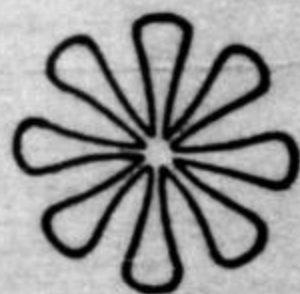


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In this issue

ACTION PROGRAM
Socialist Unity
Party (West Berlin)
—G. Danelius

**BASIC PROGRAM
OF POPULAR
UNITY**
(Chile)

12 (172) • 1970



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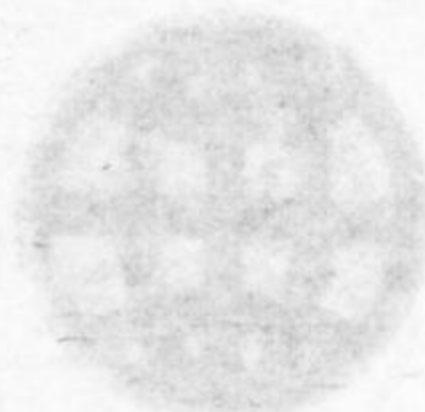
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FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

ACTION PROGRAM OF THE PARTY

REPORT* BY GERHARD DANIELIUS, CHAIRMAN, SUPWB

The Second Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin is meeting in the year of the centenary of Lenin, immortal leader and teacher of the international revolutionary proletariat, founder of the Bolshevik Party and the world's first socialist state.

The present epoch is characterized by increasing opportunities for the further advance of revolutionary and progressive forces. Only eleven months have passed since the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. In this short time everyone has seen—and the 20th anniversary of the GDR was not the least important occasion—how very correctly the Meeting estimated the international situation and development trends, and how very relevant and effective the program for the offensive of the Communist and Workers' parties against imperialism and reaction was and is.

It should not be forgotten, however, that imperialism, whose general crisis is deepening, still oppresses numerous peoples and remains a source of permanent threat to peace and social progress, not because it is becoming stronger, but because it is becoming more reckless. The people of Spain, Portugal and Greece languish under fascist regimes and military dictatorships backed materially, politically and militarily by the main imperialist powers. Washington continues its dirty war against the Vietnamese people on the same scale as before. By invading Cambodia, it has committed a new criminal act of violence and extended the war in Southeast Asia.

We accuse U.S. imperialism of infringing peace, of being an enemy of the freedom and national independence of the peoples and their right to self-determination.

We accuse U.S. imperialism of brutal aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam and against Cambodia, of constant unlawful interference in the affairs of other states and peoples.

We accuse U.S. imperialism of fomenting racial hatred and racial discrimination, of barefaced terror against dissenters and, first of all, against the rebellious youth of America.

*Presented to the Second Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin. Abridged from *Die Wahrheit*, May 23, 1970.

We share the anger and protest of the overwhelming majority of mankind against the U.S. aggressors. From the rostrum of this Congress we demand an immediate end to the U.S. aggression, and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and Cambodia.

We reaffirm the stand we took at the Moscow Meeting. We hold that wherever imperialism resorts to provocation and plans war it must be curbed in time in its own country through the joint struggle of workers, youth and all peace forces and put within bounds by the might of the socialist community of nations. Where imperialism is waging war it must be defeated and forced to retreat by international material and moral solidarity. We will go on contributing our share to this cause in our own arena of the struggle, West Berlin.

This is why we call for greater solidarity in struggle with the heroic people of Vietnam and for a stronger anti-imperialist front.

A new situation is developing in West Berlin as the contradiction between labor and capital grows and the forces fighting for peace, democracy and social progress gain in strength. Our Party, which at first fought against a seemingly superior front of anti-Communist forces, contributed to the setting in of this positive change. It has been growing in step with the forces of the working class, youth and students, with the fight against imperialism. This expresses itself:

- in the number of comrades who have found their political homeland in the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin;

- in the strength and influence of our groups in factories and offices;

- in work among the students;

- in the impact of our actions;

- in the progressing maturity of our ideological work, of our theoretical knowledge and its application in the class struggle.

The anti-imperialist front has been joined by new groups and strata of the population: employees' councils, trade unionists, Left-wing Social Democrats, young Socialists and Falcons, apprentices, students, intellectuals and Christians of both confessions. As a result, powerful solidarity actions and demonstrations took place in 1967, 1968 and 1969 in support of the heroic people of Vietnam, against the Greek military-fascist junta, for the preservation and extension of democratic rights and freedoms, against the emergency policies and practices, for the recognition of the GDR under international law, against the claim of West Germany's financial capital and munitions monopolies to exclusive spokesmanship for the German people.

Definite polarization of political and class forces became manifest in our city on May 1, 1970.

For the first time in many years, the trade unions again held a May Day demonstration and meeting.

What are the conclusions drawn by our Party from the effort and actions of the democratic and socialist forces of our city, above all from May Day 1970?

Various sections of the working class, young workers and scientists and the intellectuals are finding themselves in an increasing conflict with the system of latter-day capitalism. They are gaining a clearer insight into their political and class position and into the irreconcilable contradictions between the interests of the people and those of the monopolies.

Our Party advocates an independent role for our city and those who live and work here, who produce all the wealth as industrial workers, scientists or artists, and who grow up here as the generation which in the year 2000 will have to tackle the big tasks of the future.

The CDU, SDP and Free Democratic Party are clearly set on keeping to their previous course. Yet workers by hand and by brain, students and intellectuals, young workers and apprentices, Social Democrats and trade unionists refuse to be an appendage of a "formed" latter-day capitalist society, to continue as a pawn in a policy of cold war and "calculated risk."

This is why, speaking from this rostrum, we call with optimism and confidence on all who want peace, democracy and social progress to act jointly:

- for West Berlin as a factor for peace and European security, against subordinating our city to the monopoly-capitalist Federal Republic;

- for normal good-neighbor relations with the socialist German Democratic Republic, against the policy of enmity and hatred for the workers' state;

- for democracy in production, in the economy and in society, against monopoly power;

- for granting women and young people equal rights with men, for equal pay for equal work, against all discrimination in production or in society;

- for an active policy on wages, against concerted action in the interest of monopoly, against usurious rent and the "white circle" (house owners who arbitrarily and sharply put up rent.—Ed.);

- for a democratic reform of secondary and higher education, against a state-monopoly pattern of education.

Our Party appeals to all democrats not to give the CDU and its reactionary policies any chance. The CDU is the party of the monopolies, of those who make profits out of the arms race. It is the party of Strauss, Barzel and Kiesinger, who are inseparably linked with militarism, neo-nazism and revanchist policy.

When *these* men say "Germany" they mean new military ventures. In speaking of "Europe," they think of a third attempt to establish the "new order." When talking of "order" in the country, they mean Big Business's principle of the "master in the house," the police truncheon, prosecution for political views, and the reign of moral terror maintained by the Springer press. It is invariably directed against anyone who holds Left-wing, democratic, socialist views, against worker Communists and Social Democrats, against the trade unions, against all progress.

We call primarily on the Social Democrats:

Let us fight in common against imperialism and war, in support of the heroic people of Vietnam, for world peace! Let us force the imperialists to accept the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Let us stand up together for the inviolability of existing European frontiers and seek recognition of the German Democratic Republic under international law. Let us jointly win the demand that West Berlin follow an independent and sovereign policy for peace, democracy and social progress!

Ours is the party of the working class consistently defending the interests of the workers in West Berlin. United action by the working class and the unity of all opponents of latter-day capitalism are the earnest of further gains for the social and political interests of the working class and other sections of the population of our city. Our motto is class struggle and not social partnership.

The economic and political directives adopted by the SDP in November 1945 said: "National-socialism was the last attempt to rescue the foundations of the capitalist economy. Had it not been for the support of cartels and trusts, national-socialism would never have won supremacy over the German people, nor would Hitler ever have succeeded in plunging the whole of Europe in war." Did the SDP draw proper conclusions from this? No.

The Right-wing leaders of the SDP persisted in anti-communism and the policy of splitting the labor movement. In other words, they stuck to the same policy which in 1933 led to the defeat of the working class. This is why after World War II it became possible to restore the former property and power relations in West Germany and West Berlin, why big capital today reigns supreme as it did under the Kaiser, in the Weimar Republic and in Hitler's state, and why the Krupps and Flicks and bosses of Siemens and the Deutsche Bank are again on top while the working people are still below.

Thus the workers and other working people of West Berlin and West Germany were swindled out of achieving their goal—establishing a social system of peace, freedom, humanity, democratic and social progress — and hence also out of a decisive share of the fruits of their labor.

In East Germany the Communists and Social Democrats united to form the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. After the Bonn state had been founded, they proceeded in common with the trade unions, young people, women, Christians and liberals to build a German state having an entirely new content. In this way the workers of the GDR attained what they had never had in Germany: power.

The main issue at present is recognition of the GDR under international law. When Willy Brandt declares that recognizing the GDR in this sense is still out of the question we reply: all variant solutions by-passing this point will fail in view of the growing importance of the first socialist state on German soil.

It is necessary to put an end for ever to the claim to exclusive spokesmanship and the Hallstein doctrine. This is what peace and security in Europe demand and it would also help to solve the problem of West Berlin.

The ambassadors of the Soviet Union, United States, Britain and France have been exchanging views on West Berlin for two months now. One would like this exchange to help in finally abolishing the function of West Berlin as a frontline city of the cold war.

The economic and scientific prospects of our city, and its decisive social, educational and cultural achievements will depend on whether the working people end our city's subordination to Bonn's policy.

The following conditions must be met if West Berlin is to live on and if its present and future problems are to be solved:

1. All sides must respect the status of West Berlin as an independent political entity.

2. West Berlin must not be treated as a province of the Federal Republic, nor must the latter rule or govern it.

3. The Federal cabinet, Bundestag and its commissions and groups must stop meeting in West Berlin.

4. The citizens of West Berlin and their elected bodies need freedom of action to settle their political, economic, cultural, sports and human relations with West and East.

5. West Berlin must be enabled to develop its economic and trade relations without any restrictions.

To the workers and other people of West Berlin who wonder what we would gain if all sides respected the status of West Berlin as an independent political entity, our Action Program replies:

—First of all, West Berliners would be enabled to live in peace and to coexist peacefully with the GDR and other members of the socialist family of nations.

