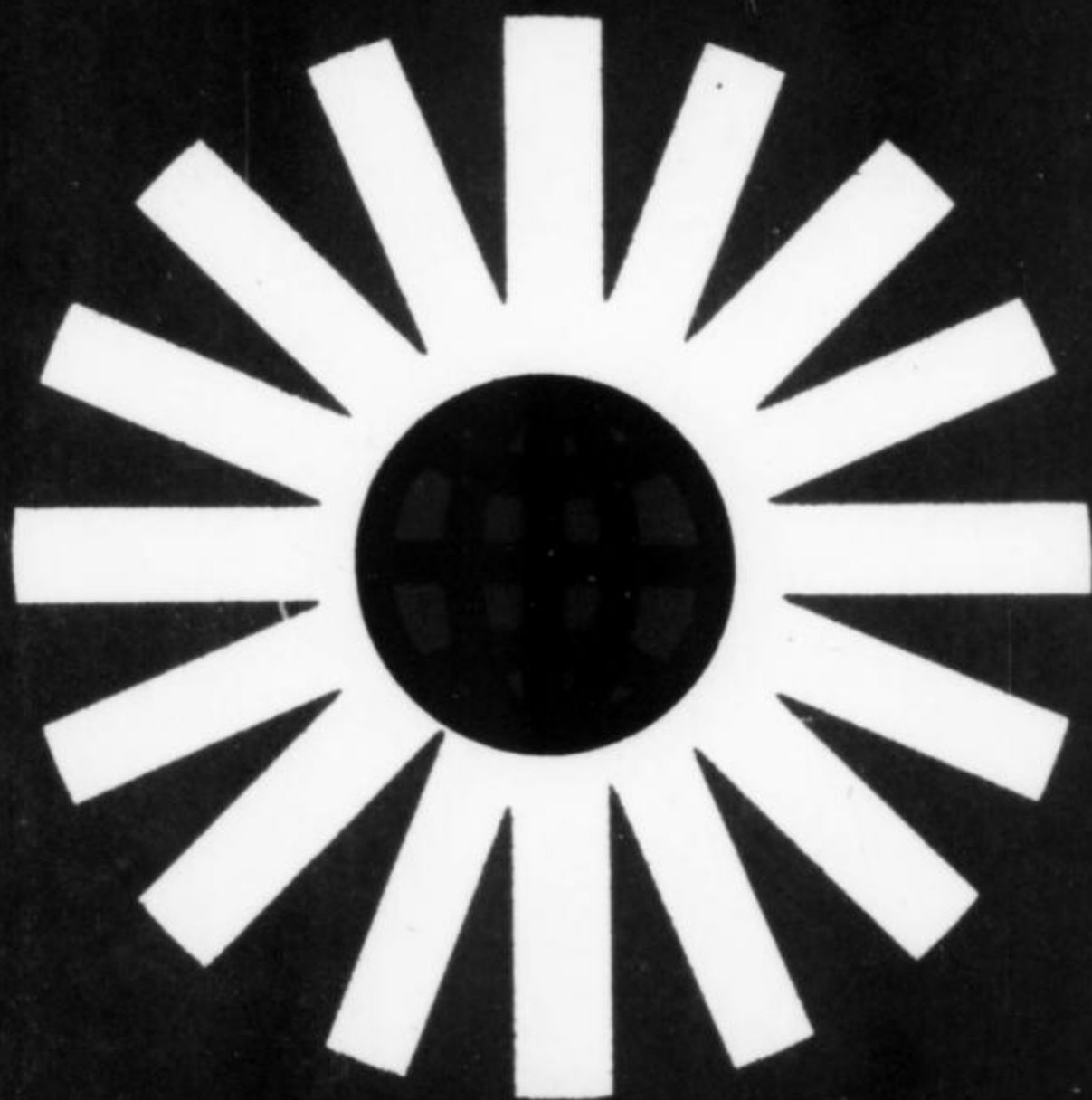


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COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY: 20TH CONGRESS

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Uruguay was held in Montevideo, December 11-15, 1970.

The delegates voiced unanimous approval of the Central Committee report delivered by the First Secretary of the CC CPU, Rodney Arismendi.

The Congress elected a secretariat and a new Central Committee, CC Executive Committee and Auditing Commission. R. Arismendi was re-elected First Secretary of the CC CPU.

The delegates unanimously approved a message of greetings to the heroic people of Vietnam, the people of Cuba, Chile and other Latin American countries.

The Congress expressed solidarity with the people of Spain and denounced the police reprisals and torture of political prisoners in Latin American countries that are still ruled by reactionary regimes. The delegates called for action against death sentences imposed on the Basque patriots.

They identified themselves with the national liberation movements in the Middle East, Asia and Africa.

The Congress sent greetings to the Left Liberation Front, The National Working Peoples' Convention, The Communist Youth League and the people of Uruguay.

A general resolution passed by the Congress says the CPU would continue to work actively to strengthen the National Unity Front.

The Communist Party hailed all political parties and groups that have already expressed their readiness to join the alliance of the country's progressive political forces.

In his concluding speech Rodney Arismendi emphasized that the 20th CPU Congress was truly a national event.

He expressed his gratitude to the CPSU and other fraternal Communist Party delegations that attended the Congress and brought messages of greetings from their respective parties.

The General Resolution of the Congress, "For Unity of the Vanguard Patriotic and Democratic Forces," consists of four sections. The first appraises the international situation and the struggle to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement. The second analyzes the future development of the revolutionary process in Latin America.

The following are excerpts from the third and the concluding

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sections of the resolution published in the December 18, 1970, issue of the newspaper *El Popular*.

3. CREATE A REAL ALTERNATIVE OF POWER IN URUGUAY

For Broad Political Unity of the Vanguard Patriotic and Democratic Forces

A new situation has arisen in Uruguay. A new stage in development is opening up, with several factors operating against the background of a serious socio-economic crisis. These factors include a strengthening of the wide popular movement in which the working class is playing the leading role. This movement is the result of building up forces over the past 15 years and the indignant and protesting sections of the population in the country are constantly swelling the ranks of the movement. These factors also include the painful and instructive experience of the period between 1968 and 1970, the grave crisis of the traditional parties which are increasingly divided and in the throes of anarchy and disorganization, which leads to a reduction of their membership; failure of the government's economic policy and faith in the correctness of the tactics of the popular movement tested in action; the repercussions caused by the events in Peru, Bolivia and especially in Chile, which greatly influenced the people of Uruguay in their quest for a similar path.

That was how conditions matured for the establishment of a wide front of all vanguard progressive patriotic and democratic political forces, a front representative of all strata that oppose the government, of all who had come to understand the necessity of rejecting the political guidance of the traditional parties, immediately or in the future or who had already left their ranks, and also thousands of non-party citizens who were striving for unity. This front will represent a third force in the country, a real alternative of power. It will be able to change the political balance of forces in the country. The front is not just an agreement among leaders of individual trends but is an expression of the political unity demanded by the masses who already are united by their social status and the struggle. This front is strong because it expresses unity of the people.

The organizers of the united front believe it should be built up on a clear and concise program which would be fulfilled in the daily struggle and the activities of the future government, on the basis of an agreement that stipulates norms of practical political activities and guarantees effective participation in carrying out the program by all forces in the front. We believe that the front will arise out of the experience of the masses. Its concrete forma-

tion depends upon agreement among its constituent forces. Considering the nature of the front, the present situation and opportunities for considering other proposals, we believe the following tasks could be advanced:

a) repeal of the "emergency security measures," restoration of democratic freedoms and re-instatement of workers who have been discharged;

b) an independent foreign policy, protection of the national economy from imperialism, rupture with the International Monetary Fund, a moratorium on the foreign debt, expulsion of U.S. agents and abolition of anti-national terms for loans and agreements with imperialism and the establishment of diplomatic and trade ties with all countries;

c) nationalization of private banks, foreign trade and the meat-packing industry, protection of the national industry and sources of raw materials, low-interest credits for production operations, extension and coordination of the transport system in line with national interests;

d) an agrarian reform, transfer of the land to the toiling peasantry, allowing the producer to purchase goods on instalment at advantageous prices, abolishing the middleman in trade, lowering taxes, providing credits on favorable terms, supplying the farmer with more machinery and developing the cooperative movement;

e) protection for and development of state industrial and service enterprises, freeing them of dependence on foreign and private capital, worker participation in management of enterprises and introducing measures to improve the administrative system;

f) safeguarding the system of education and developing the autonomous study centers, paying them state debts and increasing their budget allocations, a democratic reform in education, material and moral stimulation to develop science and the arts;

g) higher wages for workers in cities and rural areas, in the state and private sectors and an end to wage freeze;

h) observance of pension legislation, immediate payment of arrears, worker participation in managing social security organizations;

i) effective planning of housing construction, social security and the health services which should function in the interests of the least provided for part of the population;

j) formation of a progressive, democratic government which would include various parties championing the people's interests.

Politically, the Popular Unity Front would release the great energy accumulated by the people in recent years and would be a natural outlet for the energy of the youth of Uruguay in their search for new roads of development for their country. The Front would also fulfil the hopes of those who fell in the struggle for

their people and country. All over the country at factories, in residential neighborhoods, educational establishments, in the provinces and in the cities, the people are discussing the formation of the Front.

Strengthening the Left Liberation Front

Within the framework of the Front of Patriotic and Democratic forces the Left Liberation Front (FIDEL) is the vanguard of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces, uniting the greater part of the country's Left trends. That is why it is a reliable basis for the new Front and should greatly influence the fulfilment of its aims.

During the more than eight years of its existence, the 1966 elections and the recent period of harsh ordeals FIDEL has grown considerably, incorporating new forces. Its political features are more clearly defined and its prestige has grown among the people and political trends. FIDEL has demonstrated the feasibility and fruitfulness of the idea of political unity of all Left forces. It has shown that anti-communist prejudices and barriers can be removed and that those who enter into a political alliance with the Communists gain in strength and prestige.

The Left Liberation Front has ample opportunities for growth by enlarging the political groups it incorporates and their Central Committees and by gaining additional groups. As a mass popular movement, however, it must retain this feature and continue building up and reinforcing its local organizations. Obviously FIDEL will be joined by all men and women and young people who hold Left views, whatever their social origin and their philosophical and religious convictions. It is in FIDEL that they will be able to fight for the realization of their best democratic and progressive traditions, the ideals of humanity and justice which they cherish in an atmosphere of tolerance and respect for all sound and progressive opinions and convictions. The doors of FIDEL are wide open for all who are ready to work for the good and happiness of the people.

The Communist Party believes that one of its basic political tasks is to continue cooperating with FIDEL and facilitate its development.

For the People's Triumph in November 1971

Seen against the background of the people's struggle to win their demands, restore democratic freedoms and protect the country's sovereignty, the November 1971 elections occupy a prominent place in the immediate activities of the country's political forces,

especially the Unity Front and FIDEL. The elections are a concrete form of struggle to find a political way out of the present impasse.

The people are fighting for their immediate economic demands, for repeal of the "emergency security measures," restoration of democratic freedoms, in particular the freedom of assembly, association and the press, lifting of the ban on the press and political parties, elimination of restrictions imposed on the trade unions, reinstatement of discharged workers, compensation to persons illegally persecuted. And it is this struggle that will provide conditions at the November elections allowing the people to express their will freely, as demanded by the Republic's progressive political forces.

In view of all that has happened in the country, the November elections become extremely important. Now, as never before, they should be turned into a big political battle by the masses, centering on a confrontation of the two programs, the program of the people and the program of reaction—and defeat the government and its supporters, thus opening for the people the road to power and to progressive reforms.

For New Successes in the Uruguayan Revolution

Past experience and the promising future that is opening up for the Republic show that the policy of the Party in its persistent struggle, especially during the past 15 years, has been correct.

We communists shall continue exerting maximum effort irrespective of conditions to develop powerful mass organizations that the people can be proud of, such as the National Working People's Convention and the trade unions, organizations of students, pensioners, intellectuals and other groups, FIDEL and our Communist Party. The joint struggle of these organizations of the people enabled them to hold their own against the government in the past and to open new vistas for the present. This system of organizations is a guarantee of future gains by the working class and the people, whatever the vicissitudes of history.

We shall not depart from the chosen road and shall spare no efforts to strengthen the National Working People's Convention, enhance its influence among the workers and people and build up its membership. We shall continue to carry deeper the working-class struggle for its economic demands and program, to work for closer unity between the working people and the students and middle sections of the population and to enhance the influence of FIDEL and the Communist Party. Together with other political and social forces we act vigorously to bring into being a broad progressive, patriotic and democratic front capable of altering the balance of political forces in the country and opening for the

people of Uruguay the prospect of winning power and achieving big successes at the coming elections.

This would open up new horizons for the people and provide a fresh and powerful impetus for the development of their struggle. If this does not materialize, the national problems will become greatly aggravated and a new chapter will unfold in the bitter struggle between the people and the ruling classes who will tend more and more to solve the political crisis through violence. In that case, as in 1964, the people will retaliate to an attempted reactionary coup by a revolutionary strike which will certainly frustrate it.

The Uruguayan revolution will progress under any circumstances until complete victory is won and that victory will be ensured by such factors as its support by the people, existence of FIDEL and the Communist Party, strong unity of democratic forces and the deep ties between the people and the Communists who are always in the front ranks of the struggle.

4. FOR A GREAT AND STRONG COMMUNIST PARTY THE PARTY COMBINES PATRIOTISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

The year the 20th Congress was held was significant for two outstanding events: V. I. Lenin's 100th anniversary and the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Uruguay. This was not a chance coincidence. Our Party arose as a result of the merging of two powerful trends: the national trend, starting with the formation of the proletariat as a class, its experience in trade union organization and struggle in the course of a hundred years and the formation in 1908 of its first political organization — the former Socialist Party; and the international trend, combining worldwide working-class experience with the theory of Marx and Engels and undergoing qualitative changes after the victory of the October revolution, as it mastered the teachings of Lenin and his theoretical heritage and practical experience and in connection with the formation of the Communist International. This is the meaning of the definition of our Party as "the fusion of the labor movement with socialism."

It is to the credit of the CPU that in all the years of its existence it has remained basically true to these two trends, the two main prerequisites leading to its origin and organizational development. The Party has always acted in the interests of the Uruguayan working class, in which it has strong roots. It has been doing all in its power to play its vanguard role in the struggles of the proletariat, to organize and unite it, to guide it and foster its political and ideological awareness. At the same time it has sought to interpret in the light of Marxism-Leninism the best traditions of our history as represented by Artigas and other

outstanding men of the past whose heritage the Party carries forward, and to apply them with due regard to present-day realities. On the other hand, the Party has always supported the ideas of proletarian internationalism, educating the working class and people in the spirit of militant solidarity with other peoples fighting for national liberation and socialism, and first and foremost, with the people of the Soviet Union. Thus the Party most closely combines the features of patriotism and internationalism.

The Party has Grown in Battle

The significance of the proletariat in the Uruguyan revolution and the role played by the working class as the main and guiding power of all the revolution's motive forces dictate the necessity of creating the Communist Party. The Party is the political vanguard of the proletariat, which draws on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and world revolutionary experience to educate and prepare the working class for its leading role and to give correct guidance to the working class and the people as a whole throughout the complex revolutionary process. The Party is first and foremost the embodiment of a subjective factor without which a revolution is impossible. For this reason it must represent a real political force capable of guiding the people in the class struggle. This was accurately summed up by the 16th Congress in a single sentence: "The necessity of creating a strong Communist Party is the crucial task of the Uruguyan revolution."

From the day it was founded and especially during the past 15 years since the 16th Congress, which marked a turning point in its development, the Party has sought to achieve this by systematically developing the organization. The CPU today is an influential force, due to its correct theoretical and tactical orientation, its numerical strength, the quality and quantity of its cadres, its broad and firm organization and ties with the working class and people, the propaganda and agitation means at its command, capable and experienced leadership that the Party was able to train. The Party has grown rapidly in the period following the 16th Congress, achieving a high degree of ideological unity. This enabled the Party to act as a united body in the most complex national and international situations requiring abrupt changes in tactics.

All this was possible due to the Party's staunchness and readiness to make sacrifices, its correct theoretical and tactical conceptions and ability to establish close bonds with the people.

Past congresses, especially the 19th, raised such cardinal problems as winning over the majority of the working class politically and ideologically, preparing for capable leadership of the wide masses and building up the Party as a mass party, a party of

experienced cadres. Most of this has already been accomplished. This does not mean, however, that it is no longer necessary to go on persistently raising the Party to a higher level in this respect.

Today we are a real political force, the most formidable of all the Left forces. We enjoy unquestionable authority among the working class and respect among other segments of the population. This allows us to guide the masses and exercise influence on the internal situation. In the period since the 19th Congress the Party has tripled its ranks. Over 20,000 people joined the CPU and the Communist Youth League of Uruguay during the worst years of reprisals—1968 and 1969. More new members joined the CPU and the CYLU in September 1970, than there were members in them at the time of the 16th Congress. In Montevideo the number of local Party organizations tripled in the same period and in recent months it has more than doubled.

These appreciable successes are not heaven sent. They are the fruit of Party efforts to head and guide the people's struggle and systematically to build up the Party. The Party has grown because it heads the struggle against government policy and the oligarchy; because together with and leading the masses it is in the front ranks of the struggle; because it has paid for this with the lives of its comrades, with loss of freedom and jobs for Communists; because the Party line and tactics are correct; because at difficult times it raises the people's spirit and illumines their path; because it combines the struggle for pressing demands with demands for radical reforms; because it has waged an unceasing struggle for the widest social and political unity of the people. This is why thousands of workers, women and progressive intellectuals are joining the Party and why the militant youth of Uruguay are joining the ranks of the Party and the CYLU in large numbers.

The Party is careful, however, not to allow this rapid growth to weaken its ranks and turn it into a mass organization of passive members. That is why it pays great attention to organizational problems, striving for harmony between the increase in its ranks and training and preparing Party activists and cadres. This year, most noticeably in Montevideo, the Party is successfully implementing concrete measures to establish new primary Party organizations and to provide them with cadres who will insure the stability of Party cells. Experimentally, it is setting up intermediary bodies of leadership (regional and local committees) and striving to strengthen the entire front of organizational work, fighting against routine and stagnation in this sphere of Party activity.

