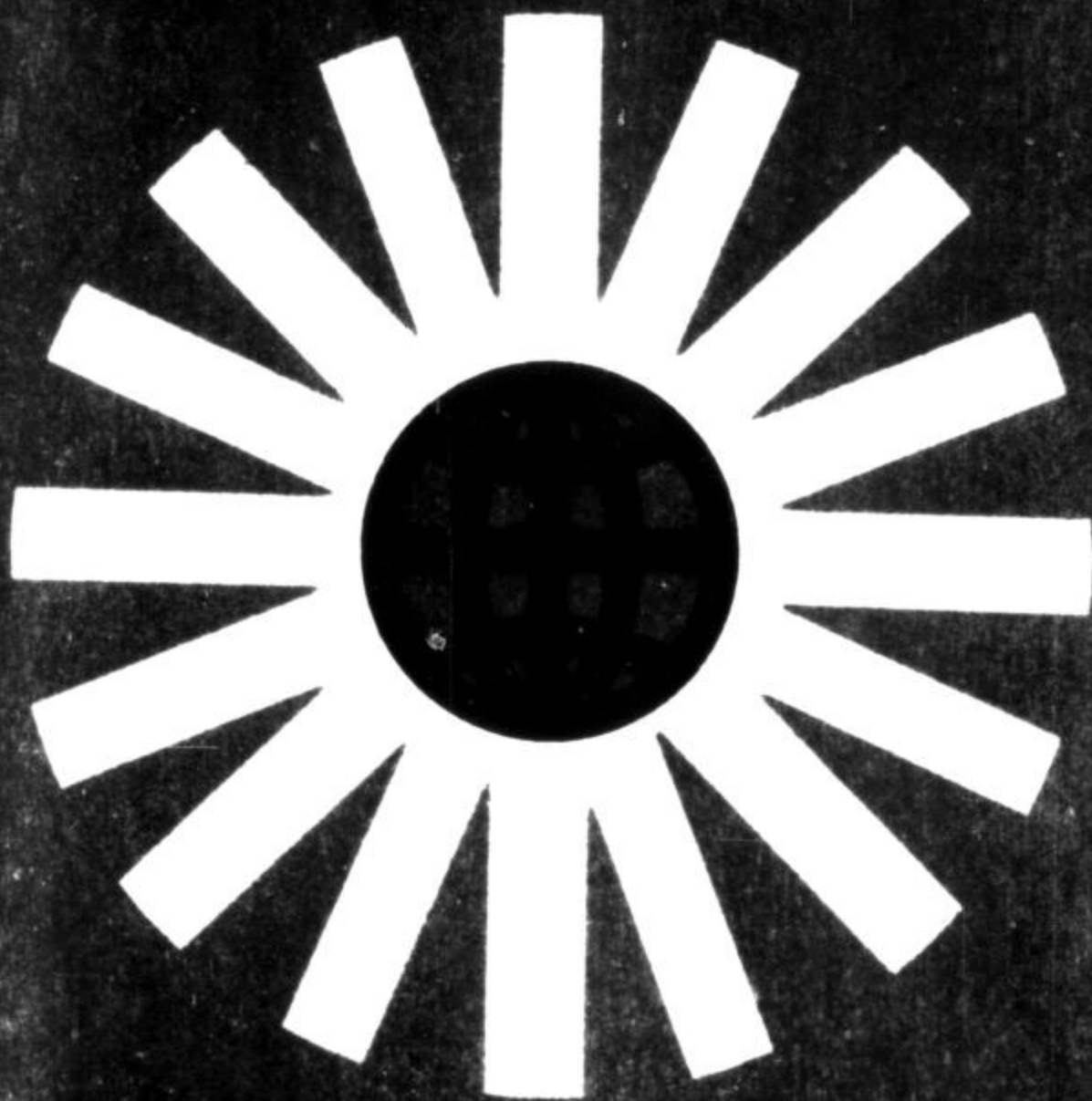


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**L. I. BREZHNEV
VISIT TO INDIA**

**HAMBURG
CONGRESS GCP**

**HUNGARY —
HSWP PLENUM**

23-24

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DEAR READER:

The staff of the Information Bulletin and Peace and Socialism Publishers wish you a happy New Year. May it see continued progress in the effort for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

In 1974 as in previous years, the Information Bulletin will keep its readers abreast of the activities of fraternal Parties, based on the decisions and spirit of the 1969 Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Your opinions and proposals on ways to improve the Bulletin, or any particular material, would be of great help. Our address;

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IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO STRENGTHENING OF PEACE

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, was in India on November 26-30, 1973 on an official friendly visit at the invitation of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the Indian government.

L. I. Brezhnev was accompanied by A. A. Gromyko, Political Bureau member, CC CPSU and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs; D. A. Kunayev, Political Bureau member, CC CPSU and First Secretary, CC Communist Party of Kazakhstan; N. K. Baibakov, Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; S. A. Skachkov, Chairman of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers on Foreign Economic Contacts, and other officials.

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, and those accompanying him were everywhere given a cordial welcome indicative of the sincere friendship and respect the people of India have for the Soviet people and the leaders of the Soviet Union. L. I. Brezhnev's visit to India was a vivid demonstration of strengthening Soviet-Indian friendship.

During his stay in Delhi, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, had a number of meetings and talks with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

In the course of the negotiations, in which official representatives of the two sides took part, and which were held in an atmosphere of trust, friendship and mutual understanding, there was an exchange of views on a wide range of questions pertaining to Soviet-Indian relations and the prospects for their continued all-round development, and also on topical international problems of mutual interest. The two sides noted with satisfaction the wide identity of views on the questions discussed and expressed their deep satisfaction at the successful development of friendly relations and co-operation between the Soviet Union and India in all fields.

The results of the visit and of the negotiations were set out in the Joint Soviet-India Declaration signed in New Delhi on November 29, 1973.

The following agreements were signed at the same time:

Agreement on further development of economic and commercial cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of India, also a protocol setting out a number of concrete measures in implementation of the agreement;

Agreement on cooperation between the State Planning Commit-

tee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Planning Commission of the Republic of India;

A consular convention between the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the government of the Republic of India.

The two sides are convinced that these agreements represent a new and important contribution to the further strengthening of friendship and all-round cooperation between the USSR and India.

The two sides agreed to take measures to assure a 50-100 per cent increase in Soviet-Indian trade by 1980.

Accordingly, the appropriate organizations of the two sides will in 1974 draw up joint proposals for the further development of large-volume trade between the two countries on a long-term, stable basis. The proposals should envisage new forms of mutually-advantageous cooperation, with due account to specialization and cooperation in the production of various types of industrial goods and the construction in the USSR and India of new, and expansion of existing, enterprises to increase the reciprocal delivery of goods needed by the USSR and India.

The two sides welcome the development of Soviet-Indian contacts in science, art, literature, education, public health, the press, radio, television, the cinema, tourism and sport. They consider it necessary to continue to improve and extend existing ties in these fields.

The two sides expressed the confidence that continued strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and India will be an important contribution to the strengthening of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

On November 27, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, addressed a mass friendship rally on the square at the old Red Fort in Delhi, where he was warmly and enthusiastically greeted by the hundreds of thousands attending the rally.

SPEECH* BY L. I. BREZHNEV

L. I. Brezhnev said in part:

Our relations are a most convincing expression of the great alliance of the world of socialism with the world born of the national-liberation movement.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state have always sided, as they do now, with the fighters for national freedom and independence. This political course is dictated by our entire world outlook, which rejects both the exploitation of man by

*Pravda, Nov. 28, 1973.

man, and the oppression of one nation by another. This political course is rooted in the very nature of our socialist society, in which more than 100 nations and nationalities live like a closely-knit family. It has been reaffirmed in the Program of our Party, which says: "The CPSU considers fraternal alliance with the peoples who have thrown off the colonial or semi-colonial yoke to be a cornerstone of its international policy.

Last year India festively celebrated the 25th anniversary of her independence. It can be said without the least exaggeration that the last quarter of a century has been a great period not only in the life of your country. It has been a period of the triumphant march of national-liberation forces on a global scale. They have now won state power in more than 70 countries.

Various countries took different roads. But life itself shows that genuine national renaissance is impossible without social rejuvenation and that as national-liberation revolutions develop, their anti-imperialist democratic tendencies are intensified.

The springs of the national-liberation movement, naturally, arise in the home soil of each individual country, but these movements, having spread in a broad stream, became a really international force. Today we have the right to speak not only of how the national-liberation movement has changed, but also of how the world is changing under its influence. The newly free countries have started to tackle such problems as the liquidation of mass-scale poverty, hunger, and backwardness. If we take into account the fact that this involves areas where the greater part of the earth's population lives, then it will be clear that it is a task of tremendous, world-wide significance, whose solution is of interest to all mankind.

The geographical map of the world has assumed new colors. The world's social and political image has acquired new features. The world social progress has gained a new powerful acceleration. The young states have brought into international life all the ardor of their struggle for freedom and independence.

To put it bluntly, however, there are still quite a few forces which will not stand for this, which try to stop the powerful wave of the national-liberation movement. Is not this evidenced by the fact that the Vietnamese people had to wage a heroic struggle over decades for freedom and independence, against the aggression of foreign imperialism. Foreign interference in the affairs of other peoples of Indochina has not yet stopped. Arab lands are still trampled upon by occupationists. Attempts are still made to steep in blood the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. The racist regimes in Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia still disgrace the map of the world. Reactionary military dictatorships—so hate-

ful to the peoples of Latin American countries and so dear to foreign monopolists—are still raging in a number of these countries. Moreover, in some places reaction is assuming the offensive, depriving the peoples of democratic freedoms and gains won in the struggle for independence and social progress. The events in Chile are a case in point.

But we live in an epoch when the ideals of freedom and independence not only breed fighters, but make victors out of them. For these ideals are now upheld not by scores, hundreds or even thousands, but by millions upon millions of people. For these ideals have the powerful support of the socialist countries and the young national states.

We cannot, and we simply have no right, to forget that the co-operation of these forces is the most valuable asset of all mankind, one of the most vivid testimonies of the changes in the entire system of relations in the international arena.

Under the influence of the constructive peace-loving policy of the socialist states and newly-free independent countries, there now takes place in the world a changeover to relaxation of international tension which is enthusiastically welcomed by all peace-loving peoples.

Relaxation has not removed completely, but has staved off, the danger of a world nuclear catastrophe. And we consider this to be a tremendous achievement for all mankind. After all, do European and American civilizations alone run the risk of being involved in the orbit of nuclear war? Will its deadly breath spare even one continent? All peoples without exception breathe the same air, and the atmosphere of the planet, just as peace on it, is indivisible.

Our country comes out for broadening the zone of relaxation, for spreading it to the entire world. And we are fully aware that the very nature of this problem makes it insoluble, unless the will, wisdom, feeling of responsibility, and energy of the peoples and states of Asia, Africa and Latin America are placed in full measure on the scales of world politics.

Our position boils down to the following: we propose to all countries—let us respect the independence and sovereignty of every state, let us abstain from taking any military action against one another, from threatening one another with the use of force. Let us not only coexist peacefully, but develop all-round cooperation as well. We address this appeal to all governments. We address the same appeal to the public forces which, we are convinced, can make a big contribution to the reconstruction of international relations.

A month ago the World Congress of Peace Forces was held in Moscow. It was attended by delegates from more than 140 countries. The delegation of Indian public forces was one of the most

representative, and we were happy to accord it a most cordial welcome in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. The plenary sessions and commissions of the Congress were addressed by more than a thousand speakers. Never before had people of such different views, beliefs and social affiliations rallied around a single cause—the lofty and noble cause of the struggle for peace. Everyone who, like myself, took part in the work of the Congress, could not but sense the pulse beat of the peoples of the earth, their irrepressible striving for peace.

Socialism expresses the peoples' will for peace in full measure. And that is natural. It is natural because our goal, the goal of the Soviet people and all peoples of the socialist countries, is to build communist society, a society where the growing material and spiritual requirements of each individual will be fully satisfied, where each individual would have full scope for development. It is quite understandable that to achieve these goals we need peace and reliable security.

We have already made substantial headway along this road. We have built socialism. Exploitation of man by man, all forms of oppression, inequality and discrimination are long gone from the life of our society. Factories and plants, agricultural enterprises—all this belongs to the people in our country and cannot be used against its interests. We have put an end to such social evils, brought to working man by the exploiting system, as unemployment and poverty. National feud and distrust have given way to relations of friendship and brotherhood. Education and culture have become accessible to every Soviet citizen.

We regard the emergence of a new social morality as our greatest achievement. Equality, collectivism and comradely mutual assistance of people, whatever social groups, nations or nationalities they may belong to, as well as a new attitude to work, genuine democracy and, finally, profound humanism and respect for the rights and personality of each man—such are its characteristic features.

Speaking of economic development, I shall refer but to one figure: this year the Soviet Union's industrial output is already 113 times that of Russia's annual figure before the Revolution.

I want to say in all frankness that we have had to pay dearly for all our achievements. Tsarist Russia was a poor and backward country. Very hard wars were imposed upon the young Soviet state. As distinct from the colonial powers, our well-being was not attained through the exploitation of other peoples. Everything we have done is the product of the selfless efforts of the Soviet people themselves.

The Soviet people had to work hard and perseveringly to build the economy of developed socialism, to build a modern industry

and a developed mechanized agriculture. In those years our people often had to live under hard conditions and deny themselves many things. But they endured all this, worked with inspiration and enthusiasm because they knew well what their goal was and what they were working for. The Communist Party which unites millions of the most conscious and selfless sons and daughters of the people, equipped the Soviet people with a clear understanding of the ways of building the new society, inspired them to exploits and united them into a single powerful working collective.

Dear friends,

Each country has its point of departure, its starting point in measuring what has been achieved. India also has such a point of departure, such a starting point. It is the day in August 1947 when the country obtained independence after long decades of a persistent and heroic liberation struggle of the Indian people. The road covered by independent India is marked by truly historic accomplishments.

We Soviet people, who know from our own experience how difficult it is to put an economically backward country on the rails of progress, can fully appreciate the following weighty and eloquent facts: India's industrial output has tripled over two decades; its grain output has more than doubled; in more than 100,000 Indian towns and villages the smoking wicks and kerosene lamps have given place to electric light. Almost 100,000,000 Indian children have been given a chance to study; the country has trained highly skilled native personnel—specialists in various fields of science, technology and culture.

We also know that you still face many complex and unsolved problems. One cannot help respecting the builders of new India and the titanic historic work they are performing with such persistence, selflessness and faith in their strength.

The ruling party—the Indian National Congress—has put forward an important democratic program of sweeping socio-economic changes aimed at improving the life of the people. It has proclaimed socialism as its aim. It is known that broad political and public circles in India are coming out for socialism.

We have always believed and continue to believe that the choice of the way of social development is the internal affair of each nation, that this choice is determined by its own motives, requirements, socio-political practice and the alignment of class forces: And if today people in India speak of development towards socialism, this too, as we understand, has been engendered by your country's historical experience. World capitalism bestowed chains of colonial oppression upon India. And it is not surprising that your people do not want to associate their hopes for the future with such a social system!

Our views on that score are well known. As I have already said, we know from our own experience that socialism stirs up colossal creative energy in the popular masses.

The same experience—both in our country and in other countries carrying out socialist transformations—testifies to something else as well. In order to build socialism, it is necessary not only to reconstruct social relations radically, but also to ensure adequate standards of development in industry, agriculture, public education and personnel training. All this requires hard work; all this is created by the persistent work of the people. At the same time we know well that if the aim is clear, if the political course is pursued with a firm will and if this course is understandable to the people and has their support, then the building of socialism is quite realistic.

India's advance along the road of economic and social progress is facilitated, in our opinion, by the fact that your country has many good friends in the world, and among them the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, your close and loyal friend.

On behalf of the Soviet people I should like to extend to you from this rostrum, dear Indian brothers and sisters, feelings of our profound respect and solidarity, and our heartfelt wishes for happiness and prosperity to the great, free and independent India!

Dear friends,

Now that our meeting is drawing to a close, my thoughts again go back to the main topic which does not leave us these days. It is the topic of cooperation and friendship between the Soviet Union and India.

What Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, our teacher, the founder of the Soviet state, passionately strove for is now becoming reality: the peoples of the Soviet Union and India are linked by truly friendly relations. And this friendship is turning into an ever greater political factor in Asia and throughout the world. We are proud of India being among our close friends.

We highly appreciate the efforts of India's Government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the efforts of all the democratic progressive forces of your country which have been consistently coming out, over a number of years, for the strengthening of all-round Soviet-Indian cooperation.

Friendship and cooperation with India are an inalienable constituent part of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. We were with you when India was still under the heel of colonialism. We were with you when the new Indian statehood was in its formative stage. We were with you in periods tense and difficult for India. We were with you when all kinds of external forces tried to bring pressure to bear on India which was protecting its vital interests.

We shall continue to be with you, both in days of joy and in days of trial.

Our relations are developing along the right track and rest on a firm foundation. The friendship between our countries has become the cause not only of governments and politicians, but of the peoples as well. The whole atmosphere of today's meeting is graphic confirmation that the friendship between our peoples has struck deep root.

The development of our friendship is like an ascent to a mountain summit—the higher we climb, the broader the horizons opening up before us. And we want to rise higher and higher, so that ever new exciting prospects should open up before us.

May the indestructible friendship between the Indian and Soviet peoples live on and blossom through the ages for the good of our two countries, for the good of all peoples of the world!

Let us work together in common, for our noble goals.

MEETING* OF L. I. BREZHNEV WITH LEADERS OF CP OF INDIA

On November 27 a meeting took place between the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, and leaders of the Communist Party of India. Taking part in the meeting were the Chairman of the National Council of the CPI, S. A. Dange; the General Secretary of the CPI National Council, R. Rao; members of the Central Secretariat of the National Council N. K. Krishnan, B. Gupta, J. Sharma, I. Sinha, R. Reddy, I. Gupta and S. Kumaran.

The Soviet participants were Political Bureau members of the CC CPSU, A. A. Gromyko and D. A. Kunayev; member of the CC CPSU N. M. Pegov; alternate CC member V. F. Maltsev; member of the Central Auditing Committee and Assistant to the General Secretary of the CC CPSU A. M. Alexandrov; assistant to the General Secretary of the CC CPSU A. I. Blatov; Consultant of the General Secretary E. M. Samoteikin; CC CPSU staff members Y. A. Zhilin and P. V. Kutsobin and the acting Charge d'Affaires of the USSR V. K. Boldyrev.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev informed the Indian comrades of the current domestic and international activities of the CPSU. He spoke of the progress made in carrying out the program of communist construction in the Soviet Union, the successes achieved by the Soviet people in developing industry and agriculture, and the problems being solved by the Soviet people at the present time.

*Pravda, November 29, 1973.

He also spoke of the ideological-political and organizational work of the CPSU.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev dealt with the policy of the Soviet Union which consistently promotes the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations, defends the freedom and independence of the peoples. The object of our visit to India, he said, is to strengthen the friendship between our countries, to provide a new impetus to the growth of cooperation between them in various spheres. The course of discussions with the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, allows us to express the firm conviction that they will be fruitful and accord with the interests of both great peoples.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that since the 1969 Meeting, the role of the world Communist movement as a powerful international force making an important contribution towards relaxation of tension and strengthening the security of the people, had increased. He also emphasized that the new international events and tasks confronting the fraternal Parties required a still closer unity of their ranks based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Noting that traditionally, fraternal relations had existed between the CPSU and the CPI, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev favored broader and more active relations between both Parties. As a token of the fraternal, indissoluble friendship binding them, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU presented to the leadership of the CPI a bronze bust of V. I. Lenin, the work of the Soviet sculptor L. E. Kerbel.

On behalf of the Indian Communists, S. A. Dange and R. Rao warmly welcomed the visit to India of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev. This visit, they said, has aroused tremendous enthusiasm amongst the broadest strata of the Indian people, who regard this visit as an added and clear proof of the strengthening ties of friendship between India and the Soviet Union.

Addressing Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Comrade R. Rao said that his presence at a mass meeting in Delhi, like his speech at the World Congress of Peace Fighters in Moscow, inspires the Indian democratic forces, imbues faith in the triumph of the cause of peace and social progress. Comrade S. A. Dange emphasized the outstanding significance of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, noting that its realization is strongly influencing the entire international situation. He highly praised the initiative and energy displayed by the leadership of the CPSU and L. I. Brezhnev personally in the struggle for general peace.

The meeting took place in a warm fraternal atmosphere.

ON RESULTS OF VISIT BY COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV TO INDIA*

The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers considered the results of the official friendly visit by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the Republic of India, fully approved the activities of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in developing friendly Soviet-Indian relations and in implementing the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress. The visit, which proceeded in an atmosphere of mass demonstrations of friendship of the Indian people towards the Soviet Union, raised Soviet-Indian relations, based on the firm foundation of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and India, to a higher level.

The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers note with great satisfaction the significance of the documents signed during Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to India, which provide a new impetus to the development of close friendly relations between the two countries for the good of their peoples. The Joint Soviet-Indian Declaration has a special place among them. The importance of this document lies in the fact that it develops the basic principles of relations between the USSR and India and determines the main trend of cooperation between the two countries. The Declaration was warmly approved both in the Soviet Union and India, because it meets the vital interests of the peoples of the two countries, and is an important factor in strengthening peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

The Agreement on the Further Development of Economic and Trade Cooperation Between the USSR and India, signed during the visit, is of great importance; it determines the trend of the mutually beneficial and fruitful economic cooperation for a long period. Fruitful trade and economic cooperation, based on the principle of equality and mutual advantage, is an important factor both for the economy of the Soviet Union and for the strengthening of the economic independence of India, which is following the road of national renaissance and the extension of social reforms.