—The workers of West Berlin would be enabled to use the achievements and experiences of workers' power in the GDR in their fight for democratic and social progress.

—Problems of travel, passenger and goods traffic, cultural and sports exchanges could be settled under normal agreements between the West Berlin Senate and the government of the GDR.

—It would become possible to guarantee the use of access roads leading from and to West Berlin and maintain unlimited trade and economic relations with East and West.

—Science and research would be provided with new opportunities for exchange and extensive cooperation with the whole world.

—Workers and other employees, young workers, students and scientists, the arts and sciences would acquire a guaranteed perspective.

An enormous concentration of production and capital has taken place in West Berlin. In 1956 there were 283 joint-stock companies owning 3,000m. DM in fixed capital. By 1968, the number of joint-stock companies had shrunk to 209 but their fixed capital had grown to 5,700m. DM. Again, 97 millionaires in 1957 had an aggregate fortune worth 174m. DM but in 1966 their number was 579 and their aggregate taxable fortune amounted to 1,300m. DM, and we know that the fiscal authorities do not look into millionaires' profits as closely as into workers' wages.

The parties represented in the Chamber of Deputies twist the facts by telling the working people of our city that West Berlin could not exist without close links with the monopoly-capitalist Federal Republic.

The workers and their unions have every reason to counter the bid for bigger profits and higher prices by preparing for the coming disputes over wages in the metal industry, in trade, the service industry and other fields. It will be more than fair for the workers and union leaders to insist on a wage policy designed to narrow the gap between profits and wages.

In view of the enormous profits made by corporations and large enterprises, and of the steady growth of prices and rents, our Party stands:

—for an active policy on wages, against the wage agreement freezing wages and against concerted action;

—for higher taxes on employers' profits, against all tax increases to the detriment of the working people;

—for preserving the ceiling on rent and for measures to protect tenants against usurious rent and the "white circle."

In view of the fact that capital and production are increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few big capitalists, our Party demands:

—control and co-management by workers' teams and their production councils and trade unions in large enterprises;

—control and co-management should involve every activity of

the enterprise: production, price policy, the amount and utilization of profits, the calculation of dividends, accumulation, contributions to special funds, and investments; all decisions on personnel policy, job safety and workers' health, vocational training and retraining, as well as the right of vetoing dismissals, pay cuts, deterioration of social conditions, the rebasing or shutdown of plants.

As the revolution in science and technology progress changes in the system of secondary and higher education in our city are becoming unavoidable. The democratic movement deduces from this the need for a fundamental revision and democratization of the substance and object of education.

In line with the aspirations of all progressives, the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin puts forward the following fundamental demands intended to alter the substance and structure of education according to the requirements of the younger generation and to present and future exigencies:

- establishing an integral democratic system of education accessible to everyone at all levels and using flexible methods of instruction and education;

- modern instruction and education for all irrespective of their social origin or property condition, enabling them to continue their studies all the way to the university;

- reducing the number of pupils in each grade and increasing the number of teachers; drawing up and extending the program of new school building;

- co-management for the students and teachers of secondary and higher schools and research institutions;

- giving priority to the development of public education and research institutions in using tax revenues in the interests of the working people and their peaceful future;

- educational and scientific tasks to be planned by democratic bodies guaranteeing participation of trade unions, parents, teachers and students from allocating funds to specifying research targets.

By issuing its appeal on the occasion of the Lenin centenary, our Party, for its part, committed itself to bring Lenin's legacy home to the workers and young people of our city, apply Lenin's method in its own creative effort, in appraising new phenomena, and pay tribute to Lenin by continuing his cause, the cause of the working class, of peace and socialism, in West Berlin.

No serious working-class party could evolve genuinely revolutionary strategy and tactics without making a through study of Marxism-Leninism and without applying it and carrying it forward in a creative spirit. Lenin's theory of imperialism as the highest and last stage of capitalism, about the proletarian party of a new type and the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism has lost none of its validity or vitality.

Whether it is a question of upholding the revolutionary core of the proletariat's world outlook, of proving from the standpoint of the working class that the fundamental issue of every class struggle is the issue of power, or of demonstrating the historic role of the proletariat and its militant Marxist-Leninist party, Lenin's answers to these questions are of the utmost importance and relevance today, and precisely today.

It is indicative of the switch from the discredited primitively bellicose brand of anti-communism to a subtler and more "perfect" version of it that the publishing house of the big capitalists of West Germany and West Berlin put out numerous Right- and "Left"-opportunist, Trotskyist, Maoist and other anti-Leninist libels.

They are intended, first, to represent Leninism and the Great October Socialist Revolution as exclusively Russian and outdated phenomena and thereby to falsify their international character as the great model and example for the revolutionary working-class movement of the world.

Secondly, their purpose is to discredit socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union—the world's first socialist state—and to substitute all sorts of phrases about "humane" and "democratic" socialism for the basic model that is as valid as ever: overthrowing capitalist power, establishing working-class power and turning the decisive means of production held by the big capitalists into social property. These new "models of socialism," which never existed before, have this in common that they are directed against the exercise of power by the working class, against the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the worldwide contest between the forces of the past and those of the future, the working class is the main material and spiritual factor for radical and social changes. Speaking of the working class, we mean the great modern class which upholds, not only its own rights, but those of its allies and which subordinates every democratic movement and every struggle for reform to its great goal—reshaping society, abolishing the exploitation of man by man and establishing socialist relations of production and property.

The more we succeed in dislodging bourgeois consciousness imposed through manipulation and in fostering a socialist consciousness in the working class, the more effectively will the working class vindicate its social and political interests. Our Party's general line has been and will be to bring about unity of action of the working class and militant solidarity of Communists, Social Democrats and non-party workers in the enterprises and trade unions.

This also calls for principled struggle against the positions of the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders and for an earnest estimation of their leverage under latter-day capitalism.

Our Party hailed the removal of the CDU/CSU from the Bonn government. However, it warned against illusions about the policy of the SDP/FDP coalition. In West Berlin the SDP has been the leading government party for over twenty years, as a member of a coalition with the CDU or the FDP. Nevertheless, no changes whatsoever have come about during this time in power and property relations although the Constitution adopted on September 1, 1950 binds the ruling parties to organize society and the economy on democratic lines, ban all private monopoly corporations seeking supremacy in production and on the market, and ensure by law that the working people have a say in managing the economy and public affairs.

We ask:

Why did the Right-wing leaders of the SDP have to continue the policy of cooperating with the big bourgeoisie and dividing the working class despite their bitter experience even after 1945?

Why did they have to jettison old Social-Democratic traditions and turn Wilhelm Liebknecht's and August Bebel's party from a militant contingent of the working class into a loose "people's party" dominated by capitalist and not popular interests?

What makes them participate in financing the inhuman U.S. war against the Vietnamese people, supply Franco with tanks, deliver military aircraft and submarines to the Athens military junta and arms to Portugal carrying on colonial wars?

The monopoly bourgeoisie is highly organized internationally and united in its hatred for socialism despite the inherent contradictions of the system and the fight for markets and spheres of influence. The international revolutionary proletariat can advance, inflicting new crushing reverses on imperialism, only if it sets the organized strength of the socialist family of nations, the revolutionary working class of the world and the national liberation movement against monopoly interests.

The controversy with the policy of the Senate and the ruling parties revealed scientific socialism to be the only real guide for the working people in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the Right-wing of the SDP allege that Lenin's analysis of imperialism is wrong. Today the workers can lose, so we are told, something more than their chains and hence class consciousness has become a survival of the past. This leads Right-wing opportunists to the conclusion that "modern industrial society" eliminates the class division of society and that the class struggle has no justification any longer. Yet the class

battles of the workers of France, Italy and West Germany, the workers' strikes at AEG Turbine, OTV, DWM and other enterprises of our city for higher wages and for greater and competent co-management show up the absurdity of these allegations.

Ultra-left "revolutionaries" attack scientific socialism with Herbert Marcuse's contention that the working class is no longer the addressee of the revolution because latter-day capitalism integrates it. But this spurious thesis, for its part, has nothing to do with reality, with the historically demonstrated role of the working class as the subject of consistently democratic and revolutionary changes, a role which is confirmed again and again to this day.

Our strategy and tactics proceed from the exacerbation of the contradictions between socialism and imperialism, between labor and capital, between the forces of aggression and reaction, on the one hand, and those of peace and social progress, on the other.

The decisive role of the working class in the fight against imperialism is due, first of all, to its share in organizing social production, its organized character and discipline and the fact that the working class has, in the form of a militant Marxist-Leninist party, a leading force for carrying out radical social changes. The working class has its hand on the decisive lever, Marx said.

The opponents of scientific socialism, denying this, argue that class relations become socially deformed in latter-day capitalist society, that the proportion of industrial workers in the working population diminishes, the working class forfeits its leading role and the intelligentsia becomes the leading revolutionary force instead.

Yet it is a fact that with the general progress of the scientific and technological revolution skilled worker specialists gain in importance and that technologists directly linked with modern production draw as a social stratum nearer to the working class. This makes the class definition furnished by Marx and Lenin from the standpoint of the relationship of a class to ownership of the means of production and of its role in the system of social organization of production even more important.

What does our Party mean when speaking of the working class as the leading force of social upheavals?

The working class is the 800,000 wage workers and other employees of our city. They own no means of production and lack a production potential. They are compelled to sell their labor. This applies to workers by hand as well as to the majority of technicians and engineers engaged in production or working in designing offices or development laboratories. The core of the working class is composed of industrial workers concentrated in large enterprises. As the revolution in science and technology goes on the proportion

and role of intellectuals directly associated with modern production are growing.

The working class comprises workers and other employees engaged in the service industry, which is growing too. As the working class undergoes structural changes it will be particularly important to foster its trade-union awareness and infuse its every section with class-consciousness, a sense of solidarity and an understanding of its historic role. This calls for firm resistance to the manipulation of public opinion, to talk about "harmony" of the interests of labor and capital, and to hostile concepts and standards of behavior spread by imperialist mass culture.

We are confident of the ability of the working class actively to uphold its interests against the state-monopoly system and to convince itself as it does so that there is no tolerating the power of capital. The more working-class unity of action develops, the more it will become the decisive force of revolutionary social processes and the more numerous allies will rally behind it to win their pressing socio-political demands and finally defeat the system of latter-day capitalism.

