of an analysis* by the Central Committee Organization Commission)

What is the situation in the Party after the 12th National Congress in terms of its orientation, collective ability to take political initiatives, and organizational strength? The questions were subjected to a critical analysis at a meeting of the Central Committee's Fifth Commission. The discussion was introduced by Ugo Pecchioli, member of the Party leadership, who concentrated on the Party's effort fully to play its part in the present rapidly changing situation.

Extension of the struggle fully confirms the analysis made at the Bologna Party Congress. This and the greater need for united political action in defense of the workers' demands enhances the role of the Party. There is also a growing awareness that the Communist Party owes its strength and prestige to the fact that it radically differs from all other Italian parties.

But from this follows the imperative need rapidly and boldly to reorient all Party organizations in adaptation to the new demands posed by the complex and difficult situation. There are still some unsolved problems impeding full deployment and mobilization of our forces. This refers primarily to the fact that though the 12th Congress policy has met with universal agreement, there are still elements of restraint, disagreement, or merely formal approval.

Both the report and the ensuing discussion revealed typical shortcomings that are hindering orientation of the Party and support of its 12th Congress policy by all members. For instance, there is the tendency to misinterpret the relation between the wide public struggle and political initiative; underestimation of the Party's leading role in the workers' protest movement; apprehension lest the efforts towards unity with other Left political forces, and the dialogue with them, create the danger of infiltration of alien elements; inadequate understanding of the link between the Party's policy of independence and its firm will for internationalism, the role it plays, and will continue to play, in strengthening the unity of the world Communist movement.

On the other hand, we must rapidly overcome shortcomings and eliminate survivals of bureaucracy which, in specific situations, prevent us from keeping in step with the militant siprit of the

*Unita, June 16, 1969.

masses, and leave the door open for action by employers and the government, and also for irresponsible agitation by "Left" and Right extremist groups. This, however, should not be generalized, and does not in any way detract from the predominantly positive situation in the Party. But considering the new circumstances, these shortcomings must be overcome without delay. And this should be done through open, argumented and painstaking discussion to win over all the comrades, through struggle against the pressure of erroneous views from without, and also through insistent efforts to take new initiatives in the struggle.

In the light of these considerations, the meeting discussed ways and means of achieving unity of the entire Party and of repelling attacks from without. Nor should we underestimate the need for a fight within the Party against actions that tend to divert inner-Party discussions from their basic purpose of achieving unity. It is also necessary that the principle of democratic centralism be correctly understood, that is, in the way it was defined by the 12th Congress.

The meeting endorsed the negative stand taken by the Central Committee press department in regard to the proposed publication of a magazine edited by Comrades Magri and Rossanda and criticized Comrade M. A. Macciocchi's book on the experience of the election struggle in Naples.

The meeting emphasized anew that unity is not the antonym of democracy. On the contrary, full development of inner-Party democracy is an essential condition for maximum agreement and unity. But the point was also made that inner-Party democracy cannot be reduced to members exercising their rights, for it also implies obligations and conscious discipline.

Both the reporter and discussion speakers said there was too much procrastination in operating the 12th Congress policy. If it is to be effectively operated in this new political phase, and if we are to obtain positive results, we must strengthen the mass character of the Party, widen our initiative and agreed militant actions of all Party organizations in all aspects of social and political life, and apply methods of work and leadership that will enable Communists to take a bigger direct part in Party life.

Italy's present state of crisis and tension, the energetic counter-offensive of the conservative forces, and the deep crisis of the government machine, breed defeatist sentiments that might leave room for the penetration of alien theories, such as idealization of spontaneity, and irrational and extremist forms of struggle.

On the other hand, however, there is a reverse trend reflecting organizational needs and the positive experience of mass struggle and militant action by the Party and democratic movement (assemblies, factory representatives, residential block councils, etc.). But

this trend could be exploited to bolster adventurist positions and aims wholly unrelated to Italian reality and designed to isolate the vanguard of the mass unity movement.

In view of these various trends, there is a greater need for more profound ideological and practical work in organizing and strengthening the Party by expanding rank-and-file democratic participation in fruitful contacts with representative institutions, the aim being to renew them by closer ties, mutual support and positive contacts between the new forces now entering the struggle (young workers, students, peasants, and middle strata) and the Party and class and democratic organizations.

In this context, such concrete questions as exchange of Party cards and recruiting new members acquire great political importance. Note was taken of the new wave of activity after the Congress, particularly following the Central Committee's April appeal. More Party members took out cards and more recruits were made in April and May than in the same period of last year. But these positive trends, which are part of the present situation, must be complemented by more Party activity and initiative in extending the struggle (but it was emphasized that the struggle does not automatically bring more people into the Party). We must overcome the gap that still exists in some places between "political involvement" and building the Party. And because of this gap, political initiative is not backed by organizational support and, on the other hand, organizational work is sometimes reduced to bureaucratic activity.

The meeting decided to support and encourage participation in recruiting new members and issuing them Party cards. This work must be ideologically accented and attended by political initiative. We should also take practical measures to see that it is controlled by the Party membership. In the coming weeks all regional and district Party organizations and local branches should make an all-out recruiting effort. It is important that newly recruited comrades be given an active share in this, for they are the direct connecting link between the Party and the new forces now entering the social and political struggle.

# SPEECH* BY WLADYSLAW GOMULKA

Twenty-five years ago Poland turned over a new leaf. The Krajowa Rada Narodowa, the underground parliament of Polish democracy, set up the Polish National Liberation Committee. This took place in Chelm, the first Polish town freed from the invaders. Lublin became the seat of the Committee and at the same time the first capital, and the cradle, of People's Poland.

The Committee's July Manifesto announcing the rebirth of Poland heralded a new era in the history of our people. In it the Polish democratic camp, led by the Polish Workers' Party, put on record its historical experience and expressed the age-long hopes and aspirations of the working people. The program advanced by the Manifesto became the foundation on which we have been building the edifice of a new, socialist Poland for twenty-five years now.

In those early days of freedom, when the people set out to create their state, the Liberation Committee—our government of the time —controlled exactly as much a territory as Soviet and Polish troops had wrested from the Hitlerite invaders that day. Its strength was the strength of the towns and villages just freed and of the working people who had rallied to it.

In Lublin, where we were laying the social, political and legal groundwork for a new, people's republic, the priority task was to carry on the war against the invaders which the Polish people had been waging ever since September 1, 1939, and of which the end was still far off. When the Liberation Committee was leaving the scene to the provisional government the front ran along the Vistula, Narew and Wisloka. The enemy still held 75 per cent of Polish territory and 75 per cent of the population was still in growing danger of extermination. The invaders went on destroying Polish property.

That is why we saw the effort to bring the day of liberation nearer and contribute to the final defeat of Nazi Germany as the overriding task of the new government and the supreme order of our people.

The Polish people's state on its birthday had 65,000 troops at the front—the first army of the Polish Armed Forces formed by the Polish Left on Soviet soil with tremendous support and assistance from the Soviet state. Besides, further units 40,000 strong were being formed and there were the people's guerrillas and the popular anti-fascist underground. After five months' activity by the Liberation Committee we had 286,000 troops equipped with modern wea-

*Delivered at festive meeting of the Sejm on the 25th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic.

pons. By the end of the war, in the spring of 1945, we had almost 400,000 men in the Polish Armed Forces. Of these, 185,000 troops took part in the big spring operations which freed the whole of Poland and contributed in decisive measure to Hitler's final defeat.

The part which the Polish Armed Forces played in the January offensive, especially on the Baltic coast in February and March 1945, had its effect on the operations on the Eastern Front and went a long way towards the speedy liberation of Central and Northern Poland. The Polish armies involved in the April offensive made up eight to 10 per cent of the forces active on the giant battlefield between the Sudeten area and the Baltic, where Hitler's fate was sealed. Thus the fact that Polish troops were the only allied force to fight in Berlin shoulder to shoulder with Soviet troops became a symbol of historical justice.

The Poles' participation in the final victory over Hitler played a big role in the adoption of historic decisions intended to safeguard Poland and Europe against eventual German aggression. These decisions restored to Poland its Piast lands along the Oder and the Luzycka Neisse, and the Baltic coast with Szczecin.

The Potsdam agreements, based on the decisions of the Yalta Conference, did justice to Poland. The Polish people had won their title to them by untold sacrifice, suffering and losses in World War II. Hitler's crimes against the Polish people add up to a monstrous total: six million, or 22 per cent of the population, were killed or tortured to death. The appalling message of this figure can never be forgotten. Nor is that all. Of every thousand people living in Poland in 1939, 220 were killed, 37 were badly maimed and became disabled, about 100 contracted tuberculosis, over 100 were sent to camps and forced labor, 90 lost all their property and were deported, and 150 became homeless. Almost 40 per cent of the nation's property, equal in value to the labor of the two previous generations, was fully destroyed.

This fearful result was only part of what the invaders had planned to achieve by fully exterminating the Polish people as a viable nation. No one would venture to condemn the victor, Hitler said cynically on the eve of his attack on Poland.

Today we must tell ourselves again that we owe it in decisive measure to the Soviet Union and its heroic armed forces that this wild plan for wiping out the Polish people was not carried through to the end.

The hastening of our liberation by one week meant 20,000 lives saved, for the weekly average of Polish citizens killed by the invaders was as great as that.

The Soviet Army played the main role in defeating fascism. It accounted for almost 80 per cent of the casualties of Hitler's

ground forces from September 1, 1939, to April 20, 1945, according to secret Wehrmacht reports.

The peoples of the Soviet Union paid a high price for their victory. The war cost them 20 million lives, including 600,000 soldiers who fell on Polish soil. Soviet soldiers lie buried in every socialist country of Europe.

The Polish-Soviet alliance, which the party of the working class regarded as the main instrument of national liberation and a guarantee of the strength and independence of Poland, stood its historic test in World War II.

The newly-established people's government organized the war effort of the people fighting alongside the Soviet Union. At the same time it proceeded to reshape society on socialist lines, for only by combining national liberation with the social emancipation of the working people could lead and did lead to the rebirth of Poland. Only in this way could the key problems of the country be solved and new prospects for development opened.

The reactionaries of yesteryear countered the farsighted political idea advanced by Polish democrats with fierce hostility to the Soviet Union, rabid anti-communism and a reactionary bid for a Poland re-established on pre-war lines.

Polish reaction banked on the disintegration of the anti-Hitler coalition, hoping that the Western powers would succeed in re-imposing the bankrupt old regime and bourgeois system in Poland.

These aspirations and this desire to wield power in Poland, and these disastrous plans of reaction resulted in the tragedy of the Warsaw uprising. At a time when the Liberation Committee was wrestling with the enormous difficulties of the early days, with each liberated town beginning a new life with the burial of the last victims of Hitlerite terror, and when the Committee did its utmost to provide the population with elementary working and living conditions and was busy forming an army to hasten victory and consolidate the position of Poland, the reactionaries were obsessed by the one idea of establishing their power if only a few hours in advance of liberation, of installing their "legitimate" government in the capital and putting the Polish democratic camp, the whole country, the Soviet Union and Europe before an accomplished fact.

To attain that reactionary, narrow class objective, they treacherously took advantage of the ardent patriotism, hatred for the invaders, the thirst for freedom and readiness to make the greatest sacrifices for the country, that is, the sentiments inspiring the whole population of Warsaw, especially the young people. The Warsaw insurgents fought gallantly and hopelessly for 63 days, defending their beloved city with its immense material and cultural wealth, which von den Bach's SS men were destroying. They

fought for the lives of a population being brutally persecuted and destroyed by Hitler's criminals.

The defeat of insurgent Warsaw was not just a national tragedy, whose effects weighed heavily on our life for many long years. It was a frightful sign of the historical failure of all bourgeois political forces, of all reactionary parties and their government in exile, which aspired to leadership of the people but which were prompted by their selfish class interests to push the people to the brink of the precipice.

That is why our fight for a new, independent Poland had to become a fight against the Poland of the old days, against the reactionaries of London who were unable and refused to learn the lesson of the nation's tragedy.

The Polish people could achieve decisive victory only by fighting simultaneously against Hitler Germany, for national liberation, and against Polish reaction, for a stronger state of the people. In those days when People's Poland was coming into existence the dynamic force of the revolution became the powerful motor of the national liberation struggle. The patriotic program of re-establishing the Polish state on the Oder, Neisse and Baltic was winning people's hearts and minds for revolutionary social changes.

The new political conception linking the rebirth of Poland with the victory of the Soviet Army and the independent future of our country with socialism took final shape during the occupation, as the program of the Polish Workers' Party. However, it was a result of critical appraisal of the decades-long experience of the Polish labor movement. It was based on the solid historical experiences of the people's liberation fight throughout their modern history.

After the partitionings of Poland in the late eighteenth century, for two centuries, the issue of gaining independence was the surest criterion of the attitude of all the classes of our society and all political alignments. The more reactionary strata, especially among the magnates, made a deal with the oppressors to preserve and safeguard their class privileges. But the vast majority of the people, inspired by unshakable patriotism and love of freedom, never abandoned the fight for national independence.

On their own soil and abroad, wherever the last opportunity of serving the cause of national liberation presented itself, new generations of patriots joined in sustained and courageous struggle. They fell in national liberation risings and on the battlefields of the great Napoleonic wars. They fought at the barricades, heroically defended the Paris Commune, and often fought for foreign interests as soldiers of various emperors and monarchs. The battlefields of Europe and other continents were strewn with the bones of Polish soldiers.

Those countless sacrifices and heroic efforts earned the Polish

people nothing but cheap praise for courage, and non-committal "compassion." They did not bring the people's victory any nearer. Poland's road to independence was barred by the order based on the Holy Alliance of three despotic powers—Prussia, Russia and Austria. Each action by the Polish liberation forces made for the consolidation of that Alliance. No state, no political force of the Europe of the time found it useful, was prepared to or, indeed, was strong enough really to help the Poles restore their state.

It was only the revolutionary proletarian movement against the feudal and bourgeois system prevailing in Europe that raised the banner of Polish independence. The cause of our independence became inseparable from the social revolution the moment the First International proclaimed at its first meeting, on a motion tabled by Marx and Engels, that the Polish people had an indisputable right to the restoration of their national independence. The Polish working-class movement and its Marxist parties, for their part, pinned their hopes from the outset on socialist revolution in the states enslaving other countries.

These hopes materialized only in this century, after the first socialist revolution had triumphed in Russia. The Great October Socialist Revolution radically changed the balance of forces and paved the way to independence for Poland. Tsarism, a bastion of European reaction, fell and so did other despotic monarchies. The Soviet state was the first to proclaim the right of Poland and other oppressed nations to self-determination and independent statehood. The inspiring example of the revolution consolidated the progressive forces of Europe and cleared the road to freedom for the Polish people.

Poland won independence in 1918, but it was a precarious independence that could not last. State power was seized by the reactionaries who could neither learn the lessons of the people's tragic experience nor understand the revolutionary changes taking place around them. They regarded the Soviet Union as their chief enemy. Their political concepts were suggested by the traditions of the old Poland of the nobility and were hostile to the revolutionary movement and all the progressive aspirations of the people. Unable to solve a single social or economic problem, and blinded by hatred for the Soviet Union and communism, the bourgeois and landowner regime doomed the country to economic and political decline. Weak and isolated, and dependent on the imperialist powers of the West, the Second Republic fell under the blows of Hitler's hordes, twenty years after its rise.

And again the Poles, striving to regain independence, shed their blood, this time on the battlefields of World War II, at home and abroad, and the graves of Polish soldiers dotted the fields of Europe. But those lives were not lost in vain. The Polish people

fought in their homeland, underground and abroad, in East and West, against their deadly enemy, the Hitlerite invaders. And wherever Polish blood flowed it flowed for Poland. However, not all the banners under which Poles fought were leading to an independent Poland.

The real road to Polish independence and rebirth was charted by the social and political forces that had broken out of the vicious circle of the traditional ideas and reactionary political notions moulding the social consciousness of a sizable part of our society in the periods of partitioning and between the two world wars.

For objective reasons, the propertied classes of Poland and the reactionary political forces representing them could not draw up an effective program of struggle for independence. After all, it was becoming more and more obvious that Polish independence hinged on the approaching victory of the first socialist state and on deep changes in the balance of world forces to the disadvantage of the imperialist powers. These changes ran counter to the interests of the propertied classes with their concept of "two enemies," the invariable cornerstone of their policy. This policy therefore led the reactionary camp into a blind alley.

It must be noted, however, that at that time even those large and thoroughly patriotic segments of our society not linked by their objective interests with the propertied classes could not rise above traditional and at the same time anachronistic political and social notions.

The Polish working class was more keenly aware of the actual exigencies of the time than any other class. Its objective interests centered on the issue of gaining independence and establishing a socialist system after the war, both in Poland and the rest of Europe. The class interests of the Polish proletariat and the national interests of Poland were fundamentally identical. This is why the Polish Workers' Party—a Marxist-Leninist party expressing the political ideas of the working class and representing the historical hopes and aspirations of this class—could and did formulate the concept of a Polish rebirth.

The Soviet victory over fascism brought Poland freedom. Furthermore, it afforded the Polish working class and other working people the historic opportunity of winning power and taking Poland out of the imperialist sphere. Twenty-five years ago the Polish democratic camp, led by the Polish Workers' Party, used that opportunity and set our country on a new, socialist course.

History has shown that the problem of Polish independence is inseparable from socialism, and that our country can exist on the map of Europe and develop in security only as a socialist state.

As we look back on the road travelled since liberation, on the material wealth created by the working class and other working

people, on the progress made in every sphere of social life and on the contribution made by People's Poland to European peace, and as we assess Poland's standing in the family of socialist countries, we see very well that the twenty-five year period we are now completing was the most decisive and most fruitful span of our history.

In this period the highest interests of the Polish people called for the solution of three cardinal problems:

first, restoring the Polish state within its new and just boundaries and safeguarding its independence, security and peaceful future. This task could be fulfilled only within the framework of the socialist system, in close alliance with the Soviet Union and other newly established socialist states;

secondly, creating a new and strong people's regime that would remake society, defend the emerging socialist system against enemy attacks and ensure its progress. The task could be fulfilled only under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party;

thirdly, raising the country from the ruins, winning the race against time and doing away with the backwardness in which Poland had been held ever since the seventeenth century by magnates and noblemen, then by invaders, and lastly, in the Second Republic, by the landowners and capitalists. This task could be fulfilled only by building socialism.

As we now sum up the achievements of the past twenty-five years, we have every reason to tell our people that these tasks have been fulfilled.

People's Poland, which today extends from the Bug to the Oder and Neisse, is a strong and secure state surrounded by frontiers of friendship and peace. Its people's power stands on guard for the gains of socialism. Poland's national income this year will be almost five times as high as in the most prosperous prewar year.

The achievements of the past twenty-five years required much effort and devotion. We had to cope with the furious resistance of reaction, of the internal and external enemies of socialism, who did not for one moment stop smearing and attacking us. Moreover, we had inherited immense destruction, backwardness and ignorance, a heavy burden of bad habits and anarchic, selfish traditions. We lacked experience and skilled personnel. And if we have overcome all difficulties against the forces of yesteryear, if we have overcome our own weaknesses and mistakes and fulfilled the tasks assigned us by history, it is because our Party and the forces of Polish socialist democracy united behind it in the popular unity front have always represented the future and have always linked the destiny of Poland with socialism, the new, progressive social system.

The rate of our economic development during the past twenty-five years has been one of the highest in the world. Socialist industrial-

ization resulting in the emergence of a large-scale modern industry became a powerful lever of economic and social progress. Industrial output has increased 14-fold over the pre-war period, and the total of factory and office workers has grown 4.5 times over.

In these years we have built or expanded thousands of mines, steel works and other plants. We have set up new industries, especially in metallurgy, engineering and chemical production, and have transformed backward and poor areas into new industrial districts. We have extended and modernized our railways, road transport and shipping, and have trained new groups of specialists, numerous skilled workers, technicians and engineers.

Last year there were 28 persons in every 100 persons of 20 upwards who have had a higher or secondary education, or 12 times as many as in 1938.

Socialist industrialization has ended the waste of manpower, agrarian overpopulation and unemployment. The number of those employed outside of agriculture was below three million but has grown to more than 10 million. Prewar Poland was an agricultural country, with one-third of the population earning a living outside of agriculture and only 30 per cent of it living in towns. Today two-thirds of the population are employed outside of agriculture, and over half the population lives in rehabilitated and fast-growing towns.

Industry has enabled agriculture to make considerable headway on a modern basis. Each hectare of arable land today yields twice as much produce as in the thirties though the number of farmers has dropped by half. Total agricultural output has increased almost 3.5 times over the first postwar year and output of animal products, fourfold.

In a short period of time we rehabilitated and developed the economy in the war-ravaged western areas. They are now thriving areas and have fully merged again with the rest of Poland. They have a Polish population of almost nine million, half of whom were born there. These areas supply roughly 23 per cent of the national income.

Throughout these years Poland has been one huge building site. Hundreds of thousands of people have been putting up new factories, houses, schools and hospitals. The scale of construction has been growing. This year almost ten times more is being built per head of population than was built in the first post-war year, a year of economic rehabilitation. In terms of comparable prices of 1961, we allotted in twenty-five years 2,150,000m. zlotys to increase fixed capital and expand the economy. About 847,000m. zlotys of this amount has been spent during the past five years.

The dynamic growth of the economy led to greater public con-

sumption and to higher living, social and cultural standards in town and country.

Per capita consumption of meat, fats and sugar has trebled against the pre-war amount, and sales of clothing and footwear have doubled or even trebled. Households today use far more durables than ever.

The housing situation has improved greatly if not sufficiently due to 8,500,000 new flats. One in three inhabitants of our country lives in a new home, which also means more modern conveniences.

In terms of social gains, paid leave, social insurance and medical care, Poland is among the foremost countries of the world. Our school system is steadily improving and encompasses 85 per cent of young people, whom it offers vocational training or a secondary education. It is giving increasing numbers of young people access to higher education.

The new social system in Poland grew stronger as it fought the reactionary forces. During the past twenty-five years it has created forms of political life making it possible to combine a socialist trend of development with increasing initiative on the part of the masses, with constructive criticism and direct participation in economic management and leadership by millions of citizens. There is no room in this system for rival political parties nor for the free play of forces paving the way for the enemies of socialism and leading to a waste of social energy in fruitless conflicts.

In the divided world of today, with the forces of socialism and those of imperialism locked in bitter struggle, our duty is to assure the leading role of the working class and its Party in the state and the life of the people at every stage.

By changing the face of their country, our people have created a new society without exploiting classes or social antagonisms, a society of free men of labor.

The working class is the leading and most numerous force of our people today. It is now six million strong. Its core is composed of almost 3,500,000 young industrial workers who are gaining in skill and becoming more educated and cultured.

The new, socialist intellectual community has grown many times over. Of the more than 570,000 people who have received a higher education, 90 per cent have graduated in People's Poland. Over 4,500,000 people holding jobs in the national economy were educated in secondary schools. We have eleven times more engineers and ten times more technicians working in the economic sphere than before the war.

In the countryside, middle peasants make up the basic social group. Their links with the socialized planned economy are expanding in both trade and the production sphere. State farms are playing an increasing role in agriculture and rural public life. So is the

ever more numerous rural intelligentsia, especially agricultural experts, who promote progress and introduce higher standards into our agriculture.

This deep-going process of change is far from over. The structure and hence the spiritual character and mentality of our society continue to change. New economic conditions make for the abolition of class contradictions, but survivals of the old way of thinking and bourgeois ethics, nationalist prejudice foreign to socialism, and reactionary traditions linger. They encumber the minds of various social strata and are kept alive primarily by external forces inimical to socialism, by imperialist propaganda and subversion centers. These forces and agencies try to use every difficulty we encounter and our every reverse to block our peaceful progress and the creative effort of the people, to shake the foundations of our national life—people's power and our indestructible links, our alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole.

That is why the moral and political unity of the people in line with the new socialist relations and the objective of building a classless society can be shaped and strengthened only through struggle, by fighting all who are trying to pull us back or to reverse the trend of our development, by striving to infuse the people with a socialist mentality, to combine the personal interests of the citizen with the basic interests of the country, and the patriotism of our people with internationalism and friendship for fraternal peoples.

All that the Polish people have created in a quarter of a century is inseparably bound up with peace in Europe.

The alliance of the socialist countries of Europe, forged in liberation struggles and welded by identical class and national interests, by common goals and aspirations, has become in these years a mighty defensive force and the main bulwark of world paece.

Due to this alliance, which has changed the balance of world forces, Europe will soon mark an anniversary exceptional in its modern history—twenty-five years without war. This is not to say, however, that peace on our continent is guaranteed.

The problem of peace and security in Europe is still outstanding and its solution is still no more than a prospect. While military conflicts in today's Europe are almost out of the question, the potential threat of war is still there. It emanates from the policy of the imperialist powers, particularly of those West German quarters still intent on undoing the results of the peoples' victory over Hitler fascism in World War II, and first of all on revising European frontiers.

It is above all in this particularly indicative context that we view and appraise the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. There

is hardly anyone even in Bonn who does not realize that the fundamental condition for the peaceful development of our continent and for the security of all European nations is to recognize the inviolability of existing frontiers, including the frontier along the Oder and Luzycka Neisse and the boundaries between the two German states.

This idea prompted us on May 17 last to propose a treaty between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany definitively recognizing the frontier along the Oder and Luzycka Neisse, just as this frontier is recognized by the treaty signed between Poland and the German Democratic Republic at Zgorzelec. We will not today go into the official and unofficial reaction of the FRG to our proposal. We believe the best time for appraisal and analysis will come when it will be possible to determine to what extent one should exclude nationalism and revanchism from that reaction, that "passing on the right," which in this pre-election period characterizes some political parties and certain rulers of the FRG out to capture votes. In other words, we are still waiting for a reply to our proposal.

We cannot, however, help drawing conclusions from the West German rulers' attitude towards their own society. Building their positions on nationalism, sowing illusions, and submitting to forces which cultivate and revive the imperialist and hegemonistic traditions of *Deutschland, Deutschland Ueber Alles* can in no way benefit Germany or ease tension in Europe.

Elections to the Bundestag are an internal affair of the FRG. But Bonn presumably realizes that Europe cannot be indifferent to whether the forces of militarism, nationalism and revanchism will gain or lose after these elections.

The exceptionally widespread response which our proposal aroused in the Federal Republic of Germany and other western countries, and the great debate it called forth among the German public show that the problem of recognizing the western frontier of Poland is ripe for complete and final solution and that no one can dismiss it.

Those who after the Bundestag election will form a new government have time enough to ponder on whether they mean it when they say they want a détente and normal relations with Poland and other socialist countries of Eastern Europe.

The Budapest message of the socialist countries was an initiative aimed at convening a conference on European security and cooperation.

The common goal of the socialist countries is to see all European countries sit at the conference table and discuss without preliminary conditions key problems on whose solution the future of our continent hinges.

We note with satisfaction that our proposal evoked a positive

reaction in a number of non-socialist countries of Europe. However, we also see those who assail the idea of the conference directly or indirectly. It would be futile to expect that the cold war forces, which are interested in maintaining tension, will down arms. They would like to torpedo the conference by putting it off indefinitely.

The object of the conference should be to draft a treaty of collective security in Europe. It is a question, first and foremost, of guaranteeing the foundations of peaceful international relations in Europe, such as recognizing and respecting the territorial and political status quo, renouncing force and the threat of force in international relations, ruling out interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and settling all eventual disputes by negotiation.

A matter worth discussing is zonal disarmament measures, which will become urgent as soon as the nuclear non-proliferation treaty becomes effective. The same is true of economic, scientific, technological and other forms of cooperation.

Thus it is a question of a program based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and requiring an earnest approach, without dodging key political problems on which the future of Europe depends.

A Europe relieved of the arms race and the burden of armaments and united by the resolve to prevent war and engage in extensive economic, scientific and technological cooperation will have ample opportunities of raising the people's standard of living.

People's Poland, which has always followed a policy of peaceful coexistence, will continue to do its best for the establishment of a system of security and cooperation covering the whole of Europe.

During the past twenty-five years the Polish people have built the strong and lasting edifice of People's Poland and provided favorable conditions for further progress. However, we must not lull ourselves by praising our achievements too much, for life never stands still.

To meet the challenging requirements of our time, a time of confrontation and competition between socialism and capitalism, a time of emulation between labor and scientific and technological thought, we must work hard, drawing continuously on our material and spiritual resources.

Socialism is our lodestar. At every stage, the revolutionary character of this system sets new and higher tasks on whose fulfilment depend the future of the country, the people's standard of living, the strength of Poland and its place in the world.

These tasks are primarily economic. We are entering a period when our economic growth will be determined by such factors for intensive development as more effective investment, better use of available production capacities, more profitable production, rapid scientific and technological progress, higher productivity and a

more profitable foreign trade. Only on these lines can we rapidly increase the national income and steadily improve the standard of living of society as a whole.

The guidelines of development at this stage were given by the Fifth Congress of our Party and specified by the Second Plenum of the Central Committee. They are now being translated into the terms of our future economic plan by government agencies, industrial amalgamations, people's councils, enterprises, designing organizations and research institutions. The enormous task of planning economic development between 1971 and 1975 involves thousands of teams, economic executives, efficient workers, engineers and researchers—in short, people who are going to put the future plan into practice.

Our new tasks cannot be carried out by old methods. They call for a redistribution of forces and funds, concentration on those development areas that will ensure the reconstruction and modernization of economic branches, expanded exports, and the rapid development of production to meet the needs of the population. We must make better use of growing investments and untapped economic potentialities.

This can only be brought about by steadily improving and modernizing methods of planning, managing and organizing production. Introducing better planning methods and modern forms of labor organization requires something more than correct guide-lines. It also requires knowledge, competence, discipline and a thoughtful approach on the part of leading personnel on all levels, who must discard conservative habits.

A requisite of rapid economic progress is to introduce the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution into all key industries. Our difficulties are due chiefly to our lag in this field.

Combining the scientific and technological revolution with socialist planned economy is the key to solving cardinal development problems. Science today is a direct productive force and a source of progress and economic growth. The experience of a number of developed countries shows that two-thirds or even three-quarters of the increase in the national income is due to the utilization of achievements in science and technology and to organizational improvements. The epoch-making discoveries of modern science can be used for the common good, for peace and the welfare of society, only under socialism.

Due to the effort of the whole people in the past twenty-five years, we have created a solid basis for scientific research and the training of highly competent personnel. The number of research workers has grown fourfold since 1950 and appropriations for research, eightfold. We have set up higher educational establishments and research institutions throughout the country. The rate of

expansion of research facilities and of the network of higher schools is double the growth rate of the national income, nor are we going to stint funds for this purpose.

If government appropriations and the efforts of research workers are to be effective, science must be more closely linked with the economy. The agencies in charge of applying scientific achievements in the production sphere must improve their work. What we need first of all is to extend research facilities in industry, which are directly linked with big enterprises and industrial associations.

We cannot afford to do research and seek solutions on our own in too many fields, for that would require tremendous expenditures and numerous personnel. We should therefore concentrate on selected lines of research plus extensive scientific and technological cooperation with fraternal socialist countries. In collaboration with scientists, whose knowledge and initiative we should fully use in working out development forecasts for science and technology, we will choose objectives particularly important to the economy and concentrate on them resources and research.

Modernizing the economy and meeting its manifold needs are closely linked with our cooperation with other socialist countries within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Both the scale of modern production and the growth rate of various new industries call for international division of labor. Even highly developed and wealthy countries cannot afford to produce on their own the latest equipment or means of transport and are establishing closer links with other countries to coordinate production and specialization. Economic progress at this stage of development of the productive forces and the scientific and technological revolution are making economic integration a universal imperative. This process has gone a long way in the capitalist world. It is in the best interest of all socialist countries, as the latest CMEA session pointed out, to accelerate the economic integration of our community. This is fostered by the very nature of planned socialized economy, which provides favorable objective conditions for coordinating long-range investments and production initiatives, for profound and differentiated specialization and cooperation in many economic fields, for developing a commodity, money and credit market encompassing all socialist countries. By following this sure if difficult road together with friendly socialist countries, we can raise the technological level and the efficiency of our economy.

We owe all our economic and social achievements to our workers, engineers, peasants, scientific workers, executives and teachers. The higher the professional and social qualifications of our cadres, the greater their contribution to the common cause of building new Poland. This is why we think it very important to train young people, workers highly skilled in every field, having sound

professional knowledge and aware of their responsibility to the state and the people. We have a right to expect that the attitude of our cadres to society and country will be determined not only by the amount of their material incomes but, in no lesser measure, by patriotic awareness of their part in carrying out the great task of remaking their country, in the effort of the people, who are overcoming their historical backwardness, in the effort to create new and just human relations.

For socialism means not only economic progress. It means building a new system whose supreme goal is the good of man, a system in which there is no room for exploitation or injustice, in which the abolition of class divisions affords equal opportunities to all, and the role of the citizen is gauged by his labor and knowledge, and his sense of public duty.

We have been building this society for twenty-five years, freeing ourselves step by step from the sad legacy of old social relations, creating new realities and laying the foundations for a better future.

The future belongs to the young generation.

Young people under 30, who have been educated and have attained maturity in People's Poland, make up the majority of the people today. To this generation, which is stepping into active life in growing numbers, the results achieved by the country are not the limit, they are not the peak of dreams or plans but only the starting point for accomplishing new tasks worthy of the future.

Our young people should be aware of their achievements, rights and privileges and, on the other hand, give more thought to their duties. We should not ask them what they expect of People's Poland. We should ask them what People's Poland can expect of them, what they are going to do to make our country richer, stronger and happier, to raise it to new heights of social, material and spiritual progress. We have no doubt that the answer we get will imply continuation of the historic road we took twenty-five years ago, the road of builders of a socialist Poland.

As we pass the milestone marking the distance we have travelled in a quarter of a century, I would like to express from this rostrum heartfelt gratitude and appreciation to all the builders of socialist Poland, to those who are ensuring its progress. I mean the workers, peasants and intellectuals, those who have launched and are realizing the great initiative of the 25-year period and whose effort has furthered the growth and progress of our people's republic.

We are celebrating the 25th anniversary of People's Poland with our allies and friends, in the presence of prominent representatives of fraternal socialist neighbors. Their presence at this festive meeting of our parliament symbolizes the identity of our historical for-

tunes, our interests and goals, the indestructible solidity of our alliances, and our membership of the socialist world, which is blazing mankind's trail into the future.

Allow me on behalf of the leadership of our Party, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, on behalf of the Sejm, the Council of State and the government of the Polish People's Republic to extend again warm greetings to our honored guests:

from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Comrade N. V. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR;

from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Comrade Ludvik Svoboda, President of the Republic, and Comrade Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia;

from the German Democratic Republic, Comrade Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Deputy Chairman of the Council of State, and Comrade Erich Honecker, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

I wish to assure our honored guests and, through them, the fraternal peoples of the great Soviet Union and the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic that the Polish people, true to the principles of internationalizm, will work as hard as they have done in the past twenty-five years to develop their country, build up the combined might of the socialist commonwealth of nations, promote its unity and steadfastly uphold the cause of peace and national freedom.

Having completed the first quarter of a century, we are confidently entering the next stage of our history. Our road will be illuminated by the undying idea of socialism, which twenty-five years ago gave rise to the July Manifesto.

# PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S APPEAL* ON THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS

My fellow countrymen and fighters in every part of the country.

Fifteen years ago, following the glorious victory at Dien Bien Phu, the Geneva agreements on Vietnam recognized the basic rights of the people: independence, sovereignty, unity and and territorial integrity. The agreements provided for free general elections in July 1956 to reunite Vietnam.

But the U.S. imperialists flagrantly sabotaged the agreements, organized aggression against our country and unleashed the most cruel colonial war in all history.

In these past 15 years our armed forces and the people throughout the country have been fighting the U.S. aggressors for national salvation, undaunted by sacrifices and hardship and displaying supreme heroism. The American imperialists' aggressive plans have been foiled one after another, and the Americans have been sustaining increasingly heavy defeats. Our people have scored increasing successes and, in the end, will achieve final victory.

In the North, our armed forces and people have defeated the American aggressors in their war of devastation.

In the South, the armed forces and people are defeating America's "local war."

The situation has changed radically since the spring of 1968: four-fifths of South Vietnam, accounting for three-quarters of the total population, has been liberated. It was against this background of victory that a congress was held of representatives of the South Vietnamese people. It unanimously elected the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and a Council of Elders. The government was immediately recognized by more than 20 fraternal and friendly countries and warmly welcomed by the peoples of the world.

In total disregard of the interests of the American people, President Nixon continues to escalate the aggression in the South, using B-52 strategic bombers, poison gas, barbarous bomb attacks that are destroying our towns and villages and sowing death among our people. These crimes are unparalleled for their savagery.

Nixon wants to "de-Americanize" the war. This is a maneuver

*Nhan Dan, July 20, 1969.

designed to use the puppet army against the people of South Vietnam.

At the Paris Conference, the U.S. imperialists continue to advance absurd demands, obstinately refuse seriously to discuss the reasonable and logical 10-point package settlement proposed by the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

Nixon proposes to withdraw 25,000 American troops in an effort to placate American and world opinion. This, too, is a deceitful maneuver.

The Vietnamese people insist on the withdrawal of all U.S. and U.S.-allied forces—not merely 25,000, or 250,000, or 500,000, but complete and unconditional withdrawal of all troops. That is the only way to save the honor of the United States and avert the useless death of hundreds of thousands of young Americans in South Vietnam and the suffering and anguish of hundreds of thousands of American families.

After the withdrawal of all U.S. and U.S.-allied forces and the end of the invasion of South Vietnam, a coalition provisional government, as envisaged in the 10-point proposals, will arrange general free and democratic elections to enable the South Vietnamese population to choose their political system, elect a Constituent Assembly, draw up a Constitution and form an official coalition government without foreign interference. But as long as U.S. forces and the puppet administration remain in South Vietnam, general, really free and democratic elections are out of the question.

Though the defeat of the U.S. imperialists is now obvious, they have not abandoned their sinister plan of severing the South. Fearless in the face of sacrifices and hardships, our armed forces and people in all parts of the country are heightening their revolutionary heroism, fully determined to continue the resistance and fight to final victory—expel all U.S. forces, crush the puppet army and administration, liberate South Vietnam, protect the North and unite the country in peace.

I take this occasion to express, on behalf of our armed forces and people, sincere gratitude for the immense support and assistance we are receiving from the whole world. I am convinced that the fraternal socialist countries, all peace-loving and just governments and peoples, including the progressive people of the United States, will intensify their support and assistance to the Vietnamese in their fight for final victory over the American aggression, for national liberation.

Fighters and compatriots throughout the country, forge ahead to victory!

The U.S. imperialist aggressors will be finally smashed!

Victory of the Vietnamese people is inevitable!

# THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN FRANCE

## STATEMENT* BY THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE FCP

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party has discussed the political situation in France and its development since the presidential elections.

The President's press conference and the first statements and decisions of the government suggest that the regime of capitalist monopoly intends to continue, with certain modifications in method and language, the policy it followed on all decisive issues before June. The anti-democratic institutions established after 1958 are to stay. Cuts in wages and in social spending in favor of the exploiters are still misrepresented as a national imperative. New threats are looming to the nationalized enterprises.

General de Gaulle's fiasco on April 27 prompted the Gaullist reactionaries to seek alliance with the centrist reactionaries. The impression is, therefore, that foreign policy, whose principles are unchanged because it is a policy of big capital, is heading for closer links with the U.S. and with France's partners of Little Europe.

It follows that the political tasks of today are essentially the same as before: joint struggle by the working people and other victims of monopoly overlordship for their demands and freedoms; an alliance of all working-class and democratic forces to establish at an early date an advanced democracy leading to socialism.

The crisis of the Socialist Party, aggravated by the worst election defeat ever sustained by this party, and the people's desire for unity in the name of change found expression at the Socialist Congress in Issy-les-Moulineaux. The Alfortville Congress in May played into the hands of reaction by opposing all agreement between the Left forces. But the resolution passed at Issy-les-Moulineaux declares against centrism, for a Left alliance and a dialogue with the Communist Party.

The Political Bureau notes this change, which will have to be translated into action.

The Communists are prepared for the dialogue, which, of course, should strive for and culminate in united action. Useful discussion of problems of the future should not obscure the necessity for a clear perspective in today's fight against capitalism, that is, the need for a common program of rule.

The Political Bureau stresses that progress towards unity is

*L'Humanité, July 25, 1969.

unthinkable without progress in united action by the working people and other democrats, without vigorous activity by the Communists to popularize and uphold the Party program and strengthen Party organization.

After the remarkable success of the Communist Party and its candidate in the recent elections, the Political Bureau calls on the French men and women who voted for Jacques Duclos to join in growing numbers the Party which has won their confidence, so as to make it even more efficient in its noble struggle in the service of the working class and the people.

# APPEAL* FOR LENIN CENTENARY ENROLMENT

In April 1970 it will be a hundred years since the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the brilliant leader of the world proletariat, a man whose immense contribution to the revolutionary movement and to every branch of theory and practice shows that Marxism-Leninism is the only Marxist doctrine of our time.

Progressive mankind, and first of all the Communists of the world, are fittingly marking this year as the *hundredth year since Lenin's birth,* striving to know the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and to carry them into practice better than ever, above all the fundamental tenets about the party of a new type, the genuine and irreplaceable vanguard of the proletariat and all peoples.

The Communists of Argentina, who in March 1969 met for their 13th Congress, resolved to advance the slogan of a *Lenin Enrolment* in the Party as the central event of the celebration of the historic centenary. They call on the workers by hand and by brain, on young people, on women and intellectuals, on all determined champions of the progress of their country to join the Communist Party of Argentina.

The 13th Congress gives this honorable undertaking on behalf of the whole Party. We must therefore organize our forces to fulfil it.

The 13th Congress has deeply analyzed the opportunities for recruitment and stressed the need to build up a great mass Communist Party as an earnest of finding a democratic way out of the situation prevailing in the country.

At present the issue of the Enrolment should be presented to the membership for discussion. Not for one moment must we forget, however, that the Enrolment is not a spontaneous development but must be carefully prepared. This necessitates a discussion, first in the provincial, district and neighborhood committees of the Party, and then in the branch organizations, enabling each organization to work out its own enrolment plan. The discussion should be held in both the commissions of the leading bodies and in working groups.

*Resolution of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina on the Lenin enrolment in the Party on the occasion of the centenary of Lenin's birth.

To ensure the best possible preparation and the success of these plans, it is essential that they be not replaced by directives and proposals from the higher bodies and that each Party cell hold an earnest discussion on the basis of proposals. We must see to it that plans are discussed by as many members of each Party cell as possible and that comrades who for some reason were unable to take part in the discussion have a share in working out the plans.

We must not limit ourselves to the effort of the more active comrades but must try to enlist the cooperation of all Party members. This means that we must help them both in their work on the plans and at every stage of fulfilment of the latter, by establishing proper control over their work, which will be precisely the kind of help they will need.

An important matter to be taken into account in working out the plans is emulation between various Party bodies: provincial committees, neighborhood committees, enterprise cells of the Party, etc. It is advisable to hold regular meetings of competing Party organizations so as to sum up the Enrolment work done and exchange experience, creating an atmosphere of enthusiasm to ensure fulfilment of the Enrolment tasks.

These and other measures that may be taken in the course of practical activity will help to effect this historic Enrolment.

Recruitment must not be spontaneous. In making plans, therefore, we must remember that recruitment is a daily effort linked with the fulfilment of all the tasks of the Party. This effort should be accomplished mainly in great working-class and popular battles and in developing all mass movements, in which our Party should play an increasing role as the vanguard, judicously raising economic struggles to a higher political plane.

We must carry out a considerable amount of ideological work and rid thousands of working people of ideas still misleading them, primarily the influence of bourgeois nationalism. With this aim in view, as a preparatory measure for the celebration of the glorious centenary and for the realization of the Enrolment, it is necessary:

—to prepare hundreds of meetings with workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and young people;

—to bring out more propaganda literature intended for these strata;

—to carry out work according to special plans with *Nuestra Palabra, Nueva Era* and other Party periodicals, especially with those dealing with the 13th Congress;

—to ensure the regular publication of newspapers in factories and Party cells and launch their publication where they are still lacking. The Party cells concerned must appoint comrades who will fulfil this task;

—to conduct an extensive agitation and propaganda campaign,

producing for the purpose posters, leaflets and streamers devoted to the Lenin centenary and calling on people to join our Party;

—to publish newspapers or bulletins in the provinces, districts, neighborhoods and Party cells, popularizing valuable experiences and helping to give the Enrolment the right direction;

—the trade union, agrarian and women's commissions, the leadership of youth organizations, etc., must carry on special propaganda according to their field of activity and contribute, for their part, to the fulfilment of Enrolment plans.

This Enrolment should result in a substantial growth of the Party membership and in prompt mobilization of the new members and those still not active in their Party cells. We must therefore ensure the formation of hundreds of new cells for work among the masses.

The Enrolment should also express itself in the appointment to key posts—particularly in the new cells and in other cells that will reorganize their work with this aim in view—of numerous new people who have risen from the ranks. These people for their part, should get political help from the leading bodies concerned and speedily master the fundamentals of politico-ideological Party education.

The Enrolment should also express itself in a prompt exchange of Party cards and in the regular collection of membership dues.

The Enrolment should reach every segment of the people. Obviously, we must concentrate on the big enterprises and major agglomerations of the proletariat in accordance with what was emphasized in the principal reports and by all speakers at the Congress.

That is why, in making plans for each Party cell, each neighborhood, locality, district or province, we must bear these basic objectives in mind and explore the possibility of translating one of the main Congress watchwords into reality:

*Turn every enterprise into a Party stronghold!*

We must extend the Enrolment campaign to the countryside, where recruitment is still inadequate despite the prestige our Party enjoys.

We must promote recruitment among women, especially working women who have courageously joined in large-scale actions by the workers and other working people.

We must promote the Enrolment among young people, university students and cultural workers, who are opposed to the dictatorship and resist its fascist measures.

Lastly, we must carry the Enrolment into all the democratic and anti-imperialist sections of the people by throwing the door of the Party open to all who want to join in the fight for peace, bread, well-being, national independence, and a vast national democratic front that would provide a basis for forming a new type of govern-

ment serving the people, to all who want to join in the struggle for the triumph of a democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution leading to a socialist Argentina.

For a great mass Communist Party!

*Long live the Lenin Centenary Enrolment!*

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

(July-August)

## KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

A delegation of the Left Party—Communists of Sweden visited the KPDR from June 24 to July 9 at the invitation of the Korean Party of Labor Central Committee. In the course of their talks, it was emphasized that in the present conditions of intensified and more open imperialist aggression and subversion against the socialist countries and the revolutionary forces, the socialist camp, the international Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces must close their ranks for a more determined struggle against imperialism, notably U.S. imperialism, and for the triumph of socialism and communism.

## INDIA

For the Lenin centenary the progressive Prabhath Book House is putting out a selection of Lenin's writings in Malayalam, one of the chief languages of South India. *New Age* reports publication of a three-volume edition of Lenin's selected works. It will be on sale before April 22, 1970.

## PERU

At its plenary session early in July, the Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party decided on a mass mobilization to implement the agrarian reform law, which is described as progressive, radical, anti-feudal, anti-latifundist and essentially anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist. The agrarian reform, price control on essential goods and lower petrol prices, the Central Committee said, are in the interests of the people and have therefore aroused dissatisfaction and sabotage from the oligarchy.

The plenum approved the report of the Peruvian delegation at the Moscow International Meeting.

## BULGARIA

A communique issued by the Bulgarian news agency on July 12 on the talks between Bulgarian and Hungarian Party and government delegations emphasizes complete identity of views on the

international situation. Both delegations believe, the communique says, that success in the struggle against imperialism crucially depends on strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world Communist and workers' movement, and particularly of the socialist community, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The two delegations believe that the Moscow Meeting was of historic importance in strengthening this unity and in determining the tasks in the struggle against imperialism, and will do all in their power to carry out its decisions.

Bulgaria and Hungary have a high regard for the role and activity of the CPSU and the Soviet Union in defending peace, supporting progressive forces and assuring optimal conditions for the building of socialism in their two countries and the socialist community as a whole. They resolutely condemn the splitting activities of the Mao Tse-tung group against unity of the socialist community and the world Communist and workers' movement. They also condemn the border provocations perpetrated by this group against the Soviet Union and support the Soviet proposals for normalization through negotiations.

## CHILE

The Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on July 28-30 decided to hold the 14th National Party Congress on November 23-31 and approved the draft Party Program and Rules.

* * *

In July, the Horizonte publishers put out a pamphlet on Lenin as part of a series published by the Communist Party Central Committee for new Party members. The chapter on Lenin and the international Communist movement emphasizes the relevance and importance of Leninism today and the role it plays in uniting all the revolutionary forces. With all his revolutionary passion, Lenin combated every manifestation of opportunism, adventurism and nationalism in the international workers' movement. Time and again he warned the Communists of all countries that these dangerous trends could do incalculable harm to the cause of the revolution and socialism. That warning is very timely in present-day conditions. Lenin's appeal for unity of all the revolutionary forces is just as topical today as it was in his time.

The Communist Party of Chile, the concluding chapter of the pamphlet says, will continue to study and popularize Leninism, that inexhaustible source of the science of revolution.

## CUBA

Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, arrived in Cuba on July 29 at the invitation of the Cuban Communist Party.

## GDR

The 11th Plenum of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, held on July 29-30, unanimously adopted a resolution* on the report of Hermann Axen, alternate Political Bureau member, on the results of the International Meeting in Moscow. Political Bureau member Willi Stoph reported on the visit of a Party and government delegation to the Soviet Union. The unanimously adopted resolution reads in part: "The Central Committee regards the friendly visit to the Soviet Union as an important contribution to implementing the decisions of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. . . . The Central Committee reaffirms its view that the attitude towards the CPSU, the vanguard of all the revolutionary forces, is now more than ever the main criterion of fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism." The Party's First Secretary, Walter Ulbricht, discussed in his speech the conclusions to be drawn from the talks with the Soviet leaders.

## BULGARIA

The Party Central Committee plenum on July 30-31 discussed reform and development of public education. The report emphasized that the country had reached a stage when universal secondary education can gradually be introduced over the next few years. The main purpose of the reform is radical revision of curricula and instruction methods.

## LEBANON

The progressive *Al Nida* (August 4) publishes extensive materials on Lenin's life and revolutionary activity. It writes: "In preparing for the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, progressives the world over turn their attention to a more profound study of his great heritage and practical revolutionary work in order to draw on them in the present struggle for progress, freedom and socialism. . . . Lenin consistently fought for unity of the world Communist and Workers' movement on the basis of genuine revolutionary theory and the principles of proletarian internationalism. The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow was vivid evidence of the strength and unity of this movement at the present stage."

Another progressive paper, *Al-Akhbar*, has a special section devoted to the Lenin jubilee and in it, it publishes the full text of Lenin's report on the tactics of the Russian Communist Party at the Third Congress of the Communist International in Moscow.

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*The full text will appear in No. 17 of the Information Bulletin.

## ITALY

*Unita* (June 22) reports that more than 1,450,000 Party members, or 96.8 per cent of the 1968 membership, have already taken out new Party cards. About 90,000 new members have been recruited since the beginning of the year.

# LENIN
## — *a man for all time*

**by Tim Buck**

Text of an address by the chairman of the Communist Party of Canada, in honor of the forthcoming centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin.

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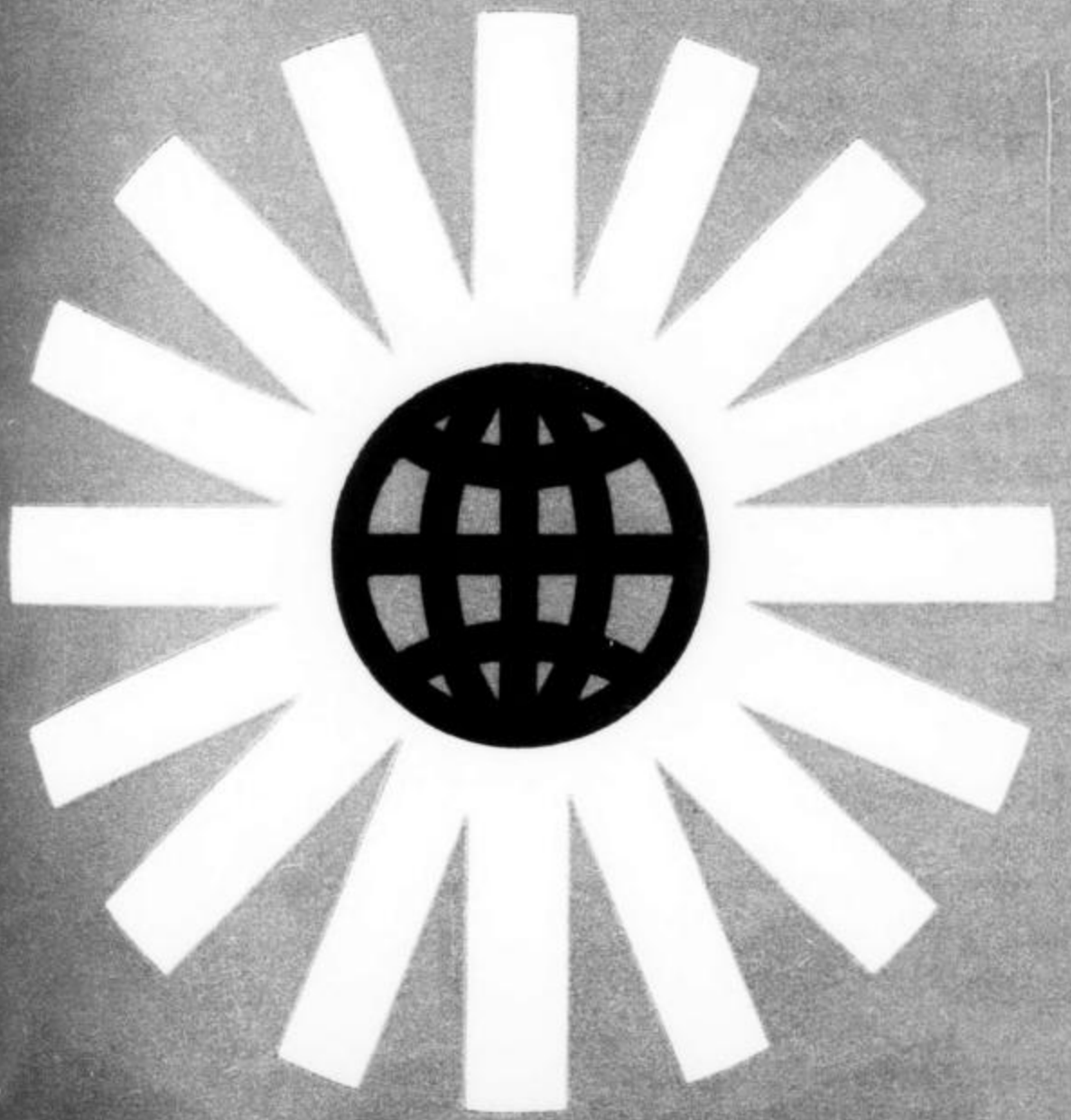

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**ADDRESS BY GUSTAV HUSAK**
Prague
Aug. 19, 1969

**RESOLUTION OF 10th CONGRESS RUMANIAN CP**
Aug. 6-12, 1969

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# LANDMARK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT

Fraternal Parties assess the results of the
International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties

## SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY*

Having heard the report of the Socialist Unity Party delegation on the results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the Central Committee fully and unreservedly approves the work of the delegation, led by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council, and thanks it for its constructive activity which contributed to the unity and cohesion of the Communist and Workers' parties and all anti-imperialist forces. The Central Committee endorses the report of Comrade Hermann Axen.

The Central Committee considers the International Meeting a major success for the world Communist movement and all the revolutionary forces. Its results will powerfully influence the development of a new offensive against imperialism based on broad united action of the world's democratic and progressive forces. The Meeting represents an important stage towards closer unity and cohesion of the Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. On behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Central Committee expresses its sincere gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its work in indicating the path to, and strengthening, united action, which in large measure determined the success of the Meeting.

The Central Committee endorses the Political Bureau decision of June 24, 1969, on the results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, and resolves:

1. Fully and unreservedly to approve the documents adopted at the Meeting: "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces"; the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin"; the Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!"; the Appeal in Defense of Peace.

The Socialist Unity Party will honor the pledge it made at the Meeting to promote the joint anti-imperialist struggle, and will be

*Neues Deutschland, July 31 1969.

guided in all its work by the policy of joint action set out in the Meeting documents.

The Socialist Unity Party will continue to make its main contribution to the world competition of socialism and imperialism by translating into practice the decisions of its Seventh Congress to build up the strength of the German Democratic Republic. Today, the main factor in building the developed social system of socialism is the socialist emulation drive in honor of the Republic's twentieth anniversary, achievement of all the 1969 economic plan targets, and careful preparation of the 1970 plan.

2. Systematic study of the theoretical propositions and political experience contained in the Meeting documents must be tied in with accomplishment of the tasks involved in building the developed social system of socialism in the GDR, and with all our theoretical and ideological work.

Systematic study and theoretical analyses by our social sciences of the new problems posed in the Meeting documents and speeches is of great importance. Our researchers should, through comprehensive study, bring out the full wealth of thought contained in the Meeting materials. This will help successful solution of the new problems in building the developed social system of socialism in the GDR, and in the struggle against imperialism.

3. Taking the results of the international Meeting as our starting point, we should, in preparation for the Lenin centenary, comprehensively explain and popularize the importance of Leninism as the Marxism of our time. The Socialist Unity Party considers principled struggle against bourgeois ideology, in defense of our Marxist-Leninist doctrine, against Right and "Left" opportunist deviations in theory and politics, against revisionism, dogmatism and "Left"-opportunist revisionism, a priority task.

4. The Socialist Unity Party will continue to devote special attention to strengthening the indestructible alliance, and developing all-round cooperation, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the vanguard of the international Communist movement.

At the same time, it will develop its close and fraternal ties, and promotes broader exchange of experience, with all Communist and Workers' parties.

5. The Socialist Unity Party will make an active and constructive contribution to implementation of the joint program of struggle against imperialism. And central to this is continued economic, scientific, technical, political, ideological and military strengthening of the GDR, and of the socialist community within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The Socialist Unity Party will extend its contacts with democratic

and revolutionary forces in all countries and will support the anti-imperialist struggle.

A special task for the Socialist Unity Party is to continue its active effort for European security, against West Germany's imperialist expansionist and revanchist policy. The German Democratic Republic's consistent peace policy aims at further consolidating the Republic's international positions, especially through normalization of relations with non-socialist countries.

By our creative effort, and discharging our internationalist obligations, let us advance to fresh achievements on the road of human progress and in the battle against imperialism.

Berlin, July 30, 1969

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY*

The Political Bureau, CC CPG, has heard the report of the CPG delegation to the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. It regards the Meeting as a success of worldwide historical importance. The Political Bureau approves the work of the CPG delegation and its contribution to cementing the unity of the world Communist movement on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

The documents and statements adopted at the Meeting are expressive of its firm sense of principle and its high political and ideological level. By adopting the Main Document, the Meeting produced the basis for a further consolidation of the unity of the Communist and working-class movement and for the maximum expansion of the militant alliance of all working people in the world against imperialism, man's most deadly enemy. The Moscow Meeting proved beyond a doubt that the will for unity is dominant in the communist movement and that the existing differences are but of a temporary and secondary nature.

This fact was also underscored by the unanimous approval of the Appeal for "Peace, Freedom and Independence for Vietnam!", the Appeal in Defense of Peace, and the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin."

Marxist-Leninist ideas have taken deep root throughout the world, on all continents, among all peoples. The Communist movement is more and more determinative in shaping the course of history. Adventurist and dangerous to mankind though it may be, imperialism is retreating and no longer able to regain its lost initiative in world history.

It is highly welcome that the Meeting in Moscow produced an

*Neues Deutschland, June 27, 1969.

example of struggle for ideological firmness and purity against all Right and "Left" opportunist deviations. The corrupting role played by the Chinese leadership, their direct aid to imperialism, their splitting activity, and their defection from Marxism-Leninism, were clearly revealed in the contributions of many delegations from all parts of the world. This will be highly beneficial for the unity of our movement in the fight against world imperialism.

The Main Document contains a profound analysis of the present international situation. It makes a deep study of imperialism with all its phenomena of disintegration, its misanthropy, aggressiveness and lack of perspective. At the same time, the Main Document elaborates on the relation of forces in the world, the growing importance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the increasing role of the workers' movement in the capitalist countries, and the problems of the national liberation movement. These powerful factors, no matter how different the conditions of their struggle may be, produce a unity of action based on their common interest: against imperialism, for peace, national independence and social progress. The Main Document is an effective weapon for all Communists and, at the same time, a foundation for effective joint action by the anti-imperialist forces.

Open comradely discussion and a fraternal and democratic atmosphere at all conferences, both during the preparatory period and in the various committees, including the Meeting itself, of course, were the distinctive feature of the Moscow Meeting. No other political movement in the world conducts its work and takes decisions before the world public in such a democratic way. This is evidence of the strength and invincibility of Marxism-Leninism and proves that Communists never conceal their aims. Everything the Communists think, everything they say and do, serves but one cause, the cause of the exploited, of mankind, the cause of peace and progress. All attempts by the Bonn rulers and their propaganda machine to falsify or belittle the results of the Moscow Meeting, will be futile.

The world public has had a chance to see that all the 75 Communist and Workers' parties at the Moscow Meeting, whether big or small, whether in power or working underground, have equal rights. No restrictions were imposed on any one of them in setting forth its ideas or proposals. This fact is doubly impressive if we recall that the speech of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, was universally acclaimed. Fresh proof was provided that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Lenin's Party, that vanguard of the world revolutionary movement, is the most considerable, the most experienced and the one that has the greatest successes to its credit.

Also important is the fact that the Main Document and the Appeal

in Defense of Peace correctly assess the role of West German imperialism in the pattern of the so-called global strategy of U.S. imperialism. The ruling circles in the FRG, with their revenge-seeking policy, their desire to revise the European frontiers, their non-recognition of the GDR, their efforts to obtain access to nuclear weapons and their encouragement of neo-nazism, are the main offenders against European peace. All fraternal parties see eye to eye on this point. If the rulers of the FRG thought that they could confuse our ranks with the help of the Social-Democratic ministers and their so-called new eastern policy, they were bitterly disappointed. The chances to continue Adenauer's policy by other methods are nil.

Acting on their duty and responsibility, the CPG delegation analyzed West German imperialism at the International Meeting, revealing its dangers and offering pertinent documents, which were accepted with deep interest by all the fraternal parties and the public. By so doing, the CPG acted in the true national interest of the FRG population and contributed to the cooperation of Communists and Social Democrats, to the unity of the working class and the peace forces in the FRG, to fight against the dangerous drift rightwards, against militarism and revanchism. The CPG proposals for the immediate signing of the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty, for recognizing the GDR in international law, recognizing the existing frontiers, and for the Bonn government's contribution to the convocation of a European security conference, were approved by the participants in the Meeting. All fraternal parties expressed their solidarity with the West German democrats and the peace champions in the FRG, and supported the demand for the immediate lifting of the ban on the CPG in the interest of the democratic movement as a whole.

Like Wilhelm II and Hitler, Kiesinger wants to turn the Bundeswehr into the school of the nation. This can lead to disaster. Only Marxism-Leninism shows the way to a life in an environment of peace and progress, to the citizens of the FRG as well. The Bundeswehr generals are not the right teachers for our youth. The Marxist-Leninists of the FRG, all the fighters for democracy and peace on whom the lessons of the nation's historical experience were not lost and who are connected with the victorious anti-imperialist movement of all peoples, are the most fitting teachers.

All Communists must make a deep study of the truth about the Moscow Meeting, study the speeches and documents. This is essential in order to convey the ideas of the Meeting to the masses. The CPG calls on all Social-Democrats, all trade union members, all friends of peace, above all the youth, to acquaint themselves with the speeches and documents, so as to understand at first hand, from the speeches of the foremost representatives of world com-

munism, the greatest and most powerful movement of our time and of the future, the aims pursued by the Communists and the means whereby the Communists wish to lead mankind to happiness. From all this they will draw fresh strength for the joint struggle to overcome imperialism in our country.

## GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY*

The Communist Party Executive welcomes the holding of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties and its results. It considers this Meeting to be a big success of the international Communist movement and of all anti-imperialist forces.

### I.

The Moscow Meeting graphically demonstrated to the world that the prevailing sentiment in the international Communist movement is towards unity and joint action against the common enemy of a peaceful and free life for peoples, against imperialism and its aggressive ambitions that imperil peace, democracy and progress.

Following free discussion, the Meeting unanimously adopted the Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!" and the Appeal in Defense of Peace, reached agreement on the pressing militant tasks in the common fight against imperialism, expressed practically full agreement with the Main Document, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all Anti-Imperialist Forces" and approved the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" and other documents. It thereby made a big step towards promoting the unity of the international Communist movement.

In adopting these documents, following extensive discussion in a democratic spirit in the course of which different viewpoints were expressed on some questions, the Meeting prepared a common basis for further intensified activities by the fraternal Communist parties, guided by the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The forces of the world Communist movement have not only united for more effective joint actions on the main issues of the struggle against imperialism, but thanks to these joint actions imparted a new quality to the struggle of the Communist movement, which will greatly increase its impact on the course of events.

The Meeting showed the ways to further strengthening the unity

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of the international Communist movement: through joint actions against the common foe—imperialism; establishment and development of bilateral and multilateral contacts between the fraternal parties; regular holding of international meetings and theoretical conferences; development and coordination of the theoretical work of the Communist parties.

The Moscow Meeting made a scientific analysis of the principal trends in world developments. It underscored the growing strength of the socialist camp, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and of the national liberation movement. The Meeting proved that despite all the attempts of the imperialists, the world balance of forces has changed in favor of the anti-imperialist forces.

At the same time, however, the Meeting stressed that although imperialism has not grown stronger as a world system, it continues to be a serious and dangerous adversary.

Far from decreasing, the aggressiveness of the USA, the main imperialist power, and of German imperialism, its main ally in Europe, has increased. The Meeting therefore stressed that the fight for peace is, in the present international situation, the crucial issue in the fight against imperialism's aggressive military policy.

Most of the parties at the Meeting noted the outstanding role played by the Soviet Union and the CPSU in the international arena in the fight against imperialism. The Soviet Union is the first country in the world where the socialist revolution triumphed.

It is the country that made the decisive contribution to the defeat of Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, thereby clearing the way for the peoples of a number of European and Asian countries, who carried out profound democratic changes in the postwar period and took the socialist road. And also today it is the Soviet Union that shoulders the main burden in the struggle for world peace and against imperialism. It renders the greatest aid to the Vietnamese people in their struggle and the most decisive support to the national liberation movement.

Most of the parties at the Meeting emphatically rejected the policy of the present Chinese leadership, who have substituted Maoism for the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Instead of fighting imperialism they are fighting against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and pursuing a dangerous divisive policy against the Communist parties in the capitalist countries and against the national liberation movement. The German Communist Party, basing itself on its experience of struggle against West German imperialism, supports the position of the fraternal parties. The policy of the Chinese leaders suits the ruling circles of the Federal Republic who are using it in their strategy of struggle against the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries, in their actions against the Communists and democratic movement in the FRG.

The anti-imperialist struggle was the central question at the Meeting. It called for redoubled efforts to preserve peace and promote the peaceful coexistence of states with differing socio-political systems, the focal issue in the struggle against imperialism, to step up solidarity with the liberation movement of the Vietnamese people. It called upon the working class of the capitalist countries to unite in joint actions and to establish a broad alliance of all democratic forces to weaken the power of the monopolies and ultimately to destroy it, to carry out the deep-going democratic reconstruction of society. These tasks correspond to the demand for the democratic and peaceful development of the FRG, and are, consequently, basic to the Party's policy.

## II.

The results of the Moscow Meeting are also a contribution to the present debate in the extra-parliamentary opposition regarding the aims and forms of the struggle in the FRG. They are a guide to the Communist Party in its efforts to unite all democratic forces and in expounding the aims for which the Communists are working.

The Main Document also shows the development trends in our country and accentuates the issues of joint struggle which correspond to the interests of the working class, of the entire working people of the FRG.

The Communist Party sees in this document confirmation of its policy as outlined in the Party's inaugural document. It considers that the program of joint actions by the Communist and Workers' parties correctly combines the international and national interests of every party. The German Communist Party therefore welcomes the results of the Moscow Meeting and declares that it will, for its part, make its contribution towards accomplishing the joint tasks.

The Party realizes the responsibility evolving from the fact that the ruling circles of the FRG with their great power expansionist leanings as U.S. imperialism's main ally, constitute the main danger to peace and the security of the European nations. That this is so is seen from their striving for domination in Western Europe within the framework of the aggressive NATO, their refusal to recognize the GDR and the existing European borders and to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, intensive arming, rallying of the reactionary forces and open support of neo-nazism. This policy of West German imperialism injures the national and democratic interests of our population just as it does the interests of the peoples of Europe.

In joint actions with the Communist and Workers' parties the

Communist Party will strive to overcome these dangers and make possible the peaceful and democratic development of the FRG. We consider our immediate tasks, in the light of our international obligations and our responsibility to the nation, to be the following:

—to familiarize the working class and all democratic forces in the FRG with the results of the Moscow Meeting and in this connection to hold discussions on the problems of our country;

—to develop new initiatives and solidarity actions with the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people;

—to step up the movement in support of signing the nuclear non-proliferation treaty without delay;

—to explain the danger of an alliance between German and U.S. imperialism, and to start a broad movement for FRG withdrawal from the aggressive NATO bloc;

—to give every support to the movement for international juridical recognition of the GDR as the key problem of European security, to promote actions for holding a European security conference;

—to establish a broad front of all democratic forces for joint struggle against neo-nazism, for the dissolution of the NDP, and against the growing contacts between the NDP and the CDU/CSU leadership;

—to develop solidarity with the Communists and Democrats of Greece, Spain and Portugal who are fighting against the fascist dictatorships in their countries;

—actively to support all actions for democracy, for participation of workers, office employees and their trade unions in government, factory management and social matters;

—to fight together with the working class for better living conditions and social security, for higher wages and against price increases.

The GCP calls upon the working class, all democratic and socialist forces of the FRG to act together to accomplish these tasks in the Bundestag election campaign and in the coming battles with imperialism, to support the election campaign of the "Action for Democratic Progress," and to vote for this party at the coming Bundestag elections.

As it prepares for the Lenin centenary the Communist Party will strive to make his ideas a still more effective weapon in the political struggle and ideological debate, to bring home these ideas to the working class and the youth, thus giving added impetus to the anti-imperialist movement in the FRG.

The Party will make a profound study of the international experience of the fraternal Communist parties, discussed at the Moscow Meeting. It will strive to be more active among the democra-

tic and socialist forces in the FRG and help establish a broad alliance of all sections and groups of the population who experience the pressure of imperialist policy.

# RESOLUTION OF THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE RUMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

(AUGUST 6-12, 1969)

The first part of the resolution points out that in a spirit of principle and responsibility the 10th Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party discussed the implementation of the 9th Congress decisions by the working people, Communists, Party organs and organizations, drew up a development program for the next decade and charted the general line of Party and state home and foreign policy.

The years since the 9th Congress, the resolution says, have been the most dynamic and fruitful period in the 25 years since the country's liberation. The resolution reviews the economic achievements resulting from the consistent implementation of the policy of socialist industrialization and of progress registered in other spheres. Much work has been done to improve economic management, planning and organization and the work of the central and local state bodies, to assure observance of the law, extend socialist democracy, draw the masses more extensively into the administration of the state and perfect the entire social pattern.

The resolution notes the increasingly tangible growth of the Party's leading role in all social life and commends the work accomplished by the Party organs and organizations, by all Communists, in organizing and mobilizing the masses for socialist construction in Rumania.

The resolution continues: the Congress reached the unanimous conclusion that the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party has successfully discharged its mission in guiding the struggle of the Rumanian people for progress and well-being and wholly approves the important organizational, political and ideological work and the home and foreign policy conducted by the Party in accordance with its mandate.

The Conbress specially notes the outstanding role played by Nicolae Ceausescu, the General Secretary of the Central Committee, in charting and implementing the home and foreign policy and in guiding the entire activity of the Party and the state.

The second part of the resolution contains high praise for the profound and searching analysis of the present stage in the development of socialist society made in the CC RPC report, the generalization of Rumania's experience in the revolutionary transforma-

tion of society, the masterful treatment of the fundamental problems of crucial importance for economic, scientific and cultural development and for raising the living standard, the important theoretical and practical guidelines aimed at improving the social and state system, and propositions relating to some topical problems of the modern world and the Communist and working-class movement.

The Congress, says the resolution, sets as the main task a further expansion and improvement of Rumania's material and technical base and the establishment of a comprehensively developed socialist society. The resolution indicates that this task will be achieved by the intensive development of the productive forces, steady progress in science, education and culture, with the working people taking an ever more active part in administration, extension of socialist democracy and the all-round development of the individual. The resolution adds that realization of the program will bring Rumania much closer to the level of the economically developed countries.

Another section of the resolution says that the Congress approved the directives for Rumania's five-year socio-economic development plan for 1971-75, the guidelines for 1976-80 and the program for the development of the power resources and the electrification of the country in the coming decade. The Congress instructed the Central Committee to ensure the drawing up on the basis of the directives of the future five-year plan to be submitted for approval to the Grand National Assembly, and to work out the final guidelines for the country's socio-economic development up to 1980.

The Council of Ministers, the ministries and central organs will consider the proposals submitted in the course of the discussion of the draft directives and take them into account in drawing up current and long-term economic plans and in carrying out measures to improve economic management, organization and planning.

The Congress also instructed the Central Committee to analyze critical remarks and proposals submitted during the Congress both at the plenary session and in the subcommittees.

The subsequent sections of the resolution are related to the Congress decisions concerning socialist industrialization, effective development of natural resources, increase of agricultural output, proper ratio between the accumulation and consumption funds in line with the economic requirements and possibilities, assuring the development of the material and technical base of society and simultaneously improving the well-being of the people.

The resolution lists the tasks set by the Congress before Party and state bodies and organizations, factory managements, trade unions, agricultural cooperatives and all working people. It points out that the Congress approved the directives for the development of foreign trade. It instructed the Central Committee to persevere in its efforts to extend economic, scientific and technical cooperation

with member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This cooperation is not based on the establishment of supranational organs and should in no way impair the national economic organizations of each country. It is based on the principle of voluntary participation, taking due account of the interests of every state. At the same time, it is necessary to continue extending economic, scientific and cultural ties with all socialist countries, for they contribute to progress in each country and strengthen the socialist world system. Rumania will continue developing economic, scientific and technical relations with countries of differing social systems, including the highly industrialized capitalist states and the developing countries.

The Congress instructed the Central Committee to secure fulfilment of the directives in education as regards training specialists needed by the national economy, science and culture, and raising the cultural standard of the entire population.

With science playing the role of a productive force, the Congress calls for measures ensuring high social effectiveness of fundamental and applied research, a closer tie-up between research and the requirements of the economy and all spheres of social life, enhancing the contribution of science to the country's all-round progress.

Raising the living and cultural standards of our socialist nation is the supreme goal of Party policy, the pivotal task of socialist construction, the essence of all our activity, the resolution says.

The next section of the resolution relates the positive results of measures carried out in pursuance of the National Conference decisions. The Central Committee is instructed to continue efforts to complete implementation by the end of 1970 of all decisions on improving economic management, planning organization, more effective use of economic levers and application of the principles of democratic centralism, so that the entire Party and the people can be informed of their realization in 1971.

While stressing the need for improving the state's performance in the economy, education, science and culture, in all social life, and defining measures to that end, the resolution emphasizes the decision to devote the utmost attention to strengthening the country's defense capability, supplying our armed forces with military equipment, improving their military training, promoting cooperation with armies of the Warsaw Treaty countries and other socialist states, in order to be able to repulse imperialist aggression at any time.

The Congress approved of the legislative activity of the past four years and came out in favor of legislation in the future, juridically fixing the economic and social realities in our country.

After pointing out that the Marxst-Leninist solution of the national question and establishment of the complete equality of

all citizens, irrespective of nationality, stands among the major achievements of our socialist system, the resolution calls on Party bodies and organizations to continue securing steadfast implementation of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Rumanian Communist Party, working for the education of the masses in the spirit of brotherhood between the Rumanian people and the co-resident nationalities, promoting their further cohesion in the big family of Socialist Rumania.

The Congress considered it necessary to continue improving the institutional framework, with a view to securing ever more active participation of citizens in discussing the fundamental questions of home and foreign policy and state administration, with a view to developing socialist democracy. The resolution calls on the trade unions, women's and youth organizations, and the Socialist Unity Front to take a more active part in social and political life.

The fourth section of the resolution registers the positive results achieved in consolidating the ranks of the Party, extending inner-Party democracy and improving the style and methods of the work of Party bodies and organizations. It sets the securing, in the future as well, political guidance in all spheres of social life so that Party control and ideologico-political leadership are carried forward in all spheres without exception.

The resolution notes in particular that it is necessary to continue giving much attention to recruiting Party members from among the finest workers, peasants and intellectuals, assuring strict observance of the Party Rules and the norms of Party life and of discipline, developing inner-Party democracy, creating the conditions in which Communists can state their views freely on matters under discussion.

Unfailing fulfilment of the Party Rules is the prime duty of every Communist, irrespective of the post he occupies, the resolution says. It also stresses the need for consistently and resolutely strengthening Party unity and cohesion, its most valuable asset, the source of its political might and organizational capacity, and the need to prevent actions that may prejudice the Party's unity of will and action.

The resolution also calls for consistent application of the principle of collective work and for training devoted, well-equipped personnel.

Approving the decisions of the April (1968) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee against abuses and violations of legality committed in the past, and the measures to eliminate their causes and to rehabilitate politically and juridically unjustly condemned persons, the Congress instructs the Central Committee to act firmly in securing unfailing observance of the Party Rules and norms of inner-Party democracy and socialist legality, so as to prevent any recurrence of this in future.

The Congress approved the proposed amendments to the Party Rules in view of the changed Party structure as a result of the administrative-territorial adjustment and the need for improving Party work and enhancing the role of the Party in guiding economic and cultural-educational activity and socio-political development. The resolution lays emphasis on the importance of ideological work, spreading communist ideas among the masses and raising the general cultural standards of the people.

Enumerating factors that promote socialist consciousness, the resolution emphasizes that the ideologico-political work should be centered as before on the problems of educating the people in the spirit of boundless devotion to country and Party, to the socialist cause and proletarian internationalism.

The resolution points out that in connection with celebrations marking the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the brilliant thinker and revolutionary leader of the proletariat, Party organizations will enhance their ideological and political activity.

It lists the tasks in improving work in the social sciences, literature and art.

The concluding section of the resolution says:

The Congress fully approves the foreign policy and international activity of the Party and Government aimed at promoting relations with all the socialist countries, upholding the unity of the Communist and working-class movement, strengthening ties with all anti-imperialist forces, and developing cooperation with all states of the world, irrespective of their social systems.

The Congress expresses its agreement with the analysis of the international situation and the relation of world forces contained in the Central Committee report, which emphasizes that imperialism, the chief enemy of progress and civilization, retains its aggressive nature and that the powerful anti-imperialist forces of today are able to frustrate the aggressive imperialist plans, block the road to a new world war and safgeuard peace and the security of the nations.

The Congress resolves that the foreign policy of our Party and state continue to be based on the development of relations of alliance, friendship and all-round cooperation with all the socialist countries; the CC RCP must consistently act in this direction, helping to eliminate the existing differences, to restore and strengthen the unity of the socialist countries on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

Attaching great importance to exchanges of opinion, information and experience with the fraternal parties of the other socialist countries on matters relating to socialist construction and international policy and activity, the Congress considers it necessary to promote these forms of cooperation between the leading Party and

state organs of our countries, while observing the right of each Party independently to resolve the problems of its home and foreign policy, this being its chief instrument in guiding the building of socialism and communism.

The RCP and our state will continue to act consistently in the spirit of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems in expanding economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation with all states of the world.

The Congress holds that Rumania's relations with all states, regardless of their social system, should be based on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, complete equality, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. It instructs the CC RCP to ensure strict observance of all these principles in Rumania's foreign relations, seeing to it that they are neither infringed nor violated under any circumstances.

The Congress reaffirms the nation's full solidarity and complete support of the people of Vietnam in their heroic fight against the U.S. aggression, for freedom and national independence, and favors peaceful settlement of the conflict, ending the war, securing the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and thus giving the Vietnamese people the possibility to settle their own internal affairs, including the problem of the country's reunification, without outside interference.

The Congress favors a Middle East settlement in line with the Security Council resolution of November 1967, withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, while securing inviolability of the frontiers and security of all states in the area and solving the question of the Palestine refugees.

The Congress lays emphasis on the need to persevere in working for European security and declares its support for a conference of the countries of the continent and for other measures that may contribute towards that end. Rumania considers it necessary to proceed from the actual situation after the Second World War, recognizing the two German states and the existing frontiers, including the Oder-Neisse frontier. Our country will continue its efforts to turn the Balkans into a zone of mutual understanding, peaceful cooperation and good-neighbor relations.

The Congress considers it necessary to intensify the struggle for disarmament, banning nuclear weapons and destroying nuclear stockpiles, dismantling foreign military bases and withdrawing all troops from the territory of other states behind their national boundaries, eliminating the division of the world into blocs and dissolving the aggressive North Atlantic Pact and simultaneously the Warsaw alliance. The Congress holds that refraining from acts and demonstrations of force, the state will contribute considerably to reducing tensions.