The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers highly appraise the results of the talks between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and Mrs. I. Gandhi on international problems. These talks confirmed the identity of views on a broad range of topical international problems. The Soviet Union and India reaffirmed

*Pravda, December 4, 1973.

their determination to continue working for the relaxation of tension, in the belief that the improvement of the international climate can and must yield real practical results for all the countries of the world, big and small, developed and developing alike. The Soviet Union and India expressed themselves in favor of cessation of the arms race, of achieving universal and complete disarmament, and of preparations for a world disarmament conference, and also for the earliest and complete eradication of the vestiges of colonialism and racism.

In the course of the talks the sides emphasized with fresh force the conviction that the disputable problems existing in South Asia can and should be settled through negotiations between the countries concerned, without any outside interference.

The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers note with satisfaction the positive results of the broad exchange of opinions which took place during the negotiations in Delhi on Asian problems. The Soviet Union, with two-thirds of its territory situated in Asia, and India, a great Asian state, are deeply interested in safeguarding peace and stability in that area, based on the joint efforts of Asian countries.

The results of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to India fully meet the task set by the April Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee—to work with a view to making the favorable changes achieved in the international situation irreversible.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit and its results are unanimously approved by the peoples of the Soviet Union and India, who see it as a vivid demonstration of unbreakable Soviet-Indian friendship. This visit is in the focus of attention of the international public, of political and state circles of many countries; it has evoked broad positive response, approval and support.

Highly appraising the results of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to India, the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers reaffirm that the Soviet Union will follow the road mapped out by the Peace Program adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress. The Soviet Union will continue to rely on fraternal friendship and cooperation with socialist countries, and to develop its relations with all peace-loving states.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CPI

At its session on December 2-5, 1973, the National Council of the CPI adopted a resolution which reads in part:

"Leonid Brezhnev's visit to India and the Indo-Soviet agreements

signed at the end of it are historic contributions to the cause of strengthening world peace and national freedom as well as peace and peaceful cooperation of states in Asia. They have imparted a new content of a stable and long-term nature to Indo-Soviet cooperation in the fields of economy, science and technology and defined the main directions of its development for the next 15 years at least, strengthening the cause of economic independence, national self-reliance and rapid social advance of our country."

The National Council stated with deep satisfaction that "the joint Indo-Soviet declaration marks a very important contribution to the 'broad development of mutually beneficial cooperation and the strengthening of peace and stability in Asia'."

Appraising L. I. Brezhnev's visit to India as an outstanding event of the time, the members of the National Council pointed out in the resolution that the results of the Delhi summit "will give further fillip to the advance of the Left and democratic forces in India and to the weakening of the forces of imperialism."

Noting deep positive changes on the world scene, the National Council at the same time expressed concern over the trend of developments in some areas of the world. The resolution says: "Imperialist reactionary circles, unwilling to reconcile themselves to the international détente and to the principles of peaceful coexistence are stepping up their aggressive activities in different countries linking themselves up more actively with internal reaction."

The National Council sharply criticized the policy of China's Maoist leadership. "In carrying out their counter-offensive against international détente and peaceful coexistence and their subversive attacks against the national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the most reactionary and aggressive circles of imperialism are today receiving active assistance from Maoist China. The tenth "congress" (so-called) of the Communist Party of China put the official seal on the Maoist policies of anti-socialism, of opposition to international détente, of support to imperialist military blocs and of subversion of the national liberation movements. The political report delivered by Chou En-lai at the congress clearly shows that Maoist foreign policy is today inseparable from imperialist policy."

In many countries of the world, the resolution says, the Maoists are joining hands with the openly pro-imperialist ultra-Right in a common united front. Anti-Sovietism, it continues, has today become the determining factor of Maoist foreign policy. The National Council specially stressed the fact that "political and ideological struggle against Maoism has today become an inseparable part of the world anti-imperialist struggle and the struggle for socialism."

Assessing the situation on the South-Asia sub-continent, the National Council welcomed definite progress in implementing the

Simla agreement and the Delhi accord between India and Pakistan.

In the concluding part of the foreign political section of the resolutions the National Council again welcomed the results of the visit of L. I. Brezhnev. Stressing the great importance of the economic agreements signed in the course of the visit, the National Council stated that they "have opened up vast new vistas for building up India's economic strength and accelerating her economic growth and national self-reliance, for expanding and strengthening our state sector, for expanding our employment potential, and raising the living standards of our people."

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

HAMBURG CONGRESS OF GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The German Communist Party (GCP) Congress met in Hamburg on November 2-4, 1973. The Congress was opened by GCP Chairman Kurt Bachmann and Max Reimann, Honorary President of the GCP, greeted the delegates and guests.

Of the 872 delegates attending, 619 had the right to vote. Workers and employees made up 80 per cent of the delegates and the majority were under 40 years of age.

Delegations and representatives of 23 fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties attended the Congress, including delegates from Austria, Belgium, West Berlin, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the DRV, the GDR, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the USSR, Sweden and Switzerland. The Congress also received many messages of greetings from progressive parties and organizations.

The Congress debated and approved the report of the GCP Executive delivered by Herbert Mies, Vice-Chairman of the German Communist Party.

The Congress elected a new 91-man GCP Executive, a Control Commission (nine members) and Auditing Commission (seven members).

On the proposal of the GCP Executive made by Kurt Bachmann, the Congress unanimously elected Herbert Mies Party Chairman and Hermann Gautier Vice Chairman.

The first meeting of the new Executive elected a 16-member Presidium and nine-member Secretariat.

After the Congress a friendly meeting took place between the

newly elected GCP Presidium and Secretariat and the delegation of the CPSU headed by B. I. Aristov, member of the CC CPSU and First Secretary of the Leningrad City Committee of the CPSU, and the SUPG delegation headed by K. Hager, Politbureau member and Secretary of the CC SUPG, who attended the Congress as guests. The GCP was represented by H. Mies, H. Gautier, K. Bachmann, K. Fritsch, L. Muller, M. Reimann and others.

During the meeting which passed in a sincere atmosphere views were exchanged on problems of joint struggle for peace and European security and on ways and means of consolidating the unity of the Communist and workers' movement.

The following are excerpts from the GCP Executive report and other Congress materials.

REPORT* BY EXECUTIVE OF GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communists of the Federal Republic of Germany have but one goal—to do everything possible for the working people, to ensure their right to peace and freedom, social security and justice, prosperity and participation in the social progress of our age. This has been and remains the essence of our activity.

While upholding the interests of our working people, we have always taken a stand of international solidarity. At this Congress we voice our strong protest against the crimes committed by Chilean reactionaries, against the fascist military junta and its hidden imperialist bosses, against those who murdered Salvador Allende and the many Chilean comrades and patriots.

We raise our protest against Israel's aggressive policy and its flouting of UN decisions and the right of the Arab peoples to national independence.

The events in Chile and in the Middle East have shown again that the class struggle was and remains extremely acute. As before, the working people of the FRG are confronted by a strong and experienced class enemy. Workers and peasants, intellectuals and the youth, our Party receives no gifts. Every step forward since the Duesseldorf Congress was not easy. But our advance continued and our activities have borne fruit.

All we are doing is part of the historical struggle of the world Communist movement.

At our Party Congress we again declare our indivisible unity with Lenin's Party—the CPSU, with the SUPG, with all fraternal Parties, with all those fighting imperialism. Let our fraternal Parties rest

*Delivered by Herbert Mies, Vice-Chairman of the GCP, at the Party Congress in Hamburg on November 2, 1973. Abridged.

assured—the German Communist Party will always hold aloft Ernst Thaelmann's banner. In the spirit of Ernst Thaelmann we shall continue to make our contribution to the common struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND POSITION OF GCP ON FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS

Since the GCP's Duesseldorf Congress significant changes have occurred in the world, in Europe and, last but not least, in relations between our country and the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries.

The criminal U.S. aggression against Vietnam was stopped. This was a serious defeat for imperialism and a great victory for the valiant Vietnamese people. This victory was won thanks to the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. It was made possible by the solidarity of the progressive world public.

In the post-Duesseldorf period the Soviet Union and the United States signed an agreement on preventing nuclear war and other accords. They were concluded on the initiative of the Soviet Union. As a result, not only relations between these two countries have improved, but the international climate has considerably improved as well.

Particularly important changes have taken place on the European continent. Here, where German imperialism had launched two world wars, thanks to the consistent peaceful policy of the community of socialist states, a series of treaties was concluded between states with different social systems. Most important among these are the treaties signed by the FRG with the USSR, Poland, the GDR and other socialist states and also the four-power agreement on West Berlin.

We are aware that the struggle for peace, mankind's uppermost goal, is not over. That is why we should always associate the policy of détente with increasing vigilance. As long as there are forces in this world and in our country profiting on armaments, on preparations for war and on war itself, the struggle for peace remains the paramount task.

But thanks to the steadfast peace policy followed by the socialist countries and the support it enjoys throughout the world, Lenin's great idea of the peaceful coexistence of the socialist and capitalist states is increasingly becoming the standard in international relations. A turn from the cold war to détente is under way on our continent.

As for the FRG, all attempts by German imperialism to do away with the consequences of the Second World War and post-war de-

velopment have been ended as a result of the signing of the Treaty on the Principles of Relations with the German Democratic Republic and the admission of both German states in the UN. Basically, the post-war period has now been completed.

CONSOLIDATION OF SOCIALIST WORLD SYSTEM IS A DECISIVE FACTOR OF PEACE

The working class, peasants, youth, creative intellectuals, all the democratic and peace-loving forces in our country and together with them our German Communist Party have made a decisive contribution to these positive changes.

Communists do not close their eyes to those aspects of the foreign policy of the present FRG government which accord with the existing realities. We reserve the right, however, to level principled criticism at and oppose such aspects of the Federal government's foreign policy as unconditional NATO membership, servility to American imperialism, a constant expansion of the military budget, militarization of the Bundeswehr, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. We shall never remain silent on these points.

Membership in NATO where the leading role is played by aggressive forces opposed to détente is in crying contradiction to the FRG's national interests.

It is above all to the Soviet Union, the CPSU and personally Comrade L. I. Brezhnev that the credit goes for the thaw in Europe's political climate and for the positive changes in international relations. This was achieved through pursuit of a coordinated and purposeful policy by the socialist community of states aimed at implementing the historic Peace Program proclaimed by the 24th CPSU Congress. This was achieved as a result of the changed balance of forces in favor of socialism and peace.

We congratulate our class comrades in the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries on their imposing successes in building a new, just, socialist social system.

The achievements of the socialist countries are a dependable and firm foundation of socialist foreign policy.

The course of events shows that existing socialism hastens not only social liberation of nations but also their liberation from the shackles of war.

The new wave of unrestrained anti-Soviet propaganda in our country today shows that big capital is running into great difficulties as a result of the gains of socialism.

We strongly oppose the anti-Communist campaign waged by the Rightist forces, and we equally condemn the anti-communism and

anti-Sovietism of the Peking leadership and their followers in our country.

Slandering the socialist peace policy, the Maoists are turning things upside down. In effect, socialism and peace represent a single whole. Peace is one of mankind's greatest boons and the Communist movement has always been and remains a movement for peace. We regard the struggle for peace as a truly revolutionary policy.

IMPERIALISM—A SYSTEM TORN BY CRISES AND CONTRADICTIONS

The world of imperialism to which our country still belongs, is shaken by serious contradictions and crises. True, imperialism has large economic resources at its disposal, but, as an exploiting system in which the laws of profit and competition predominate, it generates inflation, uncertainty in the morrow and unemployment.

One can hardly speak of the decency and morals of capitalist society, for these are categories absolutely alien to capital. The conspiracy of world financial capital against the Popular Unity government in Chile, the murder of President Allende and other patriots, the Watergate scandal in the USA, the mounting political persecution and corruption in our own country, the growing crime rate, drug abuse and racial discrimination in the United States and discrimination against foreign workers in the FRG are all evidence of the moral degradation of the imperialist system.

Life has shown that imperialism has outlived itself, has lost its historical initiative, but that it has not given up the fight. It has become more adventurous and aggressive than ever before. Wherever possible, it flouts international law and employs brute force against nations and social progress.

In spite of all claims by bourgeois and Right Social-Democratic ideologues about a "regeneration of capitalism," the essence of imperialism remains unchanged.

In recent years the conditions in which the imperialist countries operate their foreign policy have changed considerably on the European continent. The growing might of socialism and the deepening capitalist contradictions have created a new situation to which imperialism is trying to adjust. And it is this enforced adaptation to the changing balance of forces that has led to the emergence of new features in the policy of our government. It is also the reason behind the search by big capitalists for disguised methods of oppressing the working people. It is the reason why certain ill-founded foreign policy conceptions have been discarded together with the hopeless intentions of stopping the advance of socialism and

communism by resorting to more flexible methods and tactics.

It is this development and the enforced adjustment to the new conditions that are at the root of the contradictions and conflicts in the bourgeois camp, between political parties and within the parties supporting the capitalist system.

NEW SITUATION CREATES GOOD OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE FRG. WE WANT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THEM

The new international situation, the relaxation of tensions brought about by the conclusion of the treaties with the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries open up broad prospects for our country and we Communists are for taking full advantage of them.

The important treaties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are already bearing fine fruit.

The Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the FRG and the GDR provides a sound basis for relations between the two states. As Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, said, only good-neighborly relations are possible in order to cooperate in the interests of peace, in the interest of people.

We Communists can say with pride: we were in the front ranks of those working for such positive developments. All that is today recorded in the treaties with the socialist countries we had fought for at a time when all the other parties stayed put in the trenches of the cold war.

It is important now to protect what has been achieved against any danger. We cannot allow the positive developments to be checked or liquidated. Therefore, at this Party Congress, we should like to caution against the ever more frequent attempts, and not only by the Parliamentary opposition, to arbitrarily interpret the clearly formulated articles of the treaties, and particularly against attempts to torpedo them.

The spirit and letter of the treaties with the socialist countries should be scrupulously fulfilled.

We would like to assure our country's democratic public that the German Communist Party will continue using its fraternal relations with the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist states in the interests of peace and development of good-neighborly relations among nations.

Our Party is for a political détente to be supplemented by a military détente. That is why we support the Soviet proposals on limiting arms and on disarmament. That is why we are working to ensure that the FRG makes its constructive contribution to arms limitation and disarmament. We showed the way by proposing to

start with an annual 15 per cent reduction in defense expenditures.

Social-Democratic politicians like Defense Minister Leber who preach peace and détente while doing their utmost to boost military expenditures and preserve the spirit of chauvinism in the Bundeswehr, are committing a crime against the vital interests of the population.

Our foreign policy position is dictated by the working people's needs. It is in the true national interests of the Federal Republic. As concerns the maintenance of national interests, we Communists do not want to be lectured by anyone, least of all by those who for a century have been speaking of "the nation" meaning only the capitalist system and their own profits. We should closely scrutinize those politicians in the CDU/CSU, the FDP and the SDPG who today talk profusely of "national unity" and of "national identity." It was they who voted "yes" when German and foreign financial capital, out of fear of social progress, attached the FRG to the EEC and NATO. It was they who opened the doors of our economy to American capital and it is they who are sacrificing our agriculture to the EEC.

They are so "national" that they don't stop exhorting Nixon to keep U.S. troops in the FRG. All their nationalistic slogans are meant only to distract attention from the class struggle and bind the FRG still closer to the chariot of aggressive NATO so as to play the top role in that organization.

Our country's national interests require an independent and, at the same time, honest policy. They require particularly good relations with the socialist and other non-capitalist countries. Our national interests call for renunciation of a one-sided orientation on U.S. imperialism and NATO. They require the defeat of the anti-national power of the monopolies and especially of those international concerns which depress the living standards in Western Europe.

It is for this kind of national policy that the German Communist Party is fighting.

As for relations between the FRG and the GDR and the idea of "national unity" propagated by many, it is necessary to state again in all sincerity—there is no national unity even in the Federal Republic itself because our society is divided into the oppressed and the oppressors. For over a quarter of a century now there have existed two states on German soil—the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany and the socialist German Democratic Republic. This is a reality and no Sunday speeches by some politicians can change anything.

CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE FRG AND FIGHT OF GCP AGAINST MONOPOLY POWER, FOR DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS AND THE SOCIALIST ROAD

The period since the Duesseldorf Congress of the GCP has been one of major struggles by the working class and its unions, by women, student youth, peasants and other working people, for their social and political rights.

The conclusion of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that the social and political instability of capitalism is growing and so is the intensity of the class struggle has also been proved correct in our country.

Some bourgeois commentators and politicians continue to allege that the Communists are behind all democratic and social actions and the discussion on social policy launched in our country. This is an involuntary appreciation of the effort of those comrades who as Communists have always been in the forefront of the working people's struggle for their rights.

UNLIMITED MONOPOLY POWER: A CANCEROUS GROWTH

All wealth in the Federal Republic is created by the working people but its greater part is appropriated by a few monopolists. The overwhelming majority of the people have too few rights while a handful of multi-millionaires has too many. The Bonn government's policies have always been geared, and are geared now, under Chancellor Brandt, to the profit drive of West German and foreign companies.

Capitalist exploitation strongly affects the condition of the working class and the whole of society. It gives all power to 300 multi-millionaires, which poses a threat to everyone. The owners of companies and banks can continuously put up prices, taking advantage of their monopoly position. In the same way, they can endlessly intensify exploitation to derive maximum profits.

As for government policy, reality refutes the widespread assertion that the state is above classes. Striking metal-workers at Ford's and Opel's learned by experience whose interests the state represents.

Defining workers' strikes as "wild," the government sides with the big employers. The leaders of the Union of German Industry and the Federal Association of German Employers' Unions are right when they say that the present government is "friendly to the employers." The companies' growing profits are the strongest evidence of this. In 1968 a hundred major joint-stock companies made a net profit totalling almost 31,000 million marks and in 1971, over 41,000

million marks. This year they expect their profits to go up by more than 10 per cent.

FOR IMMEDIATE STEPS TO PROTECT PEOPLE'S SOCIAL INTERESTS

Steps must immediately be taken to protect the working people's social interests and safeguard them against still worse consequences of big capital's drive for profit.

Fighting for higher pay is, now as before, the working people's main weapon against the effects of inflation. It is important to fight for a freeze on the prices of goods and services, which tell particularly on working people's earnings. Another important task is to fight for measures easing the condition of pensioners and depositors, who are hit by inflation.

The problems facing our working people cannot be radically solved on the basis of today's property relations or under the present government. This is why our Party declares, in common with all working people, for far-reaching social changes. We are for a democracy curbing and defeating capitalist monopoly power. We want in this way to enable our country, too, to take the socialist road. Fundamental changes of this nature can be brought about only through sustained, unrelenting class struggle.

FOR AN ANTI-MONOPOLY DEMOCRACY

Unlike the monopolists and the politicians subservient to them, we Communists do not treat reforms and democracy as meaningless words to be used only in "suitable" situations.

While not renouncing our goal, socialism, we consistently advocate reforms under capitalism that will bring the working people greater social security and more extensive democratic rights and freedoms.

We Communists regard democracy as a most serious matter. We stand for the working people's right to participate in management. Our great goal is to end the power of the few. That is why we are now concerned with upholding and extending democratic rights and the working people's right to participation. It is also the reason why, ever since the Federal Republic of Germany was founded, we have been striving to ensure that the democratic principles, rights and freedoms set out in the Fundamental Law do not remain a dead letter but become reality.

The struggle to extend democratic rights in our country must begin by calling a halt to the overt or covert but steady abolition of democracy. This disgraceful decree on "radical elements" is being enforced ever more widely. The law on defending the Constitution is conducive to arbitrary practices.

We want a constitutionally guaranteed right to strike, a ban on lockouts, guarantees of the right of workers and their unions to participation in management and the people's right to express their will in referendums. We also insist on removing the undemocratic five per cent barrier and other electoral restrictions.

It is monstrous that the CPG, founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and banned by Hitler, a party whose members were among the foremost fighters of the anti-fascist resistance, is now banned in the FRG. It is monstrous that our Party, exponent of the great traditions of our country's Communist and working-class movement and heir to the cause of anti-fascist resistance fighters, should be a target of repression.

We are convinced that the rulers of our country will not be able to persist in their present policy much longer. What is self-evident in the case of France, Italy and other capitalist countries will become inevitable in the FRG. In our country too, the ruling quarters will have to accustom themselves to living and reckoning with us Communists.

Right Social-Democratic leaders are so closely linked with the capitalist system that they refuse to and are unable to deprive the owners of companies and banks of even part of their wealth, privileges or power. But whoever refuses to take away anything from the monopolies can give nothing to the working people. That is why reforms expected by the working people remain unfulfilled and why the SDP/FDP government effects only reforms which meet the interests of big capital because they help to stabilize the regime.

In proposing reforms, we always maintain that big capital must be deprived of something if the working people are to benefit. We regard the struggle for reforms as a class struggle.

As they fight for pressing reforms, the working people are coming to realize that the solution of urgent problems, such as environmental protection, public health, the social rights of tenants, the land law, political and economic stabilization, invariably comes up against one and the same obstacle, monopoly capitalist ownership of the means of production. This is the real cause of injustice, insecurity and other negative social phenomena in our country. It explains why those who demand curbs on monopoly power are becoming more and more vocal in the trade unions and the Social-Democratic Party.

The workers' long-standing demand - what has been created by the people shall belong to the people - remains valid and, indeed, is more valid than ever.

We say openly that, as we see it, the key industries, the munitions monopolies, the banks and insurance companies must be made public property under democratic control. This is an economically warranted alternative to the concentration and centrali-

zation of big capital, an alternative entirely in keeping with the Fundamental Law, whose Article 15 says that the means of production shall be nationalized for the common good.