To us, the working class is not an object of "messages" or sermons. To us as to all other militant Marxist-Leninist parties, it is the subject and chief revolutionary motor of every social upheaval. As a militant Marxist-Leninist Party, we regard it as our class duty to wage a principled fight against all theories and practices detrimental to the cause of the working class and its allies. Organized class and mass struggle is the only way to success in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

Our fight against Right- and "Left"-wing opportunists shows again and again that Lenin's postulate about the struggle for democratic rights being inseparable from the struggle to force out and break monopoly power is correct. On the strength of his analysis of imperialism Lenin stated that the bourgeoisie is looking back and that it dreads democratic progress. This estimation led Lenin to the conclusion that the proletariat can only win through democracy, that is, by bringing about full democracy.

The interests of the working class and other sections of the population of our city determine our demands for extended and competent co-management and for a democratic reform of secondary and higher education. Both demands can only be achieved through struggle from the grass roots in the enterprises and trade unions and through cooperation between the working class and the intelligentsia.

Unlike the Right- and "Left"-wing opportunists, the Communist and Workers' parties do not oppose the fight for far-reaching economic and social demands and for progressive democracy to the fight for socialism but regard it as a component of the latter. The

radical democratic changes to be wrested in struggle against the monopolies and their economic hegemony and political domination will help more and more working people to see the necessity and logical inevitability of socialism. Thus democratic and socialist goals turn out to be, not opposites, but parts of the process of growing awareness and militancy of all opponents of latter-day capitalism and imperialist barbarity, of all who want radical social change.

Reforms as we see them will become a prerequisite for the advance of the working class and its allies from co-management to management, and from forcing out monopoly power to defeating it.

The speaker then addressed the following appeal to the younger generation:

"Do not allow either big capital or Right- and 'Left'-wing opportunists to swindle you out of your future. Fight along with us against the power of monopoly and reaction, for the social and political interests of the working people.

"*Revolutionary impatience*—yes, but combine it with soberness and self-restraint.

"*Fantasy*—yes, but keep it under control. When dreaming, do not lose contacts with reality, and fight for your dreams to come true.

"Do not give in to allegations to the effect that art is capitalist rubbish and that you can throw off the shackles of latter-day capitalism by retreating into your shell or by indulging in sex and drugs. Help us to overcome this decayed social system, specifically by means of art, propaganda groups, open-air performances, protest songs and posters. Remember that the emancipation of women, the deliverance of love from the fetters of a society which makes everything a commodity, and the release of man's creative abilities should only be seen as a task of the revolutionary struggle to reorganize society on socialist lines.

"Creative abilities in the cultural field can develop only to the extent that imperialist mass culture and its destructive impact on genuine culture are overcome. What makes this spurious culture dangerous is capitalist monopoly of the modern mass media—the press, radio, cinema and television. These media make their way into every home, destroying man's humane image, spreading brutality and crime, trying to undermine class solidarity and awareness and respect for humanist literature, art and world culture. To this dominant latter-day capitalist trade in culture, which in reality demolishes culture, we oppose the cultural requirements and cultural accomplishments of the working class and humanist intelligentsia of the past and present. We see art and culture as a weapon in the class struggle for humanism and social progress."

We consider that invariable loyalty to the principles of Marxism-

Leninism and proletarian internationalism and close bonds with the CPSU and the Soviet Union have been and will be an earnest of the further advance of revolutionary and progressive forces.

Anyone who associates himself with U.S. imperialism is following the loser's road.

The socialist world system, international working class and national liberation movement are stronger than the imperialist robbers.

Long live the cohesion and solidarity of the world Communist movement on the tested basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

Long live the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, the vanguard of the working class of our city in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism!



PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE AND UNITY TAKING EFFECT

ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1969 MEETING*

It has been only a year since the latest international Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties took place in Moscow. And yet this brief period has already revealed the main directions in which the Meeting influences international events and has shown that our Party (June 1969 meeting of the CC CPSU), fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and other anti-imperialist forces were correct in describing the Meeting as an event of great moment.

World development has borne out the accuracy of the analysis of the international situation and its evolution trends made in documents of the Meeting and in delegates' speeches.

The results of the past year are evidence of the mobilizing and unifying force of the anti-imperialist program adopted by the Meeting. The worldwide circulation of the Meeting documents has helped to expose imperialism still further in the eyes of millions.

One year after, the place which the Meeting has come to hold in the Communist movement stands out clearly. The brother parties' international forum and its conclusions and recommendations made for closer Communist unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The brother parties' first year of effort to put the ideas and conclusions of the Meeting into practice was also a year of Lenin centenary preparations and celebrations. There is a strong inner link between the two events. The many-sided work done by the Meeting furnished an important prerequisite for the mustering of revolutionary forces accomplished under the badge of the Lenin centenary. The Meeting's Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" played an ideological and political role of fundamental importance in this respect. It reaffirmed the Communists' allegiance to Leninism, the unshakable ideological basis of the Communist movement. The brother parties' activity in the Lenin year, for its part, helped to consolidate the success of the Meeting and increased its effect on the world revolutionary movement and the anti-imperialist forces.

**Pravda*, June 9, 1970.

I.

The 1969 Meeting achieved a valuable result by producing a profound and realistic analysis of the general state of world affairs. It stressed that the general trend of social development is now determined by the activity of the progressive forces—the world socialist system, international working class and national liberation movement and all democratic movements. It noted, however, that the course of development is anything but straight. The fight between the forces of socialism and democracy, on the one hand, and those of imperialism and reaction, on the other, is assuming an ever more complex, and occasionally a very sharp, character. In these circumstances it would be particularly dangerous to under-rate both the forces of progress and those of its enemy, imperialism, which retains considerable economic and military power and is still a formidable enemy of mankind.

The year under survey has confirmed these fundamental conclusions. The general situation in the world has gone on developing in favor of the revolutionary movement. The forces of peace, democracy and socialism have scored noticeable gains in strength and unity, and their joint action against imperialism and its policy of aggression has become more active and more coordinated. On the other hand, this past year has seen new acts of aggression by an imperialism trying to impose its own, reactionary settlement of international problems.

U.S. imperialism still presents the strongest threat to peace, freedom and international security. Suffice it to mention America's unprecedentedly barefaced acts of aggression in Cambodia and Laos, its increasing support and encouragement of the aggressive forces of Israel, or the provocations against Cuba mounted from U.S. territory.

However, imperialism today has limited opportunities for its policy of aggression, as the Meeting pointed out. Aggressors are faced with growing resistance. This resistance is put up, first of all, by the socialist system, the most powerful and consistent adversary of imperialism. It is typical of the present stage of development that new large groups of people who until recently were very far from politics have joined in the anti-imperialist struggle alongside the socialist countries, the Communist movement and the revolutionary forces of the national liberation movement. This undoubtedly affords new opportunities for the fight against imperialism.

The situation in the United States itself is an illustration of increasing resistance to imperialism's criminal policies.

U.S. society is in a deep crisis. The biggest imperialist power

exemplifies the conflict between the high level of technological achievement and the low nature of a social system under which the ruling minority cynically flouts human lives and the people's interests. This conflict helps the masses in the U.S. to shake off the influence of imperialist ideology and to join in a protest movement that is assuming an increasingly marked political character. The police functions taken up by Washington reveal the imperialist system to all intelligent people as the source of war danger for civilization, and as the force strangling freedom and hostile to all progressive ideals.

This is the first time the U.S. government has been faced with millions of Americans protesting so vehemently against its policy. Besides, a serious rift has developed within the ruling group, many of whose members are shocked by the government's reckless moves.

An important aspect of the anti-imperialist movement at present is that the diverse anti-imperialist forces show an increasing desire for coordination and joint effort. Throughout the recent period imperialist strategy has been geared to dividing these forces and suppressing them piecemeal. The imperialists have plainly miscalculated, judging, for one thing, from the truly worldwide campaign of resistance to the U.S. aggression in Indochina.

Among the greatest international solidarity manifestations of recent date are the Paris meeting of the Communist parties of European capitalist countries, which took important decisions on coordinated action in view of events in Southeast Asia; the conference of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, which resolved to coordinate resistance to aggression; the Stockholm world conference for peace, which resolved to launch a worldwide collection of signatures to the demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. and allied troops from Vietnam; the Cairo international conference in support of the struggle of the Laotian people and other peoples of Indochina. These events show that the peoples of the world are becoming more keenly aware of the intimate connection between the destiny of Southeast Asian countries and the interests of mankind, that they are coming to realize the necessary link between the fight against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and the fight against imperialism as a system.

The 1969 Meeting defined efforts to start a vast campaign of solidarity with the peoples of Arab countries as a task of paramount importance. This campaign is on now. Cooperation between the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, and the Arab nations has risen to a new plane. This also increases the possibilities of seeking a political settlement of the Mideast conflict taking into account the legitimate interests of every nation. Recent meet-

ings of Communists, delegates of democratic organizations and spokesmen of the Arab liberation movement have led to closer international solidarity of the working people with the peoples of the Middle East who are waging a just struggle against the aggression of Israel and its patrons.

These facts speak of the peoples' increasing realization of the dangerous nature of the policy of Tel Aviv, of its imperialist basis and trend. There is a growing awareness of the nature and real objectives of the Arab nations' fight as a highly important component of the anti-imperialist movement.

A noteworthy aspect of the fight against imperialism today is its offensive character. The task now is both to resist imperialist policies and to win political positions enabling the peace-loving, democratic forces to influence the general course of development to a greater extent. It is from these positions that the masses are fighting for peace and security in Europe, for dependable safeguards against eventual imperialist provocations in this area. And since Europe has always played a prominent part in world development, this fight is, needless to say, an appreciable factor in the general offensive against imperialism. The German Communists contribute their share to this fight which has made for the growth of realistic-minded and progressive forces in West Germany—a new sign of the changing political situation in Western Europe.

The struggle of Latin America's peoples for a fair solution of the problems of their continent is offensive in character. It has helped, in particular, to strengthen the international position of heroic Cuba. Washington's effort over a long period to isolate and blockade Cuba is beginning to show serious setbacks. People in many Latin American countries are becoming conscious of the need to resist the U.S. imperialists with determination and to create opportunities for the independent, free national development of their countries, for genuine economic and social progress.

