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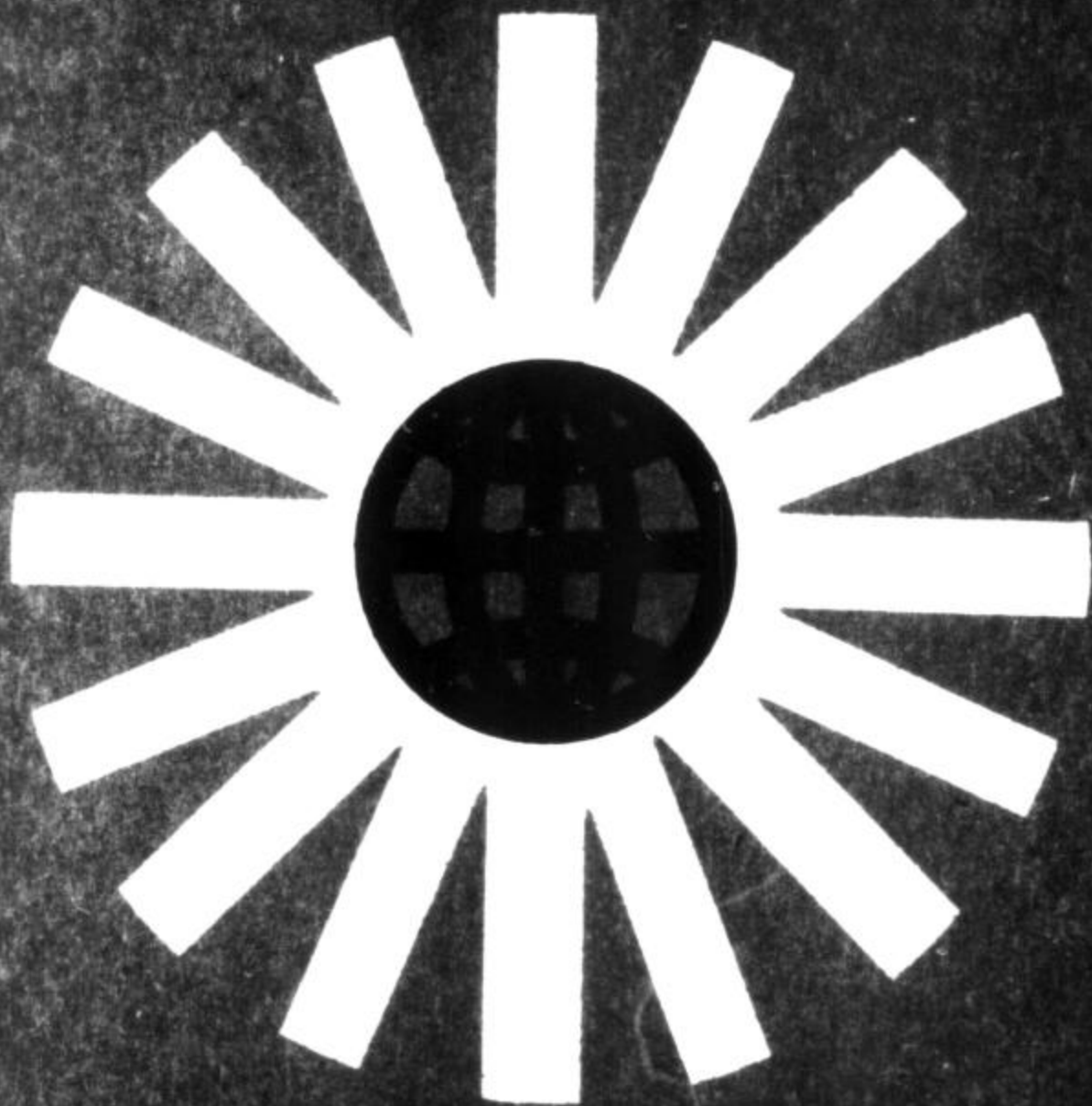
**L. I. BREZHNEV
VISIT TO FRG**

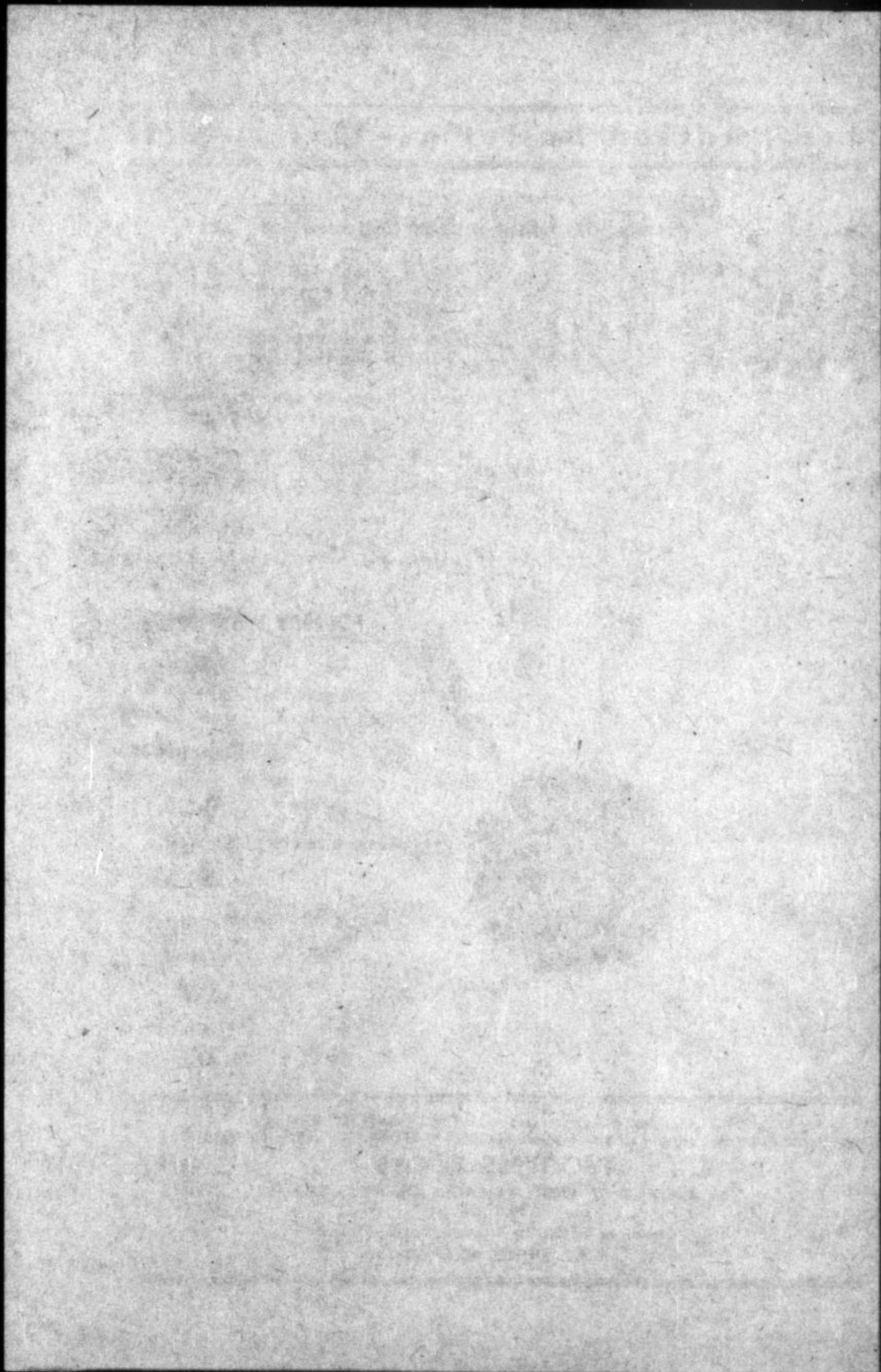
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AN EVENT OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