The Congress reaffirms the Rumanian stand with regard to the UN and emphasizes the need to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in this organization, admit the German Democratic Republic and other states, and implement the principle of the universality of the UN.

Commending our Party's efforts of recent years to extend relations of fraternal cooperation with the Communist and Workers' parties, the Congress instructs the new Central Committee to take further steps in promoting contacts with all fraternal parties without exception, and contribute to the restoration and strengthening of the cooperation and unity of the Communist movement through strict observance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism: complete equality, non-interference in internal affairs; respect for the sovereignty of each Party and its right to shape its policy independently. The Congress authorizes the Central Committee, while abstaining from censuring or condemning other parties in settling political and ideological differences, to seek settlement by discussions between their leaders in the spirit of mutual respect and in keeping with the interests of the Communist and working-class movement.

The Congress instructs the Central Committee to cement relations of solidarity with the national liberation movements and organizations fighting for liberation from the imperialist yoke and to expand Rumania's cooperation with the newly independent states, supporting their struggle in defense of their national sovereignty, for independent development, against imperialism, neo-colonialism and domination in any form. The Congress considers it necessary to continue developing relations between our Party and Socialist and Social-Democratic parties in order to buttress the unity of the working class in the struggle for democratic rights and liberties, for socialism and world peace.

The Congress expresses solidarity with the Communist and Workers' parties and revolutionary anti-imperialist forces which, despite the terror and repressions of reactionary regimes, are fighting for freedom, democracy and social progress.

The 10th Congress expresses the entire Party's readiness to consolidate relations with all Communist and Workers' parties, with all revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces. It is confident that the socialist countries, the international working class, the national liberation movements and the other revolutionary and democratic forces of our time, closing their ranks, can thwart the aggressive plans of imperialism, impose on it the peoples' will for peace and safeguard international security and cooperation.

In conclusion, the resolution says:

The decisions adopted by the 10th Congress are an inspiring program offering an excellent outlook in all spheres of social life

and providing conditions for a new upsurge of socialist Rumania. By fulfilling this great program, our Party will honorably discharge its lofty duty to its own people and make its internationalist contribution to the socialist cause and world peace.

The Congress calls on Communists, on all working people, irrespective of nationality—workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, the older generation and the young people—to join forces around the Party and its Central Committee and to work selflessly, with enthusiasm, in implementing the adopted decisions, ensuring the further progress of their beloved country and the successful building of a harmoniously developed socialist society.

# GUSTAV HUSAK'S ADDRESS* TO MEETING OF PARTY ACTIVISTS IN PRAGUE

AUGUST 19, 1969

Dear Comrades and Friends,

On behalf of the Presidium of the CC CPC, allow me to greet all of you, who represent our factories, transport and building, all the Communists and non-Communists working in industry who have by their work and political approach endeavored honestly to help our nation, our state and the Party. Allow me to thank you for your work, to thank all Commnuists who have in these difficult days remained loyal to the Marxist-Leninist teaching of our Party, who have remained loyal to the Party's program.

We meet today and have been meeting in the past days all over the Republic with Party members and workers to brief them on current problems, questions of the present, so that our people, members of the Party and all other working people should know the purpose of the struggle on the internal and international scene.

The crisis situation in which the peoples of Czechoslovakia have been living for some time, has old roots partly going back to before January 1968 both in the political and economic spheres, and which became boldly marked after January 1968. It was fully apparent in home politics, in our economy and in our foreign relations, and has had a bearing to no small degree on the relationships among people and in the moral sphere.

During this time and particularly in the past year and a half, the major political force in this state—the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—was shaken, internally split and disrupted. This conflict and internal struggle affected the mass organizations, the trade unions, the youth and other organizations; the state power of the working people was substantially weakened, economic management was impaired or practically put out of existence, and the like. This spring the situation was aggravated to an extent that a choice could be made between two alternatives: either to continue along the road of crises, chaos, upheavals and adventurous actions on the brink of national and state tragedy, or to find the road of consolidation, of peaceful life and work for our people. There was no third choice.

After the difficult, long, and painful experience, the Central Committee of our Party declared last April for a clear course of political and economic consolidation and struggle against forces impeding

this consolidation. The new leadership elected in April at a session of the Central Committee, undertook as a point of honor to lead the Party, the people and the state out of the crisis. That is not a simple task, particularly with the causes of the crisis being long-term, old and many-sided.

In the four months since April we can say that considerable progress was achieved in these spheres. True, we are aware of all our present difficulties. We draw no hasty conclusions. We know this is but the beginning of a whole process of consolidation, not its end. Even so, progress is already evident in many basic spheres and it is decisive for our further work. In our Party, as the major political force, there has been clarification of ideologico-political positions, the directives to carry forward the decisions of the May Plenum of the Central Committee have clearly returned our Party to Marxist-Leninist positions, elucidated its road forward, its methods, its home and foreign policy, and provided a foundation on which we can unite all honest and sincere members of the Party.

In four months we have achieved considerable progress, which I see, among other things, in the fact that the active, sound, committed nucleus of our Party is rapidly expanding and that the unsound, even the rotten, in it is coming to the surface and now has to be done away with. Slowly, with difficulty, our Party is again becoming a militant force capable and ready to lead the people out of the state of crisis. Conditions in some mass organizations, particularly the trade union movement, are visibly improving, though here, too, there are still many shortcomings.

We have seen to it that the mass communications media, the press, radio and TV, should serve the people of our country rather than groups not responsible to anyone, at least, not at home. We know that there are shortcomings here, often of a professional character, but we can say on the whole that the radio, the TV and the greater part of the press are now serving the interests of the people.

The bodies of state power, the socialist power of the working class, have been strengthened, and that is not unimportant. With personnel changes being necessary, they were carried out in a cultured manner as befits a cultured state, without ruining people or their possibility of making a decent living, etc. As the method of political work we chose persuasion, orienting the people, winning the people and enlisting them for cooperation, and this despite everything said and expected at home and abroad. We had patience enough to work with the people, confused and misled all these months, to convince them of the course of our Party as defined by the latest resolution of the Central Committee. We continued to rectify mistakes made in the past, we continued the rehabilitation, etc.

Our state bodies of power have consistently observed legality,

the rights of citizens are protected and no cases of their unlawful violation have taken place. We have centered our work on gradually preparing the Party Congress, the general elections, and the like.

These few points from the internal political scene show how much work the Party, its members and the other working people have accomplished. Our streets are no longer the scene of a wild, spontaneous movement; they have ceased to be the object of contention with authorities. The people can live much more calmly, work and expect a certain perspective.

Consolidation of international relations was important for our state. We shall return again to this question. Relations with our closest allies and friends were grossly disrupted in the past period, confidence was undermined. No small state such as ours—and indeed no small state in the world—can afford the luxury of bad terms with all states on the right or left. Therefore, the leadership of the Party and the state have worked hard in the recent months to restore good, neighborly and comradely relations of alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

As a result of internal political development during the past four months and of our negotiations with our allies, particularly the Soviet Union, we can responsibly say today that our Party, the Czechoslovak people and the state have faithful allies and friends on whom they can depend in all good and difficult situations.

We have taken the first steps towards consolidating the situation in our economy. This is one of the most difficult and complicated areas and measures will not proceed at too rapid a pace. You know perfectly well that elements of crisis were already in evidence here in 1961-64 and though subsequently there was some increase in production and the national income, no firm system of economic reform was found to guarantee the stability of the Czechoslovak economy and solve the major, particularly structural, problems.

On the pretext of having completed the reform, central economic management was in effect done away with in 1968 and 1969, with anarchy arising in the market. Spontaneity had generally become decisive, affecting the economy. Many comrades have spoken of this and I shall come back to it too, and shall not therefore dwell on it at length at this moment. The consequences of this almost ten-year crisis, the consequences of the uncontrolled movement last year and at the beginning of this year, are affecting all our citizens. Regrettably, we are reaping the fruit of what Novotny had sown for nearly ten years and of what was sown last year by Sik and similar ingenious reformers, with the only difference that Sik has settled in Basle, while millions of our people are suffering the consequences of what was in the true sense of the word disruptive work in the economy.

The leadership of our Party and the federal and national govern-

ments have been taking measures since May to stabilize the situation and prevent the negative tendencies. They have taken steps to regulate prices, wages and investments and to solve some problems of the foreign market, etc. It may be said that in June and July we observed some positive results and better indices. Now we shall see whether this is a lasting development or not.

The Party leadership has decided to carry out a special deep analysis of all our actions through the years both in the Party sphere and in the government, in order to show, to determine, what was good in our economy and economic reform and what was faulty, in order to find a method of fundamentally solving our economic problems. The results of this work should soon be on our desks. We have also sent delegations to all the socialist countries to see how they tackle their economic problems, to learn from others how to solve things, how to approach them. Nor are we giving ourselves a long time for this, for we know that the current state of the economy does not permit it. The federal government and the national governments are preparing a short-term stabilization program for our economy and we shall discuss it very soon.

In May the Central Committee of the Party also issued some directives for strengthening the state, strengthening the plan, and so on. You know them as guidelines for our economy and in other matters. A five-year plan is being prepared, which after the stabilization will give impulse to a new upswing of our economy, and thus also to a rise of the social standard of life of the people.

True, these are the plans, these are the prospects, while the present state of affairs bears heavily in many ways on the lives of our people. If we could perform miracles, at least in the way of the bible, with thousands of people fed with one fish, we would gladly do so. If anybody knows of such a miraculous method, let him come forward, and we shall not only welcome him, but pay him well for it. At present, only the wine-growers are performing miracles. All too often they turn water into wine.

The problems harassing us today are therefore the result of years-old problems. The leadership of the Party and the government, both federal and national, are dealing with these problems and we shall inform our entire public of the concrete ways to achieve economic stabilization.

There are many difficulties in our country. But he who knows the situation must know and confirm that the Czechoslovak state has all the resources for consolidating and growing as a cultured democratic socialist state. We have a developed industry and agriculture. We have industrious and honest people, we have qualified specialists in all fields. What are we lacking? We must think this over and see how to implement these perspectives, these objective possibilities. There are several things essential for this:

Firstly, we must politically consolidate our country, create the political conditions for its growth. One cannot work or live in constant disruption, chaos and crisis.

Secondly, honest work is needed in all spheres. And you know well how in many places he who works honestly is often the target of ridicule. How working morale and morale generally, and the approach to honest work, has deteriorated! This is one of the effects of the crisis.

Thirdly, we need good, thoughtful organization of our work from top to bottom, and capable economic leadership.

I have mentioned these questions, because the main aim of our Party is positively to solve the problems of our people. For this reason it has drawn up a positive program and is directing all its efforts on solving our problems, improving our life and the condition of the working man.

It must be said that even during this short period our successes could have been greater if obstacles had not been put in our way every day. What obstacles are these? Disruptive forces which have emerged during the last eighteen months, and not only emerged, but became well organized, did not cease their struggle even after April. Imperialist propaganda from the Western countries, all those "Free Europes," the press and other media are doing all they can to undermine the consolidation process in our country, to befog the minds of the people, to distract their attention from the creative problems of daily life and work, etc.

Deserters and those who have betrayed our people, who are now in emigration, are straining for tens of hours each day to inflame the minds of our people, to put spokes in the wheel of the consolidation process and to stoke up tension in our country. At home, those forces responsible for last year's state of crisis, the reactionary disruptive forces, the anti-socialist and Rightist forces, are systematically spreading poison among our people, poisoning their minds, inciting them against each other and putting obstacles on the road to consolidation, doing so in agreement, in most touching agreement, with the "Free Europes" and other bourgeois media. Why are they doing this, why have they intensified their activity? Until April they still had hopes, or more precisely, still cherished the hope that Czechoslovakia might take a different stand in international relations and in internal development; they still thought that the expectations of the West to drive a wedge between the socialist countries, to weaken the socialist community, might come true. The domestic reactionary forces attempted to seize political and economic positions and influence the developent in this state. All these forces have now realized that their plans have been defeated by the decisions of the April and May plenums of the Central Committee of our Party, that these plans have been foiled, and for

this reason they are today striving in every way to impede the consolidation process, to create chaos, and to stir up new crises.

Their aim is simple. Having failed to realize their foreign-political and internal plans, they now want to damage, to reduce to nought the effort of our people, of our Party leadership and of the state, to maintain as long as possible the state of crisis, the state of chaos, because they thrive in murky water, and thus prepare positions for changes that they fancy may still come about. For the time being, they plan to hibernate, to wait, to keep the people in chaos, in panic, in fear, until, as they hope, some day in the future, a new situation will emerge for them.

During the last two months the reactionary disruptive campaign conducted from the West and at home was concentrated on actions planned for August 21. The entire foreign propaganda—and that is no trifle, with some 160 hours of broadcasting daily in Czech and in Slovak poured over bourgeois radio stations, disseminating false reports—and the reactionary forces in the country are calling for a variety of acts on August 21. They are trying to exploit the lack of information concerning many political events of last year, to exploit the irritated national consciousness, to abuse the national feelings of Czechs and Slovaks for disruptive actions, to incite new crises in our state.

Our Central Committee last May decided that the Party leadership should prepare a political analysis, a detailed and objective analysis of our development before and after January of last year, covering all the political and social complexities, so that we should be able to inform our entire Party, all our people, about that complicated period, a period marked by so many critical and tragic turns. This analysis is not ready yet. It could not be ready due to the urgency of the many new problems. However, the pressure of foreign reactionary propaganda and the new offensive of the domestic reactionary forces are forcing us to set out the facts concerning some of the aspects, even though the definite conclusions are still to be made by the Central Committee.

As we look back at the events of last year and of the beginning of this year 18 months later, we all feel wiser, more experienced, much better informed, and are therefore able to appraise them more correctly. We must equip our people with arguments against the violent campaign emanating from the West and from various places at home. Where are we to seek our bearings, where are our people to seek their bearings in this difficult and confusing time?

The history of the Czech and Slovak nations viewed over the decades or even centuries, is marked by two basic elements: struggle of a small nation for national salvation and national freedom, and struggle of the working man, first farmer and serf, then gradually worker and small farmer, for social justice, for an equal status

in society, for the right of solving social problems in their own way. This national and social struggle, waged throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, a struggle that was in complexion national and basically of a class character, entered its ultimate phase after 1945, the phase of struggle for a socialist society guaranteeing national freedom and state sovereignty, gradually realizing man's craving for social justice, for a just place of the working people in society. That is the conclusion to be drawn from our history. We could demonstrate this stage by stage: the 1918 period, the period of the pre-Munich republic, war period, and the post-war period. Comrade Svoboda has spoken on that score, and the substance of the matter is known to you. I shall not, therefore, detain you by repeating it.

The building of socialist society in our Czechoslovak state is thus the conclusion, the culmination of a long struggle in our national history, the history of the class society of our nations. In times like these it is also the guide in our striving, showing us what we cherish and what we must defend and safeguard.

Building socialist society in our country, especially after February 1948, has yielded such positive results as regards the growth of our industry, reconstruction of agriculture, social standards, cultural development, etc., that the generation which did the building has nothing to be ashamed of, our state or our Party have nothing to be ashamed of. The results are splendid, in spite of last year's so-called reformers and progressives trying to besmirch everything built by our working people in twenty years. They described those years as a time of darkness and I don't know what other expressions. We herewith identify ourselves with these results, with all the positive and valuable built on our territory in the past twenty or twenty-five years by the Party and the working people. There have been errors. There have been mistakes, deformations and violations of the law, and in the more recent years there also prevailed a subjectivist, bureaucratic approach that failed to produce timely solutions for our problems, give adequate scope to the people, the Party and society, and find a way out. These mistakes and deformations must be removed, they must be avoided, but a 20-25 year period of work and struggle of the working people and of our Party must not be depreciated because of them.

Looking back as a Communist, I see that the aim of January of last year was to continue building socialism, preserve all the values created and cultivated by our socialist society and do away with the errors and shortcomings, to solve the problems facing the country. That was how matters stood if seen through the eyes of a Communist.

True, developments took a somewhat different course. Much is said at home and in the invidious foreign radio broadcasts about the post-January way, the post-January policy, etc.; there is any

number of interpretations. What criteria are we to use? Can a Communist, a Marxist, have the same views on this score as a member of the K-231 club, condemned for espionage and hating communism? Can a Communist hold the same views as a frenzied anti-communist? Can a worker hold the same view as an expropriated factory owner? Can our working people hold the same views as the paid agents of the "Free Europe" radio station and other bourgeois propaganda media? Clearly, they cannot.

Therefore, when we Communists speak of the post-January policy, we must bear in mind the positive and the negative from the standpoint of our Marxist-Leninist teaching, from the standpoint of the class interest of the working class and other working people, from the standpoint of the socialist state.

Viewing the post-January development in that way, we naturally see very many positive aspects: the exposure of numerous past errors and shortcomings, their solution or the beginning of their solution, provision of scope for the thinking of the people in Party and society for people's participation, search of solutions for basic political and economic problems, and so on. Many positive things were created thanks to the scope that opened up in our country after January, even though some things were not achieved and some things were not fully realized. The Party is going back to all these things, as stated in the November resolution of last year and as stated in the directives for the realization of the May resolutions. We are going back to these things, for we want to preserve them, we want to bring them about, because we want to perfect and improve our work for the socialist society, and to avoid mistakes, nonsense and blunders.

On the other side of the balance are those negative aspects of the post-January development that we should grasp and speak about, in order to find our bearings in the situation and to know why the various crises and tragedies occurred in the life of our nations. These causes are many, and I say: a conclusive, more detailed analysis can be made later by the Central Committee.

In our post-January political life we saw the class approach to political, economic and social problems being gradually blunted and lost. Elementary things were forgotten: that this world is divided into classes; that beyond our Western frontiers begins the capitalist world, a world that has never been friendly either to us or to the socialist camp; that in our society the old political class struggle is not quite over in the minds of people and that the class view of our development was therefore nearly as topical as in February 1948, despite our covering much ground in these twenty years.

If we simplify the nature of social systems to the utmost, it may be defined in the following terms: the capitalist countries have

different regimes—dictatorial, fascist, bourgeois-democratic, and the like. What is their essence? Their essence lies in keeping the principal means of production in private hands, in the hands of the bourgeoisie, and in keeping political power in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Whether it is the United States, France or England with their different regimes, these two basic criteria are the same. Personalities change, governments change, but the bourgeoisie retains its hold on the means of production and on political power in one form or another.

The same is true of the socialist countries, but in the reverse class context. The socialized means of production and political power are in the hands of the working class, of the working people. These are the basic elements, I might call it the political ABC, with which one must begin. Yet in this country this class principle was gradually obliterated by continuous talk and discussion, implanting among the people ideas about freedom in general, about democracy in general, about humanism in general. All we heard was the notion: only the people, only the nation, no classes, no class approach. The honest man and the idler, the decent citizen and the thief, the worker and the former exploiter—all of them were cast into the same cauldron: the people want this and the nation wants that, and what the people want we shall do. So I ask: which people? The working class or the former parasites, of whom many still survive here?

Freedom and democracy, and all lofty ideas, have a class content, a class form. They were not invented today. Marx, Engels and Lenin, the founders of scientific socialism, and many other outstanding revolutionaries, have elucidated these matters, have shed light on them, long ago. Yet in our country last year people suddenly began to forget this. In the general flood of demagogy poured forth upon our public this main approach was discarded. Yet wherever it is discarded, the class approach to problems is blunted and, naturally, a nationalist wave, nationalist demagogy, replace it. We experienced this in full measure. You remember it all from last year and I shall not dwell upon it at any length.

Reactionary movements always exploit the patriotic feelings of the people, the people's love of their country, their nation, their state. There is ample proof of this in the history of our peoples. Take the time before Munich. Who proclaimed the slogan, "Nothing but the people"? It was proclaimed by the party of the big bourgeoisie, the party of the factory-owners. The slogan, "Nothing but the people," was the slogan of Kramar, the followers of *Sejdrem*, of Stribny and others (Kramar and Stribny were leaders of the extreme Right parties in bourgeois Czechoslovakia, and *Sejdrem* was the newspaper of the Right party. CTK note). All they did was talk about the people. Then came 1938 and 1939, and they sold their

people, sold them like cattle, to retain their posts of power. The same was true of Slovakia. Which party there spoke most about the people, proclaiming the slogan, "For God, for the nation"? Hlinka's party did, the reactionary clerical party that existed then. But where did it end? Where did it lead the Slovak people? It led them into bondage to Hitler, hired them out to Hitler, and established a fascist regime in Slovakia. That party, too, spoke of the people, of nothing but the people.

We must be careful when we hear these slogans peddled among the people. We must see who is hiding behind them and what his aims are. Patriotism is a lofty feeling. Every man who is not an international tramp harbors a natural love for his country, for his people, for his history, for his language. At times like these, demagogues make the most of these deep feelings of the people. That is how they exploited them last year against the natural interests of these nations as regards our internationalist ties, they exploited them against the closest friends, against allies, launching a bitter campaign of incitement. That is the second thing made possible in this country in the course of the post-January development.

The third thing: outright anti-socialist forces came into motion, that is, forces which do not opt for socialism, which do not want it, which actively fight against it. There are some people in this country—even in rather high posts—who asked naively: and where are the anti-socialist forces? As far back as 1960, Novotny all but proclaimed a society of all the people, a liquidation of classes, leaping ahead of the actual development by perhaps twenty or perhaps fifty years. He declared the wish father to the thought, he blunted the class approach.

Naturally, after January, too, many people approached matters with their vision thus blunted. Was it not a fact that definite reactionary class forces had been crushed in this country in the course of the anti-fascist struggle? Were they not crushed in the struggle of 1945-48? Were they perhaps a weak political and class force—the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, and all their ideological and political followers All of us know very well that they were a strong force. That they were dormant for a time does not mean they have ceased to exist and after January 1968, when they were given a chance to become politically active, they went into action very systematically, they began highly organized activities. Each of you, wherever you may work, know of numerous concrete examples, and we need not cite them here. I shall only mention one absurdity, which, however, is not the only example. Club K-231 was organized in this country. You know that it had existed legally for some months. What kind of club was it? Allegedly, a club of people sentenced under Law 231, the law on the protection of the republic.

Tens of thousands of people were organized in this club which

legally existed all over the Republic: people sentenced for political offences, including professional spies and criminal elements, people that had not been through the process of rehabilitation, in which it is found that a man was, let us say, wrongly sentenced. There was an ample number of such cases as well, but these people organized themselves before it was decided whether they would or would not be rehabilitated.

It was enough that someone had been in prison to become a distinguished member of the club, into which they even lured members of the Party leadership and many others. And many extended them their patronage. They also wanted me to join the club. I have learned to know these club people in my ten years. I lived among them. True, in prison I also saw many honest and decent people, who were wrongly sentenced. But I also saw those who later spoke on behalf of the club, I saw their fanatical hatred of the socialist system, their fanatical hatred of communism. When they argued among themselves, or with me, they waited for the time when they would beat the Communists, hang them and liquidate our system. And people like that were allowed every possibility to be politically active all over the country, to organize themselves, to exert pressure on the bodies of state, etc. We looked on and tolerated such things. And that is not the only case. We could talk about it for hours if there were time. In brief, I want to say that political and organizational scope was provided for openly anti-socialist forces, which entered political life and engaged openly in their treacherous subversive work.

A very dangerous and evil role was played by the Right opportunists. Comrades often ask us: who are they, what are they, how are they? I think that in the past months everyone has seen enough of our political life and will recognize the bigger and smaller representatives of the Rightist forces in our Party and our society. If he does not know them yet, we shall see to it in our future political work that he should come to know them.

Where lies the danger of this opportunism? From criticism, from our own criticism of the shortcomings in the work of our Party, our society, in the preceding years,the Right opportunists drew conclusions leading to a negation of the very principles on which the Communist Party is based, on which the Marxist-Leninist teaching is based, simply to a negation, to a rejection of what they called the Soviet model, the Stalinist model or some other such model, in politics, in the economy, as regards the place of the Party, etc., leading simply to the destruction of these fundamental principles. You will find it in thousands of articles, in speeches, and today it is said openly by deserters over the "Free Europe" radio.

Thus, misusing the criticism of the real shortcomings, they planted destructive ideas in the minds of people, aimed against the

very foundations of socialism, against the very existence of the principles on which our society is founded. State power, the power of the working people, was considerably weakened. You know well what was being done in the security bodies. The state security apparatus was essentially switched off, its work against foreign intelligence agencies, against domestic subversive elements, even its normal work of maintaining order, was being impeded. Elements of disruption were also being introduced by the Right and anti-socialist forces into the army, the state apparatus, etc. The aim was to undermine the positions of our Party, its leading role, to undermine the power of our state. I have already mentioned the fact that economic management was, in effect, eliminated. We did not even use the word "plan" and adopted the term "economic directive" for what was done in a year; true, God only knows for whom that directive was binding, for the enterprises did not feel bound to follow the directive. We thus in effect did away with unified economic management.

And what happened in our mass information media is really painful to recall. Today everyone knows what a tremendous power the radio, press, and television are—mass information media without which no regime anywhere in the world can exist if it does not influence them. And in our country these media gradually broke away from the influence of the Party beginning with January-February, broke away from the influence of the state bodies and were controlled by groups of people, mafias of people, who belonged to the Right-wing, and partly to the anti-socialist camp. Thus these anti-socialist, Right-wing opportunistic ideas were allowed to spread, were instilled into the minds of our people through all channels of the state information media. It is difficult to understand why this state of affairs was tolerated and why its scope was underestimated. Take the average person—the Party member, our average working man. If at that time the radio, television, press, and even the central organ of our Party *Rude Pravo* daily repeated incorrect views, if he was misinformed and misguided, he was bound to believe it all: they were state bodies, they were Party organs, even important Party and government leaders spoke in this spirit. He, naturally, believed it all. In this way the minds of our people were misused, and they found themselves on the wrong road.

And what these mass media did with respect to our allies, you well remember. Incitement against the Soviet Union on every occasion grew to hysterical proportions. Against the Poles, against the GDR, against the Hungarians, etc. In other words, those states with which we are linked not only by our communist convictions but also by our national needs, our national interests, were the object of the sharpest criticism by our mass information media.

You will not find a single instance during those months of capitalist America or any other capitalist state being criticized in such a manner. The mud that was flung at the Soviet Union in those months! There were of course also many honest people in the information media. No one wants to accuse them. On the contrary, we appreciate their work under those conditions. But we all know what was the predominant influence. And that was tolerated.

Why were such things possible, comrades? They don't happen by chance, like mushrooms springing up after the rain. They were possible because the Party leadership tolerated them. The Party leadership, as the decisive political element, was internally disunited, and at variance, it included both honest Communists and people who wavered, and even outright opportunists and representatives of the Right-wing forces. The leadership did not have a clear enough conception, the necessary firmness and energy to baulk the negative elements that were here. This must be said very clearly.

Were there possibilities for preventing such a development? Everyone knows that there were. It was necessary to turn to the healthy core of the Communist Party, the healthy core of the working class, our militia, the working people, and this internal political struggle with its severe consequences, these internal political problems could have been solved relatively easily. But subsequent developments led to an internal struggle which was transferred to the Party, to the public organizations, a struggle for political power: who would win, which circles, which groups.

These elements were divided and the Right-wing, opportunist forces, the anti-socialist forces, because they had tremendous possibilities in the mass information media, constantly exerted pressure on the Party leadership, on the state bodies, etc. They libelled people, opened fire on honest people who were not willing to serve them, and inflated those who were willing to be yes-men and open the way to these elements.

That is how the struggle began, how the crises deepened and uncertainty grew. Where, comrades, could things have led to in such a situation when the differences had already reached the armed forces, the organs of power, when everywhere — in factories, at places of work, in all spheres — there had begun a division into camps? To civil war, to another struggle. Such would have been the internal political consequences.

Our development had a very unfavorable effect also on our international relations. It created a crisis in our relations with all our allies. This question was not publicly dealt with here. But since reactionary foreign and home propaganda is today most vociferous about it, I am compelled to say at least a few words about it.

After the changes in January 1968, the fraternal parties — the CPSU, the parties in Poland, Hungary, the GDR and Bulgaria —

greeted the changes that had taken place in Czechoslovakia. They expressed this officially in talks that were held. They quite openly expressed their support of the new leadership and the goals it proclaimed at the 20th anniversary celebrations of the February events in Prague when the leaders of these parties, Comrades Brezhnev, Gomulka, Kadar, Zhivkov and Ulbricht, were here. They backed this leadership, its goals: to support socialism, to eliminate the mistakes, to create wider scope. Such are the facts. I mention this because today bourgeois propaganda and our reactionary propaganda are trying to make out that the Soviet Union and other countries were afraid of the democratic stream in Czechoslovakia, that it would be carried to them, that it would subvert matters there, etc. That evidently can be ascribed to our conceit. From these facts which everyone can check, it is clear, however, that the leadership of our Party had full support.

That is known, it was published. What is less known, what was not published, what our Party and our people did not know was the further development of relations between the leadership of our Party and the other fraternal parties.

There were many meetings, many documents, many telephone conversations which give the people an overall picture which we shall have to present gradually, informing our Party and our public how matters stood, so that they should be in the know and see how events developed. For lack of time I shall recall only a few things.

On March 23 last year, i.e., at the end of March, there was a meeting of six fraternal Parties, including our Party, in Dresden. At this meeting, all five parties while supporting our leadership, very urgently pointed to the dangerous development in Czechoslovakia, to the activities of the anti-socialist forces, to the action of the Right-wing forces, to the work of the mass information media, to the various "kans" (club of committed non-Party people), the K-231, the undermining of the state apparatus, etc. They urged, asked our leadership to set things in order in this respect, stressed that it was a dangerous road for socialism in Czechoslovakia, that it would weaken also the whole socialist camp,and so on.

And from our side there were warnings, there were promises that we would put things in order and would take steps against such things. You all know what steps were taken. Our public has still not been informed about that meeting, about its proceedings; the official communique spoke in general terms about common relations, but to this day the Party and public at large have not been informed what was on the agenda, what was the position of the five parties and that of our Party.

After other meetings, at the beginning of May, on May 4, to be precise, our delegation was in Moscow. Again everything was repeated. Again the Soviet leaders argued with ours. They pointed

out, basing themselves on documented evidence, what the press was writing, what the radio and television were saying, how they were informing the people, how dangerous internal forces were growing, how the Soviet Union and the other socialist states were being vilified. And again after long discussions, the conclusion that we would put matters in order, that we would take the necessary measures, that we would not allow the socialist society to be undermined.

A certain start was made. The May plenary meeting last year in words took a stand against the anti-socialist, Right-wing forces. But you know what actually happened, how the promise was carried out. It was not. On the contrary, the Right-wing anti-socialist forces which had seized the mass information media, launched an offensive. They published "the 2,000 words," organized campaigns, and the entire Central Committee continued to take no action, watching what those forces were doing.

The situation worsened. You yourselves know that. You then attended various meetings, we all lived through that period. On June 12 last year the leadership of the CPSU, disquieted by developments in Czechoslovakia, offered to meet the leadership of our Party. They said: wherever you want, on our territory or on yours, on the border. Let us discuss matters that alarm us, the dangerous developments in Czechoslovakia, the effect they have for the whole socialist camp. The leadership of our Party did not accept this invitation, turned it down for various reasons—conferences, holidays, etc. We are such a great power that we can afford in such a serious situation not to have talks with one of the greatest powers in the world, friendly and comradely talks, that we can calmly decline, isolate ourselves and increase the tension!

At the beginning of July, following the letters from all five fraternal Parties in which they expressed their deep concern about developments in Czechoslovakia, about the various actions directed against them, and in which they appealed to the leadership of our Party, an invitation was sent to hold a joint meeting of the six Communist parties in Warsaw. There the six parties were to discuss, as in Dresden, and as was the custom, the developments in Czechoslovakia, common interests and a possible common solution. As you know, on July 8 the Presidium of our Party refused to attend this joint meeting, despite many urgent appeals and pleas. Thus it found itself in isolation, heightened the tension and mistrust between the five parties and our Party. In my personal opinion, it was a gross political mistake and an incorrect demonstration. The relations between the leadership of our Party and the other parties were thus further aggravated. With whom were we to cooperate in the world? On whom were we to rely if we refused to discuss matters with the five neighboring fraternal Parties with which we

are linked politically, economically and militarily? It is the megalomania which spread in the past years, the messianic notion that we will show the whole world a model, that grew into such political acts and did great harm to our people and our country.

A way out of the tension and crisis situation was found at the Cierna nad Tisou meeting held on July 29-August 1. Again the public was not informed about the questions discussed. I myself had the opportunity to read the minutes of that meeting only in the autumn.

The result of that few days' meetings was that attention was drawn to all the crisis features here, to the forces which were disrupting, undermining the socialist society, to the attempts to liquidate the position of the Party, the position of the working people, to all that we have spoken about here. They appealed to us to put things in order ourselves, to establish control over the mass information media, this instrument of the working class and not of all kinds of mafias and groups, to stop the campaigns against the socialist states which lead to division, etc., etc. And on our part, again promises to solve this or that question. On August 3 there was a meeting of the six Parties in Bratislava, and a declaration was adopted. It seemed that the crisis had been overcome, the tension removed. It could have been overcome, but only provided that we, for our part, acted honestly, according to Marxist-Leninist principles and in the spirit of the meetings that had taken place.

As you know, even afterwards, even after Cierna, and after Bratislava, practically nothing changed in our life. On the contrary, they returned to Prague and declared: "We stood our ground, we were true to our mandate, we had confidence in the people."

There are many documents about the telephone conversations and letters in which, especially the Soviet comrades, again returned to the subject: "You are not fulfilling the agreements adopted at Cierna, you are not fulfilling what you said you would, what you pledged to do at Bratislava." There is the explicit letter from Comrade Brezhnev to Comrade Dubcek of August 16. Again tension mounted because our side did not fulfil what it had promised. On August 17 — the Saturday before the events — in the evening Comrade Dubcek met with Comrade Kadar in Komarno. That whole evening, almost up to midnight, they discussed the problems relating to the situation in Czechoslovakia, what was said at Cierna, what must be done to block the way to the subversive reactionary anti-socialist forces. This talk was fruitless. And the Party Presidium was informed about this talk, about this meeting, only sometime in September or October, after the August events.

On August 17 the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee wrote a long official letter to the Presidium of our Party. Being very concerned about developments here, it showed by concrete

facts that none of the measures agreed upon at the various meetings were being taken, that things were moving in a very dangerous direction, etc. This letter was delivered apparently on August 19. It was addressed to the entire Presidium and was a serious warning. The Presidium of the Central Committee met on August 20 at two o'clock in the afternoon. This serious document was presented to the Presidium about an hour after it had been announced—at night, about half past eleven—that the troops of the five countries had entered our country. Such is the attention that was paid to such decisive moments. Our Central Committee will draw the pertinent conclusions from this. I have my own opinion concerning these documents which I saw only in recent months and about which most of the Presidium members of the Party's Central Committee, let alone the Party and the public, knew nothing, for they were kept secret (at a time when no such thing as a policy behind closed doors was pursued). My opinion is that if the leadership of our Party had then waged a struggle against the anti-socialist and Right-wing forces, if it had put some order in the information media, had maintained comradely, friendly relations with the allied states, there would have been no August, no entry of troops.

There are still many details about these questions which we do not know. But the fact is that on the night of August 20, troops of five socialist states entered our territory.

In the past few months I have spoken with representatives of the five allied states, and naturally have also discussed this question, wanting to clarify it politically and otherwise. They all told me that for many months they had tried to advise, to help our leadership, to prevent the negative course developments were taking in our country, how their efforts had been in vain, how they had lost hope that the leadership which was divided was capable—and partly also willing—to preserve socialist order in this country, and international relations, and that therefore they decided with a heavy heart on the step which they took on August 20. According to documents and also according to their statements, they took this step because of concern over the developments of socialism in Czechoslovakia, concern over the danger for the socialist camp, and because, having lost confidence in the leadership of our Party, they saw no other solution. I cannot judge of the details of these matters; we shall consider them at the Central Committee in the light of our whole development, our overall analysis.

The fact is that the broad membership of our Party, the mass of our people, for months influenced by the mass information media and Rightist propaganda, were totally unprepared for such a step, that people were shocked by the presence of the troops, did not understand what it meant, what it was all about. In this situation came the resolution adopted on the night of August 20-21 by the

Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This body, or some of its members who knew many facts, who knew how things had been developing for months, how various consultations had been held, who knew how and why the tension had been mounting, despite our long-standing allied, political, class and internationalist obligations, issued a statement in which it is said among other things that the entry of the troops was a violation of the fundamental norms of international law. In other words, this was a non-class approach to the problem. The people were not informed of what had preceded this, at what stages the relations between us and the five states had become complicated. The Presidium did not show the way out to the 1,600,000 Party members and the country's 14 million inhabitants. (A voice from the hall: Annul it.) That is the easiest thing to do, comrade. What is harder is to explain, to understand all the interconnections. We shall get down to tackling these problems. If they were that simple we would solve them easily.

Thus, no orientation was given to our people. The resolution of the Presidium was followed up by other organizations, the government, parliament, and public organizations which interpreted that part of the sentence I am referring to as implying occupation, that the troops were occupation troops; and then the mass information media launched a hysterical nationalist campaign which for most people obscured the real state of affairs, history, developments and everything else. This was the situation we were in one year ago and in the days that followed.

As I have said, these questions still have to be analyzed, I only considered it necessary to inform you, representatives of the working people in industry, construction and transport, and our entire public, at least about some of the issues, so that you might see that matters were much more complicated than our propaganda and various demagogues claimed they were, and that they are not like the reactionary anti-socialist forces today would have our people believe.

In the difficult situation, Moscow negotiations took place on the initiative of Comrade Svoboda. You know the results. The opportunity was again given to the existing Party, state and other bodies to continue political work provided that what had not been done up to August would at least be done after August, that the Party and state bodies would exert their influence on the mass information media, that the activity of the disruptive anti-socialist and Rightist forces would be prevented, etc. You know what followed. All the crisis situations not only continued, but they became more acute, grew worse from month to month and even in that period and in that atmosphere, elections were held to factory and other Committees of the trade unions, to individual unions, and we remember

the atmosphere of hysteria in which those elections, those congresses were held, and what kind of people got into various key positions. The situation grew even worse.

The reasons for the worsening situation are essentially the same as those before August. I could repeat them. The Presidium, of which I was also a member after August, was split, divided into camps, there was a struggle over every question, and therefore, because of the disunity, the decisions adopted were not realized in practice. And when the Central Committee adopts — as it did in November 1968 — a resolution, and the Presidium adopts numerous administrative measures, and one part interprets them in its own way and the other in the opposite way, what effect can this have on the Party and society?

However, a certain turning point in respect to these problems was brought about by the Central Committee last April, of which I have already spoken.

I considered it my duty to mention some of the facts as well as some of the more recent ones so that we should be able to explain them today to the people, so that we should be able to orientate ourselves correctly. The reactionary forces have now intensified their attacks, they have tried to whip up a state of hysteria among our people, the young people, the intelligentsia and among the people in the factories, to stage some sort of protest actions against our system, against our allies, One of the big slogans of this disruptive domestic propaganda and of the imperialist propaganda from the West is that Czechoslovakia is an occupied country. I even read yesterday that one Western magazine has outrightly written that we are a semi-colonial state. We all live here and communicate with our public by means of the radio and television; everyone is a witness to the situation in our country. Are things decided in our country by our own Party and state organs, or not? Present here is the entire leadership, beginning with the President. Everyone of us knows, and everyone feels it at his place of work, in the factories, offices and elsewhere, that Czechoslovakia is a fully sovereign, independent state whose political, economic, military and other problems are decided by its own Party and national bodies. There are some Soviet army units on our territory. They are here in accordance with an agreement. They adhere strictly to this agreement. They do not interfere in our political, economic and other affairs. Are there not, for that matter, in the present divided world, allied units on the territory of other countries? Just as Soviet troops are stationed within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty in Hungary and Poland, in the same way U.S. units are stationed in Western countries, in West Germany, Belgium and elsewhere. They are there. I mention this because the propaganda about our present

occupation is an insolent fabrication and slander aimed at misinforming our people. We can say with full responsibility that our own national and state affairs are decided by our own organs with the due pride of the Czechoslovak citizens, with responsibility for the state and national interests of this country.

We observe an interesting change in recent months in the activities of the disruptive reactionary forces in our country, whether we call them anti-socialist or Rightist—combined in various ways and made up of people ranging from those who have been misled to agents directly working for foreign powers. They have switched to illegal forms of work: the mass dissemination of illegal leaflets, the organized spreading of panic, the circulation of fantastic fabrications that one finds it hard to understand how anyone can spread them: about the annexation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union, the death of some person, anything that anyone can think of, as long as there is panic. Telephones are incessantly ringing in all parts of the republic and sensational news follows immediately. All kinds of horror stories are spread, illegal meetings called, joint plans discussed, and organized efforts made to undermine our society, the economy. We see a strong shift from the political to the economic field. We observe some acts of a sabotage character in indsutry, transport, the supply system, an organized effort to cause disruption in the next few days, to disrupt the supplies to production and transport, calls for strikes, abuse of the legal organs of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement for these political provocations and actions. Even direct calls have appeared for terrorist acts against Party and public functionaries. The people's lack of information, the national feeling, are played upon by this propaganda.

What can these forces achieve? We are watching these efforts of theirs with calm nerves, although we are in no way underestimating the strength of these actions. With calm nerves because we know with absolute certainty that we have enough strength to frustrate any subversive attempts on our territory. We are watching things calmly because we are absolutely certain that nobody in this country can any longer change the power-political situation, that nobody can bar the road to our construction of socialism, which we strengthened last April and May. What can these forces then achieve when they know that they cannot win? They cannot change things. You know how it is in village life, when one neighbor falls out with another. When one can do nothing to the other, he is at least glad when the other loses a goat—or suffers some other damage. It is the same with our foreign "friends" in the West, with imperialist propaganda, who are interested in there being some kind of trouble that would discredit us, some kind of disturbances, so that they could prove that the people of this country are dissatisfied with

the present leadership, are dissatisfied with socialism, with its allies and so on. The domestic forces want the same thing.

All this is not accidental. Somewhere a silly little leaflet will appear, put out by a small group of five or ten people, and the next day it is quoted by "Free Europe," the Austrian radio, in *Deutsche Welle*, etc. We have taken away the transmitters from these people. They now use their reserve channels, in fact their original ones, for they served these masters last year, and tried to continue this service now. Their purpose is to publicize themselves through Western propaganda organs, to create the impression that there is serious dissatisfaction among the Czechoslovak people, and again to disrupt things in our country and make it impossible for us to create a calm situation.

We must adopt a very clear and unequivocal stand towards such actions. The leadership of our Party therefore declares: we consider these reactionary actions as hostile actions against our state, against its socialist system and against the national interests of the Czechs and the Slovaks, hostile actions which are in direct contradiction to the laws of this country, and we shall accordingly combat them. The organs of state power have received instructions to take energetic and tough measures against hostile and disruptive actions, and thus prevent attempts to again cause chaos, a crisis, to disrupt our state.

We shall not allow our country to be turned into a Wild West. For a year and a half the devotees of both the wild and not the wild West tried to do it, and it is time they finally realize that we are going to put a stop to this.

In the critical years of 1945-1948 Klement Gottwald kept returning to the maxim that we would not allow the republic to be disrupted. This holds true also today. We cannot allow anybody to disrupt the republic, a state in which the working class, the working people, and the Party hold the leading position. We shall therefore call to account the organizers, the instigators of these actions, and any person who will in like manner oppose the socialist state, its system and its peaceful life.

We called on the people to be calm, to work creatively, to support the positive program of our Party and of our state organs. We are being forced into a struggle, a struggle is being organized against us. How much longer do we have to waste the energy of our Party, our state organs and our people on incessant defense actions against such provocative activities? Is it not time that we wholly concentrate on normal working problems? Therefore, if we are being provoked into a struggle, we shall see to it that it ends in the complete defeat of all reactionary and Rightist forces, the complete political defeat of all these forces, in the cleaning out of all responsible political, economic and other positions in the state, so as to

prevent their abuse and thus put an end once and for all to these constant crises.

There are many honest working people in our country who are misinformed, misled, to whom, as Comrade Svoboda said, we are patiently explaining things and want to explain things, and whose support and cooperation we want to win. However, at this moment it is our duty to warn them not to fall for the guiles of provocateurs, not to support their disruptive actions which they are preparing because, as I said in this hall a few days ago, everyone in these days will prove his true worth and we shall judge of him by the way he judges himself.

In our efforts to consolidate our state politically and economically, we are calling for the assistance of the working class, of the healthy core of the working class in all factories, for today it is at the factories that the provocateurs would like most of all to operate; we are calling for the support of all honest farmers who are working peaceably, of the healthy part of the intelligentsia and of our youth, and we are convinced that we shall pass the test, that we shall create calm conditions for the life and work of our people and for the great vistas before our people.

Our Party, which has stood many tests in the fifty years of its existence, has enough strength and experience to lead our people also through this trial and bring them to radiant goals.

Thank you for your attention. I conclude with the slogan: "Long Live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia! Long live our working people'!'

# FOIL SYNDICATE PLOT

## CPI SECRETARIAT STATEMENT*

### BANKS TAKE-OVER: A BEGINNING

The dismissal of Morarji Desai from the Finance ministership and his exit from the Cabinet, followed by nationalization of 14 of the biggest banks in the country, marks the beginning of a new significant stage in the fight against monopoly capital and the forces of Right reaction inside this country, represented by the Syndicate inside the Congress High Command and the Swatantra and Jana Sangh parties outside. These developments have speeded up the process of political differentiation and polarization inside the ruling Congress party and in the country as a whole.

Our Party welcomes the dismissal of Morarji Desai and the nationalization of the big banks as bold and timely steps taken by the Prime Minister and extends firm support to these steps—even though the Indian branches of the foreign banks have been left out.

What has made it possible for the Prime Minister to take these steps is the anger and hatred against the monopolies that has been gathering momentum in the country in recent years, the popular demand for radical action against them and the left-ward swing among the common people that has found reflection both in the elections (the mid-term elections in 1969—*Ed.*) and in mass struggles.

The mass anti-monopoly campaigns led by our Party and others both inside Parliament and outside ever since the Great March and Petition Campaign of 1963 and the slogans popularized by us have been significant contributory factors in this process.

Inside the Congress Party the battle-lines are becoming sharper between the Syndicate on the one hand and its opponents on the other hand, many of whom have rallied around the positions recently taken by the Prime Minister. Both sides are expecting a final showdown sooner or later and are preparing for it.

The present situation has arisen mainly as the result of the growing incompatibility between policies which the Congress government has been pursuing to appease the monopolists at the cost of the masses and national interests on the one hand and the urges and demands of the working people on the other.

Outside the Congress Party, the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh

*Abridged from **New Age**, July 27, 1969.

are taking up positions in support of the Syndicate and against the Prime Minister. The aim of the Syndicate is to throw out Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister and to take over power at the Center backed up by the Jana Sangh and Swatantra parties and other reactionaries. This is obviously directed against the democratic gains of our people and all progressive forces, particularly against the organized Left and democratic movement.

Though the first blow has been struck against Right reaction by the dismissal of Morarji Desai and the nationalization of the big banks, it would be a total mistake to underestimate its strength or imagine that the battle has been won.

*Indeed, the battle has only just started. Its most crucial stages are yet to come. Unless the masses and the mass movement are aroused on an unprecedented scale throughout the country to expose and fight the Syndicate and its allies, the Jana Sangh and Swatantra parties, to expose and fight the vested interests and their conspiracies, to carry the fight for radical economic policies forward steadily step by step, the battle will be lost and nothing can prevent a takeover of power by the forces of reaction at the Center. In this context, a united mass movement as well as mass actions are of decisive importance.*

The bureaucrats and monopolists are regrouping their forces to sabotage and undermine the objectives for which the nationalization of the big banks has been undertaken. They will utilize their strategic position in the administrative apparatus for this purpose. They will thus seek to "prove" that the policy of nationalization has led to "economic chaos and ruin."

The interim stay order against the Ordinance secured from the Supreme Court is regarded by reaction as their first counter-blow.

On the political front, though the Syndicate has lost the first round in the battle, they are now preparing for the second and more crucial round. That is becoming crystallized round the Presidential election.

The Syndicate, supported by the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh parties from outside, is going all out to secure the victory of their candidate, Sanjiva Reddi as against Giri. The election of Sanjiva Reddi as President is to be the first step in the process of preparing for a Right reactionary take-over of power at the Center.

On the other hand, from the point of view of the democratic masses, the defeat of Sanjiva Reddi and the election of V. V. Giri as President will be the first step in the building up of all-India Left and democratic unity in order to thwart the plans of reaction and give it a crushing rebuff.

*In this situation, the Party must therefore concentrate all its strength in the coming weeks on unleashing the most powerful mass political campaign throughout the country,* exposing the

designs of the Syndicate and its allies, the Swatantra and Jana Sangh parties and other reactionaries; mobilizing public opinion against them and in support of the Bank nationalization; calling for other urgently-needed steps to curb the power of the monopoly houses and to satisfy the just demands of the working class, peasantry and agricultural labor, middle class employees and other sections of the working people; and calling for the defeat of Sanjiva Reddi, the Syndicate nominee for Presidentship and for the victory of V. V. Giri.

*The Party must take this mass political campaign as its key task in the coming weeks* and devote all its energies to developing it. It must be remembered that time is an essential factor here.

In the course of our mass political campaign of meetings, demonstrations, etc., we should *concentrate our attack against the monopoly houses and against Right reaction, against Morarji Desai and the Syndicate and its allies, such as Swatantra and the Jana Sangh.*

We should demand the immediate enactment of the Nationalization Bill in Parliament. This is essential to meet the legal offensive of the monopolists. We should firmly support Bank nationalization and put forward constructive proposals for the democratic administration of the nationalized banks and for the timely exposure and removal of saboteurs from key places.

We must come forward with proposals for ensuring that the resources of the banks are utilized not for furthering speculative and hoarding activities or for further fattening of the monopolies, but for the following priority objectives:

1. For help to the peasant in the form of development and completion of irrigation and power projects, with the aim of achieving the target that within the next five years the percentage of irrigated land will be increased to at least 50 per cent.
2. For help to small-scale and medium industries.
3. For the development of economically backward regions and the elimination of regional imbalances.
4. For the strengthening and rapid expansion of the public sector.

Trade Unions in the Banking Industry have a big role to play in this campaign.

We must bring forward the just demands of the working class (minimum wages, job security, trade union rights, etc.) and agricultural labor (minimum wages, distribution of government and fallow lands, etc.) and initiate mass movements for them.

We must demand rapid implementation of the steps outlined in the Prime Minister's Economic Policy Note, on the part of the Central and of the State governments.

*We must explain the political issues involved in the Presidential election, carry on the Presidential election campagn as a mass poltical campaign of exposure of Right reaction and of the Syndicate*

*and its allies, as a mass political struggle for policies and not a mere contest between personalities.*

The monopoly press in the country is running a rabid campaign against the Prime Minister and in support of the Syndicate. Hence every effort must be made to get news of our campaign, of our meetings and demonstrations and resolutions passed by us, published in the newspapers as widely as possible. Similarly, statements supporting Bank nationalization, supporting Giri's election as President, etc., coming from prominent public figures in every walk of life must be given publicity in the press.

Maximum efforts must be made to forge unity with the other Left and democratic parties and groups and also with all sections opposed to the domination and the reactionary pro-monopoly policies of the Syndicate bosses, irrespective of party affiliation.

Every State Committee must carefully plan out steps of how to mobilize support for Giri for the Presidential election inside every party through indivdual contact and lobbying, in addition to the mass campaign.

It is essential that the entire Party and all mass organizations (Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas, Agricultural Labor Unions, Youth and Student organizations, women, etc.) are geared to this mass campaign in the coming weeks.

# DECISION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, CC, CP OF GREECE

April 1970 will be 100 years since the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the leader and teacher of genius of the working class and oppressed peoples of the world, the architect of the first workers' party of the new type, the Bolshevik party, the leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the founder of the world's first socialist state of workers and peasants. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece calls upon workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals, the working and student youth, upon the entire Greek people, to mark, together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and all progressive mankind, the centenary of Lenin's birth.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was the worthy continuer of the great cause of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Scholar and thinker, he developed Marxism in the new historical conditions.

Leninism, the truth of which has been confirmed by international experience, is the Marxism of our epoch. In the contemporary battle of ideas that is being waged on an international scale and is an expression of the major revolutionary social clashes and changes taking place in our time, the Marxist-Leninist teaching is a priceless asset and a guide in the revolutionary and progressive world movement. Lenin's tenets about imperialism as the last stage of capitalism, about the party of the new type, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in its various forms, about socialist democracy, the leading role of the working class and the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and all working people, about the national and the agrarian problem, about the different ways of building a socialist society—all are a compass for the Communist parties and the revolutionary, liberation movement in their fight to end exploitation and social and national oppression.

Of particular importance is Lenin's tenet that only the vanguard party of the working class—the highest form of organization—which is guided in its activity by the revolutionary theory of Marxism, can lead the proletariat and all working people in their anti-imperialist struggle and guide them in socialist construction.

Lenin taught that if the Communist parties are to carry out their mission they must wage an implacable struggle against all kinds of Right and Left opportunism.

Together with all the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, the Communist Party of Greece, notwithstanding the present difficult conditions our people and our movement have to contend with, is preparing to meet the great date in a fitting manner. In pursuance of the decision of the 13th Plenum regarding participation of the Party and the entire working people in the centenary celebrations, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party has resolved that:

a) The Communist Party of Greece will actively participate, drawing on its own experience, in all international measures connected with the Lenin anniversary (international exhibition of the works of Lenin, international seminar on the revolutionary activity of Lenin, etc.).

b) The Political Bureau of the Central Committee considers that in the present conditions the Party should mark the centenary under the watchwords of defense of the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and defense of the Party's line against the attacks of the revisionist factional group, Party building, strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party life, full implementation of the principles of democratic centralism and proletarian internationalism and an implacable and unremitting struggle against the splitters who are undermining the unity of the Party, under the watchward of strengthening the Party by drawing new members into it, and of developing the struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and restore democracy in Greece.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee considers that in the present conditions of illegality, of particular importance for our Party are Lenin's precepts regarding the establishment of illegal decentralized organizations, strict observance of the rules of secrecy and vigilance and methods of work in these conditions, correctly combining illegal and legal work, and maintaining contact with the broad masses.

Our illegal Party press, including the theoretical journal *Neos Kozmos*, and our radio station, "The Voice of Truth," are powerful weapons in the fight to achieve these aims, in reinforcing Party work. Further improvement in their work will help to reinforce the entire anti-dictatorship movement.

In our Party organizations in Western Europe preparations for the Lenin centenary will proceed under the watchward of redoubling efforts to strengthen these organizations, to promote the mass movement of resettlers and students, a movement which seeks under the slogan of bigger participation in the anti-dictatorial struggle of our people, to satisfy their vital interests.

The organizations of the Communist Party of Greece in the socialist countries must center their attention on giving still greater support to our battling people, on involving our political emigrants

more actively in communist and socialist construction, on upholding and promoting the unity of our Party, the political and cultural development of our political emigrants and the Communist education of the youth.

All Party organizations at home and abroad are to elaborate and carry out their own specific programs in connection with the Lenin centenary.

The improvement of ideological work in the Party and the progressive movement of our country is a paramount task, particularly in the present conditions when the enemy is stepping up his ideological offensive against the progressive movement. The "Voice of Truth" radio station, the journal *Neos Kozmos,* and other organs of the Party and the progressive press can render considerable assistance in this respect.

The publication of Lenin's works that are pertinent to our movement, such as *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution; The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism; "Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder; The State and Revolution; Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism; The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky,* all written at the time of the struggle against reformism, and also the publication of booklets about the life and work of Lenin, will greatly help to raise the ideological level of our Party members and activists.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party calls upon all Communists of Greece, upon all working people, all progressives of our country, no matter where they may be—in the ranks of the fighters against the fascist junta, in prisons, concentration camps, or abroad—to meet the centenary of the birth of Lenin in a fitting manner, to strengthen the ties of friendship with the peoples of the country where the immortal Lenin was born and lived.

Ever since it was founded fifty years ago, the Communist Party of Greece has held aloft the banner of Leninism and remained ever true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin will mark a new stage in the activity of our Party, oriented on reorganizing its ranks, on fulfilling its historic mission.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**August 1969**

## ECUADOR

Speaking at a meeting at the Democratic People's Alliance headquarters in Guayaquil on August 5, Enrique Gil Gilbert, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, stressed the importance of the documents of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, in which the parties reaffirmed their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and called on all democrats and patriots of Ecuador to unite in the struggle against imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, and the local oligarchy for the social and national emancipation of Ecuador.

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The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador, meeting in Guayaquil on August 16 and 17, discussed Communist participation in the 1970 election campaign and defined the aims and forms of this participation. The plenary meeting recommended the Executive and the provincial committees to make a concrete study of the question. It paid particular attention to studying the urgent problems of the peasant movement in the country and dealt at length with its specific features, successes and prospects, the results of the enactment of the Agrarian Reform and Colonization Law. The conclusions and decisions of the meeting will be published in the press and widely popularized.

## BRITAIN

The 31st National Congress of the British Communist Party will meet in London from November 15-18 this year, reports *The Morning Star* of August 7. It will discuss draft resolutions on monopolies, Left unity and the Communist Party; defense of the trade unions; the national future of Scotland and Wales.

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Representatives of the British Communist Party, the Communist Party of Northern Ireland and the Irish Workers' Party discussed

the political crisis in Northern Ireland on August 20, reports *The Morning Star*. In their joint statement they blame the Unionist Party for the state of tyranny in Northern Ireland and call on the British government to intervene and establish democratic rights and freedoms in Northern Ireland.

## FINLAND

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland, held on August 9 and 10, discussed the proceedings and decisions of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. The main report was delivered by Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Communist Party.

## SWEDEN

Speaking at a session of the Executive of the Left Party—Communists of Sweden, which met in Stockholm on August 9, C. H. Hermansson, Chairman of the Party, described the situation in the country and the policy of the Social-Democratic government which is characterized by a shift to the right on major issues. The contradictions between government policy and Left public opinion are growing more acute. This, he said, forcefully demonstrates the need for a militant Communist Party as the instrument of the country's Left forces.

The Executive adopted a statement urging immediate recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

## CHILE

*El Siglo* published a statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile which reads in part: "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile has decided to nominate its own candidate at the 1970 presidenital elections. The question will be decided at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee in September."

At the same time the Communist Party declares that it will support the candidate of the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic parties and movements if they nominate one. The statement points out that it is prepared to withdraw its candidate for the sake of popular unity. If unity of the Left forces is not achieved, the Communists will then vote for their own candidate.

* * *

Comrade Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist

Party of Chile, addressed the conference of the Valparaiso Communists on August 19. He called on all Left parties and movements to form a united popular front. Our posiiton, he said, is crystal clear. The decision of the Chilean Communists to put up their own candidates does not at all mean that we are against Left unity. On the contrary, our prime concern is to establish a broad popular front.

## VENEZUELA

The lecture on the centenary of V. I. Lenin's birth, arranged by the Friends of Soviet Culture and Science Center at the National Journalists' House on August 13, was attended by several hundred people.

## ARGENTINA

*Nuestra Palabra* of August 22 reports that 4,300 new members joined the Communist Party between April 1 and July 31, as a result of the countrywide Lenin Enrollment. The new members are mostly workers, but they also include peasants, students and intellectuals.

The paper notes that the enrollment is proceeding at the height of the struggle for civil rights, which is headed by the working class.

## KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The delegation of the Korean Party of Labor and the delegation of the Communist Party of the USA, led by D. Pitman, member of the National Executive and editor of the *Daily World*, held talks in Pyongyang on August 20-21.

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**Documents of September Plenary Meeting**
**CC CP of Czechoslovakia**

# INFORMATION BULLETIN



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# THE PRESENT SITUATION AND FURTHER TASKS OF THE PARTY

## REPORT* BY GUSTAV HUSAK

to September Plenary Meeting,
CP of Czechoslovakia

On behalf of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, I present to you a report on the evolution of the situation in our Party and society since the May Plenum of the CC CPC, the Presidium's position on some fundamental problems and its plan for the Party's further activity.

The April Plenum of the Central Committee resolved to look with energy for a way out of the grave crisis in our Party and society. The documents of the May Plenum indicated this way out and the methods to be used in our work.

Assessing the results of the strenuous effort of thousands of Party workers and its leadership in line with the decisions of the May Plenum, we must say that the Party has made considerable progress in every field and has completed the first phase of consolidation. A certain calm has set in in our political and social life and our foreign political relations, and the well-known crisis situations have been overcome to a certain extent.

The leading bodies of our Party at the center, in the regions, districts and numerous branch organizations have grown stronger. The active core supporting the principled policy defined by the Central Committee is growing and so is the commitment and devotion of a large number of Party functionaries and workers in various fields. The Party, or at least its sound core, is regaining its efficiency and militancy. This development is due in substantial measure to personnel changes at various Party levels. We may now say that the Party leadership can confidently lean on the support of a large number of its members active in the most diverse spheres of Party and social life.

These past four months have shown that work according to the realization guidelines of the May Plenum is producting positive results, and that the Plenum decisions were correct and retain their validity as a concrete program, a realistic course we will follow to solve our problems and fully overcome crisis situations in our country.

The effort of our Party and our people could have borne far

*Abridged from Information Bulletin of the CC CPC, September 1969.

greater fruits had Party committees and staff members of government and other public bodies not had to waste much energy and effort combating anti-socialist and Right-wing forces in our country.

Indeed, all these months have been marked by violent political struggles against the anti-socialist and Rightist forces backed by fierce propaganda on the part of imperialist and èmigré centers and their allies in our country.

For months the reactionary forces at home and their bourgeois allies, protectors and patrons abroad worked hard with the object of provoking in August of this year, on the anniversary of the arrival of allied troops on our territory, large-scale mass actions designed to discredit the policy of our Party and state, plunge our country in chaos and involve it in a bigger crisis and new tragic situations. The provocations of the anti-socialist, Rightist forces, which took the form of outright counter-revolutionary actions, ended in the defeat of their organizers and those who took part in them.

August 1969 showed that our Party and our socialist state are strong enough to cope with any acts of subversion in our country and to maintain law and order throughout our territory.

It is evident that the broad mass of our working people, first of all the working class and working people in the countryside, did not respond to the appeals and slogans of subversive groups and forces, that they remained calm and rational and fully supported in that way the effort of the Party and state leadership for a peaceful life in our country and for its meaningful development. Great credit is due to the political and moral awareness of the decisive core of our working class, the leading class of society, and of our cooperative peasantry for dissociating themselves from those actions. It is fair to say that, except for a few localities, a peaceful and normal life was maintained throughout the country despite the various appeals, propaganda measures and organized attempts.

The real way of thinking of the working class and our working people was also revealed by the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Slovak National Rising all over the country. The mass actions commemorating the anniversary immediately after the August attempts of the counter-revolutionary forces showed the world the real way of thinking of our working people and constituted a dignified and conscious step in anticipation of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our whole state by the Soviet Army.

The experience of revolutionary battles in the world and in our country shows that on being defeated in open contest the anti-socialist and Rightist forces are switching more and more to illegal and semi-legal fighting methods, urging passive resistance, sabotage and individual terror. They are trying subversion, and want to retain their positions in various spheres of culture and education, in the state and economic apparatus, in the trade unions, youth organ-

izations, and so on. They are lying low, they want to tide it over as they wait for a fresh chance and fresh mistakes on our part. We must bear this in mind and carry on our political fight against these forces all the more consistently, exposing their ideological and organizing centers, refuting their arguments and their demagogy in political combat, and calling them to account where they violate the law.

The fight against the anti-socialist forces in our society, against Right-wing opportunism in the Party must remain our Party's main battlefield if we are to prevent a recurrence of such actions and excesses, a recurrence of chaos and crisis phenomena, and pave the way for fulfilling constructive tasks. This calls for resolute political, organizational and personnel measures in every sphere.

The experiences of the past four or five months compel us to go back to our recent and earlier development and to explain once again the main stages of development of our society and state to the vast army of Party members and the millions of working people. The May Plenum of the Central Committee instructed the Presidium to prepare an analysis of developments in Party and society both before and after January 1968 and to submit it to one of the plenums. The Presidium has formed a committee of its members, and work on the analysis is under way.

With regard to the period after January 1968 we see two extremes. On the one hand, the anti-socialist forces and Right-wing opportunists tried to defame the more than twenty years' effort of our Party and people in building a socialist society. Surely that is not a truthful view of long years of effort and devoted work by millions of our people and hundreds of thousands of honest Party members.

Led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, we removed the exploiter classes in our country, the factory owners, bankers, big landed proprietors and various other parasitic groups, which lived by exploiting the working man. The industrial potential of our country grew several times over. Great improvements were brought about in the working people's standard of living, in social conditions and medical care, and the cultural standard went up very noticeably. Poverty in the countryside was eliminated by reorganizing agriculture on cooperative lines.

The Czechoslovakia of today is a developed state, one that in every respect stands higher by far than did the bourgeois state twenty-five or more years ago. Only enemies of the socialist system, enemies of the new condition of the working class and other working people, can fail to see these results, can ignore or deny them. We shall continue our work with due regard to the positive results of our socialist development. We shall maintain continuity in the work of our Party and state in relation to all that was good, sound and positive. This is one aspect of the matter.

Another aspect is that as socialist development and the class struggle went on in our country there piled up many serious mistakes and shortcomings injuring the Party's policy and the progress of our society with the result that many of our citizens were wronged. The Party has rejected and condemned the gross violations of the law committed in the fifties, the frame-ups and repression against Party members and other citizens and the unwarranted administrative measures. It has begun to make good the resulting damage and mistakes, and will continue to do so.

However, there are also many other mistakes dating from the time when the Party was led by Antonin Novotny, mistakes which caused stagnation and crisis in the most diverse spheres of our society. The Novotny leadership could not react in a principled manner to the new trend which developed in the world Communist movement between 1953 and 1956 and projected itself into some conclusions and initiatives of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It lacked the courage openly to admit the shortcomings and mistakes that had accumulated, to analyze them in Marxist fashion and set out vigorously to eliminate them.

One of the main reasons for this was paralysis of the class approach to problems and the slackening of ideological work and active education of the Party membership and other working people. Education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism was slackened and nothing was done to solve acute problems of the relations between our peoples and national minorities.

The Novotny leadership made up for shortcomings in ideological and political work by using bureaucratic methods of leadership in Party and state and by administrative meddling. On the other hand, the unprincipled opportunism of that leadership enabled Right-wing forces, especially in the ideological and cultural spheres, to take root and organize and to shape their opportunist and revisionist trends and objectives in and outside the Party. Due to the subjectivism of Novotny and his surroundings, urgent problems bearing on the economy, the national policy, rehabilitation, and so on, were not solved. On the other hand, the progress of society was idealized and unrealistic slogans were put forward skipping a whole stage of social development, and this at a time when problems and difficulties weighing heavily on the Party rank and file and other upright citizens were not solved.

The majority of our people welcomed the changes that came in January 1968. The purpose of the changes launched by the Party's Central Committee in January 1968 was to carry forward all the positive and good things achieved in previous years and to remove all errors and mistakes, all barriers and obstacles, so as to make full use of every objective advantage of the socialist social system

in our country and to solve urgent problems. It was a great historic chance for our Party and our people.

In April 1968 the Central Committee tried at its session to formulate these new objectives in the Action Program, which, however, was affected by strong pressure from opportunist groups. The fundamental meaning of the post-January policy is still the starting point for shaping the Party's program, even though it must be carried deeper theoretically, put right in many respects and made more specific, so as to be carried out step by step.

We ask ourselves again and again why the great, historic chance we had after January 1968 was missed, why that period was marked by an attempt to disrupt the socialist system and put its foundations in jeopardy, and why it came to the August events of last year. First of all, it is necessary to realize, and our Central Committee said so in May, that the anti-socialist forces and Right-wing opportunists in the Party did not first step forward after January 1968 but were in existence and active in a certain manner also prior to January 1968, and that the opportunist policies of the Novotny leadership made their activity and their effort to organize considerably easier. The core of these forces organized before January 1968, and after January it set out as a second Party center to realize its own schemes and aims.

The Party leadership elected at the January 1968 Plenum of the Central Committee and then modified in composition at last year's April Plenum was politically heterogeneous and lacked unity. Spokesmen of the Right-wing opportunist forces had infiltrated it, it lacked a clear-cut concept and did not draw firmly on the working class and on Marxist-Leninist analysis for support. Nor was it guided with a firm and energetic hand. It was therefore unable to resist various dangers and social pressures. Some of these pressures were organized and some spontaneous, and they began to manifest themselves markedly in political life shortly after January 1968, growing more and more over the heads of the Party leadership of the time.

The Action Program approved in April 1968, while containing fundamental programmatic postulates, includes vague compromise formulations that are concessions to Rightist influence. This is seen, for example, in the new formulation of the Party's leading role. As against the previous one-sided tendency to make an absolute of the directive instruments of power, in which the pre-January leadership often sought a remedy for its political impotence and inability, the Action Program rejects the unity of political and power instruments in implementing the Party's leading role.

This came out clearly in the effort to influence the mass media. The Party leadership was virtually abandoning position after posi-

tion in this field. It was giving in to the Rightist and anti-socialist forces in the mass media.

Most of the mass media became an instrument of the Right-wing forces that was uncontrolled and independent of the Party. Through them the Rightists systematically discredited the previous twenty years of socialist development in our country, people, ideas, achievements, the whole Party and its home and foreign policy. They rehabilitated and revived petty-bourgeois ideals of the bourgeois Czechoslovak Republic. They launched an extensive campaign against the Soviet Union and other close allies of our country.

At the same time the anti-socialist and Right-wing forces were active in a wide network of clubs—K 231, KAN and other legal, semi-legal and illegal societies and organizations. They had begun to infiltrate existing National Front organizations and were trying to bring them under their control. They had begun to revive Social Democracy and to publicize the theory of a "pluralistic" democracy and, in other ways, the bourgeois-democratic model of society.

We may cite as an example the Central Committee resolution of May 1968. True, it did not adequately analyze the danger presented by the Rightists in the Party, but it pointed to the real danger emanating from the anti-socialist forces. That resolution was virtually ignored.

In view of this situation, mention should also be made of the decision of the Central Committee Presidium to convene the 14th Party Congress at an earlier date. In April the Central Committee resolved to hold the Congress, provided it was well prepared as to program, organization and personnel, late in 1968 at the earliest. But under pressure from the Right the Presidium revised its point of view on Comrade Dubcek's initiative and recommended to convene an extraordinary congress early in September 1968. The Right-wing and anti-socialist forces used the situation to mount a big offensive in connection with the 14th Congress, over whose preparation the Party leadership virtually lost control. Through organizational measures, particularly through the mass media, these forces exercised decisive influence on the election of Congress delegates and the nomination of candidates for election to the new Central Committee, with the obvious desire to gain control at the Congress of the leadership of the whole Party. This business of holding the Congress at an earlier date, the unpreparedness of the Party leadership and the increasingly aggressive behavior of the Right-wing forces intent on bringing the Party under their sway increased the danger to socialist development in our country and, furthermore, aggravated the crisis phenomena in the relations between our Party and brother parties.

People often ask: "What is meant by anti-socialist forces? Who

are the Right-wing opportunists?" The anti-socialist forces came out—overtly or covertly as the case may be—against the fundamental achievements of our Party and working people scored after February 1948. They tried to push our society back to the period before February 1948 and to the conditions of a bourgeois-democratic state. They wanted to put an end to our revolutionary development.

By their propaganda the Right-wing opportunists in the Party called in question and minimized such principles of our Marxist-Leninist theory as the Leninist standards of Communist party organization and life, the implementation of its leading role in society and in the political system, the internationalist character of the Party and its foreign relations, some fundamental aspects of the economy of the socialist state, and so on. From petty-bourgeois, Social-Democratic or even anarchist positions, they criticized and condemned the theoretical and practical experience of the World Communist movement and of our own Party, and using the mass media, inculcated their views in people, including Party members, under demagogical catchwords calling for abstract freedom, democracy, humanism, etc.

These forces campaigning for their "new model" of socialism with various attractive adjectives condemned the entire past of our Party and used every opportunity to provoke disputes, conflicts and criticism of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist and Workers' parties of other Warsaw Treaty countries. They encouraged and fomented anti-Soviet and nationalist passions, slandered brother parties and countries, and so on.

Sometimes we were afraid to use the phrase "counter-revolutionary forces" because we imagind that counter-revolution always means direct armed struggle against the revolutionary forces of the working class, shooting, killing, etc. But since we regard the labor movement adhering to Marxist-Leninist principles and led by the Communist Party as the main revolutionary trend of modern society, the forces antagonistically opposed to this movement and to the main goals of the revolutionary movement have always been—objectively they were also in our case—counter-revolutionary forces irrespective of the stage reached by their actions or of the actions they were allowed to launch.

Thus political development in our Party and state after January 1968 was diverted from the right path of socialist development according to Marxist-Leninist principles and grossly deformed. This was a result of the disunity, unpreparedness and partly the inability of the Party leadership, a result of the aggressive, purposeful and organized action of the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces, holding the mass media and a number of positions in Party and government.

The Right-wing and anti-socialist forces kept on forcing it into compromises, concessions and, we may say, even reverses.

The inner political conflicts could not but tell, among other things, on the relations between our Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the brother parties of the other Warsaw Treaty countries concerned, on the relations between our state and its allies. This chapter in the history of the post-January period was hardly known until recently to the Party membership and the general public.

Today we present to the full and alternate members of the Central Committee important and decisive confidential documents about the relations between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties, so that they may judge for themselves the evolution of these relations.

It is already known that the brother parties publicly welcomed the changes which occurred in Czechoslovakia after January 1968.

However, development in our country proceeded as we have briefly described it. Alarmed by this development and fearing that the whole socialist camp was in danger, six Communist parties met in Dresden on March 23, 1968. The minutes of that conference, which are available to the Central Committee members, show how earnestly the representatives of brother parties pointed to the dangerous trend of development in Czchoslovakia, how they advised and asked the spokesmen of our Party to ensure that the Party leadership stemmed the subversive activity of Right-wing and anti-socialist forces. Neither the Party nor the general public were informed of the results of that conference, any more than of the promises we gave. Indeed, information was withheld from even the CC Presidium as a whole, and no lessons or conclusions were drawn.

After numerous other meetings and talks a new conference was held in Moscow on May 4, 1968, between a CPC delegation and representatives of the CPSU. The minutes show how earnestly the attention of our spokesmen was called again to the danger threatening socialist development in Czechoslovakia and the whole socialist community.

After that conference the CC CPC at its May Plenum tried partially to remedy the situation. But it did not go beyond non-committal declarations. In fact, the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces in June 1968 mounted a full-scale counter-offensive. There is no doubt that our Party and our working class were strong enough to check the onslaught of the Rightist and anti-socialist forces. They were strong enough to curb the anti-Soviet hate campaign (for example, over the allied troop maneuvers under the Warsaw Treaty) provided the Presidium drew conclusions from its own experiences and from its meetings with the brother parties, and provided it was

at one in estimating the situation and worked with energy. This was also evident from the ambiguous and inconsistent reaction of some members of the leadership to the Rightists' provocative appeal "Two Thousand Words," from the leadership's attitude of resignation towards the mass media and the overall spineless behavior of the leading Party body, in which spokesmen of the Right-wing elements were becoming more and more aggressive.

This behavior of the leadership could not but affect the Party.

In that situation, on June 12, 1968, Comrade Brezhnev wrote to Comrade Dubcek again, with the knowledge of the Political Bureau of the CPSU, calling his attention to the trend of development and proposing a meeting, a conference and consultations with a Czechoslovak delegation anywhere. Comrade Dubcek rejected the meeting on various pretexts.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the four other fraternal parties proposed to us a meeting in Warsaw early in July.

On July 8 and 12, 1968, our Party leadership rejected a meeting of the six parties on the plea that bilateral talks should be held first. It evaded that meeting for fear of criticism of shortcomings in our development, as well as out of megalomania and under the pressure of nationalist propaganda in the mass media.

On July 12 Comrade Dubcek was informed by the Soviet ambassador in the CSSR that a conference of the six parties was being called in Warsaw on July 14. He did not inform even the members of the leadership of this fact.

On July 13 Comrade Dubcek met Comrade Kadar in Komarno, where he was again informed of the planned conference and was earnestly asked to ensure that the CPC took part in the Warsaw conference. Nevertheless, no CPC delegation attended the Warsaw conference of Communist parties.

Thereby our Party leadership demonstrated to the world an open rupture with the leadership of the CPSU and the four other fraternal parties and aggravated its isolation from its closest allies. Its decision aroused nationalist and anti-Soviet sentiments, which the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces spread far and wide among the public. Thus it identified itself with the false idea of "unity of the whole people" which the Right and the anti-socialist forces were advocating as their ideological basis from nationalist and anti-Soviet positions.

From the Warsaw meeting, which the CPC did not attend, the five parties sent the CC CPC a collective letter which they published in the press because the contents of earlier talks had been kept from the public. The letter, like the meetings with our Party leadership preceding it, stressed that its writers supported the positive objectives of the post-January period.

At the same time the letter expressed serious concern about the

increased activity of hostile anti-Socialist forces trying to divert our country from the Marxist-Leninist path—building socialism—and to sever it from the socialist commonwealth. There were ample reasons for this criticism of our development, as we know. The brother parties emphasized the need to consolidate our Party on Marxist-Leninist principles, to respect the principles of democratic centralism and fight those whose activity was helping hostile forces.

We cannot regard those warnings and that advice as anything but comradely help offered to the Party leadership of the time. Had the Party leadership been willing and able to lean on the support of the sound forces of our Party, the working class and other working people and to use the aid offered by the brother parties, development in our country even at that time would have taken an entirely different course. But the CPC leadership replied to the Warsaw letter of the five parties by rejecting their overall estimation of the gravity of the danger threatening us. By then the Right-wing forces had already assumed control of the preparations for the Extraordinary 14th Congress.

Our Party leadership refused to use state power against the anti-socialist forces, arguing that this would have meant falling back on the "directive methods of Party leadership" of the Novotny era. In his report to the Central Committee session on July 19, 1968, Comrade Dubcek, giving the reasons for the Presidium's negative reply to the letter of the five parties, said that the anti-socialist forces presented no serious danger in that situation as the brother parties supposed and that there was a real danger from the Left. Unfortunately, the Central Committee on July 19, 1968, approved the activity of the Presidium and reaffirmed its rupture with the five brother parties and its open demonstration against them. Thereby the internationalist principles of the policy of our Party were violated and our Party leadership found itself on a platform determined by Rightist elements.

We consider the Presidium resolution in connection with the Warsaw conference and its approval by the Party's Central Committee to be one of the gravest errors in our internal and particularly our international relations, for which the Party leadership of the time, especially Comrade Dubcek, then First Secretary of the Party, are responsible. The Presidium therefore, proposes to this session that the Central Committee fully revoke its own resolution of July 19, adopted under growing psychological, moral and public pressure from the Rightists. We must say in so many words that the refusal to take part in the Warsaw conference was a serious mistake, a move running counter to the fundamental interests of socialism in our country and the internationalist traditions of our state.

After that rupture political development in our country organized by the Rightist and anti-socialist forces and influenced by the up-

surge in nationalism continued on a dangerous course. It was in that atmosphere that preparations for the congress went on. A new attempt was made to settle the open international conflict at the bilateral talks between the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the Presidium of the CC CPC and Cierna nad Tisou from July 29 to August 1, 1968. Leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union tried again, as the documents circulated to the members of the Central Committee reveal, to induce our leadership to remedy the situation and bring about a turn in it by taking measures against the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces. The meeting of the six parties in Bratislava on August 3, 1969, and their joint declaration afforded an opportunity to settle the conflict with the brother parties and call a halt to the disastrous course of development. In Bratislava our Party leadership solemnly reaffirmed its internationalist commitments towards the socialist community. In reality however, it did not after the adoption of the declaration take a single step to carry out the undertakings it had given with a view to maintaining the interests of socialism in our country and those of the socialist camp, which were threatened.

There were other attempts to call the attention of our Party leadership to its responsibility for failing to honor its commitments and to the dangerous course of development in our country. On August 13, 1968, the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU again called the attention of our leadership to the fact that it was not carrying out the agreement reached at Cierna. The same day Comrade Brezhnev wrote about it to Comrade Dubcek, pointing earnestly to the dangerous course of development in our country and reminding him of our duty to honor our commitments.

Even the members of our Party leadership were not informed of these documents.

On August 17 the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU sent an official letter to the Presidium of the CC CPC addressed to Comrade Dubcek, asking him immediately to inform all Presidium members about it. The letter expressed serious concern and apprehension about developments in Czechoslovakia.

The letter, received by Comrade Dubcek on August 19, was not answered and Comrade Dubcek did not inform the Presidium until August 20, when word had come of the entry of allied troops into our territory, although the Presidium meeting opened at 1400 hours.

On August 17, on Comrade Kadar's initiative, Comrade Dubcek met him in Komarno, where Comrade Kadar again earnestly called attention to developments in Czechoslovakia and to the need for us to take energetic measures. That conversation, which lasted many hours, was likewise concealed from the Party leadership. Comrade Dubcek did not inform the CC Presidium about it until the second half of September 1968.

These are a few facts from the set of documents that have been circulated to you, the members of the Central Committee, for information and appraisal. They invite the conclusion that our Party leadership, and first of all Comrade Dubcek, neglected during those numerous talks with brother parties their fundamental obligations flowing from internationalism and the relations between Communist parties, from the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. Moreover, the fundamental duty of a high-ranking statesman to work for the security of his country and the peaceful life of its people was likewise neglected.