U.S. imperialism had hoped that its policy of aggression would enable it to rally together all reactionary forces of the old world. What has been happening is, as the Meeting predicted, a sharp turn for the worse in the disputes, frictions and conflicts plaguing the capitalist world. Nor could it have been otherwise. The rulers of many Western countries now see that U.S. policy is pushing them to the brink of disaster by bringing them nearer a world conflict.

Public opinion in the NATO countries showed unprecedented unanimity and firmness in demanding that their governments should openly and explicitly dissociate from the policy of Washington and condemn Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia. Significantly, this had its effect, for this time even those governments which earlier had with servile readiness identified themselves with

each new gamble of Washington preferred either to dissociate from that decision or to conceal their pro-American stance by resorting to various stratagems and ploys.

All this re-emphasizes the importance of the task set by the Meeting—to disclose the nature and political strategy of imperialism by adducing weighty arguments, give facts showing the peoples the abominable character of imperialism and make it clear to the masses that the interests of imperialism and those of working mankind are poles apart.

The more closely the effort to lay bare imperialism is linked with actual struggle and organizing work, the more effective it will be. The past year's experience indicates that the reverses suffered by imperialism induce it to seek new devices. It goes on using direct aggression and is planning new acts of subversion against the democratic forces in various countries and regions.

These attempts must all be foiled in time. We cannot wait till an aggressor begins to carry out his schemes. A growing body of opinion is coming to the conclusion that now is the time to mobilize the peoples and create an atmosphere of resistance to imperialist plans of aggression so as to foredoom them to failure.

This is why the platform of united anti-imperialist action advanced by the Meeting is gaining in relevance. The past year has shown that this platform is a correct summary of today's imperatives and focusses the attention of progressives throughout the world on really burning problems.

The anti-imperialist strategy defined by the Meeting consistently combines resistance to imperialist acts of aggression with struggle for international security, against nuclear war, for peaceful coexistence. Certain critics of this strategy say it has incompatible elements. This suggests that they do not understand the problem or try to discredit the real, genuine struggle against imperialism.

Past and present experience shows that success can only be achieved by steadfastly combining resistance to every form of imperialism with a firm policy of peaceful coexistence and international cooperation.

The strategy of the anti-imperialist forces is in keeping with the present state of the world political struggle. It is as many-sided as life in today's world. It takes account of all important facets of this life and offers constructive solutions of the main problems of mankind.

II.

The effectiveness of the anti-imperialist action platform evolved by the Meeting is due in decisive measure to the support of power-

ful social and political forces: the world socialist system, the working class of the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

The world socialist system is the decisive factor in the fight against imperialism, the Meeting stressed. This conclusion is proved correct by the progress of the anti-imperialist struggle. It is not only the socialist countries and the Communists that must support socialism as a living reality and strive to strengthen its world positions. Progressives see ever more clearly that the strong positions held by the socialist system ensure further changes in the balance of forces in favor of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. The Meeting documents stressed the importance of maintaining and consolidating the socialist gains of the peoples and stated that "the defense of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists."

Socialism's impact on world developments and its contribution to the common cause of the anti-imperialist forces depend largely on unity of the socialist countries. Speaking of the situation in the world socialist system, we note that one and the same process is going on at the political, social, economic and military level alike: relations inside the socialist community are becoming stronger and more diversified and the traditions of friendship are increasingly enhanced by socialist solidarity. Unity of the socialist countries who follow the Marxist-Leninist path has grown stronger. They coordinate their foreign policies ever more closely and have lately taken important initiatives adding to the international influence of socialism.

The joint statement on the Middle East issued by the brother parties of several socialist countries revealed their accord on the need to eliminate the effects of the Israeli aggression. A joint initiative by the socialist countries made it possible to guarantee nuclear non-proliferation. Due to sustained effort by the Warsaw Treaty countries, the proposal for an all-Europe conference to examine problems of vital importance finds itself in the limelight of European politics.

Another aspect of the task of extending the influence of socialism is to advance it economically. The socialist world has entered a period of development in which it can make fuller use of the great potentialities of the new social system. The Meeting pointed out that the use of these potentialities depends primarily on the ability of the Communist parties in power to solve socialist development problems in a creative, Marxist-Leninist way.

Having tackled this task, the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries are concentrating on efforts to speed up scientific and technological progress and to raise the ef-

iciency of social production. They take steps to promote socialist economic integration. These measures will guarantee the solution of internal economic problems of the socialist community. Moreover, they are of great international significance because they strengthen the positions of socialism in its contest with capitalism.

The progress of society in the socialist countries consistently following the Marxist-Leninist path is closely linked with further steps to perfect socialist democracy and political leadership.

The present stage of social development and the revolution in science and technology confront mankind with big social problems. Only socialist practice can and does provide constructive solutions to them meeting the interests of the masses.

The period since the Meeting has seen a further upswing in the democratic, anti-imperialist movement in the capitalist countries.

Events of the past year give the lie to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists who say that the revolutionary potential of the working class is declining. The names of pseudo-revolutionaries who not so long ago paraded fashionable anarchist shibboleths are forgotten. Developments show again and again that the working class is the chief motive and mobilizing force of the anti-imperialist movement in the citadels of capitalism, as the Meeting stressed.

The masses show increasing militancy and tenacity in upholding their economic rights and democratic gains. In the process they necessarily clash more and more sharply with state-monopoly power and the state apparatus. This is why political demands of both a national and international character are gaining prominence in the working people's struggle in the capitalist countries.

We are in the presence of a growing mass movement involving, not only the working class, but the peasantry, the urban middle strata, progressive intellectuals and students.

Strikes and mass demonstrations, traditional weapons of the working class, have become a common weapon of the democratic forces against monopoly oppression and policy. This was revealed by the past year's events in Italy, France, Japan, Spain, West Germany and elsewhere.

The growing scale of the struggle against the omnipotence of the monopolies accentuates the problem of working-class unity which was thoroughly elaborated by the Meeting. It has been demonstrated that progress towards unity requires unrelenting struggle against conciliation, against Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, who are operating from anti-Communist positions. The desire for unity is gaining ground among the working class, with the result that the differentiation process among the Social Democrats

and in reformist trade unions is intensifying, affording the fight for unity new prospects and opportunities.

Noteworthy changes are occurring in Latin America. Popular pressure has produced anti-imperialist and anti-feudal measures in some countries. Democratic reforms were effected in Peru, the U.S. oil company was nationalized, the agrarian reform law is being enforced and steps were taken to control foreign trade. Certain democratic measures were adopted in Bolivia. Popular unity for social change has assumed a large scale in Chile, Uruguay and other countries of the continent.

The growing labor and democratic movement in the capitalist countries is a kind of barometer indicating that the conditions for decisive class battles are maturing. These battles may lead, as the Meeting's Document notes, to fundamental social changes, to a socialist revolution and the establishment of working-class power in alliance with other working people. In these circumstances the theses of the Meeting about the need to be prepared for sharp turns in development and for the use of diverse forms of struggle in rapid succession are particularly relevant.

Events of the past year have confirmed the Meeting's conclusion about the role of the national liberation movement in the world revolutionary process. The consolidation of national liberation forces and their great potentialities are evident from the strengthening of progressive regimes in Arab countries, which effectively resist Israeli aggression, from revolutionary changes in Sudan, Libya and Somalia, where the progressive forces have taken power into their hands, from the growing scale of the people's armed struggle in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Guinea-Bissau against the colonialists and racial-fascist regimes, from the cessation of hostilities between the Kurds and Arabs in Iraq, from the termination of the civil war in Nigeria, from the increased activity of Left-wing forces in the Congo (Brazzaville).

The imperative necessity for radical social changes in the area of the national liberation movement is instrumental in heightening the militancy and strengthening the positions of progressives. This is exemplified by the success of the nationalization policy in India and the recent electoral victory of the United Front in Ceylon, which includes the Communists.

International practice again corroborates the Meeting's conclusion that strengthening the alliance of the anti-imperialist national liberation movement and world socialism is of primary importance to the peoples and new national states fighting against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for social progress.

The Meeting called on all working people's organizations and on diverse social strata and political groups to join efforts with the

Communist parties in order to fight together against imperialism. It declared for steps to prepare and launch united action by the most democratic methods, through a constructive exchange of views on every problem of the fight against imperialism. These methods are becoming common in relations between Communist parties and other progressive political trends and organizations. Communists respect the autonomy and distinctive nature of diverse anti-imperialist currents and seek better understanding between them to decide jointly on forms of interaction that would help to raise the fight against imperialism to a new and higher plane.

III.

The Meeting treated the fight against imperialism, for closer solidarity of the revolutionary forces, and the struggle for closer world Communist unity as one complex. Concentrating on the objective problems which the world revolutionary process poses before the Communist movement, it specified the ways and means of overcoming difficulties in Communist ranks. It described united action by the Communist and Workers' parties and other anti-imperialist forces as the key problem. Thus it gave expression to both the exigencies of social progress in the world and the internal requirements of our movement.

The Meeting's collectively evolved approach to the task of uniting the Communist movement fully proved its worth. Concentration on constructive tasks, on what unites them, helped Communists to arrive at collective estimations of the principal ways and means of using the new possibilities of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. This alone was a step towards both political and ideological unity. Furthermore, the Meeting produced ample evidence in support of the idea that united action can be orientated and made effective solely on a Marxist-Leninist basis. In other words, it showed that the joint anti-imperialist struggle calls for the ideological unity of Communists throughout the world. This approach contrasts with both the pessimistic forecast that ideological unity is unattainable in present conditions and the tendency to make the complete elimination of all ideological and political differences between Communist parties a precondition of united action by them.

The very convening and outcome of the Meeting and the further development of the principles of proletarian internationalism in the Communist movement increased its role as the ideological and political vanguard of the world revolutionary process. After the Meeting Communist and Workers' parties became more purposive and militant in the struggle against imperialism. They extended

the scope of their work among the masses: their political work of organizing strikes, demonstrations and others actions, and their ideological work of exposing imperialism, fostering class consciousness and spreading Marxist-Leninist ideas among the working people.