On May 18-22, 1973, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was on a visit to the Federal Republic of Germany at the invitation of Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was accompanied by A. A. Gromyko, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Foreign Minister of the USSR, Minister of Foreign Trade N. S. Patolichev, Minister of Civil Aviation B. P. Bugayev, Assistants of the CC CPSU General Secretary A. M. Aleksandrov and A. I. Blatov, TASS Director-General L. M. Zamyatin and V. V. Zagladin, deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev and Federal Chancellor W. Brandt had a series of talks.

Their Joint Statement, signed on May 21, says in part:

"The General Secretary of the CC CPSU and the Federal Chancellor discussed key problems of relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany. Great attention was also devoted to topical international questions, above all the prospects of securing peace in Europe and all over the world. The talks passed in a frank and business-like atmosphere, in a spirit of mutual understanding, which accords with the character of relations between the two countries."

During the visit the following agreements, which are bound to facilitate further expansion and deepening of the bilateral relations, have been signed:

—Agreement on the Development of Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation;

—Agreement on Cultural Cooperation;

—Supplementary Protocol to the Agreement on Air Communication of November 11 1971.

Below we publish several materials characterizing the results of L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG.

SPEECH* BY L. I. BREZHNEV ON WEST GERMAN TELEVISION

Esteemed citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany,

It is a pleasure for me to speak to you during my first visit to your country. My coming here at the invitation of Federal Chan-

*Pravda, May 22, 1973.

cellor Willy Brandt, our talks—all this shows by itself that relations between our countries are developing successfully.

My first immediate contacts with Chancellor Brandt were linked with a big event in the history of relations of our countries, and—it can be said boldly—in the political development of Europe. We met for the first time in Moscow in 1970 in connection with the signing of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG. Affixing their signatures to a document containing a realistic recognition of the present situation in Europe, and adopting a solemn pledge not to resort to force or the threat of force with respect to each other, the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany embarked on a new path in their relations.

I shall tell you frankly: it was not so easy for the Soviet people, and, therefore, their leaders, too, to open this new chapter in our relations. Much too vivid yet among millions of Soviet people are recollections of the last war, of the heavy sacrifices and dreadful destruction which Hitler's aggression brought us. We were able to step over the past in relations with your country because we do not want its return.

The Soviet Union has long been bound with the socialist German state, our ally, the German Democratic Republic, with ties of closest, sincere and unselfish friendship.

We approach our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany from positions of goodwill and peaceableness. We are sincerely ready for cooperation which—we are convinced of this—can be very beneficial to both sides and to universal security. We desire a lasting peace, and believe that the Federal Republic of Germany is also interested in peace and needs it.

We know that it was also not simple for Chancellor Brandt's Government to arrive at this treaty. The cold war has its own inertia, the overcoming of which requires a certain effort. All the more so, since supporters of a dangerous confrontation of the two worlds have not yet disappeared from the political scene.

That is why the people in the Soviet Union appreciate the realism, will and farsightedness displayed by the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany, above all Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, in working for the conclusion and enforcement of the treaties with the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic, which marked the beginning of new relations of your country with socialist Europe.

In this connection, I would like to commend all the supporters of good-neighborly relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union. Many of them, who had gone through the battle with fascism, spared no effort in working for peace, for friendship between our peoples. The Soviet Union highly values their contribution to this noble cause.

Our meeting with Chancellor Brandt in Oreanda in the autumn of 1971 was an important landmark in the successful development of our relations as charted by the Moscow treaty. In a quiet and businesslike atmosphere, free of the tyranny of diplomatic protocol, we had the possibility of mapping out further prospects of development of relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic, as well as certain spheres of possible cooperation between our countries on an international plane.

The plans that have been mapped out have begun to be implemented. We may already say confidently that the development of peaceful and mutually beneficial relations of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic is neither an abstract hypothesis, nor a theoretical plan or emotional wish any more, as it seemed not very long ago, but quite a real thing. It is there and is growing and developing.

Of course, the possibilities of extending such relations between our countries are far from being exhausted. We are at the start of this process. The course of our talks with Chancellor Brandt confirms that there are good possibilities for the future, including opportunities in the field of economic relations. In addition to extending conventional trade, there are also opportunities for making long-term large-scale deals based on economic cooperation between our countries and aimed at carrying out important joint projects.

Such deals are not of a short-term, temporary and more or less chance nature, but pave the way to joint activity in important sectors of the economy, designed to give both countries a guaranteed benefit for many years to come. This means, among other things, the possibility of a more rational organization of production and, of course, reliable employment for workers of your country. And of particular importance is the fact that such cooperation helps to lay a reliable foundation for good-neighborly relations between our two countries.