It is safe to say that given a more responsible method of guiding our Party policy it would not have come to the entry of troops into our territory nor to August 1968 with is political and psychological complications and effects at home and abroad.

After those talks and the endless promises that were not kept the leadership of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties lost political confidence in the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, above all in its First Secretary. They no longer believed that these leaders were willing—or able— to check the dangerous course of development in Czechoslovakia.

Alarmed by developments and apprehensive for the preservation of socialism in Czechoslovakia in view of the danger of a political upheaval, which Right-wing forces wanted to bring about at the coming extraordinary congress of the CPC, and concerned about the implications of these developments for the security of the socialist community—developments which might endanger the results of World War II in Europe that had cost so much blood—the allied ccountries resolved to send their troops into Czechoslovakia.

How did the CC Presidium, which met in Prague on August 20, at 1400 hours, react to that move? Recollections by various participants, published in our press, have already thrown some light on the stand of various Presidium members, on the dramatic scenes in which Comrade Dubcek renounced the functions of First Secretary while Comrade Mlynar and others formulated the well-known statement of the CC Presidium dated August 21, 1968, which was approved by a majority vote.

How responsibly did the Party leadership of the time approach the situation and the destiny of our people in that hour of trial? Apart from realistic elements, such as the appeal to the Party and the people to remain calm and rational, the appeal to the armed forces not to resist the troops of the five Warsaw Treaty countries, the statement, which is known to the public, estimated the entry of the troops from a non-class, nationalist standpoint, contrary to internationalist responsibility and the Bratislava declaration.

Instead of looking for a realistic way out of the situation for the Party and the state and of immediately taking active steps, the

Presidium adopted a demonstrative stance, describing the arrival of the allied troops on our territory as an act contradicting international law and the principles of relations between socialist countries. The Presidium had its point of view published at once. This meant in effect assessing the entry of allied troops into our country as an act of occupation, an attack on the sovereignty of our state and the freedom of our people.

Not by a single word did the Presidium or Comrade Dubcek speak of the preceding talks with the brother parties, of the undertakings given but not fulfilled, nor of the reasons for the step on which the allied countries had decided with a heavy heart because they saw no other way to safeguard socialist development in Czechoslovakia and eliminate the threat to the socialist community.

In that situation the Presidium and Comrade Dubcek did not—any more than in the decisive earlier days—take any steps to settle differences, clarify the situation or take energetic measures at home, which could have prevented that extraordinary action by the allied parties and countries. After the adoption of the Presidium statement the Central Committee members waited passively for further developments.

By its statement and its entire previous attitude, which obscured the real state of relations, the Presidium politically misled the Party and people throughout the country, all the more since the arrival of allied troops did not come as a surprise to the smaller group of informed people, nor could it have. The Bratislava declaration of August 3, 1968, signed by leading figures in our Party, says: "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 express their unshakable determination to carry forward and uphold the gains of socialism in their countries and to score new successes in building socialism."

We have already spoken of the conclusions our Party leadership drew—or failed to draw—from this solemn declaration.

The Presidium's statement we have mentioned, particularly that part of it about "violation of the international law," played into the hands of the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces controlling the press, radio and television. It prompted them to start a hostile campaign against the "invaders" and gave rise to the resistance and chauvinist propaganda against the allied troops. It was a campaign for political struggle against and rupture with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, for the international defamation of the USSR and the other countries.

The Presidium's statement also constituted a guide for the activity of the lower Party bodies and the branch organizations, which saw

it as a signal for them to draw their own conclusions. The various agencies of the National Assembly, the government, mass organizations and other sections of our society formulated their positions in keeping with this line of the Presidium.

The Right-wing and anti-socialist forces having monopolized the mass media, and the whole Party and people being in a state of confusion, it is no wonder that many honest Party members, many Party organizations and committees and many upright citizens of our state were misled, that they lost their bearings and took an incorrect stand.

The hate campaign which the mass media were carrying on in those days and which had begun long before reached its peak. A group of people abroad, such as Ota Sik and Co., abused the opportunity for action abroad, including the UN Security Council.

Today we can state with a full sense of responsibility the following:

1. Had the Presidium of the CC CPC, especially its key functionaries and personally Comrade Dubcek, firmly led the Party on Marxist-Leninist principles in the post-January period, worked for the inner unity of the Party, seen to the implementation of democratic centralism and the leading role of the Party, drawn on the support of the working class and other working people and vigorously countered the anti-socialist and Right-wing forces, no such inner-Party and inner political struggle would have developed, nor would there have been so grave a crisis.

2. Had they proceeded during talks with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, necessitated by our internal development, from internationalist positions and with a sense of political and statesmanlike responsibility, no allied troops would have entered our territory.

3. The arrival of the allied troops in that situation was prompted by the interests of safeguarding socialism in Czechoslovakia against the anti-socialist, Rightist and counter-revolutionary forces, by the common interests and security of the socialist camp and the class interests of the working-class and Communist movement. It was by no means an act of aggression against the Czechoslovak state and people. It did not mean occupation of the Czechoslovak territory nor suppression of freedom and the socialist system in our country.

That is why we regard the Presidium's statement of August 21, 1968, as far as its decisive part is concerned, as non-class, un-Marxist, basically wrong, and harmful to our Party, our peoples and our state owing to its political implications. Our lower Party committees, public and other bodies, which in August, 1968, based their wrong positions on the Presidium's statement of August 21, have cancelled, revoked or revised the views they held at the time.

The Presidium moves that this session of the Central Committee revoke for the reasons we have listed the statement of the Presidium

of the CC CPC of August 21, 1968, because it is basically wrong even though some of its parts are more realistic in content. Through the proposed decision of the Central Committee we wish to correct before the Party, our people and the world Communist movement one of the fundamental mistakes of the post-January leadership of our Party and to enable a large number of honest Party members and citizens of our state to rectify their wrong positions of August 1968, after familiarizing themselves with the facts. Thereby we also wish to contribute in accordance with the truth and with verified facts, to the clarification of the so-called Czechoslovak question in the international Communist movement and to closer relations between our country and the Soviet Union and our other socialist allies.

Ever since World War II the freedom of our peoples, the independence of the Czechoslovak state and the guarantee of its socialist development have been based on alliance and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Elucidating and explaining the events of August 1968, make it possible successfully to continue this policy. The proposed decision, and rectification of the incorrect and erroneous step taken by our Party leadership on August 21, 1968, are our duty as Communists and Czechoslovak patriots.

After August 20, Comrade Ludvik Svoboda, President of the Republic, looked for a realistic way out of the exceedingly complicated situation. He took steps to clarify and normalize our relations with the Soviet Union and the other allied countries. This step of Comrade Svoboda and the delegation he led at the Moscow talks resulted in the signing of the Moscow Protocol on August 26, 1968. The Protocol was a continuation of the Bratislava declaration of August 3, 1968. It provided the starting point for resuming normal life in the country, the functioning of our Party and government bodies and public life as a whole. It continued the traditional friendly relations of alliance between our parties, peoples and countries.

At this point, mention should be made of a third development which for a long time tended to mislead Party members and the whole of our society (some people are still confused by it). I mean the so-called Extraordinary 14th Party Congress held in Vysocany on August 22, 1968. It is known that long before August the leadership of the Prague City organization was seized by a Right-wing group laying claim to the role of a second center in the Party. It declared its city conference to be in permanent session in order to exert sustained pressure on the Party leadership and to organize actions to seize the leadership of the Party at the Extraordinary Congress, fixed for September 9, 1968. After the CC Presidium had adopted its statement of August 21, this Rightist group centering on the Prague City Committee of the CPC used the radio and other channels to summon the Extraordinary Congress delegates to a

conference which it proclaimed the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the Party in the course of the deliberations.

We must put on record that the group around the Prague City Committee of the Party—ex-secretaries of the City Committee J. Litera and J. Kotrc, ex-director of radio Z. Hejzlar, as well as Sabata, Pelikan, Milos Hajek, Silhan, Pacovsky and others, who had no powers from anyone or any Party committee—usurped the right to convene the congress, determine its program, approve documents on behalf of the whole Party, and even to elect the new Central Committee and its Presidium. It was a gross violation of the Party Rules. It apparently made no difference to these Rightists that at the opening of the congress Slovakia was represented by only five out of 292 duly elected delegates. Most delegates from elsewhere were likewise absent.

It was plainly a group of people who in a critical situation in the Party took advantage of the fact that the majority of honest delegates had lost their bearings to launch a violent chauvinistic and anti-Soviet campaign and used them for the illegal election of a new Central Committee and its Presidium. The speeches made at the "Vysocany congress" and the documents adopted by it indicate that it was a result of the non-class and anti-Marxist position of a group of "stage managers" and organizers, of an illegal usurpation of the powers and terms of reference of the Central Committee, an attempt to seize the leadership of the whole Party. This "Vysocany congress" was a typical and characteristic example of how the Right-wing forces in our Party manipulated unsophisticated Party members and congress delegates. It also showed where the Right-wing groups wanted to get our Party and our state by virtually trying to sever the CSSR from the socialist commonwealth and dissociate it from the Warsaw Treaty countries under the slogans of "sovereignty" and "independence."

The Moscow Protocol, signed by our Party leadership on August 26, contained a provision about the invalidity of the so-called Vysocany congress. We know of the embarrassment and "discretion" with which some members of the CC Presidium of the time set out to put that provision into effect, and of their effort to compromise in coopting new members of the CC CPC late in August 1968. Although the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, which opened in Bratislava at the end of August, was likewise influenced at first by the August 21 resolution of the Presidium and by nationalist and anti-Soviet hysteria, it took a principled stand on the "Vysocany congress" by rejecting it as illegal, and the Slovak members of the so-called CC CPC and its new Presidium renounced these functions. This attitude of the CPS Congress was for months the target of a Rightist hate campaign.

As the Central Committee of the CPC has so far not taken a

direct stand on the so-called Vysocany congress, the Presidium recommends to this session of the Central Committee explicitly and openly to dissociate itself from the "Vysocany congress," declare that action of Right-wing groups illegal and running counter to the Party Rules and declare the documents and results of the "congress" before the whole Party null and void.

After the severe shock of August, 1968, and the lessons which leading Party functionaries could and should have learned from it, one might have expected that our Party and state would deal energetically with the anti-socialist and Right-wing forces, that the Party would fully exercise its influence and its leading role, that it would take the mass media into its own hands and ensure the restoration of socialist order in our Party and country in accordance with the principles of its doctrine and the obligations flowing from the Moscow Protocol.

We regret to say that between August 1968, and April 1969, our entire Party, our society, its policy and economy, and the thinking of Party members and the mass of the population continued in a state of confusion and crisis.

The real reason for this was that the Party leadership continued in disunity its contradictory, vacillating and opportunist policy as it had done prior to August, that some of its members and the First Secretary of the time could not bring themselves to take effective measures against the Right-wing and opportunist forces in the Party and against the anti-Soviet forces in society, could not muster courage and energy enough to influence and assume control of the mass media, defeat the anti-socialist and Rightist centers in Party and state and force them out of their extremely strong positions.

In fact, these forces, borne on the nationalist, anti-Soviet wave and benevolently protected by the Right-wing forces in the Party leadership, on the Central Committee and in other Party, government and economic positions, were becoming bolder and bolder, establishing control over whole spheres of the economy, of political life, the mass organizations, over whole echelons of the trade unions, youth organizations, the state apparatus, and so on.

In November 1968, an attempt was made through the November Resolution to provide a basis for uniting the Party, implementing its leading role and proceeding to consolidate the situation in Party and state. This resolution, like many others before it, was again torpedoed and nullified by the offensive of the anti-socialist and Right-wing forces. We saw this during the students' strikes in November 1968, during the campaign over Josef Smrkovsky and at the trade union congresses in December 1968, then again in January, February, and particularly late March 1969. These forces and vacillating and incapable members of the Party leadership were bringing the whole Party, our society and state to the brink of a tragic

situation. We will have to make a detailed analysis of the activity of these forces, their internal and foreign centers, the interconnection between the various sections of the Rightist and anti-socialist forces, the foreign bourgeois intelligence services and the deliberate disruption in Czechoslovakia, in the CPC, in our policies, our economy, and so on.

In this respect, those eight months—from August 1968 to April 1969—were unprecedented in the socialist community. Prior to August 1968 one could speak, in the case of many political and other public figures, of naivete and illusions, of a "search for a new model." But what was going on in Czechoslovakia after August 1968 was unquestionably an organized Right-wing and counter-revolutionary campaign, a process of subversion in our Party and country.

A radical turn in the situation was brought about only by the April Plenum of our Party's Central Committee.

To restore the unity of our Party on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, we must persevere, according to the realization guidelines of the May Plenum, in our day-to-day struggle against Right-wing opportunist forces and views in our Party. We must use specific arguments to win over and convince the vacillating and misguided members of our Party and rid it of people who persist in their wrong political and ideological attitudes or even, while holding the Party card, are carrying on an active fight against the Party's program and political objectives. Today we are submitting to the Central Committee a number of proposals for expelling from the Central Committee those of its members who have abandoned Marxist-Leninist positions and compromised the Party at decisive periods, and who for a long time have made no effort either to discard serious mistakes or to help the Party in a difficult situation.

It must be said that assistance to branch organizations of the party has ben a serious defect of our activity to date. These organizations now constitute the main front of struggle against the influence of Right-wing opportunist forces.

Speaking of a number of measures being prepared by the Presidium, specifically the proposed exchange of Party cards, Comrade Husak said:

"How soon we succeed in solving all the other problems of our society will depend on how soon we establish order in the Party—an efficient Party united on a principled basis. This is why we will devote increased and extraordinary attention in all organizations to the re-establishment of Party unity.

With regard to Party unity we must say that here and there old sectarian tendencies also tell, making it difficult for us to advance and hampering our consistent struggle against Right-wing opportunism, the main danger. These are problems of long standing in our movement. Lenin spoke of them in 1921 in the draft resolution on

Party unity he submitted to the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party. "Criticism of the Party's shortcomings, which is absolutely necessary," he wrote, "must be conducted in such a way that every practical proposal shall be submitted immediately, without any delay, in the most precise form possible, for consideration and decision to the leading local and central bodies of the Party. Moreover, every critic must see to it that the form of his criticism takes account of the position of the Party, surrounded as it is by a ring of enemies, and that the content of his criticism is such that, by directly participating in Soviet and Party work, he can test the rectification of the errors of the Party or of individual Party members in practice."

I remind you of these words of Lenin's because some of the non-Leninist methods and forms of work undermining Party unity and discipline, which is equally binding on all members, still carry over from the previous period of internal disunity in the Party.

We expect that at the end of this year the Central Committee will confer on beginning preparations for our 14th Congress. Inner consolidation and ideological unity of the Party are prerequisites for preparing and convening the Congress.

The rapporteur then dealt with a number of specific measures to intensify ideological activity in the Party and society.

We have spoken of a certain improvement in the Communists' work in the mass organizations and other components of the National Front, he went on. At every level we must step up the political struggle to rid the mass organizations, especially the trade unions and the youth movement, of opportunist influence and devote extraordinary attention to personnel policy in these large and influential organizations.

There is also difficult work ahead on the cultural front, in the spheres of education, science and the arts. These spheres were strongly infiltrated by opportunist tendencies. The Party cannot renounce its influence on so sensitive sectors of our society as these. We want to solve, very sensitively but also very consistently, the problems that have accumulated in these spheres. We are greatly interested in enlisting the cooperation of the overwhelming majority of intellectuals of every trend. In the period ahead, Party and government bodies will concern themselves more thoroughly with scientific and technological problems, with the problem of how best to introduce the achievements of science and technology into production, how to put them in the service of our economy. After a careful analysis and elaboration of these problems we propose to submit the whole issue to one of the Centrol Committee sessions.

At the last session of the Central Committee we also spoke about the situation in our national economy and certain principles and measures to remedy it. Our enemies abroad and the anti-socialist

and opportunitist forces at home are using our economic difficulties against the Party and our socialist system. It is well known that crisis phenomena in our economy became very marked as far back as the period between 1961 and 1964 and that they have not in substance been overcome since then. Last year Right-wing opportunist groups took advantage, among other things, of our economic problems to disrupt the whole system of economic management and weaken the leading role of the Party in the economy. They tried to substitute anarchy and arbitrary practices for planned economic management. Today they demagogically try to blame the new Party leadership for the damage caused to our economy by them throughout the past 18 months.

The stabilization measures adopted by the government last May have in the past three months led to a certain improvement in economic results. However, the basic negative trends and imbalances in the economy have yet to be overcome. The Central Committee Presidium discusses economic matters systematically, at almost every meeting. We have come to the conclusion that we need very important personnel changes in both the Federal government and the national governments, so that new people in key economic positions may solve our economic problems much more consistently and energetically and with a far greater sense of responsibility. The Central Committee has before it appropriate proposals for changes in the Federal government and in the government of the Czech Socialist Republic.

We expect that these changes will lead to the speedy elaboration of a complete concept of planned economic management, of the entire structure of economic management in our state, to early completion of the plan for 1970, the drafting of the five-year plan and, first of all, to a vigorous effort to eliminate defects in production and distribution, to the increased activation of all sources, which in many places are not used.

We will fully and consistently restore the Party's leading role in the national economy, tighten Party and state discipline, and support the working people's initiative in every way. We are preparing an analysis of our economy, a concept of our economic policy and management system and the perspective of consolidating and promoting the economy. We believe the Central Committee Presidium will be in a position at the end of this year to submit the whole range of problems we have listed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

We began the year of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our peoples by the Soviet Army and the rebirth of the Czechoslovak state by celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Slovak National Rising. We want our people to commemorate the liberation of the CSSR in a peaceful atmosphere, in a consolidated state of Czechs

and Slovaks and our national minorities. We have all that we need to surmount our political and economic difficulties, provide a realistic perspective of development for our socialist state, its economic and cultural advancement and the development of socialist democracy. The road to this perspective, which is not distant, was shown by the realization guidelines of the May Plenum of the Central Committee. We have been following this road for four months and we are re-emphasizing and specifying it today. Being the leading force of our society, the party of the working class, our Party must set by its work an example to all our working people to bring about an early solution of our difficulties and problems. We call on the workers, peasants and intellectuals, on the older generation and young people, on the Communists and other citizens, on all who are not indifferent to the destiny and life of our peoples, to cooperate in this great effort for the consolidation and prosperity of our society and our state.

# RESOLUTION OF THE CC CPC

The Central Committee of the CPC at its plenary session on September 25 and 26, 1969, discussed the report of the CC CPC Presidium on the present situation and the further tasks of the Party, submitted by Comrade Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the CC CPC.

The Central Committee of the CPC:

1. States that since the May 1969 Plenum of the CC CPC the Party has in every sphere made progress, scored successes and completed the first phase of consolidation as a result of the devoted effort of many thousands of functionaries and members of our Party and its leadership;

—that a certain calm has set in in our political and social life and our foreign policy relations, and that a period of surmounting the crisis situations known to all has begun. Spontaneous and anarchic development is giving way to meaningful leadership of Party life and society. The Party—its sound core—is regaining its efficiency and militancy, exercising its leading role in our society step by step;

—that the positive results of implementing the guidelines of the May 1969 Plenum of the CC CPC are proving them correct. These guidelines will remain a concrete program until our problems have been solved and the crisis situations in our country fully overcome.

2. Approves the activity of the CC CPC Presidium since the May 1969 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and its report on the present situation and the further tasks of the Party as guidelines for the subsequent work of Party organizations and committees and for Communists in every sphere of our life.

3. Fully annuls its decision of July 19, 1968, by which the CPC refused to participate in the Warsaw conference of five Communist parties and which was adopted under increased psychological, moral and public pressure from the Right. The decision was a serious political mistake, an act running counter to the interests of socialism in our country and to international tradition.

4. Annuls the statement issued by the CC CPC Presidium on August 21, 1968, because it was non-class un-Marxist and thoroughly wrong. The entry of the allied troops, in the situation which arose in the summer of 1968, was motivated by the interests of defending socialism in Czechoslovakia against Right-wing, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces, by the common security interests of the socialist camp and the class interests of the working-

*Information Bulletin of the CC CPC, September 1969.

class and Communist movement. By no means was it an act of aggression against the people, occupation of the Czechoslovak territory, or suppression of freedom and the socialist system in our state.

5. Rejects the so-called Vysocany congress and declares its documents and results null and void. The illegal "Vysocany congress" was a result of impermissible factional activity by some members of the CC CPC, the Prague City Committee of the CPC and other Right-wing opportunist forces, an action in organizing which, contrary to the Party Rules, delegates to the extraordinary 14th Congress of the CPC were misused.

It assesses the activity of the sponsors and organizers of the "Vysocany congress" as an illegal act of usurping the powers and terms of reference of the Central Committee and as an attempt to seize leadership of the whole Party.

The Central Committee cancels the mandates of the delegates to the 14th Congress in view of the extraordinary atmosphere, created by the pressure of the Right-wing forces, in which the delegates were elected. The delegates to the regular 14th Congress now in preparation will be elected according to a procedure to be determined by the CC CPC in line with the Party Rules, as part of the pre-Congress campaign.

The Central Control and Auditing Commission will complete the investigation of the activity of the "second center" and the sponsors and organizers of the "Vysocany congress" and institute disciplinary proceedings against them.

6. Instructs the CC CPC Presidium, with a view to consistently implementing Party and state policy, to take decisions in pressing cases on personnel changes in Party committees, government agencies and the leading bodies of mass organizations subject to CC CPC plenum decisions.

The CC CPC Presidium must report to the next CC CPC plenum on the reasons for the changes made.

7. Approves the appeal to display initiative in labor in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the CSSR by the Soviet Army.

8. Approves the report on the economic activity of the CPC in 1968 and the draft budget for 1969, including the proposed measures.

# DECISION OF THE CC CPC PLENUM

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia excludes Comrades J. Smrkovsky, M. Mikova, M. Hubl, Z. Vokrouhlicky, Z. Mlynar and J. Hajek from membership, and Comrade F. Vlasak from alternate membership, of the CC CPC.

The CC CPC instructs the Communist deputies to the Federal Assembly and the House of People to relieve Comrades J. Smrkovsky and M. Mikova of the functions they exercise as CPC deputies.

The CC CPC excludes Comrades V. Prchlik, V. Slavik and A. Cerny from membership of the Central Committee of the CPC and from membership of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia.

The CC CPC relieves Comrades J. Judl, V. Kabrna, J. Hauer, A. Hrotek, Z. Smolik, J. Belaj, M. Fischerova, L. Hrdinova, L. Jankovcova, B. Kralik, Academician I. Malek, Academician F. Sorm, J. Zelenkova, J. Zud J. Boruvka, J. Svoboda, J. Spacek, B. Simon and M. Vaculik of the functions they exercise as members of the Central Committee of the CPC, at their own request.

The CC CPC relieves Comrade A. Dubcek of the functions of member of the Presidium of the CC CPC and instructs the Communist deputies to the Federal Assembly to recall him from the post he holds as CPC deputy.

The CC CPC imposes the Party penalty of reprimand and warning on Comrade S. Gasparik.

The CC CPC relieves Comrades O. Cernik, C. Cisar, J. Karhan, V. Matejcik and K. Simek of the functions they exercise as members of the CC CPC Bureau for Party Work in the Czech Regions. It relieves Comrade V. Hula of the functions of secretary of the CC CPC Bureau for Party Work in the Czech Regions in view of his transfer to other work.

On the basis of the results of a secret ballot, the CC CPC approves the motion to transfer Comrades P. Auersperg, J. Fojtik, H. Humhalova, B. Chnoupek, V. Kosar and I. Labut'ova from alternate to full membership of the Central Committee of the CPC.

On the basis of the results of a secret ballot, the CC CPC coopts Comrades D. Hanes, F. Hamouz, V. Hula, J. Kempny, J. Marko, M. Moc and S. Pennigerova as members of the Central Committee of the CPC.

On the basis of the results of a secret ballot, the CC CPC approves the assignment of the functions of member of the CC CPC Presidium to Comrade J. Kempny and at the same time relieves him of the post of member of the Secretariat, secretary of the CC CPC and Chairman

*Information Bulletin of the CC CPC, September 1969.

of the Ideological Commission of the CC CPC in view of his transfer to other work.

On the basis of a secret ballot, the Central Committee approves the assignment of the functions of members of the CC CPC Bureau for Party Work in the Czech Regions to Comrades J. Kempny, J. Korcak, D. Kolder, O. Svestka and A. Kapek, who is at the same time assigned the post of secretary of the CC CPC Bureau for Party Work in the Czech Regions.

The Central Committee approved a number of other changes in the appointment of Communist Party functionaries to state and government posts.

# LABOR INITIATIVE CAMPAIGN IN HONOR OF 25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE REPUBLIC BY THE SOVIET ARMY

## APPEAL* OF THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Comrades, dear fellow-citizens,

Our socialist republic is entering the 25th year of its existence. It is drawing the necessary lessons from the successes that have been predominant in our work, and also from the shortcomings and mistakes made, in order to continue our rapid advance.

After the complex developments of 1968, which were followed by one crisis after another, the conditions are gradually being created for living in a normal situation and for constructive labor. The consolidation and process of normalization of our society are continuing successfully. The situation now makes it possible and also essential that we pay attention to the country's pressing economic problems.

We all know that the present difficulties accumulated over a number of years and that they were caused by certain incorrect decisions taken by leading bodies, and also by the fact that in 1968 central planned leadership was slackened out of all proportion thus opening the way to anarchy in the economy. Indiscipline, shirking work, irresponsibility, poor work performance became widespread and even such intolerable phenomena as profiteering by individuals and enterprises, bribery and pilfering of public property. The shortcomings in the economy have reached a scale that calls for urgent measures.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party and the government have already taken some measures to remedy the existing situation, as, for example, ensuring the stability of the market and currency, and supplies to the population. These initial steps, often unpopular, are already yielding results.

The next step will be to draw up the economic plan for 1970 envisaging a further relatively rapid growth of industrial and agricultural production, a substantial improvement in the ratio between the growth of labor incomes and productivity of labor, gradual elimination of existing shortcomings in supplies to the population, a slowdown in the inordinately high growth rates of industrial in-

*Information Bulletin of the CC CPC, September 1969.

vestments, with priority given to housing development. We are continuing with redoubled effort to implement an economic reform that will ensure the economy skilled and effective leadership, promote its planned development and offer wide scope for developing the initiative of the enterprises. We intend to learn from our own positive and negative experience, and also from the experience of the other socialist countries, which has already been tested in practice. Preparations are under way to draft a five-year plan that will determine the guidelines of our economy, the program of the necessary structural changes, modernization and development of technology.

All these questions will be discussed at an extraordinary plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, which is being prepared with the broad participation of experts.

But already now we wish to say that complex and difficult work lies ahead. It is impossible to resolve the problems that have accumulated over the years easily and rapidly. But they can be resolved. Our economy has big reserves in the country's production capacities, in its collectives of workers, engineers and technical staffs, in their experience, industriousness and skill. The use of these reserves, given creative, disciplined and well-organized work, will create the resources that are necessary not only for bridging the present temporary difficulties, but also for achieving Czechoslovakia's new economic upsurge. The solution of our problems depends on the activity of all links of the economy: the central bodies, industrial enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, state farms and construction. We must get to work immediately, taking into account existing possibilities in the respective sectors.

* * *

A concrete example in this respect is the initiative displayed by the miners of the May First pit in Karvina, who pledged to mine 50,000 tons of coal over and above the plan, and called for socialist emulation in honor of the 25th anniversary of the republic's liberation by the Soviet Army.

Similar initiative was shown by the Horehronské Zavody works, the Municipal National Committee of Kromeriz, and by railwaymen from Bohumin. Many factories and enterprises, for example, Byrostav Ostrava, the Ostrava-Karvina power works, the Central Bohemian Breweries at Velké Popovice, the young workers of the Czechoslovak Army Mine in Karvina and of the Klement Gottwald Vitkovice Iron and Steel Works in Ostrava, have already taken up the challenge; others, such as MEZ Nachod, SONP Kladno, Svit Gottwaldow, Civil Engineering and Industrial Building, Prague, and State Farms at Lovosice, Hradec Kralové, Drazkovice, Hlucin, have responded to the program of concrete deeds proclaimed by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czecho-

slovakia after the May Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The movement in the factories has already the support of the Central Council of the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and of the national governments.

The Central Committee highly appreciates this labor initiative and calls on all working people—workers, engineers, technicians, production managers and industrial executives, on all who treasure the prosperity and development of our economy, to develop their initiative on every sector, and thus concretely contribute to invigorating the economy. It is not a question of just undertaking formal obligations and making solemn declarations. There has been enough talk. Today, more than ever before, *organization, discipline, quality, economy, making the fullest use of working time.* are vital to the economy. This is the way to creating more goods. Our country needs more coal, metal, electric power; we need to increase the output of meat and other animal products, of fertilizers and other items needed by agriculture, harvest the crop in time, step up the production of new housing developments and other capital construction projects on time, carry out export orders promptly and of high standard, improve the quality of public services, the transport system.

At every place of work it is necessary to consider the best ways and means of making the most effective contribution to improving the economic situation. The results of this effort will benefit our economy and help to meet the requirements of our people.

We welcome and support the proposals of some enterprises that, following the example of the miners, national shifts be organized on some Saturdays in other branches where this is necessary. Each such shift which, naturally, should be well organized, will yield in the production of consumer goods, output of coal, housing construction, etc., material values totalling millions of crowns over and above plan. We therefore call on the working people to organize national emergency shifts in the interests of all of us.

We call on Communists, on members of trade unions, of the organizations of the National Front and national committees, on workers, cooperative peasants, intellectuals, women, on members of the older and younger generations to ensure by their labor and their behavior what our country today needs as never before: peace and honest work .

We urge all economic executives to display a high sense of responsibility in managing their respective sectors in the knowledge that they have the full support of society in their activity, resolutely to combat disorder and squandering, and demand better organization of production and labor.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

calls on all Communists to head the initiative of our working people. We call on you to discuss in your branches what you plan to do at your place of work, and how you can most effectively help to meet the requirements of society. As in the period of the post-war rehabilitation of our economy, as in the early years of socialist construction, you are called upon to be in the van, to be a personal example, to overcome the hostile views, want of faith, and scepticism, to give by your work an incisive answer to the anti-socialist and Right forces who go by the slogan "the worse, the better." As in the past so, too, today, we shall win the understanding and support of all honest working people who want by their work to contribute to the prosperity of our country and in this way mark the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army in a fitting manner.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia firmly believes that in the Republic's jubilee year every citizen will by his work prove his attitude to the values of socialism, will demonstrate truly socialist patriotism.

# THE 100th ANNIVERSARY OF LENIN'S BIRTH

## STATEMENT* BY THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On April 22, 1970, a hundred years will have passed since V. I. Lenin's birth. The Communists of the world, the international working class and other working people, to whom the ideals of socialism and communism, of democracy and peace, are near and dear, are preparing fittingly to commemorate the coming centenary of the great thinker and revolutionary, one of the most prominent figures in politics, world science and culture.

The preparations for the Lenin celebrations are taking place at a time when the positions of the world revolutionary movement are becoming stronger and when, on the other hand, the war danger arising from the increased aggressiveness of imperialism is mounting. The intensification of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism, between progress and reaction, makes it an urgent task to strengthen the ideological unity and unity of action of the world Communist movement, the main anti-imperialist force.

Unity of the Communist movement benefited substantially from the June Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow, an important, historic milestone in promoting the unity of the world socialist system and the entire Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Meeting made for uniting all world forces against imperialism, for social progress, socialism, democracy and peace. It called on the Communist parties and all Communists to put themselves at the head of the revolutionary, national liberation and democratic movements.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia thinks highly of the results of the Moscow Meeting, reflected primarily in its documents, and is striving actively for their realization. We fully support the Meeting's Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin."

The practice of Communist and Workers' parties confirms the correctness, relevance and international validity of Lenin's ideas. Lenin enriched and carried forward the teachings of Marx and Engels in a new epoch, in new historical conditions, in the period of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. His works have become a basis for solving all the more important problems of revolutionary

*Rudé Právo, September 24, 1969.

struggle and socialist development. The range of questions answered by Lenin is immense. His doctrine of the socialist revolution, the party of a new type, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the worker-peasant alliance, the forms and methods of building socialism, the settlement of the national question, have become a component of the theory, and the starting point for the practice, of the entire Communist, working-class and national liberation movement.

Leninist theory and policy passed the test as the Communist movement developed and the oppressed and exploited masses fought successfully for their emancipation. The formation of the first proletarian party of a new type and the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which constituted a turning point in modern history, are inseparable from Lenin's name. Also linked with his name are the rise of the proletarian state and the development of socialist democracy. Lenin will forever be known as an untiring and uncompromising fighter against imperialism, for communist ideals.

Bourgeois and reformist ideologists try, contrary to reality, to present Leninism as a "Russian" phenomenon. They contend that the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the Party and the principles of Communist party building and activity meets only the specific conditions of Russia, and that Lenin's teachings do not apply to the labor movement in the industrially developed capitalist countries. This completely undisguised attempt to restrict the validity of Leninism to "backward countries" is at daggers drawn with the experience of the revolutionary movement. *Revolutionaries all over the world rightly see the fight of the Russian working class as a component of the world-wide revolutionary process. It is known that pre-revolutionary Russia likewise had all the fundamental characteristics of an imperialist state in the sphere of the economy and of social and class relations, and that it did not differ from the capitalist countries of the West either socially or economically. Lenin's works generalize the experience of both the revolutionary movement in Russia and the international working-class movement, especially the labor movement in the capitalist countries of Western Europe, which Lenin knew at first hand. Lenin's Marxist generalization of the vast revolutionary experience of the Russian working class was, and is, international in character and significance. It is valid for both Russia and the revolutionary labor movement of the world.*

The Communist movement has emphatically rejected other attacks on Lenin's teachings, especially attempts at artificially dissociating Leninism from Marxism and allegations to the effect that Leninism does not meet the requirements of "modern Marxism" and is obsolete as a factor for social progress. *Our Party likewise regards Marxism-Leninism as a single internationalist doctrine which*

*is as valid as ever also for solving present-day problems of social development.*

The international validity of Leninism passed the test also at the time of the rise of the world socialist system, which is having an increasing impact on social development in the world. The correctness, international validity, extraordinary vitality and relevance of Leninism are also evident from the growing Communist and labor movement in the developed capitalist countries and from the disintegration of the colonial rule of world imperialism.

Leninism is deeply internationalist by nature. Lenin was not only a spokesman for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union but the leader of the world proletariat. Throughout a life devoted to work for the victory of the socialist revolution, he upheld and carried forward the finest traditions of international solidarity of the working people. He always stressed that world imperialism can be defeated only if the class alliance of the bourgeoisie is countered by international unity of the working class and other revolutionary forces. He put before all else the common interests of the world Communist and working-class movement and the internationalist duty to cooperate in the struggle against international capital, for the great goals of communism.

The imperialists are aware of the strength of proletarian unity and the Communist movement. Bourgeois propaganda tries to discredit and undermine the principles of proletarian internationalism. Contrary to the truth, it pits them against the principles of independence and sovereignty of each Communist Party in an effort to foment nationalism and chauvinism in the activity of these parties. *Our Party realizes the Leninist connection between internationalist and national. It is perfectly aware that internationalism does not mean denying or ignoring national interests. On the contrary, all-round cooperation and class unity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the Communist movement as a whole, against the common class enemy, world imperialism, is an earnest of our genuine sovereignty, national security and socialist development. The experience of the post-January period in our country shows that the slogan of sovereignty, when stripped of its class content, becomes an instrument of anti-socialist and opportunist forces against the internationalist policy of the Communist Party.*

In connection with the Lenin celebrations we again recall Lenin's ideas about the relationship between the common and the specific in building socialism. Ever since the victory of the socialist revolution in them a number of countries have been building socialism according to general laws but in different forms, in line with their specific historical conditions and peculiarities.

Experience has shown that it is extremely harmful for socialism

to ignore the specific conditions of building socialism in individual countries. No less harmful is it, however, to depart from the general laws of the socialist revolution tested in practice. Overestimating national peculiarities contradicts the internationalist policy of the movement. It may jeopardize the gains of the revolution. Exaggerating specific features and creating "national models" of socialism breed nationalism and undermine unity and cooperation throughout the Communist movement.

Unity of the countries in the socialist commonwealth and the entire Communist movement is of the utmost importance in the complicated world political situation of today. Infringing the unity of action of the revolutionary forces fighting jointly against imperialism strengthens the reactionary and opportunist forces. That is why Communist parties at the Moscow Meeting voiced emphatic disagreement on principle with the position of the Communist Party of China and its leadership because it violates proletarian internationalism and fans anti-Sovietism and separatist nationalist trends in the world Communist movement.

On the occasion of the Lenin centenary we also recall how greatly the rise of the CPC and its formation as a Leninist party were influenced by Leninism. We recall the significance of Lenin's personality and teachings to the life of the working people of Czechoslovakia. Our people's age-long hopes and aspirations for social emancipation are linked with Lenin's teachings.

As the leading force of the working class, the CPC creatively applied in its activity Lenin's ideas on the transition from capitalism to socialism. In the specific conditions of Czechoslovakia, following the defeat of fascism and the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army, the Party, supported by the mass of the people, effected far-reaching revolutionary changes and began to build socialism.

The past period of socialist development has brought the Czechoslovak people considerable gains in spite of some errors and mistakes. The basic socialist class and social changes have been carried out and socialism has taken deep root in the country. Czechoslovakia has made progress in developing the productive forces, in science and in culture. It has raised the working people's standard of living by a substantial margin and given them social security. Czechoslovakia has won a solid international standing in close political, economic and military alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This alliance is formalized and guaranteed by the provisions of the Warsaw Treaty.

The tragic effects of the activity of counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist and Right-wing opportunist forces after January 1968 are common knowledge now. This is why we now turn all the more resolutely to Lenin's behests. We learn from his creative dialec-

tical thinking in order to elucidate and solve the complex and difficult problems of our development and to contribute in this way to the consolidation of socialism in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere in the world.

*The Communists, working class and other working people of Czechoslovakia are now implementing the policy approved by the April and May sessions of the CC CPC. The principal content of their activity is to restore the disrupted unity of the Party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, re-establish the Party's leading role in society and solve complex economic problems. One of the Party's paramount tasks in carrying out the present policy of its Central Committee is fully to re-establish comradely relations with fraternal Communist parties, particularly with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.*

The Lenin celebrations will enable people to appreciate the significance of restoring and promoting cooperation and traditional friendship with the Soviet Union, whose peoples, led by the CPSU, were the first to accomplish a victorious socialist revolution, defend it successfully against imperialism and transform an economically backward country into a developed world power in a historically short time. The Soviet people have made the greatest sacrifices for the cause of socialism. The peoples of the world will always be grateful to the Soviet Union for defeating German fascism in the Second World War. The entire Communist movement has always regarded the building of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union, not only as a task of the Soviet people, but as a most important part of the common struggle against imperialism, for the triumph of socialism all over the world. Communists have satisfied themselves in practice of the importance of the Soviet Union to all socialist countries, to the international working-class and Communist movement and the progress of the world revolution. This is why they greatly appreciate its vast experience by his work provide his attitude to the values of socialism, will and draw on it.

One of the main deformations of post-January development was, as we see it, that information about the socialist countries and their problems, above all about the development and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, was curtailed, that recourse was often had to the arguments of imperialist propaganda and that the views of sworn enemies of the Soviet Union were publicized.

*A component of the policy and ideological activity of the CPC today is resolutely to combat anti-Sovietism, which is the essence of the anti-Communist ideology of world imperialism.* Socially the anti-Soviet platform is based on the remnants of internal exploiter and petty-bourgeois forces, who refuse to be reconciled to their political defeat, and on those who were affected in one

way or another by socialist changes. These forces are out to disrupt the unity of the socialist countries and sow distrust and hatred for the Soviet Union. *Our Party makes a sharp distinction between anti-Sovietism, which tries from hostile class and political positions to disrupt our alliance with the Soviet Union, and the attitude of people who have temporarily given in to anti-socialist propaganda and are honestly searching for solutions to present-day problems.*

Most Communists and the politically-conscious citizens of our country appreciate friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and are fighting with Leninist resolve and fidelity to principle against the anti-Soviet and Right-wing opportunist forces and trends which after January 1968 abused the Party's effort to eliminate adverse phenomena of the past and promote socialist democracy, and who attacked the Party's ideological and organizational principles, its leading role in society and the internationalist character of its policy. More and more people are coming to realize that the activity of these forces, their opposition and subversion, brought society to the brink of catastrophe.

The Presidium of the CC CPC expects that the celebration of the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth will lead to more efficient ideological and political work and greater labor initiative in every sphere of public life to solve the challenging problems of consolidating the political and economic situation in our country. *It is very important now to restore the Leninist principles of Party activity and ensure that the Party fully exercises its leading role in society.*

The Leninist doctrine of the party of a new type, the principles of its internal structure, its leading role and its attitude to the masses is an essential part of Lenin's creative heritage and an important contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and practice and decisively influences the formation of Communist parties. This concept of Party structure and activity has always been attacked and criticized by opportunists.

After January 1968 the CPC fought against counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist and Right-wing opportunist trends which attacked its leading role and its program and policy. Attempts were made to flout the Leninist principle of democratic centralism which the past and the present practice of Communist parties have proved correct and necessary. Lack of discipline and even factional methods of upholding various demands gained currency in the Party, something which Lenin always condemned emphatically. The overwhelming majority of Party members welcome the decisions taken by the Central Committee in April and May 1969 with a view to exposing the anti-socialist and Right-wing opportunist forces politically and ideologically in this field, defeating

them politically and fully restoring the leading role and Marxist-Leninist character of the Party.

In carrying out its policy, the CPC proceeds from Lenin's view that a revolutionary Marxist party of the working class can fulfil its historic tasks in fighting for power and in building socialism only if its activity is guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, the basis of its ideological and political activity. A Leninist attitude to theory means an inseparable link between revolutionary creative effort and absolute loyalty to all the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. Throughout his activity Lenin consistently upheld the purity of Marxism and fought without compromise against every attempt to distort revolutionary theory and practice from a bourgeois, revisionist or dogmatic position.

True to Lenin's behests, the CPC considers it necessary, in connection with the preparation for the celebration of the Lenin anniversary, to ensure a profound creative study of Lenin's works and consistently to re-establish the system of Marxist-Leninist political and ideological values in the minds of the working people, a system disrupted in late years. It considers it necessary to fight with determination against every manifestation of bourgeois ideology or Right-wing opportunism, which weaken proletarian internationalism and the class approach to problems and spread anti-Sovietism and nationalism. Ideological work in the spirit of Lenin's behests should actively help the working people to regain their bearings and to understand the laws of the class struggle between capitalism and socialism. It should help to convince them that it is right for our socialist republic to be a member of the socialist commonwealth. *The struggle for the purity of our scientific revolutionary ideology, against Right-wing opportunism, should become the duty of every Party committee or organization. It is one of the main prerequisites of consolidating our political situation.*

In striving to weed out Right-wing opportunism politically and ideologically, the CPC finds invaluable recommendations in Lenin, who did much to defeat the enemies of the Party. Lenin's fight against revisionist theory and reformism in political practice runs through the history of Leninism and is instructive to this day.

The struggle against Right-wing opportunism, whose main theorist before the war was Bernstein and after the war, the ex-"orthodox" Kautsky, reached its peak during the First World War and during and after the October Revolution. It was then that Lenin wrote his main theoretical works, the most important of which are *The State and Revolution* and *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. These writings, sharply criticizing Right-wing opportunism, are of immense importance to us and should again become the starting point of the ideological work and political practice of every Communist.

A fundamental feature of Leninsim is uncompromising ideological and political struggle against every form of Right-wing opportunism. However, Lenin stressed again and again that this struggle can never be consistent, and hence successful, unless carried on against the actual exponents of these views. *That is why he made a determined effort to rid the Party of opportunist elements in general and of active spokesmen of opportunism in particular. It is in this direction that our Party should combat Right-wing opportunism in its own ranks if we do not want to be rent by a permanent crisis.*

The Lenin celebrations will provide a major opportunity to study Lenin's rich legacy in the field of economic theory. Specifically, his ideas about socialist economic development, the relationship between economy and politics and the Party's role in managing the national economy reflect the laws of economic development. They are universally valid and have become a criterion in shaping new socialist relations of production and in developing the productive forces in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. History did not allow Lenin time enough to fully evolve his theory of building socialism. Nevertheless, many of his ideas about socialist economic management are highly relevant.

Lenin's ideas are very valuable in carrying out the Party's program for consolidating the economy, elaborating fundamental concepts and accomplishing specific tasks. They can help in large measure to improve economic management, raise productivity, improve labor discipline and provide every condition for the smooth and effective development of the national economy.

Of invaluable importance to the Party's policy is Lenin's theory of the socialist state. Lenin regarded steady effort to strengthen the socialist state, to improve its activity and to heighten the Party's role in every government agency as a condition for safeguarding the interests of the working class and other working people. The CPC creatively applies this experience in its practice. At present the Party is overcoming erroneous views and outright distortions of Lenin's teachings. After January 1968 these views and distortions tended to weaken and disintegrate government agencies. This is why the Party has ever since the April and May sessions of its Central Committee given priority to the task of strengthening the socialist state, above all by promoting the Party's organizing and leading role in the economy, in politics and culture, to restoring disrupted state discipline and order while fully respecting socialist laws. However, these activities of the Party are by no means intended as a return to outdated administrative methods, for the Party is trying steadfastly to find and apply progressive forms of work in every agency of the socialist state.

Lenin's conclusions regarding the development of socialist demo-

cracy are highly instructive from the standpoint of our present-day practice. By delivering the working people from exploitation and from social, class and national oppression, socialism enables them to take an active part in social and political life. It provides ample political and material opportunities for the workers, peasants and intellectuals to participate in government and in public affairs generally. However, it is essential to strengthening and promoting socialism that every citizen should take a correct view of both his rights and his responsibility to the state. Freedom is unthinkable unless every citizen is accountable to society. The principles of democracy, and humanity, when conceived in abstract and non-class fashion, and various speculations over correct slogans about freedom, democracy and equality serve in specific situations, not the interests of the working class and society, but hostile opposition forces fighting demagogically against the policy of the Party and the socialist system, as we have witnessed in this past period. The Lenin celebrations will enable us to elucidate once again the fundamental distinction between bourgeois and socialist democracy and demonstrate the advantages of socialist democracy for the mass of our working people.

Lenin devoted much attention, especially in his last writings, to science, education, scientific management and labor rationalization. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regards his conclusions as an important component of building socialist society. Today we must make much greater use of progress in education, science and culture. The Party considers, therefore, that one of the main tasks is to allow increasing scope for creative scientific research and for the earlier and more effective application of scientific achievements in every sphere of social practice. The May session of the Central Committee signified full support for scientific research and cultural work. At the same time, however, its decisions stress the necessity for distinguishing clearly between conscientious creative effort in the spheres of science, art and culture and political abuses of these spheres by various individuals or groups for anti-Party, anti-socialist and anti-Soviet ends.

The celebration of the Lenin centenary should not be a concern of only Party committees and organizations but should foster ideological and political activity in all government agencies and the National Front organizations, particularly in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the youth organizations.

Our Party has always appreciated the role of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in building socialism and furthering the interests of the working class. It proceeds in its every activity from the interests and needs of the working class and other working people. Today the Party is striving to increase its influence and to

step up its activity in the enterprises and to remove adverse trends in some sections of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement that hamper the working class in the realization of its revolutionary mission.

In connection with the Lenin celebrations, the problem of the socialist education of young people should likewise receive special attention from us. Socialist society needs young people inspired by the ideals of socialist internationalism and patriotism. It needs creative and highly competent young people inspired by revolutionary tradition, young people who appreciate the experience gained by the older generations in the difficult conditions of class struggle and in the course of building socialism.

The Presidium of the CC CPC calls on all Communists, on members of the National Front organizations, on the workers, peasants, intellectuals, young people, students and women, to prepare for a fitting celebration of the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, to master the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, to foster initiative in labor, to take an active part in shaping, elaborating and carrying out the policy approved by the April and May sessions of the Party's Central Committee and thereby help overcome our present difficulties all the more speedily.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia calls on all social workers, all scientists, on people active in the cultural field, in mass organizations and the mass media, the entire scientific, cultural and ideological front, to take an active part in carrying forward and publicizing Lenin's ideas among the working people and fight with determination for the policy of the Communist Party, against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and Right-wing opportunism. Thereby they will contribute their share to the unity of the working people on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the principles of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and with the international Communist and working-class movement as a whole.

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**by Tim Buck**

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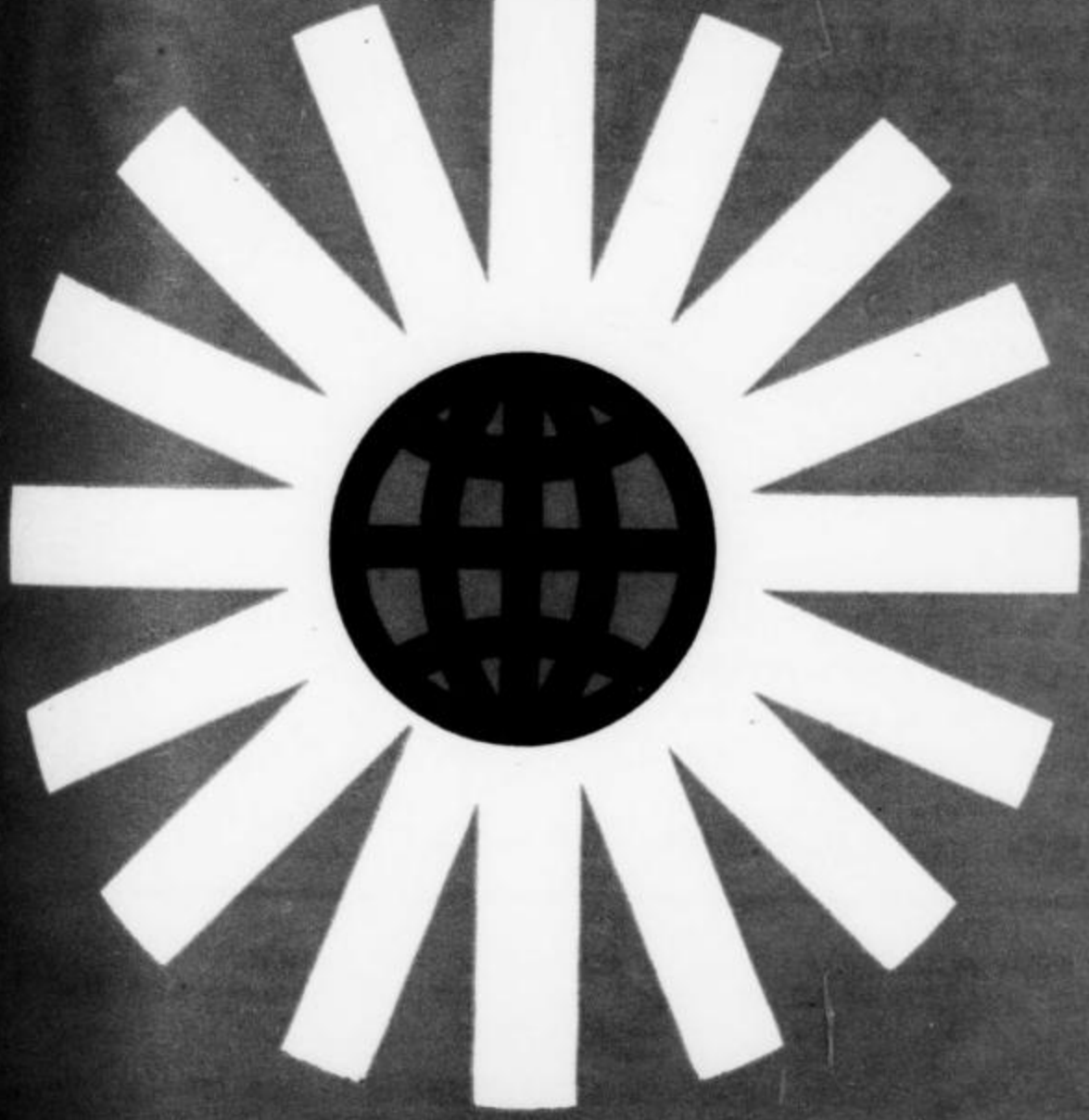

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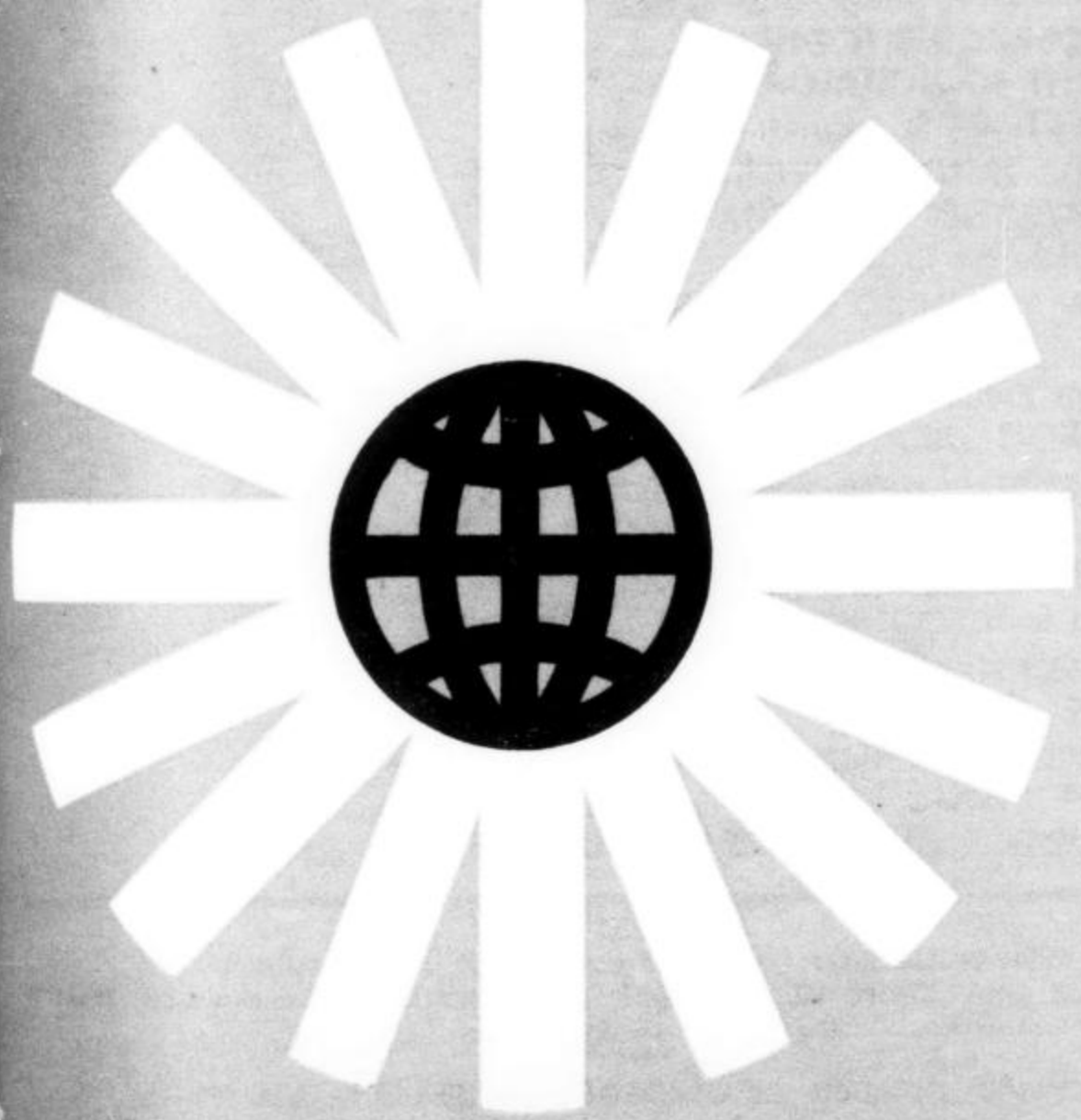

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# LANDMARK IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT

Fraternal Parties assess the results of the
International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

1. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece approves the activity and position of the CPG delegation at the International Meeting.

2. The CC CPG considers the International Meeting attended by 75 Communist and Workers' parties a distinct success for the world Communist and working-class movement. The Main Document, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces," and other documents of the Meeting are a good basis for the further consolidation of the world Communist and working-class movement, of all anti-imperialist forces, for the further coordination and development of the struggle against imperialism. This was furthered greatly by the negotiations that preceded the drafting of the documents and the speeches of the heads of delegations at the Meeting.

3. The CC CPG lays special stress on the thesis in the Main Document that the main direction in the development of mankind is determined by the socialist world system, the international working class, all the revolutionary forces. No longer can imperialism regain its lost historical initiative and turn back the clock of history. The Main Document contains a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present international situation and indicates the role played by the three main revolutionary forces of our time—the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

Stressing that imperialism is still dangerous, the Document formulates a concrete program of united anti-imperialist action for effective struggle against imperialism.

The Document points out that the anti-imperialist forces could mount a broader offensive against imperialism if they made use of all existing opportunities.

4. The CC CPG attaches special significance to the Meeting's proposition that the socialist system, in which the great Soviet Union plays the decisive role, is the main bulwark of the international anti-

imperialist revolutionary movement. Defense of the USSR, of the socialist camp as a whole, is a task of prime importance for the international Communist and working-class movement.

5. The Meeting's reaffirmation of the fundamental Marxist thesis, borne out by recent events, that the working class is the main motive force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire democratic anti-imperialist movement, is most important and topical for the Communist Party of Greece and the Communist movement as a whole. The Meeting also stressed the extensive revolutionary potential of peasants, progressive intellectuals, youth and women, the importance of the democratic anti-imperialist movement in the capitalist countries and of the national liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. With imperialist and monopoly pressures rising, the Meeting stressed the possibilities of uniting broad sections of the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly forces for the struggle against imperialism.

The thesis about the guiding role of the working class, again confirmed by recent events, strikes squarely at the opportunist views occurring in the world Communist and working-class movement and in our Party. These views are expressed by the revisionist splinter group of Partsalidis and Drakopoulos, who, in effect, deny or belittle on various pretexts the role of the working class in the present anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle.

6. The International Meeting stressed correctly that extension of united action against imperialism would go a long way in helping to overcome the existing differences and to cement the unity of the world Communist movement. All-round extension of ties and contacts among parties, generalization of their theoretical and practical experience and unbending defense of Marxist-Leninist principles—all this will help advance Marxist-Leninist theory and cement ideological unity. The International Meeting stressed that the activity of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties in their respective countries should combine with fulfilment of their internationalist tasks. The Meeting underscored correctly that all Communist parties are responsible for their activity to the working class of their own country and to the international working class. The national and international tasks are unbreakably connected.

7. Of immense theoretical and practical importance is the Main Document's thesis that consistent struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against revisionism, dogmatism, nationalism and all other deviations, is essential for the victory of the working class over imperialism. This consistent and irrenconcilable struggle is a necessary prerequisite to cementing the unity of the Communist parties and consolidating their vanguard role in the revolutionary movement.

Like the vast majority of the fraternal parties, the Communist

Party of Greece condemns the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist line of the Chinese leaders and their divisive policy in the world movement, their anti-Soviet activity and their armed provocations on the border between the Soviet Union and China. Their actions objectively help imperialism in the struggle against the Soviet Union and the Communist and working-class movement and the struggle against the progressive movement of the peoples.

8. The CPG Central Committee approves the documents of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: The Main Document, "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Imperialist Forces," the address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin," the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam"' and the Appeal In Defense of Peace.

The Central Committee of the CPG holds that by signing the documents of the International Meeting our Party assumed obligaions concordant not only with the common interests of the world Communist and working-class movement, but also with the vital interests of the people of Greece, the Communist and progressive democratic movement in our country. The Central Committee emphasizes that united action by the parties in fighting imperialism is part of our Party's anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. The Communist Party of Greece lays special emphasis on the need for combating fascism, for making political and social life more democratic, for delivering the imprisoned fighters, and promoting democracy in such countries as Greece, Spain, Portugal and others. As the Document stresses, united action by all anti-fascist forces and active international support by Communist and Workers' parties and by the democratic and progressive forces of all countries is essential for the success of the fight against neo-fascism. The Central Committee emphasizes the importance of the Meeting's Statement of Solidarity with Communists and Democrats of Greece Struggling Against the Military-Fascist Dictatorship. By adopting this Statement, the world Communist movement indicated that the people of Greece have the solidarity and support of all progressives in their effort to overthrow the fascist tyranny. Acting on the documents of the International Meeting, the CPG will redouble its efforts to cement the unity of its ranks and overcome the opportunist and revisionist views which the splinter group is trying to impose on the Communist movement of our country. The CPG will work for broader ties with the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, for better coordination of the anti-imperialist struggle, the struggle against fascism, against a new war, for peace and democracy, for socialism.

The CC CPG calls on all Party bodies and organs to conduct the study by their members of the documents of the International

Meeting. The conclusions and theses contained in these documents must be properly aligned with the policy and the tasks of our Party. Systematic study of these documents should be organized in the framework of the political education and self-education program in order to improve all ideological work. Significant in this context are the preparations of the whole Party for marking the centenary of the birth of the great Lenin.

All ideological work in studying the documents of the Meeting must be tied in with the preparations for the 9th Congress of the CPG. All documents of the International Meeting should be disseminated and propagated among the masses, this being tied in with the line of the Party. These documents can be a strong weapon in organization, in cementing unity and in fighting to overthrow the fascist tyranny and putting Greece on the path to democracy.

9. The CC CPG will redouble its efforts in extending international ties with the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, above all the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement. The Communist Party of Greece will redouble its international solidarity and support of the heroic Vietnamese people and all peoples fighting against imperialism, for peace, democracy and progress. The Communist Party of Greece will fulfil its internationalist duty by stepping up the fight at the head of the people for overthrowing the fascist military junta and for delivering Greece from the fetters of imperialism.

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND*

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland heard the report of the Party delegation on its work at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and approved its activity at the Meeting.

The International Meeting in Moscow, attended by the representatives of 75 Communist and Workers' parties, is an event of immense positive significance at the present stage. The Meeting was prepared thoroughly and by collective effort. Its work proceeded in an atmosphere of a frank and comradely exchange of opinions. All the parties represented set forth their views, gave an assessment of the present international situation and the correlation of forces, noted the mounting struggle of the forces of socialism and democracy and the danger of imperialism's aggressive policy, its attempts to prevent the development of socialism, suppress the national liberation movement and hamper the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries against Big Business.

The fraternal parties at the Meeting arrived at the conclusion

*Kansan Uutiset, August 12, 1969.

that the present balance of world forces makes it possible to fight successfully against imperialism. All participants emphasized that the paramount task is to unite the forces of the socialist world system, the national liberation movement and the international working class, all anti-imperialist forces fighting jointly against imperialism's aggressive policy, for peace, the independence of peoples, freedom and democracy.

The Main Document sets forth the unanimously approved program of action against imperialism.

The plenary meeting fully approves the documents of the Meeting: "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and the United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces," the Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!," "Appeal in Defense of Peace" and the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin."

The plenary meeting holds that these documents give a correct appraisal of the crucial problems of the international situation and of the present correlation of world forces.

The documents proclaim the firm and principled resolve of the Communist and Workers' parties to achieve the widest possible cooperation of all international forces fighting against imperialism and in defense of peace, for socialism and democracy. Such unity of action against imperialism is essential and possible.

The Main Document of the Meeting also analyzes the importance of greater unity of the world Communist movement. It points out that the strengthening of mutual cooperation and solidarity of the Communist parties provides a firm basis for united action of all anti-imperialist forces. The Document notes that relations between the Communist parties are built on the principles of international solidarity and proletarian internationalism, independence and the equality of the parties, which fully corresponds to the views of the Communist Party of Finland.

The Central Committee calls on all branch and district Party organizations, on all Communists to study the documents and explain their meaning. In recent years, the anti-imperialist forces, the forces of peace and progress have grown considerably in Finland. Our Party considers that one of its most important tasks is to further extend and consolidate the common anti-imperialist front in Finland, promote cooperation of the working people and democratic forces in the fight for peace and security. An important part of this activity is the further strengthening of friendly relations between Finland and the Soviet Union based on mutual confidence.

It is highly important to step up the campaign of solidarity with the people of Vietnam. The Vietnamese people, supported by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the international

working-class movement and the broad movement of solidarity embracing different social groups, have already scored important victories in repulsing the U.S. aggression. Withdrawal of the aggressive troops of the U.S. and its allies from Vietnam is the prerequisite for final victory. This just demand is receiving the growing support of world opinion.

The Central Committee calls for extensive support of the movement of solidarity with the people of Vietnam on the basis of cooperation of different political, trade union, youth, student and other public organizations.

The aggressive policy of imperialism also imperils the security of the peoples of Europe. It is especially important to conduct a more effective struggle for the establishment of a collective security system in Europe on the basis of respect for the equality and sovereignty of states, recognition of the existing frontiers in Europe and of the German Democratic Republic.

The International Meeting testifies to the strength and worldwide significance of the international Communist movement. No other socio-political movement of our time exerts such a considerable influence on social development as does the Communist movement. The Communist Party of Finland is convinced that the Meeting and its results have provided new prerequisites for strengthening the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL*

The Central Committee assesses that the International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in June this year in Moscow, was a great historical event for the international Communist and workers' movement, for all anti-imperialist forces in the world. The International Meeting constitutes an important stage on the road to the strengthening of the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The common general line in the most important political questions, which was drawn in the fundamental document of the International Meeting, will contribute much to the strengthening of the unity of action of the Communist and Workers' parties, to the unity of struggle of all the anti-imperialist forces.

The International Meeting has proved that the international Communist movement is the most democratic movement. Its pretionary force in our days, heading the struggle of the peoples for peace, national independence, for social progress, for democracy and socialism.

The International Meeting has proved that the international

*Communist Party of Israel Information Bulletin, July 1969.

Communist movement is the most democratic movement. Its preparation and its course expressed the increasing aspiration of the Communist parties for unity and coordination of action, for collectively elaborating conclusions concerning common political problems, for collective elaboration of theoretical subjects, for common development of the strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement, for the fortification of proletarian internationalism.

The fundamental document of the International Meeting stresses that in the world powerful revolutionary processes are taking place, that at the present stage of development the possibilities have increased and expanded for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces. At the same time, the dangers, which are the outcome of imperialism and its aggressive policy, are increasing. Hence the utmost importance of the unity of action of all Communist parties, of all anti-imperialist forces, for the maximum exploitation of all the new opportunities for a broad assault on imperialism, on the forces of reaction and war.

The International Meeting has stated that the world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Every struggle for liberation finds unfailing support on the part of the world socialist system, and first and foremost on the part of the Soviet Union.

The Communist and Workers' parties expressed in the International Meeting their particular appreciation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which bears on its shoulders the main burden of defense of peace, independence of the peoples and socialism in the world, which contributes the greatest share to the anti-imperialist struggle against the class enemy.

The decisive majority of parties in the International Meeting condemned the divisive, anti-Marxist policy of the Maoist leadership of the CP of China and their military provocations.

The great success of the International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties will be of great help to the success of the activity of every Communist Party in its country. The strengthening of unity of the Communist movement constitutes an important source of encouragement for the historical and the day-to-day struggle of every Communist Party and for the general anti-imperialist struggle, will greatly contribute to the strengthening of the unity and coordination between the three main revolutionary forces of our days: the world socialist system, the international working class, the movement for national liberation.

The Central Committee points out the special importance of the conclusions of the International Meeting concerning the need for increasing the ideological struggle against the bourgeois and reformist ideologies and against the nationalist deviations, both right-

ist and "leftist," within the Communist movement, for the broadening and deepening of creative Marxist-Leninist theoretical work by each Communist Party and collectively by the Communist movement. The defense of the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative development, the strengthening of the unity of action of all Communist parties and the development of ties among them—this is the path to the strengthening of the ideological and political unity and to overcoming the differences of opinion in the Communist movement.

The C.C. approves all the documents of the International Meeting: the fundamental document—"The Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces"; the "Appeal in Defense of Peace"; the appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam"; and "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin."

The documents of the International Meeting which were elaborated in common provide the Communist and Workers' parties with a basis for the strengthening of proletarian internationalism, for the struggle against nationalist tendencies, which constitute the chief danger within the international Communist movement, for the defense of Marxism-Leninism from opportunist-Rightist and adventurist-Leftist deviations.

The C.C. points out the particular contribution of the International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties to the anti-imperialist struggle for peace in the Middle East. The special statement of the Meeting on the occasion of the second anniversary of the June War and the conclusions concerning the Middle East included in the fundamental document, which condemn the policy of aggression and territorial annexations of the ruling circles in Israel and which call for the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution of Nov. 22, 1967, for the establishment of a stable peace between Israel and the Arab countries, express the interests of all the peoples in our region, show the path to ensuring peace and security for all states.

The C.C. highly appreciates the fact that delegations of the Arab Communist parties and the delegation of our Communist Party of Israel reached a common position and a common plan for ensuring peace and the rights of all the peoples in our region. Thus they contributed their share to the success of the International Meeting, to the strengthening of proletarian internationalism in the International Communist and Workers' movement and to the strengthening of the struggle for peace, against imperialism and its agents in our region.

The C.C. points out that the International Meeting has proved the correctness of the assessment of our 16th Congress that our Com-

munist Party of Israel is the bridge to the socialist world and the revolutionary workers' movement and to the anti-imperialist forces in the Arab world, the correctness of the assessment of our 16th Congress that on the basis of a correct program, which expresses the interests of all peoples, the anti-imperialist struggle, the cause of peace and progress, it is definitely possible to find a comman language and to create relations of mutual confidence between the Israeli and Arab toilers and people.

The C.C. stresses that the Meeting and the talks held by our Party delegation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have proved beyond all doubt that now there exists a historical opportunity to establish a lasting peace between Israel and the Arab countries, to exclude war from the sphere of Israeli-Arab relations by the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 1967.

The principal obstacle to the cessation of the bloodshed, to the prevention of a new war, to the establishment of a stable peace, lies in the non-consent of the Israeli Government to the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution, and in particular in its refusal to withdraw from all the occupied areas and to agree to a just solution of the question of the Arab refugees. As against this, Arab states, such as Egypt and Jordan, have given their consent to the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution, to the abolition of the state of war, to the recognition of the right to sovereign existence of the State of Israel within recognized and secure frontiers, to free navigation for Israel in the Tiran Strait and the Suez Canal.

The C.C. resolves to conduct a broad explanatory campaign concerning the prospects for peace in our region and to rally all forces of peace in Israel in a united struggle for turning the opportunity for establishing peace into a historical fact.

The C.C. resolves to organize one-day seminars in our Party, broad explanatory campaigns among the sympathizers, among the workers, youth and popular masses concerning the International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, concerning the great importance of the conclusions in relation to the general cause of the anti-imperialist struggle for peace, independence of the peoples, democracy and socialism, and concerning its special importance for the cause of peace in the Middle East.

## COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

The 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela, having heard the report of our Party delegation to the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969, resolves:

1. To approve the report presented to the CC, and the activity of the delegation led by Jesus Faria.

The Plenum considers that this activity was in line with the standards established by the 13th Plenum and with our Party's position on international politics.

The delegation's effort to exchange views and experiences with brother parties and improve our fraternal relations with all likewise deserves the approval of this Plenum.

2. To confirm accordingly the signature put by our General Secretary to the Main Document and other documents adopted by the Meeting.

These documents contribute unquestionably to the effort of the Communist and Workers' parties to close their ranks for united action against imperialism.

The Plenum holds that the tasks set before the united anti-imperialist front by the Meeting, specifically with a view to extending firm solidarity to the embattled heroic people of Vietnam, meet the exigencies of the present historical stage and are in keeping with the analysis of the world situation made in the Main Document.

The ways and means of more effective united action against imperialism that have been indicated, as well as various initiatives to give this action concrete form, merit sustained priority attention on the part of our membership. We therefore consider it advisable that the Communist parties of the Latin American continent should meet to put the decisions of the Moscow Meeting into practice.

The trend towards unity of action between the Communists and other anti-imperialist forces has grown stronger as a result of the Moscow Meeting and its decisions, particularly the one about convening a world anti-imperialist congress, an initiative which we should resolutely support.

3. To note with satisfaction the manner in which preparatory discussions and the Meeting itself were held and which enabled every Party freely to express its views.

The atmosphere of mutual understanding and ample internal democracy which prevailed at the Meeting were a sign of the maturity of the world Communist movement. They helped to implement the postulate of the independence of each national contingent, a principle which is treasured by the CPV and which does not clash but is in dialectical harmony with proletarian internationalism, a basic feature of the Meeting.

The participants in the Meeting "consider that the absence of certain Communist Parties should not hinder fraternal ties and cooperation between all Communist parties without exception. They declare their resolve to achieve joint action in the struggle against imperialism, for the common objectives of the international working-

class movement, as well as with the Communist and Workers' parties not represented at the present Meeting."

Seen in proper historical perspective, this is an advance in a sphere in which much has yet to be done for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement. It initiates a new period of discussion in the movement on the principle of mutual respect and brotherhood which characterized the Meeting.

4. Widely to publicize the documents of the Meeting, stressing their importance and the prospects they hold out for re-establishing the unity of the world proletariat and spurring the struggle of all anti-imperialist forces. The tasks in foiling imperialist aggression and in fostering the unity of the world revolutionary movement formulated by the Meeting are also *our* tasks.

In conclusion the Central Committee calls on all Venezuelan Communists thoroughly to study and discuss the decisions of the Meeting, to be published shortly by our Party.

The Main Document and the other documents of the Meeting will be discussed as preparations for the Fourth Congress of the CPV go on.

Caracas, August 2, 1969.

# TWENTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DRV

Speech* by PHAM VAN DONG

Premier Pham Van Dong spoke of the great significance of two historic events—the August Revolution and the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. He summed up the Vietnamese people's important achievements in both parts of Vietnam during the past 24 years and the telling reverses suffered by the imperialist aggressors.

The past 24 years, he said, have been years of struggle against the imperialist aggressors, in defense of national independence and for the reunification of the country. He pointed out the significance of the Vietnamese people's resistance war against the French colonialists and their present fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

The South Vietnamese people defeated the U.S. imperialists in the "special war" and frustrated their "local war" from the first. Ever since the spring of 1968 they have been carrying on a general offensive marking the beginning of a new period of the war.

In the North the Vietnamese people defeated the Americans' air and sea war of "destruction." The people's victories in both parts of the country compelled the United States to announce that it was unconditionally stopping its bombing raids and other acts of warfare against the DRV, a move which led to quadrilateral talks in Paris.

That was a victory for the socialist North consolidating the gains of the August Revolution. It was due, in particular, to the solidarity of the peoples of Vietnam, fraternal socialist countries and the world, who cherish independence, freedom and peace.

Inspired by these repeated big victories, achieved in 1968, we entered the year 1969 determined to step up our struggle on all fronts—war, political and diplomatic. As for the enemy, he has been less and less active on the South Vietnam battlefield.

Very important events have occurred in the political fight in South Vietnam since early 1969, even in the areas temporarily controlled by the enemy. The formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam was a new

*The speech was delivered by Premier Pham Van Dong, member of the PB CC, Working People's Party of Vietnam, at anniversary meeting in Hanoi, September 2, 1969. Abridged from Vietnamese Information Agency release.

development in the struggle in South Vietnam. It was a signal success of the National Liberation Front's policy of alliance against the U.S. aggression. It shows that the people's power has risen to the highest level in the course of the war and is indicative of the strength and progress of the South Vietnamese revolution.

Looking, in this situation, at the intentions and plans of America's rulers, we see that President Nixon of the USA says one thing and does something else by pursuing a neo-colonialist policy towards South Vietnam and by clinging to the puppet regime of Thieu and Ky, which he uses as an instrument of war and of brutal suppression of various sections of the population, of anyone who speaks peace in Saigon or elsewhere in South Vietnam. The U.S. policy of continuing the war of aggression has been dubbed "de-Americanization" or "Vietnamization" of the war. The U.S. imperialists' wild schemes were well known. Once they thought they could carry them out, but since then they have failed, being unable to achieve the results they had hoped for. What now? The U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam today are like a man who is bogged down in a quagmire and yet is trying to catch a fish with both hands. They can catch no fish, of course, and will sink deeper and deeper in South Vietnam. The war situation as it has shaped since 1968, this year's victories of our people, the popular movement in the United States and the rest of the world in support of our struggle mean a very simple thing, that the United States must end its war of aggression and withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam.

As regards "Vietnamization" or "puppetization" of this war, which means falling back on the "special war" defeated long ago, it is a fraud pure and simple. To pit Vietnamese against Vietnamese is a policy that must really be very tempting to the U.S. There could be no better way of achieving your ends when you had money and guns than simply lending them. But this kind of paradox is clearly impossible today. The Vietnamese people's fight shows very clearly that the American aggressors and their puppets cannot carry out their plans no matter how brutal, terrible, fraudulent or cunning the maneuvers they resort to. For decades the people of South Vietnam have been inspired by national pride. They are now taking part in the fight against the U.S. aggression, for the salvation of their country, in every form, everywhere, directly or indirectly, by military, political, legal and illegal means. They want to free the South and reunify their homeland, and are certain of their ultimate victory over the U.S. aggressors in the fight for national salvation. The masses in the liberated area, in the regions where fighting goes on and even in the temporarily occupied areas are striving for the same goal. It is the goal of many people who for some reason are still in the puppet army or the puppet administration. In these favorable conditions the alliance of the national,

democratic and peace-loving forces is having an ever more beneficial effect on the fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

The war being waged by the United States has from the outset been a war of aggression against our country. Nothing, no miracle, could change it from what it is—the most brutal and abominable colonial war in history. All our people, all the social strata of the population of South Vietnam, have risen against this war irrespective of class, political trend, religion or nationality. They have risen to join in a great national liberation war which is bringing them fame.

Our just struggle was clearly characterized in the 10-point general program of the National Liberation Front, now the program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. It has two objectives:

First, the United States must end its aggression against our country, unconditionally withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam and enable the people of South Vietnam to settle their affairs without foreign interference.

Second, a coalition government—the first provisional coalition government—must be formed, which after the withdrawal of all U.S. forces will hold a free and democratic general election to establish an official coalition government and decide on the political regime of South Vietnam.

These two objectives are closely linked and lead to the liberation of the South, to an independent, peace-loving, neutral and prosperous South Vietnam, to the peaceful reunification of the country.

The whole Vietnamese people are resolved to persevere in their struggle and to intensify it, to achieve ever greater victories, continuously to build up their strength and foil all the military and political plans of the enemy, who is trying forcibly to impose U.S. neo-colonialism on South Vietnam and to maintain the partitioning of our country. All our people are resolved to fight on in response to President Ho Chi Minh's appeal of July 20: "Our armed forces and all our people, millions of men and women have shown revolutionary heroism. They are resolved to continue and step up their war of resistance undaunted by sacrifices or privations in order to fight and win, to fight until the withdrawal of all U.S. troops and the complete failure of the puppet army and administration, in order to liberate the South, defend the North and go on to the peaceful reunification of their country."

In speaking of progress in socialist development in the North, it must be stressed that while concentrating on victory in this war, the people of the DRV are at the same time building socialism in the North.

The three revolutions which were accomplished almost simultaneously—the revolution in relations of production, the technical

revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution—have borne important initial fruits. Achievements in socialist development have changed the character of our society and visibly improved the material and cultural standards of our people. On this basis our compatriots have linked themselves even more closely with the socialist system and have rallied even more closely behind our Party, our government and President Ho Chi Minh. Showing increasing mutual love and helping one another, they have strengthened their political and ideological unity and formed an invincible force to defeat the aggressors and continue building their new life. Today the people of North Vietnam, inspired by victory, are working hard in every field, strengthening the nation's defenses and steadily heightening their vigilance. They are prepared to thwart all of the U.S. imperialists' plans of aggression against the DRV. At the same time the people of the DRV are striving to fulfil the state plan, improve economic management and consolidate the socialist North. They are accomplishing better than ever the task of creating a strong hinterland of the South in order to win even more brilliant victories in commemoration of our great holiday in 1970.

Looking back on the past 24 years, our people have good reason to be proud and to rejoice because they have performed great deeds. And looking ahead, our people rejoice still more and feel still more confident, for the construction, scientific research and dissemination of ideas we have been carrying on in war conditions have enabled us gradually to master problems of socialist development in our country, the problems of government, of economic and cultural development, of building a new life. They have given us greater strength and experience enabling us to find still more positive solutions to these problems. In spite of the ravages of war and the difficulties we must surmount in many fields, the road ahead is becoming clearer and we can look forward to great successes.

The long and strenuous but undoubtedly victorious revolutionary struggle of our people, which reached its peak in the armed fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation, has been gradually acquiring historic importance, has been gaining in international significance.

Many people the world over have spoken highly of the Vietnamese people's patriotic war as a war symbolizing the center and peak of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, for the fundamental interests of mankind.

The immense support given by the peoples of the socialist and other countries and by progressives in the United States itself has taken the form of an international front of the peoples in support of our people, against the American aggression. This is a very

important international development increasing the fighting efficiency of the people of Vietnam and stimulating the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Our people have always been deeply grateful for the tremendous support they have been getting from the socialist camp and the people of the world. They realize that their revolutionary struggle is a component of the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world and that their strength and achievements are closely linked with the strength and achievements of the socialist camp and the peoples of the world. Our people have always been aware that they are fighting for their sacred national rights and at the same time fulfilling their noble internationalist duty.