Nationalization and democratic control over the companies would benefit the country. The working people stand to gain if the capitalists and big shareholders guided by their selfish and narrow interests are deprived of their decisive role in the economy. The earnings of such profitable enterprises could be used for financing educational and health measures and democratic reforms.

The GCP emphatically dissociates from social reformism. The Social-Democrats' ultimate goal is to reform capitalism. They have long since renounced socialism as an objective even though they continue to hold forth about "democratic socialism" under the impact of our Party's increasing gains.

Now what is that strange "socialism?" It leaves private capitalist property intact, rejects working-class power and fights against it. What the inventors of this "socialism" say shows that it has no scientific foundation. It is evidently the kind of bourgeois socialism which Marx and Engels exposed in the *Communist Manifesto*, that is, a somewhat embellished capitalism.

We conceive democratic reforms as steps towards an anti-monopoly democracy under which the power of big capital will be restricted and the working people will exert a determining influence on the economy, the state and society.

Anti-monopoly democracy is characterized by a radical change in the alignment of political forces and by a state power exercised by the working class and all anti-monopoly forces, a power based on public ownership of the principal means of production. It must pave the way for establishing a socialist system in the Federal Republic.

WORKING-CLASS UNITY OF ACTION AND POPULAR ALLIANCE

We do not shut our eyes to the attempts of capitalists, as well as Right Social-Democratic leaders, to get the working class to reconcile itself to exploitation. A class duty of every Communist is to fight with determination against every attempt to dampen the class struggle. The claims that the working class is no longer revolutionary have nothing to do with reality. The working class is a militant class in our country as well.

Big capital is the common enemy of workers whatever their party allegiance, outlook or religion. They have common interests in the fight for political and social rights.

This has been, and remains, the basis for our effort to achieve unity of action with Social-Democratic, Christian and non-party workers.

We will always seek united action in the workers' interest, without advancing any preconditions or trying to impose any tutelage. However, Federal Chancellor and SDP Chairman Willy Brandt may rest assured that, like him, we have no intention of obliterating differences of principle between our Marxist-Leninist world outlook, for whose unhampered spread we are fighting, and the ideology of Right-wing Social-Democracy, a variety of bourgeois ideology and policy. We know of the existence of ideological contradictions. But they do not rule out united action. We will continue to resolve contradictions in the interests of the working class, in the interests of progress.

The GCP sees the united trade unions as a noteworthy achievement of our working-class movement. We are emphatically against every attempt of big capital and the CDU/CSU to control trade union activity. We are also against the attempts of certain Social-Democratic leaders to restrain trade union initiative and to call on the unions to be tolerant of their policy, which meets the employers' interests.

We firmly combat discrimination against foreign workers. We demand for them decent housing, greater political rights and complete equality, in particular the right to vote in all parliamentary elections.

The process of Party rejuvenation has continued. The Communist movement has gained higher prestige among youth, especially young workers and students. This is worthy of very special note.

However, we are far from dismissing the strong and dangerous impact of bourgeois ideology and capitalist reality on a sizable part of our younger generation. The class enemy tries to counter our influence on youth. The methods used by him are most varied. They include economic pressure, the prohibition to hold certain offices and discrimination against young people in the mass media. The reactionaries also count heavily on the aid of the Left extremist and Maoist sects and groups. That is why we have big tasks to fulfil in winning young people.

Numerous social forces have been aroused to action by now along with our working class. The increasing concentration of power in the hands of monopoly capital, brutal exploitation in a bid for bigger profits and the effects of all this make many segments of the population feel insecure and occasionally pessimistic, but a frequent and increasingly strong reaction is protest from the democratic forces. The struggle of the prevailing system against the working class involves members of the most diverse social strata in manifold democratic actions and movements.

This has created better opportunities for the formation of broader alliances.

DEVELOPMENT OF GCP AND ROAD TO INCREASED STRENGTH

The GCP has grown and gained greater maturity in the class battles of the past two years, in carrying out the decisions of its Duesseldorf Congress. Its efforts have resulted in a more numerous membership and led to consolidating its ranks politically and ideologically and to extending its influence. These two years have seen the Party's role in the political affairs of our country grow.

BUILDING UP PARTY'S STRENGTH

The GCP has 39,344 members. Of the several thousand new members enrolled this year, almost 70 per cent are workers, 33 per cent are under 20 years of age and 40 per cent, between 20 and 30. Thus our Communist movement has been joined by thousands of new fighters – workers, apprentices, teachers, artists, students and members of various other trades and professions.

Our Party is both fighting outside parliament and campaigning for parliamentary representation. Its presence in parliament helps to strengthen the fighting positions of the working class and to carry on extra-parliamentary struggles, which are highly important for upholding the working people's interests.

Our policy is aimed at winning many more seats in communal parliaments and at securing seats in Landtags and the Bundestag. In 1974, elections are to be held to Landtags and communal administration in nine *Laender*. Next year the GCP will participate in all elections. It will put forward and vigorously campaign for its own candidates.

In view of the conditions in which the struggle in our country goes on and of the sharpening ideological battle between progress and reaction, ideological work, the political and ideological education of all Party members and struggle against every brand of bourgeois ideology are more important than ever.

Considering the intensity of the ideological struggle today and the high spiritual requirements of many members and supporters of the Party, we must do much more to disseminate the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and raise the ideological standard of our membership.

GCP IS A COMPONENT OF WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Our Party is a component of the world Communist movement. Therein lies our strength. No other party in the FRG has as close links with the progressive forces of the world as the GCP. No other party puts its international links in the service of working-class interests and the vital interests of our country as the GCP does. We regard links with the socialist world, the working-class move-

ment in all capitalist countries and the national liberation struggle as a law and a vital cause.

The GCP emphatically condemns the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist divisive policies of the Maoist leaders of Peking. Blind anti-Sovietism has prompted the Mao group to openly back the plans and intentions of the most reactionary groups of West German imperialism. The Peking leadership encourages them to build up armaments and turn the Bundeswehr into a strike force against the Soviet Union. It actively supports the idea of making imperialist Western Europe a "third force" directed against the community of socialist countries. The Maoists have nothing in common with working-class policy or with socialism. They have discarded the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. They are enemies of the world Communist movement and have become advocates of imperialism. The GCP will continue to regard the struggle against the Maoists' splitting policies as an important internationalist duty.

We recall with gratitude the stimulus which the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow gave to the activity of our Party. The Meeting stressed the great importance of international meetings for the continued consolidation of the world Communist and working-class movement. Years have passed since — years of success and of valuable experience. They have posed new problems and led to new lines of development which require definite conclusions. Our Party believes, therefore, that the time has come to hold a new international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. The GCP would welcome and contribute to its convocation. A conference of European Communist and Workers' parties could also help in preparing for the international Communist forum.

Our Party has made good progress in the two years which have passed since the Duesseldorf Congress. We now have more favorable conditions for struggle. The Party has grown. Life itself has shown that the working class of our country needs the German Communist Party.

DECISIONS OF HAMBURG CONGRESS OF GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The following is a summary of Congress decisions, published in *Unsere Zeit* November 8 and 12.

NEXT TASKS OF GCP

The main political resolution, On the Party's Next Tasks, consists of a preamble and four sections. The preamble reads in part:
"The Hamburg Congress endorses the policy and practical ac-

tivity of the Party Executive and the assessment of the situation, and the tasks set out, in the Executive report.

"Events since the Duesseldorf Congress have fully confirmed the correctness of the policy formulated in the thesis, The GCP Against Big Capital, For Peace, Democratic Progress and Socialism. The thesis and the Party's policy statement retain all their validity today as guidelines in the battle for an anti-monopoly democracy and socialism.

"Congress approves the Executive report as a directive for the Party up to the next congress."

In section 1 there is a general outline of the international situation and developments in the FRG. The resolution says in reference to the establishment of normal relations with the USSR, GDR and other socialist countries:

"There is an insistent need for vigilance not only with regard to the maneuvers and machinations of the ultra-Right imperialist forces in their attempts to torpedo the treaties with the socialist countries, but also in regard to government attempts to interpret them in a way that distorts their meaning and spirit. The aggressive, predatory essence of imperialism has not changed. Imperialism must be forced daily to accept peaceful coexistence by continued and persevering struggle for détente and disarmament, coupled with continued change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism and peace."

Section 2 lists the Party's next tasks:

"As part of the FRG working class, our Party is working towards satisfaction of the following main demands:

- Stringent observance and implementation of the treaties, and expanded fruitful contacts with the socialist countries; constructive FRG contribution to the European Security and Cooperation Conference.

- An FRG contribution to arms limitation to promote peace and divert more money to meet the pressing needs of the social services, education, public health and culture.

- Anti-imperialist solidarity with all fighters against exploitation and oppression, above all with the people of Vietnam and the working class of Chile.

- Higher real wages through an active wages policy providing for special rises to meet inflation; publicly-controlled price freezes on staple foods, rents, services and municipal transport charges; immediate increase of pensions and welfare grants to keep pace with wages and salaries.

- Lower wage and salary deductions for social services; higher taxation of corporate profits and assets, also of incomes of big shareholders and landowners.

- Effective worker and trade-union participation in manage-

ment, including the right and duty to control prices, investments and profits, with worker representatives reporting back to their factory collectives and trade unions.

— Nationalization, under democratic control by the working class and other anti-monopoly forces and organizations, of big industry, banking and the armaments industry.

— Democratic house and land rent legislation, with rents in municipal housing not to exceed 12 per cent of breadwinner's net income; effective measures against arbitrary termination of contracts by landlords and evictions; stiff fines for land speculation, all profit from such operations to be used for new housing; big landholdings in towns and large communities to become municipal property.

— Effective measures against pollution, with the main offenders, the big capitalist concerns, defraying the cost of preventive measures.

— Democratic reform of education to eliminate all privileges and bring all schools and higher educational establishments within the reach of children from working class and peasant families; radical improvement of occupational training; repeal of the 'numerus clausus' rule; smaller classes, democratic-oriented textbooks to replace reactionary ones; the working class and its organizations, pupils and teachers, to have a say on all problems pertaining to education.

— Complete equality for women and youth in the economy and in society; equal pay for equal work; youth centers based on democratic youth participation; more kindergartens, "full-day" schools and playgrounds.

— Full equality for foreign workers, elimination of all forms of discrimination; equal pay, full freedom to choose jobs, decent low-rent housing; the right to vote and stand for election, and unhampered right of political activity.

— Defense and extension of democratic rights and freedoms; repeal of anti-constitutional bans on Communists and other democrats holding trade union positions; effective defense of youth rights; defense of the right of workers and their trade unions to take strike action; repeal of laws envisaging the imposition of emergency, and an end to all attacks on the democratic principles of the Constitution.

"These demands can be won only in resolute class struggle against big capital and its political representatives, and in 1974, the GCP will take new initiatives to carry the struggle forward.

"Congress demands of all Party organizations, factory and residential, and university groups, to make these demands central to all their activities and, in close contact with the working people, launch an imaginative, effective campaign for their achievement."

Section 3 outlines the principles and ways of achieving working-class united action. It says among other things:

"The struggle for united action with Social-Democrat, Christian and non-party workers is a focal point of our policy. Even the smallest area of agreement with the Social-Democrats should be made the starting point for joint action in the common interests of the working people. At the same time, our effort for united action includes principled struggle against the pro-capitalist policy of the Social-Democrat Right wing, which is firmly committed to the system of big capital in the FRG. We should rebuff every attempt by the SDPG Right-wing leaders to tie the working people to the imperialist system and subject the interests of the working class to the monopolies' drive for more profits and more power."

Section 4 reads in part:

"To improve the Party's mass work, the Executive report sets out these guidelines:

STEPPING UP WORK IN ENTERPRISES

"The enterprises are the decisive field of battle between labor and capital. It is there that the exploitation of labor is mounting and that struggles are carried on for higher wages, pay increases in view of rising prices, the workers' rights and their extension. There, too, the worker either succumbs to the opportunism of Right Social-Democratic leaders, falls for the social demagoguery of the CDU/CSU, or resolves to abide by the class position represented by our Party and to fight for his present and future interests.

"GCP members are active trade unionists. They campaign for stronger unions that will be guided solely by the workers' class interests and work to implement decisions of these labor organizations that serve class interests. The workers' struggle over the past months has stressed the necessity for strong, militant trade unions. It has also fully revealed the dangers that threaten the prestige and influence of unions when these reckon with the economic policy of the SDP-FDP government parties, geared to the interests of big capital.

"Every Communist resists the attacks of employers' unions and the CDU/CSU on the independence of the unions and defends his union against the Right Social-Democratic leaders' attempts to integrate it into the system of big capital as a 'factor for order' and against ultra-Leftist sectarian attempts to split it.

"The enterprise groups are very important organizations of the GCP. They work and fight where thousands upon thousands of wage- and salary-earners work and fight. This is why the groups, especially those operating in major companies, must be backed by the executives of all local organizations and by the Party as a whole.

"Enterprise groups can accomplish their role and cope with their increased tasks only if their activity is based more than ever on unity of the economic, political and ideological aspects of the class struggle.

"A new distinguishing feature of class battles since the Duesseldorf Congress has been the increased activity of foreign workers, young people and women. This makes it necessary for precisely the enterprise groups to concern themselves in greater measure with the special problems and requirements of foreign workers in and outside the enterprises, and with the needs of young workers, apprentices and women. A proletarian internationalist duty of every Communist is firmly to resist the nationalist baiting of foreign workers encouraged by reaction and to organize joint solidarity actions of German and foreign workers.

"To extend GCP influence among the working class, strengthen the Party and enhance its militancy, it is indispensable to consolidate our enterprise groups and form new ones, raise the standard of our enterprise newspapers and ensure their regular publication, enrol wage- and salary-earners into the Party, distribute *Unsere Zeit* among the workers in major enterprises, improve the enterprise groups' ideological work, achieve close cooperation between groups in the enterprises, neighborhoods and universities, and orientate all Party executives and branch organizations towards supporting work in the enterprises situated in the area of their activity."

The resolution next speaks of the following three main activities of the Party: work among youth, work in the sphere of communal policy, above all in cities, and cooperation in other public organizations.

SOLIDARITY WITH PEOPLE OF CHILE

A resolution bearing the above title estimates the main causes of the fascist military coup in Chile and its links with the policy of the more aggressive reactionary forces of the United States and other imperialist countries.

"The fascist military coup in Chile", it states, "is a further indication and proof of the aggressive and inhuman character of imperialism. It is another confirmation of the estimation of the 1969 Meeting to the effect that imperialism breeds 'fascism, the system of political terror and death camps' that 'wherever it can, imperialism wages an offensive against democratic rights and freedoms and tramples underfoot human dignity.' But the fact that imperialism in Chile today is compelled to resort to bloody suppression in order to maintain its rule is by no means a sign of the strength of this system but of its weakness....

"The military coup in Chile is a severe blow to the revolutionary movement in that country and to the international working-class

movement. But even this temporary set-back of progressive forces will not help imperialism to turn back the wheel of history nor regain the historical initiative. This new crime of imperialism will open the eyes of many working people, in particular in our country, to the nature of this barbarous system of domination. New fighters will take the place of the fallen.

"The attitude to the coup shows who in our country are the real enemies of democracy and freedom. The CDU/CSU leaders, *Bayern-Kurier*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* — the big bourgeoisie's mouthpiece — and above all the Springer press, by stressing their satisfaction over the military coup, show themselves to be sworn enemies of democracy and the peoples. These are the forces which are doing their utmost in our country to torpedo the policy of European détente and nullify all the basic democratic rights of the working population. By supporting the Chilean fascist regime, they are becoming accomplices in terror, and in violations of the Constitution. Their conduct shows that the enemy is invariably on the right.

"Numerous Social-Democrats protest against the military coup in common with the GCP and other progressive forces. But the SDP leadership has so far been unwilling to condemn the social forces which inspired and engineered the Chilean coup. In fact, it intensifies anti-communism, thereby weakening the solidarity movement. The Federal government, in which the SDP plays the leading role, gives the fascist junta economic aid which it denied to the Popular Unity government.

"In this situation, we West German Communists will unfailingly do our duty flowing from the principle of proletarian internationalism. In concord with all the democratic forces of our country, we demand that the Federal government emphatically condemn the clique of fascist traitors which has come to power in Chile.

"In all international organizations and before world opinion, we demand specific initiatives to re-establish the Chilean people's democratic rights and secure the immediate release of all political prisoners. We insist on severing diplomatic relations with the Chilean fascist junta and on discontinuing all economic relations with that regime.

"We indignantly condemn the fascist military junta's brutal repressive measures. We call on all working men and women, young people and democrats in our country to identify themselves with the victims of fascist terror in Chile.

"What goes on in Chile today is the same as took place in our country under Hitler's barbarous rule. Just as German fascist hangmen assassinated Rudolf Breitscheid, Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, and Ernst Thaelmann, Chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, so Chile's fascists assassinated

President Salvador Allende, a Socialist, and are preparing to pass the death sentence on Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile.

"It is necessary to demonstrate the power of international solidarity once more. In 1923 it helped to obtain the release of Georgi Dimitrov and in 1972, that of Angela Davis. The task now is to save Luis Corvalan.

"Solidarity with the people of Chile! Freedom for all political prisoners! Let us step up our solidarity action for those persecuted and imprisoned on political grounds in Chile!"

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Along with the resolution on solidarity with the Chilean people, the Congress passed a general resolution on international solidarity in which it speaks of GCP demands and action in support of national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and of the Party's solidarity with the peoples of Greece, Spain and Portugal fighting against fascism and oppression, as well as with the working people of Northern Ireland battling with British imperialism.

STRUGGLE FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY AND IMPLEMENTATION OF TREATIES

In this resolution, the Congress instructed the Party Executive to intensify the movement for further steps towards détente in the FRG through new political initiatives and by orientating the Party more towards joining in action.

"The Hamburg Congress," the resolution says, "demands that the Federal government adopt specific measures designed to implement the letter and spirit of the Moscow, Warsaw and Berlin treaties. This means acting without delay to assure that all phenomena and acts dating from the cold war period disappear from public and social life in the FRG.

"It is a question, specifically, of the following:

- immediately removing all road signs inscribed 'Zone Frontier' and other provocations of a similar nature all along the state frontier with the GDR;

- immediately discontinuing support for revanchist organizations on the part of the Federal government and authorities of Länder, cities and communes;

- prohibiting 'zone border meetings', which are provocative and poison the atmosphere;

- eliminating anti-Communist propositions directed against friendship among peoples which are to be found in almost every book on history and geography.

"The Party executive is instructed to support area and district executives in conducting a widespread campaign to remove atomic weapon launchers on the frontier with the GDR and nuclear arms dumps in the FRG.

"The GCP declares for the immediate ratification by the FRG of the nuclear ban treaty."

STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS, FREEDOM OF PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY AND DEMOCRACY IN ENTERPRISES

"At present," the Congress stated, "the new wave of unconstitutional bans on the professional activity of Communists and other democrats involves enterprises, schools and universities in the FRG. Reaction doggedly resists all attempts to extend democracy and speed social progress. Members of enterprise councils and spokesmen of youth consistently upholding the interests of their colleagues are given notice of dismissal. In spite of the shortage of teachers, those of them who want to educate their pupils in a democratic and constitutional spirit are expelled from schools. Bureaucrats in the Church and in Laender governments bar from university chairs scientists who put their knowledge and talent in the service of the working-class movement."

The resolution goes on to say that the conference of the prime ministers of FRG Laender, held on September 20, 1973, did not revoke its decision on bans taken in January 1972 and, indeed, intensified the bans. The SDP leadership followed reaction's cue. At the same time large segments of the population, including SDP members and organizations, stepped up their fight against these unconstitutional decisions.

The Congress demanded:

- complete repeal of the Laender prime ministers' decision, without qualification or substitution;
- repeal of the court decision (1956) banning the Communist Party of Germany;
- safeguards for all young people in the enterprises against discharge.
- the immediate reinstatement of all the victims of bans on professional activity.

AGAINST ATTACKS ON GCP

A Congress resolution takes a sharp stand "against constant attacks on the legality of the GCP by reactionary spokesmen of the CDU/CSU." These attacks are systematically backed by spokesmen of the Federal government. Invoking the 1956 court decision

banning the CPG, they describe the GCP as an unconstitutional organization. The resolution exposes the real meaning of these reactionary attacks aimed at curbing all democratic movements, isolating the GCP and preventing all further growth of the strength of the working-class party.

"Today," the resolution notes, "we are witnessing the fact that the 1956 court decision banning the CPG is used by reactionaries of various shadings to justify unconstitutional bans on professional activity and bar Communists and other democrats from teachers' and lawyers' jobs in the civil service. They want the court ban on the CPG to be maintained also when it is a question of slandering Marxism and making out its followers to be 'enemies of the state.' Referring to this ban, Genscher, Federal Minister of the Interior, asserts that recognizing Marxism-Leninism as a world outlook 'runs counter to the Constitution.' He makes this allegation despite the fact that in 1956 even the Federal court said in its indictment of the CPG that Marxism-Leninism as a world outlook and scientific doctrine cannot be an object of court proceedings."

The Congress urged all democrats to take a firm stand for the repeal of the ban on the CPG.

ON PROBLEM OF FOREIGN WORKERS

A special Congress decision notes that some three million foreign workers are employed in West Germany's industry and services. There are another million family members, and the trend is towards a further increase in numbers.

"This development," the resolution goes on, "clearly shows that state-monopoly capitalism in the FRG is promoting internationalization of the capitalist labor market in the interests of superprofits. Monopoly capital uses the means of state stimulation and regulation to acquire additional mobile manpower potential, a reserve army to expand its economic and political positions."