Both the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany are countries with a high development level of science, technology, and culture. There are many things that our scientists can show and tell their colleagues. The population of our two countries will show, I am sure, great interest in each other's finest literary works, music, theatre and fine arts. This is vividly borne out by the attention which your public circles show to the present Soviet Union Days in Dortmund.

As you know, our countries have signed a number of concrete agreements on economic and cultural relations and air communications, which demonstrate the mutual understanding and readiness of both sides to cooperate.

But no matter how important the good relations are for both our states and for their peoples, it is no less important that their establishment and development are today a component part of a broader process of radical improvement of international life in Europe, and not only in Europe. We are witnessing the change from a quarter of a century of cold war to relations of peace, mutual respect and cooperation between the states of the East and the West. This is precisely the objective of the peaceful coexistence policy pursued by the Soviet Union in relation to states of the opposite social system. In our days it has found its most prominent expression in the Peace Program approved by the 24th CPSU Congress which is now well known everywhere, as well as in the materials of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee this April. It is written down there, among other things, that our country pursues the aim of making a radical turn to relaxation and peace on the European continent. I want you to know that the Soviet Union, its Communist Party and all our people will vigorously and consistently strive for attaining this aim.

The Europe that has more than once been the hotbed of aggressive wars which brought colossal destruction and the death of millions of people must recede into the past forever. We want its place to be taken by a new continent—a continent of peace, mutual confidence and mutually advantageous cooperation among all states.

Among the positive elements of present-day European development is, no doubt, also the gradual improvement of the relations of the Federal Republic of Germany with its neighbors in the East—Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and other socialist states of Europe.

We attach great importance to the business-like, constructive cooperation we have established with the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United States and other countries in so important a field as the preparation of an all-European conference on security and cooperation.

There are still in the world quite a few pressing and explosive problems awaiting solution. For example, the conflict has not yet been settled in the Middle East where Arab lands continue to be in the hands of the invaders and where dangerous tensions still continue as a result. The opponents of détente and the cessation of the arms race can be found in other areas as well. However, mankind's horizon is brightening. The war in Vietnam has ended. Soviet-American relations continue to develop favorably. On the whole, it can be said that today our planet stands perhaps closer to a firm and lasting peace than ever before. The Soviet Union uses all its influence to promote this beneficial trend.

Our peaceful foreign policy is an expression of the essence of

our society, an expression of its profound intrinsic requirements. The 250 million-strong Soviet people is engaged in carrying out spectacular projects of peaceful construction. In the north and south of our boundless country, in Siberia and in Central Asia we are building huge power stations, hundreds of plants and factories, and developing irrigation systems on areas which, in terms of size, could compete with many European states. Our aim is to ensure that tomorrow the Soviet people will live better than today. Soviet people tangibly feel the fruits of these collective efforts.

Naturally, all this does not mean that we in the Soviet Union have solved all the problems, and have no difficulties. The problems which we still have to tackle do exist and apparently will exist in all times. Yet, the distinguishing feature of the problems arising before us is that they are connected with a confident growth of the country, her economic and cultural potential, and that we are looking for a solution of these problems exclusively along the lines of further peaceful construction, of boosting the cultural and living standards of the people, and developing our socialist society.

I would like to add that our plans certainly have nothing to do with the plans of autarchy. We are not following a policy of isolating our country from the outer world. Quite the contrary, we hold that it will develop under the conditions of growing all-round cooperation with the outer world, and not only with the socialist countries, but also to a considerable extent with the states of the opposite social system.

Esteemed TV viewers, our stay in the Federal Republic is perforce a very brief one. Yet, even the few things that my comrades and I could see in West Germany leave a pleasant impression.

It was interesting for us to get acquainted with your dynamic capital, which is at the same time so rich in traditions, with the old Bonn, where Beethoven the genius was born, where the great founder of the theory of scientific communism, Karl Marx, had studied at the local university.

We are very grateful to Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, Federal President Gustav Heinemann, Minister of Foreign Affairs Walter Scheel, and all the representatives of the FRG Government for their hospitality and for a good organization of our joint work.

Concluding, I would like to thank from the bottom of my heart the representatives of various public circles in your country, all those with whom we had an opportunity to meet in a friendly atmosphere in the course of the visit. I wish all of you, esteemed TV viewers, and all the people of the Federal Republic of Germany a peaceful and happy life, fruitful work and prosperity.

Thank you.

L. I. BREZHNEV MEETS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP*

On May 21, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, met in Bonn with representatives of the German Communist Party leadership. The meeting was attended by Kurt Bachmann, GCP Chairman; Herbert Mies, Vice-Chairman; Marx Reimann, Honorary Chairman; Presidium members Martha Buschmann, Hermann Gautier, and Manfred Kapluck, Presidium Secretary Karl-Heinz Schroeder, and Chairman of the German Socialist Worker Youth organization Rolf Priemer.

The atmosphere at the meeting was warm and fraternal. Kurt Bachmann warmly greeted L. I. Brezhnev on behalf of all Communists in the FRG, noting that his visit was a major historical event hailed by all peace-loving, democratic forces of the country. "We extend our heartfelt thanks to your Party and to you personally," said Comrade Bachmann, "for your work for the benefit of the working people. We rejoice at the successes of the political line charted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and reaffirmed by the April plenum of your Party's Central Committee, at the energetic implementation of the Peace Program. On behalf of our Party, we wish to thank the CPSU for pursuing this policy."

Max Reimann, Herbert Mies and other comrades told of the activities of West-German Communists, of the change in the mood of the broad masses in favor of a policy of peace and mutually advantageous cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The GCP representatives handed L. I. Brezhnev a letter of greetings from the Party Executive and noted that the further improvement of relations between the FRG and the USSR was in the best interests of the West German population, in the interests of the country's working people.

In response, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the CPSU would continue to hold aloft the banner of the struggle for peace and friendship among peoples. He noted that with the Peace Program's implementation its importance and value became more and more apparent. You are right in saying, Comrades, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU noted, that we are paving the road into the future. The success of our work is based on the monolithic unity of the Party and the whole Soviet people, which enables us to implement the Peace Program so far and so quickly.

Comrade Brezhnev wished West German Communists success in the struggle for friendship between the peoples of the USSR and the FRG, for social progress, for peace and security in Europe.

*Pravda, May 22, 1973.