In the current war against the U.S. imperialists, for national salvation, and in the Vietnamese revolution in general, we consider it particularly important to promote solidarity and cooperation between our country and the fraternal socialist countries. By fighting with determination against the U.S. aggressors, our people are at the same time defending their independence and freedom, are fighting to defend the gains of socialism on Vietnamese soil and helping to preserve the socialist camp. We note with great hope and enthusiasm that over a thousand million people in fraternal socialist countries are doing all in their power the better to fulfil their internationalist duty towards us and are rendering us great assistance so that we may fully defeat the American aggressors.

Knowing as we do that the socialist camp is one of the sacred achievements of the working class and other working people of the world, a bastion of revolution and peace, we have always done our best to contribute to solidarity and friendship between fraternal countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to contribute to its strength. We resolutely support the Chinese people in their determination to end all the sinister intrigues of the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique to retrieve Taiwan, an inseparable part of the territory of the great PRC. We resolutely support the stubborn struggle of the people of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, who are determined to foil all provocations and war preparations on the part of the United States and its agents and on the part of the Park Chong Hi clique, and who demand that the United States withdraw its troops from South Korea, which would enable the Korean people to decide their own affairs and reunify their country. We resolutely support the struggle of the population of the German Democratic Republic against the expansionist intrigues of the West German revenge-seeking militarists, who are helped by the U.S. imperialists, its fight in defense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the German Democratic Republic and its effort in building a happy new life. We resolutely support the struggle of the heroic Cuban

people to frustrate all intrigues and provocations, all attempts at encirclement and attack on the part of the U.S. imperialists and their agents, support their effort in building socialism and a new life on Cuban soil and their resolve to carry high the banner of the revolution in the Western hemisphere.

In Indochina we have always done all we could to strengthen and promote solidarity, good-neighbor relations and lasting friendship between the Vietnamese, Khmer and Laotian peoples, so as to defend the fundamental national rights of each of these three peoples against the common enemy, aggressive U.S. imperialism, and contribute to peace and the security of the peoples of Indochina and Asia.

We have always respected, and will continue to respect, the independence, sovereignty, peace and neutrality of Cambodia. We recognize its territory within its present boundaries. We sincerely thank the Khmer people and the royal government of Cambodia under the far-sighted leadership of Norodom Sihanuk for their valuable aid in our fight against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation. We resolutely support the struggle of the Khmer people in defense of their sacred national rights and their territory, a struggle that is bound to lead to victory.

We denounce the activity of the U.S. imperialists, who brazenly violate the Geneva agreements of 1962 on Laos, who have sent U.S. and satellite troops to wage a "special war" in Laos and to pursue a neo-colonialist policy in that country, who have been using the territory and air space of Laos to intensify their war of aggression against our country and who continually threaten our western frontiers. The people and government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam denounce these criminal moves of the U.S. imperialists and emphatically protest against them. We resolutely support the just struggle of the Laotian people for the proper application of the Geneva agreements of 1962 on Laos. We hail their brilliant victories which have resulted in the repulsion of all the attacks of the U.S. imperialists and their agents and in the preservation and considerable consolidation of the liberated area.

We identify ourselves with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and wish them victory in their struggle against aggressive U.S. imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. We resolutely support every manifestation of national liberation struggle in the world, the Arab countries' fight against the Israeli aggressors, who are a tool of U. S. imperialism, the national liberation movement of the American Negroes and all movements against racial discrimination. We resolutely support all countries striving to consolidate their national independence and to achieve prosperity, the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the peoples of the capitalist countries, and the struggle of the peoples of the world against

the U.S. imperialist aggressors, for the lofty goals of our time: peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

In conclusion Premier Pham Van Dong reaffirmed the Vietnamese people's determination to carry their fight against the U.S. aggressors, for national salvation, through to complete victory, to defend and build socialism in the North, liberate the South and proceed to the peaceful unification of the country.

# TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RISE OF PEOPLE'S BULGARIA

## ADDRESS* BY TODOR ZHIVKOV

Twenty-five years have passed since the unforgettable days when, in September 1944, the Bulgarian Communist Party roused the workers, peasants and intellectuals to the last, decisive battle, overthrew the bourgeois and monarcho-fascist regime and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of people's democratic rule.

Twenty-five years have passed since the unforgettable meeting of the insurgent Bulgarian people with the great liberating Soviet Army, with the heroes who defeated Hitler's hordes, drew near to our frontier, tied down and paralyzed the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and gave invaluable, decisive support to our victorious socialist revolution on September 9.

Twenty-five years have passed since the days when fifty years of uncompromising and selfless struggle earned the Communists, the working class and working people of Bulgaria a brilliant victory and opened a new era—the era of socialism and communism—for our Party and people.

Undisputed leader of the working people over decades of revolutionary struggle, a leader who had won the people's confidence by defending their interests and through the sacrifices made by its finest sons and daughters, the Communist Party became, as was only natural and logical, the universally recognized guiding force in building the new society. The attempts of bourgeois leaders and parties in the early years after the September Revolution to regain power with foreign help and put Bulgaria back on to the capitalist road of development were resolutely resisted by the Party and the working people and fell through. The Bulgarian people confidently set out to build socialism under the leadership of their Communist Party, with the generous and disinterested assistance of the great Soviet Union, the country which has twice liberated us, and in close friendship and cooperation with the peoples of other newly established socialist states.

Twenty-five years are a brief span in the 1,300-year-long history of Bulgaria. But as we look back on the period before September

*Abridged. The address was delivered by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, at anniversary meeting in Sofia, September 8, 1969.

9, 1944, we feel that the Bulgaria of those years is a thing of the distant past and that centuries have elapsed since. This is a natural feeling, for the time between September 9, 1944, and September 9, 1969, is not merely a period of twenty-five years but a historic epoch in the life of our country and its people, in the life of each of us contemporaries and co-makers of far-reaching changes.

Present-day Bulgaria and the Bulgaria of twenty-five years ago cannot be compared in any sphere of life, in any respect or sense.

Take agriculture. Old Bulgaria was an agricultural country, a poor agrarian appendage of industrial Europe. The land was broken up into twelve million strips averaging three or four decares each. All mechanization was, needless to say, out of the question because the land was fragmented and the countryside hopelessly poor.

How do we account for the early triumph of the cooperative system in our country? First of all, we must stress that our Party proceeded from Lenin's cooperative plan as its theoretical starting point and from Soviet experience in collective farming as a classical model of small-commodity economy transformed into a socialist economy. Our Party applied Lenin's ideas and the experience of Soviet collective farms in a creative spirit, according to our national conditions. The agricultural labor cooperatives proved to be the most suitable form of socialist farming under the surviving system of small private land tenure.

The April plenum of the CC BCP greatly stimulated social, political, economic and cultural activity in our country. It also marked a turn in the development of the cooperative system in rural Bulgaria. A number of serious drawbacks and shortcomings hampering the progress of agricultural cooperatives were removed. The principle of providing material incentives to farms and cooperatives was restored. Intensification became the main trend of agricultural development.

The amalgamation of state farms and agricultural cooperatives played a most important part in consolidating the cooperatives organizationally and economically and in reinforcing them with competent personnel. It constituted in effect an advance in the building up of the cooperative system and socialist relations of production in rural regions, and was a requisite of rapid growth of the productive forces and of production in agriculture.

Today our socialist agriculture commands over 3,800 million leva in fixed production assets, a powerful material production basis brought into being in the years of socialist development. Investment in agriculture is growing and this year it will exceed 500 million leva. Our cooperatives today use over 84,000 tractors (in terms of 15 hp units) and over 15,000 combine harvesters. The irrigated area has expanded to roughly one million hectares. Active in agriculture are 36,000 experts, 27 research institutes and 28

experimental stations. Labor productivity has increased roughly fourfold and gross output, more than twice.

The progress made in industry is even more impressive.

The industrial potential of bourgeois Bulgaria was negligible. In 1939 the amount of electricity generated in our country was 42 kwh per capita, our engineering industry manufactured nine threshers, 60 trolleys and 15 steam boilers for industrial use, steel output totalled 6,000 tons and per capita output of iron ore, three kilograms.

The problem of industrialization had to be tackled, for all its difficulty, immediately after September 9, 1944. From the Fifth Party Congress onwards, socialist industrialization became the main line of our economic policy, aimed at rapidly developing the productive forces and raising the people's standard of living.

The turning point in this respect was the April plenum of the CC BCP, which revealed shortcomings in economic development and showed the way to more rapid industrialization by quickening the pace of development in heavy industry, improving the branch structure of industrial production and setting up new capacities in line with up-to-date standards.

From the earliest stage of industrialization, power supply was of decisive importance. The policy of priority development of the power industry resulted in power output rising to 15,451 million kwh by 1968.

Along with power capacities we strove to build up the supply of industrial and agricultural raw materials. Indicative of this effort of ours is the fact that in 1968 we extracted 2,645,000 tons of iron ore, 402,000 tons of copper ore and almost 31 million tons of coal.

Metallurgy holds a special place in our industrialization program. Last year we produced 36,000 tons of lead, roughly 75,000 of zinc, 1,461,000 tons of steel, over one million tons of pig iron for steel production and 1,028,000 tons of rolled metals.

Socialist industrialization was also characterized by the setting up of a modern chemical industry. We owe it to a clear policy and substantial investments that the chemical industry now is moving into third place after the food and engineering and metal-working industries.

Engineering plays a decisive role in industrialization. We started from scratch, or almost, but because we concentrated on engineering it is increasingly shaping the whole of our industry. Already we put out a vast array of engineering products that are gaining in renown in dozens of countries. We are out to improve the technological standard of engineering in keeping with the latest achievements and demnds. Success in accomplishing this task will hinge in very great measure on socialist integration, greater specialization and cooperation in production between socialist countries,

and ever closer links between our economy and the economies of other socialist countries, primarily that of the Soviet Union.

Due to the priority development of heavy industry and the simultaneous and considerable growth of light industry, production there developed a correct ratio between producer and consumer goods production. Last year it was 57:45. This enables us to look forward to bring the growth rates of the two groups close together, putting out more consumer goods and raising the standard of living.

Our growth rate is so high that we cannot very well compare it to that of the previous decade, let alone comparing present-day to bourgeois Bulgaria. Output in the first half of this year equalled the total for three years—1953, 1954 and 1955. While a one percent increase in the national income in the first five-year period was worth 18,400,000 leva, its worth is close on 80 million leva in the fifth five-year period.

Let us look at so general an index as per capita growth of the national income. Between 1953 and 1956 the national income showed a yearly increase averaging 5.4 percent and between 1957 and 1968, an 8.1 percent increase. And what about per capita growth of the national income in some of the more developed capitalist countries? Here are data for the period from 1956 to 1967: Britain, 1.9 percent; Belgium, 2.6 percent; West Germany, 3.4 percent; Canada, 2 percent; USA, 2 percent; France, 3.5 percent and Sweden, 2.9 percent.

Our Party and people are now setting themselves what are to a certain extent qualitatively new tasks in socialist development prompted by the socio-economic conditions of the present stage, the scientific and technological revolution and the increased opportunities our society has today. In line with the decisions of the July plenum of the Central Committee, we have begun to carry out an extensive program to promote intensification in the national economy and achieve greater concentration in agriculture, industry and science so as to improve the overall system of managing the affairs of our society.

This set of measures, which will require effort by the working class, cooperative peasantry and our entire intellectual community, will accelerate the upward trend of development in our republic.

There are numerous indications of the improving standard of living. Take the per capita income. From 1953 to 1968 it increased from 341 leva to 933 leva (in 1952 prices), or almost three times. We are working to increase wages and reduce consumer goods prices step by step, as is evident, in particular, from the decision published a few days ago, of the Party's Central Committee and the Council of Ministers envisaging a higher standard of living.

The consumption fund, too, shows an appreciable growth. In 1952 per capita consumption averaged 234 leva and last year it reached 695 leva.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie was late in emerging on the historical scene. This came when the capitalist system and its ideology were declining in the developed countries and when socialist ideas were advancing throughout the world. A mere 13 years after the liberation of Bulgaria the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Workers' Party was founded. It worked hard to infuse the emerging labor movement and the intelligentsia with a socialist consciousness. The ideas of the exploiting classes were foreign and hateful to the people, whereas the ideas of socialism were near and dear to them. By far most Bulgarian intellectuals had risen from the people. They were inspired by the ideas of rebirth and were therefore highly receptive to the lofty ideals of socialism. And it is perfectly logical that most of the founders of the Bulgarian socialist movement were school-teachers, as was the unforgettable Dimitr Blagoyev, who founded our Party.

Most Bulgarian intellectuals sided with the BCP from the outset, and many of them—the finest and most prestigious intellectuals—were Party members who fought and died under the banner of communism.

Take public education. In these past years we have solved three important problems of our educational system. The first was to turn it into a socialist system of education meeting the requirements of socialist development as much as possible. A second problem was to train as speedily as possible personnel for every sphere of socialist development, especially material production. The third problem was steadfastly to democratize the educational system, so as to enable all young people to receive an incomplete secondary education, and lat[illegible] a secondary education or vocational training for work in one field or another.

These three problems have in the main been solved. The task now is to pave the way for universal, compulsory and free secondary education for all young people. This will constitute a historic achievement of tremendous benefit to the future of the Bulgarian nation.

Today the People's Republic of Bulgaria has—considering its dimensions—an enormous number of research workers, teachers, engineers, agronomists, doctors, architects, technicians, men of letters and artists. This is a mighty intellectual force working shoulder to shoulder with the working class and the cooperative peasantry, devoting its knowledge, talent and enthusiasm to the building of socialist society.

The worst enemies of the socialist system can hardly question

the social, economic and ideological unity of our people. Everyone realizes that no force on earth can turn our peasants back to capitalism or reduce our almost 2,000,000-strong working class to an object of capitalist sale and purchase.

The working people of our country have been forging their moral and political unity according to communist ideas for a long time, since the early years of revolutionary struggle. Suffice it to recall the rising in September 1923, when the two largest political forces of the time—the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union—rose together against the enemy.

Working shoulder to shoulder with us Communists today are members of the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union, one of the oldest socio-political organizations of our country.

Great credit is due to the BAPU for strengthening relations between our country and progressive and democratic movements abroad, for enhancing the world prestige of socialist Bulgaria. We are convinced that our comrades-in-arms of the BAPU will continue to work just as actively with us Communists for the good and happiness of the people, for the prosperity of our socialist country.

A tremendous contribution to the victory of socialism and the consolidation of the social, economic and ideological unity of our people during the past years was made by the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Young Communist League and various mass and cultural organizations.

Ours is a socialist democracy, that is, democracy in deeds and not in words. For it is truly people's rule, exercised on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a developing socialist economy. Only when the dictatorship of the proletariat is strong and unshakable and when the national economy is making good progress, creating the material prerequisites of a steadily improving standard of living meeting the people's growing spiritual and material requirements, can there be genuine democracy, a democracy emanating from the people and serving the people's real interests. This is shown by the experience of the Soviet Union and by our own experience.

The important social, political and economic changes effected in Bulgaria under people's rule have fully benefited our armed forces. Bulgaria has never had such an army before. Equipped with the latest weapons, loyal to communist ideas from top to bottom and ready to defend at any cost the socialist gains and communist future of Bulgaria in fraternal friendship with the great Soviet Army and the armies of the Warsaw Treaty countries, the

Bulgarian People's Army is a real force with which the enemies of peace and socialism reckon and cannot but reckon.

For 25 years the People's Republic of Bulgaria has consistently followed a foreign policy intended to strengthen and consolidate the positions of socialism in the name of the triumph of our great cause, the cause of socialism and communism.

For 25 years Bulgaria has consistently followed a foreign policy intended to maintain and strengthen world peace, a policy of good-neighbor relations and cooperation in the Balkans and of peaceful coexistence.

The cornerstone of our foreign policy is our steady effort to strengthen and promote relations between Bulgaria and the fraternal socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union, the bulwark of world communism, which has twice liberated us.

The fundamental interests of Bulgaria also determine our relations with the socialist countries of the world and are at the basis of our treaties of alliance with the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA countries, with which we are linked by a common destiny, a common goal and a common struggle for the triumph of communism.

Our policy towards the developing countries and the capitalist countries is consistent and clear. It is a policy of all-round support for the countries striving to maintain their national independence, strengthen their economy and advance along non-capitalist lines. It is a policy of all-round support for the national liberation movement of the peoples fighting against imperialism, for independence. It is a policy of peaceful coexistence irrespective of the social systems of the countries concerned.

The exceptional stability of our international situation, the high international prestige Bulgaria enjoys and the respect it has won among the progressive forces of the world are indicative of the success of our foreign policy. Today the People's Republic of Bulgaria maintains diplomatic relations with 80 countries and trade relations with 111 countries. It contributes at all levels to world peace and international cooperation.

Naturally, we attach special importance to the situation in the Balkan Peninsula and to our relations with our neighbors.

Despite the exceedingly complicated relations between the Balkan countries—a legacy of the past—Bulgaria has for 25 years been pursuing a policy of good-neighbor relations and cooperation. This policy is not a result of passing considerations nor an expression of weakness. Bulgaria has never been stronger politically, economically or militarily, nor has it ever had as powerful and loyal allies as now. But it is a socialist country and both its national interests and the interests of the socialist system and the international Communist and national liberation movements

call for a policy of peace, good-neighbor relations and cooperation in the Balkans, a policy fully meeting the vital interests of all Balkan nations. Accordingly, we will continue fully to support every initiative in favor of good-neighbor relations and peaceful cooperation between us, to foster friendship and mutual assistance between the socialist countries and peoples of the Balkans.

Bulgaria will continue to cooperate with the United Nations and various governmental, social, political, trade union, economic, scientific, educational, cultural and other international organizations that pursue the noble object of peace and cooperation among the states and peoples of our planet.

I wish to stress in particular the resolve of the Bulgarian Communist Party to go on contributing to the strengthening of the world Communist and working-class movement and the anti-imperialist world front, to the execution of the decisions of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Ever since it was founded, our Communist Party has been unshakeably loyal to proletarian internationalism and has combated Right- and "Left"-wing opportunism.

On the 25th anniversary of our revolution we send fraternal greetings to the heroic people of Vietnam, who are setting mankind an example of how to fight against the enemies of freedom. And we say again and again: "We are with you, Vietnam!"

We hail the Arab peoples fighting against the Israeli aggression and imperialist attempts to force them to their knees. We support and will go on supporting their efforts to retrieve the occupied areas and bring about a fair settlement of the Palestine question, and their effort for national development and social progress.

We hail the revolutionary armed forces of the peoples of the surviving colonies. We have helped the oppressed peoples wherever we could. We shall continue to do our duty to those who are fighting to end the infamous colonial system for ever.

We are for peaceful coexistence. Evidence of this is the Appeal of the Budapest Meeting of socialist countries, among whose authors is Bulgaria, and the proposal for a conference on European security.

At the same time we oppose all oppression as resolutely as we are fighting for peace. The aggressors must be curbed if peace is to prevail. If there is to be peace, if those who are preparing new wars are to be curbed, it is necessary that anti-democratic dictatorial regimes should fall, it is necessary to bar neo-fascism's way to power and clear the people's road to progress.

We are against interference in the affairs of other countries. But we neither conceal, can conceal, nor want to conceal our heartfelt sympathy for the fighters for national and social liberation, because they are our comrades and brothers in mankind's great battle for peace, freedom and progress.

Since the day it came into being as a socialist country, Bulgaria has lived and fought, has built and planned its future, not merely as a socialist country, but as a member of the socialist world system. We are well aware that building socialism in Bulgaria is as much a national as an international matter. The great progress made by our people during the past quarter of a century has radically changed the face of the country and the life of our people, raised the people's standard of living and their culture and improved their living conditions. The country has acquired new vast opportunities for development. Furthermore, our achievements in socialist development and the achievements of other fraternal socialist countries have strengthened the socio-political, economic, cultural and defense power of the socialist community and the socialist world system and have enhanced the appeal of the socialist system and the great ideas of communism.

Building socialism in Bulgaria is an example showing the world the limitless potentialities of the socialist system, the revolutionizing force of Marxism-Leninism, Marxist-Leninist philosophy, our great doctrine, under whose victorious banner the Bulgarian Communist Party has been marching all these years, leading the people. And this is an important aspect of the international significance of socialist development in Bulgaria.

As far back as the years of revolutionary struggle the Bulgarian Communist Party was certain that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people were paving the way for the whole of revolutionary mankind. After the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria we unhesitatingly and trustfully drew on Soviet experience and emulated the Soviet example. Reality has fully justified our trust and confirmed the historic significance and universal validity of the fundamental principles of building socialist society developed by the greatest genius of our age, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, and brilliantly carried into practice by the CPSU and the Soviet people in the process of socialist construction in the USSR.

The Bulgarian example shows that the road discovered and travelled by the Soviet peoples is the surest way to raise mankind from the abyss of capitalism to the heights of socialism. And this constitutes a second aspect of the international significance of the experience of socialist development in Bulgaria.

The third aspect of the international significance of our experience as part of the experience of the countries which after World War II adopted the socialist system is, as we see it, the proof that in our time a socialist country can successfully build socialism only if the closest all-round relations are maintained between that country and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Soviet Union may be called the mother of the socialist world system. A socialist country which breaks away from it, which

severs or loosens its bonds with the Soviet Union, is disrupting its own normal development, running into difficulties, raising obstacles to its own growth, and occasionally drifting into deviations which may endanger its socialist development. Unfortunately, there are instances of this in the socialist world system.

Close and all-round relations between a socialist country and the Soviet Union are vastly important when that socialist country is laying the foundations of socialism and when it is proceeding to build a mature socialist society. At the new stage which we socialist countries have entered, as has the rest of the world, the further development of the socialist countries is absolutely impossible without still closer, still more extensive and deep-going relations between them and the Soviet Union and between these countries.

Is this an invention of ours promoted solely by ideological and political considerations or by our fraternal attachment to the Soviet Union? No, it is an iron necessity arising from the objective course of world development and accentuated by the worldwide scientific and technological revolution.

Coordinated division of labor between socialist countries, which has been applied on a considerable scale, integration, concentration, specialization and cooperation in production are the road to further socialist development. This is why Bulgaria applauds the historic decisions of the special session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and will continue to do its best for their execution and extension.

While stressing the role and importance of bilateral cooperation between socialist countries, we regard the Soviet Union as the very basis of the development of socialism as a world system in view both of the importance of its experience as the standard-bearer of communism and the fact that it has the most powerful and advanced economy, one that can solve not only the problems of its own further development but extend the most effective economic assistance to other socialist countries.

The unfailing internationalism of the Soviet Union is a fact of tremendous significance, for it shows that the Soviet Union has always accomplished and will go on accomplishing the great and arduous historic mission of being the stronghold and bastion of world socialism and human prgress.

As for us Bulgarians, we know that our socialist gains and our progress are a result of the devoted effort of our people and, at the same time, a fruit of the profound internationalism of our Soviet brothers, a fruit of life-giving Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and cooperation.

In planning the future of socialist Bulgaria, we do not derive confidence and conviction from only our own strength and increased

possibilities, we also derive them from the confidence which our policy of increasingly close relations with the socialist community, and first of all with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, gives us.

In directing socialist development in Bulgaria, our Communist Party invariably abides by the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism and shapes its entire activity according to the internationalist character of the great communist cause. Throughout the past 25 years the Bulgarian tricolor has flown alongside the red banner of the world Communist movement and of proletarian internationalism. Today we Bulgarian Communists, and with us our friends of the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union, the Fatherland Front, the Young Communist League, the whole Bulgarian people, every member of our socialist society, feel deeply satisfied with our achievements, not only as Bulgarian patriots but as internationalists, as members of the great army of world communism. Our gains are grains of the Communist and working-class movement, and vice versa. This is the position of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgaian people and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We shall never retreat from this position nor renounce it.

We are firmly convinced that the future of mankind is an increasingly strong, a growing worldwide alliance of socialist countries.

A quarter of a century after September 9, 1944, we declare with deep satisfaction and pride: Socialism, for which the Bulgarian people have shed much of their blood and made numerous costly sacrifices and which they have been giving their all to bring into being, has triumphed definitively and irrevocably in the socio-political, economic and cultural life of Bulgaria, in the everyday life and spiritual activity of our people.

On this festive occasion—the 25th anniversary of our socialist republic—we express our gratitude and pay tribute to the heroic working class of Bulgaria, the most revolutionary class, an indomitable and consistent fighter against capitalism and fascism, the chief motive force of the socialist revolution and of socialist development in Bulgaria.

From this festive platform we again express our everlasting gratitude to the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, without whose decisive aid the victory of September 9 would have been impossible.

We pay tribute to the epoch-making work of the great leader and teacher of the world proletariat, that brilliant theoretician of Marxism and strategist of the proletarian revolution, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin the centenary of whose birth our Party and people will celebrate with the whole of progressive mankind.

We pay tribute to the exploit of the Russian Bolsheviks, the heroes of the October Revolution, the Civil War heroes, those who were the first to strike at the capitalist world and to defend the first socialist state in history.

We pay tribute to the exploit of the Soviet people—a people of builders—to the heroes of the Soviet five-year plans which shook the world, to those who have created the economic, ideological and military power of the Soviet Union, the homeland of communism, the bulwark and hope of all working men.

It is with particular gratitude and feeling that we bow our heads in memory of the millions of Soviet people who fell in the Patriotic War, who gave their lives to defeat fascism and free the world. Bulgarians will never forget September 1944, when revolutionary Bulgaria met sons of the Soviet Union, their Soviet soldier liberators.

We express deep gratitude to our Soviet brothers for their constant and unfailing friendship, for the treasury of invaluable historical experience on which we freely draw day after day, for their assistance and support, for their great internationalism, for their brotherly love of us, for the fact that throughout the 25 years of socialist development they, the Soviet people, have been a splendid example to us, have supported us and served us as an inexhaustible source of inspiration.

On this great occasion we express our heartfelt gratitude to the Communist parties, the governments and the peoples of the socialist countries with which we have been marching and fighting shoulder to shoulder throughout these years, strengthening and developing our cooperation and mutual assistance, growing and maturing in common struggle. Together with them we have travelled a long and glorious road. Together with them we will march on.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is an inseparable component of the socialist commonwealth and sees in this its strength and an earnest of its future. Our friends may rest assured that under all circumstances, under any pressure and in any storm, socialist Bulgaria will remain firmly loyal to our brothers, our struggle, and our common destiny.

# FACING THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE DEVALUATION OF THE FRANC

## STATEMENT* OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party has begun to examine the situation arising after the devaluation measures.

Going back on its solemn pledge taken recently before the entire country, the Pompidou—Chaban Delmas—Giscard d'Estaing—Duhamel government effected a 12.5 per cent devaluation of the franc.

This is the second devaluation carried out by the regime established in May 1958. Coming after eleven years of full power, it speaks of the bankruptcy of the regime's policy, which is incapable —despite its claims—of ensuring the stability and protection of the franc, balanced growth of production and full satisfaction of social and national requirements.

The devaluation is a new and serious aspect of the policy with which Pompidou and Giscard d'Estaing have been personally associated, and which stubbornly pursues the aim, after the lapse of eleven years, of making the people pay for the colossal and ever increasing advantages granted to the big companies to ensure their profits.

The devaluation automatically brings with it higher prices. It raises the cost of living and reduces the purchasing power of wages, salaries, and savings. It is the masses of wage-earners, pensioners, small and middle peasants, small shop-keepers, and artisans who have to pay the costs of the devaluation.Employment too will be adversely affected.

The big bourgeoisie wants in this way to deprive the working people of all that they won in May 1968.

The announced austerity plan—cuts in budget appropriations for major civic projects and in consumer credit, higher municipal rates, etc.—will tell on the future economic and social situation in France.

On the other hand, the devaluation creates favorable conditions for the big capitalist firms, notably those producing for export, by placing them in an advantageous position on the foreign markets. By curtailing public consumption, the monopolist state is siphoning off a still larger part of the national resources to enable the big

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*L'Humanité*, August 12, 1969.

companies to increase their capital accumulations and profits abroad.

What is more, it is a question of giving incentives to speculators, bankers and companies whose directors are linked with government circles and who since last November have exported considerable amounts of capital with impunity.

The crisis of the franc is also part of the crisis of the international monetary system. It reflects the difficulties experienced by the big bourgeoisie as a result of international competition and speculation and permanent inflation in all the big capitalist countries. Far from being a consequence of excessive public consumption, inflation reflects if anything an unhealthy economic situation, characterized by the non-satisfaction of the social requirements of our time, the lowering of purchasing power, unemployment and a reduction of civil expenditures. These profound causes are further aggravated by the enormous squandering of funds by the monopolies, the parasitic and military expenditures and the drive to eliminate on a mass scale the small and medium-sized firms, industrial and commercial enterprises, and peasant farms in order to accelerate the process of concentration.

All this emphasizes the perniciousness of a regime that has outlived itself and can perpetuate its existence only by sacrificing the interests of the working people and the living forces of the nation.

Contrary to what the government says, the devaluation could have been avoided if energetic measures had been taken to combat speculation and to have financial resources directed to expanding production in conformity with national needs.

There can be no sound franc without a sound economy free of the domination of the big financial oligarchies and servitude to profit.

The French Communist Party has defined the main lines of such a new policy: a bold social program including nationalization of the key sectors of the economy and democratic guidance of this nationalization; a democratic fiscal system and planning. It would then be possible to put an end also to the speculative pressures at home and abroad, to squandering and parasitic spending, and to tap new resources. It would make possible unprecedented economic and social development in conditions of financial equilibrium. It would safeguard our country against the international monetary crisis, deliver it from the pressure of the U.S. and West German imperialists, and make it possible to establish new relations with all countries based on cooperation and mutual interest.

These measures can be effected only by a democratic government.

The French Communist Party calls on all its activists, all Communists holding elective posts, all its supporters, actively to participate

in organizing the necessary struggle in defense of the demands of all working people in particular for restoration of the purchasing power of wages, salaries and pensions and their guarantees through a sliding scale system, in defense of the demands of all sections of the population, the victims of this new offensive of big capital.

The French Communist Party calls on all working people and democrats to support its efforts to achieve an alliance of all working-class and democratic forces on the basis of a common government program, with the perspective of an advanced democracy, opening the way to socialism.

# THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, having analyzed the international situation, considers that it calls for vigilance and for resolute struggle to safeguard world peace.

Faced with the peoples' aspiration to independence and justice and with increasing contradictions, imperialism—first of all U.S. imperialism—tries to overcome its difficulties by following a policy of tension and aggression.

In Vietnam, where it has suffered political and military reverses, it persists in the most brutal of wars. In the Middle East the conflict provoked by the expansionism of the reactionary leaders of Israel threatens to expand. In Europe the ambitions of West German imperialism endanger the security of the peoples of the continent. We are in the presence of an endless race in the most destructive and devastating arms.

The policy of the Gaullist-centrist government, which serves the private objects of French big capital, fits in with this imperialist strategy.

The regime continues to boycott disarmament talks and to build up its nuclear strike force. It is intensifying its cooperation with the ruling militarist circles of Bonn. In Africa, it is pursuing an active neo-colonialist policy.

The fight for peace and national independence remains a task of vital importance. In present conditions there is a danger that a local conflict may expand and culminate in a worldwide conflagration involving the use of nuclear weapons of mass destruction.

The French Communist Party will therefore step up its fight for a French policy of peaceful coexistence, international cooperation, collective security, and aid to the peoples seeking independence and progress.

It calls on the men and women of France:

—to reaffirm their solidarity with the Vietnamese people fighting against the U.S. imperialist aggression and to declare for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of the troops of the United States and its satellites from Vietnamese soil;

—to identify themselves with the Arab peoples and the progressive forces of Israel; to demand the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the areas they have occupied and the fulfilment of the UN

*L'Humanité, September 22, 1969.

resolutions by Israel as a condition for a peaceful settlement of the Mideast conflict;

—to take massive action to force the French government to declare, as have numerous other governments, in favor of a conference of all European countries to establish a system of collective security. The government must also recognize the German Democratic Republic without further delay and establish with it relations of cooperation beneficial to both countries and to peace on the continent;

—to insist that the government renounce the nuclear strike force to which it is sacrificing the well-being of the masses and the security of the nation; that it ratify, on the contrary, the treaties prohibiting nuclear arms tests and banning the proliferation of these arms; that it participate in the disarmament talks in Geneva, where it has assumed the grave responsibility of leaving the seat of France vacant.

In striving for these objectives, the French Communist Party realizes that it is serving the interests of the nation and of peace and is thus putting into effect the appeal of the Moscow Meeting to step up action against imperialism and for peace.

The French Communist Party is ready to join in any initiative likely to further anti-imperialist unity for the great objectives of peace, independence, disarmament and international cooperation defined by the Meeting and serving the interests of all peoples.

The Political Bureau invites all the members and organizations of the Party to work vigorously for a French policy of peace and independence and at the same time to give their active support to the initiatives of the peace movement and those of working-class and democratic organizations.

Paris, September 20, 1969.

# STATEMENT* OF HENRY WINSTON

U.S. imperialism, before the revolution, accounted for 75 per cent of Cuba's imports and 66 2/3 per cent of all her exports.

How to strangle in infancy the greatest event of our time in this hemisphere was the main concern of the U.S. monopolists. They broke off diplomatic and trade relations.

The mass release of revolutionary energy, the unity and creativity established among the people of Cuba, demonstrated what a free people can accomplish.

They found reliable friends in the Soviet Union, other socialist states, and many other countries.

Socialism in Cuba continues developing.

The anti-Cuba policy of U.S. imperialism now includes the blockade. This policy, too, will fail.

Our delegation saw with their own eyes how an entire people is geared to the accomplishment of the main task of realizing within one year 10 million tons of sugar.

Simply put, this means the achievement of 20 billion pounds of sugar in 12 months. That kind of production could give more than six pounds of sugar to each of the three billion humans on this earth.

The enthusiastic fight for this goal grips the people. What this means in terms of Cuba, is helping to lay the foundation for the most rapid development of industry and agriculture, which will be based on the latest scientific techniques, the mass building of housing, schools; in short, an advance on every front.

The story of Camaguey shows concretely the boldness in the planning of construction and the mass undertaking in cadre-training to be able to manage this undertaking.

Just imagine a plan which begins with the daily output of 11,000 liters of milk, to be increased to one million per day. And what then? The creation of a milk-processing plant in which all kinds of dairy products will be developed.

Such is the approach in every field.

Of great beauty is that racist practices ended with imperialism and among the many great lessons of this revolution is the equality established between black, white and mulatto.

The cause of Cuba must become the cause not only of Communists but of all democrats, anti-imperialists and radicals.

*Daily World, August 29, 1969.

The story of Cuba must become known to the millions of our land. The economic blockade must go. This barbarity is the essence of U.S. imperialist policy. The people can and must compel the Nixon administration to put an end to this criminality.

# DIFFERENTIATION IN THE RANKS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The Social-Democratic movement, relations between Communists and Social Democrats, were among the subjects discussed at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in June 1969. It is also dealt with in the document "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces." This is not accidental, for the Meeting sought to give a *realistic picture* of the complex reality of our day in the light of the true Marxist-Leninist theory and, on this basis, to define the general strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement in the interests of the socialist future of mankind. The Social-Democratic movement, its political influence —especially among the industrial workers of many capitalist countries—is a reality which, undoubtedly, must be reckoned with, as also the fact that the Socialist International unites more than 50 parties with 13,000,000 members (however, only 30-35 parties are actually functioning). *Every third Social-Democratic party either heads a government or is a member of a government coalition.* Altogether, the Social-Democratic parties represent over 70 million voters.

The working-class movement, which took shape as an independent trend more than half a century ago, cannot be directed into a single channel just by slogans or a sweeping criticism of Social-Democracy. What is needed is a patient, objective, and at the same time consistent ideological dialogue. Both sides must approach the question seriously and begin to cooperate on both big and small issues.

The present Social-Democratic movement is not a homogeneous one ideologically and politically. In many respects it is a motley conglomerate. Its foundation was laid by *Marx* and *Engels* from sturdy and noble materials. The subsequent "innovatory" additions to the edifice, far from decorating it, blocked the perspective. But the real trouble began when, behind the cover of high-sounding slogans about the need for modernization, for adaptation to the new conditions, the stability and suitability of the very foundation was called in question and the century-old foundation began to be pulled down stone by stone.

And on this shaky foundation rests the present ideological and political edifice of the international Social-Democratic movement. Very different people are under its roof—workers who are members

of the Social-Democratic Party by virtue of family traditions or as members of some trade union; low-paid officials, specialists who feel the brunt of the scientific and technological revolution in capitalist conditions; small and middle capitalists who are under monopoly pressure; adventurers in economics and politics.

Politicians pursuing their selfish ends and jockeying for cushy ministerial jobs, dyed-in-the-wool anti-Communists who consider the people only during election maneuvering, use those well-intentioned and decent people who honestly believe that in the ranks of Social-Democracy they can honorably serve the cause of their class brothers, exploited and oppressed by capitalism.

The picture is therefore a very complex one. Any simplification can only distort or damage it, and, more important still, change the much needed unity of the international labor movement.

The parties participating in the Moscow Meeting, noted with satisfaction that the desire for unity of the parties of the working class and other class organizations has been growing in recent years. The elimination of further obstacles in the way of unity would yield important, concrete results. As the Meeting document says: *"The policy of unity affords the working-class movement greater opportunities in the anti-imperialist struggle and makes it possible to bring into this struggle that section of the proletariat which is still unorganized or still follows bourgeois parties. Communists will improve their political and ideological work with an eye to securing working-class unity."*

What are the main propositions advanced by the Meeting with regard to the Social-Democratic, reformist and subjectivist views of the world?

1. Recent developments—mass strikes, demonstrations and street fighting, the various political movements, etc.—testify to the fact that the struggle of the working class and the working people generally against monopoly capital's policy of oppression is steadily intensifying.

2. "In the citadels of capitalism the working class . . . is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement."

3. The working people, the Main Document of the Meeting further notes, are fighting not only for an improvement of their economic conditions; they are going further afield. "The desire of the working masses to effect a radical change in the economic and social system based on the exploitation of man is growing ever stronger. The big battles of the working class in a number of capitalist countries are undermining the power of the monopolies, intensifying the instability and contradictions of capitalist society. These struggles foreshadow new class battles which could lead to fundamental social change, socialist revolution, and the establish-

ment of the power of the working class in alliance with other segments of the working people."

4. "Recent class battles have struck a blow at the illusions spread by partisans of neo-capitalism and reformism, and have given fresh proof of the basic proposition of Marxism-Leninism."

One of the most deep-rooted illusions and at the same time one of the most serious obstacles in the way to unity is the *theory of class collaboration* current in many Social-Democratic parties of Northern and Western Europe and the corresponding policies. This theory proclaims the possiblity and even the need for peaceful collaboration between the exploited people and the class of monopoly capitalists exploiting them. The Document of the Meeting emphasizes therefore that to advance towards unity, "it is, of course, *necessary* for the Socialist parties and other political organizations favoring socialism resolutely to break with the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and to pursue a policy of effective struggle for peace, democracy and socialism."

In the past decade, the sound forces in the Social-Democratic parties have ever more resolutely opposed petty-bourgeois compromises and deals with monopoly capital at home, and on the international arena, the policy of supporting the ruling imperialist circles. These forces have arrived at the sober conclusion that class collaboration benefits none but monopoly capital, while *the policy of constant compromises drives away from the Social-Democrats the masses of workers and office employees, and especially the young people, who demand radical changes.* A series of telling electoral defeats and the fact that some Social-Democratic parties that had long been in office were forced into the opposition, clearly demonstrated to the more realistically minded Social-Democratic leaders that the policy of rabid anti-communism and opposition to any initiative of the socialist countries, close ties with NATO, was leading to an impasse. That is why in recent years there were a number of cases when individual Social-Democratic parties and even some of their international conferences came out against the aggravation of international tensions and the arms race, denounced the U.S. war against the people of Vietnam. *Sober,* positive replies are coming in from Social-Democratic leaders to the Budapest appeal of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

Many speakers at the Moscow Meeting pointed to the ferment in the Social-Democratic movement, which is also noted in the Main Document: *"A differentiation is taking place in the ranks of Social-Democracy, and this is also reflected in the leadership. Some of the leaders come out in defense of monopoly capital and imperialism. Others are more inclined to reckon with the demands of the working masses in the economic and social fields, and in the questions*

*of the struggle for peace and progress.*" The process of differentiation is also under way in the Social-Democratic dominated wing of the international trade union movement.

We note with satisfaction this process of differentiation and the emergence of more sound political views, but we cannot overlook the fact that in the Socialist International leadership and in many authoritative Social-Democratic parties the voices of the most conservative, rabid anti-Communist circles which are sowing hatred for the socialist countries, are still to be heard. They are trying to exploit the incipient dialogue and the improvement in relations with the socialist countries for their own hostile political ends. They are bent on organizing and inspiring "Social-Democratic revolutionaries" (read: *counter-revolutionaries*) in the socialist countries. They are not only dreaming of putting through such plans, but are actively cooperating with certain institutions in capitalist countries on which score we have reliable information: suffice it to recall their role in the Czechoslovak events of 1968.

The ones who particularly excel in these counter-revolutionary and espionage schemes are the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders who, turning their backs on genuine socialist development, left the socialist countries of Europe more than two decades ago and as the self-styled leaders of the so-called Socialist Union of Middle and Eastern Europe have been living ever since on the handouts of the Socialist International and other organizations. Today many leaders of the Social-Democratic parties realize that *these political "dead souls" are a heavy burden for the International,* that their analysis of relations between the European socialist countries based on subjective premises only harms the Social-Democratic movement, that they only stand to gain if they could get rid of the dead weight.

There are many indications that the Social-Democratic movement is at the crossroads. If it continues to side with the avowed anti-Communists and supporters of the cold war and NATO, it will have to content itself with the minor role of a bourgeois-reformist opposition with a declining influence. But if it is headed by people supporting a dialogue and alliance with the revolutionary working class and championing the interests of millions of working people, it will be able to recover its lofty traditions.

# PEKING'S ADVENTURIST POLICY*

A new eruption of the anti-Soviet campaign has been sweeping China of late. In town squares, at factories and offices and in the armed forces, a wholesale brainwashing is underway to breed hostility towards the Soviet Union, which is allegedly threatening to "make war" on China. The Chinese press is calling for "intensifying hatred" of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which the Maoists call "revisionist" and even "social-imperialist."

The formal pretext for the latest anti-Soviet campaign was the failure of the recent armed provocation organized by the Maoists on the Soviet-Chinese border in the Zhalanashkol area in Semipalatinsk region (the Kazakh SSR).

After the crushing defeat of their armed provocations on the Ussuri, the Peking authorities decided to test the security of the Soviet border in the Kazakhstan mountains (in anticipation of a "victory" the invaders were even equipped with cinecameras). And again the Soviet border guards drove the invaders from Soviet territory.

Acting on the belief that "a lie repeated many times acquires the ring of truth," Peking propaganda is trying to shift the blame for the incident provoked by the Chinese, an incident that had cost the lives of two Soviet border guards and several dozen Chinese soldiers, on the Soviet side, charging it of having "invaded Chinese territory."

Not Soviet border guards but Chinese servicemen crossed the state frontier in the Zhalanashkol area, advanced one kilometre beyond the border, and in reply to the demand of Soviet frontier guards that they leave Soviet territory, opened fire on them. The invaders paid a heavy price for their perfidy. But what do Mao and his heir apparent Lin Pao care about the fate of the men they sent to certain death in the name of unworthy goals!

The latest provocation is a chain in the link of hostile acts by the Peking leaders who persist in their absurd territorial claims in regard to the Soviet Union. They continue deliberately creating tension on different sectors of the Soviet-Chinese frontier and organizing invasions of armed groups, thus creating dangerous situations.

The Soviet stand is well known. The Soviet Union resolutely rejected the territorial claims of the Chinese leadership. The Soviet government statements of March 29 and June 13 convincingly

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*Pravda Editorial, August 28, 1969.

demonstrated the groundlessness of these claims from the standpoint of historical fact and international law. Nor do we lay claim to even a square metre of Chinese territory. Soviet border guards never violate the Chinese border. Therefore, the attempts of the CPR leadership to blame the Soviet Union for the border conflicts are contrary to common sense.

The Soviet government took a number of steps towards normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations and, above all, the border situation. The Soviet government statement of June 13 again proposed concrete measures, which, if adopted, could help achieve this aim. But the CPR Government has not replied to them so far.

The question arises: What is the explanation for such a stand of the CPR leadership? The facts show that border provocations are part of their political line, geared to far-reaching great-power plans. The Maoist provocations are aimed at "injecting new blood" into the hostility campaign against the Soviet Union and at making Soviet-Chinese relations still more complicated. There is much evidence to show that the Chinese leaders resort to such acts in an attempt to find a way out of the political and economic impasse into which they have led the country. The "great leap" policy and its dismal failure, the destruction of the Party and the organs of people's power and the establishment of the terrorist, military-bureaucratic regime of Mao Tse-tung and his entourage in the course of the "cultural revolution" created a situation of political crisis in China and inflicted untold damage on the Chinese economy. The frenzied anti-Soviet campaign is designed therefore to divert the wrath of the people and to poison their minds with chauvinism.

All this testifies to the great-power, chauvinist policy of the present Chinese leadership, who are trying to discredit the Soviet Union and lay the blame at the wrong door by resorting to lies about aggressive Soviet designs with regard to China. They zealously fabricate slanders against the Soviet Union, accusing it of "refusal" to support the revolutionary national liberation struggle of the peoples and "colluding with imperialism." The Maoists hope that in this way they will succeed in establishing Peking's hegemony in the revolutionary movement, increasing their influence in the Third World and securing for the Chinese People's Republic the Status of a "super-power."

The Maoists are outdoing themselves in their anti-Soviet propaganda. They are pouring torrents of filth and maligning the historic achievements and gains of the Soviet people in building socialism and communism. No less viciously are they attacking other socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' parties. The vilest methods have, in a way, become the accepted norm with the Peking propagandists.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in

Moscow was an important stage in strengthening the unity of the Communists of the whole world on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and a signal success for the Communist, working-class and entire liberation movement. Yet the present leadership of the Communist Party of China came out against the Meeting and its documents. The other day *Jenminjihpao* crudely attacked the Meeting, calling it "a black gathering," though it failed to adduce a single argument to disprove any one of the propositions contained in its documents.

The efforts of the Communist and Workers' parties to unite their ranks and strengthen their united action for common aims in the struggle against imperialism, for democracy, national liberation, socialism and peace, are qualified by the Maoists as "revisionist" and as an "anti-Chinese conspiracy." And the Meeting's call for united action in the anti-imperialist struggle is interpreted by Hsinhua agency as a course toward "united action with imperialism."

The Peking leaders say that they do not recognize the socialist community and the Chinese press maintains that its very concept is "an absurd theory of the revisionists." Not content to abuse the community of socialist states and the Warsaw Treaty organization, the Maoists are trying to divide the socialist countries and, above all, to undermine their friendship with the USSR. This is illustrated by their attitude towards the Czechoslovak events.

The Peking propagandists kept silent when the anti-socialist forces in Czechoslovakia, supported and egged on by the imperialists, tried to pry the CSR away from the socialist community and rob its people of their revolutionary gains, thereby showing complete disregard for the destiny of socialism. Obviously, Peking counted on a victory of the anti-socialist forces in Czechoslovakia and came out openly in their defense. The Maoists are anything but happy over the decisions of the April and May meetings of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Party which mapped out a program for the consolidation of the position of socialism in Czechoslovakia and a further strengthening of fraternal relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. *Rude Pravo* wrote on this score that, pursuing their own aims alien to the interests of the Czechoslovak people, the Peking authorities are trying to sow discord between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Of late, acting in unison with the Washington hawks and Bonn revanchists, the Maoists have been urging the anti-socialist forces in Czechoslovakia "to rise in struggle" against the Party and state leadership of the CSR and against the socialist community.

The Chinese leaders are calling for struggle against the Warsaw Treaty, a reliable instrument of defending socialism and an impregnable power in the struggle against imperialism's aggressive designs. Peking has in fact stopped criticizing the aggressive NATO

and other imperialist military blocs. At the same time, the Peking leaders call on the socialist states to renounce their close economic cooperation in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The Peking leaders are pursuing a dangerous, recklessly adventurist policy on the issues of war and peace, which has a bearing on the destiny of all the peoples of the world, acting actually hand in glove with the most aggressive imperialist circles.

In its documents the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties defined the urgent tasks in the struggle of all revolutionary forces of our planet against imperialism and the danger of another world war, which, should it come, would be a disastrous calamity for mankind. The Meeting called on all peoples, all men, irrespective of their convictions and political views, to act jointly in defense of peace.

The foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state fully conforms to the line jointly elaborated by the Communist and Workers' parties. The Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, expressing the will of the Soviet people, unanimously approved the foreign policy and practical steps of the Soviet government, aimed at providing, jointly with the other socialist countries, favorable conditions for building socialism and communism. It is oriented on strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and their friendship, supporting the national liberation movement and promoting all-round cooperation with the young developing states. It is its purpose, too, to repulse imperialist aggression and promote peace and the security of the nations.

The Soviet Union calls on all countries to awake to their responsibility to mankind and to search for the ways and means of promoting peace and security.

The Soviet Union's constructive proposals designed to ensure collective security in Europe and an arms reduction, to halt the armaments drive leading to the production of ever more destructive means of attack and counter-attack, to secure the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and to establish a collective security system in Asia have evoked a wide response throughout the world. But Peking has its own views on the Soviet proposals. Thus *Jenminjihpao* completely denies the possibility of solving by peaceful negotiations such burning issues of international relations as collective security, disarmament, political settlement in Vietnam and the Middle East. "All these so-called negotiations," writes this paper, "undermine and suppress the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations, constituting an encroachment on the independence and sovereignty of other countries and a threat to their security."

The Maoists will not hear of any relaxation of tensions. More

than that, whenever acute international crises develop, they act as abettors, urging the peoples to solve all problems "with the help of the gun."

Recently, Mao Tse-tung enunciated another "thought," which essentially repeats his favorite thesis about the "inevitability" of war. Setting forth this thought of the "great helmsman," *Tsefanjihpao* writes: "The proletariat cannot do without a war. War is inevitable. The Second World War began 22 years after the end of the First World War. Twenty-three years have passed since the Second World War ended, and we can smell powder in the air."

The Maoists' incendiary calls are accompanied by further militarization, increased war preparations and war hysteria. The Chinese leaders urge the population "to be prepared for hunger and war." And *Kuanminjihpao* writes that preparations should be made for war against the Soviet Union, a "war involving both conventional and atomic weapons."

These monstrous calls are a direct expression of the course hostile to socialism and peace formulated as the official state and Party policy at the 9th Congress of the CPC. At the Congress, the Maoists proclaimed their aim of "fighting to the end" against the CPSU and the Soviet Union, and other fraternal parties and socialist countries. The new Rules of the CPC speak about the need to fight for the "overthrow of the revisionist system" established in the USSR and other socialist countries.

The frenzied attacks of the present Chinese leadership on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on the international Communist movement, reveal the depth of the political degradation of the Maoists, who, having broken with Marxism-Leninism, only speak of struggle against imperialism, while helping the sinister forces of imperialist reaction.

This explains why the monopoly press supports Peking propaganda and action against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against all revolutionary anti-imperialist forces.

The Western bourgeois press gives extensive coverage to Soviet-Chinese relations. Representing aggressive imperialist circles, it gloats over and encourages the anti-Soviet psychosis of the Maoists and their provocations on the Soviet-Chinese border. The imperialists would like nothing better than to turn the political and ideological front opened by Mao Tse-tung in the struggle against socialism and all revolutionary forces of today, into a military front.

Here, in effect, is what the *New York Daily News* said of the anti-Soviet provocations engineered by the Chinese authorities: It is hard to think of anything more encouraging for the non-communist world than the prospect of battle in the Red camp. The paper as much as prompts Mao to waste no time and to strike out. And it advises the U.S. government to goad Red China into fighting Red

Russia, exploiting the Maoists' hostility to socialism in redoubling its own pressure on the Soviet Union.

To be sure, it is a long way between the Maoists' designs and raucous threats against the Soviet Union and the actual resources for realizing them. Any attempt at encroaching on the border of our country will be resolutely rebuffed. The Soviet Union is quite strong enough to stand up for itself. The Soviet armed forces are a reliable shield for the constructive labor of the builders of communism. Loyal to the Leninist ideas of socialist patriotism and internationalism, our people are not afraid of anyone's threats.

But the Peking leaders' adventurism, the atmosphere of war psychosis fanned by them, complicates the entire international situation. This method of threat, browbeating and provocation in relation to the socialist and the developing countries, their endeavors to exacerbate the international tensions, flirting with the reactionary imperialist forces, and their calls for war, not for peace, arouse legitimate concern among many peoples and states. Many countries, and not only those bordering on China, are apprehensive of Peking's expansionist designs. Its stockpile of arms is growing. And in the present conditions, what with the existing techniques, lethal weapons and means of delivery, the war, if it comes, would engulf all continents.

The Communists, the working people of the socialist countries and progressive public opinion in the world condemn the dangerous provocations of the Mao group, which is undermining the principles of peaceful coexistence and opposing the solution of the key problems of today. Incidentally, the more sober representatives of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries express grave concern over the dangers to peace implicit in the Chinese leadership's policy.

Having embarked on the anti-Leninist, anti-popular path of struggle against the Soviet Union and the socialist community, against the international Communist and national liberation movement, having embarked on the path of pandering to imperialism, Mao Tse-tung and his entourage are putting China into a state of deep isolation, counterposing it to all the revolutionary forces of the world and endangering the socialist achievements of the people of China.

The Chinese leaders cannot achieve their aims along this disastrous road, they can only cause for the people of China new trials and defeats. This policy has no future, and it is rightly exposed and condemned by the fraternal socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties.

The other and the only correct road to follow is one of restoring China's position as a socialist state acting on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the road of restoring friendship with all socialist countries. Only in this way can

the Chinese People's Republic regain the reputation it enjoyed among the Communists and progressives throughout the world.

The Soviet Union never had, nor has, any intention of aggravating relations with the Chinese People's Republic. The present situation is contrary to the vital interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples, and to the entire history of relations between them, which has always been characterized by close ties and friendship.

The Soviet Union believes that, given good will, it is possible and necessary to create conditions guaranteeing normal relations between the USSR and the CPR. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government have repeatedly expressed their readiness to meet with Chinese leaders and discuss the problems of normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations, the pertinent problems of principle, the problems of trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation. This would be in the interest of the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

Addressing the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Our policy with regard to China is consistent and based on principle. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government chart their policy on the long-term perspective. We are conscious of the fact that the basic interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples coincide. We have always persevered and will continue to persevere in our efforts to keep alive the friendly feelings which exist among the Soviet people for the fraternal Chinese people, and we are certain that the Chinese people, too, have the same feelings towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries."

The Soviet people, who have gone through severe trials in the fight against the sinister forces of reaction, who have upheld their freedom and independence in battles against the enemies of socialism and helped to achieve the national and social liberation of a number of countries, including China, are deeply aware of their role and responsibility for the destinies of peace and socialism. They are united in supporting the Leninist course of their Communist Party and the Soviet state, which are near and dear to them. Any attempt to speak the language of arms with the Soviet Union or to encroach on the interests of the Soviet people who are building communism, will be firmly repulsed.

No one should forget this. And that goes for those in Peking as well.

# A PEACE IMPOSED BY THE OAS

## DOCUMENT* OF THE PC CC, CP OF HONDURAS

The brief undeclared war imposed on us by the Salvadoran government laid waste numerous villages. Thousands of families are gripped by pain and sorrow and resentment, and it will be long before these sentiments dissipate.

The event merits an earnest analysis on our part. However, this task will require time and an objective, unprejudiced study of various opinions.

The press and radio have already dealt at length with the reasons which prompted the Salvadoran government to mount its aggression.

We think the feudal oligarchy of El Salvador was the main inspirer of the war of aggression against Honduras and so the reasons given seem right. Still we see the main reason for the aggression in the needs of the Central American Common Market and the role in the integration process assigned by the U.S. imperialists to Honduras and the Salvadoran bourgeoisie. We think this is the only reason for the CIA's active part in the preparations for the aggression and in the pressure subsequently brought to bear on some delegations, as well as the maneuvers behind the scenes which resulted in the 13th Consultative Meeting of the Organization of American States, a regional agency totally lacking prestige, imposing peace on Honduras.

We Communists are often said to have contracted an irresistible habit of blaming all our troubles on the U.S. imperialists. Today only an ignoramus would fail to see the hand that guided the Salvadoran soldiery in their insensate attempt to seize our territory. No sensible person who knows anything about the role of Col. José Alberto Medrano, coordinator of El Salvador's intelligence service and a CIA strong man, can deny that the colonel's blitzkrieg was approved by the CIA and that he enjoyed that agency's political backing for his fascist-like plans. In fact, we maintain that the U.S. military mission in Honduras was posted on these plans.

We are certain that the CIA—which often acts over the head of the State Department if it thinks this essential to the interests of the U.S. financial oligarchy—found the situation opportune to approve plans for dismembering our country and "endorsed" the treacherous attack on our soil on July 14, 1969.

The high command of the Salvadoran army, like so many con-

*Abridged.

querors before it, overrated its forces and underrated our courageous people's will for resistance.

We know of the severe conditions in which the Honduran troops had to resist a well-armed and numerically superior enemy who had seized the initiative.

We also know our shortcomings and the relative weakness of our country, drawbacks compensated for by only the bravery of the rank and file and young officers, who showed a high sense of duty as they fought against heavy odds. It would be unfair of us not to pay homage to the memory of those who fell defending our country. The principle of internationalism, which we will never abandon, does not rule out the lofty idea of native country nor national pride in its every manifestation. We affirm, therefore, that while the revolution is international in content it must be national in form.

The Honduran troops did not defeat the enemy. But our military victory lies no doubt in the frustration of the enemy's strategic objectives and hence in the prevention of the dismemberment of our national territory. This is the duty of every Honduran to his fellow-countrymen, civilians and servicemen alike, who honorably did their duty by preserving our ancestors' heritage at the price of their own lives.

Our people as a whole, irrespective of party affiliation or ideological differences, were quick to realize that the war imposed on them was equally dangerous to all because the enemy made no secret of his plan to infringe our territorial integrity and add the tyranny of the Salvardoan oligarchy to the oppression of our country by the U.S. Instinctively our people realized that the army, an instrument keeping the Salvadoran people down, could bring us nothing good and that democratization of every aspect of our political and social life could not come on the bayonets and bloodstained boots of the mercenaries of the "merited" National Guards, as they have been called ever since the 1932 massacre of over 30,000 peasants and workers.

Our people also realized the complete inability of our outmoded political and social institutions to cope with the formidable tasks that arose in that dramatic situation. The inexhaustible creative energy of the masses produced civic committees in defense of sovereignty. These committees became the most powerful factor on the home front, the best and most zealous guardians of law and order, the best supply centers entrusted with foiling eventual acts of subversion. Ever since they were set up, these committees have faithfully expressed the people's will. Thanks to their composition they have been an inexhaustible reserve for the armed forces, which is so indispensable not only to defeating a stubborn and treacherous enemy but to safeguarding the country against

another surprise attack. Hence the need to put these committees on a permanent footing if with certain modifications of their present form, to extend their program and enable them fully to participate in the solution of problems of vital importance to society. Committee members should realize that the defense of sovereignty is not restricted to the defense of territorial integrity and that there are other forms of aggression threatening our country.

We believe we are speaking for everyone if we say that these committees are the most vivid embodiment of national unity. By extending their objectives, it is possible to guarantee in some measure the permanent character of this unity and pave the way for democratizing our political and social life. Furthermore, prospects are opening up for such pressing measures as radical enforcement of the agrarian reform law, failing which none of the historical tasks facing our people can be accomplished.

Honduras cannot be strong without the moral unity of its people, which will materialize only if the social rights and liberties of the individual are fully respected regardless of ideological differences. Every abuse of authority and every excess on the part of the rulers will damage the foundations of this unity, which should center on the working class in close alliance with the mass of our courageous selfless peasantry.

What we say is not new. We hear it from many people. We note that in those few days our people realized what they had not known for years. They realized that their fate is in their own hands and that as far as guaranteeing our existence is concerned, we cannot rely on anyone's benevolence.

Thus a home policy making the nation's economic progress conditional on U.S. handouts is necessarily matched by a foreign policy making highly important national interests dependent on regional agencies which the U.S. imperialists have set up the better to promote their own interests.

Our whole people are learning from their painful experience. From the very beginning of the conflict we considered that the UN Security Council was best equipped to curb the aggression and denounce that disgraceful act on a world scale. The Security Council would have brought in a verdict of guilty against the Salvadoran government, which we accused of aggression. Its verdict would have been invaluable. The injunction to clear the occupied territory would have been more emphatic and explicit, and clearer to the Salvadoran people. It would have enabled us lawfully to claim indemnity because it was we, the Hondurans, who were attacked, because the hostilities took place on *our* soil and because it was we who suffered the greatest casualties and material losses.

Why did it not come to that? There must have been several reasons for this, including the serious compromises made by the

government under Lopez Arellano with the U.S. imperialists and the existing balance of forces, which compelled the Foreign Ministry of Honduras to have recourse to an agency as discredited and compromised as the OAS.

At first the balance of forces was unfavorable to Honduras. But we believe that national unity and other decisive factors would eventually have helped us win the war. Of course, this would have necessitated our discarding all illusions about the conduct of the U.S. government. The imperialists are prompted by interests and not sentiments. There is no room for sentiments when imperialist interests are at stake.

It took us much effort to win on the external propaganda front, for we had to refute an assortment of falsehoods and calumnies skilfully prepared by the Salvadoran government. In this infamous affair, Salvador was helped by the U.S. press, which presented us as disorderly "scum" manhandling Salvadoran immigrants over a lost football game.

Unfortunately, unity of objectives could not be achieved after all in other fields, specifically in evolving a firm foreign policy that would earn us respect. Spontaneity set the tune for every move of the government. The terrible charge of "genocide" flung at our country by the Salvadoran government to justify the aggression could hardly have been refuted by the Lopez Arellano government, which international organizations have repeatedly condemned for violating human rights. Some explanatory work was done by Honduran exiles.

It is also important to note that the Salvadoran government tried to justify the attack by arguing that it had to "protect the lives and property of compatriots" allegedly threatened by the Honduran people. The U.S. government has used this device more than once to justify its intervention in Latin American countries. The events of Santo Domingo are fresh in everyone's memory and it is a historical fact that the White House left one U.S. citizen in the Dominican Republic to be able afterwards to "protect" him with the aid of 42,000 Marines. Then as now, that "respectable strumpet," as the OAS is called, began to maneuver, to hold talks behind closed doors to give arbitrary acts a semblance of legality and to authorize another encroachment on the freedom of our peoples.

Most Hondurans imagined that the OAS would honestly take severe measures against the aggressor. They forgot that this agency is a U.S. tool in Latin America and that the U.S. imperialists, having brought our economy under their full control, were for the dismemberment of our country in favor of El Salvador, their strongest economic partner in Central America.

To understand the main trends of U.S. policy on the Isthmus, one should remember that in view of the amount of U.S. investments

in "mixed" companies Salvador has been assigned the role of "industrial base" of the integration machinery of the Central American Common Market while Honduras, an underdeveloped country, must content itself with the role of agricultural appendage supplying consumer goods. As the attempt to dismember our country failed, the U.S. was compelled to stand up for the Salvadoran government, its arrogant and aggressive partner.

Every effort was made to exert influence and pressure. Recourse was even had to the services of the foreign ministers of Central American countries and of Galo Plaza, the honey-tongued agent of the U.S. State Department.

The agreement reached is not unconditional. We have made ambiguous compromises which the governments of Honduras and El Salvador interpret differently. In short, the seeds of new clashes that may sprout before long and eventually lead to a still more brutal war which will perhaps settle the issue of our territorial integrity for good are already there. We can reaffirm our independence only by preparing adequately for this new trial. Never before has the problem of national defense been linked with revolutionary tasks as closely as today. Every sphere of our life needs to be reshaped.

We must not delude ourselves, for the problems which were used as a pretext for the conflict are still unsolved. This means that at any moment we may find ourselves in an emergency due to a new and better planned attack. And it is not unlikely that next time we will be more isolated than now.

In view of this outlook, we propose, among other things, the following measures:

(a) In the ecnomic field, the need is for a thorough revision of the legal bodies controlling the Central American Common Market, or for its replacement by bilateral agreements granting no privileges to either side. While our trade balance outside the Common Market is favorable, this is not to say that we are in the same position inside the Market, for we constantly exchange our raw materials, chiefly grain, for half-finished products. Owing to unequal trade on these lines, the foreign exchange we acquire outside the Market ends up in the pockets of the shareholders of the manufacturing industry (or allegedly Central American enterprises) strongly influenced by foreign capital. In other words, the situation is such that the greater part of what we obtain so strenuously outside the Central American market by sacrificing our resources goes to El Salvador.

(b) However, external measures cannot solve the economic problem unless the economic and social structures of our country are completely recast. We need a deep-going agrarian reform if we want to develop the home market, so that it may unite the country and give the masses a share in trade. This reform has been promised

but not carried out. It cannot be effected bureaucratically but only with the active participation of the peasants operating through their organizations, and with agrarian courts in the first instance ruling whether or not the reform shall extend to this or that land.

(c) Our foreign trade must be diversified. This is a requirement of our internal evolution and is being widely discussed by our exporters.

(d) In the political sphere, we consider that the maintenance of national unity is a requisite for holding our ground against all aggression from without. But this unity is impossible without completely democratizing our political and social life. We realize that the state can be democratized only through radical changes in the class composition of the state apparatus. But we also realize that qualitative changes are a result of the gradual accumulation of small, all but imperceptible quantitative changes and can come about only in definite conditions which are lacking in Honduras.

(e) Our foreign policy should have definite objectives. It is high time we stopped identifying our interests with those of the U.S. State Department. At this stage of history, this policy ceases to be ingenuous and becomes stupid. Small countries like ours should frame their foreign policy on the principle of self-determination, which rules out foreign interference.

We should be at once circumspect and realistic. We should look for friends or allies in every latitude and every meridian and not act as an unthinking voting machine at international conferences. We should follow a policy of friendship and respect for other countries regardless of their social systems.

We think the best time to specify our frontiers with El Salvador is now. It is time openly to state our territorial rights and to call a halt to procrastination and verbiage that can only give rise to new problems.

(f) Victory is not achieved on the battlefield alone. War brings out the power of the whole country. Its outcome depends on numerous economic, political, social and moral factors. But there can be no doubt that the outcome of a war is decided on the battlefield. Hence the necessity for a strong army commanding respect for us and capable of beating off any aggressor. In our poor, economically backward country this is possible only if there is a people's army, one that is not a coercive machinery weighing heavily on the people. We need a modern army serving as the backbone in the event of general mobilization and knowing how to use the latest arms. Some suggest introducing universal military service.

This is hardly possible in our economic conditions. We think it would be more workable to form properly armed people's reserve units under well-trained leaders. They should be subordinated to the General Staff and should be formed on a voluntary basis.

(g) Lastly, the government should take drastic steps to end abuses and corruption in the government apparatus and the armed forces.

We are confident that these and other measures, promoted by developments, will promote reorganization on a nationwide scale and help to stave off the new threats to our country. This is the only way to dispense with foreign aid and stop pinning hopes ever again on the OAS, which the facts have shown to be an instrument serving the interests of our enemies.

*Political Commission of the CC, CP of Honduras*

Honduras, August 7, 1969.

# MY ROAD TO LENINISM*

## HO CHI MINH

After the First World War I made a living as a retoucher at a photographer's and as an artist in a shop dealing in old Chinese paintings. The rest of my time I spent distributing leaflets condemning the French colonialists' crimes in Vietnam.

At that time I welcomed the October Revolution only instinctively. I had yet to realize the tremendous historic importance of the event. I admired Lenin as a great patriot who had liberated his country, but I had not yet read him.

I joined the French Socialist Party because those "ladies and gentlemen," as members used to address each other, said they were sympathetic to me and the fight of the subjugated peoples. I knew nothing about party or trade union organization, nor did I know what socialism or communism stands for.

In those days the branch organizations of the Socialist Party were engaged in a lively debate on whether the Party should remain in the Second International, found a "2½ International" or join Lenin's Third International. Twice or three times a week I attended branch meetings and followed the debate with keen attention. I did not understand everything at first. I wondered why discussion was so heated. My impression was that one could carry out the revolution equally well with the Second, "2½" or Third International. I wondered about the reason for the controversies. Just what had become of the First International?

What interested me above all else and what nobody ever spoke about in specific terms at those meetings was: which of the Internationals was willing to champion the cause of the subjugated peoples?

I asked that question—the most important in my view—at one of the meetings. Some comrades replied: "The Third International, but not the Second." One of them lent me Lenin's "Theses on the National Question," published in *Humanité*.

I found Lenin's terminology difficult but after re-reading him I grasped the more important propositions. The élan, the enthusiasm, the confidence they aroused in me! The insight I gained into all interconnections! I was stunned, and I exclaimed as if addressing a large audience: "Why, comrades, this is just what we need, it shows us the way to liberation!"

*Article contributed on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth, April 1960. Reprinted by **Volkstimme**, September 5, 1969.

From then on I always believed in Lenin and the Third International.

Formerly I had closely followed discussion in branch organizations but had never been able to tell right from wrong. But now I took an active part in the debates. True, my French did not yet enable me fully to express my ideas, but I emphatically rejected all accusations against Lenin and the Third International. My constant argument was: "Since you don't condemn colonialism nor declare in support of the subjugated peoples, what are the aims of your revolution?"

I did not attend branch meetings in my district alone but stated my "position" at meetings elsewhere. I take this opportunity to thank Marcel Cachin, Vaillant-Couturier, Monmousseau and many other comrades for their help in extending my knowledge. Finally, at the Tours congress, I voted with them for joining the Third International.

Initially it was my patriotism and not my communism that led me to Lenin and the Third International. Afterwards, as I carefully studied Marxism-Leninism, gaining practical experience at the same time, I came step by step to the conclusion that socialism and communism alone can free the subjugated nations and working people all over the world from slavery.

The Vietnamese and Chinese have a legend about the miraculous "book of wisdom." It says that anyone who encounters a big difficulty on his path has only to open that book to find a way out. Leninism in something more than a miraculous "book of wisdom," it is a guide for us Vietnamese revolutionaries and our people. Leninism is a shining sun illuminating our road to victory, our road to socialism and communism.

# LENIN AND TODAY'S PROBLEMS IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT*

TIM BUCK

Progressive activists in the trade union movement have to look further and further afield today in their search for answers to the many new questions which crop up, literally day by day. Gone are the days when it was enough to be: "Agin collaboration with the bosses." That is still the starting line of course but life and growth, and some progress, are teaching the members in general to ask the militants: "What would you do?" This is progress, provided that militants have logical, considered answers.

Rank and file members who are interested in their future in the industry and therefore, the future of their union, are concerned about the new forms and methods by which killing speed-up is imposed upon workers ruthlessly. Whether the speedup is intensified within the terms of the contract, by means which are marginal, or in open defiance of the spirit of the Collective Agreement, its effect on its victims is the same—physical and emotional exhaustion and earlier wearing out of his or her competitive efficiency. It has got to be stopped. It should be made subject to union agreement now, as the first step towards complete union control.

Progressive activists must learn better how to explain properly the relationship that should be established between the new, high, and still rising, rate of the increase of productivity, and wage increases. The issue here is more than dollars alone, it is real purchasing power now; and security in the future. This problem is of vital importance to the people of this country as a whole, as well as to the workers whose wage increase is being decided. The rapid increase in productivity per man-hour is the main source of the fabulous growth of the national product as a whole, as well as profits. The more that is produced the more there is to be consumed. The workers, through the trade union movement must win not only the moral right but *the power*, to decide how the value of their products is to be used to the best advantage of themselves and society. This is one of the reasons why the demands for "A Guaranteed Minimum Annual Wage" and the necessity for adequate

*The Canadian Tribune, August 27, 1969.

pensions at earlier retirement, are both being studied by capitalist economists. They realize that these changes *must* come. They are working now to learn how to combine them with even bigger profits for the capitalist class.

These are only examples of a number of problems that are developing and which cannot be ducked. Leaderships must not be allowed to try to duck them. Indeed, in the long run, the spirit in which the trade unions meet their challenge will determine whether they continue to command the loyalty of the most advanced sections of the working class.

Almost any one of the tens of thousands of workers who are on strike this Labor Day, or have been on strike this year—in Hamilton, the Soo, Sudbury, British Columbia or wherever—could add a half dozen other immediate problems to these that I have noted. There are some which are of universal significance that I did not include among my examples, such as the necessity to fight for union control over the introduction of automation, the sharpening problem of inflation, etc. The reason is that my assignment in this article is not to try to list all the questions that bug union militants, but to dig a bit deeper into that other question; namely, "How Do We Equip Ourselves To Give Correct Guidance To Forward-Looking Members Of The Trade Union Movement?" This explains our title.

Lenin was one of the first, if not the very first, to study in detail the basis of trade unionism and its essence. His published works include 800 pages dealing with the trade union movement and trade union problems. We couldn't possibly do justice to all of that in this article. For that one must read him. We shall indicate here some of the features of the trade union movement about which we can learn a lot from him.

Lenin pointed out as far back as in 1903 the three following special and basic characteristics of trade unions under capitalism:

(a) They are established and become consolidated as the organizational embodiment of the determination of the workers on a job, in a plant, or an industry, to defend their common interests against the depredations or attempted depredations of their employers.

(b) Their basis is the common self-interest of the workers involved. Their members include workers of all political opinions and all religious faiths. They are, as he pointed out, the basic mass organizations of the working class.

(c) As a result of social development and in spite of the many different political opinions of their members, trade unions and the trade union movement as a whole, become a battleground of ideas; the ultimate difference of which is: "Acceptance of the capitalist profit system and thereby betrayal of the long-term interests of the working class, versus abolition of the capitalist profit system and, thereby, the rule of the capitalist class." Lenin emphasized

that, fundamentally, this choice *has* to be made because there is no third way. Thus, the trade union movement is a school, in which life provides the curriculum and the teachers emerge out of the membership. That's why he wrote that: "The trade unions were a tremendous step forward for the working class . . . they marked a transition from the workers' disunity and helplessness to the rudiments of class organization."

Lenin distinguished between the *basis* of trade unionism and the *motive force* which enables it to develop under capitalism. Its motive force is the class struggle. It seems at first that there is a contradiction between this and their non-ideological basis, but that is life. Even those unionists who, personally, would like to exclude themselves from the class struggle or even deny that there is such an animal, are involved in it by their union membership—sometimes very actively, like if they vote to reject an offer from the boss or do picket duty.

The class struggle is a political struggle. The tremendous distance that our unions in Canada have advanced in the last 40 years is shown, strikingly, in the political level of the demands that are being fought for today compared with the level of the demands, or defensive actions, which characterized the movement 40 years ago. This is why the present stage of development is such an immediate challenge to militants in the trade union movement.

Lenin emphasized always the necessity "to support and to develop in every way the economic struggle of the workers and their trade unions from the very outset." But, he fought against Reformism in the trade union movement as the form in which capitalist ideology sinks its roots in the working class. He pointed out long ago that the need to combine these two forms of activity is one of the great problems of militant trade unionism.

Revolutionary workers must be distinguished by the fact that they are always in the front rank of the struggle for needed reforms, be they better toilet facilities or higher pensions. At the same time they must be distinguished by the fact that they tell their fellow workers frankly that reforms alone are not enough. That the evil, dehumanizing, effects of capitalist exploitation can be eliminated *only* by eliminating capitalist exploitation. Furthermore, militants have to show their fellow workers that, to set the sights of their union on the job of abolishing the capitalist ownership of industry, will not weaken the union's fight for wages and other needed reforms; on the contrary, it will strengthen it as nothing else can.

The value of the guidance to be gained by reading Lenin's writings today increases as the conditions of our struggle mature. This is illustrated by the contrast, between the manner in which Lenin

studied every crisis as it developed to find that feature of it, or contradiction within it, which could be utilized to open a path for working class advance and the despairing pessimism of non-Leninist intellectuals. For example: at the Lake Couchiching Conference a week ago, professor Thomson of York University told his audience, according to newspaper report:

"We have reached the end of what we know as civilization. Disaster will be on all fronts—social, moral, political, scientific, ecological."

I sympathize wholeheartedly with professor Thomson's concern for the decay of capitalist civilization, and its crisis. I must say, however, that this doctrine of despair is, objectively, anti-working class. Forward-looking workers will choose rather to be guided by the judgment of Lenin, as he expressed it in 1921:

" . . . there are now two worlds: the old world of capitalism that is in a state of confusion but which will never surrender voluntarily, and the rising new world, which is still very weak, but which will grow, for it is invincible." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 150.)

It is the proud task of union militants to make that spirit of revolutionary confidence the keynote of trade union policy also.

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

**August-September 1969**

## COLOMBIA

*Mid-August.* The Bucaramanga organization of the Communist Youth League met to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth. Numerous young Colombians were issued CYL membership cards, and organizations which had done well in the revolutionary youth movement were awarded prizes.

The Social Research Center of the Independent Latin American University in Medellin held a seminar on Lenin's life and work.

## CANADA

In *August* the *Canadian Tribune* carried an article by William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party, saying that the U.S. arms race and U.S. aggression in Vietnam were the main reason for the inflation in Canada and other capitalist countries. Inflation would persist as long as the U.S. kept up its arms race and aggression. As for the government's measures against inflation, it was a fact that prices in Canada in the past few years had shown a five percent increase per year—a direct result of Canada's involvement in the U.S. arms race and the U.S.-controlled military blocs, NORAD and NATO. It followed that inflation and foreign policy were closely interconnected. State monopoly regulation could not guarantee economic stability nor steady progress according to plan. The government had declared its resolve to provide jobs for everyone and fix stable prices, but it could not accomplish these tasks by following a capitalist policy. A government protecting monopoly interests could not protect the interests of the Canadian people.

## CHILE

*August.* The Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CC, CP of Chile held a series of lectures in northern Chile on the following subjects: "Lenin: His Life and Work," "Lenin's Unshakable Doctrine," "Lenin and the Liberation Struggle in Latin America" and "Leninism and the World Communist Movement."

Staff members of the Institute, leaders of local organizations of the CPC and lecturers from the universities of Santiago and Valparaiso addressed large audiences in Antofagasta, Arica and Iquique.

## URUGUAY

The CP of Uruguay announced a recruitment campaign which is expected to bring thousands of people active in the labor and democratic movement into the Party. It will last one year and will start on the 49th anniversary of the CPU. The Lenin centenary and the CPU jubilee will be outstanding landmarks of the campaign, according to a *Popular* report of *August 25*. The steady growth of the Party's membership and influence was the chief political development in the country. Recently thousands of Uruguayans joined the Party, the leading force of the Left-wing movement. The current admission campaign had been named after the great Lenin.

## ITALY

*Late August.* The exchange of Party cards was continuing all over Italy. As of August 25, Communists in Italy numbered 1,478,364, of whom 3,814 had been admitted between August 6-25, *(Unita.)*

## JAPAN

*August 29.* The CC of the Socialist Party of Japan, the country's biggest opposition party, met in Tokyo. Reporting on the activities of the Party, Tomomi Narita, its Chairman, said the Party planned to campaign against prolongation of the Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty, due to expire in 1970.

## ARGENTINA

*Early August.* A national meeting of Communist propagandists stressed that the progressive organizations of Argentina were preparing to study and publicize Leninism under the Lenin centenary program.

The meeting emphasized the need to step up educational activity and to use for the purpose documents of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party and the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties and Lenin's writings. *(Nuestra Palabra.)*

## NEPAL

*Late August.* A committee of 51 for the celebration of the Lenin centenary was set up in Dharan, southeastern Nepal. It is composed of intellectuals, leaders of mass organizations and people prominent in the local branch of the Nepalese-Soviet Friendship Society.

## BRITAIN

Belfast, *August 31.* The CP of Northern Ireland blamed the government of Northern Ireland for the outbreak of organized violence

against part of the population as a result of which thousands had lost their homes and many had been killed or wounded.

The CPNI insisted on early changes in the state security system, including reorganization of the Ulster police to turn it into a genuinely civic police force, on repealing the law of special powers and on a general amnesty for all who had defended their lives and homes during the recent clashes.

Until these steps were taken the people of Northern Ireland could not believe in law and order nor trust those who enforced the law.

## CHILE

*September 1.* The working people of Chile commemorated the 29th anniversary of the first issue of *Siglo,* the CP newspaper. The leading article, commenting on the anniversary, pointed out that *Siglo* had from the first been in the front line of the Chilean people's fight against the exploiters, for national liberation. The reactionaries had repeatedly tried to silence the workers' paper by raiding its premises, confiscating various issues or banning the paper for months or even years. But the paper had reappeared under a new title or in leaflet form, and had continued to bring the truth to the workers and other working people and to call on them to fight the oppressors.

## VENEZUELA

*September 1.* Numerous inhabitants of Caracas, including trade unionists, attended in Cantaclaro Hall the inauguration of a Lenin exhibition sponsored by the Communist Party. Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the CP, stressed in his opening speech that Lenin's teachings had become a powerful weapon for liberating the oppressed. He said Lenin lived on in the people's fight for deliverance from exploitation by U.S. imperialism.