The Immediate Task—Maximum Development of Ties with the Masses

The coming period in the life of our country imposes new and

higher demands on the Party, bringing it to a new phase of ideological and organizational development. The Party should be prepared to cope with the present political situation, to facilitate the great process of unification, and to preserve and develop its own ability to effectively lead the struggle of the masses which, in the final analysis, will inevitably lead to a change in the balance of political forces in the Republic. The whole Party must concentrate on the great political struggle by building up social and political unity at plants, in neighborhoods, educational establishments and in the rural areas.

All this requires a great and intelligent effort by the Party. Now as never before, the task is to win the majority of the working class politically and ideologically, to lead the masses set in motion by the crisis in Uruguay, masses which comprise not only the most advanced but also the less experienced part of the proletariat and other broad social segments, some of whom are only beginning to participate in the struggle, and the difference in their organization and consciousness, is quite obvious.

The problem now is to involve in the struggle, to organize and unite previously passive segments of the population. In other words, the entire population of Uruguay must be aroused for action. The people's actions and protests which have taken on the most diverse forms must be coordinated in order to inflict a frontal blow against the regime to weaken and overthrow the rule of the imperialists and oligarchy.

This cannot be achieved by simply issuing orders, proclaiming high-sounding slogans, or pinning hopes on elaborate plans of struggle supposed to work wonders. What is necessary is close, unbreakable bonds with the masses, comprehension of their needs and hopes, understanding of their misfortunes and suffering, their anger and protests, their doubts and uncertainty, their accurate intuition and political and ideological limitations. We must do away with all narrow-minded, overbearing and sectarian attitudes. We must learn to advance mobilizing slogans in time in each social group and determine methods of struggle matching the maturity and sentiments in every concrete situation. We must also learn to find the most suitable and accessible form of organization. It is through this patient and persistent work, which does not always yield immediate results, which may occasionally be disheartening, which generally lacks the brilliancy of spectacular actions and seems "dull" to some—it is through this work by the Party and all its members, to the most unassuming of them, that we shall in the long run build up the ability to operate as a real vanguard and effectively lead the masses at crucial junctures of the revolutionary process.

For this, the Party, already a mass organization, must be capable

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of utilizing to the maximum all available reserves in order to make each member a Party activist. The Party must continue systematically building its ranks, enlisting members especially from among the proletariat, the women, youth and the worthiest intellectuals. Organizational work, therefore, is particularly important: we must form new local Party branches, adapt effective methods of educating new Party members, and follow a correct cadres policy ensuring preparation of a larger reserve of cadres and generalize experience meaningfully in creating intermediary Party organs. The Party must develop its ties with the masses, improve and extend its information, propaganda and agitation media, and greatly increase the volume of its financial activities.

COMMUNIQUE* ON THE 19TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY OF VIETNAM

The 19th Plenum was convened by the Working People's Party of Vietnam to discuss the tasks in the struggle against American aggression, for national salvation and stepping up economic activity, strengthening socialism in the North, and to adopt the necessary decisions. The Plenum heard a report on the struggle against American aggression, for national salvation, agricultural development and economic tasks for the immediate future.

The Plenum emphasized that the struggle against the American aggression, for national salvation and the building of socialism in the North has made significant headway.

Over the past ten years the American imperialists have been waging an especially brutal aggressive war against our country, which they have recently escalated to all of Indochina. They have employed one strategy after another: "a special war," "a local war," "a war of destruction," and "Vietnamization." They have mobilized all their weaponry and all branches of the armed forces of the United States and its satellites and puppets and used almost all types of modern weapons and methods of warfare.

However, the aggressor has come up against the fearless resistance of the Vietnamese nation. The invincible people's war waged by our countrymen and fighters in the South under the leadership of the National Liberation Front has successively frustrated American military plans one after another. Our countrymen and fighters in the North are fighting courageously, successfully opposing the American air and naval war of destruction.

In spite of heavy losses and mounting difficulties on the field of battle and in the United States, the American warmongers with Nixon in the lead have not yet renounced their aggressive plans against our country. At present they are carrying out "Vietnamization" plans in an attempt to prolong the war and prevent progress at the Paris conference. They are intensifying their "special war" in Laos and their aggressive war in Cambodia. Lately they have launched especially serious acts of aggression against the Northern part of our country.

These plans and operations of the American imperialists lead

*Published by the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam on February 1, 1971. Here reproduced according to the Vietnam Information Agency release.

only to fresh failures. The longer they continue the war, the more casualties they will suffer.

The CC Plenum expresses its warm gratitude to the people and fighters throughout the country and to all Party members for the manner in which they are coping with the privations and hardships in order to win more glorious victories for our sacred resistance.

The Plenum noted that the immediate task facing the Party, people and army in the struggle against American aggression, for national salvation, is to fulfil the sacred behest of President Ho Chi Minh to persistently continue and increase the resistance; to preserve the determination to fight for victory; to advance along the road of complete victory, liberate the South, defend the North and achieve the country's peaceful re-unification.

In the interests of the nation and in the name of international duty our people will do their utmost to fight shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia and chase the American aggressors out of the Indochinese Peninsula. Our people will continue to make their contribution to the consolidation of the solidarity of the socialist community and the international Communist movement.

In the sphere of socialist building the Party's Central Committee underscored that during the past 10 years the people in the North have achieved great successes and that in all spheres we have become much stronger than before.

Having fulfilled the historical task of the national people's democratic revolution on the basis of proletarian dictatorship, our Party led the people to a successful socialist reconstruction of the national economy. This is a struggle to decide which road will be victorious in order to achieve the victory of socialism. This is a struggle to decide which road will be victorious in order to achieve the victory of socialism. This is a struggle to overcome and do away with the causes leading to the spontaneous development of capitalism, to liquidate the heritage of the old regime of exploitation and to put an end to poverty and backwardness. And this struggle is developing successfully and unceasingly.

Three revolutions are unfolding in the North, a revolution in the relations of production, a technological revolution and an ideological and cultural revolution. The key revolution is the technical revolution because it is aimed at transforming small-scale production into large-scale socialist production. This requires a long struggle and this is the main content of the struggle between the two roads of development in the North of our country.

The ordeals of the war prove beyond a doubt the advantages of the socialist system. North Vietnam is confidently carrying on its

economic activities. The socialist base is being consolidated and strengthened and many new positive factors are appearing. The regional economy is developing and the people's life continues to be stable as before. Such as the important conditions for frustrating the American "war of destruction" and fulfilling the great tasks of the home front for the battle front.

The CC Plenum expresses its sincere gratitude to the workers, peasants and socialist intellectuals who are increasingly displaying their patriotism and enhancing their socialist ideology, working persistently and fighting energetically for the victory of socialism.

Wise leadership by the Party is the factor determining all the victories scored by our people. The decision of the Third National Party Congress (1960—Ed.) and the various decisions of the Party CC plenums outline the way for the socialist changes in the building of socialism, in developing agriculture, industry and other branches of the national economy. To carry out in full the Party's general line in the conditions of the war of resistance and the initial period of the transition to socialism, we must give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of progress in agriculture and the light industry and build up a centralized economy simultaneously with the development of the regional economy.

Giving orientation in the field of the economy and for the immediate future, the Central Committee has decided to launch a wide-scale movement for higher labor productivity and strict economy, combining production and building with military operations and economic development with national defense, performing the labor and military tasks on a high level in order to strengthen and defend our country, reinforce the home front, continue the development of the national economy and raise the building of socialism to a new and higher level. We should concentrate on achieving the following important goals:

- steadily advance large-scale socialist production and improve its structure, raise the effectiveness of production, rapidly boost output and increase the national income, improve performance in supplying the population with foodstuffs, adequately solve the problems of education and health service, while multiplying the sources of accumulation, producing more for export, and achieve a balanced and growing economy;

- satisfy fully and in time all the requirements of the battle front and carry out the duties of the great rear and the great front;

- provide conditions for an acceleration of the socialist division of labor, mobilize all labor resources and raise the productivity of socialist labor;

—expand the organized socialist market and fulfil import plans and purchases at fixed prices, control the supply sources and stabilize the market;

—make preparations for development of the national economy in the immediate future.

As for strengthening production relations and developing agriculture, the Central Committee Plenum pointed out that it is necessary to accomplish the three revolutions, stimulate the enthusiasm of the cooperative peasantry, broaden the movement for greater labor productivity and improve management of farm cooperatives, guarantee the rights of peasants as collective owners of their cooperatives, strengthen state farms, accelerate the creation of the material and technical basis of agriculture, and speed up in the immediate future the construction of irrigation installations, the manufacture of artificial fertilizers, improve the quality grain varieties and agricultural machinery, provide new opportunities for the development of all agriculture, for intensive farming, specialization in farming and large-scale production.

The immediate tasks in agriculture are to meet the requirements of the war of resistance and the people's needs, supply industry with raw materials and provide products for export in order to create conditions for the future development of large-scale socialist production. The following target must be reached: every peasant must till one hectare of land, producing five tons of rice and fattening two pigs a year. It is necessary to pay appropriate attention to capable management and rational utilization of the cultivated land, expand new economic sectors, rapidly turn livestock raising into one of the main agricultural branches and raise labor productivity at a fast pace.

Our country has much forestland and sea riches. Therefore one of the most important economic tasks is to obtain more forest and sea products.

The war of resistance for national salvation and the building of socialism—that is the revolutionary task of the wide masses of our people.

Mass campaigns of resistance to American aggression and for national salvation, for greater production, for economy and for a higher level of awareness among the people as a collective master, coupled with a campaign to enhance consciousness among Party members, must develop into a broad popular movement demonstrating the great revolutionary determination of our Party, our army and people.

This revolutionary upsurge must yield practical results, increasing our military might, raising labor productivity and economic effectiveness, assuring higher standards in labor and greater solidarity in the Party and people.

The Central Committee emphasizes that these directives and tasks are correct and realistic, and will bring victory in the struggle against the American aggressors and success in building socialism and improving the people's living conditions.

To fulfil these important political tasks, it is necessary to strengthen Party committee guidance at different levels and in all Party organizations, improve economic management, and raise the fighting spirit and efficiency of all experienced workers and Party members.

The complete victory of our people's sacred war of resistance and the advance of the North in building socialism require that the Party, our people and army redouble their efforts. All the might of the people of Vietnam must be mobilized and each must continue and intensify the struggle for new victories. All Party organizations must show respect for and energetically support the rights of the people as a collective master, enhance the role of the state economic and social management in order to successfully carry out the immediate political tasks. All Party members must improve their revolutionary qualities and study persistently in order to raise their political, military, economic and scientific standards, be industrious and modest, never losing touch with reality, sharing the people's happiness and grief and serving faithfully their country and people.

Let our entire Party, people and army unite around the Central Committee of the Party and exert maximum effort to fulfil President Ho Chi Minh's sacred behest in the name of the independence and freedom of our country and the welfare and happiness of the people.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 15TH PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, CP OF ISRAEL

The Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of Israel held the 15th Plenary Meeting in January 1971 under the chairmanship of Saliba Khamis, Member of the Political Bureau. It discussed the struggle for peace, against the anti-Soviet campaign, for the rights of working people. Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CPI, took part in the work of the meeting.

Below we publish three resolutions adopted by the meeting and published in Al-Ittihad on January 8, 1971.

ON THE JARRING TALKS ON PEACE BASED ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION

The Central Committee met with satisfaction the decision of the government and Knesset on Israel's return to peaceful negotiations under UN envoy Dr. Jarring, viewing the resumption of the talks as a gain for the peace-loving forces. The isolation of the U.S. and Israeli governments that was evident at the last UN session and that proved that the relation of forces in the world and in the region is to the disadvantage of the U.S. imperialists and the executors of their plans, compelled the U.S. rulers and then those of Israel to discontinue the policy of "freezing" the peace talks aimed at implementing the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967.

At the same time the Central Committee notes that the refusal of the Golda Meir government to implement the Security Council resolution, its intention to annex the occupied territories and the flaunting of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine confirm that the Israeli government is not interested in the successful outcome of the peace talks. It decided to continue its course of thwarting the discussion of essential problems and protracting the talks. The main aim of the government is to preserve the existing situation and thereby to perpetuate the occupation.

The Israeli ruling quarters harbor the illusion that they can achieve their expansionist aims and deprive the Arab people of Palestine of their rights by carrying out the criminal plans of U.S. imperialism in our area. The Central Committee warns the Israeli people against the danger presented by the adventurist and unrealistic policy of the government, which is in the service of U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of the Israeli and Arab peoples.

Egypt and other Arab states aspiring for peace are prepared to recognize Israel as a sovereign state with secure and generally

recognized borders, provided Israel withdraws its troops from the territories occupied in the course of the June 1967 war and agrees to a just settlement of the problem of the Palestine refugees in keeping with the UN resolutions. Influential forces in the Arab world are ready to establish a just peace on the basis of full implementation of the Security Council resolution.

The Soviet Union, along with other peaceful states, exerts great efforts to achieve a political settlement of the crisis in the area, to establish a durable peace on the basis of respect for the rights of peoples and states. Together with other great powers and the Security Council, the Soviet Union is prepared to participate in effective international guarantees, making it possible to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Israel and the Arab countries.

Thus there is a historical possibility of establishing a just peace in our region. Peace is the only guarantee of Israel's security.

The Central Committee calls on peace-loving forces of Israel, irrespective of their party affiliation and views, to unite and step up the fight to ensure the success of the peace talks under the aegis of Dr. Jarring, to prevent further clashes, implement the Security Council resolution and establish a just peace.

ON THE ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN

The Central Committee states that the anti-Soviet campaign conducted by the Israeli government and Zionist leaders and coordinated from the imperialist propaganda centers in Washington and other capitals, has assumed the most reckless and unprecedented form, inflicting great harm on Israel.

The Central Committee resolutely condemns the anti-Soviet campaign. This campaign runs counter to the interests of Israel and the Jews. It furthers the interests of international and U.S. imperialism and reaction, who, in view of the new relationship of forces in the world, have shifted the center of gravity in their struggle against the Soviet Union and communism to the sphere of ideology and politics.

The anti-Soviet campaign is intended to cover up the actions of the Israeli rulers, which undermine the possibility of establishing peace in our area, and to disguise their policy of repression in the occupied territories. The anti-Soviet campaign pursues the aim of making people forget that the rulers of Israel refuse to implement the resolution of the UN General Assembly which demands that thousands of Arab refugees, driven from the occupied territories after the June war, be given the opportunity to return to their land and to reunite their families.

The anti-Soviet campaign is designed to prepare the public for

moves torpedoing the Jarring talks, resuming the war and renewing tensions.

The hatred for the Soviet Union fanned by the Israeli rulers and Zionist leaders with the help of the White House, terrorist acts of the fascist type against Soviet institutions, officials and representatives of the arts, such actions as the burning of Soviet flags, demonstrations of Falangists, fascists, and anti-Semites who had fled from the socialist countries—all this clearly reveals the political character and the true aims of the organizers of the "crusade" against the Soviet Union and communism.

The propaganda of the Israeli rulers and Zionist leaders against the Soviet Union, their defense of the hijackers in Leninigrad and of secret actions against the Soviet Union do not have the expected effect on Israeli citizens. The overwhelming majority of the population do not take seriously the claims of Zionist propaganda that the persons who attempted to hijack a plane in the Soviet Union should not be brought to trial. The support given by the Israeli rulers and Zionist leaders to the organizers of the hijacking and other secret anti-Soviet actions has revealed the essence of the policy of the organizers of the anti-Soviet campaign.

Despite the hatred incited against the Soviet Union by all mass propaganda media, the majority of the population does not believe that the Jews were tried in Leningrad only because they were born Jews, since some of the accused were not Jews at all. Equally unsuccessful were the attempts to spread the lies that in the Soviet Union Jews are tried because they want to go to Israel. The Israelis have seen with their own eyes that the Soviet Union has not raised obstacles for Jews going to Israel. At the same time the Soviet Union does not conceal the fact that as long as the crisis situation persists in the Middle East, as long as Israel continues its occupation of the Arab territories, thereby creating the threat of a new war, it is compelled to reckon with these factors.

Imperialist and Zionist propaganda seized on the death sentence originally passed on the two persons charged with attempted hijacking in Leningrad to step up the anti-Soviet campaign. But subsequent developments have confirmed the view of our Party, which believed from the outset that the sentence would be commuted. Zionist propagandists again found themselves in a quandary. The campaign to exonerate the hijackers and justify secret acts against the Soviet Union did not evoke a wide response. The anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda, propaganda of the cold war conducted by the international imperialist centers, in whose service the Israeli rulers and Zionist leaders are, is also doomed to failure.

All realistically minded people know that there has never been anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, nor will there ever be. The Soviet Union is the symbol and shining example of equality and

brotherhood of nations. The Soviet Jews, with few exceptions, reject Zionist propaganda and regard the Soviet Union as their own country. The Jews of the Soviet Union live a happy life in the conditions of socialism, enjoying freedom and equality, building communism in common with the other peoples of the Soviet Union and contributing their share to the defense of universal peace and progress.

The Israeli people will never forget that the Soviet Union lost more than 20 million of its citizens in the war against German fascism and saved the Jews of Europe and other countries from destruction.

The Israeli people know from their own experience that the Soviet Union supported the national rights of the peoples of Palestine, the Israeli and other peoples, that it supported the establishment of the state of Israel and defended its sovereignty. The Soviet Union invariably champions a peaceful settlement of the conflict in our area in the interests of all peoples.

The organizers of the anti-Soviet campaign are the enemies of the true interests of Israel, the enemies of peace, servitors of the U.S. imperialists and Hitler's heirs in West Germany. The organizers of the anti-Soviet campaign keep silent whenever cases of out-and-out anti-Semitism are brought to light in the U.S. and FRG.

The Central Committee calls on all Israelis who are aware of their national responsibility and realize that it is in the best national interests of Israel to improve relations with the Soviet Union, to establish peace in our area, openly and boldly to oppose the dirty campaign of the Israeli extremists and international reaction against the Soviet Union, the country of the October Revolution. May peace triumph in our area! Long live friendship between the peoples of Israel and the Soviet Union!

ON THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

The Central Committee notes that the struggle of the working people in Israel intensified in the last year. The last ten months of 1970 saw an increase in the number of strikes. There were 127 strikes, and the number of strike-days reached the 400,000 mark. The increase in the number of strikes shows that the working people are intensifying their struggle against the policy of "general contract" proclaimed by the Histadrut leadership.