On the Soviet side the meeting was attended by A. M. Aleksandrov and A. I. Blatov, assistants of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU; V. V. Zagladin, deputy chief of the International Department of the CC CPSU, and V. M. Falin, Soviet Ambassador in the FRG.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and brotherly friendship.

MESSAGE* OF GREETINGS FROM EXECUTIVE OF GCP TO L. I. BREZHNEV

A delegation of the German Communist Party handed a message of greetings to L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It reads as follows:

*To Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*

Dear Comrade Leonid Brezhnev,

On the occasion of your visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, the executive of the German Communist Party sends you fraternal greetings and welcomes you with all their hearts.

For the first time the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is on a visit to our country as the leading representative of the Soviet state. We Communists of the FRG regard this visit as an event of historical significance. Your visit is extremely important for the development of good relations between the FRG and the USSR, the basis of which was laid by the Moscow treaty between the FRG and the USSR.

We are convinced that your visit will provide a strong impetus to the further relaxation of tension, European security and cooperation. This is in the interests of both the working people of the FRG and of the peoples of the Soviet Union, of all peace-loving forces throughout the world and the international working-class movement.

The CPSU, true to the teachings of Lenin, is in the forefront of the struggle for a stable peace throughout the world. It is successfully putting into effect the Peace Program adopted at its 24th Congress. And if today, the principles of peaceful coexistence have become widely accepted as the standard for relations between states with differing social systems, and there is a turn from the cold war to détente, then this is in no small measure due to the initiative shown in the international policy of the CPSU.

*Unsere Zeit, May 25, 1973.

The solid foundation for this policy lies in the fact that thanks to the Great October Socialist Revolution power was wrested from the social forces interested in gaining profits from the arms race and in military adventurism. A firm foundation for this policy is to be found in the might of the Soviet Union and the remarkable achievements of its workers, which have made their country more powerful. The Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, closely cooperating with other socialist countries, is the main force in the struggle for the peace, freedom and progress of mankind.

While imperialism presents a threat to the people with its arms race, national oppression and aggressive adventurism, the USSR's peaceful policy is winning greater successes, and in so doing is proving to the peoples that peace comes from socialism.

Our people benefit a great deal from the Moscow treaty between the USSR and the FRG, the Warsaw treaty between the FRG and the PPR and the Berlin treaty on the principles of relations between the FRG and the GDR.

During many years, the policy of West German governments was the revision of the post-war borders. Today, the existing reality, and the inviolability of the post-war borders are recognized under international law. Thereby, the results of the historic victory over German fascism achieved under the leadership of the Soviet Union, has been consolidated. This serves the interests of the West German people in the first place, as this is the decisive conclusion from the history of changing relations between our countries: peace and security can only be enjoyed by our people through good-neighborly relations and friendship with the Soviet Union and with all the socialist countries. Anti-communism and hostility towards the Soviet Union in the past brought our people only misfortune.

The Moscow treaty, like the treaties with Poland and the GDR, opens possibilities for stable, good-neighborly relations, all-round economic, trade, scientific and cultural cooperation with the socialist countries. This fully accords with the vital interests of our working class, as peaceful coexistence can only assist its struggle for the solution of its own immediate and future problems.

Guided by the interests of the working class and people, the German Communist Party has always come out and will in the future fight with all its strength for good, friendly relations between the FRG and the USSR. That is why today we struggle with determination against attempts by the imperialist forces to reduce to naught the positive effects which the Moscow, Warsaw and Berlin treaties have already had on relations with the socialist countries, and once again to push our country into the abyss of the cold war. That is why we oppose an intensification of the arms

race and anti-communist campaigns and are against tolerance and encouragement of revanchist forces, which can only result in obstructing the development of our relations with the socialist countries.

The GCP wants cooperation between the FRG and the USSR in the interests of peace and European security. Therefore, friendly and fraternal relations between the GCP and the CPSU have served and will continue to serve the interests of the working class of the Federal Republic of Germany, the cause of peace and progress. The German Communist Party, continuing in the footsteps of Ernst Thaelmann, considers that the decisive criterion for every Communist is his attitude to the CPSU and the Soviet Union, his loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The GCP will do everything possible to acquaint the working class of West Germany with the achievements and successes of the Soviet people in the building of communism, and prove that in its struggle for its own social and democratic demands the example of real socialism can serve as a model.

The GCP will mobilize the working class and all progressive forces so that the Federal Republic of Germany implements the letter and the spirit of the treaties with the socialist countries. The GCP will strive to ensure that a class outlook lies at the root of the attitude of our working class towards the Soviet Union.

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

The German Communist Party has the highest regard for your personal contribution, as General Secretary of the CC CPSU in the successful fulfilment of the Peace Program adopted at the 24th Congress of the CPSU. We congratulate you most sincerely in having been awarded the Lenin Peace Prize and assure you, the CPSU and all the Soviet people, that the GCP will do everything within its power to develop good-neighborly relations and friendship between our peoples.

With socialist greetings,

Executive of German Communist Party
Kurt Bachmann, Chairman of German Communist Party.

Herbert Mies, Vice-Chairman of German Communist Party.

Max Reimann, Honorary President of German Communist Party.

ON COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY*

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers examined the results of the visit of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU and member of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to the Federal Republic of Germany at the invitation of Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt and fully approved of L.I. Brezhnev's activity and of the political results of his visit to the FRG, which are of great international significance.

The visit of the CC CPSU General Secretary to the Federal Republic of Germany consolidates the turn in relations with a state with which, even in the recent past, we held opposite positions on nearly all major international questions — a turn to new, normal peacetime relations and mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Continuing the line set out in the Moscow Treaty of 1970 and the agreement reached a year later at Oreanda, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's negotiations with Chancellor Willy Brandt, the agreements between the USSR and FRG signed during the visit, and the Joint Statement of the two sides on the results of the visit open new perspectives for good relations and good-neighbor cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Republic of Germany in the interests of peace. This fully applies also to economic ties between the two countries and to long-range industrial, technical and cultural cooperation.