## SOVIET UNION

*September 2.* M. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, and K. Bagdash, General Secretary of the Syrian CP on vacation in the Soviet Union, met to exchange information on the activities of their respective parties and discuss matters of mutual interest. *(Pravda.)*

## U S A

*September 2. The Daily World* hailed the 50th anniversary of the CPUSA in an editorial entitled "First Half-Century, CP USA."

"It was fitting," it said, "that Labor Day, September 1, 1969 also

marked another truly red-letter day in the inspiring history of the American working class—the birth, half a century ago, of the Communist Party USA . . .

"The USA, beginning with 1776, has been the battleground for many parties and movements in the search for freedom. The Communist Party grew out of such giant struggles and native movements . . .

"Tragically, most Americans have never encountered the true history of the Communists, only a distorted, unrecognizable version cooked up by those it opposes—the reigning capitalists. These anti-Communists lead the list of the world's exploiters of labor, the oppressors of the colored peoples here and in the semi-colonial and colonial reaches of the world. These imperialists would solve problems by the slaughter of men in war.

"We suggest it would be profitable to all truth-seeking Americans to learn the true history of the Communists, their contributions in the advance of labor's rights, in the struggle of the 25 million black Americans, in the great movement for peace . . ."

## SOVIET UNION

*September 3-22.* A delegation of the Réunion CP led by Paul Vergès, General Secretary of the Party, stayed in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CC CPSU.

The Réunion comrades acquainted themselves with the experience of the host Party in organizing and political work.

On September 22, the Réunion delegation was receivel by B. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC CPSU.

During the interview, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, members of the delegation told about the struggle of the Communists and people of Réunion against colonialism, for recognition of the people's right to self-determination. They voiced their admiration at the progress made by the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU in building the material and technical base of communist society and stressed that this progress was an important contribution to the anti-imperialist movement as a whole.

The Soviet comrades reaffirmed their Party's solidarity with the Réunion Communists who were seeking respect for the national interests and democratic rights of their people.

In keeping with the call of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the two parties expressed a desire to work for closer unity of the world Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces. They reaffirmed their full support for the courageous people of Vietnam fighting against the U.S. aggression, for the freedom and independence of their country. They also reaffirmed their agreement on other international issues.

Both parties expressed confidence that the Réunion delegation's visit to the Soviet Union would promote fraternal relations between them on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

## INDIA

*September 3.* The National Council of the CPI met in Delhi to discuss the political situation. It published a statement pointing out that recent events, specifically the nationalization of 14 big private banks and the election of V. V. Giri as President of India, marked an important victory of the people's democratic forces over the combined forces of rightist reaction in and outside the Congress Party. These events had been a turning point in the political life of the country. The aggravation of contradictions between the monopoly and anti-monopoly groups of the national bourgeoisie had created greater opportunities for an alliance of the working class, the peasants, middle strata and the patriotic segment of the national bourgeoisie against the combined forces of pro-imperialist, feudal and monopoly reaction. The main task of all Left-wing forces and democratic parties in the circumstances was to thwart the Right-wing reactionaries' attempts at overthrowing the Indira Gandhi government and to achieve new decisive gains for the democratic movement over monopoly and its allies.

## URUGUAY

*September 3. El Popular,* the Communist Party newspaper, commented editorially on its 50th anniversary. The Communist press of Uruguay was striving to organize and unite the working class and to inspire it with Marxist-Leninist ideas. It made the masses aware of their revolutionary mission and helped them fight for freedom and democracy and expose the evils of capitalism.

## BELGIUM

*September 3 and 4.* Delegations of the CC, CP of Belgium, and the Executive of the German CP met in Brussels. The German delegation was composed of Ludwig Mueller, member of the Executive, Karl-Heinz Schroeder, secretary of the Executive, Gustav Trambowski, member of the Presidium and leader of the Party federation in Northern Rhine-Westphalia, and Oswald Weirier, member of the Control Commission.

The CPB was represented by Marc Drumaux, Chairman of the Party, Albert De Coninck, National Secretary, Jan Debrouwere, member of the Political Bureau, and Jacques Moens, member of the CC.

The final communiqué said discussion had revealed that the two

parties regarded the struggle for a European security system as the fundamental problem of the situation in Europe. They supported the proposal for an early collective meeting of European countries for peace and security as formulated by the Budapest conference of the Warsaw Treaty countries, on the one hand, and by the Finnish government, on the other.

Both parties regarded the struggle for European security which Communists, Socialists and Christians were carrying on simultaneously and in common with other democratic forces as one of their main tasks. They considered that the expansionist, great-power policy of the rulers of West Germany backed by the U.S. imperialists — a policy refusing to recognize existing European frontiers or the GDR, seeking hegemony over other West European countries and claiming nuclear weapons—was the main reason for the tensions of today and presented the gravest danger to peace in Europe.

This policy benefited neo-Nazism, causing still greater concern to the peoples of Europe. The powerful protest movement of the democratic forces against the neo-Nazi NDP and the rightist policy of the rulers of West Germany was a positive development enjoying the sympathy and solidarity of the democratic forces of Europe. International de jure recognition of the GDR was a requisite of any durable peaceful settlement in Europe.

The two parties considered that growing solidarity between the democratic forces of the two countries and a continued campaign to end the ban on the CPG were an important task.

The GCP and CPB were agreed that the results of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, specifically the program of joint struggle against imperialism worked out by the Meeting, met the national and international interests of every country.

They regarded the Meeting as an important advance in uniting the Communist movement. They would do their utmost to help carry out this joint program of struggle against imperialism, and would take part in furthering theoretical analysis of the problems raised by this struggle.

## DRV

*September 4.* The Vietnamese Information Agency released an appeal by the CC, Working People's Party of Vietnam which, in part, read as follows:

"The Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam deeply regrets to inform our comrades, soldiers and compatriots at home and abroad that Comrade Ho Chi Minh, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, died from illness

and a severe heart attack at 9.47 a.m. on September 3, 1969, in Hanoi, at the age of 79.

"Comrade Ho Chi Minh founded our Party and our state and created the National United Front of Vietnam and the people's armed forces. He was the great and beloved leader of our working class and people, of the whole Vietnamese nation, and an outstanding figure in the world Communist movement and the national liberation movement. His death is a severe bereavement for our Party and people.

"A great patriot and loyal follower of Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin, Comrade Ho Chi Minh maintained a spirit of resolute struggle against imperialism. He devoted his whole life to the emancipation of the working class, the nation and mankind, to the struggle for independence and freedom, for socialism and communism. He maintained a spirit of independence and sovereignty and creatively applied Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions prevailing in our country. He closely combined genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism. He embodied the finest traditions of the Vietnamese nation combined with the revolutionary ideology of our time, the theory of Marxism-Leninism."

The appeal stressed that "leading members and the rank and file of the Party will fulfil their role as vanguard and model. They will stint no effort in labor or in study and will foster their revolutionary qualities, raise their political standard and improve their professional knowledge, maintain the purity and build up the cohesion and strength of the Party in order effectively to ensure the success of President Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary cause."

## BELGIUM

*September 5.* The Political Bureau of the CP of Belgium insisted on immediate discussion of a substantial pay rise for the working pepole. The fruits of higher productivity and economic growth were enjoyed chiefly by the big capitalist companies, as could be seen in the fact that the working people's share in the national income had diminished in 1968 although their numbers had grown. It had dropped from 32 per cent in 1967 to 30.8 per cent of the national income total.

The Political Bureau also pointed out that the working people's real income showed a sharp decline, having been largely nullified since 1966 by increased taxes. *(Drapeau Rouge.)*

## SOVIET UNION

*September 6-10.* A Party and government delegation led by A. Kosygin, member of the PB CC CPSU, Chairman of the Council of

Minister of the USSR, was on a visit to Vietnam, where they went for Comrade Ho Chi Minh's funeral.

According to the communiqué on the visit, the delegation emphatically condemned the U.S. imperialists' war of agression against the people of Vietnam, and reaffirmed the resolve to continue rendering the Vietnamese people requisite assistance and support in their struggle, in socialist development in North Vietnam, the liberation of the South and the peaceful unification of the country. The Soviet Union supported the comprehensive program set out in the ten points of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. It insisted on an end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and on unconditional withdrawal of the troops of the U.S. and its satellites from South Vietnam. The U.S. must respect the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and leave it to the population of South Vietnam to settle their affairs as they saw fit, without any foreign interference.

The Vietnamese comrades had offered information about the people's important gains in the fight against the U.S. imperialists for the salvation of the country. They had exposed the U.S. Administration's persistence in "de-Americanizing" and "Vietnamizing" the war and reaffirmed the Vietnamese people's determination to carry their fight against the U.S. imperialists, for the salvation of the country, through to complete victory.

The Vietnamese leaders had expressed their heartfelt gratitude to the Party, government and people of the Soviet Union who had been rendering the people of Vietnam all-round aid in the fight against the U.S. aggressors, for the salvation of the country and for the socialist development of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They had stressed that the presence of the Soviet Party and government delegation at President Ho Chi Minh's funeral was a sincere expression of fraternal friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the two countries. The people of Vietnam, united behind the Working People's Party, would, in accordance with Comrade Ho Chi Minh's last will, do their utmost to contribute effectively to restoration of the unity of the brother parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, guiding themselves by reason and sentiment.

## SOVIET UNION

*September 7. Pravda* reported that the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions had adopted a decision on the procedure of summing up the results of socialist emulation in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth and on awards for the winners.

The decision noted with deep satisfaction that a socialist competition had begun in the enterprises, on building sites, collective and state farms, in various institutions and organizations to greet the Lenin centenary in a fitting manner. The powerful upsurge in political activity in labor all over the country was evidence of the Soviet people's political awareness, of their appreciation and support of the policy of the Communist Party and of their loyalty to communism.

A Lenin Centenary Diploma had been instituted by the Party's Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU.

The foremost workers, collective farmers, specialists, public figures, scientists and cultural workers who excelled during the preparations for the Lenin centenary would be awarded the centenary medal "For exemplary work. Centenary of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's birth."

## FRANCE

*September 6 and 7.* Tens of thousands of people from all over the country arrived for the traditional festival of *Humanité*, which this year is marked by the celebration of the Lenin centenary.

During the festival the French Communist Party and Communist Youth Movement admitted 5,000 new members. *(Humanité.)*

## BULGARIA

A Soviet Party and government delegation led by N. Podgorny, member of the PB CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR, took part in the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

## SOVIET UNION

*September 7.* The Party and government delegation of the Soviet Union, on a visit to Vietnam, and leaders of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the DRV government met for discussions.

A. Kosygin, member of the PB CC CPSU, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, took part in the meeting for the Soviet side.

Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC WPPV, participated in the meeting for the Vietnamese side.

The participants exchanged views on problems of the Vietnamese people's fight against the U.S. aggression and discussed steps to promote fraternal friendship and close cooperation between the CPSU and the WPPV and between the Soviet Union and the DRV.

The discussions proceeded in a spirit of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

## ARGENTINA

*September 7. Nuestra Palabra*, the CP weekly founded in 1950, appeared for the 1,000th time. It has invariably enjoyed considerable influence and has been published without interruption despite the difficulties it had to overcome whenever the authorities took drastic measures against the Communists, forcing them to go underground.

The weekly lays bare the anti-popular nature of the dictatorship and the anti-national activity of foreign monopolies and the local oligarchy. It organizes and guides the struggle of the working people, publicizing the ideas of Marx and Engels, the ideas of communism.

## SOVIET UNION

*September 9.* A *Pravda* report said that L. Brezhnev, G. Voronov, K. Mazurov, D. Polyansky, M. Suslov, A. Shelepin, P. Demichev, D. Ustinov and I. Kapitonov had received a delegation of the People's Committee of Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship led by Tsola Dragoicheva, member of the PB CC BCP, Chairman of the Friendship Committee. The delegation had visited the Soviet Union for the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

## LUXEMBOURG

*September.* The CC CPL, meeting in plenary session, heard the report of the CPL delegation to the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and unanimously approved the position adopted by the CPL spokesman at that historic meeting. It stressed the need steadily to implement the principles and guidelines set out in the documents of the Moscow Meeting. (*Zeitung.*)

## NEPAL

*September 8.* The first issue of *The Lenin Centenary*, a bulletin published in Nepali by the All-Nepal Committee for the Lenin Centenary, appeared on the newsstands.

The bulletin opens with a message of greetings from K. M. Singh, Chairman of the Committee for the Lenin Centenary, member of the Standing Committee of the State Council of Nepal. It acquaints its readers with the tasks of the Committee and the program of the Lenin celebrations to be held in Nepal.

## ITALY

*September 9.* Thousands of Communists from all over Italy, spokesmen of democratic opinion and numerous guests met in Leg-

horn, where the traditional festival of *Unita*, the CP daily, was opened.

This year's festival of *Unita* gave prominence to events dedicated to the Lenin centenary.

## SOVIET UNION

*September 10-20.* A delegation of Rumanian Communist Party functionaries led by Aldea Militaru, member of the CC RCP, head of department at the CC, visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CC CPSU.

The Rumanian comrades acquainted themselves with the experiences of CPSU organizations. They had discussions at the Department of Party Organizing Work of the CC CPSU, at the CC of the CP of Latvia, the Moscow Regional Committee of the CPSU, Leningrad City Committee of the CPSU and in other organizations. They also visited a number of factories and farms.

On September 19, the delegation was received by I. Kapitonov, secretary of the CC CPSU.

## SOVIET UNION

*September 15.* P. Demichev, alternate member of the PB and secretary of the CC CPSU, and K. Katushev, secretary of the CC CPSU, met for discussions with J. Kempny and J. Lenart, secretaries of the CC, CP of Czechoslovakia, on holiday in the Soviet Union.

The meeting, which took place in a cordial, comradely atmosphere, dealt with measures to promote further cooperation between the two parties.

## FRANCE

*Mid-September.* A communiqué by the PB FCP said that in an interview with *Komunist*, the Yugoslav newspaper, R. Garaudy, member of the PB, had expressed his personal opinion on various issues that was entirely at variance with FCP policy and the documents and resolutions of the Party's Central Committee. In particular, Garaudy was now criticizing the Main Document of the Moscow Meeting although he had approved of its draft and although the Central Committee on June 29, 1969, had unanimously described it as an "important document making a valuable contribution to the struggle of the Communists and the people throughout the world."

Stressing that this was not the first time that R. Garaudy had taken a stand diverging from the Party's policies, the Political Bureau condemned his conduct. (*Humanité.*)

## SOVIET UNION

*September 16.* L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, received Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CC CPUSA.

B. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC CPSU, took part in the interview.

Gus Hall spoke of the activity of the CP USA, its mounting influence in mass movements, and the growing interest of people, especially youth, in Marxist-Leninist ideas. He pointed to the American public's keen interest in the results of the Moscow Meeting of June 1969. He described the political situation in the country, the growing movement for peace and for an end to the Vietnam war, and the intensifying struggle of the working class and the Negro people for their vital rights, against the offensive of reaction.

L. Brezhnev, for his part, spoke of progress in building communism in the Soviet Union, of the activity of the Party and the enthusiasm which the Soviet people showed in political activity and in labor as they prepared to celebrate the Lenin centenary.

L. Brezhnev and Gus Hall were agreed that one of the most important tasks of the Communist movement today was to publicize the ideas of the international Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties and to carry out its decisions, particularly those on joint actions against imperialism, on the need to maintain the purity of the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine and expose "Left"-wing and Right-wing opportunism alike. They reaffirmed their desire to continue promoting fraternal relations between the two Communist parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

## ITALY

*Early September.* The press and propaganda department of the CC ICP began to distribute the new Party cards for 1970 among branch organizations. In commemoration of the Lenin centenary the cover of the card displays a portrait of Lenin. It is inscribed "Italian Communist Party" on top and "1970" at the foot.

On November 7, the 52nd anniversary of the October Revolution, all Party organizations will begin to exchange membership cards. In the centenary year—1970—Party cards with Lenin's portrait will be issued to all the 1,500,000 Communists of Italy.

## SWEDEN

*September 19-21.* The 22nd Congress of the Left Party—Communists sat in Stockholm. The items on its agenda were the report on the activity of the Executive, the draft four-year program of the Party and the election of leading committees. Congress approved the report and the Party's program for the period from 1969 to 1972, amended the Party Rules and elected the new leading bodies of the Party.

## ISRAEL

*September 10.* The CC CPI, meeting in plenary session, launched an appeal to the Israeli people in view of the worsening situation in the Mideast due to continued provocations in the Suez Canal area by the Israeli soldiery.

The rulers of Israel had rejected the Security Council resolution in the past and continued to do so. This was why the Israeli leaders and the U.S. imperialists backing them were responsible for the aggravation of the conflict and the threat of renewed war.

The CC CPI stressed that appeals for the overthrow of progressive Arab regimes, heard again in Israel, had become particularly strident after the establishment of a republican regime in Lybia and the delivery of the first batch of U.S. Phantom bombers to Israel.

America's rulers were preoccupied by the trend of development in the Arab world. They wanted to overthrow the present regime in the UAR by means of a new war and to replace it by a pro-imperialist government. Certain Israeli quarters hoped that this would help them acquire new territories. These plans and expectations were unrealistic, however, because the balance of world forces had changed to the detriment of imperialism and in favor of the forces of peace and socialism.

## NORWAY

*September 11.* The Secretariat of the CC CPN discussed the political situation following the general election, according to the Norwegian News Office. It had expressed willingness to discuss cooperation between the CPN and other Left-wing groups in the labor movement on central and local levels.

## POLAND

*September 11-13.* A delegation of the German Communist Party led by Kurt Bachmann, Chairman of the Party, visited Poland. Spokesmen of the Polish United Workers' Party and the GCP affirmed their full support of the documents adopted by the Moscow Meeting, documents which provided the basis for solidarity action and struggle by Communists all over the world. The GCP delegation had talks at the CC PUWP. During these talks, which proceeded in a fraternal atmosphere, the two parties exchanged information on their activities. They also discussed current problems of the world Communist movement and the international situation, with special reference to European security.

The spokesmen of the two parties noted that the West German militarists and revanchists were endangering peace and international security. They were confident that better relations between Poland and West Germany would vastly benefit peace in Europe. These

relations could only be improved if territorial integrity and sovereignty were respected and all revanchist claims renounced.

The progress of the GDR, a socialist state, was an important factor for security and for the consolidation of the forces of peace and progress in Europe.

The PUWP and GCP again demonstrated their complete solidarity with and support for the just fight of the heroic people of Vietnam and the Arab countries against imperialist aggression.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

*September 15.* W. Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, paid a brief visit to Ostrava at the invitation of Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the CC CPC.

The friendly meeting was concerned with the promotion of mutual relations and cooperation between the two countries and parties, as well as with topical problems of the international situation and the world Communist and working-class movement.

The talks took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and cordiality and revealed once again complete agreement on all the matters discussed.

## BRITAIN

*September 15.* The plans for Britain's entry into the Common Market, which would cause a deepening of the split in Europe and aggravate the war danger if they materialized, should be countered by calling a European security conference, said Bert Ramelson, Chairman of the Economic Committee, at the meeting of the EC CPGB.

## BRITAIN

*September 18.* Members of the EC CPGB received at Party headquarters a delegation of the CC of AKEL led by E. Papaioannu, General Secretary of the Party.

The spokesmen of AKEL told about the situation in Cyprus. Common views were expressed on British policy in Cyprus, especially as regards the military bases.

The British CP and AKEL have always cooperated closely and on this occasion they discussed steps to foster their cooperation in the interests of both parties. (*Morning Star.*)

*September 20*

Under the heading "Mass Strikes in 1969," *Neues Deutschland* published the following data:

| | |
|---|---|
| *January* | |
| *Britain* | 150,000 postal employees |
| *Australia* | 61,000 railwaymen |
| *USA* | 60,000 oil industry workers |
| *February* | |
| *Italy* | 5,000,000 workers in various industries |
| *Japan* | 280,000 railwaymen |
| *Spain* | 72,000 workers in metallurgy and the metal-working industries |
| *Britain* | 45,000 automobile workers, dockers and employees in other industries |
| *Turkey* | 12,000 textile workers |
| *March* | |
| *France* | General strike (March 11) |
| *Italy* | 3,000,000 working people, primarily agricultural workers |
| *USA* | 64,000 miners, transport workers and longshoremen |
| *April* | |
| *Italy* | Three-hour general strike (April 16) involving 15,000,000 working people and 1,000,000 civil servants |
| *Japan* | 24-hour general strike (April 17) involving millions of working people in all industries |
| *May* | |
| *Argentina* | 24-hour general strike (May 29) by 30 per cent of all working people |
| *Australia* | 150,000 transport workers |
| *Japan* | Hundreds of thousands of dockers and railwaymen |
| *Turkey* | Over 10,000 employees at U.S. military bases and dockers |
| *Italy* | 50,000 automobile and textile workers |
| *June* | |
| *Britain* | Over 10,000 dockers |
| *July* | |
| *Italy* | 500,000 working people in Turin Province, 550 builders and 30,000 iron and steel workers |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Britain* | Tens of thousands of iron and steel workers, dockers and automobile workers |
| *Canada* | 31,000 iron and steel workers |

*August*

| | |
|---|---|
| *India* | 200,000 workers in the jute-processing industry |
| *Britain* | 40,000 iron and steel workers |
| *USA* | 15,000 miners and 8,000 transport workers |
| *Canada* | 15,000 dockers and automobile workers |

## ITALY

The ICP Leadership, meeting in session with Luigi Longo in the chair, discussed the problems posed before the nation by the working people's growing movement for economic demands. (*Unita.*)

## FINLAND

*September 21.* The CC CPF met in Helsinki to discuss the economic situation and progress in the talks to restore Party unity. E. Salomaa, Vice-Chairman of the Party, spoke on the first item and A. Saarinen, Chairman of the Party, on the second.

The meeting declared for closer economic cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union.

## CUBA

The PB CC CPC set up a Lenin centenary committee. On *September 22* the Party newspaper, *Granma*, wrote that in connection with the coming centenary of the birth of Lenin, the great leader of the October Revolution, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party had resolved to appoint a commission which would concern itself with extensive preparations for the celebration of the memorable centenary.

## SOVIET UNION

*September 23.* L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, received A. Cunhal, General Secretary of the Portuguese CP.

B. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC CPSU, took part in the interview.

A. Cunhal spoke of the difficult and complex struggle of the Communist and working people of Portugal against the fascist regime. The government continued to oppress and exploit the people and to suppress the activity of the Communist Party and other democratic and progressive organizations. It persisted in the policy of colonial wars, subordinating the interests of the nation to those

of foreign imperialism and allowing NATO countries to use Portuguese territory for military bases. Resentment at the regime's reactionary policies was growing in the country, internal contradictions were increasing and the anti-fascist movement was gaining in militancy.

On behalf of the CPSU and the Soviet people, L. Brezhnev expressed solidarity with the working people and democratic forces of Portugal and their vanguard, the Communist Party, fighting courageously against the fascist regime, for democracy, national independence, peace and socialism.

During the interview support was voiced for the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique who are fighting gallantly for national independence.

L. Brezhnev told about progress in building communism in the Soviet Union and about the activities of the CPSU.

A. Cunhal stressed that the Communists of Portugal approved of the home and foreign policy of the CC CPSU and the Soviet government. He wished the CPSU and all Soviet people further advances in building communism in the Soviet Union.

L. Brezhnev and A. Cunhal assessed the Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties as an important step towards strengthening the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and as an important contribution to the common fight against imperialism.

They reaffirmed their determination to go on strengthening fraternal relations between the two Communist parties and foster friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Portugal.

The two parties' full agreement on all the matters discussed was put on record with satisfaction.

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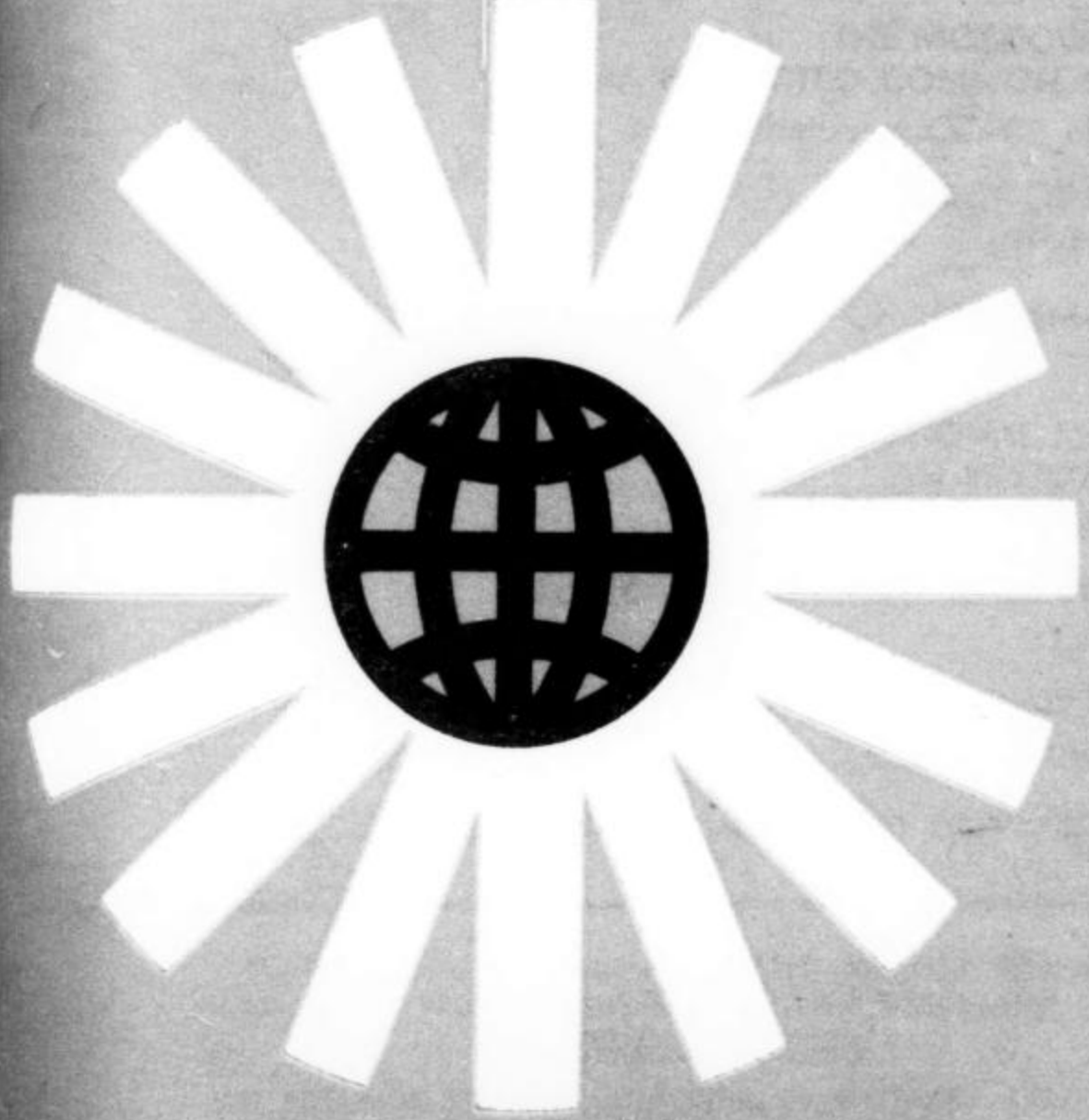

## BULLETIN

Issued by
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In this issue

**N. V. PODGORNY**

•

**WALDECK ROCHET**

•

**GUS HALL**

•

**WM. KASHTAN**

21-22

[redacted]

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# COMMUNIQUE

## OF THE MEETING OF THE EDITORIAL COUNCIL OF **PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM**

The Editorial Council of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, the theoretical and information journal of the Communist and Workers' parties, met for a regular session in Prague on October 30-November 3, 1969.

The session was attended by delegations from the following 58 Communist and Workers' parties: Communist Party of Austria, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Belgium, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Guatemalan Party of Labor, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, United Party of Haitian Communists, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of India, People's Party of Iran (TUDEH), Iraqi Communist Party, Communist Party of Northern Ireland, Irish Workers' Party, Communist Party of Israel, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Japan, Jordanian Communist Party, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Communist Party of Norway, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, Sudanese Communist Party, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Syrian Communist Party, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of Uruguay, Communist Party of the USA, Communist Party of Venezuela, two parties working underground whose names are not mentioned for considerations of security, and a representative of the Senegal Marxists.

In the course of the discussion, in which all the delegations shared, the Editorial Council carefully examined the Report of the Editorial Board of 1960-69. It was recorded that publication of the journal

*Problems of Peace and Socialism* accords with the requirements of the development of the international Communist movement, and promotes its unity and cohesion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Editorial Council mapped out measures for improving the journal.

The Editorial Council instructed the journal comprehensively to report the campaign launched by the Communist and Workers' parties in preparation for the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, and to facilitate the propaganda and creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

The journal was set the task of widely acquainting its readers with the experience of Communist and Workers' parties, to hold comradely exchanges of views, actively to contribute to the unity of all anti-imperialist forces in the interests of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism.

The Editorial Council called on all Communist and Workers' parties actively to participate in the publication and circulation of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. The Editorial Board has also been instructed to inform all Communist and Workers' parties of the Editorial Council session.

The meeting of the Editorial Council proceeded in a business-like and comradely atmosphere, in a spirit of mutual understanding and fraternal cooperation.

# TOWARDS NEW VICTORIES IN BUILDING COMMUNISM UNDER LENIN'S BANNER

## ADDRESS* BY N. V. PODGORNY TO MEETING DEDICATED TO THE 52ND ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AT THE KREMLIN PALACE OF CONGRESSES

November 6, 1969

Comrades,

We are living in an age when all the more important historic changes in the world are linked with the Great October Socialist Revolution accomplished fifty-two years ago by the workers and peasants of Russia under the leadership of Lenin's Communist Party.

It was a turning point in man's history. The victory of the October Revolution gave a powerful stimulus to the struggle of the peoples of all continents for social and national liberation, against imperialism and its predatory policy of aggression. The Land of Soviets became the bulwark of that struggle. Its every gain in building socialism, in strengthening its economy and its defenses, as well as it foreign policy, have always helped to reinforce the entire anti-imperialist front.

Together with us, the countries of the socialist community have been following the glorious path of the October Revolution for a quarter of a century. This year the people of the Soviet Union and fraternal countries celebrated the 25th anniversary of the victory of the peoples of Poland, Bulgaria and Rumania, the 20th anniversary of the rise of the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist state on German soil, and the 10th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. These celebrations amounted to an account of the tremendous historic achievements of world socialism.

Other principal revolutionary forces of today—the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement—are steadily gaining strength and winning new positions. Their solidarity with world socialism is growing. The recent International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow opened up new prospects for the unity and united action of all revolutionary, democratic forces against imperialism, against its plan of aggres-

*Pravda, November 7, 1969.

sion, its policy of hunger and poverty, economic and political enslavement of the peoples.

We are commemorating the 52nd anniversary of the October Revolution on the eve of what will be a festive occasion for the whole people — the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the brilliant theorist, organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution, the founder of the first socialist state in the world. Leninism is at the basis of every gain of the Communist movement in the struggle for the triumph of the ideals of the working class, for the triumph of socialism and communism. Lenin's ideas are an everlasting fountainhead of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action, the victorious banner of millions of fighters for the happiness of mankind.

We see in the growing might of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary and progressive forces the triumph of the ideas of the Great October and the most conclusive proof that modern history is progressing according to Lenin.

## 1. CREATIVE POWER OF THE IDEAS OF LENINISM AND THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Comrades, the experience of development in our country for more than half a century has shown that socialism as a social system and a living cause of the millions, having ensured the working people political power, is asserting itself, first of all, in the economic field. This is why we regard every year that passes after the victory of the Great October from the standpoint of economic progress, of the development of social production as the cornerstone of Soviet man's growing well-being and all-round development.

The record of economic advance under Soviet power shows that the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals of our country, led by the Party, are successfully building communism, making ever more effective use of the advantages of socialism. This is also evident from the preliminary summary of the results achieved this year, the last but one year of the five-year plan.

The main targets set by the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU for total output and growth of national income are being reached. The growth of industrial output in four years of the five-year plan (taking into account the results expected in 1969) will make up about 39 per cent, or more than envisaged by the Directives.

This year we will produce almost 690,000 million kwh of electric power, 329 million tons of oil, over 110 million tons of steel and 47 million tons of mineral fertilizers.

Engineering has made substantial headway, specifically instru-

ment-making and radioelectronics, as well as the chemical and petrochemical industries, that is, the industries which decisively condition scientific and technological progress in the economy as a whole and have an appreciable effect on its structure. The average annual growth rate of output in these industries ranges between 12 and 25 per cent. It is higher than in industry as a whole. Consumer goods production is going beyond plan indices.

The industrial production potential of the country continues to increase. During the past four years we have built and put into operation about 1,500 large industrial enterprises.

Social production is becoming more effective, which expresses itself in a higher growth rate of the national income and of labor productivity than under the previous five-year plan. A fact particularly valuable to us is that during the past four years 85 per cent of the increase in the social product has been achieved through higher labor productivity.

This is one of the particularly significant results of the Soviet people's effort, of the new upsurge in the creative activity of the masses which marks this year, when the whole people are engaged in an emulation movement in commemoration of the Lenin centenary. Everyone remembers the Leninist subbotnik which aroused the whole country. A mass movement is under way in every branch of the economy under the slogan of celebrating the centenary of fulfilling production plans and socialist commitments ahead of schedule. Many collectives have already met their commitments and the foremost are working on assignments envisaged for the next five-year period.

The new upsurge in the emulation movement involving the whole people is a vivid confirmation of the inspired words of the immortal Lenin,who said, as if directly addressing us, all the generations of builders of communism: "Let us build a new society! . . . We shall not be daunted by the gigantic difficulties and by the errors that are inevitable at the outset of a most difficult task; the transformation of all labor habits and customs requires decades. . . . We shall work to inculcate in people's minds, turn into a habit, and bring into the day-to-day life of the masses, the rule: 'All for each and each for all'; the rule: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'; we shall work for the gradual but steady introduction of communist discipline and communist labor" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 124).

The Party and the Soviet people have always followed this call of the leader. We will continue to concentrate on the main thing, that is, on the attitude of each to his job, to labor, to his social duty in every field of our vast construction in both town and countryside.

Life is confronting us with new, bigger and more difficult tasks in industry, building, transport and agriculture.

It is common knowledge that in by far the greater part of the area of our country we are compelled to farm in less favorable natural and climatic conditions than, say, Western Europe or North America. The Party and the state, which consider it vastly important to provide conditions for the steady growth of agricultural production, are carrying out an extensive program to re-equip the collective and state farms technically, reclaim land, use more chemicals and raise the standard of agriculture, as well as to train personnel, offer them higher incentives and infuse them with a keener sense of responsibility.

The measures being carried out in accordance with Party decisions are having a beneficial effect on collective farm and state farm production. Since the March 1965 meeting of the CC CPSU, average annual agricultural output has increased by roughly 19 per cent against the previous five years. It is noteworthy that agricultural production today is increasing due in large measure to intensification, higher crop yields and higher productivity of livestock and poultry.

Weather conditions this year have been unfavorable in many large agricultural areas. Nevertheless, the effort of our collective farmers, state farm workers and agricultural experts, their organized action and the aid extended by the state to the farms affected by the whims of nature have made it possible to close the current agricultural year with results that on the whole are not bad. Gross output will considerably exceed the annual average for the years 1961 to 1965. By the 52nd anniversary of the October Revolution most collective and state farms had fulfilled the plan for sales of grain, technical crops, potatoes, vegetables and other produce to the state. Deliveries of agricultural produce are continuing.

Grain sales plans are not subject to change, as you know. But since the country needs increasing quantities of grain, the state encourages grain sales above plan by substantially putting up purchase and delivery prices. Such economic relations are beneficial to the collective and state farms. They benefit the whole of our society, which expects the working people of the countryside to make even fuller use of every potentiality of socialist agriculture and animal husbandry in order the better to supply the population and provide more raw materials for industry.

No less important a task now is to make proper use of the available material resources and the supply of feeds and seed, so as to prevent losses and start on the next agricultural year from strong positions. It is also necessary to raise the overall standard of agricultural production by using economic levers and every form of organizing and political work in the countryside.

The collective farmers are on the eve of an important event. It will not be long before the Third Congress of collective farmers meets in this hall to adopt the new Model Rules of the collective farm. The Congress will undoubtedly be an important step towards strengthening the collective farm system and promoting collective farm democracy, and its work will help continuously to improve agriculture, a task facing the whole people.

Building communism demands that we should steadily improve economic proportions and the work and interconnection of all branches. This means that not only individual enterprises, but every component of the economic machinery must operate smoothly, without breaks for which the whole of society has to pay dearly. Attention should be paid, specifically, to transport, above all to the railways and motor transport.

The national economy is still affected by serious shortcomings in the activity of building organizations. Recently the CC CPSU and the Soviet government took steps to improve the planning of capital construction and to provide higher material incentives for builders. Thus favorable conditions were created for a qualitatively new advance in construction. It is now for the organizers of this industry and for the builders themselves to use them.

Growing socialist production is the basis on which the living and cultural standards of the people are raised. This expresses itself in tangible improvements. Since the beginning of the current five-year period, real per capita income has increased by more than one-quarter. Over 40 million Soviet people have moved into new, modern homes or improved their housing conditions. Fulfilment of the house-building plan will enable us by the end of this five-year period to have almost 55 million people in new homes.

Great importance is attached in our country to building and improving the work of cultural, educational and health institutions and establishments of the service industry. Government spending on social and cultural needs will be up 34 per cent by the end of this four-year period. The various benefits granted to the working people from public funds will amount to 59,000 million rubles.

Still, remuneration according to work is the main source from which requirements are met. The wages and salaries of the low- and average-paid categories have been substantially raised in recent years. Due to this and to other measures, the average monthly pay of all workers and other employees will have increased by 22 per cent from the beginning of the current five-year period. The incomes derived by the collective farmers from collective farming show a visible increase.

It goes without saying that for all the progress made, for all that has been, or is being done to improve the standard of living, we are not closing our eyes to certain difficulties. The standard of

living is perhaps not improving as fast as we all would like it to, although in recent years incomes have been growing faster than envisaged by the five-year plan.

Further improvement in the standard of living will directly depend on greater productivity of social labor and of its direct result, the national income. That is why, for all the positive results achieved in this field, we cannot but feel concerned about the fact that labor productivity in industry and agriculture for the time being is going up more slowly than we had expected.

This means that the common task of the Party, the state, the trade unions and other mass organizations and all the working people of our country is to work steadfastly and consistently for a more rapid increase in labor productivity. It is above all on this basis that we can steadily improve the people's standard of living and accomplish other urgent tasks prompted by the interests of the home and foreign policy of our country and by the need to strengthen its defenses.

It is very important, therefore, to fulfill the five-year plan, so as to provide a sound basis for further economic growth and to make further progress in building communism under the next five-year plan, now in preparation.

To achieve this, we all must first of all see to it that plan targets are reached by all means everywhere—in the factories and on the building sites, on the collective and state farms, in scientific laboratories and design offices, in transport, the communications and the services. I say "all of us" and "everywhere" because we still have many shops and enterprises that work fitfully and show a poor performance.

We Communists and Soviet people always look ahead and are always engaged in quest. Complacency is foreign to us. We are marching on with big strides and much of what a short time ago was seen as an achievement no longer satisfies us. We must concentrate on making social production as effective as possible through technological progress, by perfecting economic relations, the scientific organization of labor and economic management.

It is not by accident that the Party is giving priority to technological progress. In this period of rapid scientific and technological revolution, it is to this sphere that economic competition between the world socialist system and the capitalist system is shifting.

We are proud of the fact that our science has made immense progress. The recent flight of three Soviet spaceships is a new, vivid indication of this. That flight may be said to have fused the courage of our courageous cosmonauts, the talent and intellect of our remarkable scientists and designers, and the high standard of labor and skill of many thousands of Soviet engineers and workers. There can be no doubt that our heroic cosmonauts and all who

are engaged in our space program will present the Soviet people with new outstanding achievements.

The socialist social system creates objective conditions for victory over capitalism also in the sphere of scientific and technological progress. To achieve this victory, we need genuine innovation, a high degree of organization and strict discipline, and we must use all possibilities and untapped resources to the utmost.

Above all else, we must raise the efficiency of research institutions. As well as extending the range of fundamental, theoretical investigations, we should concern ourselves with research which can in the near future contribute directly to accelerating scientific and technological progress. We should encourage it and promptly apply its results in production.

The scientific discoveries made today mean concrete economic achievements tomorrow. In this, the Party places high hopes on both the experienced older generation of Soviet scientists and our youth with their energy and enthusiasm, that is, on all who will soon assume much of the responsibility for scientific and technological progress in the country.

New opportunities of making social production more effective will depend directly on steady improvement in the mechanism of economic relations. The new system of economic planning and stimulation serves this purpose. Already it encompasses almost three-quarters of all industrial enterprises, which account for 83 per cent of output and for more than 90 per cent of the profit gained by industry as a whole. The successful implementation of the reform in industry enables us gradually to introduce its principles into other economic fields.

Extending the area of application of the new system should go hand in hand with efforts to adjust and perfect its entire mechanism. This is all the more important because many enterprises have already used up the reserves they had near at hand, so to speak. The time has come to go further, to bring out new possibilities of economic growth lying deeper down, strive for the optimum utilization of production assets, put designed capacities into operation within short time limits and improve the quality of products.

This is a difficult task, of course. Its meaning is not merely economic but profoundly social as well. To fulfil it, we must combine new technological solutions and more efficient management of production with active everyday work by the Party, government, trade union and economic organizations to develop the creative initiative of millions of working people.

Organizing planned economic development on the scale of society as a whole constitutes the main advantage of the socialist economic system and one of the main functions of the socialist state.

This is why the Soviet state, which has been, and remains, a most important factor for effecting far-reaching economic, social and cultural changes in our country, is gaining in strength and importance as the building of communism grows in scale and the tasks it involves become more complex.

The Soviet Republic born of the Great October was established as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an instrument of the class struggle against the exploiters. The consolidation of the first worker-peasant state in the world was anything but smooth sailing. Domestic and external counter-revolution imposed civil war and intervention on us. Every means—famine and economic dislocation, subversion and blockade—was used to wipe the Soviet state off the face of the earth. But Soviet power stood its ground. It did so because it was a state of the working class backed by the mass of the working people.

The class character and role of the socialist state, and the place of the working class and its Party in the state, are a fundamental question relating to the theory and practice of building socialism and communism.

The experience of our country, like that of other socialist countries, has confirmed the correctness of the proposition by Marx and Lenin, that without a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat it would be impossible after overthrowing the rule of the capitalists and landowners to crush their resistance, eliminate all exploiters and all anti-socialist forces in the country and establish essentially new relations between the working classes. The changeover of the peasantry from small-commodity production to collective farming, effected under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and immense progress in the economic, social and cultural condition of the collective farm countryside have transformed our peasantry into a socialist class and strengthened its alliance with the working class. The Communist Party has always regarded this alliance as a requisite of building socialism and one of the principal factors for the advance of our society to communism.

Our intelligentsia is advancing shoulder to shoulder with the working class and the collective farm peasantry. More and more, the activity of millions of intellectuals is having an increasing direct impact on the growth of social production. Physical and mental labor are steadily drawing closer together. This is a manifestation of the advance of our society to greater social homogeneity and unity, a logical concomitant of socialism.

This means that the social basis of the Soviet state is expanding to a tremendous degree with the victory, consolidation and development of socialism. In this process, the leading role at every stage is played by the working class. This role is determined primarily by the social character of the working class and by its place

in social production. The working class has excellent revolutionary traditions and vast political experience. It sets an example of organization, consciousness and discipline to society as a whole. This earns it enormous prestige and the support of all working people.

Lenin pointed out that only the proletariat can unite and lead the largest sections of the working and exploited people. Reality has revealed the depth and perspicacity of this idea of Lenin. The leading role of the working class has by now been demonstrated, not only by achievements in building communism in our country, but by the experience of other socialist countries.

Practice shows that every attempt to minimize the role of the working class in the political life of society clears the ground for increased activity by hostile class forces and jeopardizes the socialist gains of all working people. The working class, led by the Communist Party, is called upon to perform its leading role in the period of building socialism and communism. It is honorably fulfilling this historic mission.

The Soviet state is a state in which the Marxist-Leninist principles of building a national state have been put into effect for the first time in history. Fraternal cooperation between equal nations and unbreakable friendship among the peoples account for the strength of our multinational state. The Soviet people have a vital interest in building up the might and prestige of their state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whose activity harmoniously combines the interests of the whole of society with the economic, cultural and other requirements of every nation and every nationality.

The Communist Party proceeds from the assumption that as Soviet society advances to communism, the socialist nations will draw still closer together as a result of their progress. In this there must be neither undue haste, nor a tendency towards national isolation, aloofness or exclusiveness. Nationalism, whatever its form or degree, is the worst enemy of friendship among the peoples, of the internationalist alliance of the working people.

The ideological and political unity of our people and the solidity of the multinational Soviet state have passed a severe trial and stood the test of time. Their firmness and invincible strength have been demonstrated to the whole world.

Having accomplished the historic mission of transforming society on socialist lines, the Soviet state today is a comprehensive political organization of the whole people. It is continuing the main job of the dictatorship of the proletariat—building communism in the Soviet Union—and is carrying on, along with fraternal socialist countries, a stubborn struggle in the international arena against the forces of imperialism, reaction and war.

Our state, a state of the whole people, still has a long way to

go. In the process, it will perfect every aspect of its statehood and millions upon millions of people will be drawn into the democratic management of public affairs. This is the principal means of consolidating the Soviet state and building up its might.

The process of extending democracy, which is part and parcel of socialist society, cannot, of course, go on automatically. It is linked with the tremendous purposeful activity of the Communist Party. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said in his speech at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow: "The development of socialist democracy implies extensive day-to-day practical work in many directions."

One of the main directions is to increase the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. Working in the Soviets today are over two million deputies—workers, collective farmers, office employees, people active in science and culture. The People's deputies work hand in hand with many millions of activists. This broadly representative character of the organs of state power enables them properly to express the people's will and interests, extend their organizing work to virtually the entire population of the country and make legislation and the adoption of decisions and their implementation a single process.

The decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU afforded new opportunities for raising the role of the Soviets, enabling them to exercise greater influence on every economic and cultural sphere. The range of problems which local government bodies deal with has widened, the standing commissions have stepped up their activity, the village and settlement Soviets, which are the most numerous mass organs of state power, have gained in efficiency, and local government personnel has come to be trained and retrained more effectively.

New steps have been taken in the legislative sphere. The recent period has seen the enactment of a number of Union and Union Republic laws bearing on the most diverse aspects of public life, the economy and culture. In drafting laws, account is taken of the thousands of proposals from individual citizens and the staffs of industrial enterprises or collective farms, as well as of the recommendations of research institutions. The various opinions, occasionally conflicting ones, are carefully weighed and those expressing the interests of society and state best of all accepted. Thus the will of the Soviet people is embodied in legislation and becomes the basic rule of public life.

In improving the functioning of the people's government bodies, the Party constantly strives to use every other means of heightening the activity of the working people, of production teams, the trade unions, the Young Communist League and other mass organi-

zations. The Soviet people who participate in drawing up enterprise plans, in specifying working conditions or in distributing various benefits out of public funds are real masters of production.

The promotion of socialist democracy is inseparable from the task of steadily perfecting the state apparatus, which plays an exceedingly important part in managing economic, social and cultural development and in meeting the requirements of the population. To perfect the apparatus means heightening the responsibility of every executive and every official for the job entrusted to him, abiding strictly by the law and by state discipline at every level of management and introducing scientific principles into its organization. We must admit that we still have a very great deal to do in this field.

The decision recently adopted by the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR provides for specific measures to perfect the administrative apparatus and reduce its cost. The task, of course, is not only to save public funds, which is very important in itself, nor to mechanically reduce personnel, but primarily to improve structures, remove duplication and parallel functions, and create conditions in which every expert can work with the greatest efficiency. This approach will enable us to raise the efficiency of our entire apparatus. This is what Lenin always called and strove for.

Stricter control over the state apparatus by the Soviets, working people's collectives and the organs of people's control plays a considerable role in improving the apparatus and its work. An indication of this is the positive experience of the standing commissions of the Soviets, the practice of administrative bodies and officials rendering account to the Soviet concerned and to the electorate and greater publicity of the work of government bodies.

The people's participation in management and control is one of the most effective ways of enhancing the communist consciousness of Soviet man, of encouraging him to approach various phenomena from the standpoint of state interests and to feel responsible for all that goes on in society, in the production sphere, in this or that collective.

A correct view of the interests of society and bringing his personal interests into harmony with them are typical of Soviet man. These qualities arose in revolutionary struggle, were fostered in the years of socialist development and were passed down from generation to generation. Soviet man is a worker and patriot, an active builder of communism, who regards service in the cause of society as his supreme duty. This is the most important and most valuable achievement of socialism and an earnest of its future victories.

That is why our class enemies are concentrating on shaking the

Soviet people's collectivist, deeply internationalist convictions. They are trying to inject into the mentality of our people, especially our youth, elements of bourgeois morality, of individualism, nihilism and indifference to politics. They are carrying on ideological subversion through radio, the press, the cinema and other mass media.

Advocates of the bourgeois way of life are carefully masking imperialism and its evils as they persistently try to present capitalist society as a model of freedom and democracy.

The purpose of these hostile moves is obvious: they are designed to weaken the appeal of socialism, to undermine the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries for their political and social rights, to disrupt the community of socialist countries and to counterpose the interests of the individual to those of socialist society.

These intrigues are useless. History has proved beyond doubt that socialism and democracy are inseparable and that only under socialism do the fundamental interests of the working man really square with the interests of society as a whole.

Our Party and our state attach tremendous importance to the communist education of the Soviet people, to the task of raising their political consciousness and improving their education and culture. We will continue actively to counteract trends alien to socialist society, manifestations of the private proprietor's mentality, nationalism and other survivals of bourgeois ideology.

In protecting the interests of society, the state is fighting resolutely against those who refuse to submit to the rules of our public life. In this it has the support of the working people, who know well that by safeguarding the interests of society Soviet law is protecting the interests of every citizen.

Socialism gives man a real right to enjoy the benefits provided by society, take part in solving problems of the country and actively influence its destiny. This right is inseparable from the duty of every citizen to promote the interests of the society in which he lives, increase its wealth and safeguard its gains. This is the real meaning of socialist democracy. This is how Communists, the working class and all the people see it.

Building communism is a deep and many-sided process involving every sphere of the economic, political and spiritual life of Soviet society. In the vanguard of this great effort is our Leninist party, the recognized leader and organizer of the Soviet people. The Party has no interests other than those of the people. By uniting and organizing the people, the Communist Party is making them invincible. Under the Leninist banner the working people of the Soviet Union are successfully building communism, blazing the trail into a radiant future for all mankind.

## II. THE LENINIST FOREIGN POLICY OF THE USSR—A POLICY OF STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Comrades, the Great October Socialist Revolution powerfully accelerated the march of history. In these 52 years the world situation has changed beyond recognition.

Half a century ago there was only one socialist country; today there is the community of socialist states, that indestructible bulwark of international class struggle against imperialism.

Half a century ago more than two-thirds of the world's population lived in colonial bondage; today the colonial system has collapsed and the peoples of dozens of young states, assisted and supported by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, are scoring increasingly tangible results in their advance to complete national and social emancipation.

Half a century ago, with the emergence on the international scene of Soviet Russia, the workers' movement dealt its first shattering blow to the imperialist policy of diktat, blackmail and aggression; today that policy is countered by the mighty liberation front, which includes all the main revolutionary contingents of our time.

These historic changes are the foundation and harbinger of mankind's uninterrupted advance on the road to socialism, a road opened by our country, by the Great October Revolution.

The Soviet Union's foreign policy plays a very big part in this process. Its overall orientation was formulated by V. I. Lenin. A resolution of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee signed by him in October 1918, emphasizes that the new system of international relations must be based "only on such principles as conform with fraternal relations between the working people of all countries and nations, and which have been proclaimed by the October Revolution." The Soviet Union has consistently implemented these Leninist principles in international relations.

The effectiveness, the realistic, revolutionary and truly internationalist character of the foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state have been fully demonstrated in the past fifty-two years. Now, as always, our foreign policy is a cardinal factor in countering the aggressive strategy of imperialism. It is a weapon in the active struggle to maintain and consolidate peace, in the struggle for freedom and social progress. And it has won tremendous confidence and support in every part of the world.

The guiding principles of the Soviet Union's international policy are clear and unalterable. And in upholding these principles we are fully aware that the achievements and effectiveness of our foreign policy depend on a scientific analysis of the world situation, on an

accurate assessment of the alignment of class forces. Ability to single out priority problems and devise ways and means of solving them in a manner that meets the demands of the concrete situation, is especially important.

And one of the chief problems of Soviet foreign policy is strengthening the positions of socialism and its influence on the course of world development. Under the impact of the ideas of October, the socialist revolution has triumphed in a number of European countries, and in Mongolia, Vietnam, Korea, China and Cuba. The Soviet people's fraternal and disinterested assistance, which is part of their internationalist duty, has played—this can be said without exaggeration—a tremendous part in strengthening popular rule in these countries and in making socialism a world system.

Our Party and state attach vast importance to strengthening the might and unity of the socialist system, the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. The stronger the unity of the socialist countries, the deeper and more extensive will be the revolutionary influence of socialism. And proceeding from this, we are endeavoring to promote political and economic cooperation of the fraternal countries and coordinate their efforts and actions on the international scene. We are jointly strengthening the fighting alliance of our armies within the Warsaw Treaty Organization, that reliable shield against encroachments by the imperialist aggressors.

The progress of socialism and the scientific and technological revolution require continued deepening of economic cooperation between members of the socialist community. Successful solution of this problem will make for fuller and more effective use of the inexhaustible potentialities of socialism by each country and by the socialist community as a whole.

An important stage in this respect was reached at the April 1969 special session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Practical implementation of its collectively formulated decisions calls for initiative and for a constructive approach by government and economic agencies in the fraternal countries, and persistent effort to perfect the cooperation mechanism at all levels.

Of great importance in this respect is systematic exchange of the experience of our parties and states in socialist construction. This year, as in previous ones, Soviet Party and Government leaders have visited many socialist countries, and we have on many occasions played host to their leaders.

The recent visit of a Party and Government delegation from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, led by Comrade Pham Van Dong, should be seen as a milestone in developing fraternal relations between the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples. Our negotiations concluded with the signing of an agreement providing for Soviet supplies of industrial equipment, food, armaments, raw materials and

other goods to strengthen the defense capacity and assist the economic development of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

A few days ago we received a delegation of the South Vietnam Liberation Front and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The delegation led by Dr. Nguyen Huu Tho, Chairman of the Central Committee Presidium of the South Vietnam Liberation Front and of the Consultative Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, is present at this meeting. We are proud to welcome our respected guests.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for the freedom, independence and progress of their country was for many years led by that glorious son of the Vietnamese people and outstanding leader of the international Communist and national liberation movement, our close friend, Comrade Ho Chi Minh. The Soviet people revere his memory and do not doubt that the cause to which this sterling revolutionary dedicated his life will triumph.

Developments in Vietnam are convincing proof that the only just solution is withdrawal of the American forces and cessation of all interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people. Unfortunately, the U.S. President's November 3 speech shows that a sober approach to the problem has not yet prevailed in leading U.S. circles.

Permit me, Comrades, to reiterate that the Soviet Union will continue to do everything possible to help the fraternal Vietnamese in their just struggle against American imperialism.

All of us are still under the impression of our cordial meetings with the Party and Government delegation from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the speeches made in this hall and in various parts of the country by Comrades Husak and Svoboda. We are firmly convinced that this visit represents an important contribution to closer friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, between our parties and peoples. Fidelity to the ideals of socialism, fraternal mutual assistance and comradely cooperation in resolving complex political and economic problems—such is the firm basis on which relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are successfully developing. The results of the visit, the signing in Moscow of the joint Soviet-Czechoslovak Statement, represent a fresh manifestation of socialist internationalism in action, and testify to the continued strengthening of the unity of the socialist community.

Comrades, we attach much importance to relations with the People's Republic of China, which recently celebrated its 20th anniversary. In the early years following the victory of the revolution the Chinese people, relying on the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, made significant headway

in reconstructing their country. Unfortunately, in recent years China's contacts with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have, for reasons generally known, been curtailed, and at times the position was very tense. Needless to say, far from benefiting the struggle against imperialism, this brings joy to our common class enemy.

Speaking at the Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship meeting, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, set out in detail our Party's point of view, our approach to developing relations between the USSR and the PRC. The Peking negotiations begun on Soviet initiative, continue. We believe that their positive outcome would help normalize relations between our two countries and strengthen world socialism and the revolutionary movement as a whole.

True to its internationalist duty, the Soviet Union is giving all-round support to the young national states that have chosen the path of independent development. We are helping them build a national economy and train the necessary personnel, which, as we all know, is an important factor in assuring genuine independence. The Soviet Union firmly and consistently sides with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in repelling imperialist political and economic pressure, and in their active fight against neo-colonialism.

Recent events in these three continents show that the struggle against imperialism and its client regimes is growing in strength and scope. The Soviet people are in solidarity with the forces working for the national regeneration of their countries.

We welcome the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Sudan, Jafar Mohammed el Nimeiri, who is present among us today.

Everyone knows of our effective solidarity with the peoples of the United Arab Republic, Syria and the other Arab states in their fight against the Israeli invaders and their imperialist patrons. The situation in the Middle East is becoming increasingly tense. The reason for that is Israel's continued armed provocations. The Tel-Aviv government, in gross violation of the United Nations' resolutions, is trying to block a political settlement. And in this it has the support of imperialist circles in certain Western countries, among them the United States.

Imperialism's aims in the Middle East remain unchanged: oust the progressive regimes, hold back the liberation movement of the Arab peoples, re-establish imperialist domination over the area. And instigation of new conflicts, attempts to divide the Arab peoples, set them at loggerheads and interfere in their internal affairs, play no small part in these imperialist plans. The recent Lebanon events are proof of that.

The Soviet Union's position is firm and consistent—we are help-

ing the Arab states in their just fight against aggression, for freedom and independence. We are doing everything we can to secure a political settlement in the Middle East and to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression. The chief condition for such a settlement is withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied Arab territory in conformity with the Security Council resolution. Without that there can be no enduring peace in this area.

The policy of the imperialist powers is to hinder an international detente. They are inciting provocations in various parts of the world, continuing the nuclear arms drive, which creates sharp international crises and impedes solution of pressing problems. Consequently, activating the struggle against imperialism's strategy of aggression, for peace and prevention of another world war, for a reliable and durable security system, has become a high-priority task.

The need is to mobilize all the peace, democratic and liberation forces. The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties produced a concrete and constructive program of united action for the noble aim of assuring peace and security.

The June CC CPSU Plenum, which discussed the results of the Meeting, emphasized that Soviet foreign policy will continue to play a crucial part in the common struggle of the anti-imperialist forces. Shortly after the Plenum, as you know, a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet approved the basic line of our foreign policy and our attitude on pressing international issues.

The Soviet initiative in raising in the UN General Assembly the question of strengthening international security in all its various aspects, is of vast importance. We realize, of course, that this is a complicated question. But to postpone its settlement would mean to condone the efforts of those who would push the world to the brink of nuclear conflict.

Regional security systems in Europe and other parts of the world are now a pressing need. Last spring the Warsaw Treaty powers suggested a European conference to discuss the urgent problems of European peace and security. This met with wide response and support from the democratic and progressive forces of the continent.

And this important initiative has met with a favorable response also in government circles of many West European countries. Finland, our northern neighbor, has called for practical preparations and has suggested that the conference be held in Helsinki. Negotiations during a recent official visit to Finland confirmed that that country's leaders are prepared actively to facilitate solution of the problems involved in building a European security system.

It can safely be said that all the conditions for an all-Europe conference have now matured. In this context, the recent meeting in Prague of the Foreign Ministers of the socialist countries

acquires especial importance. On behalf of their respective governments, they put forth concrete proposals for the agenda, time and venue of an all-Europe conference. Of course, we are prepared to discuss all proposals that might be made by other countries.

We appreciate the fact that there are many difficulties on the way to building a durable European security system and that many complex problems will have to be solved. But success in this undertaking, vital to all the nations, will be assured if all the countries reveal a sincere desire to strengthen European peace, and accept that the changes in Europe resulting from the defeat of Nazi Germany are irreversible.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared its readiness to develop cooperation of states with differing social systems on the principles of peaceful coexistence. We have good and mutually advantageous relations with many countries whose governments are interested in promoting business contacts with the Soviet Union and developing trade, economic, scientific, technical and cultural ties.

Cooperation has been established with a number of West European countries and there is closer understanding with them on some important international problems, including problems of European security. We consider the present progress on Soviet-French relations an important development. Cooperation between our two countries on many questions is already becoming a tradition, and one that accords with the interests of the Soviet and French peoples and, beyond all doubt, has a beneficial effect on the European political climate. We note with satisfaction statements by French government leaders on the continuity of this policy. We are convinced that closer Soviet-French relations will be helped by continued personal contacts between leaders of the two countries.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared its readiness to develop relations with the German Federal Republic. Until recently this did not meet with a proper response from Bonn. The recent Bundestag elections showed that an increasing part of the West German population is coming to see the danger—primarily for the Federal Republic itself—of the policy Bonn has followed in the past two decades of increasing tension in European affairs. It is too early to judge to what degree this desire for change, expressed by the voters in the Bundestag elections, will influence the policy of the Brandt government. That can only be judged by its practical actions, and these we have yet to see.

No country can hope for success of its foreign policy if it clings to the past and ignores the real conditions in which it has to exist side by side with other countries. The Soviet Union's policy, now as always, is one of promoting European peace. And we feel sure that this would be facilitated in no small measure by the FRG gov-

ernment following a policy based on existing European realities. We favor improving relations with the FRG on that basis.

The Soviet Union has always maintained that peaceful coexistence must be the foundation of relations between states with differing social systems. But cooperation is a two-way process, and in the final analysis the question is whether one or another government is, or is not, willing and prepared to promote normal relations with the Soviet Union and to share in a joint effort to resolve political issues.

In this context, it is pertinent to touch on our relations with the United States. The new U.S. administration which took over at the beginning of the year declared it would approach international problems and Soviet-American relations from constructive positions. The Soviet Union reacted favorably to these statements. We are prepared to reaffirm that today.

There are many problems that could be discussed by our two countries. It is not simply a matter of negotiating, but of the basis on which negotiations are to be conducted, and of the positions taken by the negotiating sides. The U.S. position on questions on which we have had contacts remains unconstructive. Many of America's international actions are at odds with its official statements.

You know that we are soon to begin preliminary discussion of the questions involved in USSR-USA negotiations on containing the strategic arms race. A positive outcome of these negotiations would doubtlessly help towards better Soviet-American relations and the preservation and consolidation of world peace. The Soviet Union is anxious to achieve precisely such results.

The imperialist-imposed arms race is fraught with incalculable calamities for mankind. The destructive power of modern weapons increases with every passing day, and stockpiles of these weapons have reached menacing proportions. It is becoming more and more urgent to take realistic steps towards disarmament, steps that would put an end to escalation of the arms race.

The Soviet Union regards solution of the disarmament problem as an effective means of devising an international security system that would rule out the very possibility of recourse to force in resolving international disputes. The vast resources that now go into the arms race could then be put to peaceful uses, to improving living standards.

Our country has put forth a number of proposals to stop the ruinous stockpiling of weapons, especially nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. That is the purpose of the proposal the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have laid before the United Nations for a convention to ban chemical and biological weapons and destroy existing stockpiles.

The Soviet Union is working for a radical improvement of the world's political climate. But the state of world affairs is such that we cannot ignore the need to maintain the Soviet Union's defense might at the necessary level.

We mention this today not because we want to intimidate anyone with our military might. We mention it only in order to emphasize the following: the Soviet Union has never threatened anyone, but it will never allow anyone to deal with it from "positions of strength." Safeguarding the peace and security of the Soviet people, the inviolability of the frontiers of our socialist country, is a sacred duty of the Communist Party and the Soviet State!

* * *

Comrades, in entering the 53rd year of the Great October Revolution, a year in which our people and the whole of progressive mankind will be celebrating the Lenin centenary, we can look to the future with confidence.

The achievements scored under the leadership of the Communist Party in the economic, scientific and cultural spheres, and in strengthening our socialist state, are a tangible embodiment of Lenin's ideas and a reliable basis for the uninterrupted progress of our society.

Hail the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Glory to the great Soviet people, the builders of communism, the dedicated champions of the freedom and happiness of the world's working people!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is confidently leading the Soviet people along Lenin's path!

Long live communism!

# CONCLUDING REMARKS*
# BY WALDECK ROCHET

## AT THE MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The situation in our country is characterized above all by the growing class struggle betwen big capital and the working-class and democratic forces.

On the one hand, the big bourgeoisie is trying to regroup all reactionary forces under the sway of men like Pompidou, Chaban-Delmas, Giscard d'Estaing, Duhamel and others in order to shift the burden of difficulties on to the working people.

On the other hand, in view of deep discontent, we are witnessing the rise of a mass movemnt against the reactionary policies of the government, a movement to safeguard social gains and bring about a change of policy.

After de Gaulle's defeat at the April 27 referendum, the way could have been paved, during the presidential election that ensued, for deep-going changes if all working-class and democratic forces had agreed on a common program and a common candidate of the Left, as the Communist Party proposed. We know, however, that the Socialist leaders rejected our proposal for alliance and put forward a splitter candidate, playing into the hands of Pompidou and other reactionaries.

A few weeks after taking over, the new government decided to devalue the franc and to launch an austerity plan, which this time was called "rehabilitation plan." The 1970 budget follows the same anti-social lines.

The measures adopted by the regime will hit the living and working conditions of the vast majority of the French people. They will result in lowering the purchasing capacity of wages, salaries and pensions, in slowing down production, increasing unemployment, aggravating the difficulties besetting the small and middle peasants, the handicraftsmen and small traders, and reducing allocations for housing, hospitals, nurseries and schools, whereas requirements are on the rise.

Furthermore, it has been decided to speed capitalist concentration in both town and country with a view to tightening the grip of the big capitalist companies on the national economy. The vast offen-

*Abridged from **L'Humanité**, October 15, 1969.

sive in the making against the public and nationalized sector is part of this effort.

Needless to say it is the workers by hand and by brain that will have to foot the bill of this policy, which benefits the trusts and the moneybags.

The leaders of the regime and their hacks are trying to make public opinion believe that the steps taken by the government were inevitable in view of the state of the franc and the national economy.

Now while it is true that the franc is vulnerable and our economy in disarray, the reasons for the evil should not be sought in the May and June struggles· nor in allegedly excessive popular consumption.

Indeed, the higher purchasing power won by the working people in May and June 1968 resulted in intensifying production and restricting unemployment, so much so that the losses occasioned by the strikes of the spring of 1968 had been more than made good by the end of the year.

The President of the Republic had to admit at his latest press conference that wages and salaries in France are no higher than elsewhere, including the period after June 1968. He might have added that most capitalist companies in 1968 showed profits exceeding those for 1967, as is evident from the official report on public accounts.

But the important thing that Pompidou dodged is that the drain of capital which has affected our currency is due to the reckless profiteering in which the big banks and men of fortune have been engaged. In fact, why not say that much of this profiteering was fed by the thousands of millions put at the disposal of the big companies by the state?

While boasting that they tell the truth, Pompidou and Chaban-Delmas bashfully throw a veil over the real causes of the present difficulties.

As a matter of fact, the crisis of the franc stems from the instability and the contradictions of the capitalist system. Its immediate cause is the big speculators' scandalous financial manipulations against the interests of the country. It is also, and above all else, the upshot of the disastrous policy of the past eleven years, whose failure the leaders of the country are compelled to admit.

The devaluation could have been avoided, the franc strengthened and economic expansion assured. To achieve this, it would have been necessary, as our Party has declared, to take drastic measures against speculation, crack down on the huge profits made by the big capitalist companies and reduce unproductive spending by renouncing the ruinous atomic strike force.

But there is no sign of anything of the kind in the objectives of the regime.

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This fully bears out the estimation made by our Central Committee after the presidential election: the Pompidou regime, just as the de Gaulle regime before it, is an instrument of increased monopoly capitalist domination over the nation.

The regime would like this fundamental truth to be forgotten and so it is making much noise about "participation" and "worker shareholders," which are so many more forms of the old "class cooperation." The spokesmen of the bourgeoisie see fit to hold up the example of the working people of the United States, Britain or West Germany for our working class. But they have chosen the wrong example, for the last period has been distinguished by an upswing in the struggle of the working class in France and the capitalist world at large, especially in Italy and West Germany. We fully identify ourselves with the working people fighting in these countries.

In France too, the working people, strengthened by long experience in struggle, refuse to release the prey for the shadow. They remember that old saying: "One does not feed on fine words but on good soup."

The apologists of capitalism are on the defensive. They note the working people's growing desire for genuine social renovation which socialism alone can bring.

* * *

By pushing on with their campaign, the ruling groups of the bourgeoisie hope to hush up the rivalries manifesting themselves within the government majority and to facilitate the regrouping of all reactionary forces.

From this point of view, another characteristic of the situation is that most centrist politicians, some of whom are in the government under Chaban-Delmas and Giscard d'Estaing, are ranging themselves behind Gaullism which is losing momentum.

This fully shows up so-called centrism as a political instrument of the big bourgeoisie, which uses it both to back the regime if necessary, which is the case at the moment, and to offer a spurious alternative while preserving the fundamental interests of big capital.

It is particularly obvious today how very correct our Party was in declining to choose between Pompidou and Poher, whose supporters made peace to follow the anti-social and anti-democratic policy of big capital.

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porters made peace to follow the anti-social and anti-democratic policy of big capital.

While fully supporting the working people's fight against the regime, Communists will do whatever may be necessary to denounce pseudo-centrism.

For all the efforts they make to mislead the people, the leaders of the bourgeoisie cannot remedy the contradictions of capitalism, which tend, in fact, to grow worse and to multiply.

By virtue of its class nature, the Pompidou regime cannot solve the big problems of the country in the interests of the masses and the nation. On the contrary, its policy, which is favorable to a privileged minority and detrimental to the vast majority of the people, is bound to lead to new class battles.

From this point of view, the upsurge in struggle we have been witnessing ever since September shows that the working people are not willing to accept the ruinous consequences of the regime's policy unprotestingly. Once again the working class is in the front line of the battle, as is only natural.

The workers' struggle is indicative of deep and legitimate discontent. It shows a higher degree of militancy and political consciousness. As a general rule, it is carried on in the broadest alliance at grass roots and on the trade union level, and it forces the big owners and the state into substantial concessions.

It is certain that the working people have gained new strength and learned valuable lessons from the continuous struggles of the recent period. This will help them greatly to assure the success of the actions that are being launched or are in progress.

The Communists and all Party organizations resolutely support the struggle of the working class, particularly the CGT action to restore and improve the purchasing capacity of wages, salaries and pensions and safeguard them by establishing a sliding scale, for full employment, shorter working hours without pay cuts, and the exercise of trade union freedoms in the enterprises.

The Communists side with the teachers and the parents of schoolchildren campaigning for adequate premises, a sufficient number of teachers, better teaching conditions and democratic renovations.

Communists also help organize the struggle of the laboring peasants, whom the regime is planning to expropriate by the hundreds of thousands. They defend the small traders and handicraftsmen, whose condition tends to deteriorate. They also side with the housewives, who protest against a government policy leading to a higher cost of living.

Lastly, Communists will devote much attention to the demands and aspirations of young people. The role and place of youth in the life of our country have actually gained in importance. On the

other hand, young people are hit by the policy of the monopolies and their regime hardest of all: young people cannot study in adequate conditions or in adequate numbers, many of them cannot find a job, pay is low, there is no policy on rest and recreation, and it is fair to say that the ruling classes leave the younger generation out of their plans. Indeed, a veritable campaign is under way to accuse them of every sin in order to whitewash capitalist power.

Youth are playing an increasing part in the struggle for various demands and for social progress, democracy and socialism. Numerous young people in college and school are justly demanding that education and research in France be supplied with the necessary funds to effect a democratic reform. Our Party is with them. It backs their legitimate demands. We call on our organizations and our membership to step up their activity among various sections of the youth, a task which they should regard as one of the first importance. Experience shows that most of the young people of France, who have great revolutionary aspirations, can be brought into struggle alongside the working class and its Communist vanguard.

We will approach young workers and peasants and the students boldly and confidently. One has only to see how eagerly more and more young people come to our festivals and rallies and lectures to realize that they see our Party as the party which answers their questions and is carrying on a struggle in keeping with their aspirations for a new world in which they will be able fully to develop their capabilities without hindrance.

In short, Communists will actively contribute to the effort of every segment of the population oppressed by the monopolies and their regime.

Along with the struggle for demands, an important task of our Party is to fight for peace.

The government boasts of pursuing a policy of international cooperation. Now while it has reaffirmed its intention of maintaining good relations with the Soviet Union, we must not forget that it has also stressed that France should remain in the Atlantic Alliance under U.S. leadership.

At the same time the government goes on setting up the atomic strike force and boycotting disarmament talks. It has lately intensified its cooperation with the militarist rulers of the Federal Republic of Germany, with whom it says it is linked by "preferential solidarity."

In Africa, the regime is committed to an active neo-colonialist policy.

All this prompted our Political Bureau at the close of its meeting on September 20 last to publish a statement calling on the men

and women of France to fight for the following specific peace objectives:

1. Reaffirming their solidarity with the people of Vietnam fighting against the U.S. imperialist aggression, and declaring for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of the troops of the United States and its satellites from Vietnamese soil.

2. Expressing their solidarity with the Arab peoples and the progressive forces of Israel by demanding the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the territories occupied by them and the execution by Israel of the UN resolutions, the basis for a peaceful settlement of the Mideast crisis.

3. Declaring firmly for the withdrawal of France from the Atlantic pact, a move which would give our country complete freedom of initiative to work for peace and international security and cooperation, particularly in Europe.

4. Taking mass action to ensure that the French government supports the idea of a conference of all European states to establish a collective security system and that it recognizes the German Democratic Republic, whose brilliant achievements and peace effort we hailed on its 20th anniversary.

5. Insisting on renouncing the ruinous atomic strike force and on participation in disarmament talks by our country.

Action against imperialism and for peace can and should be stepped up, as the Appeal of the Moscow International Meeting stressed.

In giving new impetus to the fight for these objectives, the French Communist Party is aware that it serves thereby the best interests of the nation.

To sum up, we call on our people to come out in every field against the anti-popular policies of the regime, for action by the masses is decisive.

In the conditions prevailing in our country and the world today, after the leap forward taken by the class struggle in May and June 1968, our task is to mobilize the masses in united action on an unprecedented scale.

Such militant actions can go as far as to isolate the big bourgeoisie and impose radical democratic changes, confronting the masses with the issue of the transition to socialism.

The task of our Party organizations is, therefore, to furnish, as the working people and their allies carry on their struggles, the clarifications that are necessary if these struggles are to succeed, as well as to elucidate the outlook for the future.

To make headway, it is necessary to bear in mind that the regime of the big bourgeoisie still has considerable means at its disposal in spite of its growing difficulties. It may be expected to resort to any maneuver to hold its ground.

While giving one demagogic promise after another, the leaders of the country have been using threats by making a fuss about utterances and actions said to endanger republican law and order.

Their objective plainly is to isolate those working people who are fighting from the rest of the population, to strike at the working class and our Party and prevent new gains of the alliance of the working-class and democratic forces, which they rightly regard as the greatest menace.

The working people and the democrats will foil this maneuver.

By raising a hue and cry against "subversion," those in power simply want to conceal the fact that the working people are realizing more and more the close connection between their difficulties and the nature of the regime, realizing that the struggle for economic and social demands, while absolutely necessary, should be continued as a fight for profound political changes.

Indeed, while it is true that the struggle for demands can bring gains, the working people cannot for all that expect a lasting improvement in their condition unless they end the domination of capitalist monopoly over the nation.

This is why our Manifesto emphasizes the need to put an end to the regime of monopolies and big banks and bring about, through an alliance of the working-class and democratic forces, changes aimed at establishing real economic and political democracy leading to socialism, our main goal.

Certain that this answers the questions and aspirations of the working people, the organizations and members of the Party should accordingly devote much attention to setting out the solutions we advocate.

They should show that the economic and social measures listed in our program, primarily democratic nationalization measures, provide the right and necessary solutions to the problems facing the country today.

They should stress the innovating character of our proposals, designed to assure extensive and fruitful democratic activity at every level of the nation's life.

They should acquaint the people with the main lines of the new foreign policy of independence, peace and cooperation among all nations that we are calling for.

Lastly, they should underline the close connection existing, in our view, between the fight for democracy and the fight for socialism.

The solutions suggested by our Manifesto are more relevent than ever before. The Party organizations must make a point of publicizing them as widely as possible.

The task is, in short, to create conditions for the elimination of

the regime of capitalist monopoly in favor of a genuine democratic government backed by the people. We know that the principal condition is a fighting alliance of all working-class, democratic and socialist forces.

Unity of the working class and its alliance with other exploited strata is indispensable to the victory of democracy and socialism.

This is why our Party will never abandon its action for unity, whatever the obstacles.

But to make progress, it is also essential that the organizations of the non-Communist Left should really learn the lessons of the important period of struggle we have just gone through.

The powerful working-class and democratic movement in May and June 1968 showed that large sections of our people, first of all the working class, desire deep-going changes and are inspired by a firm will for struggle.

As well as putting forward immediate economic demands, the masses contested the domination of the monopolies and the rule of their regime over the nation.

Millions of working people and democrats expressed the same will by assuring a great success to Jacques Duclos as a presidential candidate.

In turning their backs on unity of the working-class and democratic forces, which in May 1968 annd June 1969 could have led to a real change of policy, the Socialist leaders ignored the changes which this produced in the minds of the masses. The bulk of the electorate severely condemned their attitude.

However, at its Issy-les-Moulineaux congress, the Socialist Party, having experienced a severe failure of its divisive policy, declared against alliance with the centrist reactionaries and for the dialogue with our Party.

Our Party was interested to note this stance of the Socialists, for it has always favored the dialogue with other democratic organizations.

I would like at this point to recall the reason for our attitude towards the Socialist Party and our national policy for a united front.

We are Communists, that is, Marxist-Leninists, fighting for the interests of the working people, for a socialist France, the main lines of which are traced in our Manifesto. To carry on this fight successfully, we consider it necessary to combat, from positions of scientific socialism, reformist theories and the policy of cooperation with the big bourgeoisie.

At the same time we emphatically declare for united action and for cooperation—also in building socialism—with all who are willing to fight *effectively* for the interests of the working people, for democracy, peace and socialism.

To us, the objective of united action with other democratic or-

ganizations, especially with the Socialist Party, does not, of course, mean surrendering the working class to the tutelage of this or that segment of the bourgeoisie. It means bringing ever larger sections of the people into action against the monopolies and their regime, for advanced democracy, for a foreign policy of peace and independence, for socialism.

One of the conditions for establishing a united front is that the Communists should persevere in their independent effort to organize and mobilize the masses and to educate them in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

At the same time the Communist Party is resolutely combating all manifestations of sectarianism in its ranks. It is fighting against survivals of the anarchist theory of "active minorities," which breeds contempt for the masses, a tendency to disregard their actual frame of mind, impatience in respect to worker Socialists, and denial of the need for them to make progress by drawing on their own experience.

The Communist Party counters this harmful point of view with the Marxist-Leninist concept of the vanguard, which must never lose contact with the bulk of the class and must be only one step ahead of it.

Prompted by these principles, we have notified the Socialist Party in reply to its written request that we are ready for discussion to define common objectives in the common struggle against monopoly power, in defense of the working people's interests, for greater democratic freedoms, for socialism.

Unity of action would redouble the possibilities of struggle for the working class and other non-monopolistic strata.

Now that the masses really desire a profound change of policy, the responsibility of democratic organizations is particularly great.

Accordingly, we would like the Socialist leaders really to discard their old, discredited policy of compromise with the reactionary forces, a policy of splitting the working-class and democratic forces.

Declarations of intent are not enough, of course. It is life and deeds that will enable the working people and the democrats to judge.

In any case, our Party, for its part, will spare no effort to achieve unity of action and alliance. It will boldly develop unity of the working people and the democratic forces, first of all at grass roots, at the work places, in the neighborhoods, the trade unions and elsewhere.

The demands of the popular movement are the basis on which the problems of a real alliance of all the political and trade union forces seeking a new democratic policy capable of paving the way for socialism in our country can be solved.

To further unity of the masses in struggle, we will step up our fight against all anti-unitarian positions, that is, against reformist ideology and class cooperation, but also against anti-communism, which disguises itself with the Leftist phrasemongering of Trotskyist, Maoist and anarchist groups and the United Socialist Party itself, the bourgeoisie using all these groups to split the working class and its allies.

By developing an intensive political and ideological activity within the mass movement, our Party is fulfilling its decisive role of vanguard in the struggle for progress, democracy and socialism. Needless to say, we Communists do not claim any monopoly on revolutionary aspirations, as the Champigny Manifesto indicates. But the Manifesto rightly adds that the scientific doctrine, the tried and tested methods of struggle and the Leninist organizational principles of the French Communist Party make it the great revolutionary party of our country and the indispensable instrument of the great political and social changes our time calls for.

These qualities have enabled our Party really to become the vanguard of the French working class, a great national force rooted in our people.

Throughout its history, our Party has had to beat off attacks from the bourgeoisie and right- and "Left"-wing opportunists on its principles of action and organization and its unity in struggle. It has in the end thwarted all these attempts.