This also expressed itself in a more intensive fight against diverse revisionist trends in the Communist movement. In some countries modern revisionism showed itself to be both an ideological and a political enemy of Marxist-Leninist parties, an enemy striking hardest, not at the class enemy, but at the most advanced and organized contingents of the labor movement. In a number of parties the ideological and political exposure of opportunists also resulted in organizational conclusions about them. The French Communist Party expelled Roger Garaudy, and the Italian CP, the factional, revisionist "Manifesto" group. Revisionism was also forced back at the recent 21st Congress of the CP of Austria.

The brother parties are combating anti-Sovietism with increasing energy. This past year has made it clearer still that anti-Sovietism is not only directed against solidarity with the Soviet Union and the CPSU but injures the revolutionary struggle everywhere and merges with various manifestations of opportunism and reactionary nationalism.

The results of the Meeting showed how fruitless and hopeless are the Chinese leadership's attempts to impose an anti-Leninist platform on the Communist and national liberation movement.

Nevertheless, Peking persists in its ideological and political war against Marxist-Leninist parties and in its divisive activity. The determined struggle of the CPSU and other fraternal parties against the present Chinese leadership's "theories" and subversive practices is aimed at upholding the interests of the Communist movement and its policy in the fight against imperialism. Concessions on these issues, which bear on the very foundations and principles of world communism, are out of the question.

The record of the Communist movement shows that ideological neutrality on issues relating to the substance of scientific communism and the key principles of international revolutionary strategy becomes refusal to support Marxist-Leninist policy and elucidate it to the masses, and this necessarily causes political damage.

Our Party maintains that it is in the best interest of the revolutionary labor movement to foster cooperation between socialist countries. It strives to bring relations back to normal whenever they are upset and ensure joint action by all socialist countries against imperialism. The CPSU and the Soviet government do all in their power to attain these goals.

The evolution of the Communist movement over the past year

has been characterized, among other things, by more extensive inter-party relations. Experience shows that isolationism and separatism will not solve the revolutionary problems of any Communist party. On the other hand, international solidarity, which helps to establish contact with one's class brothers in other countries, enhances a party's international prestige and its role as a genuinely revolutionary national force.

Bilateral and multilateral contacts on the collectively formulated principles of inter-party relations may be described as a mechanism helping to exchange experiences and views, agree on positions and promptly coordinate action in the world arena. The Meeting was followed by two consultative meetings of African Communist parties, a meeting of Arab Communist parties, the Sixth Regional Conference of the Communist parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama, a meeting of 12 Latin American Communist parties, a meeting of 28 Communist and Workers' parties of Europe on continental security, a meeting of the Communist parties of Northern Europe and a meeting of the Communist parties of European capitalist countries for solidarity with the peoples of Indochina.

Inter-party cooperation is expanding in both the political and the ideological sphere. Speakers at the Meeting suggested that brother parties should meet more frequently to discuss theoretical problems. This suggestion is being carried into practice. Six international forums and symposiums have been held to date on topical problems of the class struggle and the national liberation movement. Communist parties from every part of the globe took an active part in them. A most successful forum on the theme "Leninism and Our Time" took place in Prague in November 1969. It drew delegations from 40 brother parties. In January 1970 Moscow was the venue of another representative international forum, which dealt with the highly topical theme "The Growing Role of Leninism in the Present Epoch and Criticism of Anti-Communism." In February Moscow played host to prominent leaders of the Communist and working-class movement of dozens of countries, who attended a forum on the theme "Leninism and the World Revolutionary Process."

The preparations for the Lenin centenary and the centenary events themselves became a vast political campaign popularizing, upholding and carrying forward Lenin's teachings. The campaign revealed the vitality and decisive importance of Leninism in terms of both the class struggle throughout the world and in the distinctive conditions of various countries. The centenary became an international festive occasion for all fighters against imperialism, for social progress. The Moscow celebrations were attended by guests from 78 Communist and Workers' parties, 21 national democratic

parties and organizations and six Left-Socialist parties. L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and speakers from brother parties and the Soviet public stressed the resolve to maintain and carry forward Lenin's teachings, promote unity and solidarity in the revolutionary struggle and step up the offensive against world imperialism.

There is no question that the climate in the Communist movement has changed for the better in the year which has passed since the Meeting. But Marxist-Leninists can never rest content with what they have achieved. The fight for unity must not be seen as a brief campaign. It calls for steady and growing effort. This is the duty of all Communist and Workers' parties. As regards our Party, it will continue to carry high the banner of Communist unity on Marxist-Leninist lines.

* * *

Every Communist and every fighter against imperialism is bound to be gratified by the political results of the first year since the Meeting and by the early fruits of their practical effort. But while these results are important in themselves, it is still more important that they are bound to have a beneficial impact on the outlook and future of the world Communist movement. "The world revolutionary process," said L. Brezhnev in his speech, "Lenin's Cause Lives On and Triumphs," "is developing irresistibly. The stronger the Marxist-Leninist parties and the greater their influence, the greater its gains will be."

The positive changes brought about in the Communist movement and the anti-imperialist front as a whole provide new opportunities for the revolutionary struggle and lay the groundwork for future gains of the forces of socialism and progress against the forces of imperialism and reaction.

REPORT* BY GUSTAV ANSART

Today we must examine and endorse the decision of the Gabriel Péri branch of the Ormesson-Chennevières district organization to expel Roger Garaudy from the Party.

The show now being put on by Garaudy with the generous support of the "big press," radio and television is meant to create the impression that he has dropped out of the Party because he refuses to associate himself with moves contrary to the Party's policy and line and to its inner democracy.

The admonitions he resorts to through the unlimited information facilities put at his disposal by the bourgeoisie cannot make anyone forget the important thing. And the important thing is that Garaudy was unanimously condemned by the 19th Congress for activity directed against the theory, policy and organizational principles of the Communist Party.

On the theoretical plane, Garaudy tried to make us abandon our scientific doctrine, Marxism-Leninism. As he sees it, a Communist party cannot have a philosophy of its own and should be "neither idealist, materialist, religious or atheist." In this respect as in others, he has made no discovery.

But Garaudy went further along the road of revisionism. Because our Party adheres to a definite philosophy, dialectical and historical materialism, he accuses it of "clericalism."

As regards Garaudy's invitation to philosophical pluralism in the Party, we need hardly stress that it is contrary to the very nature of Leninism. True, Garaudy is out to formulate a theory of convergence in philosophy whereas our daring policy of broad alliance is based on respect for the principles of scientific socialism.

It is most dishonest of Garaudy to try to minimize or cover up these fundamental differences so as to make believable the thesis of a personal conflict. In reality the Party was faced with a revisionist activity and had to carry on a sharp struggle over ideas.

The same struggle had to be waged in the political field, for it was not this or that aspect of our policy that Garaudy took exception to but the line determined by our Congress.

Here again, Garaudy is not an innovator who made a few slips in trying to promote our policy. Garaudy is combating all fundamental aspects of our policy.

In insisting that the Party abandon its theory, he also calls on it

Abridged from *Humanité*, May 21, 1970. Gustave Ansart is Chairman of the Central Political Control Committee under the CC FCP.

to modify its strategy, tactics and organizational principles. He advocates the formation of a new historic bloc denying at once the role of the working class as the leading force of the revolutionary movement and the principle of alliance between workers by hand and by brain.

At the Central Committee meeting in July 1968 he reproved the Party for having denounced the methods and action of Leftist groups.

From what he says, the activity of the Party and the working-class and democratic movement should have followed adventuristic slogans.

These concepts were refuted by the 19th Congress. The role of the working class is growing. Congress analyzed the evolution of the productive forces and stressed the necessity for relations of close alliance between the working class and the intellectuals to remake society along socialist lines.

From questioning our analysis of the alignment of social and political forces in the capitalist society of today, Garaudy goes on to questioning our policy of alliance of the working-class and democratic forces.

To Garaudy, the fight for unity of action is an outmoded notion. The parties, except for ours, no longer play any role, he says. Scorning the political struggle, he suggests reducing our entire activity to an economic fight aimed at gradually paralyzing the economic functions of the capitalist state.

Thus, Garaudy's views are entirely at variance with our policy.

At the CC meeting in Champigny he made the most explicit reservations about our "Manifesto for an Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France." Moreover, he subsequently described it as an ineffective instrument.

In fact—let us say it again—Garaudy's disagreement with our policy line is fundamental and it is duplicity on his part to try to cover it up so as to pose as a victim of imaginary persecution.

The point is that our whole Party has been resisting an attempt, backed from without by the whole array of the information and propaganda media of the bourgeois state, to revise our policy in an opportunist sense.

Garaudy's objections are just as serious over international issues. The 19th Congress showed clearly that his position is one of renouncing the struggle against imperialism, to which he opposes vague hopes of "unification of the world" on the basis of what he calls "an objectivized capitalism in the United States and a democratized socialism in the Soviet Union."

Garaudy replaces the fight against imperialism by systematic

criticism of the Soviet Union and its leaders and echoes all reactionary calumnies against the socialist countries.

His attack on the Party is global. A champion of revisionism in philosophy and politics, he would also like to revise our Leninist organizational principles. He says the task is to achieve a "deep-going transformation of the very concept party and party organization." This would imply the right to form trends, to organize factions incompatible with democratic centralism. It is the idea of a party functioning as a permanent debating club, an idea combated by Lenin.

Now that our Party as a whole has rejected his liquidationist concepts, Garaudy shrinks from no device.

He distorts the facts.

Garaudy certainly knows of the spirit in which our Party had called such a meeting. He knows of the sense of responsibility with which our General Secretary dealt at those difficult moments with questions now familiar to all.

He knows that the attitude of the French Communist Party in the circumstances is above suspicion.

If the Central Committee failed to endorse the proposal of the branch, the district and the Val de Marne Federal Committee, it would be guilty of not doing the duty entrusted to it by Congress.

What I have just said is clear to the immense majority of the Party membership. It would be useful, however, to recall the patience, the democratic spirit, the earnest effort to respect, and enforce respect for, our Rules and the principles with which our Party approached this matter, now concluded after years of discussion.

Garaudy never heeded the criticisms of his comrades. Actively supported by the propaganda agencies of the government and the bourgeoisie, he mounted from without a battle against the Party and its policy. His permanent line has been to violate Party decisions and discipline.