The Congress noted that monopoly ideologists and press organs in the FRG "try to fan national prejudices so as to split the working class and thereby create even better conditions for the growth of capital and profits."

"Three million foreign fellow-workers, men and women," the resolution continues, "are an important part of our country's working class. Today no struggle for the interests of the working people, for restricting and overcoming monopoly power, can be separated from action in the interests of foreign fellow-workers and efforts to draw them into the struggle at enterprises and in the trade union, social and political movement of our people."

"The GCP sees one of its paramount tasks in developing class solidarity in close interaction with the foreign workers in our

country, in the course of the fight for the implementation of their demands. For the successful implementation of this task, the Party, every Party group at enterprises, must give more attention to the problems and demands of foreign workers, men and women.

"The Congress resolves:

"1. To confirm the document of the Party Presidium, 'For Worker Solidarity! For Joint Action to Assure the Political and Social Interests of Foreign Workers in the Federal Republic!,' which lay down our Party's fundamental views on the question of foreign workers in the FRG. This document, adopted by the Party Congress, will at the earliest possible moment be placed at the Party's disposal in the form of a booklet with necessary translations into other languages.

"2. Federal legislation concerning foreigners denies foreign workers, men and women, equality with German blue-collar and white-collar workers. Therefore, a fundamental change in legislation concerning foreigners is an important demand to be put forward by the Party. The Party Executive is instructed to publish in five languages its demands of reform in legislation for foreigners.

"These proposals should be included in the above-mentioned booklet so as to show clearly our Party's class policy on the question.

"3. The Party Executive's Press Service for factory newspapers should publish important articles in the main languages of foreign workers (Turkish, Greek, Spanish, Italian).

"4. In accordance with our Party's internationalist principles, it is necessary to step up work to enlist class-conscious foreign workers in the GCP and draw them fully into Party work and our people's political and economic movements."

The Congress also recommended the Party Executive to study the possibility of setting up a reference group on the problem of foreign workers, as well as of Party working groups on the problem in districts and regions with large numbers of foreign workers.

ON YOUTH POLICY

"At all levels of the GCP, from the district and regional boards to the central Party Executive, political groups of working youth on youth policy are set up to recommend to Party branches and boards measures and initiatives in their youth work. These circles should promote greater militant unity between the GCP and the Young Workers' Socialist League, joint action of worker and student youth, and help all youth organizations. To carry out the Party's youth program the whole Party must, with the help of these circles, center its work around the following main demands:

— protection from sackings and more rights for youth representatives at enterprises;

- better labor safety for young people;
- better vocational training;
- higher wages for factory apprentices and young workers;
- shorter military service and protection and expansion of the rights of servicemen;
- better opportunities for young people to spend their free time;
- reduction of full citizenship age to 18 years;
- strengthening of democratic youth leagues against reactionary state and monopoly interference;
- provision of more funds for youth incentives from the budgets of the state and other public bodies."

The above resolution is supplemented by a Congress decision on the ways of improving the Party's public work among the youth. It stresses that "the GCP is the only party in the Federal Republic which consistently expresses and defends the interests of the working and student youth."

The decision goes on to outline concrete political and organizational activity aimed at making the solution of the GCP's youth policy problems not only the concern of commissions, but also "the concern of all Party organizations." In particular, it provides for regular coverage of the problems of young workers and students in factory newspapers, wide circulation of the best articles on youth problems, etc.

In a special resolution the Congress instructs the Party Executive to support efforts aimed at setting up a children's socialist organization in the FRG and also to take steps to mark International Children's Day (June 1) in the same way as May Day and Women's Day (March 8).

STRENGTHEN GCP WITH HELP OF "UNSERE ZEIT"

The Congress hailed the changeover of *Unsere Zeit* into a daily Party newspaper. The question now is of mass circulation and thereby promoting Party influence among the masses and drawing new members. Every Communist, the resolution says, is duty bound to seek new subscribers to the paper. Every Communist supports the paper of West German workers, offering it for sale to colleagues at work, neighbors and acquaintances and collecting funds for its circulation.

The Congress instructed the Party Executive to study the possibility of holding a pageant to promote *Unsere Zeit* in 1974.

FOR DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OVER "OPINION-MAKING INDUSTRY'S" CONCERNS

The Hamburg Congress demanded "the immediate establishment

of public ownership over the Springer concern and other concerns of the 'Opinion-Making industry'."

As a first step towards the realization of freedom of information and opinion in the FRG, the Congress demanded the repeal of reactionary provisions in relevant legislation, worker and trade union participation in all political, social and personnel decision-making in the printing monopolies, the establishment of unified production councils and editor committees, and restriction of the right of company mergers. These measures should also apply to all new electronic information media. The resolution also demands that the working class and its organizations, the trade unions, hold at least 50 per cent of the seats in observer councils of national and provincial radio stations.

The resolution calls upon all GCP members and bodies to come out more forcefully and in different ways against distortion of the Party's policy and slander against it in the mass media, especially on the radio and television.

ON INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY AND PARTY'S ABILITY FOR ACTION

On the basis of the Party's practical experience and guided by the desire to develop inner-party democracy and enhance the Party's effectiveness, the Congress passed a number of amendments and additions to its Rules.

The amendments make all foreigners residing in the FRG eligible for Party membership.

New members are enrolled by branch membership meetings. A meeting's decision comes into force with the presentation of the membership card, which must take place within one month. Other amendments on this question provide for additional rights for new members and also for the rights and duties of regional boards and Party control commissions.

The new internal structure of the GCP provides for Party groups at enterprises and in residential areas (communities or city districts) and at institutes of higher learning. Groups are united in district organizations and the latter in regional organizations (superseding the former *Laender* organizations).

Conferences of delegates of district Party organizations or general meetings of all members of district organizations must be held once in two years, the next regular meetings in 1975.

Delegates and guests to Party congresses will be elected at conferences of delegates from regional organizations.

The Rules further specify the procedure for discussing and re-

solving issues arising from different interpretations of the Rules or violations of the rights of members or local organizations. These questions will be handled by Party control commissions.

The Hamburg Congress also decided that Party disciplinary action will be taken against those members who "act contrary to the principles and goals of the Party, or violate its Rules, or stubbornly ignore the decisions of its bodies, or in any other way cause the Party ideological or material damage."

In accordance with a recommendation of the Duesseldorf Congress, the Hamburg Congress approved a provision in the Rules setting up a Secretariat of the Party Presidium.

The Congress also approved suggested amendments concerning the procedure of work for Party control commissions.

The Hamburg Congress also passed a number of separate resolutions:

- on ways and means of stepping up Party struggle in the sphere of rent and promoting housing construction;
- on efforts to improve the financial status of cities and communities;
- on immediate measures against concerns and other enterprises poisoning and polluting the environment;
- on democratic reform of legislation concerning higher schools;
- on the closing down of Bundeswehr higher schools;
- on improving the social position of students;
- on the elaboration, as soon as possible, of GCP proposals concerning women's equality and the broad discussion of these proposals;
- on drawing women into the Party;
- on the policy of alliance with farmers in the FRG;
- on stepping up the drive for the election of GCP members to provincial parliaments, municipalities and community councils;
- on stepping up work for the dissemination of Marxist literature in the FRG;
- on solidarity with the fight of blue-collar and white-collar workers for higher real wages and better working and living conditions;
- on protecting young workers from dismissals;
- on nationalization of the property of the Thyssen-Rheinstahl concern;
- on exposing the misuse of transit routes through the GDR, including illegal human traffic;
- on the elaboration of a GCP alternative in connection with the energy crisis in the FRG.

DECISION MUST LIE WITH WORKING PEOPLE

APPEAL* OF HAMBURG GCP CONGRESS TO WORKING PEOPLE OF FRG

Inflation, rapidly growing food prices and rents, excessive taxation, shrinking real incomes and a swiftly dropping purchasing power are not unavoidable calamities. They are all the handiwork of the big bankers, industrial bosses, monopoly captains and large-scale farmers. They are the evils of the capitalist system where profit is all and the men of labor nothing.

— Only those who struggle can win, those who remain inactive stand to lose. This is what the experience of the working people of our country teaches us. Workers, employees, women and apprentices are strong, win wage increases to compensate for rising costs and protect their living standards when they do not remain passive observers as they are exploited and robbed and when they take matters into their own hands. The school and student youth win their justified demands when they take to the streets. The country's democrats achieve results when they act in unison on the questions of peace and security.

Do not give way to the wealthy!

We, delegates to the Hamburg GCP Congress, workers and employees, women and apprentices at enterprises, teachers, students and farmers say to the working people of our country:

The working people are right when they no longer wish to be victims of rocketing prices and the profit scare. Those fighting jointly for their social and democratic demands are doing the right thing.

It is not the demands of the workers, employees and their trade unions that are "excessive" as the CDU/CSU, employers' associations and the SDP/FDP government claim. It is prices and rents that are excessive; profits and incomes through speculation that are excessively high; the rate of work at enterprises that is too high and taxes on incomes that are unreasonable; the common debt and the guilt of big capital are excessive.

The working people are right in forming civilian initiative groups and rallying in the struggle for socially acceptable rent, for smaller classes in schools, for professional training with an eye to the future requirements, for repeal of the reactionary ban on work according to profession,** for women's equality. Those who work together for fulfilment of the basic principle of the Constitution proclaiming that state power originates with the people, are absolutely correct.

*Unsere Zeit, November 6, 1973.

**On January 28, 1972, the FRG government banned employment of "radicals," particularly Communists, in government offices.—Ed.

Right are those who are fighting for the working people's right to have a decisive say in the economy, the state and society, and are opposing big capital striving to relegate it to the background and deprive it of its power.

Freedom is violated and democracy turned into empty talk when children are forced to study in overcrowded classes, when apprentices at factories are exploited and not trained, when workers and those protecting the interests of the youth are thrown out into the streets while democratic-minded teachers are not allowed employment in their profession, when working women enjoy half the rights while being exploited twice as much as men.

Those working people are right who come out for disarmament and détente, who want to see a more stable peace and to take advantage of the big opportunities offered by peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries and who wish to abolish the cold war once and for all. Those opposing anti-communism are doing the right thing. It was the working people of our country who brought the policy of détente into motion and now the enemies of détente are placing more and more new obstacles in its way. Today the Federal Republic's military budget is the highest in 25 years.

Are our people to be involved in a cold war once again? Are we again to lose what we have gained? Should we allow anti-communism to continue poisoning the atmosphere in our country? Should the reactionaries and CDU/CSU be allowed to set the tone?

We say—No.

In order to further the policy of détente and take advantage of available opportunities to ensure the peace, there should be nothing in common with the leadership of the CDU/CSU as is the case now with the Social-Democratic government.

In order to continue this policy a decisive struggle must be waged against those profiting from the arms race, against the enemies of détente and against big capital. We should not, however, expect the SDPG-led government to be eager to abolish the threat of war once and for all. They are correct who come out against anti-communism because this government advocates the capitalist system and does not support the justified demands of the working people, it does not infringe on the power of big capital and continues the arms race.

To win more gains for the working people and secure a turn for the better all who strive for détente, peace and social progress must rally and take joint action.

What is most important today is to bring into life the treaties with Moscow, Warsaw and the GDR in accordance with their letter and spirit and to make them irreversible. This means that we should not give a single chance to the cold war exponents. This means disarmament and constructive cooperation at the European Security

Conference, for the future of our people lies in peace and cooperation with the socialist countries. Our people need friendly relations with our Eastern neighbors and not a cold war.

Our people need a solution of many social and cultural problems and not armaments costing billions and endangering the peace. Our people need the spirit of mutual understanding and not the malicious spirit of anti-communism.

Our people must participate in spreading détente throughout the world. Our country's name should not be soiled by supporting colonial and fascist regimes.

Our people should occupy their rightful place in the anti-imperialist solidarity front that has embraced the whole world.

That is why we call for solidarity with the peoples of Indochina.

That is why we call for solidarity with the people of Chile and all who are oppressed and persecuted by the fascist junta.

Our people should be on the side of all those who are fighting imperialism for their freedom and independence, for the right to self-determination and socialism.

That is what we Communists are working for. The GCP states most emphatically:

The tycoons of big capital often quote the principle "To each according to his merits," using this principle to justify their profits. Everything created and achieved in the FRG over the past 25 years was made possible by the working people. They created large values. The only achievement of big capital has been to appropriate everything the working people have gained and all the wealth they created. Economic power gives big capital political power. In the FRG, a highly developed industrial state, the fate of millions is in the hands of a small group of economic magnates.

Should this be the case always? We say NO.

The fate of millions should be in the hands of millions and not millionaires. And it is towards this goal that the GCP is working and fighting together with all who are oppressed and suppressed by big capital.

Is there an alternative to this capitalist system? We say — YES.

There is socialism and it is worth fighting for. Because when the workers have political and economic power, when they appoint ministers and manage enterprises, there are no crises or devaluation of currency, growing prices and land speculation, education is not in a deplorable state and there is no inequality for women. There is no fear of the morrow and the real incomes of the working people are constantly on the increase. Prices are stable and rents are reasonable. The future is open to the young people and quality of life is a reality for the people. This is the reality in the GDR, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Let us put aside our differences, and forge ahead together!

We call on the working people to test the policy of the GCP word by word. Test its policy in action, in everything it does. Check and see who is devotedly standing up for the interests of the working people in public, democratic and anti-imperialist actions and movements. It is the GCP. Because of this big capital hounds us. Because of this the Springer press defames and abuses us. But, it is particularly because of all this that the growing influence of the GCP is for the common good and benefit of all the working people. This will be especially so if more and more families read the GCP daily *Unsere Zeit*, if the GCP wins more members and voters and if Communist deputies uphold the working people's interests in parliament.

The clash with big capital and political reaction is becoming more bitter and therefore it is important to know on whom one can depend. A strong GCP and an *Unsere Zeit* with a large circulation add to the strength of the workers, employees and the youth.

The large-scale social and democratic movements of the working people today give added proof of what we have constantly said: capitalist society gives no gifts to the working man. The people get only what they fight for — every pfennig they make, every sign of democracy, every bit of freedom.

That is why everything hinges on the common action of the working people. Hence, there must be solidarity with the workers, employees, women and apprentices at enterprises and their unions fighting for higher wages; solidarity with all who are demanding a ban on dismissals; solidarity with the working youth; solidarity with foreign workers; solidarity with the student youth fighting for a democratic system of education; solidarity with all who have been or are under the threat of being banned from holding jobs in government service; solidarity with all who are fighting to keep their jobs, against growing prices and rents, against land speculation and against plundering of communities.

We, delegates to the Hamburg GCP Congress, are determined to cooperate selflessly with all democratic forces in defending the interests of the working people. Big capital is not interested in Party affiliation when it forces its prices and rising rents on the working people. Big capital is not interested in outlook and nationality when conveyor lines are speeded up at factories. The burden of this should be shared by all — Social-Democrats, Christians, Communists and non-Party workers, farmers and artisans. Big capital is the common enemy of the working people and for this reason all should oppose it shoulder to shoulder.

The GCP appeals primary to the workers and their trade unions, the working and student youth, to all the working people. Let us struggle together for the following urgent demands:

—higher real wages through an active wages policy;

- wage increases to compensate for rising costs and inflation;
- freeze of prices on foods, rents, public utilities and services;
- bigger pensions and social services to conform with rising wages;
- compensation for losses caused the small depositor by inflation;
- lower interest rates on small loans;
- reduced profits and control of price formation in big industry, wholesale trade and in concerns owning department stores through worker and trade union participation in management;
- transfer of enterprises holding key positions in manufacturing and on the market, and bank concerns, to public ownership with democratic control by the working class and other anti-monopoly forces and their organizations;
- lower military budget and an end to sharing costs of U.S. troop maintenance in the FRG.

Détente through strict observance of the treaties with Moscow, Warsaw and the GDR.

FIRST EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF CPS ORGANIZATIONS IN EXILE

Following is the full text of the Conference resolution published in *Mundo Obrero*, November 5, 1973.

In line with decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain on Party work abroad, the Party organizations of West European countries held their First Conference.

The Conference unanimously elected Comrades Dolores Ibarruri and Santiago Carrillo, Chairman and General Secretary of our Party, respectively, and Comrade Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, whose life is in danger, to its honorary presidium.

The Conference took place at a time of progress in mass struggles led by the working class in Spain, and of progress towards unity of all the social and political forces interested in overthrowing the fascist dictatorship and restoring democratic freedoms.

The Franco regime's only reply to the aspiration of the vast majority of the people of Spain for freedom and to the growing unity and struggle of the masses is repression. A hundred and thirteen loyal spokesmen of the Catalan people have just been arrested in Barcelona. Arrests and trials continue. A group of Ferrol employees headed by Rafael Pillado, the Galician labor

leader, has just been sentenced to long prison terms on untenable charges.

Expressing the sentiments of the mass of Spanish emigrants in Europe, the Conference sends warm greetings to all political and social prisoners regardless of ideology or religion, and calls on all Spaniards to redouble their solidarity action in support of all the victims of Francoist repression.

The coming trial of outstanding leaders of the working-class movement — Marcelino Camacho, Garcia Salve, Sartorius, Soto, Sabrido, Marcos, Acosta, Zamora, Santiesteban and F. Castilla — a trial directed against trade union freedom and the working class as a whole, requires vigilance and the immediate mobilization of emigrants. It calls for international solidarity of the workers and all democratic and anti-fascist forces of Europe.

Paying tribute to the memory of President Allende and the great Communist poet, Pablo Neruda, the Conference fully identifies itself with the victims of military fascist terror and the resistance which the mass of Chile's working class and people put up to it.

As in Chile, U.S. imperialism today inspires and backs the bloodiest reactionary and fascist coups. It is an aggressor, directly or indirectly, as is seen in its action through Israel against the Arab peoples, against peoples that have cast off the colonial yoke. The example of heroic Vietnam, which succeeded in inflicting a historic defeat on U.S. imperialism, is a spur for the struggle of all peoples against imperialism.

UPHOLDING EMIGRANTS' INTERESTS

The Conference was attended by 117 delegates from Party organizations in exile operating in Federal Germany, Belgium, France, Britain, Holland, Luxembourg, Sweden and Switzerland, democratically elected at various plenary meetings or conferences in the countries concerned.* These meetings held an extensive debate on the discussion platform worked out by the Convening Committee of the Conference. The numerous and important suggestions and amendments advanced in the debate made the platform a basis on which the Party can pursue its policy among emigrants in keeping with their fundamental demands.

The Communist Party of Spain follows a Leninist policy abroad as at home, proceeding from the fact that for the working people the struggle for freedom and socialism begins with the defense of their immediate class interests.

Over a million Spanish working people and their families were forced into emigration by the Franco regime's disastrous economic and social policies. The sole object of its entire policy towards

*See composition of the delegation further on.—Ed.

emigration, all its legislation and the activity of official emigration agencies is constantly to encourage emigration, deliberately ignoring the serious problems of emigrants and their children, as well as problems of their return to Spain.

The regime, far from paying adequate attention to the problems of protecting and aiding emigrants, collaborates with the European capitalist monopolies which exploit immigrants on a massive scale, and tries to export the dictatorship's fascist agencies and methods.

After the example of the Spaniards of Pau, who, backed by French working people, trade unions and Left-wing parties, vigorously resisted the establishment of a so-called "Spanish House" — an ordinary tool of fascism on French soil — emigrants should combat these Francoist attempts everywhere. In this way, emigrants will move to the fore in mobilizing the masses in Europe against remnants and revivals of fascism. "Spanish Houses" and other cultural, artistic, sporting and recreation centers are subsidized by emigrants. It is necessary to emancipate them by fighting inside them for their democratization and by turning them into genuine centers of social, cultural and democratic education.

Emigrants lack fundamental civil and political rights. At the same time they are victims of outdated and unfair laws on foreigners and police regulations which make for every manner of discrimination, xenophobia and racism.

The general demands of the working class of the immigration country, of which foreign workers are a component, are supplemented by the demands of immigrants of every nationality for the protection of their proletarian condition and human and class dignity and for the right to education and to social and professional advancement.

The great struggles of foreign workers, splendid examples of which were set by skilled workers at Renault's and FOS's in France, Ford's, Opel's and Hella's (Lippstadt) in the FRG, as well as by the seasonal and steel workers of Geneva, all show the fighting capacity of emigrants.

The trade unions are a unique weapon in working-class struggles. It is in the interest of emigrants and the whole working class to join trade unions in order to expand and step up union struggle. Even where the unions are influenced more or less by reformist ideology, to join a union is the only possible revolutionary course of action because the unions are the broadest possible field of unity and organization of the working people and because advanced workers in them can raise the class consciousness of all working people.

EMIGRANT UNITY

Emigrants need unity if they are to fight effectively for their

rights and vital demands. They need unity of all the forces of Spanish emigration, unity of the emigrants of different nationalities, and unity between these and the working class of the receiving country. The CPS educates the working people in the spirit of unity, solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

There are instances showing that when Catholics, Socialists, Communists and other forces act in unity the fight for emigrants' rights can surge very high and can also stimulate unitary trends in our country.

We Communists link our struggle abroad with the upswing in mass struggles at home, with progress towards the unity of all forces and the formation of an alliance for freedom, with our people's march towards democracy.

The Conference devoted special attention to pressing problems of women emigrants, young people and the education of our children.

Women emigrants are an object of twofold exploitation. In addition to their double working day — on the job and in the household — they suffer from special forms of discrimination and oppression.

Women cannot achieve emancipation by themselves — they need the cooperation of all and at all levels. Party organizations should attach exceptional importance to this.

The Conference calls the attention of Party organizations to the need to intensify the activity and development of organizations of the Communist Youth League and to help it in studying the problems, requirements and struggles of young emigrants.