We will pursue this struggle with the utmost patience and determination, taking inspiration from the advice which Marx and Engels gave to the League of Communists after 1848, that *the workers' party*, they wrote, *needs to show maximum organization, unity and autonomy if it does not want to be exploited by the bourgeoisie and be taken in tow by it.*

Authentically and profoundly national, the French Communist Party is at the same time an internationalist party fighting for the unity of all anti-imperialist, democratic and socialist forces. This accounts for its participation in the latest international Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties.

The Party membership fully approves of this correct policy of our Central Committee. Nevertheless, we must intensify our ideological struggle against all deviations.

Comrade Gaston Plissonnier showed in his report the conditions in which our Political Bureau was compelled to adopt a communiqué condemning the opinions running counter to the policy of the Party expressed by Roger Garaudy in a Yugoslav newspaper.

The comrades have just heard a new statement by Garaudy. Garaudy is trying again to take advantage of the events in Czechoslovakia to foment anti-Sovietism and opportunist trends.

The Political Bureau of our Party considers, on the contrary, that

the Central Committee should reaffirm its stand on this issue to promote cooperation among the countries of the socialist community and strengthen the world Communist movement.

The policy of our Party, which is unchanged, is well known.

While taking a positive view of the justified changes effected in Czechoslovakia in January 1968, our Communist Party in April and July 1968 expressed to the new leaders of the Czechoslovak Party its concern and its desire to see them carry on, within the framework of socialist democracy, a more vigorous fight against anti-socialist and Right-wing forces, whose activity tended to jeopardize the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak working people and their relations of friendship, cooperation and alliance with socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union.

Subsequently, considering that it was for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, supported politically and ideologically by the socialist countries and all brother parties, to find in itself, in the working class and the people of Czechoslovakia the forces needed to safeguard socialism and carry it forward, our Central Committee expressed its disagreement with the military intervention of August 21, 1968.

At the same time, in the resolution dealing with this matter, our Central Committee called for vigorous resistance to anti-Soviet campaigns and expressed its determination to continue and step up its efforts towards maintaining and furthering its relations of solidarity with the brother parties, particularly with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We have always considered, in fact, that disagreement on a given issue should by no means affect the fundamental solidarity uniting the Communist and Workers' parties in the struggle against their common enemy, imperialism.

That is why, during the important meeting held in Moscow on November 4 and 5, 1968, our Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, after frankly stating their respective points of view on the Czechoslovak events, reached an extensive agreement on major problems of the common fight against the aggressive schemes of imperialism, for peace and socialism.

That agreement found expression particularly in our Party's close cooperation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties throughout the preparations for the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and during its deliberations last June.

With regard to differences arising between parties, the Document adopted by the Meeting says:

"The Meeting is confident that the outstanding issues can and must be resolved correctly by strengthening all forms of cooperation among the Communist parties, by extending inter-Party ties,

mutual exchange of experience, comradely discussion and consultation and unity of action in the international arena. It is an internationalist duty of each Party to do everything it can to help improve relations and promote trust between all parties and to undertake further efforts to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement."

We still think that is the right way.

In the grave crisis in which the Communist Party and socialist Czechoslovakia found themselves, we never ceased to consider that the crisis should be solved by political means.

I recall that our Political Bureau said so again on September 2, 1968, following the Moscow agreements between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It stressed that our Party would do all in its power to contribute to a political solution while avoiding any action likely to hamper, delay or jeopardize it.

This was our attitude throughout the ensuing period and we intend to abide by it.

Convinced that the existence of divergences over this or that question should not handicap the common struggle against imperialism, our Party will strengthen its relations of cooperation with the brother parties according to the principles and fundamental ideas defined by the recent International Meeting in Moscow.

By contrast, were one to follow Garaudy, it would mean aggravating the disagreements in the world Communist movement and weakening it, as well as splitting our own Party, with imperialism and the class enemy the sole winners.

That the enemies of socialism long to see the Communists of various countries bicker among themselves is understandable because it serves their interest. As for the Communists, they must, even when they do not entirely agree on all questions, fight unrelentingly against every attempt to divide the Communist parties, the workers and the peoples in favor of imperialism.

Loyal to this internationalist duty, the French Communist Party is determined to go on taking an active part, on the principles of equal rights and independence, in the world Communist movement alongside all Communist and Workers' parties, alongside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the decisive international force in the fight against imperialism, for socialism and communism.

In his interview with the Yugoslav newspaper I have mentioned, Garaudy again attacked the unity of the world Communist movement by minimizing and smearing the results of the International Meeting.

He claims that the Document leaves out the fundamental problems, including the cardinal problem of different countries choosing different ways of transition to socialism.

Let us recall, to begin with, that the Meeting did not propose to tackle and solve all the problems that have arisen in the world.

Our Central Committee has always unanimously considered that the Meeting should constitute a stage and should therefore have a relatively restricted agenda.

Even so, the Document adopted by the Meeting is a valuable contribution to the fight of the Communists and the peoples against imperialism, for peace and socialism.

It is wrong, for example, to say that the Meeting did not deal with the problem of different ways of transition to socialism. On this point, the Document reads as follows:

"The Communist and Workers' parties are conducting their activity in diverse, specific conditions, requiring an appropriate approach to the solution of concrete problems. Each Party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, fully independently elaborates its own policy, determines the directions, forms and methods of struggle, and, depending on the circumstances, chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism, and also the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country."

It was in accordance with these principles that our Party elaborated its Champigny Manifesto. It seems, however, that to Garaudy the Manifesto and the Document of the Meeting hardly mean anything.

I must add that as far as the ways of transition to socialism are concerned, Garaudy hardly clarifies the matter by the terminology he uses.

Indeed, he systematically confuses the issue of *ways of transition to socialism* with the notion of *models* of socialism.

Now, recourse to the notion of *model*, applied to the roads and methods of transition from capitalism to socialism, is a highly questionable procedure making for confusion, particularly because it obscures the universal features which every socialist revolution necessarily has, such as the need for the working class and its allies to win and direct political power, the abolition of big capitalist property, socialization of the important means of production and trade, etc.

These general principles of the socialist revolution necessarily apply in varying measure in every country with due regard to its historical conditions and national peculiarities. The Document of the International Meeting shows this clearly. By contrast, Garaudy's use of the notion of *model* permits of any interpretation, including negation of the general laws of socialism.

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Garaudy also affirms that the Document of the Meeting contains

no valid analysis of the present situation in the capitalist countries, that it refers in "almost ritual" fashion to the aggravation of the contradictions of capitalism, disregarding the new contradictions and the changes brought about by the new scientific and technological revolution, such as those in the structure of the working class and the increased role of the intellectuals.

Anyone who reads the Document carefully will see that this criticism, too, is absolutely groundless. In fact, the Document says:

"The scientific and technological revolution offers mankind unprecedented possibilities of remaking Nature, to produce immense material wealth and to multiply man's creative capabilities. These possibilities should serve the general welfare, but capitalism is using the scientific and technological revolution to increase its profits and to intensify the exploitation of the working people . . .

"Under monopoly domination this leads to the reproduction of social antagonisms on a growing scale and in a sharper form. Not only have the long-standing contradictions of capitalism been aggravated, but new ones have arisen as well. This applies, in particular, to the contradiction between the unlimited possibilities opened up by the scientific and technological revolution and the roadblocks raised by capitalism to their utilization for the benefit of society as a whole."

With reference to the events that took place in France in May and June 1968, the Document adds:

"A serious clash took place in that country between the working class and a considerable section of the intellectuals and students, on the one hand, and the Gaullist regime and monopoly rule, on the other. This clash opened up new possibilities for the struggle for democracy and socialism."

Lastly, we know that our Manifesto deals at length with this problem and that, while speaking of the decisive role of the working class, it assigns an important place to the new sections of the intelligentsia.

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There is yet another cardinal problem on which Garaudy disagrees with the Party. I mean the role of the Party and its organizational principles, specifically the principle of democratic centralism, which he frequently violates, as all the comrades of the Central Committee who spoke here stressed.

However, we will have an opportunity to come back to this during the discussion in preparation for our 19th Congress.

Undoubtedly, we could have waited for the opening of the pre-Congress discussion to deal with the problems I have just mentioned. But Garaudy did not wait—he made public statements contrary to the policy of the Party in a Yugoslav newspaper, statements

which, moreover, were reprinted by numerous bourgeois papers. He should therefore not be surprised at our reaction.

Speaking on behalf of our Political Bureau, I would like Comrade Garaudy to reconsider his attitude, that is, defend the policy of the Party and to take part, like everyone else in the Party, in the preparations for the 19th Congress according to the principles governing our Party and its Rules.

In any case, it is now clear that we must intensify our ideological and political struggle on both fronts: against Right-wing opportunism and revisionism and against "Left"-wing opportunism.

This struggle must be carried on without let-up, both on the international level and in our own country, to assure the development of the alliance of the working-class and democratic forces, of the anti-imperialist forces, and to strengthen the cohesion of our Party and the international Communist movement as a whole.

As well as reinforcing our ranks ideologically, we must strive to recruit new members, especially among the youth. Our Party should continuously acquire new and dynamic forces. This is particularly necessary now that its responsibilities are so much more important.

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To maintain economic and social demands, safeguard peace, work for the democratic future of the country and for socialism, show our solidarity with the peoples fighting for independence, reinforce the Party and promote the unity of the world Communist movement are all tasks by accomplishing which we can give a rich content to the preparations for our coming Congress and to its work.

The enemies of the working class and of our Party, who may have been tempted to indulge in speculations about the unity of our Party, are in for another disappointment.

Aware of its great responsibilities, our Party will not fail in its task. The French Communists are united more than ever behind their Party and their Central Committee.

Our Party, loyal to its principles, will honorably fulfil its big tasks in the service of the working class, of the people, of France.

# THE MOSCOW MEETING HAS PROMOTED THE COMMON STRUGGLE

## RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, CP OF DENMARK

The Central Committee considers that the Moscow Meeting was a noteworthy success of the world Communist movement and a decisive step towards strengthening its unity. It led to greater cohesion of the Communist parties around common tasks in the fight against imperialism, and hence promoted the common struggle of all anti-imperialist forces.

The unity achieved at the Meeting in common struggle against the imperialist policy of war, oppression and exploitation also set an example to all Left-wing and anti-imperialist forces striving to overcome the split in their ranks.

The line of struggle determined by the Meeting on the basis of a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the main forces and new developments in the international situation also makes for closer ideological unity of the Communist movement.

The decisions of the Meeting were a result of collective effort in an atmosphere of highly democratic cooperation on an equal footing. This cooperation meant putting into practice the principles of internationalist cooperation of the Communist parties as equal and autonomous parties, principles formulated by the Meeting itself.

The Meeting both reaffirmed and constituted a proof of the role which the Communist movement and parties play as a unifying political factor of today. This role depends on their continuous unity, on the progress of Marxism-Leninism, on their unremitting fight against both Right-wing and "Left"-wing opportunism, and on harmony between national and international tasks. It is very important that most of the parties attending the Meeting took a stand against Maoist attacks on the Communist movement.

The Meeting showed how and why it is now necessary and possible to combat imperialist plans and to fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark subscribes to the documents adopted by the Meeting, which also reaffirm the policy laid down by the 23rd Congress of the CPD.

The contents and results of the Meeting should be publicized among all Party members. They are an inspiring factor in strengthening the Party and the left-wing forces politically and organiza-

*September 1969.

tionally. At Party meetings and in the press, too, we must strive to fulfil this task.

The Party's entire ideological and organizing work must be considerably improved if it is to meet requirements.

It is in this spirit that the Party is going to celebrate its 50th anniversary and the centenary of Lenin's birth.

The Communist Party of Denmark supports and will contribute to the continuing effort to promote international cooperation and unity of the Communist parties and other anti-imperialist forces.

# AN ACT OF BETRAYAL*

The Communist Party of Argentina, expressing the indignation of the working class and the people, condemns the foul maneuvers of Right-wing Peronist leaders of the Committee of 20.** These maneuvers have produced an act of betrayal: the national strike, set for October 1 and 2, 1969, is off.

They blame their move on threats from the government. To this we may well add fear of being denied the handouts they get as union leaders. Some of them have waxed rich on these handouts, and have virtually dropped out of the working class.

The Committee negotiated with Ongania at the suggestion of Péron, who lately has put forward his so-called flexible tactic of "pressure" and "negotiation" with the anti-popular and anti- national dictatorship.

Most Committee members decided to call off the strike even before meeting with Ongania. They did not scruple to pretend they had taken this decision after talks with the President, and accepted the humiliation of having a government official announce their treacherous decision.

The Right-wing Peronist leaders in general and the Committee members in particular have always blocked and frustrated the struggle of the working class and other working people. When the workers and the people began to act on their own, these individuals had to agree to struggle so as not to lose influence. But a few hours later, cowed by the government's threats, they went back on their decision.

By whose authority did they take the step? The decision to call a 36-hour general strike on October 1 and 2 was adopted by a plenary meeting of national secretaries and the vast majority of the regional committees of the General Confederation of Labor throughout the country, including Rosario and Cordoba. It was taken by the vast majority of trade unions, by delegates' meetings and by internal committees in plenary sessions.

These people have trampled elementary standards of trade union democracy underfoot.

The betrayal is a fact. But there are sufficient organized forces in our country to maintain the decision on the strike. Let us remember that the workers' great nationwide strike on July 1 took place against the will of venal leaders.

The CPA calls on the GCL of Argentina and its regional com-

*Abridged.

**Composed of representatives of certain trade unions who want union demands to be settled through talks with the government.—**Ed.**

mittees, on the Railwaymen's Union and the internal committees to stick to their decision.

If this is done the rousing appeal will bring a courageous response from the overwhelming majority of the proletariat and so the honor of the Argentine labor movement will be saved.

This call will also be backed by all the democratic, patriotic, anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist forces of our country, civilians and military alike, whom we urge fully to identify themselves with the heroic working class. The campaign of October 1 and 2 is important not only to the working class but, in tremendous measure, to the people and the nation.

Enough of vacillating, timid, discredited or simply venal union bosses! Let the working class promote to the trade union leadership workers who are fit for the job and loyal to their class and people and country!

*Central Committee of the Communist Party*

Buenos Aires, September 27, 1969.

# THE PARTY OF MARXISM-LENINISM*

GUS HALL

Under the laser beam the history of 50 years of the Communist Party stands out sharp and clear. The Communist Party is one of the movements whose ideas and actions have materially affected and influenced the course of events in the USA. It is a specific part of history because it has influenced history.

Clearly, it is not a fad or a fancy, and life has not rejected it. Therefore, a study of its history can add greatly to one's understanding of the present, and it is a necessary foundation for a clear vision of things to come.

No one has yet written a definitive history of the Communist Party, USA. This is a weakness. Communists have been too busy making this history while reactionary and liberal historians have been busy distorting, falsifying and burying it. Only the outline of the Party's history was written by William Z. Foster in his *History of the Communist Party of the United States* (International Publishers, New York, 1956).

It is necessary to write a history of the Communist Party, and this we cannot do in one issue of Political Affairs.

The Communist Party takes part in movements and struggles with millions of other Americans, and this also makes history. But what is necessary is to turn the spotlight on its unique role and contributions.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

The Communist Party is a working-class party. Its contributions are working-class contributions. This is the basis of its unique role.

The Communist Party is a party of Marxism-Leninism. It is the main fountainhead for the introduction and the development of this science in our land. There are no other Marxist-Leninist parties in the USA. This role of the Communist Party has added a new quality to all phases of American life. It has greatly influenced the course of events.

It has given the working class a scientific basis of struggle. It has given the class struggle a direction—a revolutionary direction. It has helped to instill in the workers a consciousness of the class nature of capitalist exploitation, a consciousness of the class nature and class solution of the problems of individual workers. This has

*Abridged from **Political Affairs**, September-October, 1969.

influenced the character of the class struggle. The Communist Party has nurtured and planted the seeds of socialism among American workers. The significance of this contribution will grow as the struggles of the working class move toward the historic point of a revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. The injection of these ideas has in an important measure influenced the course of events.

Marxism-Leninism adds an important, unique ingredient to the total stream of intellectual life. To the historian it gives a science of history—an ability to see the relationships between causes and effects, to see in their inter-relationship the influence of economic laws and the processes of political, cultural and intellectual activities as makers of history. It gives him the ability to see the relationship of individuals and classes as makers of history.

It lifts the study of economics from the narrow confines of statistics and abstract speculations. It rescues philosophy from the hopeless and degrading task of running interference for a dying economic and social system. It liberates thought from the dry rot resulting from confinement and separation from life, from narrow departmentalization. For culture, and art, Marxism provides a more meaningful purpose, meaning that adds to its aesthetic and emotional qualities.

Marxism adds a deep sense of dedication to one's fellow human beings in all fields of endeavor, whether intellectual or physical. Intellectual activity in the service of a dying way of life, itself warps and dies. Marxism rescues it from its destruction. Marxism rejects the concept of thought as the activity of a "neutral" observer. It opens the way by which philosophers, economists, historians and cultural workers can escape from the confines of being merely observers and become active fighters for progress—fighters to change that which they may observe.

Marxism-Leninism has to some extent broken through the barriers constructed to isolate it and make it ineffective. This ideological "Maginot Line" consists of terror, imprisonment, obstructionism of every form, denial of employment, ridicule and ostracism. It takes the form of a conspiracy of total silence.

When the fortifications began to show cracks, the ideological custodians of the reactionary establishment introduced the study of anti-Communism as a substitute for the study of Communism. In the 50s, they still taught that "dialectical materialism is more than a delusion—it is a sin." But more and more they have had to give up this open farce. It began to backfire. Too many were discovering the real Marxism. Such primitive vulgarization brought only discredit to the would-be discreditors of Marxism.

## MARXISM CAN NO LONGER BE IGNORED

The attack goes on, but they cannot now ignore Marxism or continue to use the primitive methods; hence they have shifted to more sophisticated methods. From the posture of rejection and frontal attack they have moved to that of "properly interpreting Marx," or to saying: "Marx was right in the past, but life has by-passed his ideas." Thus while the conspiracy of silence has been broken, and the vulgarizations do not go unchallenged, the struggle goes on.

There is an unprecedented demand for basic Marxist-Leninist literature. It has become an accepted area of inquiry in many colleges. This is no small achievement. Objective developments, of course, are an important factor in this shift. But the credit for the effective use of these factors must go to the Communist Party. If the Communist Party USA had no other credits, this invaluable contribution would itself be reason enough to uncover the murals depicting the 50 years of service to the working class and our people. But there is much more.

The ivory tower is not the vehicle for Marxism-Leninism, which is the science of revolution. It has broken through the ideological barriers because it has become a factor in the mass struggles, in the class struggle raging in our land. It influences and increasingly guides these struggles. This is its greatest contribution. Because it is impossible to separate the Communist Party in action from Marxism-Leninism, this is also the Communist Party's most significant contribution.

Years before the appearance of Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party, there were rebels and heroic rebellions. But they were each doing their own thing. There were theories and there were actions and movements, but they were not related. Marxism-Leninism introduced a new quality to the struggles for progress. It exposed the class roots of capitalism; it turned the spotlight of rebellion to the class nature of capitalist exploitation. It pointed to the need for developing a class consciousness, a class approach to struggle. The history of the Communist Party is a history of developing a class approach, a class understanding of the struggle for progress.

Before Marxism-Leninism there were struggles aimed at reform in the existing society and there were rebellions against the "system" but the two remained in different orbits, very often antagonistic to each other, often cancelling one another out. Marxism-Leninism explains and unites the forces propelling movements of reform and those of revolution. It does not reject struggles for reforms, but injects a revolutionary context into them. Thus the struggle for reforms becomes the path towards revolution. There is no other

path. To reject the struggle for reforms is to give up the struggle for a revolutionary transition to socialism.

Marxism-Leninism also rejects empty rhetoric about revolution and violence, rhetoric that has no relationship to leading masses in battle against the evil effects of capitalism. It rejects it because it remains empty talk. Thus, the history of the Communist Party is a history of struggle against reformism—the ideological dissipater of a revolutionary movement—and of the struggle against concepts of anarchism and other forms of petty-bourgeois radicalism which short-circuit the revolutionary process into meaningless discharges of sparks of revolutionary energy. The introduction of and the fight for concepts of mass struggle have greatly influenced the course of all struggles in our country.

## UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

The Communist Party in its very essence represents the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. Marxism-Leninism has influenced and is influencing the patterns of thought and moving them toward action. This comes from its very nature—to observe in order to change what is being observed. To observe, to uncover the laws of capitalist development, with the objective of being a factor in discarding it. To observe and dissect racism and chauvinism, not merely in order to condemn it, but to be more effective as a factor in uprooting and destroying it. To study and observe imperialism as an extension of capitalist enslavement, to understand its inherently aggressive and warlike nature in order to be a more powerful force in destroying it.

The understanding of the laws of capitalist development is a powerful factor in the struggle against capitalism. It gives the working class the ability to synchronize its actions with objective processes. It provides the revolutionary movement with guidelines on how to take advantage of weaknesses in the ranks of the class enemy. It is a necessary foundation for solving such tactical questions as timing, disposition of forces, nature of alliances, etc. It is an absolute necessity for a mass approach to struggles. Only by the use of this science is it possible for the advanced detachment of the working-class movement to determine when the objective processes and the subjective factors are ready for a new stage of struggle. Tactics and timing are, therefore, closely related to this scientific on-going assessment of objective reality.

The Communist Party is a force combining thought and action. It is because it is the party of Marxism-Leninism that it has maintained an advanced position in all struggles—an advanced position that is closely related to the objective reality of each movement.

Communists have been the front-line fighters for the organization

of trade unions. Communists have made class history in the struggle against the reactionary class-collaborationist policies of the reformist trade union leadership. Starting with William Z. Foster and his leadership in organizing the steel workers in 1919, the Communists have contributed leadership and drive to organizing the mass production industries, to the emergence of the CIO and now to the upsurge of the rank-and-file movements. The Communist Party initiated and led the struggles that won the present social security legislation including unemployment insurance.

Of all the political parties, the Communist Party is the pioneer in the struggle against the special system of discrimination and segregation practised against 25 million black Americans. We are the pioneers in the struggle against racism and chauvinism.

Communists were in the leadership of and supplied the main body of the shock troops in the struggle against fascism. The Communists were the main body of volunteers in the struggle against fascism in Spain.

The Communists have at all times been in the front ranks of the forces fighting to stem the attacks of the ultra-Right. Because Marxism views the struggle for democracy as both a necessary fight for reform and a path that can lead to socialism, Communists are staunch defenders of democratic rights.

The Communist Party, USA has been and is the most consistent opponent of U.S. imperialism. This unshakable stand is based both on our uncompromising position against capitalism and on our firm position of working-class internationalism.

* * *

These are only some of the contributions of which history must take note. We take note of them not to boast about them or publicly to record them. We note them rather as an inducement to encourage the study of Marxism-Leninism, because the 50 years of the Communist Party is 50 years of the application and development of Marxism-Leninism on the American scene.

# INTERNATIONAL MEETING— AN HISTORIC EVENT*

**WILLIAM KASHTAN**
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

Sometimes one has to look back at an event to see it in proper perspective. From this vantage point it can be truly said that the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was a major success, indeed a turning point for the international Communist movement, for the working class and the liberation movement.

One has only to consider the reaction of the mass media to see how true this is. They hoped that the splitting policies of the leaders of the Communist Party of China on one hand, and the events in Czechoslovakia on the other, would paralyze its work. They backed their hopes by picking out bits and pieces from the contributions of some delegations to create the impression that the Meeting would be rent asunder. What they did not take into account was the high sense of responsibility of the delegations present, both to their working class and people and to the international working-class movement, their determination to overcome temporary disagreements or subordinate them to the over-riding need of strengthening the unity of action of the international Communist movement against imperialism.

This found its expression in the adoption by the Meeting of the main document before it: "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces"; a statement on "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam"; an Appeal in Defense of Peace; an address on the Lenin Centenary; a statement in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression; a statement of solidarity with Communists and democrats of Greece and of Haiti; an address to Indonesian Communists. In addition it was agreed to work for the convening of a world congress of all anti-imperialist forces, and a world conference against racism.

Thus, far from being rent asunder the Meeting arrived at conclusions on major questions confronting mankind and in the course of so doing created conditions for strengthening the unity of Com-

*Communist Viewpoint No. 4, September-October 1969. Abridged.

munist and Workers' Parties on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Indeed, if the Meeting did nothing else it halted the trend towards fragmentation and splits and charted a course leading towards greater unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement. It did this not by "diktat," not by "orders from Moscow," not through the creation of a new international center, but by a correct blending of national and international tasks as expressed in the documents of the Meeting which on the one hand uphold the sovereignty, independence and equality of each Party, and on the other, strengthen international solidarity and unity of action against imperialism. It is a great gain for the international working class that this task was accomplished. In this lies the historical significance of the International Meeting. The groundwork has been laid for a new upsurge of the world Communist movement and for uniting all the anti-imperialist forces of the world in common struggle against reaction and war, and for strengthening the fight for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism on a world scale.

Essentially the Meeting had the task of summing up the events of the past nine years since the 1960 Conference. And on the basis of a sober, scientific and rounded-out analysis of world developments, indicate the prospects ahead. Some parties took the position that the situation was not ripe for such a summing up, that the Meeting should limit itself to adopting a program of anti-imperialist action. The majority of parties, however, maintained that without such an analysis of new phenomena, a sober estimation of class forces on a world scale, the strategy and tactics of imperialism at this stage, there would be a lack of perspective and direction without which an effective joint offensive of all the revolutionary forces of our day against the positions of world imperialism could not be mounted.

In fact of the increased aggressiveness of imperialism there was need for achieving stronger bonds of unity of the international Communist movement. The global strategy of imperialism required a strategy of unity of the entire Communist movement and of all anti-imperialist forces.

New phenomena requiring serious analysis had shaped up in the capitalist world particularly in relation to the scientific and technological revolution. Moreover, in the past period the leadership of the Communist Party of China undertook an open attack against Marxism-Leninism, including a policy of splitting the Communist and anti-imperialist movement. Imperialism used the divisions in the Communist movement and deviations from Marxism-Leninism

of a right and left character to weaken socialism, the working class and national liberation movement.

As a result of looking at the situation in a one-sided way tendencies had arisen among some Communists to view temporary setbacks and retreats as evidence of a basic shift in the balance of power in favor of imperialism. Without minimizing these temporary retreats and setbacks, the main document stressed that 'the contradiction between the imperialist 'policy of strength' and the real possibilities of imperialism is becoming ever more evident. *Imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development.* The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces." The truth of this is to be seen in the marked successes of the world socialist sytem in the economic and political spheres no less than in the military sphere. In the continued growth and development of the national liberation movement, which in some areas is beginning to take on more directly anti-capitalist positions. In the upsurge of workingclass action against monopoly alongside the entry of new forces into the anti-imperialist struggle, particularly the youth. The truth of this is particularly evident in the military defeat U.S. imperialism has suffered in Vietnam.

At the same time the main document cautions against any tendency to under-estimate imperialism's strength and its capacity to inflict terrible harm to mankind. Imperialism, although it has not grown stronger, remains a serious and dangerous foe. The USA, the chief imperialist power, has grown more aggressive and dangerous. While imperialism has been compelled to adapt itself to the new relationship of forces on a world scale, it has not given up its basic aims: to stimulate tension, provoke local wars, weaken socialism from within, split the international Communist movement, and halt "the irreversible decline in capitalism."

The question of peace and war was therefore at the center of attention of the Meeting. As Comrade Brezhnev correctly stressed in his remarks, 'One of the cardinal tasks of the international Communist movement is to head the struggle of the people for a lasting peace, and today, far from diminishing, the importance of this task constantly grows. It would be wrong to underestimate the threat of war created by imperialism, above all, U.S. imperialism, the main force of world reaction."

It is in this spirit and conscious of its responsibility to deliver mankind from the threat of world nuclear war that issue was taken with the Maoist thesis on the inevitability of war. In his contribution Comrade Gomulka took issue with that position, stating that "the thesis that world war is inevitable is theoretically false and politically sterile. To accept that thesis means to abandon the struggle

for achieving the most advantageous conditions for settling the basic conflict of this era—the conflict between socialism and capitalism. The alternative to passive reconciliation with the prospects of world war is the struggle for peaceful coexistence. To oppose the prospects of peaceful coexistence with the thesis that there are only two possibilities on the question of world war, 'either war will lead to revolution or revolution will prevent war' (from Lin Piao's report to the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China), means to shy away from the actual problems of our times."

It is useful to note that the above statement of Lin Piao veers closely to that of Trotsky during the Brest-Litovsk negotiations — "Neither peace nor war." Under cover of a "revolutionary phrase" the Maoist line offers war rather than the struggle for peace as the way to socialism.

In rejecting this dangerous line the Meeting restated its basic support for the struggle for peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems whose aim is to secure the renunciation of war as a method of settling conflicts between states. At the same time the Meeting emphasized that the class struggle, of which the ideological struggle is part, continues on an international and national scale, that the struggle for working-class power and of the former colonies for complete independence, develops within the framework of peaceful coexistence. In short, the aim of the struggle for peaceful coexistence is to create the best possible conditions for resolving basic class conflicts without another world war.

The Meeting did not only deal with imperialism as a system but with its aggressive aims and actions. These were spelled out in the comprehensive program of anti-imperialist actions which is part of the main document. It focussed on the main danger spots in the world today: Vietnam, the Middle East, Bonn revanchism, the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism and neo-fascism, the struggle for nuclear disarmament.

By focussing its main fire on imperialism as the main enemy of peace, freedom, independence and social progress, the Meeting opened the door to uniting the main streams of the world revolutionary process, the socialist world system, the working class in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement into a mighty force for peace and social progress. As the main document states: "The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle for world peace, the menace of thermonuclear war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind."

It is with this in mind that the Meeting concentrated its attention on coordinating the efforts of all anti-imperialist forces, first of all of the Communist and Workers' Parties, all directed to strengthen-

ing the alliance of the socialist world system with the working-class and national liberation movements.

The overwhelming majority of delegations sharply condemned the divisive actions of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, its efforts at substituting Maoism for Marxism-Leninism, its break with its international commitments, its anti-Leninist course. What stood out is the fact that the efforts of the Maoists to impose their particular line on the international Communist movement had suffered virtual defeat.

Particular attention was paid to developments shaping up in the capitalist countries. This had to do not only with an examination of the role of state-monopoly capitalism, the emergence of multinational corporations, the technological and scientific revolution, the old and new contradictions arising within the womb of capitalism. It had to do particularly with the growing upsurge of democratic, anti-imperialist and working-class actions in the capitalist countries generally. In this process the role of the working class as the main motive and mobilizing force of the present stage of the revolutionary struggle was given particular emphasis. Attention was drawn to the growing consciousness of the working class which by its struggle is helping to bring new forces into the struggle againt imperialism and capitalism. At the same time the course of the struggle is compelling it to advance larger aims and to come into direct conflict with the political power of state-monopoly capitalism. The technological and scientific revolution under state-monopoly capitalist rule will accelerate this process and strengthen the trend towards unity in the working-class and trade union movement. The prospect is one of new class battles in some countries which could lead to fundamental social change.

At the same time the Meeting noted the revolutionary potential of the working farmers, the progressive intellectuals and the youth, all adding up to a sharp increase of mass popular pressure for social change.

The Meeting emphasized that the working farmers remain the chief allies of the working class despite the fact that there has been a considerable diminution of their numerical strength in all advanced capitalist countries. This was important, to avoid using the term alliance too loosely, as in the case of the worker-student alliance. Alliances refer to classes and the youth do not constitute a separate class. Emphasis was therefore placed on the *unity* of workers, students and intellectuals, as distinct from the worker-farmer alliance.

The inclusion of a large petty-bourgeois mass into the arena of social and political struggle presents new problems for the revolutionary movement. These forces are impatient at the injustices of the system but have not yet accepted the discipline nor acquired

the experience of revolutionary struggle against it. This explains why they tend to be susceptible to various theories, particularly those critical of Marxism-Leninism and of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

These new forces which are anti-imperialist in the main need to be brought into the revolutionary struggle. But to do so requires the defeat of these basically petty-bourgeois theories, bringing socialist consciousness and organization into these movements and winning acceptance of the leading role of the working class amongst them.

To implement such an approach requires two things—a broad, flexible approach to all potential allies on the one hand; a firm Marxist-Leninist position, an independent class position, the ability to advance and defend that position amongst these potential allies, on the other.

As the meeting emphasized, the sharpening contradictions between labor and capital are developing into a deepening antagonism between monopoly and the majority of the nation. Objectively and subjectively the basis is being laid for uniting all those forces into a powerful anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist alliance.

The basis for such a development lies in unity of the working-class movement, more particularly the unity of Communists and social democrats. Experience showed that the struggle for unity of action had helped bring about a differentiation in the social-democratic movement, helped stimulate a genuine Left. Unity, however, could not succeed without a consistent struggle against right-wing social democracy from the firm principled positions of Marxism-Leninism. It is this sharp criticism of opportunism which will, as the main document states, "deepen the crisis of reformist concepts." The Communists were called upon to strive for cooperation and joint action with all those genuinely prepared to fight imperialism, for peace, for democracy and the interests of the working people, for full cooperation with social democrats for the larger aim of establishing an advanced democratic government leading towards the building of a socialist society.

The Meeting devoted particular attention to the urgent task of strengthening the unity of Communist and Workers' Parties without which no effective offensive could be mounted against imperialism.

Emphasis on this question was not accidental. Divergencies have arisen among some parties in the socialist states which imperialism uses to separate and weaken them.

Referring to the difficult period of development of the Communist movement, the fact that unity had been disrupted, Comrade Brezhnev expressed the view that it had been largely caused by "the penetration of revisionist influences of a right and left nature in the Communist movement. Revisionism in theory leads to opportun-

ism in practice. Revisionism is a departure from proletarian class positions, a substitution for Marxism-Leninism of all sorts of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts, new and old. The unity of the Party, the interests of the anti-imperialist movement, demand intensification of the struggle against revisionism, both right and left opportunism. A principled stand on this issue has always been a most important condition for strengthening a Party's political position. Right-wing opportunism means a slide down to liquidationist positions and to conciliation with social democracy in policy and ideology. Left-wing opportunism under cover of ultra-left verbiage pushes the masses to adventurous actions and the Party into a sectarian path."

It is in this light that the main document stressed the need for a consistent struggle against bourgeois ideology and its offshoot, anti-communism, which have become the main weapons of imperialism against Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary movement and socialism.

The main document spells out the ways and means of overcoming divergencies and strengthening unity, based on the independence and equality of every Party, the fact that each Party develops its own policies in keeping with national conditions, always guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, but based also on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity and mutual support. Thus the national and international responsibilities of the parties are one and indivisible. This is so because Marxist-Leninists are both patriots and internationalists. At the same time, being mindful of the fact that differences do exist on some questions, the Meeting agreed with the proposal to convene international theoretical conferences which could come to grips with them and generalize the new phenomena arising from the contemporary scene. There is no doubt that such international theoretical conferences, combined with the strengthening of fraternal relations between parties bilaterally or through wider conferences, will strengthen unity and be of inestimable value for all Communist and Workers' Parties.

# FOR A STRONGER COMMUNIST PARTY, FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

## APPEAL* BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

In February 1968 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain called on all Party organizations and members, on friends and sympathizers, on all who in Spain and elsewhere champion democracy in our country, to raise 30 million pesetas in order to intensify the Party's organizing work, propaganda and agitation.

The appeal resulted in the collection of 40,706,544 pesetas, a total which does not include the 4,281,424 pesetas raised by the Socialist Unity Party of Catalonia. The amount collected by the two parties adds up to 44,987,968 pesetas.

In discussing at various meetings the results and positive experiences of the campaign to raise 30 million pesetas, Communists suggested launching a new and larger campaign. The Executive Committee has resolved to take up this initiative.

The political situation in Spain is at a crucial juncture. The crisis of the dictatorship has become more acute and there is the prospect of big battles by the masses. To lead the coming struggles, we need a stronger Party, one more prepared to assume its responsibilities as the party of the working class, as the vanguard of all revolutionary and progressive forces.

Accordingly, the EC has resolved to launch a new campaign to achieve the following aims:

—Recruiting thousands of new members.

—Increasing the distribution of our publications.

—Intensifying and improving political education.

—Collecting more millions of pesetas.

—Strengthening the Party theoretically, politically and organizationally. Promoting the development of mass struggles and movements.

In terms of its objectives, its tasks, the political and social context in which it will take place and the mass character it will have to assume, this campaign will be a fight for freedom, an independent Spain, democracy and socialism.

In 1970, it will be 100 years since Lenin's birth and 50 years since our Party was founded. A campaign to achieve objectives as

*Abridged from **Mundo Obrero**, September 2, 1969.

important as these is the most effective and active form for our Party to commemorate these events.

The campaign is to open in September 1969 and will last throughout 1970.

To pay tribute to the glorious memory of Lenin, our Party will strive to spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and to carry its valuable teachings deeper as it creatively applies them in the specific historical and social conditions of Spain, so as to strengthen itself and accomplish its historic vanguard mission.

One of the main tasks of the campaign is to bring thousands of new members into the Party. The EC calls on all Party organizations to set out to recruit new members under the Lenin Enrolment program.

Many of our organizations can double their membership. In various areas we have opportunities of forming dozens of new Party cells or groups—in factories, neighborhoods, villages, faculties and elsewhere—by using diverse and flexible methods according to the situation.

All Party organizations, all committees and all Communists should commit themselves, in accordance with their possibilities and with local peculiarities, to win new members for the Party.

The Lenin Enrolment will draw into the Party thousands of fighters — workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and members of the professions, women, office employees, handicraftmen and other working men and women.

The Lenin Enrolment will reinforce our rank with young people. The tens of thousands of young people of either sex we will bring in will make the Party younger, more militant and more dynamic.

Recruitment should go hand in hand with the promotion of new people to key posts. We must unhesitatingly assign leading positions to comrades who have shown a particular understanding for and ability to apply the Party's policy and have proved their worth as militant Communists and political leaders of the masses.

To eliminate an obvious drawback in this aspect of our work, we must make a point of promoting women who have done well among the masses or in Party work generally.

On April 15, 1970, the Communist Party of Spain will have been in existence for 50 years, 45 of them underground. Despite persecution and repression by the Franco dictatorship, our Party has gone on gaining strength and today has tens of thousands of members. Its influence on the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and, above all young people, has been growing.

The cause of the Spanish revolution calls for a new step towards making our Party a great mass party. The Lenin Enrolment will help attain this ambitious goal.

Lenin led the Bolshevik Party, vindicated Marxism and carried

it forward. He led the first socialist revolution in the world and founded the first worker-peasant state, the Soviet Union. Thereby he showed that nothing could be more alien to Marxism than a bookish, petrified and dogmatic interpretation of our doctrine. It is in this spirit that we should conceive, spread and apply Marxism-Leninism.

Due to the weight which socialism carries in the world and to the technological revolution, mankind is passing through a period of unprecedented revolutionary change. The new social phenomena this involves and their manifestations in our country require strict analysis according to the scientific principles and ideas of Marxism-Leninism. They also require a most careful study of the characteristics of our revolution and the ways and means of carrying it through to victory.

The deeper our knowledge of the nature and context of our struggle, the more clearly we will realize that the Communist Party we need today must not only be strong numerically but have a higher theoretical and political standard. It must be able to lead the working class and its allies in the fight for democracy, for its consolidation and expansion, and in the end, for power and the revolutionary transformation of society.

If we are to raise the political and theoretical level of the Party and step up its whole ideological work, we must ensure that the campaign we are starting leads to greater efforts to read, discuss and study Party publications and to increased and more judicious distribution of them. We must also strive continuously to improve their contents.

Increased distribution of *Mundo Obrero* and *Nuestra Bandera*, as well as of the publications of the SUP of Catalonia, the CP of the Basque Country, the CP of Galicia and the Communist Youth League, and discussion and systematic study of editorials and other important articles will provide greater publicity for our ideas and help improve the political and ideological standards of all Communists.

Numerous provincial committees and organizations of the Party publish their own newspapers. Due to sustained effort to assure their regular appearance and tackle concrete problems of their activity, these publications help in important measure to elucidate and popularize Party policy.

More regular political activity by all Party organizations, and particularly by Party committees, is one of the most important ways of raising the political and theoretical level of the Party as recommended in the May 1969 resolution of the EC. It should be made richer in content and the shortcomings still in evidence should be overcome. Party committees should learn more and more to apply the Party's policy by themselves and to attack problems

within their range of activity in complete autonomy and with a full sense of responsibility.

Greater political activity by the Party organizations will enable them to discuss more adequately and profoundly political problems, problems bearing on social struggles, Party organization, the mass movement, etc. It will also enable them periodically to discuss the use made of our publications and their distribution, as well as to discuss or comment on important articles inside the Party and among the masses.

Political education is to be a very important part of the campaign. We must do much to raise the overall political and theoretical standards of the Party.

The campaign should produce increased effort for the individual and collective study of the fundamental documents of the Party and works dealing with Marxist-Leninist ideas.

We must extend and generalize the experiences gained in this by some of the major organizations of the CPS and SUP of Catalonia.

To this end, we should organize short-term courses and seminars on Marxist subjects, forums in cultural associations or clubs, and ideological and political discussions in the Party and with friends and sympathizers. We must set out to hold forums with progressive Catholics, with nationalists, socialists and other opponents of Francoism on problems of the fight for democracy and socialism and on other matters of common interest.

The present and future needs of our Party and our fight demand greater effort to improve the cultural standard of many of our leading and rank-and-file members, and extensive cultural education among the people.

From the economic point of view, the campaign should yield tens of millions of pesetas to step up the entire activity of the Party and so promote the mass struggle.

The sentiments and aspirations of the Party members and organizations who have declared for the new campaign are prompted not only by their heightened awareness of the growing needs of the Party but by the fact that in the course of their intensive activity in the recent period they have satisfied themselves of the sympathy and support which the Communist Party and its policy enjoy among the people. This is what constitutes the basis of the new campaign.

We will have to take into account the experiences gained during the previous campaign in order to generalize them with due regard to specific conditions and exceed the results of the previous campaign.

The EC does not propose to raise a specific amount. The amount will be specified according to the commitments to be made by the various organizations.

As in the past, the new campaign will be led off by CC members, who will contribute 3,000 pesetas each.

Regularizing the payment of membership dues according to real incomes should be an important aspect of the campaign. This also applies to payment of the press and other publications of the Party.

By carrying out this campaign with revolutionary fervor and enthusiasm and by organizing and furthering to the utmost the mass struggle for economic and political demands in order to call a general political strike and a national strike, achieve democracy and advance to socialism, we Spanish Communists will pay tribute to the memory of Lenin and add new chapters of heroism and glory to the record of our Party.

*Executive Committee,*
*The Communist Party of Spain*

August 1969.

# RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, RUMANIAN CP

On April 22, 1970, it will be a hundred years since the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, true disciple and brilliant continuator of the work of Marx and Engels, revolutionary leader of the proletariat, staunch fighter for the emancipation of the working people from exploitation and oppression, for social and national freedom, for the triumph of socialism and communism.

Lenin's life and work furnish a vivid example of devoted service to the cause of the working class and other working people, an example of revolutionary firmness, political discernment and daring thought. He has gone down in history as an outstanding personality, an ardent champion of the new in the social science and thinking of his time, a man of vast erudition who knew and appreciated the exigencies of man's social advancement, of progress and civilization. Lenin effectively substantiated the concept of the role, tasks and structure of the working-class party of a new type, an advanced revolutionary party called upon to organize and lead the struggle of the working class against the exploiter classes, for power and a new society. He founded the revolutionary party of the Russian proletariat and led the Great October Socialist Revolution as that party's leader. The elaboration and execution of the great program for building a new social system in the Soviet Union are linked with Lenin's name as the founder of the first socialist state. His ideas are embodied in the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, in the Soviet people's enormous achievements in economy, science, technology and culture, and in building communism.

Lenin's theoretical writings and his entire activity as a militant Communist are a living example of the creativity of the proletariat's revolutionary theory. Lenin contributed new conclusions to dialectical and historical materialism, Marxist political economy and scientific communism. Uncompromising opponent of all stagnation in thought, he proved in masterly fashion that Marxist theory is not a dogma nor a set of immutable postulates but a revolutionary method for investigating natural and social phenomena, an excellent theoretical instrument of the proletarian party in analyzing specific historical conditions in the struggle to remake society on revolutionary lines. Lenin carried Marxism forward to a new historical stage—the stag of imperialism and victorious proletarian revolution—with tremendous insight, probing the socio-political

*Scinteia, September 24, 1969.

realities of his time and the new problems raised by the development of the labor movement, and making creative use, in terms of theory, of the foremost achievements of science and culture. Above all he concerned himself with a deep study of the general laws of the socialist revolution and socialist development and with their application according to the peculiarities of this or that country, to the different economic, social, historical and national conditions in which the proletariat and its Communist Party operate. Lenin always strove for a harmonious combination of the national and international tasks of the Communist Party, seeing it as an earnest of victory in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and in building socialism and communism.

The great ideas of Marxism-Leninism and their revolutionizing power are vividly reflected in the victory of the proletarian revolution and the building of socialism in fourteen European, Asian and American countries, which are developing as independent and sovereign states, in the establishment of socialism as a powerful international factor through the formation of the world socialist system, and in the outstanding achievements of the socialist countries. Lenin's ideas live triumphantly on in the gains of the international Communist and working-class movement, which is asserting itself as an enormous political force of our time and the principal factor for social progress.

Lenin fought ardently and indefatigably against every form of subjection, national or social oppression and colonial rule. He championed the cause of the peoples oppressed by imperialism. He took a resolute stand for the right of every people to shape their own destiny and be its master, to develop in freedom and sovereignty. The vitality of Marxism-Leninism is borne out by the victories of national liberation movements and struggles as a result of which the peoples have cast off colonialist tyranny to develop independently, to maintain and strengthen their national sovereignty. It is borne out by the unprecedented growth of the social and political forces fighting against imperialism, for freedom, democracy, social progress and peace.

Marxism-Leninism, the invincible revolutionary theory of the proletariat, is steadily developing and growing richer, influencing the world of today ever more deeply, winning recognition among new millions and illuminating the peoples' road to a free and better life.

A fiery internationalist, Lenin strove for greater solidarity among Communists, workers and other working people, for an ever stronger and more closely united world Communist and working-class movement.

The Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party considers that the celebration of the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth should powerfully stimulate constructive efforts to overcome diffi-

culties and to normalize the situation in the world socialist system, to build solid relations between socialist countries on the principles of socialist internationalism, national independence and sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance, which is an earnest of restoring and furthering their unity. The centenary should encourage efforts to restore the situation in the world Communist movement on the basis of principle, establish relations of equality and respect between brother parties with due regard to the right of each party to shape its policies independently, efforts to strengthen the unity of fraternal parties and other forces fighting on the great front of socialism and progress against imperialism. Lenin's writings and activities are a standing appeal to step up the people's struggle to preserve peace, to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence, to ease international tension and to promote international cooperation.

The Lenin centenary affords an opportunity to survey the great traditions of the revolutionary struggle of our working class and other working people of Rumania under the leadership of the Communist Party, which throughout its activity has been prompted by the dialectical materialist world outlook and the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Led by the Communist Party, the working people of our country fought successfully against the bourgeois and landowner system, launched an armed rising in August 1944, overthrew the exploiters and assured the triumph of the socialist revolution. They became free and unchallenged masters of their destiny by building a socialist society on Rumanian soil and fostering the prosperity of their country. Socialist Rumania today is a country in economic and social ascent, a country where the productive forces, science, education and culture are making rapid progress, the people's standard of living is steadily improving and socialist democracy is reaching deeper, with a socialist nation using its creative faculties more and more fully. Our people's socialist achievements are tangible proof of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the RCP and a confirmation of the identity of the supreme, most vital interests of the people and the policy of the Party. Ever since it came into being, the RCP has been guided by the noble ideas of Marxism-Leninism. It has always been an active contingent of the international Communist and working-class movement, resolutely expressing its profound internationalism, identifying itself with and supporting all the important revolutionary battles of the proletariat of the world.

The RCP has constantly concerned itself with translating, publishing and disseminating Lenin's immense theoretical legacy in our country. It has always devoted much attention to the study of Marxist-Leninist theory by Communists and the masses, and has worked

for the creative application of this theory according to the realities of our country and to the changes taking place in the world. By successfully solving complex problems of socialist development in Rumania, our Party contributes to the treasury of Marxist-Leninist thought and the experience of the world Communist and working-class movement.

The working people of Rumania are greeting the Lenin centenary with inspired effort to fulfil the program for building a fully developed socialist society as formulated by the Tenth Congress of the RCP. By promoting the growth of the economic potential and spiritual wealth of Socialist Rumania and by helping steadily to improve the standard of living, they are striving to increase our country's contribution to the triumph of the cause of socialism, peace and social progress in the world. The progress made by each country in building the new social system increases the power and prestige of the world socialist system as a whole and helps to strengthen the democratic, progressive, anti-imperialist forces of today.

As they advance to the anniversary of Lenin's birth Party committees and organizations, mass organizations and cultural institutions will conduct an extensive campaign to disseminate Marxist-Leninist ideas in Rumania, popularize the Party's home and foreign policy, hold a wide discussion of the problems of building socialism in our country, and contribute to the development of the entire socialist system, the international Communist and working-class movement and the world revolutionary process.

The Stefan Gheorghiu Academy of Socio-Political Sciences, and Historical and Socio-Political Research Institute under the CC RCP and the Academy of Sciences of the SRR will sponsor a scientific conference on the theme "Leninism and the Victory of Socialism in Rumania."

Publication of Lenin's *Complete Works* in 55 volumes will be finished before the centenary. New essays and other works will be brought out dealing with Lenin's theoretical and practical work, his statements about Rumania, meetings of Rumanian revolutionaries with Lenin and the RCP's experience in the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of our country to solve problems of the socialist revolution and socialist development and to shape foreign policy.

Socio-political periodicals, the press, radio and television will dedicate articles and broadcasts to the Lenin centenary.

On the eve of the centenary, lectures, exhibitions, literary nights, film showings and other cultural events devoted to the anniversary will be held in clubs, houses of culture, schools, colleges, military units and Rumanian-Soviet friendship societies. In Bucharest there will be an exhibition of documents dealing with the Lenin centenary and the spread of Marxism-Leninism in our country.

The History Museum of the Communist Party and the Revolutionary and Democratic Movement of Rumania will organize a permanent exhibition on the theme "Stages in the History of the International Working-Class Movement and the National Liberation Struggle of the Peoples."

An anniversary postage stamp will be printed.

The Bucharest City Committee of the RCP will hold a festive meeting dedicated to the centenary.

The Central Committee of the RCP is confident that as they advance towards the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth our workers, peasants and intellectuals, all our people, will put still greater creative energy into implementing the Party's policy by achieving new substantial results in economy, science and culture and building up the prosperity of Socialist Rumania, and that Party committees and organizations and every Communist will strive steadfastly to improve political, organizing and ideological work, strengthen the Party and its unity and enhance the Party's leading role in every sphere of socialist building. At the same time our Party and state will continue to fight consistently to bring about closer friendship, alliance, cooperation and coordination with all socialist countries and to strengthen the world socialist system, its unity and the cohesion of the Communist and working-class movement. They will actively identify themselves with the workers and other working people of the world and with the peoples fighting against imperialist and neo-colonialist domination. They will spare no effort to go on contributing their share to the triumph of the cause of socialism and world peace.

All this will be a tribute from the Rumanian Communist Party, our working class and other working people to the memory of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

*Central Committee*
*of the Rumanian Communist Party*

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

September and October 1969

## BULGARIA

*September 24.* The CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party discussed problems of production concentration, scientific and technological progress and the new system of economic management.

Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, spoke in reply to the debate.

The meeting unanimously adopted a relevant resolution.

## KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

*September 24.* Delegations of the Party of Labor of Korea and the Réunion Communist Party met in Pyongyang to exchange views on questions of mutual interest.

*September 24.* The International Conference of Journalists passed a resolution on the centenary of the birth of Lenin reading in part as follows: "This Conference on the tasks facing the journalists of the world in fight against U.S. imperialist aggression expresses on the eve of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great leader of the exploited and oppressed peoples of the world, the resolve of all the participants to fight with might and main, under the banner of the anti-imperialist struggle raised by Lenin, against imperialism, which is headed by U.S. imperialism."

## BRITAIN

*September 24.* Speaking in Stevenage, Hertfordshire, John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, called for support of the appeal of the Warsaw Treaty countries to all European nations for a conference on European security and peaceful cooperation.

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Lawrence & Wishart, the London publishing house, brought out a collection of selected writings by Lenin on the occasion of the forthcoming Lenin centenary. The collection includes *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, The State and Revolution* and articles written between February and November 1917. Lawrence &

Wishart will complete the publication of the 47-volume edition of Lenin's works by April 1970. Forty volumes have appeared so far.

## ITALY

*September 25.* The ICP Leadership met in Rome with Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Party, in the chair. It discussed problems "of the Italian Communists' struggle against Italy's membership in NATO, for a new foreign policy of the country that would help abolish military blocs and establish a collective security system in Europe."

The meeting also dealt with the Italian working people's struggle at the present stage and adopted a resolution saying that "the monopolies are increasing social tensions as they try to avoid isolation from public opinion . . . The ICP Leadership calls on all working people to unite still more closely and seek mutual understanding with all social forces that cherish the ideals of freedom and are striving for economic and social progress."

## FINLAND

*September 24. Kansan Uutiset* carried a resolution of the CC CPF on economic and political matters.

The resolution points out that the Finnish economy today showed a marked upward trend. Industrial output and exports had increased considerably. Devaluaton, higher export prices and the boom had brought the major corporations bigger profits and extra benefits. By contrast, the real incomes of wage labor were lagging and the general agreement of the labor exchange organizations had provided no adequate compensation. It was alarming that in spite of the strong boom unemployment was considerable.

The Central Committee stressed the need for measures to put capital under government control.

## CHILE

*September 26.* Members of the political commissions of the Communist and Socialist parties met in Santiago to discuss problems of Left unity and the issue of putting forward a common candidate of the Popular Action Front at the next presidential election.

A joint appeal by the meeting says that the Communist and Socialist parties of Chile call on all Left-wing organizations and movements to set up a powerful and dynamic political front that would be active both during and after the presidential election campaign. The idea of popular unity had long since matured in those segments of the Chilean population fighting against imperialism and the oligarchy and striving to take the road of building socialism in our country. It was the duty and task of political parties to unite these forces and bring about genuine popular unity.

*September 27.* The Political Commission of the CC, CP of Chile, met in Santiago to discuss preparations for the 14th Party Congress. It also concerned itself with the problem of unity of the Left-wing parties at the next presidential elections and discussed Communist candidates for the Presidency.

## SOVIET UNION

*September 26.* L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and A. N. Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, met at the CC CPSU with Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRB, on a visit to Moscow for the anniversary exhibition "Twenty-Five Years of Socialist Progress in the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

The participants in the meeting exchanged views on ways and means of promoting fraternal relations between the two parties and all-round cooperation between the two countries.

Discussion also concerned the problem of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist commonwealth, and some pressing issues of international Communist and working-class movement and the world situation.

The meeting reaffirmed complete unity of views and estimations on all the points discussed.

## FINLAND

*September 28.* Kansankulttuuri, the Finnish publishing house, is publishing two books on Lenin's life and work in connection with the coming Lenin centenary.

One of the books entitled *On Marxism,* is a collection of Lenin's writings. The other, entitled *Recollections of Lenin by Finns,* comprises recollections by thirty Finnish public and political figures who met Lenin.

## PAKISTAN

*September 28.* Elite, a progressive publishing house, brought out the pamphlet *Lenin, a Great Theorist,* in Urdu.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

*September 25-27.* The CC, CP of Czechoslovakia met in plenary session in Prague.

The meeting was attended by members of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPC, the Chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CP of Slovakia, members and secretaries of the CC CPC Bureau for the Czech Regions, members of the CC Presidium of the CPS, secretaries of the CC CPC

and CC CPS, heads of department of the CC CPC, CC CPS and the CC CPC Bureau for the Czech Regions, the First Secretaries of regional, city and district committees of the Party, Communist ministers of the Federal government and secretaries of state, leading government officials and representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Army and the security bodies, the editors-in-chief of Party journals and newspapers, and representatives of various mass organizations.

(For the documents of the September Plenum of the CC CPC, see *Information Bulletin,* No. 18, 1969, Prague, Peace and Socialism Publishers).

## AUSTRIA

*September 29 and 30.* The CC of the Communist Party of Austria met in Vienna to discuss problems of home policy and, first of all, preparations for the general election.

At these elections, set for March 1, 1970, the Communist Party will put forward its candidates in all constituencies.

The meeting approved "Theses on the Political Content of Communist Participation in the Election Campaign and the Elections."

## CHILE

*Late September.* Marxism-Leninism Week, sponsored by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CC, CP of Chile, began with the lecture "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: His Life and Work" in Valparaiso. It is part of the preparations for the Lenin centenary.

## CUBA

*October 1,* Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, stated that the socialist countries' assistance to Cuba played a decisive part in the economic progress and defense of the Island of Freedom. "What would we have done without oil and the powerful armaments we have?" he said. Technical assistance from socialist countries had been very important because prior to the revolution all resources, cadres and scientific research had been in imperialist hands.

Fidel Castro described the military assistance of the socialist countries as invaluable, especially in the early post-revolutionary period. He stressed that socialism had created the prerequisites for economic advancement and the solution of Cuba's acute social problems.

Fidel Castro condemned U.S. attempts to destroy the Island of Freedom. "They (the Americans—*Ed.)* owe us a big debt," he said. "We have nationalized several million dollars in investments in this country, but the Americans owe us more than that. They are greatly indebted to us because they have done all they could to destroy us."

## COLOMBIA

*October 1 to 4.* The CC, CP of Colombia, meeting in Bogota, heard and approved the report of Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Central Committee, on the activity of the Colombian delegation to the Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The meeting unanimously passed a resolution approving of the documents of the Moscow Meeting. The resolution describes the documents as a solid basis for stepping up the fight against imperialism, promoting solidarity among the national liberation movements and defending the world socialist system.

The resolution notes the importance of the Main Document of the Meeting, saying that what makes the document particularly valuable is its scientific generalization of the problems and tasks of the Latin American countries at the present stage. This was an advance in the field of theory and made for a more profound study of the peculiarities of the Latin American continent in general and Colombia in particular. A more active struggle for proletarian internationalism, combined with genuine patriotism, had nothing in common with arrogant nationalism or selfishness. The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was a big step forward to world Communist unity and to united action against imperialism through an anti-imperialist world front.

## COSTA RICA

*October 3.* A series of lectures on Lenin's revolutionary and scientific activity was launched on the occasion of the coming celebration of the Lenin centenary at the San José Workers' Center for Social Problems. The first lecture was delivered by Humberto Vargas Carbonel, member of the CC of the People's Vanguard Party, who spoke to a large audience of students and workers. The lectures will continue till March 1970.

## PERU

*October 3.* The CC of the Peruvian Communist Party held its 34th Plenum in Lima. Upon examining the political situation at home, the meeting came to the conclusion that the working people were fast becoming aware of the existence of more favorable conditions for intensifying their fight for anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-oligarchic changes. It approved a program for commemorating the Lenin centenary. It also resolved to hold the First Congress of the Communist Youth League of Peru.

## BELGIUM

*September 27 and 28.* The CC, CP of Belgium discussed the

report "Left Unity and the Tasks of the Party" by Marc Drumaux, Chairman of the Party, in Brussels.

The Central Committee put on record that the authoritarian tendencies of the more reactionary sections of the big bourgeoisie had not changed during the past months and that the danger threatening from the right persisted.

In the social sphere, high business activity had brought it home to the working people in the private and public sector of the economy how greatly their rights were injured in distributing the national income. Their demands were urgent. Higher wages, a pay rise not stipulated by agreements but necessitated by higher business activity, a tax scale, implementation of the provision for shorter working hours ahead of schedule, and effective workers' control over the distribution of jobs and the prospects of employment were all pressing demands.

The meeting stated that the foreign policy of Belgium should be geared to disarmament and to European security, which called for the dissolution of military blocs, and to active neutrality assuring the sovereignty and independence of the country. This could be achieved primarily by insisting that Belgium withdraw from NATO and that all NATO organizations be removed from the country.

## DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

*October 4.* The DRV press published the Directives of the CC Political Bureau of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, dated September 29, on the political campaign "Study and Work According to the Testament of President Ho Chi Minh." The Directives read in part as follows:

"President Ho Chi Minh is dead, but he left us a most valuable legacy—his great work, his ideas, moral principles and style of work. The task of our entire Party and all our people is to close their ranks behind the Party's Central Committee, resolutely implement President Ho Chi Minh's testament, continue and intensify the war of resistance to U.S. aggression, for the salvation of the country, for the liberation of the South, the defense of the North and the unification of the country, engage in vigorous emulation to promote the building of socialism in the North and contribute to the revolutionary cause of the working class and the peoples of the world."

The Directives specify the measures to be carried out during this political campaign: organizing discussion in the Party and among the people of the testament of President Ho Chi Minh, the farewell address of the CC WPPV and the watchwords launched by the Central Committee in connection with President Ho Chi Minh's death.

The Directives call attention to the situation in agriculture and set specific tasks in that field.

## NORWAY

*October 7.* A communique on the plenary meeting of the CC CP of Norway was circulated in Oslo. The CC CPN at its meeting on October 5, it says, heard the report of the CPN delegation to the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in June 1969. The Central Committee approved the activity of the delegation and its contributions at the Meeting expressing the Party's point of view.

## SWEDEN

*October 7.* The newly-elected leadership of the Left Party — Communists held its first organizational meeting in Stockholm since the recent congress, electing the Executive Committee, the deputy-chairman and secretary.

## ITALY

*October 8.* Jointly with the Culture Department of the CC ICP, the department of Party schools announced that a seminar to examine some of the basic principles contained in the works of V. I. Lenin will be held under the auspices of the Institute for Problems of Communism in October and November 1969.

Scheduled to speak at the seminar are member of the ICP leadership A. Natta and members of the CC ICP, A. Presenti, L. Gruppi and E. Ragionieri.

## JAPAN

*October 12.* A joint communique on talks between delegations of the Communist Party of Japan and the Italian Communist Party was published in Tokyo after a three-day conference. The ICP delegation stayed in Tokyo from October 4 to 9.

## ITALY

*October 1.* A report entitled, "Struggle of the Working People, the Economic Situation and the Political Outlook," was made by Fernando di Giulio, member of the ICP leadership, at the opening of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

## FRANCE

*October 13-14.* A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the FCP took place in the Paris suburb of Ivry, which discussed:

1. The economic and social situation in France (Rapporteur Georges Frischmann, member of Political Bureau).

2. The problems of the youth (rapporteur René Piquet, CC secretary and member of Political Bureau).
3. Convocation of the 19th Party Congress.

Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the FCP, attended and addressed the meeting.

The plenary meeting drew up the following agenda for the 19th Party Congress, to be held in Nanterre on February 4-8:

1. Struggle against the power of the monopolies and the unification of all working-class and democratic forces working for an advanced and socialist democracy (Rapporteur Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary, FCP).
2. Discussion and adoption of Party theses (Rapporteur Georges Marchais, member of Political Bureau).
3. Election of the Party's leading bodies.

## LESOTHO

At its recent meeting in Maseru, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lesotho called on the Party to initiate action "fortifying the united front of all anti-imperialist forces on the basis of a common program."

The statement said, in part: Acting jointly with all anti-imperialist forces, the Communist Party of Lesotho will work for the replacement of the present neo-colonialist regime with a regime of genuine national independence.

The common program of the regime of genuine national independence, the Communist Party of Lesotho holds, must cover the questions of protecting and extending democratic freedoms, eliminating the colonial structure of the economy and building an independent national economy, carrying forward land reforms favoring the farmers, and shaping an independent foreign policy of peace and national independence.

The Communist Party of Lesotho called on the people to unite and devote their energy to defeating the neo-colonialist regime in the coming parliamentary election, electing a government of genuine national independence, which would pave the way for a peace-loving and flourishing democratic Lesotho.

## LUXEMBOURG

On *October 14* the *Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek*, organ of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, published a communique of the CC CPL Executive saying that "the communal elections on October 12, 1969 were highly successful for our Party and yielded convincing proof of the confidence it enjoys among the working people.

"In Luxembourg and Esch-sur-Alzette the CPL won a seat each and thereby strengthened its position. In other communes, where the voting was based on proportionality, it gained many new votes.

"Our Party regards the outcome of the election as a confirmation that its policy in the communes has been correct. The biggest setback in the election was suffered by the Socialist Workers' Party, which lost 12 seats and many thousands of votes and , in some communes, forfeited its majority. From this, just as from the 1968 parliamentary elections, it should draw the conclusion that its policy of cooperation with the Christian-Social Party, a party of big capital, yields no advantage either to the Socialist Workers' Party or the people.

"The Communist Party of Luxembourg, which emerged stronger than ever before, re-affirms its readiness for cooperation. At the same time, it will persist in its efforts to change communal and national policy, in favor of social and political progress."

## FRANCE

*L'Humanite* reported on *October 14* that during his stopover in Paris Zenon Kliczko, Central Committee secretary and member of the Political Bureau of the CC, Polish United Workers' Party, met the leadership of the French Communist Party and Waldeck Rochet, the FCP General Secretary.

The conversations took place in a friendly atmosphere, reaffirming the common desire of the FCP and PUWP to carry forward the aims set by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

*October 14.* A CTK report announced that the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee discussed the anti-Party activity, particularly the latest acts, of Ota Sik at its meeting on October 13.

At its May meeting the CC CPC registered the fact that by his conduct last year Ota Sik grossly violated Party discipline and the duties of a citizen of Czechoslovakia. The May plenum expelled him from the Central Committee. Despite the serious warning, Sik continued activities abroad incompatible with the principles and policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. For this reason, the Secretariat of the CC CPC expelled Sik from the Party.

## KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

In its issue of *October 18,* the newspaper *Nodon Shinmun,* carried a joint communique issued by the Korean Party of Labor and the Communist Party of Spain, a delegation of which visited the country on the invitation of the KPL on October 7-17. The delegation of Spanish Communists was headed by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the CPS.

The communique said, among other things, that the delegations

of the KPL (headed by Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the KPL) and the Communist Party of Spain exchanged opinions on the growth of friendship and cooperation between the two parties and on other questions of mutual interest.

The delegation of the Spanish Party, the communique said, denounced the U.S. imperialists and the Park Chung Hee clique for stepping up armed provocations against Korea and pledged full support for the righteous anti-American struggle of the South Korean people for national rights and renunfication.

The delegation of the Spanish Communist Party expressed the demand that the aggressive U.S. troops be withdrawn forthwith from South Korea and declared that Korea must be reunified in accordance with the plan advanced by the KPL and the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic: by peaceful means, on a democratic basis, independently, without interference from any outside forces.

The Spanish Communist Party delegation expressed firm solidarity with the righteous struggle of the Korean people against any repeated aggression of Japanese militarism in Korea.

The communique further said that the delegation of the Korean Party of Labor highly appreciates the struggle waged by the Communist Party of Spain for the elimination of the Franco dictatorship, the democratic growth of the country and the liberation of the working class. The KPL expressed its firm solidarity with the struggle of the Spanish workers.

The communique condemned the criminal action of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, who are continuing their piratical acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The two delegations supported the solution advanced by the Government of the DRV, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and the Provisisonal Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. They hailed the heroic struggle of the people of Cuba, who are safeguarding the gains of the revolution and successfully building socialism. The delegations expressed their solidarity with the Asian, African and Latin American peoples fighting against colonialism and imperialism, for liberation, and with the working people in the capitalist countries fighting against the capitalist yoke, for peace, democracy and socialism.

## CYPRUS

*October 21.* A release was issued in Nicosia on the plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the Control Commission of the AKEL Party, which discussed the Cyprus problem and the political situation in the country. The rapporteur was E. Papaioannou, AKEL General Secretary. The release said that the attempt on the General

Secretary's life, like other terrorist acts by illegal organizations, are grinding the axe of the nation's enemies, and undermining the people's unity, and go against the nation's sacred cause.

## WEST BERLIN

*October 21.* A spokesman of the press department of the German Communist Party's leadership issued a statement concerning the election of Willy Brandt to the office of Federal Chancellor, saying, among other things, that Willy Brandt's election terminated 20 years of CDU/CSU rule for the first time since the founding of the Federal Republic. This could stop the drift to the Right and facilitate a true conversion to a policy of peace, democratic renovation and social progress. For this the Brandt government must shake off the influence and pressure of big capital and the reactionary forces which, as before, hold commanding positions in the economy, army, state and society.

The German Communist Party repeated that it would judge the new government by its deeds and would support every step towards a positive change of policy. On the other hand, it would oppose all nationalistic and reactionary actions of the Right forces. At the same time, it would fight against measures contrary to the interests of the working people. It reiterated its readiness to discuss at all levels the possibilities of joint action or of coordinated cooperation between Communists and Social-Democrats.

## U. S. A.

*October 21.* In an article in *The Daily World* Gus Hall writes: "President Johnson made the grave error of political judgment that 'it is possible to fool all of the people some of the time.'

"Now Nixon thinks it is possible at least to 'fool some of the people all of the time.'

"Nixon's error of judgment is just as wrong and grave. These are new times. On some matters you cannot fool anybody at any time. The aggression against Vietnam is one of these matters.

"When spokesmen for the Nixon Administration say they are working for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam, they are deliberately lying. They are, in fact, talking about an imperialist 'peace,' a 'peace' through conquest.

"The aggression continues. The total U.S. military presence in the field of battle has not declined. The basic truth is that the U.S. cannot win a military victory.

"On the other hand, a political settlement is possible only through a government that is supported by the people of Vietnam, a government that insists on the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces, a government that opens the prisons, ends the policy of terror, corruption and gangsterism.

"This is the only foundation for peace in Vietnam. This is what the struggle is all about.

"The nature of the political settlement the Nixon administration has in mind is clear in the fact that the U.S. forces have enlarged many of the prisons. At present the U.S. Government is spending one million six hundred thousands dollars to enlarge the Devil's Island prison on Con Son Island.

"The Nixon administration says it is for elections but such elections would be called, arranged and conducted by this corrupt hangman's setup, backed up by the CIA and the U.S. military presence. That is a tragic farce.

"This puppet government is the real obstacle. As long as the U.S. follows its present path, there can be no settlement or peace in Vietnam.

"This is a basic reality that is not negotiable. The Vietnam people will not accept a phoney peace by hangman puppets.

"The end to U.S. aggression can come only through a government the people of Vietnam support and trust.

"The only kind of "Vietnamization" that has meaning is self-determination."

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Editorial Council of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, the theoretical and information journal of the Communist and Workers' parties, convened in Prague on *October 30* through *November 3*. Delegations of 58 Communist and Workers' parties took part in the work of the Council.

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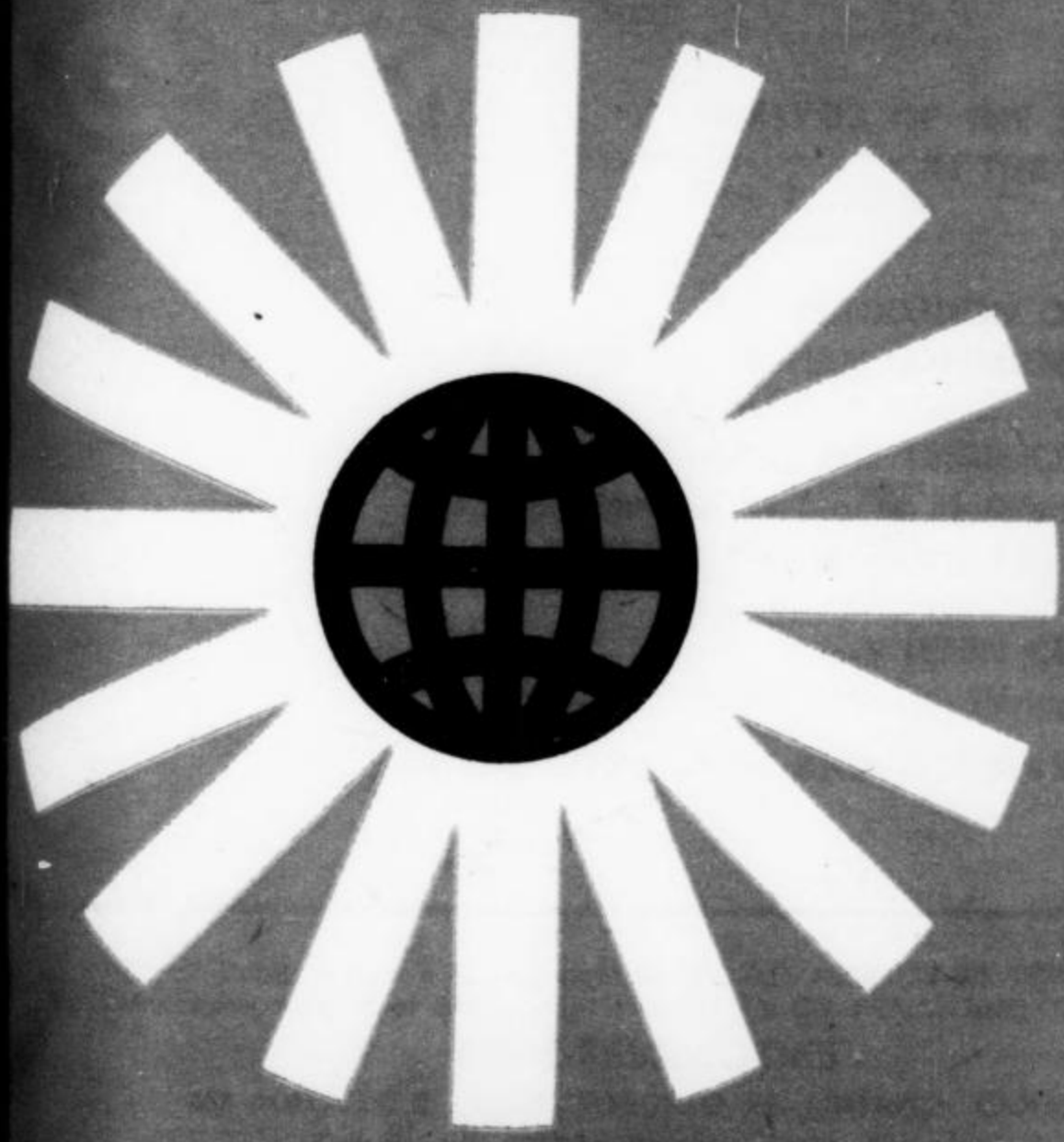

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SITUATION IN IRAN

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HOMAGE TO LENIN (India)

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## CORRECTION

**INFORMATION BULLETIN #21-22 was incorrectly marked #20-21 on the front cover of the issue.**

JANUARY 14, 1970
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# MEETING OF LEADERS OF BROTHER COUNTRIES*

Party leaders and statesmen of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, German Democratic Republic, Hungarian People's Republic, Polish People's Republic, Socialist Republic of Rumania and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics met in Moscow on December 3 and 4, 1969.

The meeting was attended by:

T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the PRB; S. Todorov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC BCP; I. Bashev, member of the CC BCP, Foreign Minister of the PRB; K. Tellalov, alternate member of the CC BCP, head of the Department of Foreign Policy and International Relations of the CC BCP;

G. Husak, First Secretary of the CC CPC; O. Cernik, member, Presidium of the CC CPC, Chairman of the Czeckoslovak goverment; V. Bilak, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the CC CPC; K. Kurka, Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

W. Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, Chairman, Council of State of the GDR; W. Stoph, member, Political Bureau of the CC SUPG, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the GDR; E. Honecker, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the SUPG; H. Axen, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC SUPG; O. Winzer, member of the CC SUPG, Foreign Minister of the GDR;

J. Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP; J. Fock, member, Political Bureau of the CC HSWP, Chairman, Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government; Z. Komocsin, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC HWSP; K. Erdelyi, member of the CC HSWP, Deputy Foreign Minister of the HPR;

W. Gomulka, First Secretary of the CC PUWP; J. Cyrankiewicz, member, Political Bureau of the CC PUWP, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the PPR; Z. Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC PUWP; S. Jedrychowski, member, Political Bureau of the CC PUWP, Foreign Minister of the PPR;

N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, Chairman, Council of State of the SRR; I. G. Maurer, member of the Executive Committee and Standing Presidium of the CC RCP, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the SRR; G. Pana, member of the Executive Committee and Standing Presidium and Secretary of the CC RCP; C.

*Pravda, December 5, 1969.

Manescu, member of the CC RCP, Foreign Minister of the SRR;

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU; A. N. Kosygin, member, Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the USSR; N. V. Podgorny, member, Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Chairman, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU; K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CC CPSU; B. N. Ponomaryov, Secretary of the CC CPSU; A. A. Gromyko, member of the CC CPSU, Foreign Minister of the USSR.

The participants in the meeting exchanged views on a wide range of problems of promoting peace and international security. They devoted special attention to the problems of European security.

Satisfaction was voiced at the fact that the collective proposals of socialist countries for a general European conference of states enjoy widespread international support. The socialist countries will persist in the effort to ensure that tension on European soil gives way to good neighborliness, that peaceful coexistence becomes a universal standard of mutual relations between European countries with different social systems, and that the peoples' desire for security and progress is embodied in concrete deeds, in the solution of the pressing problems of this region of the world.

The socialist countries attending the meeting declare for the extension and promotion of relations between all countries on the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and inviolability of the existing frontiers. They are resolved to foster relations with other European states desiring to cooperate on these principles. They reaffirm their view to the effect that the interests of peace and security demand that all states should establish relations with the German Democratic Republic on an equal footing, in accordance with international law, and recognize the existing European frontiers, including the frontier along the Oder and Neisse, to be definitive and inviolable.

In exchanging views on topical international issues, it was put on record that the results of the elections in the Federal Republic of Germany and the formation of a new government are expressive of the changes taking place among a section of public opinion in the FRG, of its growing trend towards a realistic policy of cooperation and mutual understanding between states. It was noted as a positive development that the Federal Republic of Germany had signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. At the same time the meeting was unanimous in expressing the opinion that the persistent dangerous manifestations of revanchism and the increased activity of neo-Nazi forces in the FRG should not be disregarded and called for constant and sober vigilance.

Should the new West German government learn the lessons of history, discard the burden of the past and take, in the spirit of the times, a realistic approach to the problems creating tension between European countries, this would be welcomed by both the socialist countries and all peace-loving nations.

Considering it very important that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty should serve in full measure to promote peace, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, German Democratic Republic, Hungarian People's Republic, Polish People's Republic, Socialist Republic of Rumania and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declare for the greatest possible number of states adhering to the Treaty, and for its early ratification and implementation.

The conviction was unanimously expressed that in order to safeguard a durable and stable peace, it is necessary to discontinue the arms race and effect general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament. The socialist countries, which have repeatedly put forward specific proposals for this, call on all the states to show good will and readiness to proceed in practice to genuine disarmament.

The countries attending the meeting reaffirm their desire to continue consulting among themslves on the more important international problems with a view to carrying out coordinated joint actions for peace and the security of the nations, in particular for European security.

The Moscow meeting, which confirmed the unity of views of the participants proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship, agreement and comradely cooperation.

## Statement* by Meeting of Party Leaders and Statesmen of Socialist Countries

The Moscow Meeting of Party leaders and statesmen of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, German Democratic Republic, Hungarian People's Republic, Polish People's Republic, Socialist Republic of Rumania and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics examined the situation in Vietnam.

The war of aggression of U.S. imperialism against the people of Vietnam is continuing. Despite angry protests from millions of people throughout the world, including large segments of the population of the USA, the invading troops are destroying innocent citizens of Vietnam. Only a few days ago the news of the barbarous

*Pravda, December 5, 1969.

destruction of hundreds of unarmed people in the village of Song My, South Vietnam, by a U.S. troop unit swept the world. The war in Vietnam not only presents a grave menace to peace in Southeast Asia but complicates the international situation as a whole. And if the Paris negotiations to settle the problem of Vietnam have still made no progress and if the war is continuing, the responsibility for this falls on the United States.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the National Liberation Front, prompted by the desire to put an end to bloodshed, have put forward a realistic ten-point program to settle the Vietnamese problem. This program is actively supported by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Its most important provisions are unconditional and complete withdrawal of the troops of the United States and its satellites from South Vietnam and the formation of a coalition government.

Those who shape U.S. policy, while declaring their willingness to discuss the issue of withdrawing the U.S. troops from South Vietnam, are openly and cynically striving for the so-called "Vietnamization" of the war. This means, in effect, heading for a protracted war in Vietnam, trying to make one group of Vietnamese fight another and to preserve the venal, anti-popular Saigon regime.

The U.S. delegates to the Paris negotiations still refuse to discuss the issue of a provisional coalition government in South Vietnam, although there can be no progress towards a settlement in Vietnam without deciding this issue.

Unless the U.S. government adopts a realistic stance and stops its aggression in Vietnam, the USA will be faced with increasing resistance on the part of the patriots of South Vietnam and with a mounting wave of anger against and condemnation of the aggressors on the part of the peoples of the world. Nor can there be any doubt that whatever plans the aggressors make to achieve success by continuing the war in Vietnam, they will fail.

The Party leaders and statesmen of the socialist countries represented at this meeting condemn the policy of aggression of the imperialist circles of the USA and the U.S. soldiery's brutal repression of the civilian population of South Vietnam. They declare that the brother countries, proceeding from the principles of proletarian internationalism and from their allegiance to the cause of peace and the independence and freedom of the peoples, will continue to support the Vietnamese people's just fight in every way until the war of aggression against Vietnam is ended.