Now as before, the Political Bureau is united and unanimous against Garaudy's platform and on the entire policy of the Party. And while each of us has his personal qualities, let it be known that the Political Bureau meets in a far calmer, more fruitful and, above all, more fraternal atmosphere than is imputed by those who tell false stories about personal struggles without fearing, by the way, that they may be given the lie by the last three months. Spokesmen of the big bourgeoisie seemed to be short of arguments on this point. Garaudy has just lent them a strong hand.

In the eyes of the bourgeoisie, he has the incomparable advantage of having belonged to the Party leadership, a fact which may give his arguments a semblance of truth.

As it is proving ever more difficult to criticize our ideas and solu-

tions, the bourgeoisie has set out to defend "good Communists" against bad ones, the "good" being, needless to say, those who differ with the Party.

But who can honestly back the thesis about a man victimized by a group? Speaking on radio Europe 1, Georges Marchais said, with a firmness we all appreciated, that Garaudy and his platform had been beaten by Congress.

Let us recall that Garaudy had the opportunity, like everyone else, to submit his remarks both during the discussion and at the Congress itself, at which he made a speech ending in a rude attack on some brother parties and socialist countries. It is, as Georges Marchais has said, one man, alone against his Party, who has decided to impose his will by every means.

And now he has gone on to insults, to slander against his associates of yesterday, who from now on are wrong because they are loyal.

He reproves us for defending this Party, its Rules and principles, which he can no longer put up with.

The "disclosure of the existence of a group" and charges against some of our comrades (which can only make them dearer to us) should not, for all that, conceal from us the fact that his contempt extends to the whole Party.

We are proud of our Communist Party, which is entitled to the gratitude of present and future generations by the role it plays in organizing, uniting and educating a people called upon to build their future.

The Party which has won the glorious title of Party of the Shot inseparably combines devotion to the interests of the nation with proletarian internationalism. It has always fulfilled its international duties, striving to strengthen the unity of the international working-class and Communist movement.

The Communist Party will firmly maintain its doctrine, policy and leadership.

The anti-Communist campaign is intended to delay the inevitable moment when our people will impose advanced democracy as an alternative to the power of big capital.

The campaign is aimed at raising obstacles, with Garaudy's help, to working-class unity and the alliance of democratic forces. Contrary to the facts and despite our efforts, statements and program, it is designed to put the blame for division on our Party, the main opposition force.

This policy plays into the hands of arrogant employers and makes easier the attacks of the power of big capital, which owes its survival to the division of the forces opposing it.

We will carry forward the unity of our ranks shown by our 19th Congress.

The adversaries of the working class and of our Party, who gamble on Party disunity, will be disappointed once again. Aware of their responsibility, the French Communists are more closely united than ever behind the Party, the Central Committee, the Political Bureau.

STATEMENT OF FOUR PARTIES

IRAQ

Mr. President of the Iraqi Republic Ahmed Hassan Albakr.

At the time when all the patriotic forces in the country are unanimously agreed that the continuation of the Kurdish problem without a solution is the main factor in the all-round deterioration during the period from 11th September, 1969, until 11th March, 1970, these forces regard the solution of this problem as a point of departure for liquidating the heritage of the past and a prologue for the creation of a true democratic regime that guarantees the solution of all contradictions among the people—a solution that leads to the mobilization of the creative forces of the people and their development as well as putting the weight on them in the struggle that is going on against the forces of imperialism, reaction and Zionism. Feeling our responsibility vis-a-vis the destiny of our people and our nation, especially at this critical period, we have sought to present to you this memorandum in which we express the opinions of a broad section of the masses of the people.

The fighting which took place between brothers, Arabs and Kurds, had very deep negative economic, military and political effects which were coupled with other factors that led to paralyzing and deforming the march forward of the 14th July, 1958, Revolution. On the economic level the consumers' trend prevailed in the public sector at the expense of the productive trend. As for the private sector, capital, due to the state of instability, was weaker in productive investment and tended more to flee abroad. The Kurdish problem had to a large extent its imprint on the successive budgets. The financial deficit reached exuberant levels that can only be matched by the burden of taxes that are borne by the people. The effect of these factors interacted with other factors and was reflected in the dependence of the national economy on the imperialist oil sector and its royalties. This was all coupled with the increase in unemployment in the cities and the rural areas as well as the increase in prices and the high cost of living at a rate which is above the increase in the income of all the toiling classes, especially the workers and the peasants.

The burden of the Kurdish problem and the role it played in weakening the army and diverting it from discharging its main task were not less than the economic harm they inflicted. Undoubtedly, the preoccupation of the army in the fight between the brothers—

the Arabs and the Kurds—has weakened its contribution to repelling the Israeli aggression and its participation in consolidating the Eastern front for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories. It also obstructed Iraq from playing its full role in supporting the resistance movement and the Palestinian revolution. This also helped in the creation of an emergency internal situation that led to weakening the development of the mass movement and hence to the weakening of the democratic aspects of the state and of national unity.

As far as the political level is concerned, the Kurdish problem contributed to weakening national independence and deforming the political development and strengthened local reaction and its links to imperialism, which led and is still leading to the continuation of reactionary-imperialist conspiracies against our national independence, from the formal as well as the content point of view or both together—depending on the existing balance of forces between the revolutionary elements and the counter-revolutionary ones.

Struggle between the various forces of the people reached its peak in the Kurdish problem whereby the secondary contradiction between the patriotic forces of the people was substituted for the main contradiction between these people on the one side and the counter-revolutionary reactionary-imperialist forces on the other side. Through this the imperialist-reactionary conspiracies managed to weaken the general patriotic popular movement. They utilized the differences and deepened them to an extent that guarantees the safeguarding of their interests and the consolidation of their positions as well as the intensification of their interests in the country.

As long as the Kurdish problem has such serious dangers and complex impact on the country, it is essential to consider any step which leads to saving the country from its ill-effects a positive act which deserves support and appreciation as a step leading to a radical democratic solution not only to the Kurdish problem itself but also to the total nature of the regime.

An all-round solution of the Kurdish problem naturally requires that it be coupled with democracy, especially in regard to political organizations and the elected legislative power.

While appreciating the positive elements of the 11th March declaration we deem it necessary to emphasize the necessity to recognize the right of the existence of party organizations and legal political activities for all the patriotic forces as well as the existence of a legislative power in which these forces should be represented. Without democracy and in the absence of political organizations and legislative power the efforts of the people will remain paralyzed and the counter-revolutionary forces will be able to continue their conspiratorial activities and their sabotage.

The national democratic revolution of July 14 clearly demon-

strated that no matter how far the revolution goes in any of its stages, its main objectives will remain paralyzed as long as it fails to establish a truly democratic regime that is conditioned by the following objective and subjective factors:

1. The maturity of objective conditions is an imperative condition but insufficient for the completion of the basic objectives of the revolution and its development. Dynamic subjective factors must exist. These subjective factors are the political parties, political organizations, professional and trade union organizations that represent the social forces that have an interest in the revolution and in its constant development.

2. The existence of several social classes and hence the diversity of the forces of the people in the Iraqi society makes it impossible for any one progressive force alone to complete the objectives of the revolution and properly develop it. Therefore success in achieving these objectives depends on the unity of the progressive patriotic forces in a united front.

3. The completion of the tasks of the present historical period necessitates agreement on a program that stresses the basic common points of agreement and which binds the representatives of the united national front during every stage of the development of the revolution.

4. The realization of balance and equity between the national tasks and the social changes is the guarantee against a deformed development of the revolutionary movement. It also guarantees that the secondary contradiction between the revolutionary forces will not be substituted for the main contradiction between them on the one side and the counter-revolutionary forces on the other side. It is also a guarantee against confusion between the methods that are used to solve the minor contradictions and the methods necessitated to solve the major contradictions.

5. The only proper political formula is the democratic formula which is based on the freedom of party and trade union organization, the freedom of political activity of all the popular forces that are against imperialism, reaction and Zionism, the guarantee of freedom of the press, belief and creed, and coexistence between these forces as well as the creation of a national united front adhering to a common program and the formation of a national united front government which will assume power to complete the tasks and objectives of the revolution.

Practical experience since the 14th July Revolution has proved the impotence of the views and attitudes based on keeping power within one group and monopolizing political activity. The diversity of social classes and political organizations—which are materially and ideologically linked to the revolution and its development—necessitates an all-embracing outlook which is the outlook of the

total forces of the people and the solutions they offer to all the basic problems on the basis of the fact that the country is a free field for cooperation and honest competition between all its patriotic forces without exception within the framework of the national front.

The overlooking of this all-embracing outlook led to the prevalence of the idea of monopolizing political activity and to continuous military coup d'états which were coupled with an increase in narrow-minded approaches — religious, regional, and national — that harmed the national spirit, the popular national and human traditions. It paralyzed major forces in their work to defend national independence and to develop the country. It robbed them of the possibility of playing their full role in defending the destiny of the Arab nation.

The main point of departure to radically solve all the problems of the country was and still is the nature of power, that is, the problem of democracy. Without solving this basic problem in a right manner the country cannot be saved from further catastrophes, coups d'état, and from the vicious circle which the political life of the country finds itself in since July 14, 1958.

We believe that the time is ripe to put an end to the emergency situation and to annul all laws and dissolve all courts which serve this state of affairs. We believe it is time to amend penal laws regulating party political and ideological activities in a manner which guarantees democratic freedom, the sovereignty of the law and release of all patriotic prisoners and detainees.

Putting an end to the emergency situation, guaranteeing democratic freedoms to all democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-reactionary forces and their meeting in a general national congress to agree on a common transitional program out of which a national united front and a national coalition government representing the front and abiding by its program before the front and the elected legislative power which represents all the patriotic people, is in our opinion the path that opens before the revolution and the forces of the people broad horizons to establish a truly democratic regime in our country and guarantees its victorious march forward.

*The Arab Socialist Movement
Independent Democrats
Iraqi Communist Party
The National Democratic Party*

Baghdad, April 5, 1970

BASIC PROGRAM* OF POPULAR UNITY

CHILE

INTRODUCTION

The parties and movements represented on the Coordinating Committee for Popular Unity are fully agreed—without prejudice to the right of each to maintain its own philosophy and its political positions—on the estimation of the national reality set forth below and on the program propositions which will form the basis of our united action and which we submit to the people for consideration.