There is no system whatever in the conditions and methods of instruction of emigrants' children. It is high time to end this state of things. Only struggle by the mass of emigrants can alter this situation and enable parents freely to opt for mixed education or for instruction in their own language or the language of the country concerned, with due regard to the child's age and condition and to the family's plans.

PARTY OF AND FOR MASSES

This Conference is a most important event in the life and activity of CPS organizations in exile.

The Party in exile in Europe is a strong organization already, but it can and should be much stronger.

The draft Program Manifesto submitted by the Eighth Congress to the whole Party and the masses for discussion, and the conception of the advance to socialism in our country worked out by the Party, fully meet the interests of the Spanish working class and people, the national interest.

Our ideas and propaganda have a strong impact on the masses, but to bring more than a million emigrants into the struggle for democracy, we must daily show greater ability and strengthen our links with the mass of emigrants, must raise the standard of Party organization and activity abroad, attuning them to the great influence which the Party's policies and struggles wield at home.

Party growth requires militant and intelligent activity on the part of its members everywhere, in every situation and at every moment.

We must ask ourselves to what extent emigrants' problems are borne in mind and discussed in Party cells and committees. We need a political life in Party organizations that will inspire Communists and the masses with the great ideals and objectives of our struggle, proceeding from reality.

The Conference considers that we Communists in exile should carry the change in our work deeper, for we have only just begun it. We should give priority to Party activity in the enterprises, in the political and trade union sphere. We must analyze our own experience and the working people's condition in places of work, and must give sustained attention to work in the big enterprises of multinational capitalist monopolies. There is no better school for the revolutionary education of working people than struggle in the enterprises.

In hundreds of towns and villages, throughout half of Europe, there are groups of Spanish working people whom the voice of the Party has yet to reach. They include many thousands of men and women who could belong to the Party. Our task is to reach them and choose with them appropriate forms in which they can join and work in the Party.

Recruitment can assume a massive character. We can discuss the matter with whole groups, showing courage and proper skill as organizers.

Emigrants everywhere are keen on raising their cultural and professional standards. They want to end the ignorance and cultural backwardness to which Francoism doomed them since childhood, want to understand and learn from the world around them.

Cultural work among the masses must be an important function of Party organizations. These should be aware of their responsibility and encourage the cultural activities of the masses by drawing into this work intellectuals, professional workers and emigrant students, both Communists and non-Communists, who are willing to uphold and spread culture.

In view of the national characteristics and substantial proportion of Catalan, Basque and Galician emigrants, Party organizations should pay special attention to work among these important sections of emigrants and to the specific activity which comrades of

these nationalities have to carry on. To adapt organizational forms and working methods to the need to make the Party a party of and for the masses does not at all mean abandoning democratic centralism, the Leninist organizational principles applying to every Communist party. The political and ideological cohesion of Communists and their Marxist-Leninist training will enhance their militancy and put their revolutionary convictions on more solid foundations.

The Conference is deeply convinced that as a result of joint effort, the Party organizations in exile will contribute more to the fight against the dictatorship at this, the last, stage of its existence by training new cadres for the Spanish working-class and revolutionary movement.

October 1973.

COMPOSITION OF DELEGATIONS

The participants included 117 delegates from the following immigration countries: France, FRG, Belgium, Britain, Holland, Luxembourg, Switzerland and Scandinavia; the United Socialist Party of Catalonia in exile and the Communist Youth League.

The Conference was attended by representatives of the Central Committee, Executive Committee, European Commission and Committee on France.

Average age of delegates, 38 years (maximum 61, minimum 22); wage-earners 85 per cent, salary-earners 6 per cent, intellectuals (doctors, technicians, academics, university students and one pharmacist) 12 per cent; 37 delegates hold trade union posts; 20 delegates are leading members of Spanish associations and centers; 6 delegates are members of immigrants' municipal consultative councils and 1 delegate is a member of the World Health Organization.

Forty-five per cent of the delegates joined the Party in Spain and 55 per cent, abroad.

Some delegates belong to other organizations: the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain, General Union of Working People, Socialist Youth, Young Worker Catholics, Federation of Worker Catholics and the Communist Youth League.

Forty-four delegates took part in the debate on the main report.

PLENARY MEETINGS

PLENARY MEETING OF HSWP CENTRAL COMMITTEE*

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party met in plenary session on November 23, 1973.

The plenum:

—debated and approved a report by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Party, on fulfilment of decisions adopted by the CC plenum which met on November 14-15, 1972;

—debated and approved a report by CC Secretary Rezso Nyers on directives for the 1974 national economic plan and the state budget of the Hungarian People's Republic;

—debated and approved a report by CC Secretary Arpad Pullai on the Party's cadres and the state of work with cadres.

I.

The Central Committee stated that the decisions of the November 1972 plenum are being satisfactorily carried out and the measures taken have produced good results. The implementation of the decisions of the 10th HSWP Congress has gained momentum and greater scope.

1. The Central Committee regularly defines its position on all urgent problems of world policy and the international workers' movement. As a result of the realization of the decisions of the November 1972 plenum, our alliance with the Soviet Union, the other Warsaw Treaty countries and with the socialist countries in general is closer still. Our relations with the fraternal Parties developed on the basis of common principles. There was a further extension of our relations with Socialist and Social-Democratic parties and with progressive organizations.

We firmly support the people of Vietnam and the peoples of Indochina in their heroic struggle and assure them that we shall continue to intensify our solidarity with them. On the Middle East question we support the struggle of the Arab peoples and the progressive Arab governments for a just peace, holding that national independence and the creation of conditions for a reliable peace are in the interests of all peoples of the region and that

*Abbreviated report from the *Népszabadság* for November 29 about the plenum of the CC Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, held November 28, 1973.

they are an important factor in the preservation of world peace. Our relations with the developing countries have expanded. We declare our solidarity with all peoples struggling for freedom and national independence.

Our relations with the developed capitalist countries, too, are built on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Together with the other socialist countries we are working to consolidate European security and develop cooperation among the countries of Europe.

We oppose any attempts by international reaction to stop the process of détente. We condemn the crimes of the Chilean junta and declare our solidarity with the people of Greece fighting against the military dictatorship.

The HSWP, the Hungarian government and the people of Hungary are striving to put into practice the common position formulated by the 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and the 1973 meeting in the Crimea.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party believes that closer unity of the international Communist movement is a decisive factor in the efforts to secure peace and build socialism. We will continue to develop bilateral ties with fraternal Parties and will participate in multilateral meetings.

We are participating in the work to carry out the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and enjoying broad support the world over and to advance international détente. We are prepared to take concrete action in support of the appeal to all people of the world issued by the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow.

2. The political situation in the country is stable. Our society is engaged in peaceful creative work and has confidence in the future. The overwhelming majority of our people share the basic principles of our policy and by their work help to implement it.

The implementation of the decisions of the November 1972 plenum helped to consolidate the leading role of the working class in the interests of the entire nation. The alliance between the working class and the peasants is unshakable and the unity of the socialist nation has grown stronger.

The realization of the decisions concerning the position of women and the youth is in growing measure becoming the concern of our society as a whole. The Party and state bodies and public organizations are systematically carrying out the tasks following from these decisions.

Work has been launched to carry out the measures outlined by the government in line with the decision of the Party's Political Bureau concerning the demographic situation in the country. One more significant step has been taken in the socio-political sphere to improve the position of the family. Public health legislation is

aimed at protecting the health of women and the newly-born and makes for better family planning.

3. In the economic sphere, the 1973 plan and the fourth five-year plan as a whole are being successfully fulfilled. In line with the decision of the 10th HSWP Congress steps have been taken to promote planned economic development. The State Assembly has passed a law on planning. The creation of the State Planning Commission was an important step in providing organizational conditions for planning the national economy. The Council of Ministers has adopted a decision on the gradual involvement of individual departments and large enterprises producing a considerable part of the country's manufactured goods, in the process of planning, notably in drawing up medium-term plans.

The restructuring of industrial production continued, due above all to the headway made in fulfilling the state development program. The government has selected six large enterprises for modernizing through centralized aid and financial support. The State Planning Commission has investigated the situation in the 50 large enterprises placed under its control. Their operation fully conforms with our economic policy goals. These enterprises are making good progress.

The changes in the system of economic regulators slated for 1975 are proceeding as planned. They are meant to enable enterprises to draw up their plans for the following five-year period in line with the modified economic regulators.

Wages in the coal mining industry no longer depend on enterprise profits and in the power industry this dependence has decreased. Regulation of the wage fund has been introduced by way of an experiment at 14 manufacturing and building enterprises and two manufacturing cooperatives, to replace the system of regulating the size of wages.

Price control bodies have begun to carry out their functions more effectively. New rules of price calculation have been introduced. More stringent regulations have been established for fixing prices in the construction industry and fixed rates now cover approximately 90 per cent of all types of construction jobs. In line with the CC decision, prices on certain consumer items have been raised. Considering the higher prices of goods sold at free, unfixed prices and the measures taken to lower prices, it can be stated that the level of retail prices is shaping according to plan.

Work has been started to carry out decisions on labor organization, with part of our enterprises introducing concrete measures. In order to accelerate this process, the executives of enterprises must make further efforts to improve the organization of labor and organization in general.

4. The measures designed to raise living standards and those

taken in the sphere of social policy were effected according to the decisions of the November plenum. The wages of 1.3 million working people have gone up 9-10 per cent as a result of fulfilment of government instructions on wages by the workers and managers of state enterprises.

As of June 1, 1973, working hours have been cut in administrative and certain government and public organizations. The bonus fund has been increased to six per cent of the wage fund.

The government has introduced changes in financing and granting credits for building. Workers' families with three or more children living in apartments belonging to local councils, are allowed, when joining a housing cooperative, to make a smaller initial payment or are exempted from the initial payment altogether, depending on the individual case. Construction has been started of 1,750 new flats for workers.

5. The ideological situation is characterized by the growing support of our society for the goals of our socialist construction. Mass propaganda has become more effective, concentrating its efforts on explaining the topical political and economic tasks. Science and culture have valuable achievements to their credit meeting socialist criteria. There has been an improvement in creative work and Marxist criticism has become more effective.

Decisions on education are being carried out according to plan. New measures have been introduced to extend the enrolment of workers' children at educational establishments.

The press, radio and TV have successfully popularized the decisions of the November plenum and shown a high sense of responsibility in mobilizing the masses to achieve the tasks set, thereby helping to create a favorable political atmosphere in the country.

6. Fulfilment of the November plenum decisions has heightened the Party's leading role, consolidating its ideological-political unity. The situation within the Party is favorable and its ties with the masses are unbreakable. The emphasis in Party work is on checking the execution of decisions, on giving concrete aid on the spot. In most primary organizations the level of work has risen.

In admitting new Party members, more attention is given to the ideological-political make-up and individual qualities of prospective members, to shaping the social composition of the Party. Manual workers make up 71.7 per cent of the new membership and the proportion of women and persons under 30 years of age has risen.

Growing Party leadership of public and mass organizations has made it possible for them to show greater independence in tackling their specific problems. The trade unions, youth organizations, the committee of the Fatherland Popular Front, the women's movement and other important public organizations have contributed by

their successful work to the implementation of the decisions of the November plenum.

7. Summing up, the CC put it on record that the decisions of the November 1972 plenum which set out concrete dates have been carried out on schedule and that long-term tasks are being solved at a satisfactory rate.

The Central Committee expresses its gratitude to Party and state organs, public organizations, Party members and non-Party allies for their devoted work in all fields of endeavor to consistently carry out the decisions of the November 1972 plenum of the CC HSWP. The Central Committee voices its firm conviction that through joint efforts of Party members and non-Party supporters of socialism, by our continued devoted work we shall achieve the goals set by the 10th HSWP Congress.

II.

1. In 1973, the national income will increase by 6-7 per cent, hence its rate of growth will be greater than planned. Tendencies ensuring stable development have become stronger: national income will grow at a faster rate than domestic consumption and the foreign trade balance will improve. The increase in labor productivity will be in excess of the planned targets.

Industrial output will increase by 6-7 per cent, which will be achieved mainly through higher labor productivity. The growth rate is highest in the chemical, light and electric power industries.

Capital investments in the national economy in 1973 will be 2 per cent higher than in 1972, slightly below the planned level.

A favorable balance is developing between investments in the production sphere, as well as between investment by the state and by enterprises. The main investment projects in 1973 were the Gagarin heat-and-power plant, the Hungarian section of the Friendship-2 pipeline, the Tisza-2 cascade, the alumina plant at Ajka, the Beremend cement mill, a new man-made materials shop at a viscose factory, the steel foundry shop at the Gyor wagon and engineering works, shops of the metallurgical works at Ozd, the Dunaujvaros metallurgical combine, and the Lenin integrated metallurgical works, where modernization is being carried out and new capacities are being built.

Farm output will be 5-6 per cent over the 1972 level. Domestic demand in cereals and feed grains will be met completely, and some wheat will be exported. Because of a drought vegetables and fruit will fall short of the plan, and this will necessitate potato imports. The rate of increase of cattle has accelerated. Output of pork will rise sharply from the fourth quarter of 1973.

The growth rate of output in the building materials industry

increased in the second half of the year which will make it possible to increase production 2.5-3 per cent over 1972. The relation between demand and available capacities has improved. In connection with some objectives the concentration of efforts has increased and there are fewer complaints about quality. At the same time there are shortcomings in the concluding stage of building work. The plan of housing construction will be fulfilled and 85,000 new flats will be built by the end of the year.

Transport and communications are developing in accordance with the plan.

The change in production structure and higher foreign demand have stimulated exports. Exports have developed dynamically and imports moderately.

Consumption this year will rise 4-5 per cent, real per capita incomes, 4-4.5 per cent, and real wages per wage earner, 2.3 per cent. Real wages of workers at large enterprises will increase 5.8 per cent, as provided for by the plan. Supplies for the population have been stable, although in the course of the year there were some passing difficulties with supplies of meat products, vegetables and fruit.

2. The Central Committee approved the guidelines for the 1974 economic plan and state budget: national income will be 5 per cent above the 1973 level, domestic consumption will rise 5-6 per cent, industrial output, 5.5-6 per cent, building construction, 4 per cent, farm output, 2-2.5 per cent, per capita incomes, 5-5.5 per cent, and real wages per industrial or office worker, 3.7 per cent. Allocations for investment in the socialist sector are 117,000-118,000 million forints, retail trade will increase 8-9 per cent, housing construction will total 85,000 flats of which 36,000 will be built by the state.

In 1974 construction will begin of the Adriatika oil pipeline, the first section of the nuclear power plant at Paks, a cement mill at Balapatfalva, a new polyvinylchlorine plant at the Borsod chemical works, a new knitwear factory at Kiskunhalas, a meatpacking plant at Gyula, a second shop at the viscose mill, reconstruction of the steel foundry plant at the Ozd metallurgical works. It is necessary to start construction of a new powerful transmitter for the Kosuth radio station.

Labor productivity in the fourth five-year plan is due to increase by more than 5 per cent, i.e., faster than planned. Production will advance most dynamically in the chemical and food industries and in electric power production.

3. In the interests of raising the people's living standards the Central Committee deems it necessary, along with automatic wage increases, to provide for measures which would ensure an increase in real per capita incomes by 5 per cent, in real per worker wages,

by 3.7 per cent, and in national consumption by approximately 6 per cent.

In this connection the Central Committee considers it necessary to additionally allocate 1,200 million forints to increase wages in 1974:

- for industrial and construction workers who were not covered by pay raises in the state sector in 1973;

- for oddjobsmen in state industry and construction;

- for local government workers and certain categories of other local administrative employees;

- for workers of local economic and administrative bodies;

- for workers of research institutes;

- for workers of theatres and other places of entertainment.

The size of increase and time of introduction are to be determined by the Council of Ministers with the participation of the All-Hungary Trade Union Council.

It is necessary to allocate 1,660 million forints to increase state social payments in 1974, as provided for by the Council of Ministers' decree on measures to promote the birthrate.

From January 1, 1974 it is necessary to increase the pay of servicemen doing their regular term of service in the armed forces and grants for needy dependents.

In 1974 we shall continue the introduction of a 44-hour week for new categories of workers.

In the interests of expanding the system of child care institutions and providing them with all they need it is necessary to build creches with accommodation for 2,400 and kindergartens with accommodation for 12,000. Tasks in public education will be met by the building of 720 class-rooms for primary, secondary and vocational schools, as well as of dormitories for 6,000.

To improve the public health system it is necessary to increase the number of hospital beds by 1,600 and the number of places in old-age homes by 1,000. Along with the expansion and reconstruction of regional hospitals it is necessary to improve medical services for outpatients by setting up 50 new medical precincts and increasing reception time for specialist doctors by 650 hours per day.

In 1974 the increase of consumer prices should not exceed two per cent. Along with the expansion of retail trade it is necessary to improve the range of goods by promoting cooperation between enterprises and retail outlets. The latter should pay special attention to assuring a continuous flow of supplies.

4. To carry out the 1974 plan it is necessary to continue to improve the organization, management and control of the economy. To this end Party organizations should by their political work help industrial executives raise the efficiency of management, make the

best use of available capacities, modernize the structure of production, improve the quality of output, perfect labor organization, strengthen labor, technological and financial discipline and ensure thrifty production.

Mass political work should promote an attitude to work that would make for the most efficient utilization of available means.

Party organizations should help the Young Communist League to ensure active youth participation in organization of political, social and economic life at enterprises.

Communists in trade union organizations and cooperative unions should see to it that their organizations, besides defending their members' interests, engage constantly in problems of further raising production effectiveness, facilitating the rational organization of labor, ensuring payment according to work done and promoting the socialist emulation movement.

Communists working in the mass media should see to it that the press, radio and television pay due attention to good, honest work.

The Central Committee calls on Party organizations, on all Party members, to take an active part in carrying out the Party's economic policy and to set an example by their devoted work. The CC appeals to the leaders of the All-Hungary Council of the Fatherland Popular Front, the All-Hungary Trade Union Council, the All-Hungary Council of Farm Cooperatives, the Central Committee of the YCL and public organizations to promote, each in their own sphere, the successful implementation of the economic tasks of 1974.

III.

Having reviewed the Party's cadres policy, the prevailing situation and main tasks in cadres work, the Central Committee finds that:

1. The cadres policy of the Party is being fulfilled in accordance with its basic political line and aims. Three qualities — political reliability, high professional training and the capacity for leadership — have become the guiding principles in the selection of leading cadres.

On the whole, Party cadres cope with their tasks, whatever their sphere of work or position held. The overwhelming majority are devoted supporters of socialism; they make correct use of the powers entrusted them and fulfil their tasks, are active in public life; their behavior and way of life are in keeping with the moral standards of the Party.

The level of political and professional training has risen. However, there are leaders who do not develop further, are unable to march in step with progress and do not measure up to the growing demands of the day.

Some leaders do not appreciate what the socio-political effects of their decisions may be, and do not strengthen their relations with the workers. There are cases of conceit; opinions of the collective are ignored, and justified criticism suppressed. In some places, despite oft-repeated warnings from leading Party bodies, there are still cases of tolerance towards shortcomings and of unprincipled complacency; guilty people are not always called to account.

In future too, when assessing leading cadres, three criteria need to be applied: political reliability, professional competence, and organizing ability.

The increasingly complex tasks of socialist construction which call for a deeper understanding and devotion make it essential to improve cadres work.

2. A paramount task of the future will be to ensure stability of cadres as well as their improvement, by means of their rational and gradual renewal. The principle of assigning to people positions according to their natural abilities should be consistently applied.

As before, the Central Committee considers that in our society it is right and necessary that any post—other than a Party post—may be filled also by non-Party people who support and actively work for the realization of the program for socialist construction.

The overwhelming majority of leaders see cadres work as an integral part of their activities. In the state bodies, cadres work must be more firmly based on the principle of individual responsibility. At the same time, through strengthening of the centralized leadership and control, the drawing-in of Party and public organizations, the creation of an atmosphere of trust and frankness, and also of principled criticism, cadres work must be put on a more democratic basis in line with the development of socialist democracy. This will help to avoid subjectivism and will assist a more effective fulfilment of the principles underlying our cadres policy.

3. The Central Committee considers the planned training of cadres to be one of the main aspects of cadres work.

A vital problem of political leadership is the promotion of talented workers and members of agricultural cooperatives to leading positions after receiving appropriate training. It is necessary that more manual workers are enabled to receive political education in the Higher Political School of the CC of the HWSP, in the study centers of Party education of the Budapest and regional Party committees. The higher educational establishments must provide conditions facilitating workers' study. The standard of teaching and education in the higher educational establishments needs to be raised

since in our time one of the main sources for cadres is the higher school graduates.

When selecting candidates for positions of responsibility, women with the appropriate business qualities should be drawn in. We must make a decisive stand against prejudices and an ill-favored attitude towards women, and lack of faith in their abilities. All other things being equal, when selecting candidates for leading positions, preference should be given to women.

Social interests and continuity of leadership call for a more active involvement of young people in the work of leadership. The Party and YCL organizations must regard their most important task to be giving young people an opportunity to test their strength.

When replacing cadres in branch organizations, in the cultural, scientific and health spheres, it is advisable to apply more extensively the well-tried method of competition for posts. To promote factory democracy, workers in state enterprises and institutions should be guaranteed greater opportunities for participating through their elected bodies, promotion of leaders and assessment of their work.

4. The Central Committee adopted, as a plenum decision, the report on cadres work, on the situation, selection and placing of cadres, and the main tasks in this connection. This decision will be published in *Partelet*.

On the basis of this decision and in the light of available experience, the Central Committee recommends that the Council of Ministers introduce changes and amendments in its directives on the question of selection and placing of cadres.

The Central Committee regards as a valid guideline the directive of the Tenth Congress of the HSWP: "Improvement of cadres work is the main demand from the viewpoint of continued improvement of Party work and the country's development."