The policy of "general contract" conducted by the government and employers actually leads to a reduction in wages, higher profits and higher prices and taxes. The Histadrut leadership, complying with the will of the government, is now "fighting" for an increase in benefits, which would compensate for a mere two per cent of the rising cost of living. In point of fact, however, the government and

employers are violating even the policy of "general contract," which imposed high prices and taxes on the workers.

The Central Committee urges the trade unions and workers' committees to support the demand of the working people for a 20-25 per cent increase in wages, better social services, lower prices and taxes, and immediate payment of unemployment benefits (as of September 1, 1970).

In connection with the plans of the government and Gahal (an ultra-expansionist organization. — Ed.) to pass a law banning strikes, which would infringe the freedom of trade-union activity, we urge all working people to come out against these plans and demand from the Histadrut leadership that it support the struggle of the working people (employing all means, including strikes) for their just demands and rights that would prevent the decline in the standard of living and a reduction in wages.

As a result of the refusal of the government and the Ministry of Education to meet the just demands of the teachers' organizations, the latter resumed their strike. The responsibility for the resumption of the strike and for the damage caused to the education of the youth lies wholly with the government. Our Party supports the just demands of the teachers.

Despite its earlier promises, the government ignores the demands of the hospital nurses. Full responsibility for a possible resumption of their strike lies squarely with the government and its institutions. Our Party supports the just demands of the nurses and their struggle.

The Central Committee notes with satisfaction the growing scale of the trade-union struggle and calls on all working people, irrespective of differences in political views, party affiliation, nationality and religious convictions, to unite in the common front of the just struggle.

THE EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

The eighth plenary meeting of the CC PUWP was held in Warsaw on February 6-7, 1971. Forty speakers took part in the debates on the first item on the agenda—appraisal of the December events and urgent Party tasks. The debates were summed up by the First Secretary of the CC PUWP, Edward Gierek. Organizational problems were also discussed.

The following are Plenum decisions* and a summary of the speech made by E. Gierek, as released by the Polish Press Agency.

DECISION OF THE 8th PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC PUWP

The Central Committee:

—fully approves the appraisal of the December events, and the Party tasks set forth in the Politbureau statement and the speech by the First Secretary of the CC, Edward Gierek;

—recommends that the government more energetically continue its work in specifying the tasks of this year and the five-year plan in general, acting jointly with economics executives and specialists and consulting with broad circles of activists in all branches of the national economy;

—finds it advisable to expedite convening of the sixth Party congress, which would chart the prospects of the country's development and draft program guidelines for continued building of socialism in the conditions of socialist democracy and in keeping with the interests and aspirations of the working class and people.

The following decisions were adopted on the second item on the agenda.

The PUWP Central Committee evaluated the causes and development of the December events and the role of the former First Secretary CC PUWP, Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka, in their intensification and in the development of the events.

While giving due credit to Comrade W. Gomulka's past services to the Party and country, the Central Committee believes that the serious errors committed in Party leadership in recent years, which weakened the Party's ties with the people, brought about increasing deformations in the development of the national economy and finally an outright political crisis, and incorrect methods implemented during the crisis, make it impossible for Comrade W. Gomulka to continue his work in the Central Committee.

*Trybuna Ludu, February 8, 1971.

However, considering the fact that Comrade W. Gomulka was not able to attend the Seventh Plenum and the present Plenum on account of poor health, the Central Committee has decided to temporarily suspend Comrade W. Gomulka's membership in the Central Committee.

* * *

1. The Central Committee, considering that Comrade Zenon Kliszko,

—during his period in office as a Politbureau member and CC Secretary inflicted serious harm on the Party as a result of his mistakes in cadres policy, the ideological front and in the other spheres of activity;

—during the December events in the coastal areas lost his sense of reality and, acting in an irresponsible manner, contributed to the aggravation of the conflict with the working class in Gdansk and Gdynia,

has decided to dismiss Comrade Z. Kliszko from the Central Committee.

* * *

2. The Central Committee, considering that Comrade Boleslaw Jaszczuk during his period in office as member of the Politbureau and CC Secretary responsible for economic policy,

—in an impermissible and authoritarian manner interfered directly in the activities of the government and economic administration;

—had a part in imposing a number of erroneous economic decisions that led up to the events of December 1970,

has decided to dismiss Comrade B. Jaszczuk from the Central Committee.

* * *

The Central Committee has accepted Comrade Antonin Walaszek's resignation from the PUWP Central Committee.

* * *

The Plenum elected the following PUWP alternate members to the Central Committee:

Ryszard Jendrzej, crane operator from the "Pioneer" agricultural machinery plant in Strzlece Opolskie;

Stanislaw Kuzinski, head of the Light Industry, Trade and Construction Department of the Central Committee;

Josef Urbanowicz, General, Division commander, head of the Polish Armed Forces Chief Political Department, Vice-Minister of National Defense;

Franciszek Wisniewski, electrician and team leader at the northern shipyards in Gdansk.

* * *

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, read the following letter submitted by Stanislaw Kociolek:

"As one of the members of the Politbureau present in the Gdansk coastal region during the December events, I failed to prevent—within the limits of my responsibility—the extremely complex and grave development of events.

In view of this and fully aware of my responsibility, of which I spoke immediately following these events, I request that the Central Committee accept my resignation as member of the Politbureau and CC Secretary."

The Central Committee accepted Stanislaw Kociolek's resignation.

The Central Committee also accepted Ignatzi Loga-Sowinski's resignation from the CC Politbureau.

* * *

The documents of the Eighth Plenum of the CC PUWP will be published in the CC theoretical journal *Nowe Drogi*.

SPEECH BY EDWARD GIEREK

The Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee, said E. Gierek, opens up a new and significant period in the life of the Party and in the country's development. We are faced with many crucial problems requiring solution, while the conditions for their solution are extremely difficult. The main reserves at the disposal of the Party and the country are people, their patriotism, selflessness and capabilities. Our people have powerful constructive forces and tremendous creative power. Today we appeal to these forces, to the working class, the peasants and intellectuals.

Important political changes were enacted at the Seventh CC plenum on December 20, 1970. We did this under difficult conditions, guided by a sense of deep responsibility for the fate of the country and socialism. This helped us end the tragic events in the

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coastal areas, which affected our Party and people so profoundly. We avoided a dangerous course of events and eased the tension existing at that time and spreading rapidly not only through the coastal regions but to other centers of the country as well, threatening grave consequences.

Today we can say that at that time, in December, the Seventh plenum met the exigencies of the moment. Possibly a bit late but not too late our Party found the courage to face the facts and the strength to guide the country through the crisis.

The decisions of the Seventh plenum were welcomed with relief and supported everywhere. And this support, first of all from the working class, was of decisive importance at that time and continues to be so today.

And now, seven weeks after the December events, it is our duty to give to the working class, the entire people and our Party the answer to the questions: what were the reasons and the nature of the crisis.

THE DECEMBER CRISIS AND ITS MAIN CAUSES

The immediate cause of the December events was the increase in prices on basic foodstuffs announced on December 12. It was carried out without the necessary compensation to low-income families affected most acutely by the price rise. An explosion occurred in the coastal cities. The workers' protest, which in the subsequent phase led to tragic events, started in the Gdansk shipyards—the largest enterprise of our shipbuilding industry—and affected mainly the shipyards.

The workers' demonstrations at the Gdansk shipyards and in other cities on the coast were orderly at first. However, no serious talks were started with the workers, nor were proper efforts made to relieve the tension. As a result, the events spread to the streets, rapidly developing into spontaneous actions against the wishes of the participants in the workers' demonstrations, but they failed to control the situation.

The nature of spontaneous demonstrations is such that more often than not they develop into dangerous street excesses. Such was the case first of all in Gdansk and in Szczecin, where anti-social elements, swept up by the wave of the demonstration, took to the streets, starting to rampage and plunder.

The tragedy of the events in the coastal areas is, first of all, that no effective political measures were taken to liquidate the tension. In assessing the situation and implementing practical measures use was made of force only. Force can stop violence, anarchy and plunder. Acting on this conviction civilian militia and units of the Polish Army performed the tasks they were set with a proper sense

of duty. But the destructive phenomena were only the side-effects of the developments at the root of which was a social conflict. The use of force and force alone was, to all intents and purposes, the sole response to the workers' action. Far from contributing to the solution of the crisis, it had the opposite effect, aggravating, deepening and extending the crisis and threatening a catastrophe.

With our sense of responsibility, it must be pointed out that a people's power cannot refuse to employ all necessary measures for the protection of public law and order, the lives of citizens and public property in the struggle against anti-social, anarchist and hostile elements. During the December crisis, however, it was not these factors that were in the forefront. The attempts to settle the conflict with the working class by force—attempts that are essentially in conflict with the principles of socialism—could lead only to bloodshed, create a chasm between popular power and the people and give scope to truly reactionary, anti-socialist forces. Regrettably, such were the decisions of the leadership, taken contrary to the majority opinion of the Party active, without consultation with the full Politbureau and even without informing the Central Committee, which was in session on December 14, of the situation in the coastal area. The reasons for the existing tension were sought solely in the activities of anti-social elements, while the situation that arose was used to imply that the events were of a counter-revolutionary nature. Such an appraisal was not only erroneous, but even catastrophic in its consequences.

The workers' demonstrations in the coastal areas—that is what it started with—just as the discontent expressed in other centers of the country were not directed against the socialist system and its basic principles.

As a result of the excesses 45 people died of injuries; 1,165 people were wounded, including 564 civilians, 531 members of the civilian militia and its auxiliary brigades, and 70 men and officers of the Polish Army. Of these only 153 persons received gunshot wounds.

Obviously, the reasons for the December crisis are not to be sought only in the discontent caused by the rise in prices and the way it was effected.

The crisis brewed over a period of several years and had deeper reasons. The main reason was the weakening and eventually the drastic disruption of ties between the Party leadership, the working class and other segments of the working people, so necessary in our system. Discontent over the economic and social policy grew and spread over a long period of time.

The December crisis can first of all be called a crisis of confidence. It should be pointed out that the crisis developed in this

form among Party members and activists, who were increasingly critical of the leadership's policy.

We discussed the various reasons leading to this situation at the meetings yesterday and today. Some of them call for further analysis. I should like to point out certain problems, which I believe to be most important.

The supreme goal of the socialist economy and the basic principle of Party policy and a people's state are to meet public requirements more and more fully. The basic mistake in the policy of the Party leadership and government in recent years was the failure to abide by this principle in practice. This explains the disruption of the socially sound proportions—a disruption that grew more acute with every year—between the growth of the production of the means of production and the growth of the output of consumer goods, that is, foodstuffs and manufactured goods.

The average real wage showed a slow and minimum increase. Even the modest targets of the last five-year plan were not fulfilled. The average increase in real wages—according to the Central Board of Statistics—was below two per cent, which is practically negligible. This was viewed by all as a stagnation in the sphere of real wages, while the real wages of a few categories of working people even registered a slight drop.

Along with the stagnation in the sphere of real wages and the mounting tension on the consumer market, certain other social problems grew more acute, first of all the problem of housing.

It would be wrong and even harmful to belittle the achievements of our people, the working class, the peasants and the intellectuals, the results of Party policy in recent years.

Generally speaking, these are signal achievements and we shall allow no one to question them, because this would mean casting doubt on the results of the labor and selflessness of the people, the results of Party efforts for the development of socialist Poland.

In that period our people created new material and spiritual values. This is an obvious and undeniable truth. It is also true, however, that in recent years public allocations for development were excessively large, while the rate of growth in many areas was inadequate. Capital investments in the last five-year plan period increased by approximately 50 per cent, while the national income grew by only 34 per cent.

Central planned management of the national economy was in fact greatly weakened in recent years. Serious deformations were revealed in the work of the planning commission, which is to be the government's economic headquarters functioning on the basis of a deep knowledge of the laws of development, economic accounting and scientific prognostication. The fallacious style and incorrect methods of leadership were likewise the result of the government's

passive stand. From this, too, we must draw the necessary conclusions for our future work.

The lack of a long-range, socio-economic conception of the country's development had an especially negative effect upon our entire economic and social policy in recent years.

The Party's position became especially difficult because of the growing public discontent. The mood in various quarters caused concern among Party members, particularly the more active members. The leadership, which was losing contact with the Party and did not draw on the Party's tremendous reserves of political forces, imposed administrative methods of work. The cadres policy also was increasingly guided by these principles. This led to a restriction of independence and initiative.

All this was also bound to have an adverse effect on ideological activities. Failure to act in certain sectors of the ideological front gave rise to revisionist conceptions and views concerning socialist construction, the role of the Party and several other problems.

It should be remembered that revisionism can grow and gain influence mainly when there exists a vacuum in ideological activity. It gains political influence only when we lose that political influence. For this reason the struggle against stagnation in the ideological life is just as important as the struggle against revisionism and is actually inseparable from it.

The Fifth Party Congress took decisions that were absolutely correct, stressing the need to set the course on modernizing the country's economy, to promote ideological life and to proceed from sound criteria in the cadres policy, and setting other correct aims. The Congress decisions, however, were not carried out.

The Party leadership actually took upon itself many functions that were within the competence of the government, thereby weakening and distorting the role of the political leadership. The dividing line between the responsibilities of institutions and individuals was obliterated. The role of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the Central Committee itself was reduced and replaced by a so-called narrow leadership made up of only a few people.

We are not in a position yet to give a full and exhaustive appraisal of the situation in the past years and of the former leadership's policy. More time is required for this. This concerns primarily an appraisal of the role played by Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka. It must be a fair appraisal, which is hard to do, because the recent events, the bitterness and present difficulties still bear down on us. Though we do not wish to belittle his personal services to the Party and the state, we are compelled to say that, regrettably, at some point in the middle of the sixties, after the Fourth Party Congress, a crisis made itself increasingly felt in the Party and government leadership.

The reasons and sources of the recent events, in spite of their sharp appraisal, are traceable exclusively to a departure from the correct Party policy and the Leninist norms of Party activities. The general line of building socialism in Poland under the guidance of the Party and people remains correct and immovable.

It was our Party that pointed out the only correct path of struggle for national and social liberation, the path of alliance with the Land of Soviets, leading the Polish people out of the abyss of the Second World War, out of the most difficult period in its thousand years' history. Our Party's political thought ensured the restoration of an independent Polish state within new, just and advantageous boundaries.

WE NEED TIME

The most urgent task of all facing us today is to secure growth of production, raise labor productivity and on this basis to improve the working people's living conditions and the social situation. This is what we started with, and our subsequent decisions will follow the same direction as we find the necessary means.

As is known, immediately after the Seventh plenum we resolved to start by improving the material conditions of the lower-paid categories and large families and raising the smallest pensions. In the present conditions, especially after the December increase in prices, this is most urgent. For this we have allocated eight billion zloty.

We are doing our utmost to improve supply of produce and manufactured goods. We are also doing all we can to increase the production of meat and fats as soon as possible and this year we shall increase imports of grain to 2.5 million tons, of which two million will come from the Soviet Union. This is a very tangible aid. We shall also be able to provide farmers with additional forage concentrate, 150,000 tons above the planned figure.

We shall build new consumer goods enterprises, especially those producing prime necessities. They will operate on local raw materials.

One of the urgent problems in our daily life is a weakly-developed network of service establishments for the population. It is absolutely imperative therefore to review government policy and that of local authorities in the services and handicrafts.

We have also taken other important decisions relating to social problems, including the maximum development, in the present conditions, of housing construction.

As for wages, we have already pointed out that in the past five-year plan their increase was insufficient and this should be changed. That is why we have discarded the earlier targets of the new five-

year plan, which envisaged only a 10 per cent increase in real wages. It is our intention to have wages increase much more during this period.

We have decided to suspend the system of material incentives, which was to go into effect as of January 1, 1971, as the basis of the wage system in industry. It contained certain aspects that were correct, but in its concrete form it actually led to restrictions on the growth of wages and a decline in employment.

Another social problem demanding urgent and effective solution is the housing problem. One of our first measures was to immediately extend house-building. Accordingly, already in the next year 15,000 more families will move into new flats than in the current year. For this we need nearly 800 million zloty.

In our opinion, one of the topmost problems is to improve the situation of working women. This is a particularly difficult problem to solve, as is well known. Many women really have two jobs—one at the factory and one at home. Their life is hard, especially if they have many children. We must do everything possible in order to make life easier for them.

We are contemplating and shall discuss various possibilities. One of these, a very important one, is to put women, especially at small enterprises, on a four-hour day.

Industry, and especially the food industry, has important tasks to solve in this sphere. Not only should supply be radically improved, but also the produce should be adapted to the requirements of working women.

Working for the benefit of man, to satisfy his material requirements, is the basic aim of socialist economy. In line with this principle, we shall implement our economic policy. However, it would be erroneous to reduce our personal and public lives exclusively to consumption of material goods, as is the case in the capitalist countries. Of no less importance in the life of every individual is the feeling of social security, the social conditions surrounding him at his place of work, the goals to which he devotes his knowledge and energy, the prospects for him, his children and his country.

We must resolutely eliminate such things as the weakening of social discipline, which was undoubtedly the case in recent years, and the decline in the authority of the people's power apparatus and its bodies. Public opinion is greatly concerned with the occurrences of hooliganism, disrespect for public property, etc.

We have taken action on problems of our everyday life and other problems, making initial adjustments in utilizing the available resource. Now we need more time in order to accumulate resources, regulate the most urgent social matters, effect more deep-going measures and draft a program for their further solu-

tion. We say openly: we cannot expect too much in the immediate future and, still less, advance unrealistic demands and wishes liable only to create tension and impediments in our life. We shall examine all problems in a calm and businesslike manner, striving to reach a correct solution.

WORK OUT A STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT

One of the most important tasks is to work out a strategy for future socio-economic development. This must be done in order to establish the basic social and economic targets not only for the present five-year period but for the entire decade. At one of the plenary meetings we shall suggest that the Central Committee discuss targets up to 1975. Simultaneously we shall be working on a draft program for economic development up to 1980.

In many respects the current decade will be a turning point in our development. First, because during this period we shall have to pass in our economy from an industrial revolution, which we have already performed, to a scientific and technical revolution. Second, because a large contingent of the post-war generation will enter active life this decade, and we must equip it for further developing the country. And, third, because we must rise to the economic challenge presented by the rapid development of other countries and secure an appropriate place for Poland in the international division of labor, i.e., in the international community.