The CC CPSU Political Bureau, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers note with satisfaction that the discussions with the FRG government in the course of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit of important questions proceeded in a constructive spirit. They highly appraise the fact that during Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit broad public circles in the FRG expressed their friendly sentiments towards the Soviet state and Soviet people.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG, which signified realization of the foreign-policy course of the CPSU and the Soviet government, is of great importance for the further successful advance towards détente and the strengthening of peace and security for all European nations. The consistent purposive policy pursued towards that goal by the socialist community, the process of normalizing relations between the FRG and the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic and other socialist countries, the constructive and increasing cooperation between the Soviet Union and France, the mutual understanding achieved with the government

**Pravda*, May 25, 1973.

of the United States of America on a number of questions of international politics, including questions relating to European security, the positive results of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG — all these are important links in the effort for continuing détente and for strengthening security and durable peace, the achievement of which would be of truly historic significance.

The results of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany are fresh and convincing evidence of the triumph of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of social systems, a policy which, at the present stage, has found its fullest expression in the Peace Program approved by the 24th CPSU Congress and the April Central Committee plenum. That is why the results of the visit are highly appreciated by the Soviet people, the socialist countries, the international workers' and Communist movement and the peace-loving and progressive forces of all countries.

STATEMENT OF PRESIDIUM AND SECRETARIAT OF GCP EXECUTIVE ON THE RESULTS OF L. I. BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE FRG

On May 23, the Presidium and Secretariat of the GCP Executive released the following statement on the results of the visit of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, to the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Presidium and Secretariat of the GCP Executive regard the visit of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and its results as an event of historic significance. The visit opened a new chapter in relations between the two countries. After bitter experiences, after a war started by German imperialism, after decades of cold war and confrontation, new opportunities appear for peaceful relations.

The GCP sees the Joint Statement on L. I. Brezhnev's visit as a document of fundamental importance to improving relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union, promoting peace and security in Europe and carrying forward cooperation between countries and peoples. The Statement is a new stimulus to the effort for the early convocation of an all-European conference on security and cooperation and for disarmament and lasting peace.

Ever since the signing of the Moscow Treaty, which came about on Soviet initiative thanks to the change in the alignment of international forces in favor of the peace forces, relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union have been developing in the peoples' interest. The course and results of L. I. Brezhnev's visit indicate

that the CPSU, loyal to Lenin's teachings, is in the forefront of the fight for lasting world peace and consistently implements the Peace Program adopted by its 24th Congress.

The Soviet guests, and first of all L. I. Brezhnev, showed clearly that the object of Soviet policy is to prevent a recurrence of the past and safeguard peace and the future of this and subsequent generations. The problems posed by history can only be solved on the principles of peaceful coexistence, the sole alternative to a terrible atomic war. Millions of people in our country are realizing once more that socialism, communism and a policy for peace constitute an indivisible whole and that the socialist social system brings the peoples durable peace and a guaranteed future.

History has shown that better relations with the Soviet Union, and relations of good-neighborliness and friendship with the socialist countries, benefit primarily the working people of our country. Enmity and anti-Sovietism have never done anything but harm. Our country needs peace. International détente is in our people's best interest.

This is why the GCP welcomes the Joint Statement, which will provide the basis for cooperation between the FRG and the Soviet Union in solving important international problems, in particular in preparing for the conference on security and cooperation in Europe and pursuing the effort towards disarmament.

The GCP stresses that peace and security are not a concern of governments alone but must be promoted, first and foremost, by the whole of democratic opinion and all peoples.

The agreements on economic, industrial and technological cooperation and the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation, as well as the Supplementary Protocol on Air Communication signed during L. I. Brezhnev's visit, and the announced agreements on scientific and technological cooperation, motor, goods and passenger traffic, sea shipping and cooperation in environmental protection meet the interests of our country and afford the working people new opportunities to fight for peace, democratic progress and socialism.

Our country has a stake in cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, with their highly efficient and crisis-free economies. This creates more favorable conditions for the struggle to preserve jobs. The socialist countries are reliable partners. Their economies know nothing like soaring prices or upheavals caused by inflation. They develop according to plan, on the principle "everything for the working people."

The vast new opportunities which our country and people now have will not become reality of themselves. In the future as in the past, it is only through sustained struggle against reactionary forces, cold warriors and the reactionary groups of big and arms-producing capital that the achievements registered to date can be

consolidated and further improvements brought about. After all, the nature of German imperialism is unchanged. It is as dangerous and as intent on expansion as ever. CDU/CSU men like Strauss, Carstens or Dregger, who are opposed to détente and who slanderously described L. I. Brezhnev's visit as "pressure," remain dangerous enemies of our people. But reactionary forces in other parties as well, and various opponents of détente, try to block a further improvement in relations with the Soviet Union and a lasting peace in Europe.

They fomented anti-Soviet and anti-communist sentiment during L. I. Brezhnev's visit. It is already clear that reactionary warmongers try hard to minimize the historic significance of the visit and its results. The CDU/CSU would like to prevent further détente by appealing to the Constitutional Court against the Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the FRG and GDR. By claiming, contrary to the four-power agreement on West Berlin, that West Berlin is part of the FRG, they want to create a new seat of conflict. In this way they furnish documentary proof of their effort to prevent further normalization and improvement of relations with socialist countries and to rekindle the flames of the cold war.

The GCP stresses, therefore, that the democratic forces must counter these intrigues of the reactionary groups of big capital and munitions corporations today and in the future. It is necessary to consolidate what has been gained and go on along the chosen path.

The benefits of good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union are more obvious today than ever before. Now, the people must see to it that the agreements and treaties are implemented.

Communists, Social-Democrats, Christians and non-party workers and employees, working people and students, the middle strata in town and country came out in common for a change in relations with the Soviet Union. Throughout the FRG these days, and particularly at the convincing demonstration in Bonn, under the slogan "Friendship with the Soviet Union, security for Europe, peace for our country," they actively acted together for peace and cooperation and rebuffed the reactionary enemies of détente. The demonstration of democratically-minded people in connection with the visit by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU shows that Communists, Social-Democrats and Christians must join forces on the question of peace and security. This is more important today than ever before.

By participating in the actions of the democratic and progressive forces, the German Communist Party has again demonstrated that it is the forward-looking and united force which expresses the basic interests of the working people. Further consolidation of the GCP is therefore in the interests of all citizens of the FRG who support peace and progress.

The logical consequence of the relaxation of tensions and the new relations with the socialist states should be, at last, the ending of the arms drive, a reduction in arms expenditures and the use of the resources thus released for social and cultural requirements. The time has come for the FRG to finally ratify the non-proliferation treaty. The Munich agreement should be invalidated and the negotiations with Czechoslovakia must be brought to a successful conclusion.