The Central Committee approved the plan of its work for 1974.

PLENUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CPSU

A regular plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU was held December 10-11, 1973.

Reports were heard by Comrade N. K. Baibakov, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, "On the State Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR in 1974," and by Comrade V. F. Garbuzov, Minister of Finance, "On the State Budget of the USSR for 1974."

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, addressed the plenum with a major speech.

The speakers in the debate were: V. V. Shcherbitsky, First Secretary, CC CP Ukraine; M. S. Gorbachev, First Secretary, Stavropol Territory Committee of the CPSU; I. I. Bodyul, First Secretary, CC CP Moldavia; P. D. Borodin, General Director of the Moscow Automobile Manufacturing Amalgamation; A. E. Voss, First Secretary, CC CP Latvia; A. V. Georgiev, First Secretary, Altai Territory Committee of the CPSU; K. N. Rudnev, Minister of Instrument Building, Automation and Control Systems; A. K. Chorny, First Secretary, Khabarovsk Territory Committee of the CPSU; B. Ashimov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR; G. V. Romanov, First Secretary, Leningrad Regional Committee of the CPSU; A. K. Antonov, Minister of the Electrical Engineering Industry; I. A. Bondarenko, First Secretary, Rostov Regional Committee of the CPSU; N. D. Khudaiberdiyev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR; Y. A. Salnikova, catalyst grid supervisor of the Berezniki K. Y. Voroshilov Nitrogen Fertilizer Plant; P. M. Masherov, First Secretary, CC CP Byelorussia; B. Y. Shcherbina, First Secretary, Tyumen Regional Committee of the CPSU; A. I. Shibayev, First Secretary, Saratov Regional Committee of the CPSU; E. A. Shevardnadze, First Secretary, CC CP Georgia; A. G. Buznitsky, Chairman of the Order of Lenin Zhdanov Collective Farm, Mironovsky District, Kiev Region; C. A. Aliyev, First Secretary, CC CP Azerbaijan; I. P. Kazanets, Minister of the Iron and Steel Industry of the USSR; V. I. Vorotnikov, First Secretary, Voronezh Regional Committee of the CPSU.

The Plenum unanimously passed a resolution on the subject under discussion.

With this the Plenum concluded its work.

DECISION* OF CC CPSU PLENUM ON DRAFTS OF STATE PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE USSR AND STATE BUDGET OF THE USSR FOR 1974

To endorse the overall terms of the drafts of the State Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR in 1974 and the State Budget of the USSR for 1974 and submit them for the consideration of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

To endorse fully the activity of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU in implementing the decisions of the 24th Party Congress on domestic and external policy, as well as the positions and con-

**Pravda*, December 11 and 12, 1973.

clusions presented in the speech of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, at this Plenum.

To note that fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 1974 plan will be of decisive importance for the successful completion of the five-year plan as a whole and will create conditions for the further growth of the country's economic potential and for raising the material welfare and cultural standard of the people.

To instruct the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, Territory and Regional Party Committees and all Party organizations to work to mobilize Communists, Young Communists and all working people for the fulfilment of the 1974 Economic Plan, in line with Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech.

THE CAUSE OF THE WHOLE PARTY, THE WHOLE NATION*

The third, decisive year of the ninth Five-Year Plan has been marked by remarkable successes of our people in communist construction and in carrying into effect the Leninist general line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its domestic and foreign policy. The decisions of the recently held Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the seventh session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR have led to a new powerful upsurge in political and labor activity of the Soviet people.

In his speech to the CC Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev gave a profound and extensive characterization of the results of the creative activity of our Party and the people in the third year of the current Five-Year Plan, and outlined some fundamental propositions on the ways and means needed to carry out the economic plan for 1974, assuring further advance in the national economy, and the culture and well-being of the working people.

The results of the year now coming to a close have been welcomed with deep satisfaction by the Party and people. The growth in industrial production will amount to 7.3 per cent instead of the 5.8 per cent envisaged in the plan. Planned targets for the growth of labor productivity have been exceeded. Imposing results have been achieved in agriculture: 222.5 million tons, or 13.6 billion poods of grain have been harvested — considerably more than at any time in Soviet history. The Soviet country has taken in a record cotton harvest. Livestock breeders have increased the number of cattle, thus guaranteeing the fulfilment of the year's plan for the

*Editorial in Pravda, December 16, 1973.

sale of all the main animal farm products to the state. A substantial advance has been made in solving the task which the 24th Congress of the CPSU defined as the cardinal task in the economy, namely, improving the well-being of the working people. The plan for raising the real incomes of the population has been exceeded, and more than 11 million people have had their housing conditions improved.

For Party organizations, Soviet and economic bodies, the year 1973 has been a serious test and it has been passed with honor. Such is the chief political result of the work of our Party. Not only did it mobilize its own members, but it was in the forefront of the people's initiative, and lifted the level of the socialist emulation movement in the country to new heights. The unity of the Party and the people is the key to all our successes.

The achievements of the third year of the Five-Year Plan need to be consolidated and developed in the fourth year for which much higher indicators have been planned. This is the objective which the Party has set itself, and it is precisely towards this objective that the working class, peasantry and intellectuals are being oriented. Everything possible must be done to overfulfill the plan and so facilitate the fulfilment of the targets for 1975, the concluding year of the ninth Five-Year Plan.

Noting that we appraise the results of the work done with justifiable pride, and give due credit to the great deeds and achievements of the people, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed to the necessity for further improvement in the scientific management of the economy. Our economy faces problems that are rightly called problems of growth. Defects exist which must be clearly recognized in order to work out measures which will make for a still more successful advance.

Thus, our agriculture is very much stronger, has a more dependable basis, and now its intensification becomes a task of primary importance. The 24th Congress of the CPSU emphasized that one of the main means for its solution is through specialization and further concentration, and the transfer of agricultural production to a modern industrial basis. In this lie enormous possibilities, and useful experience has been accumulated. Now it is necessary to gradually go over from small farms and teams to large-scale specialized production by industrial methods, making wide use of the achievements of science and technology. Of course, we need to beware of extremes, conduct matters in an economically rational fashion, and take into consideration all aspects and consequences of the measures undertaken.

Greater numbers of collective and state farms are uniting their efforts, creating joint collective-farm and state-farm enterprises - cattle-breeding farms and comprehensive enterprises for the production of top-grade fodder. Such enterprises and amalgamations

will not only stimulate growth in the production of agricultural produce. They have also a big social problem to solve -- to raise the level of the socialization of collective farm production, and eliminate the borders between collective-farm and state forms of property. And this is one of the Party's program tasks.

It is essential to continue consistently to put into effect the Party line for comprehensive mechanization of agricultural production, for expansion of the supply of fertilizers and chemicals, fodder, for land reclamation, construction, and satisfaction of the growing energy requirements of the village.

In noting the undoubted successes of our industry, which evoke deep satisfaction, we must be fully aware of the need to mobilize all our forces for achieving still higher indicators in 1974. Special attention should be paid to ensuring the supply of fuel, metals and chemicals for the national economy and high quality goods for the population.

One of the most vital problems is improvement in planning and elimination of infringements on the planning procedure, including failures to ensure material-technical supplies of construction materials, equipment, fuel, raw materials, machine parts and metals. This implies the need to raise the responsibility of cadres, tighten discipline in planning, considerably enhance the level of management in all spheres of economic activity and assure thrifty, economical spending of public funds, especially in designing and construction. We have enormous production resources and we need a whole series of planned, organizational and economic measures, if we are to make full use of them. To begin with, there must be a definite change in the thinking of our economic executives, who are called upon to put an end to mismanagement and waste, and concentrate attention on questions of scientific-technical progress and the quality of production.

The 24th Congress of the Party stated that the Soviet economy was now in that stage of its development where a number of new tasks assumed primary importance, i.e., more emphasis on qualitative factors, raising the efficiency of the national economy, accelerating technical progress, etc. Undoubtedly, we have moved forward along these lines and have achieved no small successes. However, the solution of new tasks is frequently made more difficult by inertia and insufficient flexibility of the economic mechanism. It is necessary to perfect the mechanism of economic management according to the decisions of the Congress and the experience accumulated during the past three years. This implies evolving a unified, integral system of measures aimed at raising the effectiveness of management and planning and improving the entire economic mechanism. This concerns the organizational structure of economic management of the economy, the system and methods

of planning, distribution of capital investment and reinforcement of economic incentives. The task is to ensure that economic conditions make it profitable for every worker and every collective to do what is profitable for the state, i.e., to adopt an intensive plan, utilize all reserves, supply the country with the production required, economize in raw materials and other supplies, and raise the productivity of labor.

We must even more vigorously promote a genuinely Party style of work, a Party approach in all spheres of economic activity. Economic management cannot be approached from a narrow economic, still less from a technocratic position. This is a Party matter, a political matter. In asserting a Party style in economic management, we must struggle uncompromisingly against everything alien to it, in the first place against a bureaucratic style of work, the tendency to neglect the general interests of the state and the people to promote departmental and local interests, against irresponsibility and formalism. A Party approach is inseparable from a decisive increase in personal responsibility; it implies a solicitous approach and trust in cadres coupled with high demands made on them.

Of great significance is the correct organization of socialist emulation, whose main objective is the development of the initiative of the masses in the drive to raise productivity of labor. Counter-plans as an effective form of emulation deserve special attention. Well-organized competition is a powerful instrument for fostering a communist attitude to work and socialist property and strengthening labor discipline.

Workers, collective farmers and intellectuals realize full well that only work is the source of their well-being, that they work for themselves, that the rate of improvement of the well-being of Soviet people depends on the fulfillment of plans and the growth of social wealth. We must use all avenues of Party influence, the impact of our press, television, radio, oral propaganda and agitation, the potentialities of our literature and art to ensure that this realization becomes embodied in action, that people strive to work creatively, efficiently, showing initiative. It is important to raise the role of the worker in production still further, to use all factors for developing the activity of work collectives. The broader the participation of the workers in the management of enterprises, the greater will be the feeling of responsibility of each for the general success. The main guarantee for success in carrying out our plans is to bring into play all the powerful reserves of socialist democracy and place them at the service of the great and important tasks of the country.

At the Plenum of the CC, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spoke of the activities of the Political Bureau in the field of international politics.

Characterizing the key problems of the foreign political activity of our Party and state since the April Plenum of the CC CPSU, he noted that in the course of recent events, as in general in matters of international politics, the unity of the countries of the socialist community had yielded good results. Their agreed course has brought new successes to the peace offensive of world socialism, promoted international détente and the affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

The changes in Europe in favor of peace and security are becoming more evident, as shown by the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, and also by the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe, and the development of relations between the socialist countries and West European states.

Considerable advances have been achieved in Soviet-American relations in 1973, primarily on the main question — the question of lessening the danger of war and strengthening peace. An important result was the agreement between the USSR and the USA on preventing nuclear war, which is of historical significance in the strengthening of peace.

The fruitful, principled policy of the Soviet Union in the Middle East — a policy of support for the just liberation struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression, support for progressive regimes, and for the establishment of a stable, just peace — has fully justified itself.

Our country undeviatingly follows a course for establishing a stable peace on the Asian continent, for putting into effect the idea of collective security in Asia. Relations between the USSR and Asian states are steadily expanding. Of great significance for the development of friendly Soviet-Indian relations was L. I. Brezhnev's visit to India and his talks with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, which raised these relations to a higher level in the interests of both peoples and strengthened peace in Asia and throughout the world.

The many-sided activities of our Party and the Soviet state to implement the Peace Program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU are acknowledged and supported by the peace-loving forces of our planet, by the whole of progressive mankind. This was vividly demonstrated by the World Congress of Trade Unions in Varna and the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow.

The CPSU actively works for the further strengthening of the unity of the international Communist movement politically as well as ideologically. It consistently follows a line for the further strengthening of this unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet people wholeheartedly support the active, purposeful work of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Political Bureau, and personally Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, which is aimed at providing favorable conditions for communist construction, at strengthening peace and defending the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR unanimously approved the decisions of the Plenum of the CC CPSU. They discussed and approved the national economic plan and budget for 1974. The growth in national income will amount to 6.5 per cent against an average 5.2 per cent increase for 1971-73, and the real incomes of the population will grow by 5 per cent against 4.3 per cent for the same period. Production of industrial goods will increase by 6.8 per cent. The gross agricultural output will exceed 100 billion rubles in value, which is 6.4 per cent in excess of the level of the current year. This will still further strengthen the economic and defense might of our country.

All Communists and Party organizations must be at the head of the general popular drive to fulfill and exceed the national economic plan which has now become law. We have 380,000 primary Party organizations and almost 15 million members. This is an enormous force. Party organizations and all Communists are called upon to be active and conscious fighters for Party policy, and to conduct ceaselessly the ideological and political education of the masses.

Our Party's prestige as leader of millions of workers is exceptionally high. "The Party," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the plenum, "has won this prestige by its untiring struggle for the interests of the people, because it was able to work out a correct line for the present stage of communist construction accepted by the working class, peasantry and intellectuals as their own, and because it has achieved outstanding successes in strengthening peace. The high prestige of the Party is our most cherished possession, comrades. We see in it not only the just tribute to the devotion with which the Party has served and continues to serve the people. The prestige of the Party is at the same time our most powerful, truly all-conquering weapon, which helps to unite the masses and mobilize them to solve the tasks confronting the country, to make them conscious fighters for the general interests of the state."

The whole Party and people have welcomed with enthusiasm the decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The working people of the Soviet Union, solidly united around their Party and its Leninist CC, will do all in their power to successfully put into effect the program of building communist society in our country, the program of struggle for peace and friendship among the peoples.

RESOLUTION OF 44TH SESSION OF LCY PRESIDIUM

Following is the resolution adopted by the 44th Session of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and published in *Borba*, November 8, 1973.

The LCY Presidium at its 44th Session on November 6, 1973 examined the domestic political situation in the light of fulfilment of the tasks set out in the Letter of the LCY Chairman and the Executive Bureau of the LCY Presidium. Proceeding from its estimation of the domestic political situation and taking account of the present international situation, the LCY Presidium adopted the following resolution:

I.

The Presidium notes that in the period since the Letter came in there has been an extensive mobilization of LCY members and organizations and all other organized socialist forces of our society to implement the policies of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The unity and efficiency of the League have grown and its activity has become more fruitful. The League has become more aware of its responsibility for every important aspect of development of socialism based on self-management.

The revolutionary character of League activity in present conditions expresses itself in struggle for the further promotion of the class content of self-management, equality, brotherhood and unity, for the development of socialist self-managing production relations on the basis of an amended Constitution and for economic and social progress. The drive to achieve the objectives of LCY policy, accomplish the tasks set out in the Letter and implementation of the proposed amendments to the Constitution has strengthened the confidence of the working class, peoples and nationalities in League policy. The influence of the working class and other working people over the main lines of economic and social development has grown.

The LCY has been carrying on an organized and resolute campaign against techno-bureaucratic, centralist, unitarist, anarcho-liberal, nationalist and other views and relations directed against self-management and socialism.

By stepping up its ideological and political activity to eliminate political opportunism and ideological vacillation, the League fosters

its ideological and political cohesion and unity of action and dissociates from all waverers and all who resist its policy.

A more determined struggle has been going on against ideologically foreign concepts and practices, especially in film-making, publishing and other cultural fields, the mass media, universities and other educational and research institutions. Creative Marxist criticism has been making headway.

Extensive ideological and political work is being carried on in anticipation of the adoption and implementation of amendments to the Constitution. Progress is being made in stabilizing the economy and in removing unacceptable social distinctions.

The present policy and activity of the LCY in the country, the unity and other results achieved by us have strengthened Yugoslavia's international standing.

The Yugoslav policy of non-alignment, particularly Tito's role in it, were reasserted and reaffirmed at the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers.

All this has made for a more favorable political climate in the country and given rise to positive sentiments among the working people.

II.

The LCY Presidium considers that in the period before the 10th Congress it is necessary to continue with still greater determination to carry out the tasks listed in the Letter of the League Chairman and the Executive Bureau, as well as those confirmed by specific decisions of the League Presidium and contained in the Platform for the 10th Congress.

The Presidium binds the organizations and leadership of the LCY, particularly all Communists working in self-management, non-governmental and government bodies, to concentrate in the period before the 10th Congress on the following main tasks:

First, the organizations and leadership of the LCY must become the leading force and initiators of efforts to develop socialist production relations based on self-management and on the proposed amendments to the Constitution, and must link this activity with the long-range and ideological and political orientation of the LCY contained in the Platform for its 10th Congress. In carrying out these tasks, Communists in united labor organizations and other self-managing associations must develop their activity in conjunction with trade union, Socialist Alliance, and Youth League organizations and government and non-governmental bodies.

Second, Communists in the Socialist Alliance must take a firm stand for all the socialist forces united in the Social Alliance to join actively and in organized fashion in efforts to put into practice

the proposed amendments to the Constitution and to accomplish other socialist construction tasks.

Thirdly, the main line in the period ahead as regards mobilization of the mass of workers and other working people to solve current problems of our social self-management and economic practice should consist in continuing to fulfil the tasks contained in the Letter of the LCY Chairman and the Executive Bureau and the Platform for the 10th Congress, and the tasks that arise from the amendments to the Constitution and the forthcoming election of delegates, and solving on this basis current economic, social, political and other problems in each particular working-class and self-managing unit.

Fourthly, the LCY must, as well as striving for the widest possible mobilization of the working class and other working people, continue to evolve precise guidelines for the present time and for its long-range policy. As it works and campaigns for this, the League will free itself from opportunists, sectarians and waverers more than ever before and provide conditions for more class-conscious and active workers and other working people to join its ranks.

The LCY Presidium calls special attention to the importance of promptly and competently fulfilling the following tasks:

1. Constituting as early as possible united labor branch organizations and concluding self-management agreements on their association in labor organizations, so as steadily to perfect them in practice, that is, amend the provisions bearing on the necessity for substantive changes in production relations, as envisaged by the Constitution.

Establishing on a new basis closer links between and integrating united labor organizations which are interdependent in the production process, extractive and manufacturing industries, trade and banks.

Adjusting the organization and functioning of business and other economic associations, as well as economic chambers, to the changes being brought about throughout the system of united labor.

Effecting in still more organized fashion, with greater determination and more speedily, further substantive changes in relations between banks and other monetary institutions, in insurance, housing, home and foreign trade and in their connection based on self-management with production.

Making every effort to achieve a fundamental change in relations between production and other social activities, establish links on the principles of self-management between them and bring about new relations in united labor organizations in non-economic spheres. Forming at an early date self-managing entities in the sphere of

education, science, art, public health and other public fields, as well as in electrical engineering, housing construction and certain other fields of material production.

Making a greater effort towards implementing the constitutional provisions regarding links based on self-management between individual agricultural producers and united labor and towards protecting their constitutional rights.

2. Proceeding with greater energy and in accordance with constitutional provisions to elaborate the system of self-managing united labor as a whole and adapting all legislation and regulation to this system.

Deciding as early as possible on the basic provisions for the system of extended reproduction, planning, the integrated Yugoslav market, income distribution, taxation and other economic fields, as well as for the social activity of the collectives concerned. Speeding the search for solutions to these problems on the newly-established councils for economic and political matters. The LCY Presidium considers it necessary to evolve an ideological and political basis for the solution of these and other problems.

3. Determining before the 10th Congress the main objectives and lines of economic and social development of Yugoslavia till 1985.

Ensuring at the same time direct activity by united labor organizations to decide on the development programs of collectives as the basis for:

- solving urgent structural problems;
- working out a long-term plan for Yugoslavia's economic and social development;
- deciding on the general development policy for the 1976-1980 period.

Forming a planning organization and system based on the principles of self-management. Seeing to it that the organization and working methods of social planning institutes and economic chambers meet the requirements of planning.

4. Ensuring in line with the new Constitution the consistent establishment and effective functioning of all self-management bodies and skupstinas (assemblies) of socio-political units ranging from the commune to the Federation on the basis of representation through delegates.

Seeing to it that elected as delegates are people who will consistently uphold the interests of the working class and fight for the progress of self-managing socialist society. In this connection, the YCL Presidium considers that special attention should be devoted to the role and responsibility of Communist delegates.

Ensuring implementation of the constitutional provision on the role and responsibility of the Socialist Alliance and trade unions

in regard to the development and functioning of the political system as well as in the country's entire social, economic and political life. Above all, it is necessary to ensure that the Socialist Alliance of the Working People become a united front of socialist forces headed by the LCY.

Improving the selection of personnel and introducing other changes into the state apparatus at all levels, so that it may function effectively and in accordance with the amended Constitution.

Carrying out without delay the tasks listed in the Letter in regard to setting up efficient tax and other inspection bodies and establishing responsibility, because these tasks are not being carried out in adequate measure.

Devoting special attention to self-management and social agreements, as essential elements of our system, particularly from the standpoint of perfecting the forms and methods of reaching agreement, which will make possible the early solution of outstanding problems and the effective implementation of agreements.

5. The LCY Presidium accepts and supports the estimations and conclusions of the enlarged meeting of the Executive Bureau of October 25, 1973 regarding the need to make further efforts and take all requisite steps to promote every element of internal stability, perfect the national defense system, raise the fighting capacity of the Yugoslav People's Army and build up the defense potential and security of the whole country as a standing task and an essential requisite for the unhampered construction of our self-managing socialist society.

Communists in self-management, non-governmental and government bodies and organizations must make a still greater effort for a more complete and consistent realization of the tasks facing the bodies and organizations brought into being by the conception of national defense and, above all, heighten vigilance in every sphere of national defense, public self-defense and the security of the country as a whole.