To be sure, we shall advance and realize these long-term tasks in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, by developing various economic relations advantageous to each of our countries and the entire socialist community. High up on the list is the question of the international division of labor within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and greater specialization of production.

Several branches of our industry must be modernized. We intend first of all to make complex investments into the machine-building, electronics and electro-technical, metallurgical, chemical and consumer industries.

Prominent in our long-term socio-economic development are rural problems. We should not forget that significant agricultural development is a prime factor in improving the living standard of the population in towns and rural areas. Party policy has greatly facilitated the development of farm output, and the basic guidelines of this policy remain in force. Together with the United Peasants' Party, our Party will creatively carry forward its previous agricultural policy.

We shall give due attention to the further development of state farms, constantly improving their supply of machinery and provid-

ing them with qualified specialists. The socialist agricultural enterprises must continually increase output, improve their work and the social and cultural facilities for their members.

We intend to accelerate motorization in the broadest sense. This is urgent and must be done to improve freight and passenger transport. We need heavy-duty trucks to improve and modernize the supply of enterprises and the market. We need new, larger buses to improve the passenger service in the cities, in the country as a whole.

We attach great significance to the acceleration of wide-scale motorization. The topmost problem here is the launching of mass production of compact automobiles with comparatively low production costs, within the reach of most working people.

More automobiles and trucks means more highways and roads and service facilities. In the immediate future we must start building highways connecting the country's main industrial centers.

Another urgent problem is the economic zoning of Poland, that is, drafting plans for developing industrial transport routes and building urban complexes, satellite towns and areas for recreation and tourism.

The Politbureau and the government will appoint a group of prominent specialists, theorists and practitioners, from various branches of knowledge, mainly management, economics, finance, sociology, information and others, in order to modernize the system of leadership and management, which should be closely tied in with the principles of the development strategy. This group is to draft an integrated concept of the system of economic functioning and the stages of its implementation, a concept coordinated with the strategic principles of the country's socio-economic development for the next 10-15 years.

THE PROBLEM OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION

Correct solution of the problems of the younger generation is highly important for Poland's socio-economic and political development. For five years now, a young generation of Poles, brought up and educated in people's Poland, have been starting on their life careers. And the task for us is to utilize to the maximum this tremendous reserve of youthful energy, proficiency, abilities and selflessness for the country's socialist development. This means providing new jobs for them. In the previous five-year plan period about 1.5 million jobs were created, while the present five-year plan requires 1.9 million new jobs.

Our economy and all spheres of activity are in need of young, enthusiastic, energetic, competent and conscientious cadres. The young people should know that by their participation in shaping

the country's future they are creating their own future. A special meeting of the Central Committee will examine these problems in the light of the report on the young generation, its problems and situation and the changes in the education system. We have instructed specialists in different fields to prepare such a report. It is to be compiled by specialists in cooperation with educators and various youth groups.

Using the findings of research, we have begun elaborating changes in our system of education. The underlying principle should be the introduction of a universal secondary education in this decade. We should also envisage a further extension of higher educational establishments. Bringing up and training the younger generation in the spirit of socialism and patriotism is an important social and national task, in the solution of which all youth organizations have an important role to play.

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY— THE CONDITION FOR ACCELERATED PROGRESS

The building of socialism in Poland is inseparable from the expansion of socialist democracy.

There can be nothing in common between our democracy and the bourgeois-liberal system of free play for political forces. Drawing on the best progressive and democratic traditions of the Polish people, our system is developing its own particular forms of democratic activity, whose basic content is expressed in Lenin's concept of the participation of the masses in administering the country. First and foremost, this means developing and enriching these forms in practice. Our Party is determined to advance along this path, providing conditions for the operation of the principles of socialist democracy in all spheres of life.

The trade unions, undoubtedly, play a great role in the functioning of our social system. Their main concern should be for working conditions, social matters, and that proper relations are maintained between people at enterprises. Along with that trade unions should create an atmosphere favoring the growth of labor productivity and the implementation of production plans, which is of decisive importance in creating the material wealth necessary to raise the working people's living standards. Expressing the interests of the working class, in the broad sense of the term, and the requirements of the national economic development constitute a single whole. The trade unions should therefore participate actively in carrying out the socio-economic policy of the Party. The trade unions and the Central Trade Union Council should find ways of perfecting their work to bring it in line with present-day demands. Our Party will in every way promote the development of democracy in the

trade unions and enhance the role of workers' self-government at the enterprises.

Immediately after the seventh plenary meeting the practice of consultations with the workers and other sections of working people was begun. And this practice will be developed further. We shall also use other methods of polling public opinion on various matters. Important social problems will be tackled only after finding out the opinion of those concerned. We consult with the working people, and this is a must for us especially in the case of difficult problems. Such was the nature of our meetings with the shipyard workers of Szczecin, with the shipbuilders and other workers of Gdansk and Gdynia. Consultations with workers' collectives at enterprises and with diverse sections of working people should become the rule in our work.

Many participants in the debate following the seventh plenary meeting voiced correct demands for strengthening the role of representative bodies at all levels, and particularly the Sejm. The Sejm promulgates laws which determine the legal framework of the activity of the organs of state power, social institutions and individual citizens. Laws should more fully correspond to the demands of life.

The Sejm should also discuss information and reports of the government on important questions like housing, the effectiveness of capital investment programs, foreign policy, etc. Also the deputies should exercise their right of interpellation more often. This will raise the role of the Sejm in legislation and in controlling the work of the government.

The worker-peasant alliance, Edward Gierek said, has been, is, and will continue to be, the class foundation of our state, the basis of the moral and political unity of the Polish people. In its entire policy our Party will be guided by the principle of close cooperation with all organizations and collectives that make up the Popular Unity Front.

We are resolved to enhance socialist democracy. It should be remembered, however, that democracy and its functioning imply not only a correct attitude of the authorities and the state to the citizen, but also a correct attitude of the citizen to the state. The people's socialist state is the highest form of organization of the working people and the entire nation. It is an immense asset we own in common. Consciousness of one's duty as a citizen implies constant concern for the vital interests of our state and country, and a patriotic attitude to all its problems.

WE ARE PART OF A SOCIALIST COMMUNITY

Our Party follows a correct line in all the main areas of foreign

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policy. On all the fundamental issues in the struggle to strengthen the positions and unity of the socialist states and the world Communist and workers' movement, security and world peace, our Party has worked together with the CPSU and other fraternal parties.

In the last few years the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Cooperation with the Soviet Union was renewed. It is of fundamental importance for the independence, security and development of Poland. Treaties with other socialist countries have also been renewed. We have concluded a bilateral treaty of alliance, friendship, cooperation and mutual aid with the German Democratic Republic, which is a turning-point in the thousand-year-long history of Polish-German relations. The PUWP participated in the preparations and work of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. Together with the other Warsaw Treaty member-countries Poland is working for a detente in Europe, in particular as an initiator of the meeting on security and cooperation on our continent.

As a result of the Moscow treaty of August 12, 1970, which marked the beginning of normalization of relations between the socialist countries and the Federal Republic of Germany, and also due to our resolute stand, a treaty on the principles for normalizing relations between Poland and the FRG was signed on December 7, 1970. This treaty is of great importance in strengthening European security.

Successful development of all-round friendly relations between Poland and France is an important factor in reducing tensions on our continent.

On all major issues our Party and country actively carry forward the peace policy of the socialist states. We are also active in the anti-imperialist front of the forces of socialism, democracy and peace.

In the period following the seventh plenary meeting we have paid short friendly visits to our neighbors — the Soviet Union, the GDR, Czechoslovakia. Members of the Political Bureau and CC Secretariat have also visited other fraternal parties. During our talks we met with complete understanding of the situation in our country and our present activity.

The most comprehensive and valuable aid comes from our tried and true Soviet friends. Our talks with Soviet leaders confirmed unity of views on all key issues.

The Polish People's Republic will in future, too, do everything to strengthen ideological, political, economic and cultural ties with the fraternal socialist countries. Together, we shall develop all-round cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual

Economic Assistance, imparting to it increasingly the character of integrational ties.

People's Poland contributes substantially to the socialist countries' defense alliance—the Warsaw Treaty. The Polish Army has a powerful potential, splendid cadres and deeply patriotic soldiers. Conscious of the vital requirements for defense, we shall continue devoting great attention to strengthening our national armed forces, who are ideologically firm, up-to-date, disciplined, and closely linked with their brothers-in-arms, the Soviet Army and the armies of the other Warsaw Treaty member-countries.

Our Party is part of the world Communist movement, which is in the vanguard of the peoples' fight for progress, social justice, freedom and peace. We shall develop internationalist ties with other Marxist-Leninist parties, and work for strengthening the unity of our movement.

ENHANCING INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY

The December incidents gave rise to the question of guarantees for the future, that is, the creation of conditions favoring the use of correct methods in solving social problems. The Party carries the main responsibility for resolving the problems of the country and people. Therefore, guarantees for the future presuppose that the Party will perform its function as the leading force in conformity with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

On the basis of the experience and the opinion of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, the Party and its leading bodies mould the political thought, and chart the paths of carrying it into practice. The Party is the principal center that unites, mobilizes and activates all the popular forces to attain our goals. Only the Party, guided as it is by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, is capable of making decisions on key issues.

On the basis of the program adopted by Congress the Central Committee will define the socio-economic goals and also determine the means and ways of their realization. The Party, as a leading political forces, should:

- define socio-economic and political goals;
- conduct consistent and extensive ideological work, based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, and political work among the masses;
- supervise a broadly-conceived cadres policy;
- exercise political control over the realization of set goals, check their fulfilment and analyze social problems.

The Party can fulfil its leading role only if it itself acts according to the Leninist principles of democratic centralism.

In particular, we want to establish the principle of periodic general discussions at Central Committee meetings on the situation

in the Party, the state, economy and in society. This will provide an opportunity to Central Committee members to present opinions, views and appraisals, which should be taken into account in the Party's activity. In this way it will be possible to pinpoint in time new problems posed by life, and to bring to light shortcomings before they develop into serious difficulties.

Our Party's activity should be based on the simple principle: more discussion before adopting decisions and more discipline in carrying them out.

Most important is broad worker and peasant participation in the work of leading Party bodies. In our cadres policy, in the Party apparatus, we should lean on public figures in the true meaning of the term. This follows from the need for correction in the functions of the Party and of its bodies, which cannot and should not deal with matters which constitute the function of specialized services in the economy and administration. It is the duty of Party bodies first of all to constantly control the implementation of Party policy, study the general effectiveness of programs, maintain ties with the public, expose and eliminate shortcomings as soon as they arise, appraise the work of leading cadres, pave the way for their initiative. This forces us to re-appraise the everyday activity of committees, leading bodies and the apparatus of the Party at all levels.

The path of Poland's development, like that of the other socialist countries, is one of struggle and of overcoming difficulties and contradictions. There have been many crucial moments in Poland's history.

Imperialism is continuing its anti-communist subversion and psychological warfare against socialism. We are not living or acting in a vacuum. We are building socialism in our country under the conditions of sharp worldwide class struggles against imperialism. This is reflected also in various internal problems. We should actively counter any hostile influences. At the same time we must not forget that the enemy takes advantage of our mistakes and shortcomings, that he penetrates wherever we yield. Therefore, indomitable and persistent effort to raise the effectiveness of our own work is of decisive importance in our political struggle.

Government responsibility for the correct implementation of economic policy and for solving social problems should be raised. It is necessary to cut down the expense of the government apparatus as far as possible. It is also necessary to improve the work of all administrative services in the economic sphere and of all institutions dealing with our citizens. We should counter any manifestations of red tape.

The changes effected by the seventh plenary meeting have initiated

ed a deep-going adjustment of policy and methods and style of work. This helps the Party to carry out its general line of socialist construction with greater effect. Ours is a big Party, loyal to the people. We have a large, tried and dedicated active. We have all the necessary conditions to cope with the problems facing the Party and the country.

The importance of our tasks in furthering socialist construction in Poland makes us consider convening the Sixth Party Congress earlier than planned. We shall discuss this question at the next CC meeting.

We are convinced of the correctness of the path we have chosen. It leads neither to the right nor to the left from socialism. It is aimed at raising the working people's living standards, boosting the economy, strengthening our socialist state, its internal forces and international position. We direct the entire Party, its thoughts and practical work towards these tasks. By implementing our decisions, we will strengthen our Party's ties with the working class and all sections of working people.

There are truths that have become the unshakeable foundation of every Pole's political thinking. Poland can develop only as a socialist state, inseparably linked with the Soviet Union, with our neighbors and allies. This is the first truth. Our Party has been and remains the leading force of the Polish people, tried and tested by history, the force which led our people through the most difficult trials of our history, regenerating and leading them along a new path of social development. That is the second truth. Our Party's responsibility for the destinies of our country, for its present and its future obliges me to say, in the name of the Political Bureau and of all of us here, categorically and with full conviction, that any disregard of these basic truths, confirmed by our people's long political experience, would be harmful and disastrous for Poland.

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The CC Plenum of the French Communist Party, meeting on December 22, 1970, summed up the first stage of the talks between the FCP and the Socialist Party. Reporting to the Plenum, Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary, appraised the joint document adopted by the parties.

He said that a joint declaration released by both parties on December 18, 1969, stated the decision of the two parties to hold negotiations on the basic conditions for a political agreement, aiming to replace the existing regime by a new regime of economic and political democracy opening the road to socialism. The talks were made possible following the Socialist congress, which approved the formation of an alliance of Left forces and rejected cooperation with the Right and center forces. The first meeting between the delegations of the two parties was held on March 5, 1970. This was followed by discussions, lasting more than eight months, on the organization of joint action against the reactionary policy of the existing government, the essence of the new regime of economic and political democracy, which should replace the present monopoly power, ways and means of a transition to socialism and the building of socialism in France.

The joint document, drawn up at present by both parties, sums up the results of the talks.

Georges Marchais pointed out the coincidence of views of both parties on several key questions and the significance of joint initiative concerning action against the reactionary, anti-democratic policy of the authorities taken recently by the Communists and the Socialists.

Georges Marchais stressed the two parties' common appraisal of modern French society, whose development is governed by the law of capitalist profits and which is ruled by representatives of capital. Proceeding from this, said the speaker, a democratic government cannot limit itself to the task of coming to power only. The problem is to rebuild the economic and political structures in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population.

Georges Marchais also pointed to the differences between the FCP and the Socialists on such cardinal issues as the class struggle

Humanité, December 23, 1970.

and retention of power and a number of problems of a political nature.

The speaker said that a political agreement between the FCP and the Socialist Party, both of which exert decisive influence on the French working people, could be the beginning of an alliance of Left forces. Therefore, the release of a joint document summing up the initial results of the talks between the two parties, could serve as a new stage on the way to creating such an alliance.

RESOLUTION OF THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC FCP ON THE RESULTS OF THE TALKS WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The CC FCP approves of the first results achieved at the talks with the Socialist Party concerning the basic conditions for a political agreement.

It endorses the joint statement that the "French Communist Party and the Socialist Party, taking into consideration the first results of the talks, have decided to continue them on the basis of the results already achieved and in the spirit of the joint statement of December 18, 1969."

The CC has reaffirmed the Party's determination to exert maximum effort through extensive work among the masses in order to achieve a firm political agreement with the Socialist Party, an alliance with all the democratic and workers' forces on the basis of a joint program of struggle and a government program for an advanced democracy, for a socialist France.

*Central Committee,
French Communist Party*

Ivry-sur-Seine, December 22, 1970.

JANUARY 21, 1921 — JANUARY 21, 1971 APPEAL OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY TO PARTY MEMBERS AND WORKING PEOPLE

Comrades, working people, citizens,

The Italian Communist Party is 50 years old. These have been 50 years of struggle and service to the working class and the Italian people, a grim and persistent struggle for freedom, peace and socialism. At first reactionary and conservative forces attempted to crush the Communists and then they set out to eliminate or reduce Communist influence on the life of the country. History has shown that all attempts aimed against the Italian Communist Party were at the same time an offensive against the working class, against the working masses, against the country's freedom and independence. Fascism directed its brutal blows first of all against the Communists, but neither did it spare democratic forces and democratic freedoms, inflicting tremendous sacrifices upon the people, involving the country in colonial ventures, in cruel reprisals in Spain, throwing Italy into the Second World War catastrophe and handing the country over to foreigners.

Communists were in the front ranks in building anti-fascist unity. They paid the highest price in the struggle against fascism. Thousands of Communists were persecuted, thrown into jail, exiled and excluded from the country's life. Their leader Antonio Gramsci was slowly tortured to death in fascist prisons. And hundreds upon hundreds of others, leaders and activists of the Communist Party, also perished. But the ICP never bowed its head, its voice was never hushed. It continued the struggle in Italy and abroad, making the most significant contribution to building up the new unity of the people and the anti-fascist democratic political forces. In Spain the ICP fought shoulder to shoulder with the people of that country against the fascist military revolt, supporting the lawful republican Spanish government. All over the world from Ethiopia to Asia and North and South America Italian Communists have always upheld nations struggling for their freedom, for national independence against internal and international oppression. In this struggle the Communists tempered their Party and shaped the policy of anti-fascist unity. In this struggle the Communists learned to combine efforts for social liberation with the struggle for gain-

**Unità*, January 21, 1971.

ing all democratic freedoms and in defense of national interests, as Lenin taught. Guided by his ideas, they learned to adapt their revolutionary activity to conditions in their own country and to the course of history. They learned to expose and boldly to rectify mistakes by analyzing their experience and constantly striving to overcome shortcomings.

Participation in the front ranks of the Resistance movement and in building up its unity was not, therefore, a one-day act of heroism. The Resistance movement put to the test the policy evolved in the days of struggle over two decades, a policy that was discussed, corrected and developed in the battles. The Resistance movement bore out Gramsci's forecast: "You, fascists, will lead Italy to bankruptcy and we Communists shall have to save her."

Comrades, working people, citizens,

The past 25 years have shown that the people and Italy paid dearly for the split in anti-fascist unity caused by big Italian and international capital in the name of anti-communism, a split running counter to the interests of the working class, the people and the entire country. Under the banner of anti-fascist unity forged by the Resistance, Italy overthrew the tyranny and launched a struggle to rid the country of foreign invaders, saved its honor besmirched by fascism and the complicity with the Nazi barbarians forced upon the country, regained its rightful place in the world, established a republic and achieved a progressive and democratic constitution. Quashing the pact on unity of action concluded during the Resistance was intended to expel the popular forces from the government and start a fresh period of anti-Communist discrimination and persecution.