An end must be put to revanchism, anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and their propaganda in any form whatsoever. Our people have paid dearly for hatred, persecution and animosity. Attempts to worsen relations with the socialist countries by extortion must be abandoned. All discrimination against the GDR must be stopped. The treaty on the principles of relations must come into force immediately. The GDR has made an important contribution to the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence and by following a constructive peace policy it acts as a strong and reliable force in the struggle for détente and normalization of relations. The GDR consistently works for peace and good-neighborly relations with the FRG. Hence, it also acts in the interests of our country's peace-minded citizens.

The triumph of peaceful coexistence in relations between states does not remove the irreconcilable contradictions between imperialism and the working class. The GCP points out that the ideological struggle is becoming more acute and that even in conditions where the principles of peaceful coexistence are increasingly becoming the standard of relations between states, the working class must conduct a resolute and united struggle for higher wages, better working and living conditions, for participation in management and for democratic rights and freedoms, against the power of big capital. Relying on the achievements of the existing socialism, our country's working class can uphold its demands more effectively.

We Communists will continue striving to make good, friendly relations with the Soviet Union the main goal of our working people. This was also the content of the friendly meeting between the GCP leadership and the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, during which the Executive of the GCP conveyed a letter of greetings to the General Secretary of the CC CPSU. The entire work and policy of the GCP is guided by the interests of the working class of the FRG, the interests of peace and security in Europe and the interests of the country's working class.

The meeting between the GCP and L. I. Brezhnev is proof that the GCP is an important factor in the struggle to improve relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union. Now as before the GCP will place friendly and fraternal ties with the CPSU, the SUPG and other fraternal parties in the socialist countries at the service of

the working people of our country and will strive for friendship and good relations with the socialist countries.

We will continue to do our best to stop the sabotage of the ultra-reactionary instigators and consolidate détente already achieved so as to ensure continued development of good relations with the Soviet Union.

During the preparations for its Hamburg Congress the GCP must prove still more clearly that it is a party working for peace, for good-neighborly relations with the socialist countries, a party working for the social and political interests of the working people and the youth.

FOR A RELIABLE SECURITY SYSTEM IN ASIA*

On May 21-24, N. V. Podgorny, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, was on an official friendly visit to Afghanistan.

During the talks between N. V. Podgorny and the King of Afghanistan, Mohammed Zahir Shah, the questions of relations between the two countries and pressing international issues were discussed in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. Satisfaction was expressed with the high level of Soviet-Afghan cooperation in various fields and the desire was stressed to promote its all-round development. In considering foreign policy questions the two sides gave special attention to problems of further normalization of the international situation and strengthening of security, in particular in Asia and other areas of the world.

On May 21, His Majesty Mohammed Zahir Shah, King of Afghanistan, gave a dinner in honor of the august Soviet guest. Speaking at the party, N. V. Podgorny said in part:

The friendship of our countries, the foundation of which was laid by the great Lenin and the Afghan leaders of the period of the struggle for independence, is a great gain of our peoples. And today we have good reason to express satisfaction with the level and the nature of Soviet-Afghan cooperation built on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. This cooperation is being successfully carried out in the political, trade, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and other fields. The relations between the USSR and

**Pravda*, May 22, 1973.

Afghanistan are an example of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

The common interest of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan in preserving and strengthening peace and countering the imperialist policy of aggression and oppression, and their mutual striving for a just settlement of acute international problems provide favorable prerequisites for the cooperation of our countries in foreign-policy matters.

Of late, notable positive changes are undoubtedly taking place in the world situation. The trend towards the softening of the political climate in the world is persistently gaining ground. This is a turn from the "cold war" to détente. The principles of peaceful coexistence are gaining ever wider recognition as a norm of relations between states with differing social systems.

Energetic assistance to the process of the normalization of modern international relations and the consolidation and development of the positive changes taking place in the world are a task of paramount importance for all the peoples, for all the peace-loving states. Implementing the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU the Soviet Union is actively and purposefully working to ensure that the ideas of peace and friendship among the peoples prevail on all continents. The recent Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee stressed the need to make the changes achieved in the international situation irreversible. . . .

One can hear at times that in the East the notion of time differs from that of the West, that the developments in Asia proceed at a slower pace. Of course, this is not so. In Europe, in Asia, and on other continents the clock of history shows one and the same thing — that the time has come to liquidate the hotbeds of military conflicts, consolidate the security and cooperation of states and provide conditions for a worthy life of nations in peace, freedom and progress.

Important problems of improving the situation in Asia are placed on the agenda of world politics. We have every reason to speak about the creation of a reliable security system on the Asian continent as an urgent task. Naturally, this problem is hard to solve. For decades imperialists and colonialists have been doing everything to disunite Asian nations, to set them against one another and sow the seeds of enmity and distrust among them. The legacy of colonialism is seen not only in the economic and social backwardness of many states, but also in the border, territorial and other disputes persisting to this day.

Here on Asian soil acute conflict situations have more than once been provoked by imperialism. One of the most dangerous seats of war, threatening peace all over the world, continues to exist in the Middle East to this day. Supported by external imperialist

forces, the ruling quarters of Israel continue acts of aggression against the Arab states and peoples, thereby challenging world public opinion which demands that the known decisions of the UN Security Council be fulfilled.

Opposing the consolidation of peace in Asia, the imperialist powers are striving to vivify the military-political blocs set up at the height of the cold war and draw some Asian states into the arms race. Acting in unison with the imperialists are also certain adventurist circles which, proceeding from their hegemonistic aspirations, lay claims to a leading role in Asia, try to worsen relations among states and to prevent a normalization of the international situation.

In spite of all complexities, the task of setting up a security system in Asia is realistic and feasible. Now possibilities for its solution are opening up in connection with the victory of the Vietnamese people, which is also a victory for all peace-loving forces, which led to the termination of imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Though military operations are still being conducted in Indochina and the situation remains complicated, there are grounds to hope that the problems existing there will be solved in the interests of the peoples of that area, in the interests of world peace. Tension has dropped noticeably in the South-Asian subcontinent. As we see it, in this region, too, in spite of a number of major issues which are still unsettled, matters are gradually moving towards further normalization of the situation.