6. Working still more perseveringly to strengthen the LCY ideologically and organizationally and with regard to cadres and capacity for action. This confronts the organizations and leading committees of the League with the following immediate tasks:

—promoting and exercising more effectively the leading ideological and political role of the League, taking a resolute stand against and defeating all who oppose this role or the revolutionary, ideological and political orientation of the organized socialist forces headed by the League;

—applying still more consistently the principle of democratic centralism in shaping and implementing League policies; vigorously countering all trends towards disrupting the LCY, as well

as all attempts to abuse democratic centralism, adopt irresponsible decisions, suppress democracy in the League or turn it into bureaucratic centralism;

—forming LCY branch organizations in all united labor organizations and working steadfastly to strengthen them ideologically and politically and raise their efficiency, so that they may be equal to their present-day role of accomplishing the major and responsible tasks facing the working class and the League;

—enhancing the efficiency and influence of the League through specific efforts towards carrying out the tasks set out in the Letter; promoting unity of action and continuing on this basis the process of ideological differentiation in the League and of dropping from its ranks all whose ideological and practical position runs counter to LCY policy;

—stepping up the effort to reinforce and extend the ranks of all LCY organizations, particularly united labor organizations, primarily by bringing in workers directly engaged in production and young people;

—intensifying work to build up the system of ideological and political training by setting up party schools and other centers of Marxist education and training; giving priority to the reinforcement of Marxist centers with personnel, strengthening them financially and organizationally and taking steps to establish them in those republics and territories where this has not yet been done;

—introducing and promoting the practice of supplying comprehensive and complete information in the LCY, ranging from the branch organization to the Presidium;

—continuing to build up League influence on the mass media and intensifying effort to found new party organs and strengthen existing ones.

7. Continuing the effort to implement the policy of establishing the economy above all by:

—evolving in time the economic policy for the next year and taking further steps to provide conditions for easing inflation, speeding the growth of social production, labor productivity and incomes and bringing about an increase in the working people's real personal incomes and standard of life on this basis, and, first and foremost, in the share of industry in the distribution of the national income;

—achieving next year a real increase in the personal incomes of working people in the public sector in conformity with growing production, labor productivity and incomes;

—verifying execution of the LCY guidelines on speeding the development of the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Territory and taking steps to implement the policy adopted with a view to speeding it;

—taking requisite decisions on the necessary increase in the material reserves of united labor organizations and socio-political units in order to make economic and social development more stable;

—continuing and stepping up public effort to build homes for workers;

—promoting the economy drive so as to make economy a component of the every-day life, activity and behavior of all working people and all citizens; resolutely combating at the same time every instance or manifestation of injudicious spending.

8. In line with the conclusions of the LCY Presidium and the Presidium of the SFRY a more concrete program for the solution of the problems of our workers temporarily employed abroad must be jointly approved before the 10th Congress of the LCY. Within this framework, it is necessary:

—fully to ensure proper working and living conditions for the workers employed abroad and for their families;

—to reinforce the personnel and raise the efficiency of relevant services at home and abroad, set up at an early date in the republics, territories and the Federation bodies in charge of the problems of our workers temporarily employed abroad and see to the more effective coordination of work in this sphere;

—to provide conditions for the gradual return of these workers to their country (by creating new jobs, extending capacities and using the opportunities for work provided by individually owned means, creating the requisites for using the means of individuals to build housing, and so on);

—assigning for these purposes part of the funds derived from the cash remittances of workers employed abroad and from other sources.

Approving in line with this specific programs in the republics, territories and communes.

Government agencies must immediately adopt specific measures to reduce the proportion of specialists who go abroad in search of jobs and to prevent the departure of reserve NCOs.

9. Ensuring the early elaboration of criteria valid for the whole country and for each republic or territory and making it possible to judge whether or not existing social distinctions are warranted; passing laws and decisions regulating taxation of incomes from the sale of land and other immovables and from rent; speeding ascertainment of the sources of enrichment and confiscating what has been acquired unlawfully; readjusting the policy of fines; setting up a permanent and effective public service to register and verify citizens' incomes.

Taking joint and coordinated steps to accomplish these and other tasks specified in the Letter and firmly resisting every manifestation

of social demagoguery and egalitarianism.

Specifying in line with the global conception of Yugoslavia's long-term development the main long-range lines of solving problems of housing, education and jobs for workers, as well as other problems of social development.

10. Abiding by and carrying forward our country's policy of non-alignment and of commitment to struggle against every kind of imperialist aggression and hegemonist subjection, for complete support of UN decisions designed to preserve peace and promote mutual understanding and cooperation on the basis of the independence and equality of all countries and peoples.

Making a special effort in view of the foregoing to fulfil the decisions of the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned countries and the decisions adopted by the Presidium of the SFRY with a view to carrying out the decisions of the Conference, and, above all, seeking more effective all-round progress in economic cooperation with developing countries.

Fully supporting the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples in the Middle East and insisting most emphatically on unfailing respect for the legitimate rights of Arab states and the Arab people of Palestine.

III.

The LCY Presidium binds all members, organizations and leading committees of the League to make a critical assessment of their previous activity with due regard to the estimations and tasks contained in this resolution and to work in organized fashion, systematically and perseveringly, for the implementation of the line set out in the Letter, the Platform of the 10th Congress and other League documents. This requires a keener sense of individual and collective responsibility on the part of members, organizations and leadership of the LCY, all self-management, non-governmental and government bodies and officials.

The LCY must intensify its action for the ideological and political presentation, creative elaboration, specification and application of the guidelines and tasks contained in the platform for the 10th Congress. This should encourage vigorous effort to solve current problems in every field.

It is essential that all Communists in the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions, the Youth League and other organizations of socialist forces should join in the discussion and fulfilment of the tasks set out in the Letter and the platform.

Early next year the Executive Bureau must in common with central and territorial committees of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia submit a report to the LCY Presidium on progress in the execution of this resolution.

MULTILATERAL MEETINGS

MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST PARTIES OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

On November 26-27 a meeting of representatives of 12 Communist Parties from the capitalist countries of Europe was held in Rome. These were from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, the FRG, Great Britain, Italy, Portugal, San Marino, Spain and Sweden. The meeting discussed one question: "The Content and New Forms of the Struggle of the Workers and People in the Capitalist Countries of Europe." The meeting was in preparation for the conference of Communist Parties of European capitalist countries which is to take place in Brussels in January 1974.

Below is a brief summary of the contribution made by Giorgio Amendola, member of the ICP Political Bureau and Leadership, in opening the discussion, and also further information on the meeting and its results published in *Unità* on November 27 and 28.

Over the past two years, Comrade Amendola reminded the meeting, American domination which was a feature of the first postwar phase weakened and differences and divisions have surfaced between the United States and European capitalist countries. In addition, the wars in Vietnam and in the Middle East determined the ever-growing weight of arms, while the developing countries are striving to alter the old unjust relations in the sphere of exchange. All this puts into question the very foundations of the development of the economy over the past 20 years. And finally, the behavior of the oil-exporting countries resulting from the Middle East war in its turn, hastens the process which is bound to change the old relations between the developed industrial countries (i.e., where personal consumption is artificially inflated) and the developing countries that face the problem of survival, famine and drought.

As a result of this pressure, the income of the industrial countries, continued Amendola, decreases or, at any rate, its growth is slowed down. This places all these countries, including Italy, before a dilemma in its sharpest form in the struggle of the working class: either they must reconcile themselves to this situation and continue the policy which leads to a worsening of living conditions and to intensified exploitation of the working people, or, aided by the

struggle of the working class, achieve a change in internal relations that would open the way to deep structural changes and finally secure the creation of a democratic and socialist structure.

This also raises the problem of the reorganization of the international monetary system with the participation of the socialist and developing countries, which calls for the implementation of a policy of peaceful coexistence, reduction of armaments, and the liquidation of blocs. It is not easy to attain these ends and still less can we hope that they will be achieved in the near future. It may, therefore, be assumed that in the immediate future inflation and instability, and also the economic crisis, will continue.

The process of internationalization of the economy as an expression of capitalist integration on a world scale is causing serious consequences in some countries, emphasized Amendola. Suffice it to recall, for instance, how the first devaluation of the dollar in August 1971 worsened the living conditions in various European countries. This brings us to the first important principle: the struggle of the working class must not be isolated by countries, its coordination on an international scale is essential. In connection with the present oil crisis, for example, governments, bankers and bourgeois parties are uniting their forces internationally. It is essential that the working classes, too, coordinate their efforts through multi-national actions, in answer to the multi-national actions of capitalism.

During the past 10 years the struggle of the working class has taken on new forms, it has gone beyond the confines of individual industrial enterprises. A relationship has been established between the struggles of the workers and of the unemployed. This struggle has acquired a social character and raised the problem of structural reforms. Thus, the question of the forces capable of taking part in the struggle comes to the fore.

While there are internal divisions within the European working-class movement, the process of unification is also definitely taking place. The struggle on a European scale calls for overcoming disunity between Communists, Socialists, Social-Democrats, and for the ability to unite the working class of different countries in order to undertake the solution of the new problems facing them. Changes are obvious in the ranks of European Social-Democrats, even though they may not always be expressed clearly, and the same can be said of the Christian-Social movements. The relations between the working class and the middle strata of the population must be extended. The fact that the class struggle is increasingly becoming a struggle for freedom against the centrist tendencies of the bourgeoisie, makes the working class the main force in the anti-fascist struggle. In other words, the forces striving for profound democratic changes can be drawn together.

Europe, concluded Amendola, is varied and not homogeneous

(EEC, socialist countries, neutral countries, and countries under the yoke of fascism). Therefore our struggle, too, must be varied and flexible. But, as concerns the vital matters on which I have touched, coordination is ever more essential, and the initiative and guidance must come from the Communist Parties.

Contributions to the discussion on the first day were made by Comrades Ramelson (Great Britain), Schleifstein (FRG), Sanguedolce (France), Nagels (Belgium), Gasperoni (San Marino), Luciano Barca (Italy), and Nielson (Denmark).

On the second day, among the speakers in the debate were Comrades Schleifstein (FRG), Colette Coulon (France), Raimund (Austria), Jaervinen (Finland), Kvist (Sweden), Nagels (Belgium), and representatives of the Communist Parties of Spain and Portugal.

Comrade Giorgio Amendola made a short concluding speech and welcomed the participants in the discussion.

The press communique distributed at the end of the meeting reads in part:

"There has been a wide-ranging and profound discussion in which all delegations participated. They spoke about the struggles of the workers and peoples of different countries in Europe. All speakers emphasized the new character of the struggle which has reached a wider social and political level.

"Apart from internal factors characteristic of each country and bound up with the particular methods through which capitalism resorts to indirect and direct state interference, the crisis of society is also aggravated by international factors. Big monopolies and multi-national companies drastically limit the real exercise of democratic rights and worsen the living conditions of the working class and people.

"For this reason the Communist Parties at this meeting stressed the urgent need for joint actions and their coordination so as to be equal to the new demands made by the present scale of struggle.

"The meeting also reaffirmed the duty to develop the process of unification through a dialogue and confrontation of ideas between the forces representing the working class and democratic movement of the capitalist countries in Europe, while at the same time developing the struggle for freedom and democracy, against fascist regimes, and for deep-going social and democratic transformations."

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON PROBLEMS OF MONETARY CRISIS

An international symposium organized by West European Communist Parties on problems of the monetary crisis ended in St. Denis on November 27. The communique issued from this meeting, given below, was published in *L'Humanite* on November 28, 1973.

Delegations from a number of Communist Parties of European capitalist countries met in Paris on November 26-27 to discuss the monetary crisis and its consequences for the working class and peoples of these countries. The following were the Parties represented:

—the Communist Parties of Austria, Belgium, Denmark and Finland, the French, German, Italian, Portuguese and San Marino Communist Parties, Communist Party of Spain, the Left Party—Communists of Sweden and the Swiss Party of Labor.

This meeting, along with others taking place between the European Communist Parties, was held in preparation for a conference to be held in Brussels on January 26-28, 1974. The materials of the meeting will be at the disposal of the Parties taking part in the January conference.

The discussion, which was profound, was devoted to the monetary crisis and its consequences, the methods proposed to cope with it, and also the political problems it posed arising from recent changes in the international situation.

The deep and prolonged crisis, which represents a new stage of the general crisis of capitalism, is growing in all capitalist countries. The general and accelerating price inflation, the breakup of the capitalist monetary system, accompanied by an over-abundance of paper money and credits, unheard-of speculation and chaotic currency relations, are all striking proof of the general crisis.

It is the monopolies and imperialist states which are responsible for this crisis, and its victims are the workers and the masses in all monopoly-dominated countries.

In this situation the serious problems confronting society can in no way be solved by government interference through the use of state-monopoly means.

U.S. imperialism compels other peoples to pay for its aggressive policy, for its international policing, and for its internal difficulties. Today it is trying to preserve the means for attaining the same goals by maintaining dollar hegemony.

At the same time, the capitalist countries of Europe are intensi-

ifying their policy of exploitation. In many countries reactionary forces encroach on the liberties of their own and other peoples. The imperialists search for profits and export capital to countries directly supported by them, where fascist regimes reign.

Their policy in the European Economic Community (EEC) is one of discrimination against the socialist countries; it is also to the detriment of some non-aligned European capitalist and developing countries.

This is a policy diametrically opposed to the requirements of the times. It demonstrates the inability of capitalist governments to find ways to solve the problems of the day. This policy leads, not only to monetary chaos and severe inflation, but also to a full-scale trade war between imperialist states, now in its early stages. A tendency to over-production is developing again. The emergence of the energy crisis has still further sharpened these difficulties and deepened the monetary crisis.

Plans drawn up by the imperialist powers for the reform of the international monetary system cannot solve the crisis; in the main they serve the needs of the United States. The monetary policy of the EEC countries and perspectives for an economic and monetary union between them, appear to be only half-measures. The present policy of the monopolies can only lead to an intensification of the crisis.

Contradictions between the imperialist states intensify, while their search for a general policy directed against the workers and peoples is ever more active.

In these circumstances very great difficulties, fraught with dangers, confront the working class, engineers, employees and technical specialists, peasants and the middle strata of the population. The consequences of the crisis, as well as the intense monopoly concentration and the social stratification brought to the extreme tell also on small and middle enterprises.

The meeting noted with great satisfaction that the struggle of the popular masses in defense of, and for an increase in, their purchasing power undermined by inflation, had strengthened. The struggle is accompanied by actions against rising prices, for a reliable sliding wage scale, payment of social benefits and against attempts to freeze wages and incomes of the non-monopolist strata. The meeting also noted the growing struggle against dismissals and for guaranteed work. At the same time, this struggle is directed against the elimination of various spheres of economic activity and against reduction of production capacities.

There is a fresh broadening of the struggle accompanied by an essential coordination of action within multinational societies and the putting forward of wide demands connected with the rights

and conditions of life of immigrant workers, demands for regulating the movement of capital under the control of workers' representatives and elected deputies. It was also felt that the movement must be coordinated at the level of several countries. A movement of protest against the monetary reform planned by the monopolists is growing, as well as against the scandalous attempts to secure American debts and reach compromise between the most powerful capitalist states and the directorates set up for this purpose—a compromise aimed at adjusting difficulties behind the backs of the peoples and to their detriment.

The meeting emphasized that in order to develop this struggle and achieve these aims, united action of the workers and democratic forces of capitalist Europe acquires special significance. These actions are part of the general struggle of the socialist countries, the developing countries, and of the working people of capitalist countries against imperialism, for lessening of tension and for peaceful coexistence and cooperation. With this in mind and given a reduction in arms expenditure, the meeting emphasized the importance of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

A united struggle opens out wide perspectives and can assist the establishment of international economic relations of a substantially new nature. This would encourage the development of broad cooperation both within and outside the EEC, in Europe and throughout the world. The purpose of this struggle is the carrying through of a democratic reform of the international monetary system, based on the recognition of the interests of all countries, on the economic and social interests of the workers and peoples, and which would put an end to the hegemony of the dollar and imperialist domination.

The national and international struggle of the working people, which is in line with the needs of all peoples and paves the way for economic development of a new type, and profound anti-monopolist and democratic transformations, opens the way to socialism, the only system capable of solving the crisis of capitalist society.

CONFERENCE* OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

A conference of Central Committee Secretaries of Communist

*Pravda, December 20, 1973.

and Workers' Parties of socialist countries was held in Moscow on December 18-19. It was attended by representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Rumanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The conference was opened with an introductory speech by M. A. Suslov, Political Bureau Member and Secretary of the CC CPSU.

The conference was addressed by A. Lilov of the BCP, V. Bilak of the CPC, A. Peres of the CP Cuba, K. Hager of the SUPG, D. Aczel of the HSWP, D. Chimiddorzh of the MPRP, J. Szydlak of the PUWP, K. Burtica of the RCP and B. N. Ponomaryov of the CPSU.

Conference participants exchanged experiences of the ideological work of their parties and discussed the major problems involved in deepening ideological cooperation between the fraternal parties in present-day conditions.

Proceeding from the principled foreign policy of the socialist states aimed at strengthening universal peace, the conference emphasized the need to employ all ideological means to facilitate the process of expanding and deepening international détente and the promotion in international affairs of the principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems.

The conference emphasized its resolve to develop bilateral and multilateral cooperation of fraternal parties with a view to further consolidating the unity of the countries of the socialist community, strengthening the fraternal friendship of their peoples and educating the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The conference pointed to the following pressing problems of ideological struggle — upholding and disseminating the ideas of socialism and peace, resolutely repelling anti-communism and the reactionary ideology of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, ideological subversion against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, attempts by aggressive imperialist circles to foil the process of international détente and prevent the peoples' just struggle for freedom, independence and social progress.

The conference was held in a comradely and businesslike atmosphere. Its participants expressed the confidence that development of cooperation of fraternal parties in the ideological field will further strengthen their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

BILATERAL MEETINGS

JOINT STATEMENT ON A MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF PEOPLE'S PARTY OF IRAN AND IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY

Last November, a delegation of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran headed by First Secretary Comrade Iraj Iskenderi, met with a delegation of the Iraqi CP headed by First Secretary Comrade Aziz Mohammed. Below follows the complete text of a joint statement that appeared in the November 9 issue of the newspaper *Tarik ash-Shaab*.

In a friendly atmosphere both Parties discussed the international situation, the situation in the Middle East and relations between the two fraternal Parties.

Both Parties denounce the continuing aggressive and expansionist policy of Israel against Arab countries, a policy supported by American imperialism and endangering the peace in the Middle East and all over the world.

Both Parties declare their support of Security Council Resolution No. 338 of October 2, 1973, on the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from all occupied Arab territories; they also support the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for their return to their homeland and their right to self-determination.

The delegation of the ICP expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the Iranian people and the fraternal PPI against the despotic, anti-democratic regime in Iran, for the establishment of a democratic government in the country which would conduct an active struggle against imperialism, for freedom, democracy and social progress and would base its relations with the Iraqi Republic on good neighborliness, securing the interests of both peoples on the basis of historical links and joint struggle.

The delegation of the PPI highly assessed the progressive achievements in Iraq, especially the nationalization of the Iraqi Petroleum Company and the American and Dutch shares in the Basra Petroleum Company, the treaty on friendship and cooperation between Iraq and the Soviet Union and the statement of March 11, 1970, on the solution of the Kurdish question. The PPI considers the for-

mation of the National Front with the participation of the ICP and the Baath Party an historic step and a turning point on Iraq's road to progress. The PPI hopes that the Democratic Party of Kurdistan will also join the National Front.

Both Parties hail the positive achievements in the implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. These achievements were made possible primarily thanks to the initiative of the Soviet Union and the realization of the Peace Program put forward by the 24th CPSU Congress with respect to international détente, thanks to the achievements of the community of socialist states and the strengthening of their might and role in the process of world development.

Both Parties denounce the military-fascist coup in Chile organized by internal reaction and American imperialism, which overthrew the legitimate Popular Unity government headed by President Salvador Allende. Both Parties demand freedom for Comrade Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the CP Chile, and other arrested patriots, and voice their full solidarity with the Chilean people's struggle.

Both parties declare that they will continue to fight resolutely for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Both Parties denounce the anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese leaders whose purpose is to split the world Communist movement, weaken the national-liberation movement and obstruct the efforts of the socialist countries for international détente.

Both Parties reaffirm their resolve to develop and strengthen ties between them and take necessary steps to consolidate the fraternal bonds that bind them.

ON STAY OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION OF REPUBLIC OF GUINEA IN THE USSR*

The Party and Government delegation of the Republic of Guinea headed by Dr. Lansana Beavogui, Member of the National Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Guinea (DPG) and Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea, was on an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union from November 15 to 19, 1973.

Present at the talks on the Soviet side were: A. N. Korygin, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and

**Pravda*, November 20, 1973.

Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K. T. Mazurov, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and First Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; B. N. Ponomarev, alternate member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V. V. Kuznetsov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and First Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR; S. A. Skachkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Foreign Economic Relations; M. R. Kuzmin, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade; L. F. Ilyichov, Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR; L. N. Musatov, USSR Ambassador to the Republic of Guinea; B. I. Karavayev, Head of the Second African Department at the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Present on the Guinean side were: Dr. L. Beavogui, member of the National Politbureau of the DPG Central Committee and Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea; N. Keita, member of the National Politbureau of the DPG Central Committee, Minister of Social Welfare; M. Keita, member of the National Politbureau of the DPG Central Committee, Secretary of State for Education; A. Toure, Member of the DPG Central Committee and Secretary of State for Foreign Trade; A. Drame, Secretary of State for Planning, and F. M. Moriba, the Ambassador of Republic of Guinea to the USSR.

The delegation of the Republic of Guinea was received at the CPSU Central Committee and had talks with the members of the Soviet delegation.