A campaign of hatred and slander was launched against the Italian Communist Party and every effort was made to cause new splits. Communists were hounded at plants, in schools, offices and in the rural areas. But, once again, history demonstrated that when blows are rained on Communists, the working class, the people and the entire country come under attack too. The anti-Communist offensive was meant to hide betrayal of the Resistance movement's social program, stifle national independence, prevent implementation of the more progressive articles in the republican constitution, restore power of the large financial groups and denigrate the democratic institutions. Once again the Communists did not bow their heads in the face of this new offensive. Day by day they waged a struggle in defense of the working people's interests, for complete implementation of the constitution, in defense of democracy and for its extension, for the preservation of peace and for genuine national independence. During this struggle reaction's plans were foiled time and again. These plans were most acutely manifested

in July 1948, in 1953, in 1960, in 1964 and have not lost their impetus today as witnessed by the experience of last year. Important partial successes were achieved during this struggle. This was made possible because the Communists, true to Togliatti's behests, have never stopped their patient and steadfast efforts for working class unity, alliance between the working class and the farmers and middle working strata, unity between Italy's North and South, unity of all forces striving for socialism and also of all secular and Catholic democratic and popular forces.

Rejecting any concessions to opportunism and maximalism, both expressions of defeatism, Communists have always struggled to assert in practice the leading role of the working class, which is expressed in the efforts to solve its own problems and the problems of the working people and the whole country.

Thus, the Communists have struggled continuously to win the leading and ruling role in the country, even when in opposition and in especially difficult conditions. At the same time the Communists proved by deeds the internationalist and national character of their Party, which is absolutely independent and at the same time participates actively in the international struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence and against imperialism.

Communists have shown that in all respects their efforts have met the interests of the working people and the nation. Support for all struggles on any continent against fascism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against tyranny and imperialist brutalities is in the vital interests of the Italian people who are striving for full independence and wish to live in peace.

The Italian Communists' fraternal solidarity with other Communist parties, with anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces all over the world, with the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union, corresponds to the realities of the modern world, where the class struggle is being waged on a national and international level because every nation still under imperialist domination is confronted not only by its internal enemies but also by the strangulating force of imperialism.

In this struggle the Italian Communists charted their road and their conception of socialism proceeding from an understanding of socialism as the building up of new relations between people reflecting the utmost democracy, freedom, effective participation of the working class and the people in the building of a new society. Italian Communists adhere to Togliatti's teaching that the complete independence of a country, the various ways and means of establishing socialism in a country are conditions of real internationalism and only under internationalism do they become possible.

Comrades, working people, citizens,

In connection with the 50th anniversary of the ICP, the Communists intend not only to mark their glorious past which they recall with pride. More than ever before, the Communists today are waging a difficult and severe struggle so that their country may advance along the road of peace, democracy and socialism. New opportunities were opened up by the workers' and people's struggle and the conclusions drawn from history and the experience of past years by ever wider segments of the working people, the youth, students, trade unions, secular and Catholic Left forces and in the popular and democratic parties themselves.

A positive process of developing the unity of the working people and their organizations is under way. New Left alliances and fresh opportunities for agreement and cooperation are appearing in communes, provinces and regions, created as a result of numerous battles. In Parliament, thanks to the strength and policy of the Communists, results were achieved, demonstrating the necessity for a more proper functioning of the chambers, which should not be limited to rubber-stamping government decisions but should express the aspirations of the working people and their wish to see the country's progress and rejuvenation.

However, important national problems still remain, many of which have become more acute because of the policy followed by the Christian-Democratic, Center and Center-Left governments who have refused to see the will of the working people as a decisive element in determining the direction of the country's development. Such problems as working conditions at enterprises and in the fields of the southern regions, the structure of agriculture, economic development which is so uneven in the regions and sectors, the problem of emigration and internal migration, the schools, health services, taxes, housing, transport and urban conditions are so acute and tense in many cases that they have become explosive. Responsibility for this lies with those who ruled Italy and placed the interests of the large monopoly amalgamations, un-earned incomes and speculation above all else. Italy's national independence is being infringed upon, curtailed and even openly negated in many spheres.

All this was and continues to be in the center of the struggle in which the Communists participated in the past, are participating today and will continue to actively participate in the future. The might of the working people, their struggle and gains have alarmed the reactionary and conservative forces. With imperialist support they are constantly plotting against democracy. That is why it is imperative that a great battle be unfolded to preserve and develop the democratic gains and institutions, Parliament, regions, local

bodies and all new forms of popular involvement. The foremost task of the Republic born as a consequence of the Resistance must be to fully effect the spirit and letter of the constitution, waging a constant struggle with its avowed enemies, striking out at the revived semi-military fascist organizations, nipping in the bud any and all anti-democratic plots, and coming to grips with those in the state apparatus who are responsible for anti-constitutional machinations or who support and aid them.

Comrades, working people and citizens,

These 50 years have borne out the correctness of the policy and path followed by the ICP. Communists will advance along this path, the Italian path to socialism. Shoulder to shoulder with the heroic people of Vietnam, the Arab peoples and all peoples struggling for their freedom and national independence, together with all working people fighting against exploitation, together with all people demanding peace, the Italian Communists will go their own way and will continue joint efforts in defense of the working people's interests, for democratic development, for achieving genuine national independence, to have Italy withdraw from NATO and any other military bloc, to preserve peace and to advance towards socialism.

To this end they will continue strengthening the Communist Party and building up its energy. They will appeal to thousands and scores of thousands of working people, women and young people, to join the Party's ranks and increase its effectiveness and the network of its organizations at factories, in residential areas, at educational establishments and offices and in the villages, multiply efforts in order to disseminate its ideas and its press.

Glory to the comrades who fell in struggle.

Fraternal solidarity with all those the world over who are struggling against oppression.

Forward for freedom, for peace, for socialism.

Italian Communist Party

* * *

A MEETING IN HONOR OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY WAS HELD IN ROME ON JANUARY 24.

The meeting was addressed by the General Secretary of the ICP Luigi Longo. During this past half century, he said, our Party has always been a party that the working class and the people have been in need of, it has been a militant organizer always true to the interests of the working people and the great ideals of peace, free-

dom and socialism. We were inspired by the example of the October Revolution, its heroic deeds and magnificent achievements.

The speaker recalled the difficult road traversed by the ICP, the many Communists who fell in the struggle against fascism and Nazism, for peace and democracy. Luigi Longo underscored that today the ICP is playing an ever increasing role in Italy, is influencing and is striving to influence still more all decisions concerning the life of the people and the nation. The General Secretary of the ICP appealed to all Italian working people and the younger generation to make their contribution to strengthen still more "the Party of Gramsci and Togliatti in order to carry forward the militant banner along the road of the socialist transformation of Italy."

The meeting was also addressed by D. A. Kunayev, head of the CPSU delegation, alternate member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and First Secretary of the CP of Kazakhstan. He conveyed fraternal greetings to the CC ICP, all Communists, the working class and working people of Italy from the CC CPSU, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and the 14 million Soviet Communists and all Soviet working people.

Today we are saluting the ICP as one of the largest contingents of the world Communist movement, said D. A. Kunayev. The increasing diversity and complexity of the problems dealt with by the Communist parties in various parts of the world demand greater attention to coordination of action and formulation of common positions on key problems of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Close, fraternal relations have long since existed between the ICP and the CPSU. The friendship between Soviet and Italian Communists has become an established tradition. We are united by our common science—Marxism-Leninism, by joint struggle against a common enemy—imperialism and by our common goal—socialism and communism.

Greetings were also conveyed by the representatives of the French and several other Communist parties in Rome for the celebrations.

G. C. Pajetta, member of the ICP Political Bureau, delivered a report on the ICP's 50-year history and its present tasks.

DRAFT DIRECTIVES OF THE 24TH CPSU CONGRESS FOR THE USSR FIVE-YEAR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN, 1971-75.

Pravda, Feb. 14, 1971 carried a decision of the CPSU Central Committee, signed by its General Secretary, L. I. Brezhnev, approving the Draft Directives of the 24th CPSU Congress for the USSR Five-Year Economic Development Plan, 1971-75, and providing for its publication in the press and discussion throughout the country.

Pravda's editorial on the subject (February 15) is given here in slightly abridged form.

FOLLOWING THE LENINIST COURSE

The Draft Directives are a document of immense political and state importance. Elaborated on the basis of profound scientific analysis of the Soviet economy, with due account of its present level and achievements in science and technology, it represents a comprehensive program for a continued steady rise of the country's economy and of the living standards of its people. It vividly epitomizes the Leninist general line of our Party, which is always concerned for the vital interests of the Soviet people and is confidently leading them in the building of communism.

The Draft Directives define the basic directions of the country's economic development and set long-range goals for the five-year period. And these goals are truly magnificent. The ninth five-year plan will mark a very important stage in Soviet society's forward march to communism, in building the material and technical basis of communism and strengthening the country's economic and defense potential. *"The chief object of the five-year plan,"* the Party Central Committee Draft says, *"is to secure a considerable rise in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people through a high growth rate of socialist production, its higher effectiveness, more rapid scientific and technological progress and accelerated growth of labor productivity."*

And proceeding from these basic goals the Party envisages a far-reaching program of social measures, faster scientific and technological progress geared to a uniform technological policy; maximizing fundamental and applied research with faster introduction of their results in the economy; consistent promotion of cooperation

with other socialist countries to further strengthen the socialist world system.

Continued upbuilding of the country's economic strength is the key aim. The basic objective in industry is to expand and perfect production as the basis for developing the socialist economy. The plan envisages higher growth rates and a more balanced development, especially in agriculture and the light and food industries, and considerably higher efficiency indicators in all branches of the economy. National income is scheduled to rise 37-40 per cent, not less than 80 per cent of the gain will come from labor productivity.

Industrial expansion will be closely linked with fuller satisfaction of the people's requirements. Provision is made for a more rapid growth, and a higher percentage share, of industries producing consumer goods and the raw materials, machines and other equipment needed for their manufacture. Industrial output over the five years will rise by 42-46 per cent, with a 41-45 per cent increase in producer goods and 44-48 per cent in consumer goods.

The targets for some industries are stupendous: electric power output will increase to 1,030-1,070 billion kwh, oil to 480-500 million tons, gas to 300-320 billion cu.m., coal to 685-695 million tons, steel to 142-150 million tons. Oil products will rise 50 per cent, chemicals and petrochemicals 70 per cent, engineering products 70 per cent and consumer goods manufactured by the engineering industry 120 per cent. The plan sets steep output rises for the light, food, meat and dairy, fish, timber and woodworking, and several other industries.

The Party has drawn up and is successfully operating a far-reaching program to boost agricultural production, with the average annual accretion scheduled at 20-22 per cent over the five years. The principle of fixed procurement plans for agriculture will be retained, and likewise the incentives, in the form of higher prices, for produce sold to the state over and above plan assignments. The supply of mineral fertilizers in 1975 should be about 72 million tons and fodder phosphates about 3 million tons. The plan calls for bringing 3 million hectares of irrigated land under cultivation and for the supply to agriculture of 1,700,000 more tractors, 1,100,000 trucks and much other machinery. Agriculture will also receive more electric power. Labor productivity on collective and state farms will rise 37-40 per cent.

The expansion of transport and communications services is an important factor in economic development, and here the plan calls for more traction power and more maneuverability in transport, with freight carriage (all types of transport) increasing 32-35 per cent. Much will also be done to perfect operation of telecommunications, sound broadcasting and television.

Foremost in all the activities of the Party is its overall aim, expressed in this noble slogan: "Everything for man, everything for man's welfare." This supreme aim is central to the Draft Directives, and they enumerate far-reaching and integrated measures that will substantially raise living standards. Per capita real income will be up 30 per cent, average wages and salaries 20-22 per cent, collective-farm incomes (not counting income from household plots) 30-35 per cent. Minimum wages will also be raised. Social consumption funds will be upped 40 per cent, the money being used to expand and improve public health and education facilities, training of personnel, child welfare, higher pensions for workers, office employees and professionals and collective farmers, and higher student grants.

Higher prosperity standards will be achieved also through a bigger supply of goods, of higher quality and a wider assortment, and through expansion in the service industries. The Draft Directives provide for stable retail prices of consumer goods and for price reductions on certain goods as more commodity stocks are accumulated. Retail turnover will increase 40 per cent in line with growing incomes and expanded consumer-goods production.

The Party has consistently and tirelessly worked to improve housing conditions. The new plan calls for the construction of 565-575 million sq. m. of new housing, as against 518 million in the preceding five-year period. This means that the country's housing facilities are virtually being renewed, and many millions of Soviet citizens will move into new homes, in addition to the more than 100 million who have done so in the past ten years.

To achieve these goals in economic development, prosperity and cultural standards, the plan calls for 36-40 per cent higher investments in the economy and for their more effective use.

Scientific and technical progress will be accelerated through maximum development of research in the most promising fields and by reducing the time-lag in the economic application of research findings. Manual labor will be increasingly, and on a wide scale, replaced by machines. Intra-industry and inter-industry structures will be improved. One goal is to design and employ fundamentally new instruments, materials and technological processes surpassing the highest Soviet and world technical and economic standards.

Much attention will be paid to the geographic distribution of the productive forces and perfecting economic ties between the various regions, with the Union Republics and local Soviets of working people's deputies playing a bigger role in this. The accelerated development of the natural resources and the continued build-up of the economic potential of the eastern parts of the country is a cardinal factor in more rational allocation of productive forces and more balanced territorial proportions. The

plan sets out the basic development goals of the Union Republics and economic regions.

One of the main reserves of our continued growth is higher standards in all spheres of economic management to meet the requirements of the present stage of communist construction. Continued improvement of economic management and planning, better incentives, the use in this field of new techniques and broader involvement of the working people in running the economy, will make for more intensive growth of social production and its greater effectiveness. That is the main line of economic development for the coming years and for a longer period, the main condition of building the material and technical basis of communism.

The Communist Party and the entire Soviet people consider it their internationalist duty successfully to build communism and to strengthen the economic and defense capacity of their socialist country. The Soviet Union will continue to perfect and extend its economic and technical-scientific ties with the socialist countries in order further to consolidate the socialist community, and promote consistent economic integration of CMEA member states. We will develop stable economic and technical-scientific links with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. There will be a further extension of economically justified trade and technical-scientific contacts with industrially developed capitalist countries. The Soviet Union's foreign trade will increase 33-35 per cent over the five-year period.

Fulfillment of the ninth five-year plan, the Draft Directives emphasize, will be of vast international significance. Soviet economic growth will further strengthen the socialist world community and will demonstrate anew the superiority of the socialist planned economy. By fulfilling the five-year plan, the Soviet people will make a meaningful contribution to uniting all the forces battling for peace, democracy and socialism.

The splendid achievements of the land of Soviets in the fight for the triumph of communism — everything of which the Soviet people are justly proud and which has evoked the admiration of working people the world over — have been achieved by the selfless labor effort of the working class, collective farmers and Soviet intellectuals and thanks to the leading and directing role of the Communist Party, which is firmly following the Leninist course and is creatively guided by the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The conscious and organizing vanguard of society, the Party is closely linked with the broad mass of the working people and injects organization and planning into every aspect of their effort in building communism.

It has become a tradition of our Party to abide by Lenin's behest to take counsel with Party members, with the entire Soviet people,

on all major matters. The Draft Directives of the 24th CPSU Congress for the ninth five-year plan were published six weeks before the congress and have been submitted for discussion by the entire Party and people. The Draft is unanimously approved by all Soviet citizens. Its basic propositions and goals should be brought to the knowledge of every Party member, of every citizen of the USSR. Labor is the very source of our wealth, and every Soviet man and woman is, by his or her labor, bringing nearer the triumph of communism.

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union Republics, Territorial, Regional, City and District Party Committees and local Party branches should initiate far-reaching political and organizational work linked with discussion of the Draft and the fulfilment of production plans. They should more deeply study the work of enterprises, collective and state farms, critically analyze their operation in order to bring all latent reserves to bear and secure stringent observance of state discipline.

The active day-to-day struggle of the Party and people to fulfil the ninth five-year plan will further strengthen the might of our country, hasten completion of the material and technical basis of communism and facilitate the formation of communist social relations and the rise of the new man.

With a mass, nationwide movement now unfolding for bigger achievements in honor of the Party congress, the main content of socialist emulation becomes purposive effort to raise the effectiveness of production. Encouraged by the achievements to date, and inspired by the vistas opened by the new five-year plan, the Soviet people are working with redoubled energy, tapping new reserves and finding new possibilities for boosting production. Closely rallied around their Party, the Soviet people are selflessly working to translate into life the Party's great goals.

Under the tested leadership of the Leninist Party—forward to new victories in communist construction!

STATEMENT BY NATIONAL COMMITTEE CP USA

In a recent statement concerning the acts of anti-Soviet terrorism in New York, CP Chairman Henry Winston declared National Committee CP USA solidarity with the personnel of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations and of other Soviet offices.

The statement expressed deep shame over the city authorities' inability to assure normal working conditions for Soviet personnel and to curb hooligan activities. It censured the Administration's condonement of the terrorist acts and the provocative conduct of U.S. government quarters.

What does the "never again" slogan of the terrorists imply?

On the pretext of fighting that nazi concentration camps and gas chambers should recur never again, the Jewish Defense League brandishes this slogan to maliciously distort the true state of affairs, attacking the country that wiped out these very concentration camps and gas chambers, in which Jews and other European peoples were being exterminated, and which even menaced the people of the United States.

They are attacking the Soviet Union, which saved millions of Jews from the advancing nazi armies, while the United States, Great Britain and other Western countries refused to take any effective action to save the Jewish people from extermination.

They are attacking the Soviet Union, which turned back the nazi hordes, while the United States and Great Britain doomed millions of innocent people to dying in the gas chambers by delaying the second front.

They are attacking the Red Army which, on entering Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and East Germany, delivered millions of Jews and other prisoners from the concentration camps.