The duty of the governments and the political and mass organizations of all countries really concerned with preserving peace is to consolidate the front of struggle in defense of the Vietnamese

people's national aspirations and their inalienable right to independent and free development and to increase their support of and solidarity with embattled Vietnam.

The people of Vietnam are fighting for a just cause, and they will win.

# THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW

REPORT* TO THE CC, CP OF PERU BY **JOSE MARTINEZ**

## THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW

The Agrarian Reform Law is progressive, radical, anti-feudal, anti-latifundium and essentially anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist.

*The Law is anti-feudal* because it provides for the abolition of semi-feudal forms of cultivation. Article 8 stipulates that land which has not been tilled for three years in succession shall be regarded as abandoned and be transferred to the state for the purposes of the Agrarian Reform. Under Article 16, fallow or under-cultivated tracts of land shall be fully expropriated. Articles 17 and 19 provide that holdings tilled by sharecroppers, tenants and other cultivators who do not own them shall be fully expropriated. Thus the Law is designed to do away with semi-feudal and indirect cultivation, and provides for the expropriation of enfeoffed and leased lands in favor of the sharecroppers and tenants who till them.

*The Law is anti-oligarchic* because Article 37 provides for the complete expropriation of sugar enterprises and other agrarian-industrial units which were deliberately omitted by the previous law and which constitute the source and foundation of the economic power of the home oligarchy.

The expropriation of sugar enterprises began 24 hours after the Agrarian Reform Law had been promulgated.

*The law is directed against the latifundium* because it establishes the maximum area of such holdings even in the case of tracts cultivated or managed by the proprietors themselves.

On the coast, irrigated holdings are restricted to a maximum of 150 hectares, and in the mountains their area ranges between 15 and 55 hectares.

As regards animal husbandry, the maximum area of natural pastures is to be 1,500 hectares on the coast, and in the mountains it shall be large enough to "maintain 5,000 head of sheep in the shearing season." The Law permits increase of the maximum land area three- or fourfold if conditions are similiar to those on a grain-growing farm.

*The Law is anti-imperialist* because it affects the interests of

*Abridged.

foreign imperialist enterprises all of which are American with the exception of the one owned by Gildemeister, a German.

The anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist character of the Law is its main aspect. The Law does not explain the immediate expropriation of sugar enterprises, and its promulgation is linked to the conflict between the people and government of Peru and U.S. imperialism.

Of the whole array of amendments which the State Department threatens to use against our country, there remains only the threat of suspending the sugar quota. Indeed, the notorious Hickenlooper Amendment has virtually been implemented in full for some time, since of all the financial aid it threatens to suspend, we are left with only five million dollars in technical aid.

U.S. counter-measures and threats bring direct pressure to bear on the Peruvian government and, furthermore, encourage the internal conspiracy. It is an open secret that both the sugar barons and the APRA party, which still influences the unions of sugar industry workers, are engaged in conspiratorial activities and hypocritically demand a general election, striving to change the composition of the government by hook or by crook. They want to come to terms with U.S. imperialism by appeasing the State Department, which claims full compensation for the International Petroleum Company (IPC) and the right to free fishing within the 200-mile zone.

*The Law is radical* because it affects the interests of all latifundium owners without exception and provides for the expropriation of all lands held by one person, which it regards as one unit, and because it forbids joint-stock companies to own land and establishes that collective companies shall be regarded as controlled by one physical person.

The Law is radical because it establishes that even minimum land areas not subject to expropriation shall be reduced if the enfeoffed part of the holdings concerned is insufficient to provide the tenants with extra land equal to the agricultural family unit.

The Law is radical because it establishes a speedy procedure of expropriation and stipulates that the value of a holding shall be estimated according to that declared by the owner in paying taxes.

The Law is progressive because it reduces by half the cash payment stipulated by the previous law and, unlike that law, provides for cash compensation not exceeding one million sols for the installations, structures, agricultural and industrial equipment and plantations that are part of the enterprise.

The Law is progressive because it favors the priority development of cooperative farming and allows—through the establishment of a new form of association, the Agricultural Association based on public interest—the mixed cultivation of holdings with the participation of agricultural and industrial development banks.

*The Law has its shortcomings.* Apart from its basically anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist character, it permits the retention on the coast of fairly large holdings ranging from 150 to 200 hectares and in the mountains, of pastures large enough to maintain 5,000 sheep. This number may be increased to reach 15,000 to 20,000 head, although the conditions on which the Law grants this benefit are not easy to meet in the mountains.

This means that the Law favors the preservation and development of capitalist agricultural enterprises on the coast and of stock farms in the mountains on considerable areas.

The same trend is evident from the maintenance of cash compensation for expropriated livestock.

*Nevertheless, the Law deserves firm support.* While some of the other aspects are not radical enough and are open to criticism, such as the maintenance of partial compensation in cash, paying the price of land by the beneficiaries, especially tenants, the Law as a whole is radical and progressive, anti-feudal and anti-latifundium, and basically anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist.

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION

*The Agrarian Reform Law radically changes the political situation.*

It is an entirely new development, a qualitative change. However, it did not come overnight, nor was it entirely unforeseen. Without losing its explosive character, it is one in a series of developments that began with the expropriation of the IPC, which led to a sharp turn in the political situation and created opportunities for new changes of a nationalist and anti-imperialist character. These changes are actually taking place and going deeper as the conflict with U.S. imperialism develops. The government countered the threats of the State Department, which is using amendments as an instrument of pressure, by establishing diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and by demanding $690 million from the IPC for oil unlawfully extracted in the Brea and Parinas areas. It reacted to the application of the Pelly Amendment, which suspended arms sales to Peru, by cancelling its invitations to Rockefeller and by demanding the withdrawal of military missions, which has already come about according to press reports.

### IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION AT THE PRESENT STAGE

After the Fifth Congress we maintained that the State Department on April 9 put off the enforcement of amendments, not because

it had renounced them or gone back on its demand for "full compensation" of the IPC, nor because it wanted to save its face, but for the very simple reason that brutal pressure would have caused deep repercussions in Peru and elsewhere in Latin America. Hence the State Departmnt opted for tacit sanctions and an undeclared war by restricting investments and suspending credits, hoping that economic and financial difficulties would break the government's resistance and create a climate favorable to the internal conspiracy.

## OUTLOOK OF THE CONFLICT WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM

The cancellation of Rockefeller's visit to Peru was decisive in frustrating his tour of Latin America. At the second stage of his tour five persons were killed in Colombia and six in Ecuador. In Bolivia he could only stay a few hours and his trip to Venezuela had to be called off. At the third stage of his tour he could only visit Brazil, where he was protected by a ring of bayonets, and Punta del Este, a secluded health resort in Uruguay. He was unable to visit either Venezuela or Chile because the governments of both countries were compelled under popular pressure to cancel the invitation. At the last stage of the Rockefeller venture there was a real popular rising in Argentina, shaken a few weeks earlier by the courageous actions of the working people and the students against the brutal fascist dictatorship of Ongania.

However, U.S. imperialism will not acknowledge defeat as easily as that. It will continue to encourage the internal conspiracy by persisting in its policy of freezing investments and credits and by threatening to suspend the sugar quota.

To reach understanding on the terms advanced by the State Department, the government would have to retreat all along the line, renounce the recovery of the $690 million and agree that it was only entitled to $144 million in IPC tax areas. Only in this way could it pay the "full compensation" demanded by the State Department.

## SOLIDARITY AND STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

The Peruvian people's fight in defense of national sovereignty and the nationalization of oil has from the first enjoyed active solidarity on the part of the Latin American peoples, who see our struggle as their own cause.

It is not only against U.S. imperialism that Peru is fighting. Solidarity in the crisis Latin America is passing through has become an active campaign against U.S. imperialism for demands similar to those put forward in our country. The cancellation of the Rocke-

feller visit greatly radicalized the Latin American peoples' fight against the oil baron sent by President Nixon.

## CONTENT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

What goes on in Peru? What kind of changes are taking place here? How far can they go? What is the nature of the present government?

These questions are being asked both in Peru and abroad. If they are important to anyone because the answers to them enable him to take a stand, they are not merely important but imperative for a party.

One thing is certain. Fundamental changes have come about during the past nine months. We are no longer in the presence of merely a more or less general conflict with U.S. imperialism but are in the midst of a process of change affecting, not only the interests of the imperialist monopolies, but those of the oligarchy and the landowners. Thus the changes we have listed earlier are not merely nationalist but also anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, anti-latifundium and anti-oligarchic. What is even more important to a political party which is not an academy of history but a protagonist of the social struggle, is that there is a promise of the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist changes being carried deeper. Thus we are engaged in a struggle which in the end may become a general struggle against imperialism and oligarchy.

## HOW FAR CAN THE CHANGES GO?

The Agrarian Reform will result in transforming the semi-feudal structure of our country. Nor is it a question of an isolated structural change but of reshaping the age-long and antiquated semi-feudal structure—a change that is not only economic but social, political and cultural. On the other hand, the Reform is anti-oligarchic and we have already analyzed the inherent possibilities it has of developing, by virtue of its own dynamics, into a general struggle against the oligarchy.

## THESE CHANGES ARE NOT REFORMS BUT RADICAL CHANGES

Finally, the Agrarian Reform provides for carrying the struggle deeper, by methods that are not the same as in the case of oil, to convert imperialist enterprises into national ones (the sugar plants of the G. R. Grace, Tuman, Napena and Cayalti companies).

The announced nationalization by stages of the telephone service and its operation by a national telecommunications enterprise will bring yet another structural change.

The reform of the fishing industry will result in greatly radicalizing the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist struggle.

Thus we are in the presence or on the threshold of nationalist, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist structural changes.

Does this mean that we are witnessing a revolutionary agrarian and anti-imperialist transformation of the country? Not yet, of course. But what has happened or is happening adds up to a set of radical changes that may well develop into a complete agrarian and anti-imperialist transformation of Peru.

While these changes are not occurring at a dizzy speed, their pace is swift enough. All comparison is risky, especially in the case of such processes as the one going on in Peru. We may say that the changes are reaching deeper and deeper and their anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic character is becoming more marked, as the struggle continues.

## THE POSSIBILITIES OF A COMPLETE AGRARIAN, ANTI-IMPERIALIST CHANGE

The process of radical changes in our country is going on in step with the development of the conflict with U.S. imperialism, against the background of an economic crisis and under the direction of a military government.

It is clear, therefore, that the possibilities of the struggle assuming a more radical and general character will depend on the trend of the conflict with U.S. imperialism, on the policy the military goverment will follow or the trend that will prevail in it, on the mobilization of the masses to defend and stimulate the Agrarian Reform and radical changes, and on the technical and economic aid which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries may extend to our country to enable it to pursue an independent, non-imperialist course of development.

In government and army, the nationalist and radical elements have strengthened their positions. And so, while counter-revolution should not be discounted as a possibility, it will at least not be easy. The expropriation of the IPC, the promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Law and the beginning of its enforcement in the sugar industry are conclusive proof that an evolution has occurred in the army, that the army, and above all its more progressive sections, are perceptive to popular demands and show determination in the fight for radical change. In these circumstances the reforms planned by the government cannot be viewed sceptically. It should be borne in mind, however, that the plans of the junta are based on work done earlier by special agencies and are being drawn up with the help of civilian experts.

In this situation political work cannot be reduced to putting for-

ward general demands but should include the elaboration of specific proposals regarding the announced reforms and the various points of the program of solutions advanced by the Party, so as to counter imperialist aggression, the internal conspiracy and the economic crisis.

The course of events will depend on the outcome of the confrontation with U.S. imperialism. This confrontation has yet to become general, nor should the possibility of compromise or truce be ruled out.

A hardening of the U.S. position seems very unlikely. To send the Marines to Peru at a time of tremendous anti-imperialist unrest and struggle in Latin America, would mean ending imperialist exploitation of not only our country but the whole continent.

Mobilization of the masses and their active participation in the defense of national sovereignty and the nationalization of oil, in the fight for the implementation of the Agrarian Reform and for carrying anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist changes deeper, are *a decisive condition* for the further course of the process taking place in Peru.

*Inadequate participation of the masses in the struggle for radical changes is typical of the situation in Peru.* It is due to many causes, including the great influence still exercised by such parties as APRA and its minor partners—the Belaundists, Bedoya's Popular Christian Party and the Odria group—who defend the interests of the oligarchy and of imperialism, the persistent fear which even the most radical among the rulers have of active and extensive participation in public affairs by the masses, and the prejudices and incomprehension which tragically persist among many sections of the popular, nationalist and democratic parties and organizations.

The Agrarian Reform, which cannot be carried out without the massive support and active participation of the people, is creating a situation in which Peru can no longer advance unless the shackles impeding more active, extensive and resolute participation by the masses are broken.

In this sphere the Party has an unavoidable historic responsibility, being faced with the grim challenge of history.

It is not a question of creating something out of nothing. The masses are gradually modifying existing patterns as they free themselves from the influence of the parties curbing their activity. Not only the workers, but the students and the middle strata are joining in a spontaneous movement to defend nationalist positions and to make the Agrarian Reform a reality. This marks the beginnings of the nationalist, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic movement which we call the united anti-imperialist front and which lacks a single organization, is not directed by one leadership and has no

outspoken anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic orientation. The nationalist segments of the Army and the rest of the armed forces, while advancing along different but parallel roads, are part of the united nationalist and democratic front which is fast taking shape. *They are not only a component but a decisive part of this front.*

Last but not least, the course of events will depend on the economic and technical assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of the CMEA.

## TASKS OF THE PARTY

One does not have to be a political strategist to realize the necessity for defending and stimulating the implementation of the Agrarian Reform, of maintaining the nationalization of oil and furthering the struggle against imperialist aggression. Numerous statements by trade-union and student organizations, which took a sceptical view of the government or even opposed it but are now offering their help to carry on the Agrarian Reform, show the way.

### CONTRIBUTING TO THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM

The Party and the masses cannot but commit themselves to contribute in full measure to the radical and prompt enforcement of the Agrarian Reform, to fight the slanderers, saboteurs and agents of the oligarchy, the latifundium owners and imperialism, to do their utmost through concrete cooperation to bring about the historic transformation of the semi-feudal structure of our country.

What is happening in our country shows that the general orientation to which our Party has adhered is correct and so is the general line of upholding and stimulating nationalist, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic changes. We must always advance with the masses without assuming pretentious vanguardist positions. We must always remember that changes actually come about when they have become demands widely supported by the people, that in periods like the present, when the pace of development quickens and when days equal months, the masses become more politically class-conscious through their own experience, doing so with amazing rapidity under the impact of the events themselves, which develop at a dizzy pace.

### ESTABLISHING A UNITED ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT

The expropriation of the IPC in Peru raised the process of establishing a united anti-imperialist front to a new level and imparted extraordinary scope and depth to it. Neither the oligarchy, its press,

nor its parties dared to resist it—they merely tried to minimize its significance. Imperialist aggression roused the people to the defense of national sovereignty and the nationalization of oil.

The promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Law extended the united front and enhanced its programmatic content. The oligarchy and the imperialists dread radicalization of the popular movement more than anything else. This is why they are making frantic efforts to divert it from its nationalist course, from the struggle for the changes our country requires to cope with imperialist aggression and overcome the crisis. This is the underlying reason for the demand for a general election put forward by the APRA and Belaundist leadership. These leaders realize that time is working against a settlement with the IPC. They know that the nationalist, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic position of the masses is gradually becoming stronger, and they would like to delay this process, to come back to power so as to reverse the course of events.

## DEVELOPING THE UNITED ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT

Spontaneous mobilization of the working people is not enough. Nor is it enough for the masses to take part in the struggle in unorganized fashion. Countering imperialist aggression and the internal conspiracy, and promoting the implementation of the Agrarian Reform and anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic changes call for organization. It is necessary to analyze the issue of mobilizing the masses and bringing them into action and to raise it to a new level.

The foregoing invites the conclusion that the united front should be developed in breadth and depth along the following main lines:

(a) Winning the majority of the organized working class for anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic positions, that is, bringing it into more resolute and militant action in defense of national sovereignty and the nationalization of oil, for the implementation of the Agrarian Reform.

This can be achieved by enlisting the participation of the federations and trade unions outside the Confederation of the Working People of Peru (CWPP) that have not yet resolved to join the General Confederation of the Working People of Peru, which adheres to a class position, and striving to eliminate those who do the bidding of the employers and betray the workers' interests from the leadership of the unions and federations still influenced by the CWPP. This cannot be brought about without defeating the ideological positions of the CWPP leaders who play the game of the employers, and the pseudo-revolutionary orientation of the ultra-"Left". It must be done through the most consistent defense of the working people's interests.

(b) Prevailing on the majority of students to join in the fight against imperialist aggression and for the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law by forming volunteer teams that could go to the countryside to publicize the Law, teach the peasants to read and write, set up cooperatives, offer the peasants educational, technical and medical aid, and so on.

(c) Promoting organization of the peasant masses and their participation in the enforcement of the Agrarian Reform Law.

(d) Encouraging lawyers, doctors, engineers, agronomists, teachers, trained nurses, bookkeepers and economists to join in the campaign to implement the Agrarian Reform.

(e) Bringing the urban masses in general and the population of the so-called 'new communities" in particular into the fight to implement the Agrarian Reform.

## NECESSITY FOR A POLITICAL UNITED FRONT MOVEMENT

Due to the peculiarities of our country, the fight against imperialist aggression and the internal conspiracy and in defense of the nationalization of oil is not supported by big political organizations. Neither APRA, the Christian Democrats, nor Left Unity, which includes the Communist Party, are very influential as political alignments. Coordination of their activities would improve their chances but this has been impossible so far.

It is evident, however, that the struggle against imperialist aggression and the oligarchic conspiracy, the struggle to uphold nationalist, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic changes, and carry them deeper imperatively demands the formation of a political united front alignment that would promote and coordinate the struggle of the masses in accordance with a minimum program and basically encompass the defense of national sovereignty and the nationalization of oil and action against the imperialist aggression and the oligarchic conspiracy and for the implementation of the Agrarian Reform.

This is the only way to check and defeat the counter-revolutionary activity of the PPC, APRA and the Belaundists, parties which are bent on holding back and frustrating anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic changes. By forming branch organizations throughout the country, opening centers and carrying on vigorous propaganda and explanatory work, it is possible to foil the misleading campaign of the press and the parties committed to the interests of the oligarchy and of imperialism.

## HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PARTY

The imperative need to attain the greatest possible engagement of the masses in the implementation of the Agrarian Reform, in the

effort to maintain the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic changes and carry them deeper, is putting a historic responsibility on the Party. No other anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic party has greater opportunities of fulfilling this titantic task than our Party.

This makes it more urgent than ever to draw up a precise action program for every Party member or leader, for every Party cell or group, as the fight for the Agrarian Reform and for anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic changes goes on.

No one may call himself a member of the Party or the Communist Youth League if he is doing nothing, despite punctual participation in the activity of his cell or group, for the implementation of the Agrarian Reform, if he is doing nothing to bring the masses into the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle.

It is now particularly certain that to build up the Party is a cardinal issue of the agrarian, anti-imperialist reshaping of the country.

# ANALYSIS*
# OF THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY AND OUR URGENT TASKS

## APPROVED BY THE THIRD SESSION OF THE EC CC PPI

### MAIN CONTENT OF THE RECENT CHANGES IN IRAN

The past decade in Iran has seen social and economic changes whose main content is the development of capitalist relations in town and country and the gradual abolition of feudal relations, as the People's Party of Iran has repeatedly pointed out.

These changes have necessarily led to changes in the semi-feudal social system of Iran, which will take final shape depending on how fast the new relations of production will spread and how deeply they will take root. It may be said, therefore, that Iranian society is passing through a period of transition.

The economic measures and other reforms effected by the regime, particularly in late years, are designed to hasten this transition and safeguard the fundamental interests of the exploiter classes and strata at home and the interests of foreign capital.

The Shah and the ruling classes did not embark on reform of their own accord—a number of objective internal and external conditions forced them to discard certain outdated methods and old forms of exploitation. From 1950 to 1963 Iran was in a socio-economic crisis so deep that had the regime clung to the prevailing methods, it would have been unable to improve the economic situation to any extent or to balance the budget. Deep discontent in town and country, expressing itself in demonstrations and struggles by the working people in support of their social and economic demands, was making for the gradual build-up of an explosion in society, so that even the imperialist patrons of the regime and the sensible segment of the ruling class began to fear a new upsurge in the people's fight for freedom.

On the other hand, the alarming situation in the country was a grave menace to the existence of the regime in view of the shift in the balance of forces in favor of socialism, the numerous gains of the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the changed situation in the Middle East and the victory of the liberation movement in a number of Arab countries.

*Donya, No. 1, 1969.

These factors led imperialism, the Shah and the ruling classes to the conclusion that before the national democratic movement of the Iranian people had recovered its strength and prepared for a full-scale struggle, it was essential to ease the crisis in favor of the regime through certain reforms, and at the same time to put the socio-economic demands of the people within certain bounds, so that they might not imperil the regime's fundamental interests.

That is why the economic measures and various reforms that have been carried out have limitations due to the regime's anti-national and anti-democratic policies. Indeed, at a time when imperialism lords it over the natural resources of the country, controlling its economy and politics, capitalist relations cannot develop unhampered. Imperialist capital allows such relations to develop in countries like Iran only in so far as they do not injure the imperialist plunderers' interests nor affect the latter's control of the riches and the home market of the country. Therefore, independent development of the industries and the home market of our country, and the transformation of Iran into a country which even under capitalism would meet at least its own requirements by means of its own industry, agriculture and trade, is out of keeping with imperialist interests and, in fact, runs counter to them. The regime's economic, political and military dependence on imperialism, first of all on the U.S., British and West German imperialists, and the desire to maintain the anti-popular order of today prevent the Shah and the ruling classes from infringing the principal interests of imperialism and from using all the natural resources of the country if only to develop capitalism and the home market.

On the other hand, the class nature of the regime and its dependence on the reactionary classes, or, in other words, the regime's anti-democratic character will not let it remove all obstacles to capitalist development or pave the way, leaning on the people for support, for real progress and a better society in Iran despite capitalist relations and mode of production. A regime which, defending the interests of foreign imperialists and the reactionary classes and strata of Iranian society, suppresses the will of the people and continues, 16 years after coming to power, to maintain its rule by means of bayonets, executions, tortures and imprisonment, cannot take drastic action against the reactionaries nor uphold the genuine interests of the people.

Only in the light of these facts can one realize the limited nature of the regime's effort to establish capitalist relations in our country.

In assessing the measures adopted by the regime, the following two important circumstances should be borne in mind:

First, the main objective of the numerous and diverse militant actions of our people for almost a century against colonial domination and against control of the economic, social and political life of

Iran by the feudal landowners has been to end economic backwardness and political stagnation in the country and really to head for national progress, and not to repeat or trail behind a process accomplished in the foremost capitalist countries hundreds of years ago, with an immense gap between our country and world civilization as a result.

Secondly, while substituting capitalist relations for antiquated and decayed feudal relations in our country—even if slowly and inconsistently—is objectively and historically a step forward, this advance is taking place at a time when socialism has asserted itself in a substantial part of the world, the transition from capitalism to socialism is the main content of the epoch and capitalism is declining, while the idea of socialism is gaining ground among the masses all over the world, gradually becoming the universal watchword of progress.

In these circumstances the transition from feudalism to capitalism is an advance on the past of Iranian society. But compared with the Iranian people's potentialities for socio-economic progress, it is not leading to real progress, which is the main object of the people's struggle. Indeed, it is bound artificially to slow down the growth of the productive forces.

The prospect of carrying out the socio-economic plans of the state, boastfully described by the Shah and his regime as the "white revolution," actually means that at long last the capitalist system is being established in our country and that only on a limited scale and in the conditions of dependence. The country's age-long backwardness will not be eliminated. Worse still, the evils of the past are being aggravated by sharp social contradictions born of capitalist exploitation and imperialist plunder, with the result that, the world changing faster now due to the powerful scientific and technological revolution, our country's lag is steadily increasing. This is a prospect to which no patriotic-minded and progressive Iranian can reconcile himself. It is obviously not the right road to progress for our country. What with the changes that have occurred in the world and in Iran, it means going astray.

Ever since it came into being, our Party has expressed, for the first time in the country's history, the progressive aspirations of the people in slogans of struggle to deny the foreign monopolies access to the natural and economic resources of Iran, to have the land divided among the peasants, abolish the feudal system and industrialize Iran on the basis of an independent scientific and democratic policy, and has upheld a specific program for the revolutionary transformation of the country through uniting all its patriotic and progressive forces. It goes without saying, therefore, that while some of the specific socio-economic measures of the regime are useful compared with the previous situation, our Party

cannot shut its eyes to the most important problem—improving the material and spiritual standards of the people and achieving overall progress and prosperity for our country—any more than it can disregard the actual implications of these measures, their limitations, or the prospects they hold out for the people.

## ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE REGIME

Anyone who examines the more important measures to accelerate capitalist development, that is, the land reform and the measures to secure the requisite investments in new industries, becomes aware of the anti-national and anti-democratic trend of the recent changes, of their limited character and their inadequacy.

## THE LAND REFORM

According to official statistics, the first and second stages of the land reform law saw the government assist only 786,710 peasant households, or roughly 25 per cent of the total, to buy land from the landowners. In other words, 75 per cent of the peasant households, or about 12 million peasants, were unable to buy land. Furthermore, at the end of this period over 1,076,000 households rented land from a number of small landowners for 30 years, and some 153,000 households came to own small lots as a result of land allotment.

Official data reveal that the area of the land sold to peasant households does not exceed five hectares on the average. Of late the government has been indirectly taking even this land back from the peasants under a law setting up joint-stock companies, by forcing the peasants to join them.

This situation, while undermining feudal landownership, by no means helps to improve the condition of the bulk of the peasantry, let alone free them from landowner and usurer exploitation.

The privileges granted to the big capitalist landowners, the government incentives to encourage them, the formation of agricultural joint-stock companies, the establishment of large agricultural and industrial enterprises with the participation of foreign capital, the gradual discontinuance of small and short-term loans, the establishment of an agricultural development fund to grant big loans exceeding five million rials, the granting of small loans to agricultural cooperatives, and other measures of a similar nature fully reveal the political objectives of the state, which contributes to the rise of a category of big capitalist landowners and to the ruin of the majority of peasants and small landowners in favor of the big urban and rural capitalists.

Thus development in the Iranian countryside is gradually resulting in the feudal lords disappearing as a class but striving as capitalist landowners to retain their important economic positions in the social system alongside a new category, the big bourgeoisie.

A considerable number of small peasants, one-time well-to-do peasants and those who obtained land under the land reform have been unable to adapt themselves to the new conditions nor to withstand the competition of the big landowners and capitalist companies. They are gradually becoming ruined and are losing control over their households. However, a small proportion of the peasants, due to the financial resources at their disposal and to their ability to adjust themselves to the new situation, will be able to tide over the present period of transition more or less successfully and to become small farmers. The rest of the peasants will either become agricultural workers or, having completely lost their economic base, abandon the countryside and go to the cities in search of industrial jobs.

This is what the law on agricultural joint-stock companies means in speaking of "maximum utilization of the surplus labor power of the countryside in agricultural and industrial enterprises" as one of its objectives.

The establishment of big agricultural enterprises managed by capitalist methods and the penetration of big national and foreign capital into the countryside, a process which lately has assumed a vast scale, specifically in the form of establishing mixed agricultural companies, are hastening the differentiation of rural Iran.

## INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Along with measures to obtain cheap labor and to link the economy and the manpower resources of the countryside to the capitalist market, which is the main object of the regime's land reform, securing capital to set up new engineering industries is a requisite and, in fact, a catalyst of the development of capitalist relations. That is why attracting capital into various industries has been one of the important problems of the regime from the outset. The regime's anti-national and anti-democratic policy, aimed entirely at accelerating the economic development of the country, has played its reactionary role in this respect as well.

The accumulation of domestic capital is taking place very slowly as against the need to hasten economic progress. However, one should neither overlook the main reason for the lag, which is due to the country's economic and political dependence on imperialism, to the role which the reactionary forces of society play in the unfair distribution of the national income and to the poverty of the overwhelming majority of the people, all of which hampers economic progress, nor make plans for future progress based on the interests of precisely these forces.

Such an approach, rather than removing the real causes of backwardness and thus putting all the resources and the creative

forces of the nation in the service of all-round economic development, inevitably aggravates the existing causes of the distressing condition of the people and of the country's backwardness. Its ultimate result is economic dependence and the fact that the country is making slow and uneven progress, that the poverty of the people persists and the country is falling farther and farther behind world civilization.

Yet this is the approach which the regime has chosen by virtue of its class nature and its dependence on imperialism.

The regime is implementing its investment and economic development policy mainly on the following principles:

1. Imperialist penetration into every economic sphere of the country.
2. An effort to bring the interests of the Iranian capitalists into line with the interests of imperialist monopolies.
3. Protecting big capital, strengthening the private sector in industry, agriculture and trade and enabling it to make bigger profits.
4. The transfer to the state sector of the industries which the private sector cannot manage at present, and thus making the state sector a factor helping and strengthening the private sector.

To ensure that government incentives to foreign and Iranian capitalists produced the desired results and that both groups of capitalists came to believe in the safety and profitability of investing their capital, something more was needed than a police dictatorship suppressing the resistance of the exploited masses. It was also necessary for the state to implement a number of laws and decrees granting specific privileges to investors and safeguarding their interests in view of the proposed political and economic changes.

This is evident from the economic laws and decrees of the regime.

The 1955 law on attracting and protecting foreign capital was the government's first important step to implement this policy. It exempted foreign investors from all taxes for five years. It guarantees them the right to transfer profit on capital, capital in the form of foreign exchange, to other countries, and guarantees foreign capital from expropriation. Foreign investments and companies enjoy the same rights and privileges as national private capital. Furthermore, under the Iranian-U.S. treaty of 1957, the government of Iran has renounced the right to nationalize and confiscate U.S. private capital. The banking law of 1955 granted foreign investors, in addition to these privileges, the important right to acquire the status of Iranian juridical persons by merging their capital with Iranian capital on a private basis.

This legislation is giving rise to a new phenomenon in the

capitalist system of Iran, namely, the merger of a substantial proportion of Iranian with foreign capital. Mixed capital is gradually becoming the predominant, and in some cases the only, form of invested capital. Except for certain imperialist monopolies operating as international oil consortiums—a manifestation of collective colonialism in our country—foreign capital, merging with state and private capital separately or jointly, participates in various forms in industrial, commercial, financial, building and agricultural activity under the guise of Iranian companies.

In addition to the formation of mixed bank capital, recent years have seen the rise of dozens of mixed companies in various fields. Over 40 of them own a relatively large stock, 39 per cent of which is held by Americans.

The establishment of an industrial and mining development bank in 1959 is a vivid example of this kind of merger. Forty per cent of the initial stock of this bank is held by U.S., British, French, Italian, West German, Belgian and Dutch banks and firms and the rest, by Iranian capitalists. About 20 per cent of the foreign shares of the bank are held by American banking firms. This bank is entitled to grant medium- and long-term loans and loans in convertible currency. It guarantees the shares and bonds of industrial firms and has a say in matters of extending technical aid and aid in designing in every sphere of industry, finance and trade. Besides, as a direct partner of these firms, the bank can put them under its control.

Another form of merging foreign with Iranian capital which lately has become widespread in our country is the assembly industry. We now have dozens of plants assembling radio equipment, TV sets, refrigerators, trucks, cars, etc., from imported parts. On the plea of promoting national industry, the manufacturers of these enterprises are exempted from customs duties, or pay nominal duties. Besides, in an effort to help these enterprises derive comparatively big profits from their output, the state reduces to a minimum the import of manufactures of this kind, thereby freeing the enterprises from all foreign competition.

Thus the regime enables imperialist monopolies to operate in various spheres of the Iranian economy and to make big profits on small capital. It is linking more and more Iranian capitalists with foreign capitalists by linking their interests with those of the imperialists and thus committing the latter to defend the regime and its anti-national and anti-democratic policies. Furthermore, by authorizing foreign investment in various economic fields and encouraging the merger of imperialist capital with Iranian private capital, it is stepping up the evolution of the country towards greater economic dependence on imperialism.

It is this policy that the Shah and his government call an "independent national policy." Extolling it, the Shah said: "The more

foreign countries invest in our country, the more they will be interested in maintaining our security and independence." This statement gives an excellent idea of the regime's "struggle" for national security and independence. Instead of curbing imperialism and its agents, the regime is trying above all to allow as much freedom of action as possible to these sworn enemies of Iranian independence and security in every economic and political sphere and to give them maximum access to these fields, allegedly in order to "commit" them to the independence and security of the country.

Assuming that an "independent national policy" calls for encouraging maximum foreign interference in the economic affairs of the nation, colonial policy should be regarded as the most effective defense of independence and colonization, as a desirable step to promote the independence and security of the country, since this would ensure the highest degree of interference by foreign capitalists. But then it is not too clear what else fighting for an "independent national policy" would mean and against what colonial force it would be carried on.

The real meaning of the phrase "independent national policy" becomes clear if "security" is taken to mean suppressing the popular movement in order to safeguard the interests of imperialist plunderers and the home exploiters linked with them, and if independence is construed as defense of the existing regime. This contradiction shows that the "independent national policy" being followed by the Shah and his government is merely a policy designed to bind our country to foreign capital as strongly as possible and "commit" capitalist monopolies and imperialist states to defending the present anti-national and anti-democratic regime. This is not an independent national policy but an anti-national policy, a policy of subjugating the country.

## THE PRIVATE AND STATE SECTORS

By virtue of its class nature the regime is trying as it implements its anti-national policy and strengthens the private sector to help big capital linked with foreign capital to gain a dominant position in the national economy.

Now that the contradictions of the capitalist monopoly system compel the big capitalist countries to resort increasingly to state interference in economic affairs, and thus impose state-monopoly capitalism on modern capitalist society, a backward country like Iran cannot dispense with the state sector of the economy because of its scant national resources and the inadequacy of internal accumulation. Numerous facts show, however, that the economic policy of the regime, far from reinforcing the state sector, regards it as a temporary assistant of the private sector and a factor in

strengthening the economic base of the latter. It is in line with this policy that the ruling classes advocate the theory of "entrusting the people's cause to the people," strengthening the private sector ever more because "the state is a poor businessman" whereas the private sector is supposed to be an important factor in carrying out the industrialization program. According to the same policy, the sale of government enterprises is said to be one of the principles of the Shah's "revolution" and the private sector is granted various privileges. The state not only protects this sector by prohibiting the import of products made in Iran (in terms of a sound national economy, this kind of protection is necessary and correct, but also bolsters big capital by granting it long-term credits and by exempting it from customs duties and turnover tax. Due to its growing strength and to the merger of a substantial part of its capital with foreign capital, the private sector is gradually winning more solid positions, demanding more rights and privileges as it gains ground.

Many members of the regime, ranging from members of the Shah's family to highly placed civil servants and military leaders, likewise make investments in industry, trade, finance, building and agriculture. They therefore own a considerable proportion of private investments. We describe this category of Iranian capitalists as bureaucratic capitalists because of the position it holds in the state machinery and of the leverage it has gained through its despotic power. Its influence is growing day by day. There are few industrial, commercial, building, transport or agricultural enterprises in our country today in which members of this category are not involved directly or as shareholders. Due to the privileges and the special protection such enterprises enjoy, it has gradually become a tradition to cede part of the shares of every new company to a member of the Shah's household.

However, despite the tendency of the state to strengthen the private sector, the objective conditions of the economic development of our society have led to the role of the state sector growing, especially in recent years, due to the big industrialization plans which are being drawn up in it and which private capital cannot cope with (plans for building metallurgical, gas-pipe, tractor and other plants) and due to state participation, in collaboration with big private capital, in the aluminum, petrochemical, chemical fertilizer and other industries. On the other hand, while government investment has increased in absolute terms, the relative growth of private investment is greater.

It is obvious that the private sector, which regards it as its right to invest in every branch, resents state investments, considering them an invasion of its own sphere. This is why contradictions have already developed between the private and state sectors. They find reflection, to one extent or another, in the debate at economic con-

ferences, at meetings of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry and elsewhere. The big capitalists of Iran know well that as matters stand now they lack the economic resources that would enable them to invest in such important industries as steel and oil or in railways. They fear, however, that the growing state sector and its partnership with foreign capital may bar their way to bigger profits.

## GROWTH RATES OF THE ECONOMY AND THE NATIONAL INCOME

Although the regime's policy benefits foreign monopolies and the big capitalists connected with them and upsets the proportionate development of the national economy, the latter has in late years been growing at a higher rate than before. This is perfectly natural at the early stage of capitalist development in a backward country like Iran. However the policy of the ruling classes of such a country may prevent sound and proportionate economic development, it leads, none the less, to diverse important measures fostering the establishment and spread of capitalist relations, so that it, too, yields positive results in accordance with general economic laws. There is no ignoring this fact, but one should not overestimate the pace or depth of this process.

These two extreme estimations are far from scientific realism and are politically shortsighted. Due to them, reality, the actual state of affairs, is either ignored or approved. And this means that they are incompatible with either the scientific world outlook or the revolutionary character of the working class.

The figures released by various economic agencies of the state show that after the depression of the period between 1960 and 1963 the economy began to look up, relatively speaking. Discounting two indirect factors—oil and indirect taxes, whose growth is generally reflected in official statistics—the average annual rate of economic growth is 6.6 per cent. Official data estimate that the absolute value of the gross national product of Iran between 1959 and 1967 increased by 238,600 million rials. It should be borne in mind, however, that agriculture and industry, including mining, water works, power and building industries, account for a little more than 54 per cent of the GNP, the rest coming from trade and communications.

The figures for this period suggest that the annual growth rate of the GNP was uneven and the various economic branches had been developing disproportionately. One is struck above all by the serious lag in agriculture whose growth rate was a mere 2.2 per cent a year, or roughly 3.5 times less than that of the entire economy. On the other hand, the share of industry during the same period ranged from 8.7 to 14.4 per cent. The development trend shows that the

structure of social production is changing in favor of industry.

On carefully analyzing the structure of the national income of Iran minus income from such non-productive fields as banking, insurance, real estate, the Civil Service and employment in private institutions, and from indirect taxes connected with the distribution of income from the production sphere and virtually taken into account twice, one finds as one considers the national income with or without oil that the economic structure of the country has two aspects. If in examining the structure of the national income oil is taken into account, Iran appears to be not only an industrial country but a country which in this respect is ahead of some European countries. If, on the other hand, the oil industry is discounted, the share of agriculture in the national income turns out to be 20.7 per cent in comparison with industry according to data released by the Central Bank of Iran for 1967, the last year of the third five-year plan. The inclusion of the oil industry, which in present conditions is outside the sphere of domestic production, clearly changes the picture. In fact, this is used in propaganda extolling the regime. Yet it is obvious that although oil is extracted from our soil, the industry is not in fact part of our national production and the income which the state receives from oil does not come from production but is purely financial, and the GNP can include as a production factor only that part of this income invested in production as capital.

The very fact that an extractive industry like oil cannot be part of our national production is a most convincing proof of our country's economic dependence and backwardness. Indeed, if the incomes of the imperialist monopolies which have associated in an international oil consortium to plunder our natural resources and exploit our workers equals 14 per cent, as official statistics indicate, it is obvious that the domination of imperialist monopoly over these resources has robbed us of at least 28 per cent of what could have been our national production and could have contributed to our economic progress. This is more than the share which all the industries of the country have in domestic production today. In other words, had oil not been in the hands of imperialist monopolies, and had domestic oil production been even smaller than now, its share in our economic development and in raising the living standard of our people would still be greater and it would be playing a more important part than now. But as it happens the state does not owe its income from oil to domestic production. Worse still, the imperialist plunderers pocket almost gratuitously at least as large an amount as goes to the state in the form of income.

On the other hand, the downward trend of labor productivity in industry due to the existence of numerous very small enterprises using manual labor and to the very structure of industry, which pro-

duces mainly consumer goods, shows that for all the boastful propaganda and fuss made by the regime our industry and agriculture are still lagging badly. There is no need to demonstrate that our industrial development is unsound, for instead of strengthening the factors for genuine economic growth, it is leading to ever greater dependence of our industry on foreign manufactures and semi-manufactures, aggravating the economic dependence of Iran.

The regime's policy betrays a similar trend in the fourth five-year plan, which the regime regards as a turning point in the country's history. Imperialist monopoly investment, especially by U.S. monopolies, is to increase under this plan. A contract signed recently with U.S. monopolies gave them 26 per cent of the shares of the Abadan Petrochemical Plant and 50 per cent of the shares of similar plants in Khark and Bandar Shahpur. U.S. capitalists also hold 25 per cent of the shares of an aluminum plant. British and U.S. capitalists want a concession to work the rich copper deposits in Kerman. British monopolies are co-owners of a sulphur plant on the island of Khark and of a diesel engine plant. Under a contract to be signed with Siemens, one of the biggest West German monopoiles, a mixed company will be set up and 40 percent of its shares will go to Siemens, which will build a telephone equipment plant.

All these projects, to be built with the participation of imperialist capital, are envisaged by the fourth five-year plan. This means that fulfilment of this plan will depend chiefly on foreign loans and investments (to the tune of 2,000 million dollars). The share of the private sector in this program is to be 45.3 per cent and that of the state sector, 54.7 per cent. It follows that the gap between the private and state sectors is steadily narrowing.

All this notwithstanding, the fourth five-year plan has an advantage over the previous plan in providing for the building of the first heavy industry projects. By the end of the period we should have our first metallurgical, engineering, instrument-making, tractor, gas-pipe, petrochemical, aluminum and other plants.

In the new five-year period the Iranian economy will have reliable sources of investment to draw on thanks to the credits which the socialist countries grant us on very advantageous terms. Measures by the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, to help Iran in setting up a heavy industry will bring about a turn in the development of our entire economy, in which the foundations for a heavy industry will be laid. The decisive role in this development is played by the socialist countries, first of all by the Soviet Union, which are putting an end to the period of subversion on the part of the reactionaries and imperialists by setting up metallurgical, engineering, tractor and other plants in exchange for Iranian natural

gas, which for years had been burning uselessly, or by trading on equal terms, providing the basis for our growing exports.

## SOME CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing warrants the following conclusions:

1. The development of the productive forces of Iran today is passing through the pre-monopoly stage of capitalism. This explains why the accumulation and concentration of capital have yet to attain a degree making is possible to unite this or that branch of production separately or in the form of a joint-stock company and to include it in a capitalist monopoly. However, there is evidence of certain steps by the state and by private capital to increase accumulation and concentration.

2. In view of the relative overpopulation of the towns due to the influx of people from the rural areas, which results in chronic unemployment, wages and salaries are very low and so is the living standard. This, in turn, is a serious obstacle to the extensive use of modern machines and techniques in every industry, which would accelerate capital accumulation.

3. As small commodity production in our country still holds an important place and capital accumulation is slow for the reasons listed above, the capitalist system has not yet fully established its control over the home market and the system of small commodity production continues inevitably to play an important part on the home market.

4. The domination of imperialist capital over a considerable part of the economy and the market of Iran has restricted still more the opportunities for the rapid and independent development of Iranian capitalism. This, in turn, is holding back the accumulation of private capital and the establishment of its domination on the home market.

5. The use of the state sector to strengthen a definite group of Iranian capitalists financially, and the merger of their capital with foreign monopoly capital are gradually becoming an obstacle to the steady progress of our economy, deforming and slowing down economic advance even though it is following capitalist lines.

This, then, has been the situation in our economy in recent years, and these are the prospects which the anti-national and anti-democratic policies of the present regime hold out.

*(To be concluded in the next issue.)*

# RESOLUTION*
# OF CC ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission, which met in joint session, concluded the debate on the first item on November 26, and approved the folloving resolution:

"The initiative of *Manifesto* is factional by virtue of the methods of the activity developed and organized around it, the positions upheld by the journal and the objectives which have repeatedly been declared as regards the structure, internal order and leading methods of the Party. It runs counter to the concept and principles of the Party unanimously determined by the 12th Congress and reaffirmed and specified at the previous meeting of the CC and CAC, and is in conflict with the statutory standards governing Party life. The refusal of the comrade members of the CC working on *Manifesto* to desist from this activity of theirs, their desire to put themselves in this way outside the quests, discussions and confrontations going on in the Party with due respect for its principles and for the duties which every Communist must fulfil, make their activity incompatible with membership of the ICP.

"Accordingly, the CC and CAC of the ICP resolve, on the basis of the principles established by Article 19 of the Rules and in the manner provided for by Article 52 (third paragraph), to expel Comrades Rossanda, Pintor and Natoli from the Party. They are agreed that the CAC will take action according to the provisions of the Rules (Article 52, para. 1), on the position of Comrade Magri, who is not a member of the CC.

"Comrades Rossanda, Natoli, Pintor, Luporini, Lucio Lombardo Radice and Mussi voted against this resolution. Comrades Garavini, Chiarante and Badaloni abstained. Shortly afterwards, the same measure—expulsion from the Party on the same grounds—was unanimously approved by the CAC with regard to Comrade Magri."

*Unita, November 27, 1969.

# HOMAGE TO LEADER OF GREAT OCTOBER*

New Age, April 20, 1969.

The toiling people and all progressive humanity will celebrate with reverence, joy and fervor the centenary of Lenin's birth which falls on April 22 next year. Never before in the long march of humanity to emancipation was there such unity and unanimity among all the forward-looking forces of humanity in honoring the greatest revolutionary and liberator that mankind has known.

The name of Lenin will forever be bound up with the Great October Revolution which began the real history of humanity by ending forever the exploitation of man by man over one-sixth of of the earth's surface. It was Lenin who was the inspirer, leader and organizer of the immortal Bolsheviks who headed the tremendous triumphal onslaught of the workers and peasants of Tsarist Russia.

It was Lenin who laid down the main guidelines for the construction of socialism and the advance to communism in the Soviet Union. It was Lenin and his invincible ideas that enabled the heroic people of the Soviet Union, led by their mighty Communist Party, to build socialism against incredible odds, defeat the fascists and Nazis, rebuild their country and blaze new trails in humanity's progress to communism.

The land of Lenin, led by the Party of Lenin, stands in the vanguard and takes up the main responsibility of not only rebuffing the forces of imperialism and reaction on a world scale but of showing to all mankind its radiant future.

The name of Lenin will forever be bound up with the birth, growth and unprecedented victories of the world Communist movement, which represents the honor, the conscience and the intelligence of mankind.

It was Lenin who upheld the fundamental teachings of Marx against the reformists, revisionists and chauvinists, who guarded its revolutionary spirit and irreconcilabilty towards all compromise with alien ideologies. It was Lenin who creatively developed these teachings and raised them to a new level—the level of Leninism. It was Lenin who ruthlessly combatted ultra "Left" deviations and distortions, rebuffed the dogmatists and sectarians and comprehensively developed the methods and system of Marxism.

It was Lenin who crushed the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist ideologies which tried to corrode the international unity

*Resolution of the National Council of the CPI on the Lenin Centenary celebrations.

of the world working class and who restored the purity and grandeur of proletarian internationalism. Marxism-Leninism is an integral revolutionary theory which guides the tempestuous revolutionary practice of the working class and its allies throughout the world.

The recent decades have repeatedly confirmed that only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of its creative application and development, can the working class, led by its Communist Party, fulfil its historic role of emancipating itself and all exploited humanity. The emergence and consolidation and development of the world socialist system, the revolutionary world working class movement and the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples, all bear testimony to the indispensability and invincibility of Marxism-Leninism. The further victories of these three worldwide revolutionary streams are unimaginable without the continued leading and guiding role of Lenin's teachings.

The name of Lenin will forever be bound up with the grand victories of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies whose revolutionary struggles have brought about the collapse of the colonial system. It was Lenin who worked out the basic strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialist democratic revolution.

It was Lenin who worked out the theory of the advance of the liberated colonial peoples along the non-capitalist road to socialism. It was Lenin who worked out the theory of the broad anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic front, based on the worker-peasant alliance and with the continually increasing leading role of the working class.

The name of Lenin will forever be bound up with the revolutionary freedom struggle of our great peoples. As early as 1908, Lenin hailed the political action of the working class strike against the arrest of Tilak. Full forty years before we gained freedom. Lenin foretold the doom of British imperialist rule over India. Till the very last days Lenin closely followed the progress of our freedom movement, analyzing it and working out the path for its speedier advance.

Gandhiji hailed Lenin as one of the master-spirits of humanity. Jawaharlal Nehru expressed his admiration on innumerable occasions. Bhagat Singh and his immortal colleagues celebrated Lenin Day literally on the way to the gallows. Whole generations of Indian freedom-fighters were inspired by the name and ideas of Lenin.

It was Lenin and his ideas which inspired ardent Indian patriots to turn to the working class, to organizing the toiling peasantry and advancing a militant anti-imperialist program for complete independence, the ending of feudalism and opening the high-road to socialism. It was Lenin and his ideas which led these patriots to

found the Communist Party of India as an indispensable factor in the freedom struggle of our peoples.

Now, when our country stands poised once again on the brink of great happenings, when the bankruptcy of the capitalist path of development has burst in the shape of a grave and intensifying political crisis, when the forces of reaction and forces of the Left and of democracy are gathering for a decisive confrontation, the ideas of Lenin are needed by our people as never before.

Life itself testifies with urgent force that the very destiny of India is bound up with the further rapid spread of the ideas of Lenin in our country. Let the ideas of Lenin grip our masses and their victory is assured!

The National Council of the Communist Party of India joins the world working class, all the toilers of the earth, all the healthy forces in our country in paying homage to Lenin on the centenary of his birth. It calls upon all Party units, members and sympathizers to celebrate this great event on a truly nation-wide and mass scale.

From April 22 this year, plans have to be made to take the ideas of Lenin to our toiling masses on the widest possible scale. It need hardly be stressed that broadbased Lenin Centenary Celebration Committees should be set up wherever possible.

The sales of Lenin's works will have to be organized. The three-volume edition of his Selected Works should be translated in as many major Indian languages as possible along with the short biography of Lenin.

At Party schools at all levels, special classes will have to be conducted on the life, work and teachings of Lenin.

Concrete arrangements will have to be made to organize lectures on Lenin for the workers of every factory and the toiling peasants of every village where there is a branch of the Communist Party of India.

Special meetings on Lenin organized by the CPI will have to be held in every village where there is a branch of the Communist Party of India.

Special meetings on Lenin organized by the CPI will have to be held in every State capital and district center. Exhibitions and film shows will have to be held on the widest scale.

Seminars and symposia will have to be arranged on a broad basis for the discussion of the teachings of Lenin and their relevance to our present crisis.

Special posters, banners and badges will have to be produced on a big scale.

A special Lenin Enrolment Week for recruiting new Party members in a planned manner will have to be observed from November 1 to 7 this year.

This celebration will culminate in the observance of a special

Lenin Week from April 15 to 22, 1970.

The biggest tribute and the worthiest way to celebrate the Lenin Centenary will be to struggle for the still greater ideological cohesion of the Communist Party of India on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, to reinforce its organization, expand its links with the toiling people and make it a still finer weapon in the service of the revolutionary struggle of our peoples.

Re-dedication to the ideals of Lenin, re-equipping ourselves through further study of Lenin's ideas, working to capacity to achieve the fusion of Leninism with our working-class and toilers' movements—such is the resolve and the pledge of the Communist Party of India on this sacred occasion.

# THE LENIN CENTENARY

## RESOLUTION* OF THE CC, PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

1. On April 22, 1970, it will be 100 years since V. I. Lenin was born.

The Portuguese Communist Party, whose rise, growth and activity are inseparable from the ideas and activities of Lenin as leader of the Russian and world proletariat, is celebrating the centenary of his birth in common with the CPSU and the Soviet people, with the socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' parties, the working men and women of the world, the peoples fighting for independence, and above all, the peoples under Portuguese colonial rule.

2. Lenin was a brilliant continuator of the work of Marx and Engels, a theorist of the proletariat, a strategist of the revolution and the founder of the first proletarian party of a new type, the man who led the first victorious socialist revolution and founded the first workers' and peasants' state, and who organized and promoted the international Communist movement under imperialism.

Victorious socalist revolutions and the building of socialism in a number of countries, the defeat of Hitlerism and militarism in World War II, the formation of the socialist community, the development of the international labor movement in the capitalist countries, the shaping and progress of its revolutionary vanguards, the defeat of the colonial system of imperialism, the winning of independence by numerous peoples, and the foiling of imperialist war plans are all inseparable from Marxist-Leninist ideas.

All major revolutionary gains since the October Socialist Revolution have been linked with Lenin's name. To commemorate the Lenin centenary means putting on record the achievements and victories of the Soviet Union, the main bulwark of the revolutionary forces of the world. It means putting on record the achievements and victories of Lenin's Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the historic victories of the socialist countries, of the world proletariat, of the peoples that have thrown off colonial tyranny. It means putting on record the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas, which give inspiration to millions and illuminate the path of those fighting for the emancipation of mankind from the imperialist yoke, for the worldwide victory of communism.

3. Life is daily proving the principles of Marxism-Leninism correct, and is showing that departure from these principles, Right or

*Abridged.

"Left" revisionism, affects the vital interests of the working class and the achievement of the goals of socialism and communism.

In commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, the PCP will stress the need to maintain the purity of Marxism-Leninism and its fundamental principles. It will battle staunchly with Right and "Left" opportunist trends, with dogmatism, revisionism and nationalism, and uphold the principles of Leninism in theory and practice.

Lenin's ideas have been of decisive importance to the development of our Party over the years, helping our Party in the harsh conditions of illegality imposed by the fascist dictatorship to become the vanguard of the working class, the only revolutionary party in Portugal.

The Program, Rules, political orientation, tactics, organizational principles and internal life of the PCP are inspired by Marxism-Leninism.

The PCP is both the vanguard of the Portuguese working class and a contingent of the world Communist movement. Its duties towards the working class and the people of Portugal are inseparable from its internationalist duty.

In commemorating the Lenin centenary, the PCP will also put special emphasis on pursuing consistently internationalist policy.

4. In the political work devoted to the centenary, particular attention will be paid to the following:

(a) the leading role of the working class and its party in the socialist revolution and in the building of socialism;

(b) the revolutionary process and the stages of the revolution;

(c) the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy;

(d) proletarian internationalism as part of the ideology of the proletariat and the Communist movement;

(e) cooperation and solidarity of the socialist community as an essential factor for its progress, worldwide influence and defense;

(f) cooperation and unity of the Communist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism as a factor for the success of all and each;

(g) unity of the three great revolutionary forces of the world today—the socialist camp, the labor movement and the national liberation movement—as a factor of the first importance to the fight against imperialism;

(h) the democratic and national revolution in Portugal and its objectives;

(i) the Portuguese working class and its party as the vanguard and decisive force in the fight against the fascist dictatorship;

(j) the policy of alliances of the working class in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship;

(k) immediate tasks, and the prospect of an armed rising by the people;

(l) the Portuguese working class, its party and the national liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by the Portuguese colonialists;

(m) the Portuguese Communist Party, its relations with brother parties and its action in defense of the unity of the Communist movement under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

5. The commemoration of the Lenin centenary by the PCP will be limited due to strict illegality. The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party therefore resolves:

(a) to hold between January and April 1970 meetings in all Party organizations devoted entirely or partly to the centenary;

(b) to hold centenary meetings among the workers, peasants, office and professional employees, the students and intellectuals in the same period;

(c) to bring out a special issue of *Avante* in April 1970;

(d) to publish a series of articles on Lenin and Leninism in *Militante;*

(e) Radio Free Portugal to broadcast centenary programs;

(f) to publish extracts from Lenin's writings on Portugal;

(g) to print a postcard with Lenin's portrait and a brief biographical note on Lenin.

The CC PCP calls for other initiatives to commemorate the centenary: stopping work in the enterprises and study in the schools for one minute, carrying on relevant agitation, publishing articles and other items, holding meetings, forums, seminars and round table discussions, reciting poetry and music, collecting gifts to be sent to the CPSU and the Lenin Museum, etc.

6. Lenin stressed that our theory is not dogma but a guide to action. Fidelity to principle goes hand in hand with revolutionary practice.

Marching at the head of the working class and other working people, the Portuguese Communist Party and all its members will commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin by fighting with still greater energy and devotion against the fascist dictatorship, for democracy, national independence, peace and socialism.

August 1969.

*Central Committee*
*of the Portuguese Communist Party*

# ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

## CUBA

*October 24.* The Lenin Centenary Committee of the Trade Union Center of the Working People of Cuba has drawn up a vast program to hold exhibitions on the life and work of the leader of the world proletariat, deliver lectures, hold a Culture Week, launch contests in industry and agriculture, publish pamphlets and posters and show films.

The Trade Union Center has instituted a centenary diploma to be awarded to the foremost workers and a centenary pennant for the best work teams.

## FRANCE

*October 25.* "Leninism in the Contemporary Battle of Ideas" was the theme of a series of forums and lectures held in Paris on the occasion of the Lenin centenary by the New University. (Democratic institution established by the French Communist Party to spread Marxism-Leninism among the workers, students, office employees and the intellectual community of the Paris area.—*Ed.*)

## HUNGARY

*October 26.* The Seventh World Congress of Trade Unions, which met in the Hungarian capital, adopted a document on the Lenin centenary. It says that the Congress deliberated shortly before the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, outstanding leader of the international working-class movement and founder of the first socialist state. Lenin's name is forever associated with the class struggle of the working people of the world to destroy capitalist rule. Lenin's teachings and revolutionary activity are of tremendous importance to the international working-class movement and are its valuable possession.

To uphold the interests of the working class, Lenin resolutely exposed all who talked about class cooperation and denied the need for labor to carry on a revolutionary class struggle against capital.

Lenin devoted much attention to the trade unions, their role in mobilizing the working people and the struggle for the rights and vital interests of the working people under capitalism.

While pointing to the limitations of the economic struggle, Lenin stressed its importance in raising the class consciousness of the working people and in educating them politically.

Congress was convinced that the working people and their trade unions would in accordance with conditions in their respective countries find the most suitable forms of commemorating the Lenin centenary.

## AUSTRIA

*October 27 and 28.* The CC CPA met in plenary session in Vienna.

*Volksstimme* published the plenum resolution on the decision of the arbitration committee of the CPA to expel Ernst Fischer from the Party. The resolution states that the CC CPA emphatically rejects Ernst Fischer's ideological and political views and regards them as contrary to the principles and organizational foundations of the Party. The arbitration committee acted according to the Party Rules adopted by the 20th Congress. "Only the next Party Congress has the right to revise the decision of the arbitration committee."

"The public statement of 27 members of the CC against the arbitration committee decision to expel Ernst Fischer runs counter to the organizational principles of the Party," the resolution points out. "It was used by enemies to discredit the Party, and was made out to indicate an impending split."

The resolution was carried by 46 votes against 28, with two abstentions.

## ITALY

Zoltan Komocsin, member of the PB and secretary of the CC HSWP, visited Rome in *October* at the invitation of the CC ICP and had talks with ICP leaders. He met with Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the ICP, Enrico Berlinguer, Deputy General Secretary, and members of the ICP Leadership. The participants in the meeting "analyzed questions bearing on the international Communist and working-class movement and on unity of action of the anti-imperialist forces."

"In a cordial and fraternal atmosphere, typical of the relations between the HSWP and ICP," *Unita* reported on October 27, "the participants discussed the problem of supporting the just struggle of the people of Vietnam for their independence, problems relating to the establishment of a European security system, and the prospects of furthering the relations between the two parties."

## JAPAN

A symposium on the Lenin centenary involving Soviet and Japanese scholars was held in Tokyo *late in October*. It discussed Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution and the impact of Lenin's ideas on the democratic movement in Japan.

## FRG

*October 28*. The Presidium of the German Communist Party informed the press of its view of Chancellor Brandt's government declaration. It said the declaration contained "new accents on some aspects of social, educational and foreign policy." But the declaration was "far from meeting the expectations of the population" and was "out of keeping with even the pre-election statements of leading politicians of the Social-Democratic and Free Democratic parties."

"No government declaration has spoken so much about requisite changes and reforms," the GCP Presidium stressed. "But Willy Brandt refuses to declare war on the forces which for the last 20 years have prevented every new political orientation and all democratic progress."

When Willy Brandt spoke of a policy of peace and of achieving proper mutual understanding with East European neighbors, he was naturally supported in this. But no clear stand had been taken on the Oder-Neisse frontier, the Munich agreement, or recognition of the post-war realities in Europe.

Brandt spoke of settling relations between the two German states and of government-level talks with the GDR without discrimination. "But regular, normal relations between the two German states cannot be achieved unless the government of the Federal Republic recognizes the GDR in terms of international law and unless it renounces the Hallstein doctrine and the claim to sole representation."

## FRANCE

*October 20-29*. A CPSU delegation led by B. N. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC, was on visit to France.

During its stay the delegation met with FCP leaders and acquainted itself with the activity of some branch organizations of the host Party.

Talks were held with a FCP delegation led by Georges Marchais, member of the PB and secretary of the CC, Gaston Plissonier, member of the PB and secretary of the CC, Francois Billoux, member of the Political Bureau, Jean Kanapa, member of the CC, and Jean Fabre, alternate member of the CC FCP.

The delegation also had a comradely meeting with Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the FCP.

## FRG

*October 29.* The PB CC of the Communist Party of Germany was reported by ADN (GDR) to have published a statement on the government program announced by Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany.

Now that, after 20 years of CDU/CSU supremacy, the Social-Democratic Party became the ruling party, people in our country and elsewhere hope the new government will end the Adenauer era and effect a turn in policy. The government declaration speaks of measures expected to bring some improvements into certain aspects of social and educational policy. These measures, long overdue, are welcome. But such improvements will take care of only part of the problem without changing the power structure in the Federal Republic until energetic and consistent steps are taken to give the working people a say in every public sphere.

More than ever before, vigorous action must be taken against the domination of big corporations.

One can only agree with Brandt when he stressed in his government declaration the desire for greater democracy. The process of abolishing democracy promoted by the CDU/CSU must be stopped.

To this end it is necessary and possible, in accordance with the demands of the trade unions, to repeal the emergency legislation, renounce all plans for the introduction of preventive arrest; disband the neo-Nazi NDP, in keeping with the provisions of the Constitution; ensure that all anti-democratic, revenge-seeking and militarist aspirations, evident also in the government apparatus, the armed forces and justice, are effectively resisted. It would be a substantial contribution to activating democratic life if the Brandt government were to revoke the anti-democratic ban on the CPG.

Willy Brandt's references to talks with the governments of the Soviet Union, the Polish People's Republic and the GDR on a treaty renouncing the use of force are in keeping with numerous demands of our population. But steps of this nature can be effective only if the Federal government openly brings about a radical turn in comparison with CDU/CSU policy. However, that will be impossible so long as Willy Brandt adheres to the government declarations of 1966, which clearly leave in force the claim to sole representation with regard to the GDR and non-recognition of the frontiers existing in Europe.

## FRANCE

*November 13.* The CC FCP met in Saint-Denis to discuss the draft Theses to be submitted to the 19th Party Congress. The draft is based on the key ideas of the manifesto "For an Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France" and proceeds from the collective analysis and decisions of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

*Humanite* on November 14 published a CC FCP communique saying that the plenum had unanimously approved the draft Theses and elected a committee to consider all the amendments to be moved at the meetings of branch organizations of the Party and the conferences of FCP federations. The CC FCP called on all Party organizations to begin immediately to discuss the draft Theses. It has resolved to open a general Party discussion in *Humanite*.

## POLAND

*November 15-18.* The CC PUWP met for its Fourth Plenary Session in Warsaw. It discussed steps to raise the effectiveness of scientific research and to foster organizational and technological progress in the national economy, and adopted a relevant decision.

The decision points out that the 10th Party Congress charted an intensive economic development program calling for early qualitative changes in the technical, technological and organizational standards of production. The economy has reached a phase making it possible to accelerate the scientific and technological revolution.

The decision stresses the need to make industrial production more effective as it is still not intensive enough in spite of its high growth rate. It specifies the tasks in research and the technical and organizational advancement of the economy, giving priority to the need for research institutions to concentrate on selected problems of importance to intensive economic growth.

The decision provides for the planned extension of experimental institutions and for the establishment of new ones within the framework of departmental research centers, institutions of the Academy of Sciences and higher educational establishments.

The decision stresses the need to ascertain the demand for university-trained personnel and to draw up a training program for this personnel covering a period of ten to fifteen years.

The main purpose of the envisaged changes is to raise the economic efficiency of research institutions.

The decision gives much space to the financing and economic stimulation of research. Party organizations and trade unions will exercise public control over fulfilment of the new economic assignments.

## BRITAIN

*November 15-18.* The British Communist Party held its 31st Congress in Camden Town. Congress was attended by delegates representing more than 30,000 Party members, delegates from the Communist Party of Northern Ireland and representatives of the African National Congress (SAR), Zimbabwe African People's Union (Rhodesia) and the People of Southwest Africa.

Congress discussed the British Communists' tasks in the political conditions of today. It passed a number of resolutions, including the resolutions on monopolies, Left unity and the Communist Party; in defense of the trade unions and on the national future of Scotland and Wales.

Congress elected an Executive Committee of 42.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

*November 19-21.* An international theoretical conference on the subject "Leninism and Our Times," sponsored by *Problems of Peace and Socialism* in connection with the Lenin centenary, was held in Prague from November 19 to 21, 1969.

Delegations of the following Communist and Workers' parties participated in the conference: Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Ecuador, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, German Communist Party, Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Greece, Guatemalan Party of Labor, Communist Party of Honduras, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of Israel, Communist Party of India, People's Party of Iran, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Japan, Lebanese Communist Party, Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, People's Party of Panama, Communist Party of Paraguay, Polish United Workers' Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of the USA.

The conference took place in a businesslike and comradely atmosphere, in a spirit of creative and fraternal cooperation. In their papers the representatives of the fraternal parties showed the universal historical significance of Leninism—the Marxism of our

time, how, under the banner of Leninism, the Communist movement has become the most influential force of our time, how the world revolutionary movement is spreading and growing stronger.

The conference materials will appear in the coming issues of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, and will be put out in a separate book in different languages.

On the closing day of the conference, November 21, 1969, its participants visited the V. I. Lenin Museum in Prague and the hall where the Sixth (Prague) All-Russian Conference of the RSDLP was held. The representatives of the fraternal parties made the following entry in the Visitors' Book:

"On the eve of the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the participants in the international theoretical conference 'Leninism and Our Time,' held in Prague which Lenin, the leader of the international working class, had visited on more than one occasion, turn their thoughts to the immortal genius of our revolutionary epoch.

"We return to our parties filled with the determination to do everything to meet in a worthy manner the Lenin centenary, an historic date of world significance, to step up communist and theoretical work among the masses.

"Long live Leninism!"

## FINLAND

*November 22 and 23.* The CC CPF met in plenary session in Helsinki to discuss problems of the government's foreign policy, talks to restore Party unity, the situation in the Party and work among the youth.

The meeting heard and discussed reports by A. Saarinen, Chairman of the CPF, H. Kuusinen, member of the Political Bureau, E. Kivimaki, Secretary of the CC in charge of organizational matters, and A. Aalto, General Secretary of the Party. It passed resolutions on the home policy of the Party, the foreign policy of Finland, measures to re-establish Party unity, and the Party's tasks in work among the youth. It also approved measures for the Lenin centenary.

## ARGENTINA

*November 22 and 23.* The CC CPA met to hear a report by J. A. Alvarez, General Secretary of the Central Committee.

The rapporteur pointed out that in Argentina and throughout Latin America the struggle to abolish monopoly domination in the national economy, for progressive changes in the existing systems,

for progress, independence, democracy, freedom and bread, was gathering momentum.

The events in Peru and Bolivia had been neither accidental nor ordinary facts. They should be regarded as a component of the anti-imperialist process at this stage of national rebirth on the continent.

The rapporteur pointed out the impact of these events on the masses, on the civilian population and the military, and stressed the decisive importance of solidarity with these liberation movements. Speaking of the socialist countries' solidarity with the progressive movements on the continent, he said they generously helped and supported national liberation movements. Cuba, Peru and Bolivia were among the beneficiaries of this fraternal solidarity which constituted a powerful bastion against imperialist threats.

Analyzing the political situation at home, the rapporteur said the so-called Argentine revolution had failed, giving rise to deep contradictions in the country. Unless the urgent problems of the country were solved there would be new struggles by the workers and the people. The government had succeeded in putting them off for a while, taking advantage of the traitorous conduct of some trade union leaders.

Opposition to the government was growing in the political parties. But their "Right-wing leaders prevent united action because they are afraid of the Left-wing trends gaining ground within their own parties." As for Peronism, it was in a grave crisis. Its Rightist leaders, and first of all Peron himself, were going along with Ongania. They had linked their fate with the dictatorship, and this had created a deep gulf between the leadership and the rank and file. The Communist Party of Argentina had made considerable progress in its work among the masses despite the fact that the reactionaries directed their repressive measures primarily against the CP and vented their class hatred upon it. The guiding and leading role of the Communist Party among the masses had increased of late. It was supported by the Communist youth and had gained strong positions among the students and young workers.

In conclusion the rapporteur called for more efficient political and organizing work, above all among the Peronist rank and file and wherever else Communist influence was not strong.

## BULGARIA

*November 25 and 26.* The CC BCP met to discuss problems of the power industry and ways and means of improving the fuel and power pattern of the country. The main report was presented by Z. Zhivkov, member of the PB CC BCP.

The meeting approved a decision on the lines of development of

this branch of the economy. It also discussed the progress made in fulfilling the 1969 plan for building and installing.

## BULGARIA

*November 26.* The BTA news agency released a report on the talks held in Bogota on November 16 between the Bulgarian Party delegation led by Boris Velchev, member of the Political Bureau, and the Colombian delegation led by Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Central Committee.

The two parties emphatically condemned the U.S. imperialists' criminal war in Vietnam. They hailed the Cuban people and their revolutionary government, whose achievements in building socialism were a source of inspiration to the working class and the progressive forces of the continent. They would continue fully to back them against U.S. imperialist threats and provocations.

The two delegations pointed out the vast importance of the Moscow Meeting to Communist unity and to the fight against imperialism. They considered it their duty to do their utmost for the achievement of the objectives of the Meeting and to carry on a principled and consistent struggle to maintain the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism against every manifestation of Right- or "Left"-wing opportunism, against nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

The two delegations noted with satisfaction that the fraternal relations and cooperation between their parties were developing on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

## ITALY

*November 25-28.* The CC ICP, meeting in Rome, approved the report "The Communist Campaign for a Policy of Reform, for a Swing to the Left" submitted by P. Buffalini, member of the ICP Leadership.

## CUBA

Book Institute of Cuba will publish a number of works on the Lenin centenary, according to a *Granma* report of *November 29.* The collection "Stories About Lenin" will comprise recollections by people who knew Lenin, the series "Officer's Library" will include an issue on Lenin's statements on military matters, and the Arts and Letters publishing house will produce an anthology of poetry on Lenin. Collections of color photographs would likewise be published.

## EQUATORIAL GUINEA

*November 29.* The Republic of Equatorial Guinea shows a deep interest in the approaching centenary of the birth of Lenin. *Ebano*, the government newspaper, publishes items on the centenary. Recently it carried a long article about Lenin's life and work.

Three large photographic exhibitions on Lenin have been held in the republic during the past month. They drew over 7,000 visitors.

* * *

A meeting of Party leaders and statesmen of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union took place in Moscow on *December 3 and 4.* (For the documents of the meeting, see p. 5).

## SOVIET UNION

*Pravda* on *December 4* reported the death of Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov, a loyal disciple and associate of Lenin, active builder of the Soviet Armed Forces, outstanding soldier, Party leader and statesman, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The CC CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have received letters and telegrams expressing condolences on the death of K. Y. Voroshilov.

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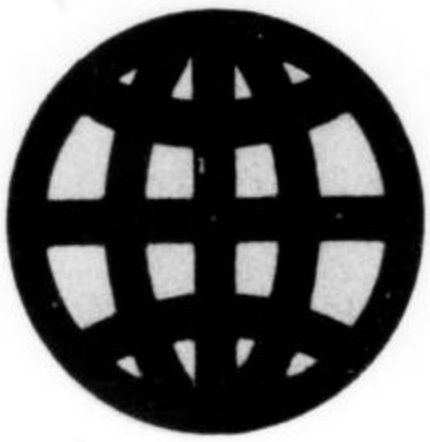
# INFORMATION BULLETIN



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**INTERVIEW WITH JANOS KADAR**

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**SITUATION IN IRAN**

**24** (160) • 1969

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# STATEMENT

## OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY, ON THE RESULTS OF THE MOSCOW MEETING OF LEADERS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

The 12th plenum of the SUPG Central Committee expresses its full and unreserved agreement with the results of the Moscow Meeting of leaders of fraternal socialist countries and emphasizes its vast importance. The plenum approves the work of the GDR Party and Government delegation led by Comrade Walter Ulbricht.

The Moscow Meeting reaffirmed the correctness and success of the fraternal socialist countries' joint policy on the issues of peace and international security and took a new constructive initiative in their effort for peace, European and world security and disarmament.

The SUPG Central Committee states that it is determined, in conformity with the Moscow decisions, to do everything to make the principles of peaceful coexistence the generally accepted norm in relations between European states with differing socio-political structures. Active preparation and early convocation of an all-Europe peace and security conference in which all European states would participate on an equal footing, acquires particular importance in this context.

The fact that the Moscow Meeting unanimously called on all countries to establish relations with the German Democratic Republic on a basis of equality and international law, is of especial significance for the people of the GDR. The promotion of peace requires that all states accept existing European boundaries, including the Oder-Neisse line, as final and inviolable.

The SUPG Central Committee expresses the hope that the insistent appeal, set out in the Moscow communique, to the new West German government to draw lessons from history, cast off the deadweight of the past and take a more realistic approach to the pressing problems of our time, will meet with understanding in the West German Federal Republic.

In conformity with the Moscow Meeting Statement, the 12th Plenum of the SUPG Central Committee urges all GDR citizens to strengthen the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil and to display unrelaxing vigilance in face of the dangerous manifestations of revanchism and activization of the neo-Nazi forces in West Germany.

The SUPG Central Committee fully associates itself with the

Moscow Meeting's protest against the inhuman and criminal aggression in Vietnam. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, peace, freedom and independence of the peoples, the SUPG and the people of the GDR will continue to give the heroic Vietnamese every possible support in their just fight and for an early end to the barbarous imperialist aggression. The SUPG Central Committee demands that the West German government work for an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam in whatever form.

The 12th Plenum of the SUPG Central Committee expresses its deep satisfaction at the identity of views at the Moscow Meeting and welcomes its unanimous decision to hold similar consultations in future on major international problems and to coordinate joint action for peace and security, including European security.

The SUPG Central Committee conveys from this Plenary Session a message of profound friendship and sincere gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee for its work, which facilitated the success of the Moscow Meeting.

*Central Committee, SUPG*
*Berlin, December 13, 1969*

# CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

## ON THE RESULTS OF THE MEETING OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

**December 3-4, 1969**

Having heard and discussed the report of the Soviet delegation at the meeting of Party and Government leaders of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union, held in Moscow on December 3-4, the CPSU Central Committee Political Bureau positively assesses the results of the Meeting and fully approves of the work of the Soviet delegation.

The CC CPSU Political Bureau expresses satisfaction at the identity of views at the Meeting on a wide range of international problems and the readiness of its participants to continue consultations for coordinated joint action for peace and security of the peoples, including European security.

Together with other fraternal parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will persist in its efforts to strengthen European peace and security, and will exert every effort to produce a healthier climate in Europe.

The CC CPSU Political Bureau supports the Statement of the Moscow Meeting on the situation in Vietnam and reaffirms that the CPSU and the entire Soviet people, animated by the principles of

proletarian internationalism and fidelity to peace, independence and freedom of the peoples, will continue to give every support to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle until an end is put to the aggressive war U.S. imperialist circles are waging against Vietnam.

# WE WANT ONE THING— TO SAFEGUARD PEACE

## INTERVIEW* WITH GUSTAV HUSAK, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC, CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, BY "RUDE PRAVO"

*Q.* Comrade First Secretary, how satisfied are you and the comrades who took part in it by the results of the Moscow Conference of Party and government representatives of seven brother countries?

*A.* We are all well satisfied. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPC, to which we reported on the talks last Monday, said as much. I think the meeting was also indicative of a high degree of mutual confidence between the brother parties and countries. National and international interests demand that we all carry on a coordinated policy. At a time when the West adheres to a common policy in every field and consistently implements it within the framework of NATO, it is perfectly natural that we should meet to exchange views, to confer and reach agreement with a view to expressing our fundamental class and international interests. We agree on a common platform on international matters, on elaborating and specifying the tasks and objectives in which we agreed in the statements of this year's Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow.

That we wanted to work out political positions is also evident from the fact that this time we left the defense ministers behind. In general, this conference showed again that the common line of action on which we had agreed at earlier meetings—in Bucharest, Warsaw, Karlovy Vary and Budapest—was correct. This coordination was also an important factor enabling us to counter various concepts aimed at disrupting our socialist community. It was therefore useful and very necessary to adopt common views on matters of principle and to coordinate the action of our countries, because we want one thing—to safeguard peace. We succeeded in every respect. We not only found common language but expressed a common will and determination to proceed jointly and purposefully, in planned and coordinated fashion.

*Q.* That, of course, is closely bound up with the problem of European security which the closing communique of the Moscow Conference likewise deals with. What was the attitude of our delegation?

*A.* As far as matters of principle are concerned, it didn't differ

*Rude Pravo, December 10, 1969.

from our earlier positions and formed a natural and organic whole with the views of the other fraternal parties. This was also expressed in the conclusions of the Prague Conference of Foreign Ministers. There can be no security in Europe without cooperation in every respect. You cannot cooperate if there are factors continually breeding tensions. Europe is a very sensitive area—two world wars broke out here—and we now want a guaranteed and lasting peace to set in in Europe at last, twenty-five years after the war. The ruins left by World War II and the rubble of bombed-out houses have disappeared, but how many vestiges of this kind still obstruct and cause fear in politics, in relations between nations and states! The Potsdam agreements were also signed for us. Nor has anyone annulled them, the nations wouldn't have allowed it. But the principles agreed to by the great powers at the end of World War II are not respected. We again call for a conference to discuss actual cooperation in Europe, so that we can go on to deeds, to concrete cooperation wherever possible. However, after the December meeting of the NATO Council we hear again, I regret to say, voices from NATO quarters that seem to be trying to put off or torpedo a conference on European security even before it meets at all. It would be desirable for the various nations to be able to say what *they* think.

Q. There is a *but* to the problem of European security of course —the policy of the German Federal Republic, which to this day has not indicated properly that it recognizes Europe as it has emerged from the Second World War. There is plenty of talk now of a new situation allegedly created by the change of the government team in the Federal Republic. Is there any evidence yet of that new situation?

A. I wouldn't like to prophesy or indulge in personal comments. It is for the present Bonn cabinet to produce evidence of a new situation if it has arisen. Some words and turns of speech reaching us today were actually lacking in the vocabulary of the previous West German government. A number of questions arise, of course. Are the earlier dogmas of Bonn policy valid or not? Can they become null and void just because they aren't mentioned any more? Is the new Bonn cabinet proof of a fundamental turn?

The nature and the class basis of the German Federal Republic are unchanged, nor does the present government intend to change them. Needless to say, we must gauge the new situation in the Federal Republic by such matters of principle as respect for the results of World War II and the inviolability of all frontiers that goes with them, including the frontier separating the two German states, and so on.

Of course, we follow with interest all new moods and more sober elements. It was a characteristic of the past foreign policy of West

Germany that it lagged behind reality and historical development. That is disturbing. So far that lag has prevented settlement and normalization of the relations between the two German states and with the socialist countries at large. Besides, it should be realized that the attitude to the German Democratic Republic is not merely an attitude towards one socialist country but at the same time towards the socialist community as a whole. We guarantee our full solidarity with the German Democratic Republic and declare for its full recognition in terms of international law.

Surely one cannot today make a realistic policy with the absurd claim to exclusive representation of the whole German people, any more than one can sidestep Munich and the issue of voiding it with all ensuing consequences by resorting to verbal tactics. Intentions are certainly a nice thing but they alone aren't enough. The previous policy of the Federal Republic did not work. On the contrary, it ran into crisis as a result of the consolidation of the international standing of the GDR, due to the appeal of the idea of European security, as a result of the foiling of counter-revolutionary plans in the CSSR, due to the growing strength of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. It would be folly to go on trying to divide us, to play one of us against another as in a chess game, as West Germany's Eastern policy tried to do, to try to make of some an instrument of isolating others. Last year's efforts to turn Czechoslovakia into a Trojan horse are a more than convincing reminder.

Q. However, one of the stumbling blocks in the past was the West German stand on the Munich agreement. Will that never change?

A. The Munich agreement has become an international symbol for treachery. To our nations it was, moreover, a profound tragedy involving a life-and-death struggle. On the problem of Munich, you can't dance as if among eggs. It is high time to put paid to all its after-effects. How should that be brought about? We have stated our ideas on this score more than once. We were among the first victims of Hitler's aggression and have a vital interest in settling our relations with our neighbor. We have never raised any obstacles to a settlement and, in fact, want to see all obstacles removed. We are waiting for an initiative and will weigh every realistic idea or proposal directed towards annulling and fully making up for Munich from the outset with all ensuing consequences. The situation in the world and in Europe, the changes they are talking about in the German Federal Republic and the aspirations of the population could lead to an effective, unequivocal and binding political declaration by the Federal Republic voiding an act that took place over thirty years ago but is still in the way.