During the talks and negotiations, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding, an exchange of views took place on a wide range of urgent international problems, as well as on questions of the further promotion of Soviet-Guinean relations and inter-Party contacts.

The sides noted with satisfaction the favorable tendencies towards further relaxation of tension and consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems as a generally acknowledged standard in international life.

The Guinean side expressed sincere gratitude to L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for his untiring efforts aimed at consolidating peace and normalizing the international situation as a whole.

Attaching great importance to ensuring and upholding peace in the European continent and throughout the world, both sides stressed that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was a vivid manifestation of the positive changes taking place in Europe. They voiced their conviction that efforts in this direc-

tion must be continued to create a firm and permanent system of security in that area.

The sides attach particular importance to the need for uniting all peace-loving forces, progressive political parties, democratic and public organizations in order to create a broad and efficient basis for the consolidation of peace on our planet and for rehuffing the policy of imperialist aggression and interference in peoples' home affairs. In this connection satisfaction was expressed with the positive results of the World Congress of Peace Forces which took place in Moscow.

The sides consider that general and complete disarmament is one of the most important means of preserving and consolidating peace.

Both sides expressed their deep satisfaction over the termination of the war in Vietnam. They condemn the unceasing violations of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and vigorously advocate the granting of the possibility to the Cambodian people and the people of Laos to decide their internal problems independently, without any outside interference.

The sides denounced the annexationist, expansionist policy of Israel and voiced their vigorous support of the Arab peoples in their just struggle. They emphasized the need for establishing a really just and lasting peace in the Middle East on the basis of the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories, on the basis of ensuring the security and legitimate rights of all countries and peoples in that region, including the Arab people of Palestine.

The sides stressed their desire to contribute to the strengthening of the United Nations as an important instrument for maintaining peace, ensuring international security and developing international cooperation on the basis of strict observance of the UN Charter.

The two sides pointed to the great international significance of the results of the Conference of Non-aligned States held in Algiers. The Conference reaffirmed the determination of the non-aligned countries to fight purposefully against imperialism, war and aggression, colonialism and racism, for peace, the independence and freedom of nations.

The sides condemned the unceasing attempts of aggressive imperialist quarters and reactionaries to suppress by force the liberation movements of peoples, to block the free and independent development of states which have opted for a progressive path of social and economic advance.

The sides emphatically denounced the actions of Chilean reaction, which had led to the overthrow of the lawful Popular Unity

government and to the establishment of a military-fascist dictatorship, to the death of President Salvador Allende, a courageous fighter for the cause of the Chilean people, an outstanding leader of the liberation, anti-imperialist movement of Latin America, to mass terrorism and bloodshed. They expressed confidence that the reactionary forces would not succeed in breaking the will of the freedom-loving Chilean people, that the cause of independence, democracy and social progress was invincible.

They emphasized the need for the earliest final and complete abolition of colonialism and neo-colonialism and reaffirmed their determination to work for the speedy and effective implementation of the UN Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. They welcomed the establishment of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, a new independent and sovereign African state, and expressed confidence that the peoples of Guinea-Bissau would secure the earliest and final expulsion of foreign enslavers from the territory of their country. The sides declared their full solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle for freedom and national independence. They vigorously condemned the policy of apartheid pursued by the reactionary governments of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and also the policy of imperialist powers giving aid to the racist regimes.

The sides highly assessed, and reaffirm their support of, the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist activities of the Organization of African Unity, of its efforts aimed at accelerating the process of the political and economic emancipation of the African continent.

In discussing questions of bilateral relations, the sides stated that these relations, which are of a traditionally friendly character, have been further developed in recent years.

The delegation expressed their gratitude to the Soviet Union for its assistance to the Republic of Guinea in economic, scientific and cultural development, in the training of national cadres, in building up the country's defense potential and in other fields.

The Soviet side highly appraised the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist course pursued by the Guinean Republic, its contribution to the cause of strengthening international peace and security and wished the Guinean people new successes in realizing progressive social and economic changes. The intrigues of the imperialist and reactionary forces against the Guinean Republic evoke resolute condemnation of the Soviet people who have always upheld the struggle of the Guinean people for strengthening national sovereignty and for ensuring its development along the socialist path.

The Guinean delegation highly appraised the achievements of the

Soviet people achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in economic, social and cultural spheres, as well as the consistent peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and its practical moves to realize the Peace Program approved by the 24th CPSU Congress.

Noting with satisfaction the constantly expanding and strengthening relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Guinean Republic, the sides expressed conviction that the development of these relations based on full equality, mutual confidence, respect for independence and sovereignty and non-interference in the home affairs of each other, conforms to the best interests of the two countries' peoples, to the interests of consolidating peace all over the world. In this connection, the great importance was stressed of developing contacts and ties between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Party of Guinea and between public organizations of the two countries for improving mutual understanding and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Guinean Republic. The sides confirmed their wish and mutual interest to further strengthen such ties.

Questions relating to a further development of Soviet-Guinean economic, scientific, technical and trade cooperation were examined during the negotiations in great detail.

Both sides consider that the visit of the Party and Government delegation of the Republic of Guinea, headed by Dr. L. Beavogui, to the Soviet Union was another important step on the road to further consolidation of friendship and all-round cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Guinea.

Lansana Beavogui, member of the National Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Guinea and Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea, and his party expressed deep gratitude for the warm and friendly reception accorded them in the Soviet Union.

L. Beavogui, member of the National Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Guinea and Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea, extended to A. N. Kosygin, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, an invitation on behalf of A. Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea, to visit the Republic of Guinea. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. The date of the visit will be agreed upon later.

ON VISIT TO USSR BY PARTY AND STATE DELEGATION OF REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU*

Between November 19 and 24, 1973, a Party and State delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau paid an official visit to the USSR.

During their stay in the USSR, the representatives of Africa's youngest state had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the life of the Soviet people and the Soviet Union's achievements in economy, science and culture. Wherever they went, they were given a warm welcome, testifying to the Soviet people's feelings of sincere friendship and profound respect for the people and leaders of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

During their stay in Moscow, the delegation met with N.V. Podgorny, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In the course of the negotiations, which proceeded in a spirit of cordiality and mutual understanding, the sides discussed problems of bilateral relations and their further development, and exchanged opinions on topical international and African problems of mutual interest.

Taking part in the negotiations were: from the Soviet side, B. N. Ponomarev, alternate member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; L. F. Ilyichev, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and M. N. Suloyev, Vice-Chairman of the State Foreign Economic Relations Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers; and from the Guinean side, Luis Cabral, President of the State Council and Deputy General Secretary of the PAIGC; Joao Bernardo Vieira, President of the National People's Assembly and State Commissioner for the Armed Forces; Manuel Saturnino Costa, Deputy State Commissioner for Education and Culture; and Joaquim da Silva, member of the Supreme Council of Struggle of the PAIGC.

On behalf of the African Party of Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) and the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Luis Cabral, President of the State Council, expressed gratitude to the Soviet people and to the leaders of the Soviet Union for the active and consistent support they have rendered to the people of Guinea-Bissau in their just struggle for the freedom and independence of their country, and also for the aid granted by the Soviet Union.

*Pravda, November 25, 1973.

He informed the Soviet side about the state of affairs in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and of the national-liberation struggle in the country, of the country's paths of development and the organization of the work of the state machine.

In the course of the negotiations both sides expressed their firm conviction that the development of friendly relations and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and independence, and non-interference into each other's domestic affairs meets the interests of the people of both countries, and the interests of the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Having noted with satisfaction that friendly ties between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau are developing successfully and gaining in strength, the sides declared that in the future they would continue promoting a broadening of cooperation between the two countries and the establishment of contacts between state and public organizations.

The sides pointed out with satisfaction that of late positive changes have taken place in international relations, as a result of the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the efforts of all progressive democratic forces. They stressed that they would invariably act in the interests of intensifying the process of relaxation, and would work, together with other peace-loving peoples, to make these positive changes irreversible.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau declared the necessity to take effective measures towards the termination of the arms race and the implementation of universal and complete disarmament under effective international control, and expressed the opinion that the time had come to get down to practical preparations for the World Disarmament Conference. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau welcomes the Soviet Union's proposal "On a reduction by 10 per cent of the military budgets of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and on the use of a part of the funds so saved for assistance to developing countries," and believes that the realization of the proposal will serve the cause of strengthening international peace and security.

The sides condemned Israel's aggressive, predatory policy. They reaffirmed their invariable support of the Arab people's just struggle, and declared that the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories and the ensurance of the lawful rights and interests of all states and peoples of that region, including the Arab people of Palestine, must be the indispensable conditions of the establishment of a durable and just peace in that part of the world.

In the course of the negotiations much attention was given to

the problems of the national-liberation movement on the African continent.

The Soviet Union sincerely welcomes the formation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and expresses its readiness to continue rendering assistance and support to the Guinean patriots in their struggle to drive the colonialists from Guinean land.

The sides come out for unconditional fulfilment of the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples. They resolutely condemn racism and apartheid in all forms and manifestations, insistently demand the termination of colonialist brutalities against the peaceful population of the Portuguese colonies, and also confirm their readiness to further exert every effort for the complete and immediate fulfilment of UN decisions on the abolition of colonial and racist regimes. The sides call upon all states to unconditionally fulfil the decisions of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly on Southern Rhodesia, and to stop Portugal's colonial war against the peoples of Angola and Mozambique.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau condemn the policy of apartheid conducted by the Republic of South Africa and support the Namibian people's just struggle for freedom and independence.

The sides express assurance that in the cause of the complete and early liberation of all the African peoples from colonial and neo-colonial dependence; an important role will continue to be played by the Organization of African Unity which renders material aid and great moral support to the national-liberation movements on the African continent in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

In accordance with the agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the sides will take measures to exchange appropriate diplomatic representations.

The visit by the Party and State delegation to the Soviet Union and the negotiations held will be conducive to the further development of relations of friendship and all-round cooperation between the two sides, and to the strengthening of peace and international security.

L. Cabral, President of the State Council, expressed his gratitude to the Soviet Government for the warm and friendly welcome accorded the delegation during its stay in the USSR.

COMMUNIQUE ON VISIT TO HUNGARY OF BULGARIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION*

A communique was published on December 8 on the friendly official visit to the Hungarian People's Republic by a Party and Government delegation from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, led by First Secretary of the CC BCP, Chairman of the State Council of the PRB, T. Zhivkov. At the talks held during the visit with the Hungarian delegation headed by the First Secretary CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, J. Kadar, questions relating to the further growth of fraternal cooperation between the two countries and parties were discussed.

In the course of the talks both sides also reviewed the current international situation. They stated that the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU was of great significance for the relaxation of international tension. The communique noted the important contribution of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, in promoting the peace policy of the USSR.

Further, the communique states:

"Having examined the topical problems of the international Communist and workers' movement the two sides stressed that they base their international activities on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism and the decisions of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (1969) and the 10th Congresses of their Parties.

Both Parties will continue to devote efforts to strengthening the unity of the international Communist and Workers' movement. This is largely facilitated by consultations between fraternal Parties.

"The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Bulgarian Communist Party are bound by indissoluble ties with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and actively support its consistent Leninist policy.

"The sides decisively condemn the anti-Marxist, nationalist views directed against the unity of the international Communist and workers' movement, the great power chauvinism, virulent anti-Sovietism and splitting activities of the Maoist leaders of the Communist Party of China, which facilitate the subversive activity of international reaction, and greatly harm the countries of the socialist community, the unity and joint struggle of the international Communist and workers' movement and the anti-imperialist forces.

*Népszabadság, December 7, 1973.

"The sides stated that there has recently been a strong upsurge in the struggle of the international working class against monopoly capital in the struggle of the forces of national liberation, peace and progress against imperialism. The Eighth World Trade Union Congress held in Varna made a new contribution to this struggle.

"The sides highly assessed the work of the Moscow Congress of Peace Forces which has given a new impetus to uniting the supporters of peace."

During the visit Janos Kadar and Todor Zhivkov addressed a large Hungarian-Bulgarian Friendship meeting. In his speech, Janos Kadar said:

"The HSWP consistently supports the unity, joint action and the struggle of the international Communist and workers' movement. We adhere to the collectively formulated line of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (1969) and actively, purposefully participate in its realization. We are deeply convinced that the successes achieved on the basis of the principles laid down at the Moscow Meeting, have played a large part in the favorable development of the international situation, in strengthening the positions of socialism, progress and peace. We consider that there is a growing need for a further meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, in order to assess the road traversed by us and to chart the course of our future work.

"The international situation demands unity and struggle of the world Communist movement, of all progressive, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces. This is the main guarantee that the peoples and all mankind will in the final analysis create a freer and safer world."

In his reply Todor Zhivkov stated:

"Our Party and many other Parties consider there is a growing need for the fraternal parties to make a new joint assessment of the period we have passed through and the results achieved, collectively to analyze new processes and phenomena, elaborate theoretical and political questions of the new stage in international development and the main lines of coordinated action. All this will strengthen the unity and joint action of the international Communist movement, and will raise still further the role of the movement as the revolutionary vanguard of mankind and the most powerful political force of the modern world."

IN BRIEF

AUSTRIA

Last November Communist Party branches throughout Austria began a discussion of two documents: "The Politico-Indeological Basis of the CPA Struggle" and "The CPA Action Program." Under a decision of the CC, the documents are to be discussed extensively in preparation for the Party's 22nd Congress, to be held January 18-22, 1974.

BURMA

Last October the Burma Socialist Program Party held its Second Congress. Among other things, it decided to hold a national referendum in December on a new Constitution, which was drawn up in July. The Constitution provides, in part, for introducing the principles of socialist democracy and the creation of a democratic society advancing towards socialism.

The Congress also adopted a new 20-year economic development plan covering the years 1974-1994 and the nation's second five-year plan for 1974-1978.

The report on "Economic Planning Guidelines" discussed at the Congress states that the new 20-year plan sets three objectives: raising the national living standard, changing Burma from an agrarian into an agrarian-industrial country, and developing "socialist production relations."

The long-term plan also stresses the need to increase the number of state and cooperative farms.

The Congress elected the Party's leading bodies, with Ne Win as Party Chairman and San U as General Secretary.

A message of greetings to the Congress from the CC CPSU published October 8, states:

"The transformation of the BSPP into a ruling party of Burmese society will accelerate the process of revolutionary-democratic change in Burma in the interests of the working class, the working peasants and all national patriotic forces.

"Soviet people wish the members of the BSPP and all the toiling people of friendly Burma successes in their noble struggle for the transformation of Burmese society along socialist lines.

"May the friendship and cooperation of the Soviet and Burmese peoples in their joint struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for peace and social progress, grow stronger and advance!"

ECUADOR

The CP of Ecuador held its Ninth Congress in Guayaquil, November 15-18, 1973.

The delegates heard, discussed and unanimously approved the Central Committee report presented by General Secretary Pedro Saad, as well as the political theses of the CC "For the Unity of the Anti-Imperialist and Democratic Forces of Ecuador in Struggle for National and Social Liberation."

The delegates warmly applauded messages of greetings from numerous Communist and Workers' Parties, including the CPSU.

The political resolution adopted by the Congress points to the favorable outlook for the formation of a broad anti-imperialist and democratic front, the country's social progress and the consolidation of national sovereignty. Other resolutions analyze home and foreign policy and specify the Party's tasks in stepping up its ideological and organizational work.

Specifically, the Congress passed a resolution calling for greater solidarity with the heroic people of Chile, describing it as a primary task of Ecuador's Communists, a resolution demanding freedom for the patriots of Latin American countries where power has been usurped by reactionary and fascist cliques, a resolution backing the Arab peoples who are fighting against Zionist-imperialist aggressors, and a resolution on the need to intensify the struggle for world peace.

The Congress unanimously adopted a message of greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government congratulating them on the gains of the Leninist peace policy approved by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

In conclusion, the delegates elected a new Central Committee of 27 full and 15 alternate members. The CC plenum held after the Congress re-elected Pedro Saad General Secretary of the CC.

INDIA

At a meeting held December 2-5, the National Council of the Communist Party of India decided to convene the next regular 10th Party Congress in September-October 1974. The exact time and place will be determined by the Central Executive Committee. The congress agenda will include reports of the CPI leadership on the international situation, and the Party's activities between congresses, a report of the National Council on organizational work and a report of the Central Control Commission. The congress will also discuss amendments to the Party Rules and Program and elect new members of the National Council and Central Executive Committee.

JAPAN

The CPJ held its 12th Congress in Tokyo from November 14-21, 1973. There were 1,013 delegates representing about 340,000 Party members, as well as guests, in particular representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of seven countries.

The Congress was opened by the CC Chairman Sanzo Nosaka. Kenji Miyamoto, Chairman of the CC Presidium, made introductory remarks.

After approving the agenda, the Congress heard and discussed the Central Committee report presented by Tetsuzo Fuwa, Chairman of the CC Secretariat.

It also heard and discussed a report on "Proposals of the CPJ for a Democratic Coalition Government Program" presented by Koichiro Ueda, member of the CC Presidium.

Speaking of the domestic situation, the report notes that "there are objective conditions today for the formation of a united front of progressive forces" and that their "common task and practical slogan are to form a democratic coalition government."

The coalition government is expected to comprise the CPJ, Socialist Party and Komeito. The three parties would join efforts against U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital.

The report stresses that the coalition government would confine its activity to political objectives common to all three parties. The government's home policy would be designed to combat inflation and prevent land speculation, growing prices and environmental pollution.

In foreign policy, the government would seek "sovereignty, security, peace and neutrality," objectives which are also acceptable to the two other opposition parties. Among other things, the three parties would campaign in common for the repeal of the Japanese-U.S. "security treaty" and the dismantling of U.S. military bases in Japan. Subsequently the government would have to propose a non-aggression treaty to the USA, Soviet Union and PRC.

The report says that the democratic coalition government would not seek transition to socialism but would pursue aims falling within the framework of the Constitution. As for socialist changes, this issue would be taken up only when the situation favored it and the Japanese people had satisfied themselves of the need to carry them out.

The report deals at length with the economic and social problems to be solved by the coalition government, whose economic policy would be based on the existing capitalist structures, with the people exercising control over big monopoly companies. Nationalization would only affect major power enterprises.

Tomio Nishizawa, member of the CC Presidium, submitted a re-

port on amendments to the Party Program.

The delegates approved all the reports and the proposed amendments to the Party Program and Rules. On November 20, they adopted a "Resolution of the 12th Congress of the CPJ," based on the main report.

The delegates warmly applauded the speeches of guests from Communist and Workers' Parties, as well as messages of greetings from other Parties.

The Congress elected a new CC of 122 full and 48 alternate members, 25 full and 16 alternate members being elected for the first time.

Sanzo Nosaka was re-elected Chairman of the CPJ.

The new Central Committee elected a Presidium of 39 and a Standing Bureau of the Presidium composed of 14 members (against seven before the 12th Congress).

Kenji Miyamoto was re-elected Chairman of the CC Presidium and Masayoshi Oka, Kamejiro Senaga and Satomi Hakamada, his deputies.

Tetsuzo Fuwa was re-elected Chairman of the CC Secretariat.

MEXICO

At its 16th Congress in the latter half of October the Communist Party summed up the results of Party work in the last six years, endorsed the work of the CC and defined the tasks for the coming period. It also adopted a new Party Program and Rules.

The Congress delegates voiced their firm solidarity with the working class and people of Chile and assured the Communist Party of Chile and all Popular Unity forces of its resolve to fight for the total isolation of the fascist military junta; they sent a message of fraternal greetings to Luis Corvalan and decided to continue the campaign for saving his life and securing his immediate release.

The Congress hailed the efforts of the Soviet Union aimed at securing world peace and security and the growing international role of the whole socialist camp. It sent a warm message of greetings to the people of Cuba and its revolutionary government, which is an inspiration to all Latin American patriots in their struggle against imperialism and for the cause of socialism. The Congress also proclaimed its support of the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Arab countries.

The Congress delegates, proud of belonging to the international Communist movement, decided to work to the best of their abilities to "help restore the unity of the Communists all over the world."

The Congress received messages of greetings from many Communist and Workers' Parties, including one from the CC CPSU.

NICARAGUA

Last November the Nicaraguan Socialist Party held its 10th Congress in Managua, where it met clandestinely. The Congress was attended by more than 90 delegates from NSP organizations from all over the country. It received messages of greetings from a number of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, including one from the CC CPSU.

Summing up the results of the Party's work since the Ninth Congress (1966), the Congress noted the strengthening positions and prestige of the NSP in the national life.

In its political resolution the Congress emphasizes the need to rally all democratic forces in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorial regime and wipe out imperialist monopoly domination.

The Congress unanimously adopted a new Party Program. It also passed a resolution of solidarity with the fraternal people of Chile and the just struggle of other peoples and sent a message of greetings to the CC CPSU.

The Congress delegates resolutely denounced the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet policy of the Maoist leadership of China.

NORWAY

The 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Norway, held in Oslo November 2-4, coincided with the Party's 50th anniversary. In addition to 200 delegates and guests the Congress was attended by 70 founding members (from November 4, 1923), representatives of other Left forces and organizations of the country and delegations and representatives of 18 fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties from other countries, including a delegation of the CPSU. Many greetings were addressed to the jubilee Congress of the CPN.

The Congress discussed the report of the Central Board presented by Party Chairman Reidar Larsen, passed a number of resolutions on it, discussed and approved the new CPN Program, approved changes in the Party Rules, and elected the Party's leading bodies, with Reidar Larsen re-elected as Party Chairman.

PERU

The Sixth National Congress of the Peruvian Communist Party, held November 2-5 at Uamfani (30 kilometers from Lima), was attended by more than 200 delegates, a delegation of the Young Communist League and delegations and representatives from fraternal