Furthermore, the CP USA statement said, Soviet Communists and the peoples of that country played an even more impressive role by overthrowing tsarism, ending the pogroms and terminating the reign of anti-semitism and national oppression, securing freedom and equality for the many nationalities of the Soviet Union, including the Jews, thus paving the way for the progress of the Jewish masses in all spheres of life unmatched anywhere. The Soviet Union was the first country to outlaw anti-semitism not only legislatively, but also in practice. The Soviet Union was the first country where citizens of Jewish origin in large numbers assumed so prominent a place among all categories of specialists, the high-

*TASS, New York, Jan. 18, 1971.

est posts in the country's leadership and the cultural field.

The Soviet Union played a key role in the creation of Israel and will save it from destruction. It is the policy followed by Nixon and Kissinger that may lead to the complete destruction of Israel.

The "never again" slogan is really a latter-day fascist slogan. It ministers to the aspirations of the Rightists, the fascist and anti-semites, of which there are still many in the United States, and who still attack synagogues, keep Jews out of many residential neighborhoods, do not admit them to many recreation facilities, and bar them from many professions.

It is no accident that Rabbi Kahane started by organizing bands of cutthroats in the ghettos, beating up Jewish workers. Nor is it accidental that he was a consultant of the notorious fascist-type House Un-American Activities Committee, which specialized in persecuting people of Jewish extraction, progressives, Communists, even liberals.

The Soviet Union evokes the hatred of these pro-fascist elements, because it pursues democratic and anti-imperialist aims in the Middle East, striving to secure for the Arab peoples complete independence from imperialism, because it is working for a democratic policy, an imperative pre-requisite for Israel's continued existence, and because it opposes the aggressive policy of Golda Meir, Dayan and others like them, which is a menace to Israel and world peace.

The pro-fascist elements are attacking the Soviet Union, because it follows a firm policy of peaceful co-existence and is striving to end the arms race.

It is a shame that New York's democratic public is slow to express itself on this score. True, liberal and conservative Jewish groups have censured the tactics of the JDL, but they have not censured its policy. As long as they will support the policy of the extreme reactionary quarters in Washington, they jeopardize peace and the withdrawal of troops, and encourage pro-fascist anti-Soviet extremists resorting to terror tactics. One cannot but regard as cowards those who ingratiate themselves with the warmongers and anti-semites by attacking the Soviet Union, while they do nothing to combat anti-semitism in the United States.

Welcoming representatives of the Soviet Union in our country, who are virtually under house arrest and exposed to danger from the hooligans, the statement concluded, we are aware of the need to extend the struggle against the Jewish Defense League and other fascist groups, and of our duty to expose the anti-Soviet slander and to disseminate the truth about the Soviet Union's achievements and its contribution to world progress. We voice our solidarity with you in the struggle for freedom and national liberation, for peace and socialism.

“WHAT HAS AND WHAT HAS NOT CHANGED”

To begin with, it should be noted that China's relations with the outside world have become more normal than in the “cultural revolution” period, F. Varnai writes.

In the last few months Peking has appointed ambassadors to countries with which it maintains official relations. There is one in Hungary now. More important still, the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic again have ambassadors in each other's capitals after an interval of almost four years. Foreign trade between the two countries is on the upgrade (four-fifths of China's foreign trade is with capitalist countries). The mixed frontier-river navigation commission has resumed its functions. Talks are continuing on a frontier settlement, though so far with no definite results. For all that, however, anti-Soviet propaganda continues.

Has there been any real change in Peking's policy? the author asks. An answer to this question is all the more necessary since some are inclined to draw far-reaching conclusions from the first favorable developments, disregarding all that went before them, the whole record of the past.

For a correct answer we must analyze the factors that have gone into these developments, the causes and circumstances that prompted the Chinese leaders to speak in new tones.

The Ninth CPC Congress, Varnai says, showed that the Mao Tse-tung forces had managed to demolish the country's lawful institutions, the elected Party and government bodies. But having gained complete control, they had to normalize somewhat the situation at home and China's international position.

And this called for new slogans. The principle of pay according to output, higher pay for more skilled work is again being operated, though a short while ago material incentives were denounced as “contributing to the restoration of the bourgeoisie.” There is, also, a more tolerant attitude towards the intelligentsia. The reasons are clear: the “big leap” economic policy of the past decade did not produce the expected results, though progress was made in electronics, atomic energy and rockets, which were exempt from the disorders.

There is also the noteworthy fact, Varnai says, that the second CC plenum (August-September, 1970) declared: “We strive for

Summary of an article by Ferenc Varnai in *Nepszabadsag*, organ of the CC, HSWP, December 20, 1970.

peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems..." Earlier this principle was denounced as revisionist, as renunciation of the revolution. Now it has been made the basis for normalizing relations with a number of countries. Diplomatic relations have been established with Canada and Italy. Nearly half the NATO countries—seven out of fifteen—have diplomatic relations with the far-eastern power they had formerly held in contempt. Capitalist press writers are very frank on the subject, suggesting that "normal international contacts will strengthen Peking's position vis à vis Moscow." There are many indications that President Nixon would like to follow suit but has to reckon with the advocates of a negative policy towards China. He is leaving it to his allies to take the initiative.

An important factor, the author says, is that as a result of the Soviet Union's resolute actions the border situation has stabilized and relations between the two countries are milder. But we should not overlook the fact that Peking's main course, approved by the Ninth Congress, has not changed. This is borne out by the fact that Peking applies one and the same principle in regulating relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and in normalizing relations with capitalist countries — countries of the opposing social system. It continues to regard the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as "revisionist" and "social-imperialist."

Nor did the CC plenum alter this policy, despite its stress on an offensive against U.S. and Japanese imperialism. It couldn't help advancing that slogan. By escalating its aggression in Vietnam and spreading the war to all of Indochina, U.S. imperialism is increasingly threatening China's security and Peking's aims in this part of the world. Japanese imperialism still hopes to recover its former positions in Asia.

Like the majority of the Communist parties, the author says, our Party welcomes every positive step, even though the Peking leaders confined themselves to improving diplomatic and trade relations with other socialist countries. But our readiness to improve relations on a basis of joint anti-imperialist action does not mean we are prepared to yield where ideological principles are concerned. We abide by the policy of the Tenth HSWP Congress. Our Party has consistently opposed Right and "Left" opportunism as contrary to Marxism-Leninism, and all attempts to weaken the unity of the fraternal parties. Despite ideological differences, the HSWP will in future, too, do everything to further the joint struggle of Communist and Workers' parties against the aggressive actions of imperialism, U.S. imperialism first and foremost, joint assistance to the liberation struggle of the Indochina peoples, and support of the anti-imperialist struggles of other nations.

WHEN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLES IS IGNORED

Important changes are under way in Europe as we enter the seventies. The tendency to ease international tensions and assure the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is taking firmer root.

Important tokens of this are the treaties signed last year by the Soviet Union and Poland with the Federal Republic of Germany, formalizing respect for, and acknowledging, the political and territorial realities of present-day Europe. Soviet-French cooperation and good relations between other states of East and West, too, are having a beneficial effect on European affairs.

In government and other spheres preparations are under way for an all-European conference that could examine urgent security problems and pave the way for good-neighbor relations among the European states.

That is in harmony with the basic interests of all nations and makes for greater confidence in the future.

Governments, parliaments, parties and mass organizations have to face the facts and ask themselves about their place in the present situation: would they be prepared to help ease the tension, as the vast majority of people would want them to, or rather be the idle bystander, or, perhaps, go against the popular will and try to block the effort of adjusting inter-state relations?

Glib speeches and idle promises will not build a dependable edifice of security and confidence. What is wanted are deeds and lucid standpoints. And that is precisely where the disparity between the political forces in some Western countries is most distinct.

The resistance to the new international trends is particularly bitter in the Federal Republic. Which is not at all surprising. For more than two decades influential FRG quarters preached hostility to socialist countries, sowing the seeds of revanche and militarism. The pernicious consequences of this should not be written off, because, among other things, the candid CDU and CSU campaigners for revising the results of the war have not drawn the right conclusions from the ballots cast in the elections eighteen months ago for a more reasoned and realistic policy.

At the end of January a Christian-Democratic Union congress produced a new party program sorely lacking in common sense and

a sound approach to the facts. In German affairs, the line imposed on the delegates denies the existing European frontiers, aims at restoring the German Reich, interferes in the internal affairs of the sovereign socialist German Democratic Republic, and lays claim to West Berlin as an "FRG land." What the chauvinist elements want is sustained international tension, a galloping arms drive and settlement of disputes from positions of strength. Timid suggestions to inject some realism into the program, to make it somewhat more flexible, at least externally, were brushed aside angrily by those who are blind to what would happen to the Federal Republic if it tried to follow their line.

Some CDU leaders and their followers pretend that the present European frontiers were fixed today, with the conclusion of the treaties, though the latter only reflect the facts of long ago, dating back a quarter of a century to the time when the Hitler Reich collapsed under the onslaught of the Soviet Army and its allies of the anti-Hitler coalition. To hear Kiesinger and Strauss (who addressed the congress as a guest on behalf of the CSU) speak, present-day Europe has no right to exist and should give place to a "new order" in which the German Reich would assume its place in the sun. And the place the revenge-seeking forces want for the FRG is all too well known . . . As long as this has not come about, no one should expect lasting peace, with the European nations serving as the revenge-seekers' hostages, as it were.

In politics, reckless fanaticism gets you nowhere. For more than twenty years the Federal Republic fenced itself off from the socialist world with a wall of hostility. Its people are not to blame. The ruling politicians held that their enmity would restrain other Western countries from adjusting relations with the Soviet Union. Yet the main loser was the FRG.

The CDU congress and subsequent CDU utterances in the recent Bundestag debates show clearly enough where certain groups would want the FRG to move. Neither Kiesinger nor Strauss have any sensible alternative to the present policy. Theirs is a patented, fossilized platform opposing European peace and good-neighbor relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They want tensions to mount rather than abate, because for them a state of tension seems to present the ultimate opportunity for tearing down the European frontiers. Evidently, they could not care less that tearing down frontiers implies war. As they see it, the Second World War ended in a mere setback, not a disaster. They still hope that this setback, the "bungling of the incompetents" who then ruled the Reich, can be reversed in favor of the German militarists.

Motivated by the wish to stand everything in Europe on its head, a politician is sure to reject any treaty based on the facts,

pursuing the interests of peace. He will compulsively malign the treaty and howl about "betrayal," pretending that he—the gambler betting on war—is the sole champion of the national interests.

Twice in the 20th century the rulers of the German Reich pushed their nation over the brink. Twice in one century Germans were led to the slaughter for ideas hostile to ordinary men. Now, too, Germans are being told that their future is best served not by peaceful work and good relations with their neighbors, but by the perverse notion of rising above other nations, other states.

Governments and the public in most countries, along with most Germans in the FRG, welcomed the treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland as a major contribution to European and world peace. But there are those in the FRG who ignore this and go to all lengths to malign and belittle the treaties.

The European peoples, including the people of the FRG, it is emphasized everywhere, can, now that the treaties have been signed, go about their peaceful labors with greater confidence. Yet some CDU leaders defy the facts, logic and common sense, complaining that one of the signatories won all the advantages, while the other—i.e., the FRG—won none. As though for Western Germans peace and security are meaningless.

The foes of the two treaties resort to plain fraud when, in the heat of controversy or perhaps deliberately, they maintain that all the accruing advantages went to the socialist countries, imputing to the treaties what they do not, and cannot, contain, in order to strike fear into the uninformed.

Doubtless, if the treaty were framed unilaterally by the FRG, it would be quite different. The same would be true if it were framed unilaterally by the Soviet Union. This applies equally to the treaty concluded by the FRG and the Polish People's Republic. But as things stand, the treaties reflect a balance of their signatories' interests, and are expressive of the wish and readiness to deal with each other on equal terms, with mutual respect and sensible cognizance of the existing realities. Treaties promoting peace do not yield more to one of the signatories and less to the other.

Those who oppose the treaties and their peaceful objectives, are trying to obstruct their ratification. And their approach to the West Berlin negotiations by the four powers that had concluded inter-allied agreements years ago formalizing the city's special status, is also motivated by the same desire of maintaining tension in the heart of Europe.

The personalities setting the tune in the CDU/CSU bloc have become increasingly candid spokesmen of all the Right extremist and revenge-seeking groups active in the FRG. Indicatively, the press of the neo-nazi National-Democratic Party heaps praise on Strauss and Kiesinger whenever they renew their hate attacks against the

policy of détente. Adolf von Thadden, chief of the neo-nazis, complains that the "bigger opposition party" is stealing votes from the National-Democrats "by repeating what the NDP has been saying all along," and his complaint is, indeed, justified.

The revenge-seekers and militarists, whose reckless policy created a long period of dangerous strain in the recent past, have not given up. If they had it their way, they would erect new obstacles daily to the effort of consolidating peace.

They keep saying "no" to an all-European conference. They want "the German question to be kept open," hoping to settle it one day by revenge-seeking militaristic means. They will not hear of equal relations between the GDR and FRG, and cry outrage at anything that could check the arms race.

But if ambition is the only thing a man draws from the lessons of yesteryear, if he lacks the courage to face the facts squarely and honestly, he should not expect to be trusted. None but the realistic politician with a policy that benefits from past experience and ministers to the future, to the well-being of the people, to peace, can count on success.

CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF THE MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Publication of the Theses on problems of the Mexican Communist Party is undoubtedly of great significance. First of all because it shows interest in holding a thorough, creative and constructive discussion which should facilitate fulfilment of immediate and future Party objectives.

The Party is faced with essential tasks without the just solution of which it cannot advance, will not be able to win the support of the majority of the working class, peons and farm laborers and also its allies the peasants, the Indian part of the population and the middle classes, in particular the students and intellectuals.

The Theses are important, in my opinion, in that they state the necessity of leaning upon the lower Party organizations in order to lead the Party out of its present situation. I believe this to be correct because the future development of the MCP is possible only if there exists a militant and creatively thinking Party active.

The MCP's cardinal problem is its proletarianization. In its full sense this implies its social composition, its cadres policy and political line. Many of the problems facing the Party arose as a result of the social composition of the middle classes who inevitably and spontaneously propose their own forms and methods of work and struggle. This situation is reflected in many of the measures adopted in the cadres policy. It finds repercussion in the Party's daily activities and in certain problems connected with its orientation.

This is demonstrated by certain facts which I shall deal with in part. Various Party documents and even the Theses themselves invariably maintain that the history of the MCP falls into two periods: before and after the 13th National Congress. Such an assertion repudiates the devoted struggle of rank and file Party members and is a disregard for the memory of heroes who fell in the struggle for Party principles. Such an assertion is incorrect because it rejects the revolutionary traditions of our Party forged during the 51 years of struggle.

The MCP's activities should develop along the lines of studying, assimilating and mastering past experience as a prerequisite for an objective and profound comprehension of reality and creative application of Marxism-Leninism in new, modern conditions in order to draw up a correct, firm and revolutionary policy. During

Condensed version of an article by Blas Salinas in the Nov. 22, 1970 issue of the newspaper *La Voz de México*.

this process we should attract the majority of workers to our side, win their trust and conviction in the necessity for leadership by our Party. This is the only correct path which historically will lead the working class to liberation from exploitation and, once its socialist consciousness is moulded, will cast it in the role of vanguard of the Mexican proletariat. This places before us the historical task of working to become a party of one class—the proletariat, which makes it imperative to accentuate the ideology of the proletariat — Marxism-Leninism — when solving internal or external Party problems.

In connection with this it is appropriate to mention here one of our class problems. On page 9 of its September-October issue the magazine *Nueva Epoca* maintains that “there is greater political influence of the Left opposition with which our Party is associated.” I believe such an estimation of the problem to be incorrect because our Communist Party is the only Party which should express the interests of the revolutionary proletariat. The so-called Leftists are represented in our country by several groups, such as the Trotskyites, the Maoists, the Spartacists, etc. Their existence reflects such social phenomenon as the crisis of the middle classes, with certain segments of them being highly sensitive to the crisis that has gripped Mexican society as a result of the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and the deformation of our country’s development by Yankee imperialism.

Mexico is a country where the middle classes have developed noticeably in town and rural areas and this affects even the working class. Because of this, the ultra-Left groups pose as Messiahs, “saviors of the people,” as they fight against consistent revolutionaries. They believe it is their action that is decisive and that “everything depends on courage,” or, as the Maoists say, “the revolution comes out of the barrel of the gun.” They ignore the necessity for a revolutionary situation to ripen and the fact that a revolution is not improvised but is an historical necessity. They do not take into consideration the fact that a revolution is not the produce of a subjective idealistic consciousness but, as Marx pointed out, the result of a mature situation and an historical requisite.

The crisis suffered by the middle classes is leading to a situation where certain groups representing these classes are subjectively attempting to disregard the laws, discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin, governing the development of society and revolution. The important thing for these groups is to supplant the masses as an active force so as to bring about what they subjectively believe to be right, which, to their misfortune, is a far cry from reality.

Acting in this manner they obscure the role of the Communist Party and often combat it. This so-called “broad Left” is a serious

barrier to correct orientation, to winning over and guidance of the working class as the only class capable of firmly and consistently directing the entire process. Only through struggle on two fronts, by acting firmly to ensure that the working class fulfils its role of vanguard of the proletariat will it be possible to win the trust of the proletariat, and assume its leadership.

Only in this way can our Communist Party become the wise vanguard of the Mexican working class.

The Theses do not give an objective and exhaustive analysis of the situation in the Mexican Communist Party, of which it is very important thoroughly to study every aspect and every characteristic so as to specify the effort all Party members must make to overcome the crisis.

The Party is mainly composed of peasants, students, teachers, technical personnel and representatives of the arts and very few workers. The latter fact tells above all on Party leadership. The situation is aggravated through the lack of political work in the Party to build up proletarian, Marxist-Leninist consciousness. Theoretical work is also at a very low level. There are no discussions on political and tactical problems. The greatest activity is seen in campaigns of an economic nature (obviously, I am not against them).

In the period between 1959 and 1970, during the intensified persecution of Communists, the Party was paralyzed. The last time this happened was between October and December 1969. This fact shows that no appropriate work had been carried out in our Party to provide normal Party life in all conditions, whether they be legal, semi-legal or illegal. Such work is extremely necessary in order to be able to utilize all forms of struggle and to carry out practical activities in all conditions.