Q. Comrade Husak, do you think there are any opportunities for agreement and progress?

A. We are gradually establishing order in every field of our activity at home and this position, too, is a sign of our progressing consolidation. International problems should also be tackled and solved in orderly fashion and not spontaneously and chaotically as last year. We have never rejected reasonable positions, proposals, contacts or talks based on the principles of equality and binding international legal standards. We judge dialectically the evolution and changing character of the manner in which Bonn's present policy line is formulated and carried on. One could say that the present West German government may have a chance to learn the lessons of history, get rid of the deadweight of the past, act in the spirit of the time, show a realistic approach to problems creating tension, not reconcile itself to manifestations of revanchism nor with the activity of neo-Nazi forces. The fact that the NDP lacked only a half per cent vote to move into the Bundestag is certainly a warning. We realize many of the internal differences and difficulties besetting the West German government. A preliminary favorable statement by the Federal Republic about participation in the conference on European security could be assessed as a positive fact on the understanding that the German Democratic Republic would be an equal partner. The same applies to West Germany's signature to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. There are opportunities for agreement on a number of practical matters, and a more lasting settlement of, say, our trade relations which are certainly not a marginal issue. In a number of spheres, such a long-term trade agreement or economic, scientific and technological cooperation, we could develop a cooperation between our countries that would be of far greater benefit to both sides. We have a common frontier with a number of European states. But the German Federal Republic is the only neighbor with which our relations can be called anything but normal. This, however, is not our fault.

# ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY AND OUR URGENT TASKS*

## CHANGES IN THE ALIGNMENT OF CLASS FORCES IN IRAN

1. The working class is going through a process of quantitative growth and qualitative change and its share in society is increasing fast. The 1966 census revealed that out of the 7,500,000 gainfully employed inhabitants of the country, 2.5 million were wage workers. This figure is indicative of the considerable proportion of urban and rural proletarians. According to the same source, over three-quarters of wage labor were manual workers, but the fact that the number of enterprises employing ten workers or more grows shows that there is an increase in the proportion of workers associated with machine production. Data on the standards of knowledge and skill of industrial personnel employed as foremen or skilled workers speak of only two per cent of technicians, that is, people who received special training before taking up their jobs, and of roughly one per cent of industrial workers who had the opportunity to be trained over a brief period at home or abroad. Ninety-seven per cent of the workers, or the overwhelming majority, had received no systematic education. Nevertheless, at the close of the third five-year plan there were 17,000 graduates of vocational, technical and agricultural schools.

Due to the rapid growth of wage labor and to changes inevitably occurring in the qualitative composition of labor power as industry develops, the working class is gradually becoming the most important economic factor. Obviously, this important evolution is bound to have a strong and all-round effect on the future social, economic and political situation in Iran.

2. With the establishment of capitalist relations and mode of production the semi-feudal character of the Iranian countryside is changing and a realignment of the class forces is taking place. Agriculture today accounts for about 45.8 per cent of the working people of the country. Of this number, official statistics describe 1.3 per cent as employers, who include the landowners and capitalist proprietors, 47.9 per cent as independent workers, a category comprising all peasants and tenants, 33 per cent as wage workers and the rest as government employees.

These approximate figures show that land-hungry peasants, tenants and agricultural workers make up the overwhelming majority

*Conclusion. See previous issue of **Information Bulletin** for Part I.

of the gainfully employed rural population. They also reveal the trend of the differentiation going on in the countryside and its evolutionary process. An important fact already revealing the content and main trend of these changes is the growing number of agricultural workers and the rapid increase in the proportion of rural semi-proletarians and proletarians. It goes without saying that the coming years will see deeper changes in rural Iran. The polarization resulting from the setting up of agricultural joint-stock companies by the government will grow in pace and intensity as wage labor grows. Subsequently investment in the form of mechanization will lead to a much sharper decline in employment in the countryside and, as a result, to a greatly increased migration from countryside to town.

3. The feudal lords who are either becoming big capitalist landowners or are merging with the bourgeoisie, are on the decline as a class. However, there still are numerous landowners who through various devices preserve in their holdings relations of production typical of landowner-peasant relations. They take advantage of the peasants' ignorance and force of habit and superstitions to maintain the old mode of production.

4. The bourgeoisie is changing too. Industrial capital, once smaller than trade capital, is growing apace. Changes in the share of industry and trade in national production suggest that the role of industrial capital has increased as against trade capital. In 1961 both accounted for 9.3 per cent, but in recent years the ratio has changed in favor of industrial capital (13 and 8.5 per cent, respectively). It follows that trade capital is gradually losing its undivided domination while the economic role of the industrial bourgeoisie is rising.

Iranian big capital is interlocking more and more with imperialist monopoly capital. Some comprador merchants who have sufficient capital and want to adapt themselves to the economic situation and to enjoy the same benefits as the state has granted to investors from among the industrial bourgeoisie, have joined in national production and are themselves becoming comprador industrialists. The regime, which has made the top bourgeoisie its social mainstay, is trying by every means to reconcile the interests of the industrial big bourgeoisie with those of the comprador merchants, specifically by easing the sharp contradictions between these two segments of the capitalist class.

The middle and petty bourgeoisie, being less strong financially, cannot import capital goods and still depend for this on comprador merchants. Furthermore, their very existence is constantly threatened by competition from imported items and from products of the large-scale national industry. Government measures, in turn, complicate the activity of these segments since the benefits which the

state grants by cancelling tax arrears, exemption from customs duties and from turnover tax, etc., are enjoyed chiefly by big capital, whereas the small and middle capitalists hardly share in them. The government's efforts to stimulate and bolster the big companies, for its part, leads to the ruin of the petty and middle bourgeoisie and to domination of the middle bourgeoisie by big capital.

The national bourgeoisie of Iran is made up mainly of these two segments, which are turning more and more against the regime's anti-democratic and anti-national policies under the pressure exerted on them—directly or indirectly—by the national big bourgeoisie, foreign capital and the state.

5. With the growing domination of big capital over production and trade and with strong competition from home and foreign manufactures, the handicraftsmen's sphere of small-commodity production is shrinking. The handicraftsmen become ruined or are compelled to adjust themselves to the new conditions by submitting to the supremacy of big capital so as to preserve their business. Shopkeepers, too, are coming more and more under the sway of big merchants and are losing their independence. Some of them are ruined and give up their traditional occupation to become wage workers.

The principal trend today is that the petty bourgeoisie is increasingly abandoning the sphere of commodity production to go into trade or the service industry. A small proportion of the urban petty bourgeoisie and some intellectuals that have come from this class back the regime and its policies by virtue of their position in the Civil Service and under the influence of the economic advantages they have gained, and of the ideology of the national and foreign bourgeoisie. They inevitably become agents of national and foreign big capital.

## CHANGES IN THE CLASS BASE OF THE REGIME

The changes which have taken place in Iranian society and in the alignment of its class forces were bound to have their effect on the class base of state power. The former feudal and patriarchal base of the state and monarchy was clearly incompatible with the development of capitalist relations of production and hence did not allow the early removal of obstacles to their development. Due to imperialist economic and political domination, the economic weakness of the national bourgeoisie and the fear of a new upsurge in the revolutionary movement, the first steps to hasten the development of the capitalist mode of production and capitalist relations were taken with the aid of a regime leaning primarily and chiefly on the feudal lords and on landowner-peasant relations for support.

To maintain imperialist domination, the monarchy and the inter-

ests of the exploiter classes, it was necessary to alter the mainstay of the regime so as to preserve its form. And while the form of government underwent no particular change, the class base of power had to be changed. The Shah, upholding his despotic powers and striving to preserve the regime of one-man dictatorship, gradually renounced the former base, the class of feudal landowners, in favor of the bourgeoisie as the objective exponent of capitalist relations. The ultimate object of every segment of the bourgeoisie is to develop and spread capitalist relations. But there are sharp contradictions between the national bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the top of the home bourgeoisie and foreign monopoly capital, on the other, over the lines of this development, the nature of government interference in economic affairs, the utilization of investment, the methods of controlling the home market and, consequently, the forms of government. This being so, the regime could not itself become the spokesman of all the capitalist interests of the country despite its class links and its dependence on imperialism. It had to have the backing of a section of the home bourgeoisie which at the given stage had no interests running counter to those of foreign capital and the big landed proprietors, and secondly, was prompted by its class interests to accept the prevailing form of government and the policies of the regime.

In present-day conditions the big industrial, commercial, agricultural and financial bourgeoisie of Iran, which is bound by a number of common interests with international capitalism and foreign monopoly capital, meets these conditions. It therefore constitutes, along with the big landowners, the social mainstay of the regime. This means that from a feudal-comprador dictatorship the regime has become a dictatorship of the top stratum of the newly-formed bourgeoisie.

## FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REGIME AND ITS LINKS WITH IMPERIALISM

Under the impact of public opinion, the Soviet Union's peace-loving and friendly policy towards the peoples of Iran and the change in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism, peace and democracy, and due to a number of economic and political factors, the government had to revise its relations with our great neighbor, the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries and set out to normalize these relations, to promote economic cooperation, trade and cultural exchange with the socialist countries, a policy which our Party has always supported as a means of strengthening the political and economic independence of the country. Nevertheless, the regime's foreign policy is based on close cooperation with imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and support for its policy in the world arena.

The regime is well aware of the importance of better relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It knows that extension and promotion of these relations bring tremendous benefits to the national economy, the working people and the country's political and economic independence. But its reactionary nature and its links with imperialism prevent it from promoting these relations sincerely and consistently. This is why, despite the fact that better relations with the socialist countries are already helping to raise industrial output, expand foreign trade and improve the economy as a whole, the regime is at pains to keep its relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries within bounds.

The regime has made the most important natural resources of the country—the huge oil deposits in the South—available to a group of U.S., British, Dutch and French monopolies operating as an international consortium. It puts a substantial share of the fruits of the brutally exploited Iranian workers' toil in the pocket of imperialist plunderers. Moreover, it places at the disposal of U.S., British, Dutch, French, West German, Japanese, Italian and other major imperialist monopolies the country's other mineral riches. The biggest oil monopolies of the world are active in Iran behind the facade of mixed companies, such as Farsi Oil, Persian Gulf Oil, etc.

Unequal trade and transactions of the same kind are among the channels of imperialist plunder encouraged by the government's economic and foreign policy. Every year sees an appreciable percentage of the national income spent on re-establishing the balance of payments. Last year imports were eight times as high as exports. For the same reason, the country's foreign exchange reserves are dwindling although the state every year receives roughly $1,000m. for oil. Every year the regime takes loans from imperialist states on onerous terms, with the result that large amounts of foreign exchange have to be paid yearly in interest. Things have gone so far that in recent years Iran's payments on foreign loans (clearing off debts or paying interest) have exceeded the amount of new long-term loans.

The aggressive and colonialist CENTO alignment is passing through a grave crisis. Nevertheless, the government abides doggedly by it and is, indeed, its only zealous advocate. The Shah and his regime have repeatedly admitted that CENTO is no longer in keeping with "the needs and spirit of the times" and have on more than one occasion, plainly under the influence of improved relations with the Soviet Union, denied the pact a *raison d'être* since it was brought into being to stave off the alleged "danger of aggression from the north." And yet they regard the preservation of this imperialist pact and Iran's continued membership of it, as well as the bilateral treaty they have signed with the U.S., as a pillar of their foreign policy.

CENTO and the military treaty are among the principal instruments of consolidating imperialist positions in Iran and the Middle East, where they serve as an effective factor in safeguarding oil monopoly interests. It is no accident that spokesmen of the regime, compelled to admit that there is no threat to our country from the north, now claim—in an effort to justify Iran's membership of CENTO—that Iran and the Persian Gulf are "threatened" by Arab countries.

Rather than using the favorable international situation of recent years to foster friendship with the Arab countries and to enable Iran and its people to play a fitting role in the Middle East, the regime makes wrong moves with regard to these countries. It backs imperialist theories about the Arabs and undermines Iran's relations with them by arousing hostile sentiments and national fanaticism in the people. It wants gradually to make our country, like Israel, an enemy of the Arab peoples and a servitor of the imperialist oil cartel in the Middle East.

The government, exploiting the people's patriotic feelings, tries to set them against the Arab states by alleging that these states claim a part of Iranian territory and plan to sever Khuzistan from Iran and to encroach on Iran's interests in the Persian Gulf. It uses the same device to justify its anti-popular measures, including the solicitation of war loans and repeated purchases of arms and ammunition from the U.S., British and other imperialists. Thus the bulk of the nation's budget allocations is wasted under the pretext of safeguarding the territorial integrity of the country. The government brandishes the bogey of the alleged Arab threat to the Persian Gulf and, on the other hand, makes a deal with Saudi Arabia, the most reactionary Arab state, about the Persian Gulf to safeguard U.S. and British oil monopoly interests.

Our Party, being a patriotic organization and the most consistent defender of the interests of Iran and its people, has defined safeguarding the independence and territorial integrity of the country as an important principle of its program. It, therefore, regards provocations on the part of any foreign state aimed at severing Khuzistan, one of the oldest provinces of Iran, an inseparable component of its territory throughout history, and any encroachment on the Iran people's interests in the Persian Gulf, whose entire northern coast is part of our territory, as hostile acts and considers resistance to them to be the Party's sacred national and patriotic duty.

However, the tensions between Iran and the Arab countries have nothing to do with safeguarding our country's independence and territorial integrity. In reality these tensions, particularly those with the UAR, Syria and Iraq, are a striking result of the reactionary role which the present regime and the state of Israel play, in line with the policy of the U.S., British and West German imperiailsts

and the international oil cartel in the Middle East, against regimes taking definite political and economic steps to reduce imperialist influence and consolidate their political and economic independence.

Our Party emphatically condemns this anti-national policy, which contradicts the genuine interests of the Iranian people. These interests demand normal relations of cooperation and mutual assistance with the Arab countries. Innumerable historical, cultural and religious bonds and interests link Iran and its people with the peoples of the Arab countries. There are no differences or contradictions between Iran and the Arab peoples that cannot be settled. On the contrary, there is ample ground for a common policy of solidarity. A bellicose attitude to the fraternal Arab countries which benefits the imperialists and their oil monopolies is nothing but a betrayal of national interests.

Paying lip-service to the demand that the seized Arab territories be restored and the UN Security Council resolution respected, the Iranian government secretly seeks agreement with Israel and even encourages Israeli investments in Iran. And while posing as an advocate of ending the Vietnam war by peaceful means, it aids the South Vietnamese puppets by sending them supplies and doctors.

The Shah and his regime talk of their "love of peace" and of peaceful coexistence, but they fully support the imperialists' policy of aggression.

## ANTI-DEMOCRATIC POLICY OF THE REGIME

The Shah, who is the strong man of the regime, has built up absolute power in our country through amendments introduced into the Constitution at his insistence after the 1953 coup, so much so that all government authority today is virtually in his hands.

Both chambers of parliament have become institutions putting "royal designs" on record. Judicial independence has been abolished and the courts have in fact become agencies enforcing government policies. Contrary to explicit provisions of the Constitution, the Ministry of Justice has been divested of the power to try political cases and cases involving the press, which have been referred to military tribunals. These tribunals, which deliberate behind closed doors and respect no laws or regulations, obeying only the Shah, enlist the assistance of the secret police to sentence whole groups of patriots and freedom fighters to imprisonment or death. Things have reached a point where the principles of legal procedure are not respected even outwardly, as foreign lawyers who have attended some of the recent trials point out. The secret police, which is substituted for judicial investigation contrary to the principles of justice, seizes opponents of the regime without any court decision or

warrant and kills them in prison or sends them into exile in or outside the country.

In all public affairs, democratic opinion and parliamentary principles have been supplanted by the cult of the Shah and by submission to his instructions and orders. The Prime Minister and the ministers, hired and fired solely on the Shah's direct orders, do not consider themselves accountable in any way to parliament and unabashedly call themselves executors of the Shah's will. The antidemocratic and bureaucratic nature of the regime is telling in increasing measure on every sphere of public life. The slightest opposition or hostility to the regime is cynically and brutally suppressed.

Parties and other mass organizations are still banned and the press is denied the right to oppose government policy in any form.

The armed forces, whose maintenance is a heavy burden for the working people and which are controlled by numerous U.S. military advisers, have gradually become something like household troops. Loyal, patriotic-minded officers are expelled from the army on various pretexts. The Shah resorts to various privileges, on the one hand, and expands the police system in the army, on the other, to safeguard himself against eventual actions by the army. To eliminate the influence of patriotic officers on the troops, he has top officers changed or shifted at frequent intervals. As a result, the Iranian armed forces, which should defend the freedom and power of the nation against foreign invaders, have in effect become an instrument of imperialist schemes and a weapon defending absolute power by crushing popular resistance.

This anti-democratic policy, resented more and more by the masses, also arouses discontent among the middle strata and even part of the national bourgeoisie. The development of capitalist relations is gradually coming into conflict with the bureaucratic and arbitrary practices of the administrative machinery. This compels the regime to make a show of greater "liberalism" in government and to talk about an "administrative revolution." The extended powers of the governors-general, the plan to establish town, provincial and regional *anjomans*,* the institution of royal inspection, the formation of government parties which operate in accordance with "royal designs" and whose common program is to accomplish a "revolution" called "Shah and People," the authorization of some trade unions, women's and youth organizations and clubs, the setting up of cooperatives in town and country and of "knowledge, modernization and sanitation teams," the university charter and other measures are evidence of the regime's effort to bring an antiquated administrative system into line with the economic and

*Local government bodies.—**Ed.**

social changes of recent years and at the same time to create a semblance of democracy and freedom for demagogic purposes.

On the other hand, the regime, closely collaborating with imperialism and using the press, radio, television, the cinema, the schools and universities and other propaganda and information media, tries to inculcate a reactionary and imperialist ideology in the Iranian people, particularly in the intellectuals. It hopes to be able in this way to dampen the people's militancy, divert their fight against imperialism and absolute power, for independence and democracy, from the right path and direct it towards superficial reforms and towards compromise and cooperation with imperialism and the reactionary regime. The substitution of the theory of "co-operation" between the worker and his employer for the class struggle, the allegation that capitalism and socialism are "converging," the theory of struggle between the industrial and so-called non-industrial, or indigent, parts of the world, between races or between the densely and sparsely populated countries, the theory of the "revolution from above" or of "white revolution," and other reactionary theories are all designed to divert the masses from the fight against imperialism, whitewash the capitalist system and counter the growing influence of socialist ideas on the masses.

We regard this policy as anti-democratic, not only because it has robbed our people of personal freedom and civil rights and substituted a despotic monarchy for parliamentary government, but because it has sacrificed the interests of the overwhelming majority of our people to the interests of an exploiting minority and foreign capital.

This anti-national and anti-democratic policy, which hampers economic development, results in a continuous deterioration of the living standard of the working people, that is, the bulk of population. Unfair distribution of the national income and the misuse of a substantial proportion of it to enable the minority to live in luxury are leading to greater poverty of the working people and account for the decrease in internal accumulation and for the declining rate of economic progress.

According to official statistics, the working people of the countryside, or 67.5 per cent of the population, consume only 36 or 37 per cent of the national product. Over 90 per cent of the population consumes from 50 to 53 per cent of the national product at the most. Between 30 and 38 per cent of the latter is spent for unproductive purposes by the wealthy classes and the government apparatus, and slightly over eight per cent goes to the Treasury in taxes.

The plight of the working people, aggravated by chronic unemployment, which already involves over one million able-bodied people, is due to the steady rise in the cost of living, especially in the prices of necessities. Yet, according to trade union data, the

subsistence minimum of a worker family of four is about 6,000 rials per month. And now the government has proceeded to fix wages at 50 to 60 rials a day.

## URGENT TASKS OF THE PARTY

Iranian society is breaking up more and more markedly into two poles. At one pole is a small number of big capitalists and landowners, who have seized economic and political power in the country. Protected by a regime of absolute monarchy and police terror, they plunder the natural resources of the country and exploit its labor power, which brings profit to both these classes and foreign capitalist monopolies. At the other pole are the working people and the bulk of the middle strata, who together make up the vast majority of the population and most of whom live in absolute poverty, lacking the most elementary material and spiritual conditions indispensable to modern man.

Despite the regime's reactionary and restrictive educational policy, the proportion of students, engineers, technicians, doctors, research workers, teachers and other intellectuals is growing. While there are distinctions, occasionally marked ones, between their conditions, most of them are affected by the backward socio-economic structure and their rights and destinies are encroached on by the regime. This is why their role and importance in the liberation struggle of our country are growing and there is increasing evidence of the need of an alliance between them, on the one hand, and the working class and other working people of town and country, on the other.

It is safe to say that important political changes are taking place in Iran's intellectual community. Along with those of its members who compromise with the regime and accept cooperation with big capital there are considerable groups which realize the necessity for a series of deep social, economic and political reforms and are taking an active part in the fight against the regime. This is seen in the powerful demonstrations which intellectuals, above all students, have held in recent years, both at home and abroad, against the regime's anti-democratic moves.

In a multi-national state like Iran, whose numerous peoples have for centuries been linked by a common destiny and have worked together to create the rich and remarkable culture of Iran and have made countless sacrifices in joint struggle for independence and freedom, fighting shoulder to shoulder, not all the peoples enjoy their inalienable rights. Some peoples suffer, not only from all the evils engendered by the regime's policy, but from being denied certain of their national rights. As their national consciousness grows and they come to understand Iranian reality, their fight for

their national and democratic rights is merging with that of the other peoples of Iran for their fundamental interests, against imperialism and reaction. This is only too evident from numerous actions of recent date, particularly in Kurdistan and Iranian Azerbaijan.

Thus the contradictions between the working class and other working people in town and country, or the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people, on the one hand, and the foreign monopolies, big bourgeoisie, big landowners and the regime defending their interests, on the other, are growing. The objective basis on which the interests of all working classes and strata and all peoples, curtailed by the regime's policies, can meet is extending. This provides greater opportunities for the working people to rally together under the democratic slogans of the working class. The growing working class can effectively fulfil its historic mission as leader of the revolution provided it allies itself with other working strata, organizes itself and pursues a correct and principled policy prompted by reality and exempt from adventurism and sectarianism.

The ultimate goal of the People's Party of Iran, the party of the working class of our country, is to establish a socialist system. But to put forward the slogan of socialism at this stage of the Iranian revolution, with the contradictions engendered by imperialism and the survivals of feudalism still unresolved, would mean rushing developments. Our society is at the stage of the national democratic revolution, a revolution which must transfer state power from the reactionary classes and strata (capitalists connected with imperialism, big landowners and the bureaucratic section of capital) to the national democratic classes and strata (wage workers in town and country), the peasants and other working people among whom are numerous intellectuals and industrial, agricultural and commercial employees, as well as to the petty and national bourgeoisie. The content of this revolution consists in barring the imperialist monopolies from the natural resources and the economy of the country, in ending the economic and political dependence of Iran and doing away with the survivals of feudalism.

However, a number of objective factors and subjective conditions are needed to attain this goal of the revolutionary movement of the Iranian people.

Indeed, a revolution in the sense of a popular rising to bring about radical changes in the social system cannot be a result of the heroism of a particular individual, of this or that political group or party. A revolution in any country is necessitated at its early stage by objective social conditions. But while the emergence of objective conditions for transforming society does not entirely depend on the subjective factor of the movement, constructive efforts by this factor and the leading organization of the movement

can play an effective role in accelerating the process of maturing of objective conditions. No regime, however deep a crisis it may be in or however badly it may have failed, will relinquish power of its own accord. Not until the objective factors are joined by the subjective factor—the will, strength and ability of the revolutionary class or classes to launch decisive action—is even the existence of *all* the requisite objective conditions enough in itself for the revolution to be accomplished.

These conditions are lacking today. In fact, for all its innumerable efforts and sacrifices, the revolutionary movement in our country has yet to overcome the decline brought on by the 1953 coup.

The fundamental task today is, therefore, to remove the obstacles to the progress of the movement and to quicken its pace. Anyone who advances the ultimate goals of the struggle rather than the immediate political tasks before the rise and maturing of a revolutionary situation, mistaking his own sentiments for the sociopolitical realities of Iran and the actual balance of forces, or tries to launch the decisive battle with only the vanguard to rely on for support, is bound to fail. Worse still, his ill-advised, Leftist action would do enormous harm to the entire revolutionary movement of the Iranian people.

The anti-democratic policies of the regime, its despotic police methods of government and its abolition of democratic freedoms arouse discontent and hatred among the vast majority of the people and, on the other hand, constitute the chief obstacle to the progress of the people's revolutionary movement. To regard either aspect of this phenomenon as something absolute makes for confusion and is a deviation. The fact is that general discontent cannot in itself lead to progress of the movement, any more than the existence of a despotic police regime can justify the use of adventuristic Leftist methods on the plea that the road to struggle is "blocked."

It is indisputable that political activity has been made extremely difficult by the brutal suppression of democratic organizations, the unlawful ban on national and freedom-loving parties, organizations and periodicals, the abolition of judicial independence, the violation of social and political rights and freedoms by the secret police and extraordinary military tribunals, the abolition of freedom of assembly and the drastic suppression of every opposition trend. But however great the difficulties and however limited the opportunities, this is not to say that all the channels of struggle are closed.

On the other hand, precisely because the loss of democratic freedoms is the main obstacle to the progress of the movement, the main line of action in present conditions should be to strive to remove this obstacle, to win democratic freedoms and to bring about the restoration of democratic principles.

The PPI believes that to fight under this slogan is a primary task

and the central aspect of the struggle for other political objectives.

Disregard of the principles proclaimed by the Iranian Constitution and the Declaration of Human Rights — and Iran is one of the signatories — is the soft underbelly of the regime of absolute power. The regime therefore does its utmost to make believe that it is governing the country according to constitutional principles, which it never ventures to oppose openly. It does so taking account of public opinion and because it wants to win respect and prestige abroad by giving its anti-national policies a semblance of legality. It is not for nothing that the Shah speaks alternately of "directive democracy," the "gradual clearing of the ground," "freedom of association and assembly" and "party elections and a party government," and occasionally represents Iran as a "model" of parliamentary democracy, a country in which "there exist all freedoms, except freedom of treason."

The slogan of imposing respect for democratic freedoms and constitutional principles cannot be questioned in Iran or anywhere else. Besides, it is universally valid. It is near and dear to every class of Iranian society and is therefore a slogan that can mobilize the masses and spur them on to action for their legitimate political rights.

To specify the main slogan does not, of course, mean renouncing other slogans—fighting for peace in the world and in various parts of the globe, for Iran's withdrawal from CENTO, for the denunciation of the bilateral military treaty, abolition of the capitulations, the adoption of a policy of neutrality, enforcement of the law nationalizing the oil industry, or abolition of the concessions granted to imperialist capital. Nor does it mean giving up the fight against the policy of unequal trade, open doors, and so on. To put forward the main slogan implies that political struggle should concentrate on this particular slogan because it is the key factor facilitating the struggle for other slogans and demands. If the PPI and other national democratic organizations succeed in rallying the masses around this slogan, in leading them to organized joint action for democratic freedoms and thus compelling the government to respect at least those freedoms proclaimed by the Constitution, then one of the two main pillars of the regime will be inevitably shaken and the ground will be cleared for the national democratic struggle to win political and economic independence for the country.

This is why the regime tries hard to ensure that its reform measures and the changes inevitably resulting from changes in the situation at home and in the world affect its mainstay, the policy of oppression and suppression, as little as possible.

In the light of this, our object at the present stage of the struggle should be to end the absolute character of power and win the freedoms proclaimed by the Constitution and the Declaration of Human

Rights. In any situation, to achieve this goal would mean an important advance towards the ultimate objective of this stage of the revolution.

The fight for democratic freedoms is an extensive and comprehensive action embracing various spheres of public life, of vocational, political, cultural, judicial, administrative and other activity. The people as a whole have an interest in slogans calling for struggle to win greater scope for trade union activity and freedoms for all working people in town and country, freedom of association for women, students and other young people, teachers and other members of the intellectual community, handicraftsmen, the employees of private and government institutions and enterprises, slogans demanding a law amnestying all those arrested, convicted or banished for political offences, the return of all political exiles, the abolition of extraordinary military tribunals and the transfer of political cases and cases involving the press to the appropriate judicial bodies, free elections and an end to government interference in them, freedom of instruction in the mother tongue for the peoples and national minorities of Iran who do not speak Persian, the legalization of all national democratic parties and a law on freedom of assembly and association. Each of these slogans or some of them can acquire paramount importance depending on circumstances.

The PPI does not seek freedom of activity for itself only. It wants freedom for all parties, organizations and the press because it fully relies on the people's ability to take the right decisions and hence does not eschew political competition between parties. On the other hand, it counts earnestly on cooperation and alliance with other national and democratic parties and organizations. Our Party considers that the Iranian people need this kind of alliance if they are to advance to their common goal. It is firmly convinced that democracy can neither be won nor promoted by one party or organization and that success in this matter is conditional on a genuine alliance of all patriotic and progressive parties and organizations according to a common program. We are certain that our Party's cooperation with other national and democratic organizations and parties is necessary at this stage of the revolution and, in fact, will be possible even when a socialist system has been established.

However, the aims of the movement cannot be achieved unless the masses are united and organized in struggle. It is not only with a view to attaining a specific goal at a given period or periods in the revolutionary struggle that this task has to be carried out, for it will be valid throughout and after the present stage of the revolution.

The present reality of Iran reveals a serious lag in this aspect of the struggle. The experience of the working-class movement

in the world and in Iran shows that in entering the fight, the various social strata are prompted both by their own demands and those of a general democratic nature. This means that the first correct step towards organizing and uniting the Iranian masses is effectively to participate in the everyday struggles of diverse classes and strata and in efforts aimed at organizing this struggle and winning these demands. This important task can be fulfilled in spite of the difficulties involved. The only condition for success in this matter is patient and flexible activity and the use of ways and means corresponding to the socio-political situation.

As matters stand in Iran, there are ample opportunities for work among the various social classes and strata despite the reign of terror and suppression. The fact that the regime had to permit trade union activity, if on a limited scale, and even to recognize many gains of the working-class movement in its labor legislation for all its hatred of the labor movement and its harsh police measures against labor organizations provides considerable opportunities for activity among the working class. On the other hand, rural mutual insurance funds and cooperatives, rural councils, the introduction of new techniques into agriculture, the setting up of a new industry in the countryside and the steady growth of the proportion of agricultural workers afford new possibilities for activity among the working people in the rural regions that must under no circumstances be underrated.

There are appreciable opportunities for sustained and fruitful work in various forms, especially among the students, who play a valuable part in the national democratic movement, as well as among teachers and other members of the intelligentsia. The existence of legal womens' organizations and a movement for women's rights, for their part, provide ample scope for organizing and political work. Besides, there are considerable opportunities for work among the employees of government and private institutions and enterprises and other categories.

United action by the workers, peasants and other working people can prevent the government from putting the burden of new economic changes on their shoulders in the form of unproductive spending, onerous taxes, payment of the price of purchased land, a higher cost of living, etc.

United action by the workers can make the capitalists and the government respect the labor law, raise wages, introduce social insurance on democratic lines, recognize trade union freedoms, end government and secret police interference in trade union affairs, lift restrictions on the formation of national and branch (horizontal and vertical) trade unions, enact and enforce a law insuring against unemployment, allow exercise of the right to demonstrate, recognize the right to celebrate May Day, and so on.

United action by the peasants can force the government gratuitously to divide among peasant households the lands still held by landowners and gratuitously to transfer leased lands to their tenants, relieve the peasants of the back-breaking burden of paying for the land allotted to them, and cancel all peasant debts.

United action by the working people of the countryside can make the capitalist landowners and the government pass a law on labor and social insurance for the agricultural workers, provide social insurance for peasant households and follow an agricultural policy of supplying the peasants with water and seed, extending effective aid to small and middle peasants, democratizing the cooperatives and purchasing peasant farm produce at fixed prices.

United action by the intellectuals, by the teachers and students, can win a reduction of tuition fees in the secondary schools and the university and autonomy for the higher educational institutions, bring about an end to secret police and government interference in the affairs of the university and student organizations, secure democratic management of the university and other cultural institutions, the allocation of substantial funds for education and culture in preference to the heavy and unproductive military spending and the expenditures imposed by membership in CENTO.

United action by the workers, peasants, students, office employees and other working people can force the regime to make specific concessions in response to the demands of each of these categories provided their action is consistent from the standpoint of slogans, methods of activity and forms of organization. If support for the specific demands of each social stratum on the part of other strata is organized this will undoubtedly make in large measure for the success of the campaign for these demands.

As these struggles go on it is important not to overlook the objectives and perspectives of the struggle of the present stage of the revolution. Under no circumstance must we allow ourselves to be carried away by the struggle for the main slogan and for the immediate goals to such an extent as to forget the goals and perspectives of the revolutionary struggles in their totality. The fight for immediate slogans and goals allows increasing social scope for the achievement of the main object of the revolutionary movement, national democratic power. The victory of the national democratic system in our country will provide the requisite basis for the advance of society to socialism. Only in this dialectical connection between the tactical and strategic objectives of the present stage of the revolution will our fight for pressing demands assume a genuinely revolutionary character.

For these reasons and in view of the fact that it is the party of the working class and its views are in keeping with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people, the PPI is striving

to bring into being the broadest possible alliance of the national democratic forces because in our time the interests of the working class and other working people are inseparable.

The PPI is convinced that one of the main reasons for the stability of the regime of absolute power is the lack of unity and solidarity among the patriotic and freedom-loving forces of the country. Our Party therefore regards the struggle to unite these forces as its standing central task. It will do all in its power to mobilize all social forces irrespective of distinctions of opinion or estimation for the fulfilment of this central task in the fight for democratic freedoms, against the regime of police terror and suppression.

The best way of achieving unity of action is jointly to carry out such current tasks as defending this or that political prisoner, securing the release of all political prisoners, exposing the crimes and other violations of the law by the secret police and military tribunals, ensuring that political cases are referred to civil courts, insisting on the enactment of a law granting a general amnesty to political prisoners and political exiles, fighting in common for freedom of assembly and association, for a law on mass organizations, and so on. Joint action should gradually lay the groundwork for unity in the form of a common action program. The experience of recent years has borne out the effectiveness and force of such action on various issues.

Our Party, adhering to this line in its everyday work, has upheld, and will continue to uphold with might and main, the rights of the Iranian people, of the patriotic and freedom-loving forces, irrespective of whether their views and tactics coincide with ours or not.

The People's Party of Iran is confident that this policy, based on the objective realities of our society, is correct. It is convinced that to abandon this path at the present stage would mean weakening the masses, pushing them to take an adventurist path, driving them to despair and pessimism and thus making for the consolidation of the position of reaction and imperialism.

# INTERVIEW* WITH JANOS KADAR

*Q.* In commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Hungarian Soviet Republic this year, you summed up the results of the long road travelled by the Hungarian Communist Party from the days of Bela Kun to those of Rakosi to the present time. In the light of these five decades' experience, of which you are proud, what would you describe as the most valuable development in the history of your Party? What are, on the other hand, the negative facts you criticize in order to draw lessons from them for the future?

*A.* Indeed, on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Party and the proclamation of the Soviet Republic in Hungary in 1919, which we recently celebrated, we looked back on the past and summed up the experience gained. I must say that our definition of the various stages of the struggle expresses their social content. We do not regard these stages as "eras" of this or that leader. Those fifty years were not peaceful. They were eventful and often turbulent. Thus, our Party has accumulated varied and valuable experience on which it now draws in its extensive activities. And this means that your question is fully answered by the whole policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Speaking of our Party's experience in struggle, I would like to stress, in view of its special importance, the principled position of our Party, its unity, its close links with the masses and its internationalism. The Party may be said to have been successful whenever it maintained the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles and applied them creatively. Conversely, the Party suffered reverses whenever it allowed revisionism or dogmatism to infiltrate its ideology, or when Right-wing opportunism or "Left"-wing sectarianism made inroads into the Party's policy. The Party went from strength to strength whenever it was united ideologically, politically and organizationally, and it grew weaker when split by various factions and trends. The Party succeeded in fighting and working effectively when fully and actively supported by the masses. Conversely, it found itself in isolation and unable to fulfil its mission whenever it dissociated from the masses. The forces of the Party multiplied when it upheld the ideals of proletarian internationalism and maintained harmony between the national and international interests of the revolutionary struggle. But it lost some of its forces whenever it infringed the principles of internationalism and loosened its links—no matter for what reasons—with the forces of socialism

*The interview, given by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, to **Unita**, was published in that newspaper on November 30, 1969.

and with contingents of the international working-class movement.

Our Italian friends know full well that in the recent past Hungarian Communists had to carry on a trying struggle. They know that in the late forties and early fifties Rakosi's dogmatism and sectarian policy, the revisionism of the Imre Nagy group, the class betrayal committed by this group and the struggle between these two groups, on the one hand, and the intrigues and open attacks of the class enemy, imperialism, on the other, brought our Party and society to a grave and protracted crisis. The upshot was the counter-revolutionary revolt in 1956.

The road travelled since then shows that our Party takes a serious view of historical experience. One of the main lessons of that critical period is that we must always see realities and not what we would like to see, must end subjectivism in any form and follow a realistic policy.

To see reality, admit the existence of difficulties and take serious account of them are a duty and an imperative necessity for the Communist Party and for Communists generally. Gramsci put this very well. "In fact," he wrote, "it is typical of the weak to indulge in fantasies, to daydream that their desires have become reality, and that everything goes on as desired. . . . In reality, the moment you begin to act the difficulties suddenly seem great because you had never thought about them specifically."

I have been speaking of a serious struggle and of crises overcome by following a principled policy. For all that, we think we should strive constantly, daily, to maintain the purity of our principles, to which we adhere because we want our policy to be approved and backed by the masses, in the name of Party unity and the socialist unity of our society. These tasks can never be regarded as done with "for good." Developments at home and abroad are always posing new problems which the Party must deal with in time. We must therefore safeguard Marxism-Leninism against distortions as well as against stagnation. We continue to combat both revisionist concepts, which crop up again over new problems, and a dogmatic approach to problems. We call this "fighting on two fronts." We are convinced that this is necessary if we want our Party to carry Marxism-Leninism into practice in a genuinely creative spirit.

With regard to our fifty years' experience we must stress that ever since it came into being our Party has been fighting and working as a militant contingent of the world Communist movement and that this has always been a great source of energy to it. Our Party's historical experience reveals the value and the invincible and unique power of proletarian internationalism. In our ideological and practical work we try to use the experience of both our Party and all fraternal parties. Of special importance and value to us is

the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU successfully carried out the first socialist revolution in the world and the Soviet Union is, now as in the past, the mainstay of the struggle for world progress.

In the world Communist movement in general and in the socialist countries in particular, it is an especially important task of the Communist and Workers' parties concerned properly to combine national and international interests. Our experience suggests that it is extremely harmful to disregard national peculiarities, characteristics and interests and impermissible, on the other hand, to let real or imaginary national interests gain the upper hand to the detriment of the international interests of progress and socialism. When we infringe the interests of the world Communist movement or those of the commonwealth of socialist countries, the ultimate result is that national interests are undermined too.

I maintain that an important factor for the strength of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is that it has invariably been at once national and internationalist. This was the case in the Party's everyday activity, even at critical moments during World War I and World War II, and not so long ago, in the ominous days of the 1956 counter-revolution. Every time it was particularly important to combine national with international interests. This is how, in the course of its history, the Party of Hungarian Communists has become a reliable internationalist contingent of the world Communist movement and, at the same time, the leading force of the country.

Q. After the 1956 crisis you tried to win as many people as possible for the policy of the Party and for building socialism. You adhered to the formula "Who is not against us is with us." Do you assess the results of that effort as positive? If so, how valid is that formula now?

A. I have said that our Party attaches special importance to the fact that the masses appreciate and support its policy, and that the Party does not lead the masses through injunction but through persuasion, through joint struggle and work with the masses on the basis of mutual trust. To win the confidence of the masses, our Party must discard all false concepts and all prejudice. It must use the right method of work among the masses as conceived by Lenin.

At the end of 1956 we had to set out to win the masses after bad mistakes and a telling reverse, in an atmosphere of rampant nationalism, anarchy and ideological confusion. Add to this that attempts were made to turn the population against us Communists by whipping up the lowest instincts and resorting to spiritual and moral terror, as Comrade Togliatti very rightly pointed out at the time in connection with *Irodalmi Ujsag*.

But even in that grave situation, at a time when dogmatism and

then revisionist betrayal led to the disruption of the Party's links with the masses and wrought incredible ideological havoc, what made us Communists strong was, above all else, the purity and power of Marxist-Leninist ideas, our unshakable faith in the masses, in the workers, peasants and intellectuals. Our chief purpose was to restore and build up faith in the Party and loyalty to our social system, to socialism, internationalism and fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The primary task in the circumstances was, naturally, to unite the Party and strengthen the political consciousness of Communists and other supporters of socialism. However, it was no less important to set the misled, who were not few, apart from the real enemies of socialism and bring them back to the right path. This policy was based on Marxist-Leninist principles. It was sincere and hence humane. We persevered in our policy to win the masses but we never made any concessions on principles to anti-socialist views, nationalism or anti-Sovietism. We strove to unite our working class, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and achieve national unity but in doing so we openly stated our aims, abiding by the principles of socialism.

That policy expressed itself, among other things, in the affirmation contained in your question—"Who is not against us is with us"—which in a way became a slogan. It was not accidental that this formula came into being and was uttered during a free exchange of views between Communists and non-Communists, at a meeting of the National Council of the People's Patriotic Front.

I consider that this slogan was correct and is still valid. We emphasize the leading role of our Party in the life and work of society, and try to vindicate it by appropriate methods. At the same time we say that socialist society is not being built by the Communists alone but by all working men and women, for the whole people. It is quite clear that the Communists cannot build socialism by themselves and that this is possible only by the joint effort of the whole people. This is why we in the Hungarian People's Republic are striving unrelentingly to draw all fair-minded people and all the creative forces of the nation into building socialism so as to make the completion of the building of socialist society a cause of the entire nation. We try to ensure that non-Communists respect the Communists for their effort in the interests of society and heed their call. At the same time we say that all who take part in the building of socialism and regard it as a privilege will enjoy equal rights and equal respect irrespective of their political allegiance, ideological views, origin or job.

These ideas determine our attitude to the workers, peasants and intellectuals alike. Our scientists and artists, Communists and non-Communists, are not just assigned "tasks" but take an active part

in promoting science and the arts and in working out solutions to social problems. Our country affords scientists and artists every opportunity for creative endeavor. This accords with their calling and their awareness of being accountable to the people. The result is a full and active intellectual life. Thus we achieve harmonious cooperation between the Party and the intellectual community. We want to develop relations under which the intellectuals will share with the Party its responsibility for the present and future of the country. Much is needed to shape this awareness of responsibility—it takes sincere trust and earnest polemics against dissenting views. But we are certain we will succeed, and indeed, we are succeeding more and more. To our people who are building socialism, this will mean far more effective protection than petty tutelage or administrative measures. The struggle was not easy, the effort to bring about this kind of cooperation was not carried out overnight, nor is it over. However, it already bears fruit and we are convinced that this solution, which at first sight seems the slower, is in fact the quicker and more effective one.

As for the slogan "Who is not against us is with us," we must say frankly that its purpose is to encourage still more devoted participation in the building of socialism by all those honest citizens who do not share our Communist ideas and are perhaps far removed from us Communists. This is not meant to be a compromise or unprincipled "flattery." Of course, it is not immaterial to us how and to what extent our citizens are becoming socialist-minded, how they are assimilating socialist ideas. We know that to disseminate socialist ideas and to impress them on the minds of the masses or of individuals is a definite process linked with providing the material basis for socialist society and with the daily effort of each individual.

Our Party and its every member have a duty to do all in their power to accelerate the building of the material base of socialist society so as not only to disseminate Marxist ideas and carry them deeper but to enlist the participation of individual people in both. In reply to your question I therefore reaffirm what was first said a few years ago: in our socialist conditions, those who do not conspire against our system nor engage in subversion but, on the contrary, do socially useful work in any field are taking part in building socialism. In other words, who is not against us is with us.

Q. Almost two years ago you began to carry out an economic reform involving every aspect of management and planning. Are you satisfied by your experience to date? Do you think you will have to take other steps in the same direction?

A. The economic reform introduced in Hungary on January 1, 1968, has given rise to so many misconceptions, wrong ideas and misinterpretations abroad that I must say a few words about its nature.

I would like to stress, first of all, that it is not a question of a reform in general but of a reform of the mechanism of economic management, of perfecting it, of streamlining the system of socialist economic management. Socialist planning is still the main characteristic of our national economy.

The chief element of the reform is to assure the fulfilment of economic plans not through specific and compulsory plan indices handed down to the enterprises by the center but through regulating economic incentives which are of importance and operate in the socialist economy as well. Enterprise managaers were granted considerable autonomy. Taking account of the tentative targets set by the national plan and knowing the regulating economic incentives, they make their own plans according to the interests of their enterprises and the necessity for more efficient and profitable production.

The results of the first two years of the reform are satisfactory. Despite substantial changes in central managing methods, there have been no jolts in either production or consumption, which is a success in itself considering the scale of the reorganization. Of course, we have not in this brief span achieved the main objectives of the reform. But the experience gained so far is encouraging. The planned character of production has not become less but more marked. Sales have improved, imports and exports have increased, especially exports, and the country's balance of payments is more favorable now. The main purpose of the reform is to make economic activity more effective. While this is not in evidence in every field and we may speak of only the first successes, these successes are very important. On their strength we can briefly assess the results of the reform.

We continue to watch and analyze experience, and to improve various economic incentives. It is a standing task for us, as well as applying the principles of the reform more effectively, to develop the main motors of economic activity, productivity and greater output at an adequate rate with their aid.

Experience shows that the main principles of our management system do not have to be modified. Obviously, a measure of this magnitude, which involves every economic sphere, can be carried out only gradually and is bound to raise certain problems. This is why other measures will be taken besides. But they will not affect the main aspects of the existing system. They are intended rather as a means of making the system more effective and putting it into practice more consistently. I am sure the economic management reform will, when fully put into practice, contribute effectively to further constructive effort, to the attainment of the great objectives of building socialist society.

**Q.** Do you think the innovations you have introduced in a field as important to your country as the economy should be matched by

innovations in other fields, specifically in the sphere of political activity?

*A.* We know that numerous conjectures are made over this. Certain imperialist quarters and "theorists" even hope and predict that the economic reform will result in a weakening of our society. Those are vain hopes. We, on the contrary, are convinced that greater economic efficiency will make our state, our system, working-class power stronger and more durable.

We did not intend the economic reform to result in any changes in our political organization, the structure of our Party or the principle of democratic centralism, any more than in the main institutions and basic features of our social system. There will be no changes of this kind.

We never regarded the drafting and enforcement of the reform as a purely economic matter. We have always been well aware that it is a challenging socio-political problem. And we we have always known that there is a close connection between political and economic activity and that these two important public activities constantly interplay. We believe there will be certain changes in political activity in our country, and they are already setting in due to the economic reform. What changes do we mean? A standing objective of our Party and government is to further socialist democracy under the new system. These ideas also influenced the drafting of the economic reform.

To specify, political activity and economic policy will change as follows:

First, in accordance with the increased autonomy and powers of enterprise managers the powers of the Party, trade union and other public organizations in the enterprises will be extended, and their role and share in autonomous decision-making will grow.

Second, the direct interest of the staffs of industrial and agricultural enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and all other economic units and autonomous institutions will induce the working people to take a greater and more active part in public affairs.

Third, the powers, autonomy and responsibility of the local councils, that is, our basic government bodies, will increase. The involvement, and hence the interest and activity of the population with regard to all the problems of self-government will increase accordingly. Production problems and problems concerning the entire staff of the enterprise will be dealt with, not in an office but in collaboration with the working people, whose views will be taken into account.

Evidently, all this will make for increased public activity by the working people and the population generally, their share in decision-making will grow and they will become more socialist-minded.

Socialist democracy will extend and the political strength of our Party and our system will grow in step with it.

*Q.* To what extent do you regard the society you have built in Hungary in the past twenty ears as socialist? What would you say is necessary to make it entirely socialist?

*A.* The social process launched in Hungary after liberation entered the phase of the socialist revolution after 1948, when political power was assumed by the working class. The Eighth Congress of our Party, which met late in 1962, stated with good reason that, having completed the socialist reorganization of agriculture, we in our country had finished laying the foundations of socialist society.

I regard our society as an essentially socialist society. State power is in the hands of the working class and other working people. The means of production are public property, with few and insignificant exceptions. There is no exploiter class in our country. The exploitation of man by man has been abolished in the Hungarian People's Republic.

The limits set to an interview do not permit me to explain in detail nor give a scientific definition of what else will have to be done before we can affirm that we have completed the building of socialist society in our country. I know, however, that it took the Hungarian people only twenty-five years to overcome age-long backwardness. An agrarian country weighed down by survivals of a feudal system gave way to a developed industrial and agrarian country of an essentially socialist nature. The country's economic standard rose fast, hunger and poverty disappeared and the working people's standard of living improved considerably as against the past. Impressive revolutionary changes came about in culture and education.

At the same time there are, I know, groups of population living in difficult circumstances, people who do not earn enough and are not adequately supplied. The housing problem has yet the be solved satisfactorily. Part of the younger generation has to solve difficult problems when starting on a new life. I think to complete the building of socialist society we need substantially more developed productive forces than we have now and a higher standard of research, public education and culture. I believe we must provide a higher standard of living.

We all know that socialism does not mean only a bigger piece of bread, a better home, a refrigerator and eventually a car but, first and foremost, new social relations and new human relations. Building socialism is not only an economic task. It must guarantee the development of a full human life in the true sense of the phrase, harmony and developing relations between the individual and the community. We have achieved some results in this too. In addition to the principal gains of our cultural revolution that have won inter-

national recognition, I wish to call attention, for instance, to public activity aimed at moulding social consciousness, an activity that developed spontaneously in the enterprises and expressed itself in the masses themselves forming socialist work teams. This movement, uniting the masses under the slogan "Live, study and work in the socialist way," like internal democracy in the agricultural production cooperatives, and other new but no less important socialist achievements of our society serve not only production but the dissemination of culture, and are at the same time a form of socialist life and the spirit of collectivism among people.

We still have many unsolved problems, but are advancing along the right path, towards realizing in our country Lenin's great vision of mankind's millennial culture really becoming the common property of the masses. Our object is not only to preserve this heritage but to carry it forward, to renovate it for the benefit of progress in socialist culture and art. As in the case of other numerous prophecies, our opponents have been unable to prove that socialism turns mankind a monotonous grey. Indeed, it is known that the atmosphere of the developed capitalist countries "alienates" and depersonalizes the individual and the masses. The alternative offered by socialism is not merely more "humane" but is the only possible perspective for mankind.

We cannot now say exactly when the building of socialist society will be completed and communism attained. But then our task is not to prophesy or promise but to fight and work. The Party does not lose sight of historical objectives. We are confident that the Communists, the working class, the people of our country will not stop midway. They will go on and on, every step will bring them nearer their great goal, a socialist Hungary, and they will reach it.

*Q.* Do you think progress in world Communist unity is possible in the light of the Moscow Meeting and the divergences and different views expressed at it both with parties that were absent and between those that attended?

*A.* I am quite certain that we are at the stage of strengthening unity of the world Communist movement and, inside it, the unity and cooperation of the socialist countries.

My confidence is based, in particular, on the exceedingly important experience of the Moscow Meeting and its success. To be sure, there were differences at the Meeting, both among the parties present and in respect of the absent. But it was not only differences that came out in Moscow. What is far more important is that there was unity and a trend towards unity which proved much stronger than the differences. Suffice it to recall that over seventy parties showed complete unanimity in evaluating the most important developments in the world and in the fight against imperialism. The meeting revealed unanimous internationalist proletarian solidarity

with the Vietnamese people. It was also at one in identifying itself with the Arab peoples and in numerous other declarations of solidarity that won unanimous approval.

As regards differences of opinion between the majority of parties and some brother parties over the Main Document of the Meeting, I would like to deal with that too.

The 1960 Meeting unanimously adopted a Statement which subsequently was published. We know, however, that in 1961, or a few months after the Meeting, there unfortunately appeared serious signs of a loosening of the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement. Some violated the joint Statement approved and signed by themselves and set out on a divisive course. This time we have produced a document that has not been approved by all. And yet it is perfectly safe to say that, in spite of that, the Meeting really promoted unity and the effort for unity. After the Meeting we stated with satisfaction that efforts were being made in the spirit of our agreements. Among these, mention may be made of the success of the recent congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Budapest, the joint efforts of the socialist countries of Europe for peace and security on the continent, which have been arousing an ever vaster echo, especially since the Prague statement.

Not one fraternal party delegate could at the close of the 1969 Meeting have the impression that someone had tried to restrict his right freely to state the position of his party or morally pressure him into signing anything against his conviction. The frank character of the entire Meeting, the democratic manner in which it was prepared and held made, I feel, for a genuinely free and fraternal exchange of views that strengthened our unity. The fraternal atmosphere of the Meeting, its democratic procedure and internationalist spirit also enabled those brother parties that had a different view on the Meeting to weigh their position now that the Meeting is over and bring it closer to the positions of other parties. It was an act of internationalism on the part of the Meeting to communicate its decisions to the parties that did not attend and to invite them to join in the common fight against imperialism.

I say again that I am certain world Communist unity will become closer, all the more because the differences are of a passing character while the interests of the international working class and the peoples represented by our parties are permanent. These interests are common as regards both the fundamental problems of Marxism-Leninism and the problems of socialism and peace. International imperialism is our common enemy and we can fight it effectively only if we strengthen our unity.

*Q.* The well-known Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty countries for a collective security system in Europe was launched from Budapest. What, in your view, are the prospects of that initiative today, espe-

cially in the light of the outcome of the general election in West Germany on September 28 and the formation of the Brandt government?

A. The Budapest Appeal proposing a meeting and negotiations to establish a system of collective security in Europe is very important and its prospects are encouraging. My opinion is supported by numerous factors.

The only way in which the peoples of Europe, who live in countries with different social systems can at this stage of development, if they do not want to be destroyed in a devastating war, achieve a more tranquil era, is to establish a collective security system on the continent. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Europe show ample goodwill in this respect, as is evident from the Budapest Appeal and the closing statement of the Prague conference of Foreign Ministers.

The peoples of Europe have not forgotten the horrors of World War II and they know very well that the mightiest military forces existing in the world today and opposing each other stand face to face precisely on our continent. No good will come of this situation until elementary problems of security are settled in one way or another. The response to the Appeal and the fact that the reaction of over two-thirds of the European countries to the Appeal is favorable are very promising signs. Worthy of special note is the Memorandum of the Finnish government and President Kekkonen's own efforts, which contribute largely to the adequate preparation of the conference. The common cause of the peoples of Europe would stand to gain if all the governments of the continent, including the Italian government, responded favorably to the Budapest Appeal, the Prague statement of the Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the initiative of the Finnish government.

We believe the conditions for the conference on European security are maturing and it would be well to take the decisive step in this direction in 1970.

There still are hampering factors—forces that cannot bring themselves to go openly against this initiative but are very active behind the scenes. As you know, the Warsaw Treaty countries at their Prague conference proposed two items for the agenda of the meeting and a date. In the same statement, they signified their readiness to discuss any other proposal. Those who are against the conference are saying now that "the date is premature," that we have not proposed putting "real" problems on the agenda, and so on. We are convinced that the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries are such as to be acceptable to anyone. We have proposed a free exchange of views and consultations to search for a solution. If any government has a better solution to propose, we will look forward to it and our governments are ready to examine it.

As for the elections in the Federal Republic of Germany and the so-called "little coalition" government under Chancellor Willy Brandt, I regard this development from the standpoint of the outlook for European security as an event that in this particular case may play the role of a positive factor. The positive aspect of this change is, above all, the defeat of the alliance of the twin Christian Democratic parties, the CDU/CSU, which were in power in the Federal Republic from its foundation to the recent past and helped revanchist and militarist forces by their policy to grow considerably stronger, refusing to recognize the European frontiers resulting from the World War II and unlawfully claiming the right to exclusive representation of Germany against the GDR.

In assessing the new West German government, it is this government's concrete deeds that will count, of course. However, it should be clear that we will reject no progressive initiative really furthering peace and European security.

# STATEMENT*

## BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

**November 1969**

The decrepit and powerless dictator Franco has just reshuffled his government team. It is a reshuffle differing in certain respects from previous "changes" of Francoist governments.

In number of ministers replaced, this is the greatest reshuffle in the history of the regime, a confirmation of the exhaustion of the latter, of the depth and incurability of the crisis sapping it.

The change of government reveals that at this advanced stage of the decay of his regime the dictator cannot continue with his so-called "policy of equilibrium" which helped him group various reactionary and fascist camarillas around him to wield power. The new government means the almost complete removal of the camarilla of Falangist bureaucrats led by Solis, and the almost complete monopoly on key ministerial posts by members of the ambitious Opus Dei camarilla, with Carrero Blanco as a figurehead and Lopez Rodo as a "grey eminence."

Opus Dei poses as a religious sect dedicated to none but spiritual ends. In reality, however, its "spiritual character" is very concrete and distinctive, for Opus Dei reaches out its tentacles mainly into the sphere of the big banks, the most profitable and hazardous deals, into the ante-rooms of ministerial departments and the universities, primarily as a place where it can recruit people to be planted in the centers of financial and political power. In 1957 Opus Dei secured government posts for the first time and thus strengthened its positions in the ministries in charge of the economy.

The Opus Dei team represents a section of the Spanish oligarchy aspiring to perpetuate the domination of monopoly captial by means of political formulas that, leaving the reactionary substance of Francoism intact, give a "decent" appearance and "Europeanize" some of its more anarchronistic and fascist aspects.

Opus Dei owes its strength to the positions it holds in the sphere of banking and finance capital, and above all to the manipulation —through a reliable network of technocrats—of powerful levers of Spanish state-monopoly capitalism.

*Abridged.

It must not be forgotten that after the blow dealt at the Falange Opus Dei, brandishing a perspective that is typically demagogic, for it can never materialize, will try a certain "shift in alliances" and accordingly step up its effort to win over Right-wing and bourgeois (or even reformist) segments of the anti-Francoist opposition.

Spanish oligarchic reaction, whose attempt to isolate the Communist Party and other vanguard forces through extreme measures of repression, by declaring a state of emergency, has come to nothing, may now try to reach this goal by devious routes and hypocritical methods.

The Communist Party is convinced that all opposition groups are interested in resisting any attempt at extortion by Opus Dei, in taking a clear, resolute and unequivocal stand against Juan Carlos' succession to power and against spurious liberalization measures à la Lopez Rodo, for an end to the regime and a democratic solution according to the people's will. Should any groups or individuals among the opposition be deluded by the promises of the moribund regime, they would thereby condemn themselves to an early political suicide.

At present, after the crisis, the conditions for intensifying the mass struggle are more favorable than before. The fact is that the cabinet reshuffle was due to a continuous series of political failures attesting to the regime's inability to satisfy the most pressing needs of the country and curb the growth of the opposition.

The ultras' attempt to revert to the fascist and terrorist methods of the forties by declaring a state of emergency has failed. The efforts of the remaining Falangists to "reorganize" the Movement and revive its "appeal" were resisted so unanimously that they fell through.

The miscarriage of the government's economic policy, "development plans" and agrarian policy is now seen, not only in actions and struggles by the workers and peasants and in protests by the middle strata, but even in comments by the press and numerous government officials which are silenced by means of brutal repressive laws.

Franco's foreign policy is in a blind alley. Relations with the Vatican are deteriorating, with the Vatican making increasingly clear that it wants the Church to stop its excessive connivance at a dictatorship in agony; the pompous attempts to retrieve Gibraltar are getting nowhere; negotiations with the Common Market do not rise above a very modest level and go on at a snail's pace. Even the Nixon Administration intimated in the course of discussions on the bases that the United States is resolved to use Spain to the extent that may be in America's interest but not to sign any new agreements with a regime that finds itself in so hopeless a state.

The university, whose main premises are permanently occupied by police units, is a hotbed of rebellion and opposition against which official "solutions" are powerless.

There are signs of resentment and discontent in the Army, high-ranking officers included. Many of these, by saying that the Army should keep out of politics, voice their opposition to playing the role of a pretorian guard.

The law on the official trade unions was perhaps the last in a series of fiascos of the regime. Its wording has laid bare the contradictions of the ruling quarters. As soon as the law became known it brought emphatic protests from the working class and a negative reaction from national opinion, including prelates, conservative newspapers and trade union organizations.

In the light of the events of recent months, it is evident that the government crisis reflects the regime's inability to solve serious and pressing economic, political, social and cultural problems which reality itself puts on the national agenda. Extensive actions and struggles by the workers, students and peasants, the powerful upsurge in the national movement in the Basque Country, as well as in Catalonia and Galicia, and protest from the overwhelming majority of the country's population, after having prevented a reversal to the ultras' methods of fascist terror, show with increasing force the necessity for political change.

The decisive factor behind the crisis is the struggle of the masses.

The politcal instability of the new government shows that the Franco regime has no way out. As for Spain, the only way out for it is to end this regime.

In this hour of "creeping marasmus" when the camarillas are devouring one another and the crisis and conflicts at the very top of the regime are going deeper, the working-class and democratic movement must resolutely and boldly use every opportunity to strike with redoubled force at the ramshackle structures of the system, to pierce it, to wrest whatever bits of freedom of action can be wrested in this or that sphere, force the government into retreat and move into every position that the dictatorship will be made to abandon by its own reverses and failings.

It is of decisive importance that the mass movement continuously harass the government. This movement, setting out to solve the major problems that interest the working class and the whole people, can launch a more resolute offensive against a regime whose inner weakness is becoming more and more manifest.

Opportunities are opening up for the workers' commissions to come out still more openly so as to assert themselves in public life.

On the basis of the demand for the repeal of the Trade Union Law it is now possible to arrive at a broad unity encompassing

the Church and even some groups of functionaries of the vertical unions.

It is necessary to ensure that the working people in the factories, mines and offices are the first to discuss this matter and decide on it.

At the same time the working people will step up their struggle for higher pay and other demands. The experience of a number of enterprises shows that the workers should insist on re-establishing the trade union posts arbitrarily abolished by Solis, and that they can hold elections of their own to fill the vacant posts of go-betweens or shop stewards or to replace those who serve the employers. It is essential by making intelligent use of legal opportunities to achieve closer unity of action by the workers' commissions, the go-betweens, shop stewards and delegates loyal to their class so as to carry on an increasing offensive against the fascist system of vertical unions.

The overwhelming majority of the population today declares for amnesty. The immediate measures to insist on are:

—freedom for the leaders and members of workers' commissions who were imprisoned because they stood up for the rights of fellow-workers;

—repeal the monstrous law on banditism and terrorism, which is a negation of the most elementary legal standards;

—military tribunals to stop trying political cases; special jurisdiction to be abolished; the Court of Public Order to be abolished;

—stop the brutal repressive measures being taken, above all, against the Basque people; abolish the Military Tribunal of Burgos;

—disband the Politico-Social Brigade;

—the status of politcal prisoners to be introduced immediately.

At a time when the masses are intensifying their action in support of these demands, the Church should realize its continued silence, its refusal to speak up clearly and vigorously in support of the demand for amnesty, is resented by the people, including millions of Catholics.

The ouster of the Falange will have serious repercussions in the countryside, where the memory of Falangist pistolmen and tyrants who perpetrated their crimes with impunity still prevents the rise and growth of democratic activity. Communist Party organizations in the rural areas must take advantage of this situation to boldly extend their relations with the intellectuals and other segments of the rural popualtion, set up or strengthen peasant committees, intensify the mass struggle for such objectives of vital importance to the peasants as profitable prices for their produce, giving the land to those who till it and democratizing the cooperatives.

The university virtually continues in a state of emergency whose enforcement is still in the hands of Vilar Palasi, "Minister of Police." A survivor of the crisis and one-time legal adviser to the Manager

of Matesa, he is a man totally lacking prestige. This is an indication of the real moral and political character of the Opus Dei innovators.

"Get the police out of the university" is a demand which all democrats should make their own. United action by them can force the government to retreat.

University students, in seeking legality for their representative organizations, their assemblies and Democratic Trade Union, should establish closer unity with the workers and other democratic forces in the fight for freedom and socialism.

The new government prides itself on its care of the younger generation. Young workers' commissions, Young Communists, youth clubs and all the genuinely young forces of the country should reply to this demagogy of a government which by the very fact that it is a government of the Franco dictatorship has shown itself to be utterly inept and anachronistic, by intensifying their militant actions, by boldly upholding everywhere the pressing demands of the younger generation that can only be met under democracy, in a society advancing to socialism.

We Communists are now increasing our solidarity with the peoples of the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia and are giving them still greater support in their just struggle for recognition of their nationhood and their national rights.

The democratic movements of women and the intellectuals, inspired by the example of workers' commissions and proceeding in each particular case from the actual conditions, should open new channels through which to extend their activity and uphold their demands in public and in massive fashion.

In improving organization, raising the militancy of the masses and searching for opportunities and forms of street action, it is necessary to insist with greater energy on the nationwide demand for freedom of the press, association and assembly, for all democratic freedoms. The growing scope of diverse struggles by the workers and of the people will gradually provide conditions for a general strike and a national strike.

The Communists' cooperation with progressive clergymen and advanced Catholic forces will remain an important factor in increasing the scale and impact of the mass struggle.

Party and Communist Youth organizations should make a special effort to incite among the Army rank and file and officers abhorrence for the scandals involving the regime, the desire to stop serving the dictatorship as an instrument of repression, the idea of drawing nearer to the people and the desire for democratic renovation, all of which is making itself felt more and more in the armed forces.

As well as encouraging the actions of the working people and other sections of the population for their demands, Communists

should improve organization and the standard of politicai activity and build up the strength of the Party on every level.

Let us expose to the people their enemies who are barring the way to a happier future. Let us show the people how they can realize their hopes.

The Executive Committee calls on all local and provincial Party committees to extend their relations with other political forces so as to expose the real character of the new government and its eventual maneuvers, seek common ground on as many issues as possible in the joint struggle against Franco and explain the solutions advocated by our Party.

After the maneuver of appointing Juan Carlos, followed by the recent change of government the illusion of a "monarchist solution" is no longer cherished by certain opposition groups. This removes another roadblock to the opposition forces, including Rightists, who want to establish a regime not burdened by the disastrous heritage of Francoism, and to conclude a freedom pact.

The Communist Party will accept — without any discrimination — the presence in this pact of any political force determined to break completely with Francoism, take part in joint action to overthrow the dictatorship and enable the people to decide on the future regime of the country, exercising its sovereign rights in the conditions of full democratic freedom.

The purpose of the pact, for which it is possible to win the broadest support, would be to create a temporary situation that would not be institutionalized but would provide political freedoms (including national liberties for the peoples of Spain), achieve general amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles, and democracy allowing the people to decide their own destiny.

The Communist Party will do all in its power to conclude this freedom pact with other anti-Francoist forces. Should the pact materialize, we will adhere to it faithfully and firmly in keeping with Party tradition, for at the present stage the pact would meet the interests of the working class and the people.

Once again the Communist Party declares for the republic as the only viable system that can further the country's progress.

Communists, let us unite still more closely with all workers, peasants, young people, students, women and intellectuals, with Spanish democrats of all trends and take the offensive against the Opus Dei version of the agonizing Franco dictatorship.

*Central Committee Executive,*
*Communist Party of Spain*

# RESOLUTION OF THE CC PUWP

In April 1970 it will be a hundred years since the birth of V. I. Lenin, great Communist, theoretician and strategist of the socialist revolution, founder of the Soviet state.

Our Party, the Polish working class and the whole Polish people have a special reason to commemorate this anniversary.. The centenary celebrations should make for a better knowledge and mastery of Lenin's immense theoretical legacy by all Party members and the whole people and should reveal the everlasting vitality and validity of his teachings in our time.

Lenin's personality is a symbol for close and cordial relations between the Polish and Russian revolutionary movement. During his stay in Cracow and Podhale, from June 1912 to August 1914, Lenin was in direct contact with the Polish people, with their everyday life and aspirations. He voiced his sympathy with these aspirations, with the freedom-loving traditions of the Polish people and the selflessness and staunchness of the Polish working class on more than one occasion, and greatly appreciated our workers' fight for national and social emancipation. The Polish people revere the memory of Lenin and take loving care of the places associated with his stay on Polish soil.

Lenin's thought and work paved the way for the greatest changes of our age and had a decisive effect on the struggle for the progress and freedom of the peoples, for peace and socialism. Lenin devoted his powerful genius, his energy and ability and his whole life of a revolutionary to the struggle for a radiant future for the man of labor, for a better future for all mankind. The activity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all continents is based on Lenin's teachings. His name has earned the love and respect of the international working class and become the banner of hundreds of millions fighting against exploitation and oppression, for peace, democracy and social justice.

Lenin, follower and continuator of the work of Marx and Engels, initiated a new stage in Marxist thought and answered the fundamental questions posed by socio-economic development in a new period of history. The theory of imperialism as the stage of capitalism at which increasing contradictions and conflicts clear the ground for revolutionary change throughout the world and pave the way to socialism for the peoples is a fruit of Lenin's thought.

*Abridged from **Trybuna Ludu**, November 18, 1969.

Lenin created the Party of a new type which embodies the unity of theory and practice, of thought and action, and is the leading force of its class and the people in the struggle to win power for the working people and build socialism. It was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that history assigned to pioneer social progress and lead the people along Lenin's path, to socialism and communism. On the occasion of the Lenin centenary we send fraternal greetings to the peoples of the great Land of Soviets, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee.

In close connection with the activity of the Party and revolutionary practice, Lenin carried forward the Marxist theory of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in its diverse forms, the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, and specified the main aspects of the national question and of proletarian internationalism according to the requirements of the time. Leninism is the living and universal scientific theory of the working-class movement, a theory developing in close connection with social practice and based on the experience of the international class struggle. Lenin showed the Communists how the ideology and activity of the Party can be furthered in a creative and innovating spirit by fighting on two fronts—against revisionist departures from the basic class tenets of our theory and against dogmatic inertness.

The activity of the Polish United Workers' Party follows standards and principles formulated by Lenin. Our Party regards Marxism-Leninism as a guide in its theoretical, ideological and educational activity and does its best to impart a better knowledge of Marxism-Leninism to its membership and the whole people.

Lenin's thought and work had a decisive impact on the modern history of our people. Lenin was an ardent advocate of the right of our people to self-determination and independent statehood. He saw an organic connection between the liberation of Poland and the Russian revolution and changes involving the whole of Europe. Lenin's position on the Polish people's aspirations to independence was determined by consistent democracy and proletarian internationalism, by a deep understanding of and sympathy with the Poles' struggle for freedom, which they could carry on only by taking an active part in the joint revolutionary struggle of the masses in the countries that had had a share in partitioning Poland.

After the victory of the October Revolution, Soviet Russia on Lenin's initiative put an end to the tsarist policy of partitioning by officially recognizing the right of the Polish people to independent statehood. The decree of the Council of People's Commissars annulling the treaties of partitioning was signed by Lenin. The October Revolution was decisive in Poland's gaining political indepedence in 1918.

The ideological competition in which the revolutionary trend in

the Polish working-class movement, our predecessors—the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, the Left wing of the Polish Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Poland and the Polish Workers' Party — had to engage posed the problem of mastering Marxist-Leninist revolutionary strategy, adopting a correct position on the national question and assimilating the Marxist-Leninist theory of patriotism and internationalism. The Polish Workers' Party combined trends towards national and social emancipation. For the first time in the history of Polish labor, it inseparably bound together the patriotic and internationalist tasks and revolutionary aspirations of the Polish working class and the objectives of the whole people. This expressed itself in the PWP's concept of an independent people's state which, backed by an alliance with the Soviet Union, came into being within new boundaries meeting the interests of the people, effected revolutionary social changes and guaranteed the inviolability of its frontiers.

The historic work of the PWP is being carried on by the Polish United Workers' Party, which solves complex problems of intensive development of People's Poland.

One of the most typical aspects of Lenin's socialist economic theory and style of leadership was his continuous effort to develop new, higher forms and more effective methods of work. This applies to both the social and economic development of each socialist country and the accomplishment of the common task of socialist economic integration.

Growing fraternal cooperation between the countries of the socialist community assures rapid development and is the basis for the progress of the entire community.

The main principle of our Party's policy is to strengthen the bonds of unity with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries in every sphere. Unity of the socialist community as the main factor for world progress and peace is the fundamental condition for success in the struggle to realize Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence, achieve lasting peace and bring about revolutionary social changes on our planet.

The CC PUWP calls on the working class and other working people, on the citizens of our state united in the People's Unity Front, on the whole people, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin in a fitting manner. Let this historic date become a vast nationwide campaign under the ideological and political leadership of our Party. The Lenin centenary should further the effort of our Party, of all youth, trade union and other mass organizations, to make our public socialist-minded.

Priority in ideological work should be given to the task of promoting — according to the fundamental postulates and methods of Marxism-Leninism — the social sciences as an important factor in

solving urgent problems of building socialism. The Lenin centenary should make for increased theoretical activity in the social sciences. The Polish Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Party History and the Central Party School under the CC PUWP should hold a joint scientific session to analyze Lenin's contribution to the political sciences, philosophy, economics, history, sociology and cultural theory and to decide on the best way of applying Lenin's ideological and methodological recommendations to the present stage of the development of Marxism in all these fields.

Scientific sessions and centenary meetings on key problems of Leninism to be held in higher schools and scientific institutions will provide an opportunity to gain a deeper insight into Lenin's methodological recommendations on the science of society and on the building of socialism. This will enable us the better to combat revisionist attempts at smuggling in bourgeois ideas and overcome hidebound dogmatism in applying Marxist thought in the working-class movement and the theory of scientific socialism.

On the occasion of the Lenin centenary the press should, with due regard to progress in building socialism in our country and to the achievements of the world socialist system and the international Communist movement, publicize Lenin's program as a deep and inexhaustible source of ideological and practical advice for all who fight for peace and progress, for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

The press, radio, television and publishing houses have an important role to play in this. They should disseminate Leninism, using appropriate journalistic and artistic forms to popularize Lenin's personality and reveal the character of the period in which he lived and worked, the main problems raised and elaborated by him and the decisive importance of Leninism to our present struggle and work.

It is particularly necessary to show Lenin's decisive contribution to the scientific definition of imperialism, to the elucidation of the problem of the party of a new type, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy, to the strengthening of the international working-class movement and its unity, to the struggle against revisionism and the solution of other problems of ideological importance to the Party today.

The Central Committee calls attention to the need to further the Marxist-Leninist education of the Party membership and, above all, to the work of teams doing research into specific problems of Leninism. Lenin's legacy should be studied in close connection with the Party's current tasks and this study should be regarded as an important means of solving our problems.

The Central Committee recommends to all the branch organizations of the Party to hold in April 1970 open centenary meetings to

discuss the significance of Lenin's ideological heritage and the close connection between it and the concrete tasks facing us at this stage of building socialism in People's Poland and of the worldwide struggle for peace, progress and socialism.

# IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

## PERU

*November 1 and 2.* The Peruvian CP held a conference in Lima on the trade unions. The main report was presented by Gustavo Espinosa, Chairman, National Trade Union Committee of the CP, member of the CC PCP. The conference adopted a relevant decision. (*Unidad,* November 5.)

*Late November.* The CC PCP met to discuss the problem of protecting the country's copper mines against the imperialists, particularly the American Smelting Co., of which the Southern Peru Co. is a branch. The meeting carefully analyzed the political situation in the country and came to the conclusion that the best way to intensify the fight against imperialism was to set up united front committees.

## KPDR

*December 1-5.* The CC of the Korean Party of Labor held an enlarged plenary meeting on the convocation of the Fifth Party Congress in October 1970. The items on the Congress agenda are:

(1) Report of the CC KPL
(2) Report of the Central Auditing Committee of the KPL
(3) Fifth economic development plan of the KPDR, 1971/75
(4) Elections to the central leading bodies of the KPL.

The meeting was addressed by Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the CC KPL. (*Nodon Shinmun.*)

## CUBA

Speaking at a press conference at the Party's Central Committee on *December 4,* Jesus Montane, Chairman of the National Committee for the Lenin Centenary, member of the CC CP of Cuba, said the whole Cuban people, led by their vanguard, the Communist Party, were preparing to celebrate with love and enthusiasm the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. L. Lenin, a historic date. The working people of Cuba were greeting the Lenin centenary with new achievements in labor and with increased commitments. Numerous workers, peasants and intellectuals were studying the theoretical legacy, revolutionary activity and life of the founder

of the world's first socialist state. The Lenin centenary inspired the Cuban people to accomplish the paramount task facing the country—producing 10 million tons of sugar in 1970.

## CANADA

*Early December.* The Communist Party of Quebec held its Third Congress in Montreal.

Samuel Walsh, National Chairman of the CPQ, member of the CC, CP of Canada, presented the political report analyzing the political and economic situation in the French Canadian Province of Quebec and formulating the Party's current tasks.

The year 1970, the rapporteur said, is the year of the centenary of the birth of the great Lenin, who belongs not only to the CPSU and the peoples of the Soviet Union but to all the revolutionaries of the world. This memorable event is of the utmost importance to the whole of mankind.

## BULGARIA

According to a communique published in Sofia on *December 5*, a delegation of the BCP led by Boris Velchev, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC BCP, had talks with a delegation of the CP of Venezuela led by Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Party, in Caracas on *November 14 and 15*. They exchanged views on topical problems of the international situation and the Communist movement and registered complete agreement between the two parties.

The two delegations expressed their resolve to fight, in the spirit of the tasks flowing from the documents of the Moscow Meeting, for the unity of all democratic and progressive forces and for offensive actions against imperialism. They declared for more effective support and solidarity with the Vietnamese people fighting against the U.S. invaders, for the defense of revolutionary Cuba and its socialist gains, and for the elimination of the effects of the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries.

The communique expresses both parties' readiness to work for closer unity and cohesion of the international Communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and to fight uncompromisingly against manifestations of revisionism, nationalism, chauvinism and anti-Sovietism. (BTA.)

## FRANCE

Georges Marchais, member of the PB and Secretary of the CC FCP, said the Party membership between two congresses had grown by 30,000. About 45 per cent of the new members were

young people under 25. The number of branch organizations of the Party had increased from 18,400 in 1967 to 19,250 in 1969. The FCP leadership had resolved to launch a recruiting campaign under the motto "Fifty years of loyalty to Leninism" that will last till December 1970, when it will be fifty years since the Party was founded. (*Humanité*, Dec. 7.)

## ITALY

*December 12.* Delegations of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Italian CP held talks in Rome from *December 2 to 9.*

The talks proceeded in a cordial atmosphere and revealed essential agreement on all the problems discussed. Among these were problems of Europe and the Mediterranean. The two delegations reaffirmed their support of the peoples' fight against all reactionary forces, for a détente in Europe. They voiced their support for any initiative involving all popular and democratic forces and likely to lead to the dissolution of military blocs and the establishment of a collective security system based on independence, sovereignty and equal rights for every country and on non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. (*Unità.*)

## RUMANIA

The Central Committee of the Rumanian CP met in plenary session from *December 10-13.*

The meeting discussed the draft of the state plan for economic development and the draft Budget of the SRR for 1970 and unanimously approved them.

The meeting examined the proposals of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives for higher pensions to cooperative peasants and unanimously approved the proposal for raising the pensions of cooperative peasants by 50 to 80 per cent as from January 1, 1970.

The meeting discussed the proposals of the Executive Committee of the CC RCP for setting up problem committees under the CC RCP and local Party bodies according to the provisions of the Rules approved by the Tenth Party Congress and decided on the procedure of organizing these committees and on their work. The decision provides for the establishment of the following committees under the CC RCP: for economic matters, for agriculture and forestry, for social matters, health and the standard of living, for the promotion of the social and political system, for organizational matters and inner-Party life and activity, for personnel training,

education and science, for ideological, cultural and educational matters, for international relations, and a lecturers' group of the CC.

The committees will be composed of members of the Party bodies concerned and other experienced, politically and professionally competent personnel.

The meeting also resolved to improve work on providing advice and information to Party workers, the Party rank and file, and other working people on the activity of Party and government bodies and problems of the home and foreign policy of the Party and the government.

The meeting heard an information report on the meeting of Party leaders and statesmen of the PRB, HPR, GDR, PPR, SRR, USSR and CSSR which took place in Moscow on December 3 and 4. It expressed satisfaction at the results of the meeting and noted that the meeting had made it possible to hold, in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship, mutual understanding and cooperation, a useful exchange of views on a number of questions relating to international relations, the political situation on our continent, including the changes effected in the policy of the FRG with the formation of the new government, and the problem of achieving security in Europe and the world and of safeguarding peace.

The meeting settled a number of organizational matters. (*Agerpres.*)

## SOVIET UNION

*December 15.* The CC CPSU met in plenary session.

It heard and discussed reports by N. K. Baibakov, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the USSR, and by V. F. Garbuzov, Minister of Finance of the USSR, on the state plan for the economic development of the USSR in 1970 and on the state budget of the USSR for 1970, respectively.

The meeting heard a report on the foreign and home policy activity of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU presented by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

The meeting adopted relevant decisions on all the items discussed.

Thereupon the meeting concluded its deliberations.

## DENMARK

*December 17.* The CC of the CP of Denmark met in plenary session to discuss the course of preparations for a general Euro-

pean conference on European security and a number of inner political problems, and passed appropriate resolutions.

In a resolution adopted by the plenum, the CP of Denmark calls on the Danish government to take an active part in the preparations for the conference on European security.

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