The "Introduction" analyzes economic problems of the country, the role and condition of various classes, social strata and parties, and the disastrous character of foreign, primarily U.S., influence in all economic, social and political spheres.

UNITY AND ACTION OF THE ORGANIZED PEOPLE

The numerical growth of the forces of the working people, their organization and struggle and their awareness of their strength encourage the will for far-reaching change, criticism of the establishment and struggle against its structures. There are over three million working people in Chile. However, their productive energy and their enormous constructive capacity cannot be released under the present system, which can only exploit and suppress them.

These forces can break up the present structures and advance to freedom provided they fight together with the whole people and mobilize all who are not linked with either national or international reaction, that is, through united action by the overwhelming majority of Chileans.

This is, in fact, the purpose of popular unity.

The imperialists and the ruling classes of the country will oppose popular unity and try to mislead the people again. They will say that freedom is in danger, that violence will sway the country, and so on. But the masses believe in these lies less and less. Their social mobilization is daily gathering momentum and is furthered by the unification of Left-wing forces.

To stimulate the mobilization of the Chilean people and orientate it on winning power, members of the Left-wing movements and

*Adopted by the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Radical Party, Social-Democratic Party, MAPU (United Popular Action Movement) and API (Independent Popular Action) of Chile, December 1969. Condensed from *El Siglo*.

parties uniting the vast mass of Chileans who declare for radical changes will set up popular unity committees everywhere—in factories, farms, communities, offices and schools. These committees will not be electoral bodies only. They will also express and fight for the immediate demands of the masses and will, above all, prepare to exercise power.

OUR PROGRAM: PEOPLE'S POWER

The revolutionary changes needed by the country can only be effected if the Chilean people take power into their hands and exercise it really and effectively.

The people of Chile, by fighting over a long period, have won certain democratic freedoms and guarantees which they must watchfully maintain and fight for without respite. However, they still have to win power.

The popular and revolutionary forces have not united to fight for the mere replacement of one President of the Republic by another nor to bring other parties into the government. What they want is to bring about the fundamental changes the national situation requires by transferring power from the outdated ruling groups to the working people, the peasants and progressive sections of the middle strata of town and country.

The people's victory will pave the way for the most democratic political regime in Chilean history.

In terms of political organization, the people's government will have a twofold task:

- preserving and extending the democratic rights and gains of the working people and making them more effective;

- transforming today's institutions to establish a state in which working men and women and the people will really exercise power.

The people's government will not only respect freedom of opinion, speech, press and assembly, the inviolability of the home, trade union freedom, etc., but guarantee the participation of every category of working people in the management of public affairs. It will be a multi-party government comprising all revolutionary parties, movements and trends. It will be a genuinely democratic, representative and close-knit executive body. It will respect the rights of any opposition within legal bounds.

The section *New System of Government: People's State* deals with the mechanism of legislative and executive power (legal procedure, national defense). The section *Setting up a New Economy* stresses that the main objective of the united popular forces is to replace the present economic structures and end the power of national and foreign monopoly capital and the latifundiums so as to set about building socialism. Planning is to play a most important part in the

new economic system. The leading bodies will be at the highest level of government and their democratically adopted decisions will amount to executive acts.

THE PUBLIC SECTOR

The process of transforming our economy will begin with a policy intended to set up a dominant state sector consisting of the enterprises now owned by the state plus those to be expropriated. The first step will be to nationalize the basic resources owned by foreign capital and national monopolies, such as copper, iron ore and nitre. The nationalized sector will thus have the following components:

- (1) the big copper mines, nitre, iodine, iron ore and coal;
- (2) the national financial system, particularly private banks and insurance companies;
- (3) foreign trade;
- (4) big distribution enterprises and monopolies;
- (5) strategic industrial monopolies;
- (6) in general, the branches conditioning the country's economic and social progress, such as the generation and distribution of electricity, the railways, airlines and shipping, communications; the extraction, refining and distribution of oil and derivatives, including liquid gas; the iron and steel industry, cement, the petrochemical industry and heavy chemistry, cellulose and paper.

All these branches will be expropriated with due regard to the interests of small shareholders.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR

This sector comprises those branches of industry—including the mining industry—agriculture and the service industry in which private ownership of the means of production will be left intact.

These enterprises will make up the majority. In 1967 all markets were monopolized by only 150 enterprises out of a total of 30,500, including the handicrafts. These 150 enterprises held all government subsidies and bank credits and exploited the owners of other industrial enterprises by selling them raw materials at high prices and buying up their output at low prices.

National economic planning will benefit the enterprises in this sector. The state will aid them financially and technically, taking into account the number of their employees and the volume of their output, so that they can fulfil their important economic function.

Furthermore, the system of patents, customs tariffs, taxes and rental will be simplified for them and they will be afforded adequate and fair opportunities to sell their products.

The employees of these enterprises will have a guaranteed right

to equitable pay and proper working conditions. Maintenance of this right will be controlled by the state and the employees concerned.

MIXED PROPERTY SECTOR

This sector will comprise enterprises using both government and private investments.

The loans or credits granted to these enterprises by appropriate government agencies will be in the nature of contributions so as to make the state a partner and not a creditor. The same will be true of cases in which these enterprises obtain credits guaranteed by the state or its agencies.

EXTENDING THE AGRARIAN REFORM

The agrarian reform is conceived as a concomitant and complement of the general changes sought in the social, political and economic structures of the country, so that its realization is inseparable from the rest of the general policy. The experiences stored in this field and the shortcomings and inconsistencies that have been registered necessitate a reshaping of the policy of distributing and organizing property in land on the following lines:

1. Hastening the implementation of agrarian reform and expropriating holdings exceeding the established maximum, according to local conditions, including orchards, forests, vineyards and wine-making areas, the owner being allowed no preferential option. The assets of these holdings—machinery, implements, livestock, etc.—may be expropriated fully or partially.

2. Immediate inclusion in the cultivated area of unused or under-used lands owned by the state.

3. Cooperatives will be the preferred form of farming on expropriated land. The peasants will be entitled to own the house and lot assigned them and share in the indivisible property of their co-operatives.

Wherever conditions suggest it, peasants will be allocated land and helped to organize work on it and to market produce on the basis of cooperation.

Land will also be allotted with a view to setting up state farms equipped with up-to-date production facilities.

4. In definite cases land will be allotted to small peasants and sharecroppers and to rural employees versed in farming.

5. Restructuring small property in progressive forms of agricultural cooperatives.

6. Enabling the small and middle peasants to use the facilities of the cooperatives operating in their area.

7. Maintaining the integrity and extending and ensuring democratic leadership of the indigenous communities threatened with usurpation. Providing the Mapuche people and other indigenous peoples with sufficient land and appropriate technical aid and credits.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICY

1. Solve the pressing problems of the majority of the people. To this end the production capacities used for the manufacture of luxuries will be switched to the production of inexpensive and high-quality consumer goods for the people.

2. Guarantee employment for all able-bodied Chileans with adequate pay. This will mean embarking on a policy meeting the high demand for jobs, making adequate use of the nation's resources and adjusting technology to the requirements of the country's progress.

3. Rid Chile of subservience to foreign capital. This implies expropriating imperialist capital, following a policy of increasing financial self-sufficiency, specifying the conditions in which foreign capital shall not be subject to expropriation and achieving greater independence in technology, external transport, etc.

4. Ensure rapid and decentralized economic growth to develop the productive forces to the utmost, making optimal use of manpower, natural, financial and technical resources to raise labor productivity and meet the requirements of both independent economic development and the needs and aspirations of the working people, conformable with human dignity.

5. Pursue a policy in foreign trade that is aimed at extending and diversifying our exports, opening new markets, winning greater technological and financial independence and warding off scandalous devaluations of our currency.

6. Take all measures to stabilize the currency. Inflation can be combated mainly through the structural changes listed above.

These objectives can be attained only if the organized people exercise control over political and economic power, over the state sector of the economy and general economic planning. It is people's power that will guarantee fulfilment of the tasks set.

TASKS IN THE SOCIAL SPHERE

The Chilean people's aspirations in the social sphere are legitimate and attainable. Their realization will be the primary concern of the people's government, whose points of departure in this respect will be: unifying, improving and extending the social security system, providing medical and dental care, preventive aid and treatment for all Chileans, allocating funds for extensive house-building,

granting all civil rights to married women and establishing general rights for all working people.

A NEW CULTURE FOR SOCIETY

The social process to be initiated with the triumph of the people will gradually shape a new culture.

Even now, most intellectuals and artists are fighting against typically capitalist deformation of culture, trying to bring the fruits of their creative effort to the working people and to link their destiny with that of the working people. In the new society they will hold a vanguard position enabling them to continue their work. For a new culture cannot be brought into being by decree. It will emerge in the course of struggle for brotherhood, against individualism, for an appreciative and not a contemptuous attitude to human labor, for national values, against cultural colonization, for popular access to the arts, letters and mass media, against their commercialization.

The new government will strive to provide the people with the amplest and most favorable opportunities to receive an education.

To put education and the united national and democratic school on a planned basis, the new state will assume responsibility for private establishments, beginning with those that select students on the class principle. It will strongly support a reform of the university and resolutely promote the development of the latter. As class privileges are removed from the entire educational system working people's children will be able to enter the university.

THE MASS MEDIA

These media—radio, publishing, television, press, cinema—are the principal factors in shaping a new culture and new man. It will be necessary, therefore, to orientate them on educational tasks, rid them of their commercial character and take steps for public organizations to use them while ending the fatal presence of monopoly.

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

The foreign policy objectives of the people's government will be:

- to make Chile completely independent politically and economically;

- to maintain relations with all countries of the world irrespective of their ideological and political position, on the basis of respect for the Chilean people's right to self-determination and for their interests;

- to establish bonds of friendship and solidarity with independent

or colonial peoples, especially with those fighting for liberation and independence;

—to foster strong Latin American and anti-imperialist sentiments through an international policy to be implemented by peoples rather than by chancelleries.

The new government will advocate resolute protection of the right of nations to self-determination as a fundamental condition for international coexistence. Its policy will therefore be active and vigilant and will uphold the principle of non-interference and resist all imperialist attempts at discrimination, pressure, invasion or blockade. It will promote friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries.