In short, this demands a careful long-range plan that must be carried out patiently and unrelentingly, according to actual conditions. Only under such conditions is it possible to create a strong workers' core in the Party. Only in this way is it possible to achieve organizational successes and greater Party influence.

In the author's opinion, the MCP is going through a new and still graver crisis. A historical analysis of the crisis and its reasons is imperative and he intends devoting a special work to this problem.

Over the past decade, continues B. Salinas, there have been successive expulsions from the Party of such factional groups as the Maoists, the ultra-Left and renegades. Some of them now belong to what are called ultra-Left groups. Even a superficial analysis makes it obvious that during this period the MCP has lost control of important revolutionary centers and has become weaker organizationally. Some maintain that our political line is absolutely correct.

However, it would be wise to analyze the role played in this process first of all by sectarianism (as the main culprit, apart from opportunism). A separate article will be devoted to the basic trends in the mass struggle and to the negative role played by sectarianism and the harm it has caused our Party.

The MCP Presidium was correct in publishing the Theses. The task now is to analyze the entire problem with the Party rank and file, for there have been both successes and failures and the problem must be tackled from every angle.

After the MCP's 13th Congress some experienced cadre members of the Party were pushed into the background. Certain of them were branded "Encinistas,"* others were included in the category of those no longer to be trusted, while a third group was accused of losing faith in the positive significance of the measures passed by the 13th Congress. Actually, however, an attempt was made to establish a "new" Party. Sectarianism among the leadership and in Party activities has led to consequences that will make themselves felt for quite some time.

This is especially noticeable in the policy with regard to the Party cadres who were often selected on the basis of purely personal reasons. Concrete cases could be cited, which it is not convenient to mention, mainly for reasons of discretion.

The author then recalls the basic prerequisites for a cadres policy as outlined by the 7th Congress of the Third International. Pointing out the intensification of anti-Communist persecution in the country, he says that the principles of a correct cadres policy, incorrectly implemented by the MCP, are to know people well, promote and use them correctly, place them properly, give them the necessary aid, train and retrain them adequately on a permanent basis so that they may keep abreast of the times, and see to it that they stay with us.

It would be very good to examine how it is possible that even inside the Party our enemies were destroying Party cadres because the enemy is constantly on the watch and is operating even in our own ranks.

Besides, attention should be drawn to the manifestations of desperation or sectarianism when analyzing the situation in our country, because this opens the road to ultra-Leftism. This is the result of an idealistic and subjective approach to existing reality instead of a profound and objective study of the life of our country. It would be appropriate here to recall the statement in the May Day Manifesto published in *La Voz de México* on May 1, 1969 that there was "a revolutionary upsurge" in the country. Such assertions play into the hands of the ultra-Left and hamper the drafting of a consistent, firm and correct political line, a correct orientation of the

*D.Encinas, former First Secretary of the MCP.—Ed.

Party and of the masses by the Party. In this case an analysis should be made of the composition of social classes in our country, the changes they have undergone and the new problems characteristic of these classes in order creatively to work out the Party's political line on the scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism and, particularly, to enhance socialist consciousness among the working class.

These tasks dictate the need for restoring Leninist organizational principles in inner-Party life. The basic inner-Party task is to restore the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, organize the activities of Party cells as the Party's basic political units and take care of all Party members and their education as potential political cadres. In other words, it is necessary to turn the Party cells into the Party's political foundation. Confusing Party cells with auxiliary organizations is, in my opinion, a revisionist approach to the matter and may, in the long run prejudice the Party and result in diluting its proletarian character.

Certain comrades persistently propose that we model our work on the experience of the heroic Communist Party of Spain. However, our Party's conditions differ greatly from the conditions of the CPS. The problem is not one of copying but studying and analyzing the experience of other parties, working out and implementing a correct policy in accordance with the situation in Mexico on the basis of a creative, not a mechanical application of Marxism-Leninism.

All this inevitably poses the problem of reorganization of the MCP into a Party of the working class, continuing the progressive struggle of our people and their heroes who had struggled against the old regime. We must follow the path of the Party's transformation because, in spite of our problems, shortcomings and mistakes we are the representatives of a trend that is historically destined to carry out transformation. In modern times we represent the only truly independent, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist force struggling for fulfilment of the national tasks resulting from the demands of Mexican reality. We are fighters for Mexican socialism and this task poses the problem of active and self-sacrificing participation of all Party members in the struggle to build up our Party on the basis of democratic centralism.

Our Party must remain true to the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Especially important today is propaganda of the successes in building socialism in every country and especially the building of the material basis of communism in the USSR. Our Party should have a clear comprehension of international solidarity and the struggle against chauvinism, no matter how it is disguised, because nationalism is often utilized in the struggle against the USSR and the CPSU.

Certain conclusions must be drawn.

1. It is necessary to make the MCP a proletarian party as concerns its social composition, cadres and policy. All its activities—theoretical, political and practical—must be proletarian, Marxist-Leninist in character;

2. It is necessary to struggle for the formation of a Marxist-Leninist ideology, for purity of principles, against chauvinism and all revisionist tendencies so widely advertised by Fischer, Garaudy, Dubcek, Bethelheim, the Maoists and others;

3. There is urgent need for serious and profound work, including work on a high level, in studying all national problems and also in working out a theoretical and political line. This is urgent because a study of the existing situation and the subsequent drafting of a corresponding line on the basis of creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism will raise the level of political training of Party cadres and, consequently, the level of their Marxist-Leninist training, arming all Party cadres and Party members theoretically;

4. Our Party must be reorganized in adjustment to modern conditions and a correct policy pursued in relation to cadres;

5. It is imperative to make the Party cell the basic political unit that would be dynamic and militant and capable of implementing the Party's political line. The cells should enable the Party to operate under any conditions, legal or illegal, in theoretical, political and practical terms and from the standpoint of steadily building up the party of the working class;

6. It is imperative to apply Leninist organizational policy and, first of all, the principles of democratic centralism;

7. A struggle must be waged against sectarianism, the greatest danger to our Party today;

8. It is necessary to explore the manner in which Party members could be supplied at reduced prices with the collected works of Marx and Engels, V. I. Lenin, the documents of the Third Communist International (1919-1943). It is also necessary to publish in a single volume the documents of international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties and also a collection of the reports, theses, resolutions and documents of the MCP (1919-1970). This would facilitate the Marxist-Leninist training of all Party members, help them study the present and future national problems and creatively apply Marxism-Leninism. This would give them orientation in the class struggle in our country and in international problems. All this will undoubtedly be in the interests of the Party work of all members of the MCP;

9. One of our main problems is the problem of Communist education which would rally all our comrades and make them immune to ultra-Left and revisionist tendencies and also to tendencies that are

alien and hostile to the revolutionary proletariat. Communist education should impart a national and internationalist spirit to our Party's policy, which is the way to rectifying past mistakes and to promoting friendship with the CPSU on the principles of the international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties.

Workers of all countries, unite!

CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

A Conference of Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe was held in London from Monday, January 11, to Wednesday, January 13, 1971.

The Conference was attended by delegates from the Communist Parties of the following fifteen countries: Austria, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland. In addition, the Communist Parties of Cyprus, Luxembourg, Portugal, San Marino and West Berlin, which were unable to attend, indicated their support and interest in the Conference.

The purpose of the Conference was to discuss "the struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries of Europe in face of the development of international firms."

The information presented and the extensive discussion which took place showed that the Communist Parties are aware of the extent of this development which is an expression of the internationalization of capitalist production in the conditions of monopoly domination. All the delegates emphasized the threat which this involves to the interests and conditions of the working class and other sections of the population, to national sovereignty and democracy and its development in each country. The delegations examined the new demands which stem from this for the fight against imperialism today.

The Conference was an expression of the solidarity of the Communist Parties and showed the value and necessity of following up contacts and discussions between parties of the different countries in order to exchange information and experiences for the purpose of concerting their actions. During the Conference it was noted that there is an awareness, and also some concrete experiences, among wide sections of the working class and democratic movement of the possibility and necessity of common action on these questions.

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The delegation of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, because of the conditions under which they had decided to participate in the Conference, did not associate themselves with the Communiqué, but will report the proceedings of the Conference to their Central Committee.

CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF JORDAN, SYRIA, IRAQ AND LEBANON

The Communist parties of Jordan, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon held a conference in mid-January to exchange views on crucial problems of the Arab countries before the termination of the ceasefire (on February 5).

Below we publish excerpts from the documents of the conference published by the Lebanese newspaper *Al-Akhbar* on January 17 and 24, 1971.

FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ARAB NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE PALESTINE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT! FOR VICTORY OVER OUR COMMON ENEMY— IMPERIALISM, ZIONISM AND REACTION!

The conference heard and discussed reports by its participants and drew a number of conclusions. The most important of them is that the Arab national liberation movement is successfully resisting the offensive of imperialism and its frantic attacks to undermine progressive regimes in the Arab countries, create differences and cause a split in the national liberation movement as a whole and in its individual contingents, liquidate the Palestine resistance movement, undermine Arab-Soviet friendship and hamper the economic development of the progressive countries and social changes in them.

The participants in the conference noted that, though Right-wing trends have emerged in some progressive Arab countries and though the latter have to cope with internal differences and obstacles in their development, the Arab national liberation movement has successfully resisted the imperialist offensive and achieved certain successes, the main points of which are the following:

1) preservation of the progressive regimes in the UAR and Syria and the protection of their economic and social gains; new achievements, above all the completion of the Aswan High Dam project in the UAR and the building of the Euphrates dam;

2) strengthening and expansion of the positions of progressive regimes in the Arab countries as a result of the victory of the revolution in Sudan, the liquidation of the monarchy in Libya and the progressive development in South Yemen;

3) considerable strengthening of the UAR army, its greater combat preparedness and defense might, and enhanced combat ability of the Syrian army thanks to effective Soviet aid;

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4) expansion of cooperation between the progressive Arab regimes in various spheres and, in particular, growing military cooperation between the UAR and Syria; the decision to set up a federation of four Arab states—the UAR, Sudan, Libya and Syria, which is a positive step towards their unity. This decision may play an important role in the confrontation with the aggressor and in strengthening the positions of the progressive regimes, though the Federation is still in its initial stage;

5) strengthening of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the progressive Arab countries and the Soviet Union, which is giving to the Arab peoples decisive assistance in their fight against imperialism and Zionism, for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories. The relations of friendship and cooperation are the political basis of the economic successes, achieved in particular by the UAR and Syria;

6) the entry into the struggle of the Palestine resistance movement, that important contingent of the Arab national liberation movement, a part of the world revolutionary movement and champion of the interests of the Palestine people and their legitimate right to return to their land and settle their own affairs themselves.

The successes of the Arab national liberation movement evoke rancor on the part of imperialism and Zionism, prompting them to redouble their conspiratorial machinations against the progressive Arab countries, the Palestine resistance movement and other contingents of the liberation movement. Imperialism and Zionism are seeking to exploit the contradictions in the relations between different national forces, to deepen these contradictions, cause a split in their ranks and then strike at these forces.

Imperialism is exploiting and trying to aggravate differences between the different contingents of the national liberation movement, irrespective of whether these differences are the result of its activity or reflect internal class contradictions. Imperialism and reaction would also benefit from a split in the Arab Communist movement, a weakening of its unity and a split in each Communist Party.

The bloody campaign launched by Jordan's reaction against the Palestine resistance movement, the Palestinians and the patriotic forces in Jordan, the events of last September and of the more recent period are a continuation of the criminal activity in line with the plans of imperialism and Zionism, directed at liquidating the resistance movement and the Palestinian problem as a whole.

The Communists regard the problem of the Arab people of Palestine as their own problem and are fighting for its solution jointly with the Palestinian people. In this fight against imperialism, Zionism and reaction they have the support of all the forces of freedom and socialism, headed by the Soviet Union.

The statement then points to the intensified flow of U.S. arms into Israel and the Tel-Aviv government's obstruction of the Jarring mission. It emphasizes that by its aggressive expansionist policy Israel continues to create a threat to peace in the Middle East and throughout the world. It is imperative, therefore, to force the Israeli government to withdraw its troops from the occupied territories.

Towards this end, it is essential:

- 1) to enhance the combat capacity of the Arab armies;
- 2) to establish an Eastern Front in order to force Israel to withdraw its troops from the occupied territories and to oppose its policy of expansion;
- 3) to intensify the activity of the Palestine resistance movement on the occupied territories and unite its organizations within the framework of a single front on the basis of a joint-action program;
- 4) to enhance the economic might of the progressive Arab countries, extend and deepen the progressive social changes in these countries;
- 5) to strengthen cooperation by progressive forces in the Arab countries, overcome the differences with a view to mobilizing broad masses, consolidate the home front in each Arab country and cut short any manifestation of anti-democratism and anti-communism.

The present complex conditions demand of the Communist parties of Jordan, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon ever closer cooperation and joint decisions on various important problems.

The conference participants note the successes achieved by the international Communist movement after the Moscow 1969 Meeting in cementing its unity and promoting cooperation with other anti-imperialist forces. These successes are evidence of the movement's heightened role and possibilities. They tilt the balance of world forces more and more in favor of the forces of freedom and socialism, fighting against imperialism and aggression, and are an immense gain for the entire international revolutionary movement, including the Arab national liberation movement.

The conference participants hail the progress made by the Soviet peoples under the leadership of the Party of the great Lenin in building the material and technical base of communism and, in particular, the fresh successes of the Soviet working people on the eve of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which will be an important landmark in the life of the entire Communist movement.

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The Conference sent the following message to the CC CPSU:

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TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Dear Comrades,

In connection with the completion of the Aswan High Dam project in the UAR, we, representatives of the Communist parties of Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon convey to you our gratitude.

This important achievement has been made possible by the effective aid of the Soviet Union. Our parties and all Arab peoples highly appreciate this assistance in their struggle with chronic backwardness and against the imperialist economic blockade, which is designed to re-impose imperialist domination on our countries.

The heroic efforts of the Soviet people to harness nature for the good of the population of an Arab country are the embodiment of Soviet-Arab friendship, of which the Aswan High Dam will be an everlasting symbol.

The Arab peoples, supported by the Soviet Union at all stages of the struggle against imperialism and Zionist aggression, have daily evidence of the magnitude and effectiveness of this assistance in the fight against the imperialist, Zionist conspiracy. They especially appreciate this assistance today, when Israel, supported by U.S. imperialism, persists in its attempts to thwart all efforts to liquidate the consequences of the aggression and flouts the resolution of the UN and Security Council on the withdrawal of the aggressor troops from the occupied Arab territories.

The Aswan Dam is a legendary feat performed by the Egyptian people with the help of the Soviet Union, a symbol of Arab-Soviet friendship, manifested in the economic and cultural assistance and in the strengthening of the defense capability of the Arab countries threatened by aggression.

We take this occasion to convey on behalf of millions of our fellow countrymen our deep gratitude to the CC CPSU, Soviet workers and engineers, who took part in the building of the Aswan Dam, to the entire friendly Soviet people. Long live Arab-Soviet friendship! Long live the Party of the great Lenin!

* * *

The conference adopted "The Statement in connection with the destruction by Jordan's reactionary regime of the Palestine resistance contingents," which reads in part:

Jordanian reaction is continuing its criminal campaign against the Palestine resistance movement with the aim of crushing it. The war of destruction against the Palestine resistance movement waged by Jordan's reaction is part of the struggle of imperialism and Zionism against all contingents of the Arab anti-imperialist

national liberation movement. This attempt at liquidating one of the contingents of the Arab national liberation movement pursues the aim of creating the most favorable conditions for imposing imperialist and Zionist terms on the Arab national liberation movement, for supporting Israel's aggressive and expansionist position and liquidating the gains of the progressive regimes in the Arab countries.

The massacre unleashed by Jordanian reaction should also be seen as part of the imperialist attempts to split the national progressive forces in the Arab countries and to plunge them into internal strife. Imperialism and Zionism are seeking to prevent them from accomplishing their main objective—to liquidate the consequences of Israel's aggression—and to impede the formation of the Eastern Front, weaken the positions of the United Arab Republic and block its struggle for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories.

The Communist parties call on all resistance contingents to unite their ranks, coordinate efforts, overcome differences the better to resist the reactionary imperialist offensive, to cement the unity of the fraternal Palestinian and Jordanian peoples and foil the plans of reaction and imperialism to split their ranks.

The Communist parties urge all progressive forces of the world to extend solidarity to the Palestine resistance movement.

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The Statement of the Arab Communist parties on repressions against Communists and democrats in Iraq says in part:

The representatives of the fraternal parties of Jordan, Syria and Lebanon took note of the detailed information supplied by the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party on some aspects of present developments in Iraq.

With reference to the persecution of Iraqi democrats and the arrests, torture and murder of Communists, the participants stated:

These methods employed by the regime reveal a flagrant contradiction between the deeds of some Iraqi leaders and their assurances that they are ready to cooperate with all national progressive parties and organizations and wish to form a national front with them.

We demand complete and final discontinuation of such anti-democratic methods and strict punishment for those who employ them. We demand democratic liberties for the Iraqi Communist Party and for all national and democratic parties and forces in Iraq. We call on all national and progressive forces in the Arab countries to show solidarity with the people of Iraq in their fight for their great goals.

Iraq must embark on the path of democracy. Only in this way will it be possible to mobilize the energy of the Iraqi people for solving internal tasks. The most important of these is to carry into practice the agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Kurdish question, to settle the problem of Iraq's participation in the struggle of the Arab peoples to eliminate the consequences of Israel's aggression, to give the Palestinian Arabs the right to return to their land and settle their affairs themselves, to strengthen independence, establish democracy and assure social progress.

ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTIES

USSR

In preparation for the 24th Party Congress, regional Party conferences were held in *January* and *February* to discuss fulfilment of the decisions of the 23rd Congress and CC Plenum. Special stress was laid on the selection, training and placing of personnel, verification, and ideological and political education. Prominent in the discussions was mass participation of the working people in socialist competition on the eve of the 24th Congress and for successful fulfilment of the first year of the new five-year plan.

CANADA

January 7. William Kashtan, General Secretary of the CP of Canada, exposing the real reasons behind the anti-Soviet campaign unleashed by Zionists in the United States and Canada, pointed to the link between this campaign and the increasingly aggressive policy followed by certain groups in the United States. Advocates of the cold war, he said, are put off balance by the Soviet Union's firm policy of attaining a political solution in the Middle East on the obligatory condition that Israel withdraw its troops from the occupied territory.