These and other facts prove cogently that the lofty aims of creating a system of security and cooperation in Asia can be attained, in spite of difficulties and obstacles. This requires joint action by all states of the continent, and calls for perseverance, a broad approach, and foresight on the part of the leaders of Asian countries who bear responsibility for the destinies of their respective peoples.

The Soviet Union, together with its friends and allies, is consistently coming out for peace on the Asian continent. In our opinion, the key elements of the collective security system should envisage the renunciation of the use of force in relations between states, respect for sovereignty, inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, and broad development of equal and mutually-advantageous economic and other kinds of cooperation. This system would fully conform with the requirements of the UN Charter and would not be directed against any states.

A number of Asian countries have already expressed their favorable attitude towards the idea of collective security. The Soviet Union is sincerely ready to cooperate with other states in its implementation. We hold that the establishment of such a system would accord with the interests of all Asian peoples, with the interests of strengthening international peace.

We highly appreciate Afghanistan's foreign policy line, its policy

of non-alignment to military-political blocs and groupings, its policy of friendship with other states. Following its peaceful policy, Afghanistan contributes to relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of peace.

In a few days' time, the Afghan people will be marking a glorious jubilee — the 55th anniversary of their independence, an anniversary of victory over foreign invaders. We congratulate you, Your Majesty, and the entire Afghan people on this notable date, and wish our neighbor, friendly Afghanistan, prosperity and progress.

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

FOURTH CONFERENCE OF LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

REPORT BY STANE DOLANC

On May 10, Stane Dolanc, Secretary of the Executive Bureau of the LCY Presidium, reported on "LCY Activity in Implementing the Action Program Adopted by the Second LCY Conference and the Guidelines of the Letter of the Chairman of the LCY and the Executive Bureau." A recapitulation of this report is presented below.

The Fourth Conference, the speaker said, has the task of reviewing and evaluating the work of the League of Communists to implement the Action Program and the guidelines of the letter of LCY Chairman Tito and the Executive Bureau* and, on this basis, to define the tasks facing the Party, especially in the period up to its 10th congress.

Stane Dolanc gave a generally favorable assessment of the work of Communists since the 21st meeting of the LCY Presidium in December 1971, the Second LCY Conference and, especially, the letter of Chairman Tito and the Executive Bureau. Resolute steps have been taken, he said, towards strengthening the League's political unity and vitality. The activity of the working class is the best testimony that the League of Communists follows a correct orientation and is capable of leading the working class along the revolutionary road. During 1972, more than 58,000 new members were enrolled, some 43,000 of them from the youth ranks. Twenty-three thousand of the new members are industrial workers.

*See Information Bulletin No. 20, 1972.—Ed.

Dolanc devoted considerable attention to the problems of ideological and political struggle and the principles of the political system to be defined by the new Yugoslav Constitution. Essentially, they are designed to ensure the most democratic forms of expressing the working people's interests. It is the duty of Communists to ensure the League's leading role within the framework of the new political system.

In this connection much has to be done to advance Marxist theory. "The leading ideological and political role of the League of Communists," Dolanc said, "can display itself to the fullest only in the concrete actions of Communists, and this means that they must be ideologically and politically trained and possess the knowledge and abilities needed to carry out this work."

Dolanc also stressed the importance of state bodies in Yugoslavia's socialist system of self-government. The main task of the socialist state, he said, is to uphold the interests of the working class.

Noting the great importance of the cadre problem, the speaker declared that policy in this field was not restricted to personnel allocation but also embraced their education, and that this latter aspect of the cadre policy had often been overlooked. That is why it is necessary today to speak of the system of general, ideological and political education of both LCY members and all the people.

Dwelling in detail on the struggle against forces hostile or alien to socialism, Dolanc said: "Because nationalism is the rallying point of all class enemies, the fight against it and its causes remains a constant, daily task of the League of Communists." "The League of Communists," he stressed, "has never ceased to be the principal revolutionary force of our society. It has learned important lessons from a critical analysis of its work and the results of its activity since the 21st meeting of its Presidium. The question is of strengthening its class orientation, of a resolute, implacable struggle against all anti-socialist and anti-self-government forces, of the consistent and effective implementation of adopted decisions and the endorsed political line, of an ideological and political struggle against opportunism within our own ranks, of a resolute struggle against technocratism, liberalism, nationalism and bureaucratic centralism."

For several years now, the speaker continued, one of the prime tasks of Yugoslav society has been its economic consolidation and the creation of conditions for faster economic development. The League of Communists sets all Communists the important task of working to stabilize the economy. Certain results have already been achieved. Work carried out since the letter has rallied the working class, which has shown readiness to do everything to stabilize the economy and the market. However, there still remain significant shortcomings. The main one is that society's spending

exceeds its possibilities. The difficult problems of stabilizing and developing the economy, Dolanc stressed, cannot be resolved without a lot of work, without increasing the volume and quality of production and services, without raising labor productivity, without a regime of economy, better labor discipline and a responsible attitude towards work, without constantly reducing production costs.

Yugoslavia possesses substantial manpower and technological resources and natural wealth, but they are not being fully utilized. Thus, in 1970-1971, industrial capacities were used only 73 per cent, and in some industries even less (55 per cent in textiles, 65 per cent in metalworking). In recent years the rate of increase of labor productivity has been falling off: 6.3 per cent in 1969, 4.7 per cent in 1970, 4.5 per cent in 1971, and only 1.9 per cent in 1972. The potential of more than one thousand research establishments employing over 12,000 scientists and other specialists is insufficiently utilized.

Dolanc devoted a large section of his report to the tasks of social policy, the struggle for improving the workers' material and social security and reducing social differences, emphasizing that more attention should be given to questions of health and housing, child care, recreation, education and professional training.

Speaking of the importance of moral and ethical norms in the life of the LCY and socialist society, Dolanc noted that since the letter of Comrade Tito and the Executive Bureau a struggle has been launched to overcome survivals of bourgeois ethics. "We must continue this line resolutely and implacably. Persons not possessing the necessary ethical qualities, persons exploiting public property for their own ends or appropriating the fruit of other people's labor cannot remain in the League of Communists or perform any public functions."

Dolanc criticized "artificially construed theories advocating non-interference, aloofness or neutrality of the League of Communists with regard to important questions of social development, theories of an artificial division of work between the League of Communists and other social and political factors in the country, for they are all, in essence, designed to shunt the League of Communists into a siding and separate it from the working class."