GREATER NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The policy of active defense of Chile's independence implies condemnation of the OAS as a tool and agent of U.S. imperialism. It implies resistance to every form of latent Pan-Americanism in this organization. The people's government will strive for an organization really representative of all Latin American countries.

It will be indispensable to revise or denounce, as the case may be, compromising treaties or agreements limiting our sovereignty, specifically treaties of mutual assistance and other agreements between Chile and the United States.

The government will reject and denounce foreign aid and loans with political strings binding us to use the funds concerned on terms injuring our sovereignty and running counter to the interests of the people. It will also reject all foreign pressure over Latin American raw materials, such as copper, and resist the curbs on free trade that for a long time have made it impossible to establish collective trade relations with all countries of the world.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The people's government will effectively and actively identify itself with the peoples fighting for liberation and socialism.

Colonialism or neo-colonialism in any form will be condemned and the right of the peoples affected by these systems to rise in revolt will be recognized. This also applies to every form of economic, political or military aggression by imperialist powers.

The foreign policy of Chile will maintain a position condemning the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and recognizing and actively identifying itself with the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people.

It will also effectively identify itself with the Cuban Revolution, advance post of the revolution and of socialist construction on the Latin American continent.

The peoples of the Middle East fighting against imperialism will have the solidarity of the people's government, which will help to seek a peaceful settlement in keeping with the interests of the Arab and Jewish peoples.

All reactionary regimes encouraging or practising racial segregation and anti-Semitism will be condemned.

LATIN AMERICAN POLICY

The people's government will carry on a foreign policy of building up the world prestige of our continent.

Latin American integration will have to be based on the principle of economic independence from all imperialist exploitation. On the other hand, an active policy of bilateral agreements beneficial to the progress of Chile will be pursued.

The people's government will strive for the solution of outstanding border problems through negotiations precluding imperialist and reactionary intrigues and taking account of the interests of Chile and its neighbors.

All bureaucratic practices and stagnation will be ended in foreign policy and the diplomatic service. Chile will seek relations with other countries with the twofold object of drawing lessons from their struggles for building socialism in our country and of sharing its experience with them so as actually to bring about the international solidarity we champion.

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

ARGENTINA

May 28. The CP of Argentina published a statement about the threat of U.S. imperialist intervention against Cuba.

There is a fierce anti-Cuban press and television campaign going on, coupled with Latin American tours by Cuban counter-revolutionaries seeking support for their armed fight against the Cuban government.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries back Cuba. The Argentine people should step up their active solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and help stop the aggressors. Every Communist should consider it his duty to strengthen solidarity with Cuba.

FRANCE

May 28. A communique of the FCP Political Bureau assessed the the meeting of the Communist parties of capitalist Europe in support of the peoples of Indochina against U.S. imperialism as a most positive development. The documents and resolutions adopted by the meeting were an important contribution to the effort of European peoples identifying themselves with the peoples of Indochina.

The Political Bureau exchanged views on the reaction to the recent CC meeting at Drancy. The unanimous approval of CC decisions in the branches, sections and federations was evidence of Party unity. It was this unity that had helped in large measure to defeat the vast anti-Communist campaign directed against the Party and designed to check the progress of working-class and democratic unity.

The Political Bureau also concerned itself with topical aspects of the social situation.

The concluding part of the document stressed the need to publicize the decisions of the 19th Congress and the Champigny manifesto "For an Advanced Democracy, for a Socialist France."

BELGIUM

Drapeau Rouge carried a document of the CP addressed to the Belgian Foreign Ministry. The document said Belgium should unhesitatingly support the socialist countries' idea of an all-Europe

security conference by proposing that it be held at an early date without any preliminary conditions, such as settling the West Berlin problem or legalizing relations between the GDR and FRG.

The CP insisted on recognizing the GDR. This would make it possible to solve one of the key problems of European security.

FRG

At a meeting of the GCP Executive held on May 30-31, K. Bachmann, Chairman of the Party, presented the report "The Struggle for Democratic Progress: Problems of United Action by Communists and Social Democrats."

He pointed to the need to step up the fight for the recognition of the GDR under international law, against the neo-Nazi menace. The threat of a "swing to the right" persists in West Germany. Nor does it emanate from neo-Nazi groups alone. Activists of various revanchist organizations make common cause with the neo-Nazis.

The meeting adopted the "GCP Program for the Policy on Youth," "GCP Proposals for a Democratic System of Education" and "GCP Proposals for a Reform of Higher Education." The Party Executive passed a resolution emphatically protesting against the U.S. aggression in Indochina. Other resolutions protested against the anti-democratic terror of the Greek military junta and condemned the intensification of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

The GCP Executive addressed to the SDP Executive an appeal for resolute struggle against the nationalist Right-wing forces in West Germany.

GREECE

Early June. The CC CPG Bureau in charge of work in Greece issued a statement about the recent arrest of Nikos Kaludis, member of the PB CC CPG, and Yannis Yannaris and Zinon Zorzovilis, members of the CC CPG—all of them members of the CC of the Patriotic Anti-Dictatorial Front of Greece. Other democrats were also arrested.

These arrests prejudice the Greek people's fight against the junta, the statement said. But the junta was wrong if it imagined these arrests would leave the CP and PAFG leaderless.

The Bureau called on all Party activists to redouble their effort in fighting against the dictatorship and urged all friends of the Greek people abroad to extend the campaign for the release of Greek political prisoners.

DRV

June 2. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam published a decision on measures to strengthen the collective management system in the countryside.

The decision put on record the progress made by agriculture under the Party's leadership in the sphere of relations of production, the cooperative movement and socialist democracy. It also noted mistakes and shortcomings in collective management by the rural areas.

Speaking of the objectives and exigencies of the movement to further democracy and strengthen the system of collective management in the countryside, the decision said that these tasks should be accomplished by promoting the cooperative system in agriculture, guaranteeing the cooperative members' right to collective management, and participation in distribution, holding elections, achieving greater cohesion in Party organizations, cooperatives and among the people generally, building up the revolutionary strength of the masses, pressing forward the revolution in production relations, carrying on the technological revolution and stimulating agricultural production.

ISRAEL

Early June. On the occasion of the third anniversary of Israel's treacherous attack on its Arab neighbors the CC CPI called on all peace-loving forces to join efforts in order to end hostilities and bloodshed in the Middle East.

The policy of aggression followed by the Israeli government and its American sponsors has fallen through. To establish peace, Israel must withdraw its troops from the occupied Arab areas, recognize the rights of the Palestine people and carry out the UN resolutions, first of all the resolution of November 22, 1967.

SYRIA

Early June. The Syrian CP circulated a statement analyzing the Mideast situation in the three years since the Israeli aggression against Arab countries.

Tel Aviv, which is closely cooperating with imperialism and whose expansionist plans have miscarried, does not for one day stop its armed provocations against its Arab neighbors. The Arab people counter imperialist-Zionist plans by showing unity, courage and staunchness.

Victory over the Israeli aggressors and the liberation of Arab

territories require still greater effort to mobilize the embattled Arab people, achieve close cooperation among progressive and patriotic Arab forces and promote cooperation with the socialist community and its main force, the Soviet Union.

FRANCE

Paris, *June 6*. Georges Marchais handed a member of the DRV delegation to the Paris talks a cheque for 1m. francs collected in France during the campaign of solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam. The collection was carried out in response to a CP appeal.

U S A

June 6. The U.S. government plans to lower the workers' standard of living through a wage freeze so as to make the working people of America pay for the war escalation in Indochina, said Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, in a statement to the press.

Since the present administration has taken over, real wages in industry have dropped by 4.8 per cent, unemployment has been increasing and has assumed disastrous dimensions in the ghettos. Inflation has entered a menacing phase.

Gus Hall called on America's workers to protest against the wage freeze and to insist on an immediate end to the war in Southeast Asia.

COSTA RICA

Early June. The People's Vanguard party of Costa Rica discussed problems of Party building at its First National Conference.

Conference summed up the considerable organizing and political education work carried out among the masses in the Lenin centenary year. As a result of this work, some 600 new members and 300 candidate members were admitted into the Party in two and a half months.

CANADA

Toronto, *June 6-8*. The CC CPC met in plenary session. It heard a report by General Secretary William Kashtan, who pointed out that the Canadian monopolies clung to the policy of military alliance with the United States in spite of contradictions between Canadian and U.S. capital.

The government is trying to resolve mounting economic diffi-

culties at the working people's expense. On the pretext of combating inflation it is pursuing a policy which tends to reduce economic growth and increase unemployment.

In this situation the CP insists that Canada carry on a policy of peace and national independence, and advocates independent economic development and trade with the socialist and newly independent countries.

The meeting unanimously approved the report and a number of documents.

VENEZUELA

Early June. Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the CPV, spoke to the 15th Plenum of the CC on the situation in the Party.

Plenum also discussed political materials approved by the Political Bureau which were presented by Pompeyo Marquez, National Secretary.

Plenum adopted a political statement noting that the steady growth of foreign, mostly U.S. investments in the Venezuelan economy was putting entire economic branches under monopoly control, which also extended to the country's foreign trade.

The CC CPV stressed the importance of the powerful demonstrations that had taken place all over the country in protest against the criminal U.S. aggression in Cambodia and other areas of Indochina.

The CP called on all progressive forces to intensify their struggle for the nation's democratic and economic objectives.

G D R

June 9-10. The CC SUPG held a plenary meeting. The Political Bureau report was presented by A. Norden, member of the PB and secretary of the CC. He said the foreign policy activity of the Party and government leadership in the period under review had concentrated on steps to extend and strengthen cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Two states having diametrically opposed social systems—the socialist GDR and monopoly-capitalist FRG—confront each other in the heart of Europe. These opposed systems and the states representing them could form no “inner-German” conglomerate, let alone union. It is possible and necessary, however, to establish relations based on peaceful coexistence.

The GDR has strengthened its international standing. It now has diplomatic relations with 25 countries, and relations at the government level with another 16 countries.

G. Mittag, member of the PB and secretary of the CC reported on fulfilment of the economic plans for 1970.

Radical changes have occurred in the economic structures since the Seventh Party Congress (April 1967), with the living standard showing a steady improvement. The GDR takes an active part in the socialist division of labor by strengthening fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The CC SUPG unanimously approved both reports.

In conclusion the meeting was addressed by W. Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC.

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