BELGIUM

On *January 8*, the Belgian CP newspaper *Drapeau Rouge* published preparatory documents for the 20th congress of the BCP due March 19-21, 1971. The documents, prepared by the CC BCP, consist of four sections, titled: "Inflict Decisive Blows On Neo-Capitalism," "New Conditions of Struggle for Workers' Unity," "Position and Role of the BCP in the Belgian Workers' Movement" and "Political Action Fronts of the Communist Party." Publication of these documents in the *Drapeau Rouge* opened the pre-congress discussion.

POLAND

In *mid-January* the PUWP district and city organizations held election conferences in many regions. The delegates assessed inner-Party work, taking a critical approach to the methods and style of work in the period under review. Social and economic development problems of individual districts were discussed with due con-

sideration for the present economic situation. The conferences examined the possibility of producing more goods that are in high demand and problems of the fuller utilization of reserves. Measures were emphasized that would help to strengthen the Party's leading role, restore its authority and guarantee the implementation of the principles of Party democracy and democratic centralism.

PERU

On January 9 the *Unidad* reported on a CC Plenum of the Peruvian CP, held on December 18-20, 1970. In his political report, Alfredo Abarca analyzed the most important government measures and the changes in the balance of class and political forces. New objective conditions are appearing in the country for the development of the worker-peasant movement and the anti-imperialist struggle of all patriotic forces, making it possible to deepen the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic stage of the revolution.

A report delivered by Raul Acosta, Deputy General Secretary of the CC PCP, emphasizes the correctness of Party policy and the necessity of observing Leninist principles to turn the PCP into a true vanguard of the proletariat.

The resolutions stress the necessity for launching a nationwide membership campaign during the first half of 1971, carrying out broad ideological work and increasing sales of the *Unidad*.

A report on the situation in the trade unions notes the rapid growth of the General Confederation of Working People. The meeting analyzes the condition of the working class, its organization and militancy, and its role, adopting corresponding resolutions on the basis of the report.

The plenum expelled Guevara Galvez from the Party for his factional activities and attempts to create a new opportunistic, ultra-left, neo-Trotskyite political organization jointly with anti-Communists.

NORWAY

Meeting on January 9-10, the Central Committee of the Norwegian CP discussed the workers' movement in the country on the eve of the 1971 communal elections, and the international situation. One of the resolutions says that Norwegian Communists would continue their struggle for bringing the country's socialist forces into a united front.

JAPAN

Kendji Miyamoto, Chairman of the CC Presidium of the Japanese Communist Party, addressing a press conference on January 12,

said the JCP was prepared to establish a united front with all political forces ready to abide by the following three principles: liquidation of the Japanese-American military alliance, and defense of the country's neutrality; replacement of the government which relies on big capital, and defense of the people's vital interests; struggle against the revival of Japanese militarism and for the establishment of a democratic Parliament.

He added that the Japanese Communist Party might accept a policy of mutual concessions during elections in relation to parties ready to support these three principles.

BOLIVIA

A mass meeting to mark the 21st anniversary of the Bolivian CP was held on *January 18*. Addressing the meeting, Jorge Kolle, First Secretary of the CC BCP, emphasized the importance of present events in the country and the working people's mounting role in resolving political tasks and suppressing resistance by the Rightist forces.

The speaker criticized the conception of "foci" (meaning foci of guerrilla warfare). "No one in Latin America or in our country," he said, "has inflicted such great harm on the Communist movement as the ideological deserters who call themselves 'leaders' and 'heroes.' A war must be proclaimed against the theory of 'foci' within our ranks and especially among the youth. We must not attempt to hide the ideological chasm dividing the Communists and the supporters of this theory."

AUSTRIA

The meeting of the CPA Central Committee, held on *January 19-20*, analyzed the political situation in the country and the present tasks of the Party. The main report was made by Erwin Scharf, Politbureau member and CC Secretary of the CPA.

The basic content of the Communist program of action, he said, will be the struggle against the rising cost of living, to stop the price spiral and to reform the tax system. This struggle is aimed at a re-distribution of the material benefits created by society in favor of the working people. The speaker dealt with the essence of the new electoral law, saying that at the next elections the Party had a real chance of winning seats in Parliament.

INDIA

The Indian CP will contest the mid-term parliamentary elections under the slogans of closer unity and cooperation of the Left and progressive forces, says the ICP manifesto, read by R. Rao, General

Secretary of the ICP, at a press conference in Delhi on *January 21*.

The CP manifesto notes that the coming elections would be marked by a growing struggle between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction. In view of this, the manifesto calls on the country's Left and progressive forces to close ranks in order to defeat the reactionary bloc of the Rightist parties and the Right wing of the United Socialist Party leadership that joined the bloc.

The ICP manifesto proposes a wide range of democratic reforms to benefit the Indian people, including a limit on land holdings, an agrarian reform, distribution of unused lands, the nationalization of monopolies and government control of foreign capital.

In foreign policy the ICP calls for a firmer policy of peace and non-alignment, based on anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, for the development of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

CUBA

CP leaders, members of the Revolutionary government and top executives representing mass organizations met in conference in Havana on *January 25*. Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, said that the success of the safra determines the development of the country's economy. It is necessary, he said, to work for maximum sugar production and introduce more effective harvesting techniques.

VENEZUELA

The Communist Party of Venezuela held its Fourth Congress in Caracas on *January 23-27*. A report on Party activity since the Third Congress ten years ago was made by Jesus Faria, the Party's General Secretary.

Politbureau member Pedro Ortega spoke on the Party's program theses, and organizational problems were discussed in a report by Alonso Ojeda, Politbureau member. Guillermo Garcia, of the Politbureau, proposed a draft political declaration. Present at the Congress were delegations from 14 Communist and Workers' parties, including the CPSU.

The delegates approved the Central Committee report, the political declaration and theses on the agrarian question and trade union work. A program of immediate demands received unanimous approval. It defines the aims of the Party's struggle at the present stage for the vital needs of the workers, peasants and all working people in the country. The Congress instructed the future CC to draw up a program document to be approved by the next congress.

The Congress voted to expel the Petkoff-Marquez factional anti-Party group. The delegates welcomed this decision as a victory of the Party's Marxist-Leninist forces over the opportunist and anti-Leninist trend attempting to destroy the Party.

The Congress approved the report by Politbureau member Eduardo Gallegos Mancera on the Party's stand on international questions.

The Congress also elected a new 47-man Central Committee. The new CC re-elected Jesus Faria General Secretary.

G D R

On January 28 the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany held its plenary meeting. Politbureau member and Secretary of the CC SUPG Hermann Axen made a report on behalf of the Politbureau. Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, reported on "Political Preparations for the 8th SUPG Congress."

Erich Honecker, Politbureau member and Secretary, CC SUPG, reported on preparations for elections to Party organs. Both reports were approved unanimously. The Plenum decided to convene the 8th Congress in Berlin on June 14-19, 1971 and to hold elections to Party organs in 1971. The CC approved the CC SUPG directives on election meetings and election of SUPG guiding bodies. It also approved the election procedure and the directives on electing delegates to the Party Congress.

The Plenum adopted the following Congress agenda:

1. Election of Congress organs of authority.
2. Report by W. Ulbricht, "A Developed Social System of Socialism in the 70's (main aspects of the 1971-75 development plan)."
3. Debates on the CC report, the Central Auditing Commission's report and W. Ulbricht's report (to be distributed in advance).
4. Report by W. Stoph, "Further Development of the Socialist State."
5. Debate on the report.
6. Report by E. Honecker, "Role and Tasks of the SUPG in a Developed Social System of Socialism."
7. Debate on the report.
8. Reports of the commissions and voting on decisions.
9. Election of central organs.

The meeting discussed a joint proposal by the CC SUPG Politbureau, the Presidium of the GDR Council of Ministers and the Executive of the Free German Trade Unions Association on measures to further improve the people's living and working conditions.

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FRANCE

The French CP met in plenum on *January 28-29*. Claude Poperen, alternate member of the FCP Politbureau, delivered a report, "Political Situation, an Analysis of Economic and Social Problems and Preparations for the Municipal Elections." The speaker noted the growing role of the working class in the country's political and economic affairs and its increasing cooperation with other sections of the population. A report on measures to increase sales of the *Humanité Dimanche* was made by Etienne Fajon, Politbureau member and Secretary of the FCP Central Committee. The Deputy General Secretary of the FCP Georges Marchais also spoke at the meeting.

HUNGARY

An enlarged meeting of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee on *January 28* discussed the present international situation and Hungary's internal problems.

The meeting discussed the international situation in the light of the report delivered by Zoltan Komocsin, Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee.

The Plenum also noted the significance of the treaties signed between the USSR and the FRG, and between Poland and the FRG, and the importance of further dialogue between the two German states.

The Party and the Hungarian government express complete solidarity with the peoples of Indochina and the Arab peoples struggling against the Israeli aggression.

The Central Committee heard information on some topical problems of the international Communist movement and the information sent by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party on the situation in Poland. The HSWP Central Committee expressed its internationalist solidarity with the PUWP and wished the fraternal people of Poland success in resolving their difficulties along socialist lines.

The Central Committee discussed the approaching elections to the State Assembly and Councils.

FINLAND

A meeting of the CC CPF, held on *January 30-31*, discussed the political and economic situation in the country and Party tasks in connection with communal elections in 1972. Reports were made by Chairman Aarne Saarinen and CC Secretary Erkki Kivimäki. Resolutions were passed on the reports.

A. Saarinen also reported on the trip to Czechoslovakia by a delegation of the CPF, and Anna Liisa Hyvonen, member of the Political Bureau who recently returned from the DRV, spoke of the situation in Vietnam.

ARGENTINA

During the recruiting drive in memory of Victorio Codovilla the Argentinian CP was joined by 3,500 new members. The drive will be continued until January 6, 1972 and another 15,000 are expected to join. During the Lenin Enrolment campaign in 1970, 17,398 joined the CP. The *January 31* issue of the newspaper *Nuestra Palabra* notes the success of the membership drive at large enterprises.

SWEDEN

A meeting of the board of the Left Party — Communists, held on *January 30-31*, elected the Executive for 1971. The plenum also decided to hold a nationwide propaganda campaign from February 15 to May 1 to popularize the foreign and home policy of the Left Party — Communists and to strengthen the Party organizationally.

JAPAN

The newspaper *Akahata* reports that the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party met on *January 31-February 2* to discuss Party tasks relating to the approaching elections to the local self-government bodies and the Chamber of Councillors, and the tasks in Party building.

USA

The CP USA has started a membership campaign. Building up the Communist Party membership would have tremendous significance in the struggle for our people's vital needs, says a statement of the National Committee published in the *Daily World*.

CHILE

The 23rd Congress of the Chilean Socialist Party concluded work on *February 1*. Addressing the delegates, CP General Secretary Luis Corvalan said that less than 90 days had gone by since the Popular Unity bloc government came to power and it is possible to say that these 90 days are the best proof of the close cooperation between Communists, Socialists, the Radicals, Social-Democrats and representatives of the United Popular Movement and Left

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Popular Action, showing that we are capable of solving the most complex problems. The government checked inflation and stopped the cost of living from rising, proclaimed the nationalization of copper mines and private banks, and is carrying out an agrarian reform and the expropriation of large enterprises. Chile is confidently advancing along the road of socialism.

We must not forget that all Latin American nations are watching us with special interest. We are going to have a hard time and it can be said that the greatest difficulties lie ahead. Reaction will stop at nothing to prevent us from building a new society. In these conditions, said the speaker, we must rally still closer round the Popular Government. Unity of all Left forces, unity of Communists, Socialists, Radicals, Social-Democrats and members of UPM and LPA is the surest way of foiling reactionary plots. All of us must take an active and direct part in implementing the Popular Unity program.

WEST BERLIN

The Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin held a pre-election conference on *February 1*. Gerhard Danelius, Chairman of the SUP of West Berlin, analyzed the international situation and the conditions in West Berlin.

The speakers said that the Rightists' course of following Bonn policy is causing great harm and runs counter to the population's interests. West Berlin, he said, must develop all-round relations with the West and the East. The establishment of normal relations with the GDR and other socialist countries would be of tremendous advantage to the city. We appeal to the voters to fight together with us for a change in West Berlin's policy that would prevent the city from being used in the interests of the "cold war" against the socialist countries.

GREECE

The 15th Plenum of the Communist Party of Greece Central Committee was held *early in February*. According to a presidium report, the meeting discussed the situation in the country and Communists' tasks, as well as changes in the Party Program and Rules.

The report on the situation in the country was made by Kostas Koliyannis. The isolation of the junta from the people and political parties is continuing, he said. Anti-junta demonstrations are more frequent, anti-dictatorial and anti-American sentiments among the people are running high. The militant spirit of unity is spreading. The people realize that the junta can be overthrown only as a result of a mass common struggle.

The general opposition by the people and political parties to the junta opens up objective opportunities for joint anti-dictatorial action. The leaders of bourgeois parties, however, guided by a greater or lesser degree of anti-communist sentiments and striving to achieve decisions in their class and narrow-party interests, are hampering cooperation between all the anti-dictatorial forces.

As before, the CPG will continue and multiply efforts to achieve cooperation with all forces opposing the dictatorship. The Plenum focused special attention on local unity of action. It also emphasized that Party building should be at the center of attention of the Party and should be based on absolute observance of the rules of decentralization and secrecy. The Plenum noted that the preparatory work and discussions sparked by the publication of the Theses for the 9th Congress stimulated growing interest among Party members and activists in Party problems and the entire movement.

The report on the second item on the agenda analyzed the changes on the international scene and in Greece since the 8th Congress of the CPG. With due consideration for this, the Plenum proposed certain changes in the Party Program and Rules, which were released for publication and pre-congress discussion.

YUGOSLAVIA

The TANJUG agency reports that on *February 3* the Commission on Party Rules of the Yugoslav League of Communists discussed the numerical strength and social structure of the League. The Commission noted that almost half of those who have left the Party in recent years are workers. The resignations, the reasons for them and the manner of resigning require the attention not only of the Commission but of other organs of the Central Committees in the constituent republics and the Presidium of the LCY. The Commission stressed that it is not only a question of the number of workers in the Party, but also of their influence on the general policy and position of the LCY.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

The Communist Party of Vietnam, known today as the Working People's Party of Vietnam, marked its 41st anniversary on *February 3*. In honor of this event the people of Vietnam are mobilizing maximum forces to fulfil the tasks in the struggle against American aggression and for the successful building of socialism.

ECUADOR

The government of Ecuador has taken a new step in protecting the country, says a statement by the CP of Ecuador released on

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demanding evacuation of American military missions operating in the country, says a statement by the CP of Ecuador released on February 3. This decision, the statement emphasizes, was a just response to the aggressive stand taken by the Nixon administration and to its violation of Ecuador's sovereignty.

The Ecuadoran CP, whose program demands expulsion of all military missions installed in the country by imperialism, emphatically supports this government measure but maintains its former negative attitude towards the anti-democratic actions and stand of the Velasco Ibarra government.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held a meeting on February 4. Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the CC CPC, submitted a report by the CC Presidium on fulfilment of the December 1970 CC Plenum decisions.

After the debates the Plenum voted unanimously to convene the 14th Party Congress on May 25, 1971 and approved the following agenda:

1. Report on Party activities and development of society following the 13th Party Congress, and future Party tasks (G. Husak).
2. Report by the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPC, (M. Jakes).
3. Report on basic trends in the Party's economic policy in 1971-75 (L. Strougal).
4. Discussion and adoption of Congress documents.
5. Elections of the CPC Central Committee and Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The Plenum approved an address on the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, summing up the 50-year struggle of the Czechoslovak working people for their class, social and national liberation.

The Plenum accepted Jan Piller's resignation as member of the CC CPC Presidium, and elected Alois Indra as full member and Karel Hoffmann as alternate member of the CC CPC Presidium.

BULGARIA

Delegates from Party organizations in the Lenin district of Sofia met in conference on February 4 to discuss preparations for the 10th Congress of the BCP. The Conference was attended by the First Secretary of the CC Todor Zhivkov and other members of the CC BCP Politbureau.

The election meetings of primary Party organizations and the conferences of Party organizations at large enterprises and offices

discussed the fulfilment of the decisions of the 9th BCP Congress and subsequent CC plenums. In the center of attention at these meetings and conferences were questions connected with the building of a developed socialist society, carrying out a scientific-technical revolution and raising labor productivity. The accent was on improving ideological work, enhancing class consciousness and internationalism in the Party and developing inner-Party democracy.

VENEZUELA

The 11th Plenum of the Communist Party Central Committee unanimously elected Gustavo Machado Party Chairman.

G. Machado has been a member of the Venezuelan CP for 47 years and a member of the CC Politbureau for the past 26 years. At present he is Director of the Communist weekly *Tribuna Popular* and a Deputy to the National Congress.

The Plenum also elected a 13-man CC Politbureau, which includes Party Chairman Gustavo Machado, General Secretary Jesus Faria, Guillermo Garcia Ponce and others.

Four alternate members of the Politbureau were also elected by the Plenum.

BOLIVIA

The 3rd National Congress of the CP Bolivia will be convened May 4-6. Conferences of regional and special Party committees will be held to sum up Party activities in the period since the 2nd Congress, discuss the more important documents and elect leading Party organs. A conference of Communists in the La Paz Department will be held on April 8 and 9.

IRELAND

After discussing the events in Ulster *early in February*, the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland released a statement blaming the situation in Belfast on the aggressive policy of the British government. The raids are not intended to discover any supposedly existing secret weapons caches, says the statement, but to nullify even those paltry reforms which were wrested by the mass civil rights movement two years ago.

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, meeting on *February 10*, heard and discussed a report by Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC

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MPRP, "Tasks of Party Organizations in Ensuring Stable Growth of Livestock Breeding and Greater Output of Animal Products."

The meeting also discussed the report by B. Rinchinpelzhe, Chairman of the State Planning Commission, "Draft State Plan for the Development of the National Economy in 1971," and the report by Finance Minister Ts. Molom, "The Draft State Budget for 1971."

It was decided to convene the 16th Congress of the MPRP on June 7, 1971, with the following agenda:

1. Report by the CC MPRP;
 2. Report by the Central Auditing Commission of the MPRP;
 3. Directives for the five-year plan of the MPR's economic and cultural development in 1971-1975;
 4. Election of central Party organs.
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