The speaker went on to emphasize the need for asserting and observing the principle of democratic centralism in the LCY, violations of which have resulted in "weakening ties between various sections of the LCY which resulted in the weakening of its unity."

The Fourth Conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, he said in conclusion, is taking place at a time of intense preparations for the 10th LCY congress. The draft ideological and political platform of the congress will be submitted shortly for

open discussion by LCY members. He expressed confidence that the Conference would facilitate the preparations for the congress, at which the LCY would come out with a clear evaluation of the traversed road and a clear perspective for the further development of Yugoslav society.

DECISION OF THE FOURTH LCY CONFERENCE

The following is a recapitulation of the decision on the tasks of the LCY for the coming period adopted by the Fourth LCY Conference.

Recently, the decision notes, especially since the letter of LCY Chairman J. Broz-Tito and the Executive Bureau of the LCY Presidium addressed to all League members and branches last October, the role of Communists as the motive force of social developments has noticeably increased. The ideological and political unity and united action of the League on the principles of democratic centralism has grown stronger, and it is performing its leading role as the revolutionary organizer of the working class more and more successfully. The League's responsibility for the whole development of Yugoslav socialist society on the basis of self-government has increased. Implementation of the League's policy has become a matter of practical work for the working class and all the people. Their confidence in the Party has increased.

The unity of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia has grown and its international prestige is greater than ever.

The Fourth LCY Conference sets the following tasks before all members, branches and leading bodies:

—Further ideological, political and organizational consolidation, strengthening of cadres and enhancement of the League's vitality, linking this directly with the new Constitution of Yugoslavia and preparations for the 10th LCY congress, republican congresses and regional conferences;

—Implementation of the amendments to the Constitution and active and organized participation of all Party members and all working people in discussing the new Constitution;

—More resolute and effective implementation of the program for the stabilization of the economy and elaboration of a policy of long-term economic development;

—Promotion of socio-class criteria in policy and in practice, and elimination of all deviations in the social sphere.

To carry out these tasks, internal reserves must be mobilized to the maximum, public funds must be spent in a more rational way, squandering and parasitism must be energetically combatted, and the working people must exercise more effective control over

the operation of enterprises. Of great importance in all this is worker initiative at the enterprises, the drive for higher labor productivity, modernization of industry and rapid development of the productive forces.

All League branches and leading bodies must do much more than in the past to resolve the problems on which depend the living standards and working conditions of all working people, especially those in the low-income brackets, and their material and social security.

The decision notes the need to be more forceful in implanting socialist values, revolutionary ideology and the ethical norms of a socialist self-governing society, in combatting views to the effect that the drive for profit justifies the use of means violating the fundamental norms of social life based on self-government. The implacable struggle against economic crimes and illegal acts of every kind must be waged with even greater effectiveness.

"In all spheres of social life," the decision goes on, "we must continue an uncompromising, vigorous struggle against alien ideologies, actions and forces opposing the strengthening of the working class' decisive role and the vanguard role of the LCY, the development of socialism and self-government, the implementation of political equality, brotherhood and unity of all our peoples and nationalities."

In conclusion, the decision states that LCY branches and leading bodies must take an active part in drawing up the ideological and political platform of the 10th LCY congress. The discussion of this platform should go hand in hand with new measures which should ensure: the further assertion and strengthening of class criteria in the LCY's policy and activity, a more resolute orientation towards increasing the influx of workers to the League of Communists, better organization of the League at all levels with the aim of successfully discharging its leading role in keeping with the tasks facing it, enhancing the League's influence on the cadre policy, continuing the uncompromising struggle against opportunism, liberalism and dogmatic bureaucratism in the League's ranks, against group and factional activity on whatever basis they may appear, developing Marxist thought, criticism and creativity in the theoretical field, better organized and more meaningful ideological work, which must embrace all Party members, fuller and more active information of working people of all the main affairs of the society.

The Fourth LCY Conference notes that the continued consistent implementation of the Action Program adopted by the Second Conference, as well as of the positions of the letter of Tito and the Executive Bureau of the LCY Presidium and the resolution of the Third LCY Conference, will enhance the unity of the LCY, the

working class and the peoples of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. The Conference expresses its resolve to continue this struggle for enhancing the role of the working class in society, against class and other opponents of socialist development based on self-government.

PLENARY MEETINGS

POLITICAL COHESION AND UNITY IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Following are extracts from the opening speech of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary, CC CP of Chile, to the CC plenary meeting on March 28, 1973. The full text of the speech appeared in *El Siglo*, March 29.

STRICT IMPLEMENTATIONS

We are convinced that we will score important gains in seeking political cohesion of the Popular Unity parties and the government and unity in economic management. We wish, however, to state explicitly that the plans we make, the goals we set and every single commitment must be unfailingly translated into reality. To work for their realization is everyone's duty.

The state apparatus is the principal instrument of building the new society. In our country, it so happens that the popular government, which is set on bringing about deep-going revolutionary changes, uses a bourgeois bureaucratic state apparatus. This apparatus must be replaced. However, this objective cannot be achieved by creating a power alternative to the government but by reinforcing the latter, combating bureaucratic practices and establishing new production relations and diverse popular organizations that will gradually assume tasks and functions which this bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus cannot accomplish.

UNSOLVED PROBLEM

It is clear that the people's victory on March 4, while important, did not solve the problem of creating a parliament that would promote and not check the revolutionary process. Another unsolved problem is that of reorganizing the judiciary and the fiscal control agency of the republic, whose head cannot remain omnipotent and

who, moreover, impedes social change. The working class and people of Chile go on fighting for these objectives to attain full power, nor will they ever stop.

In this connection, it may be worth reaffirming a concept we have set out on other occasions. We mean the fact that the enemy tries to dislodge us from the power positions we have won while we try to consolidate them and wrest from the enemy the positions he still holds.

We can do this.

YOUTH FAVORS POPULAR UNITY

We studied election returns in 52 communes where 1,510,612 voters, including 328,792 new ones, went to the polls. Those are vastly different communes, which makes it possible to establish the general trend.

Now the opposition won 58.3 per cent of the votes in the old constituencies and 48.7 per cent in the new ones. Popular Unity won 40 and 49.7 per cent, respectively.

This means that the newly registered voters, almost all young people between 18 and 21 years of age and the illiterate, take a more favorable stand on Popular Unity.

The proportion of votes cast by women in the same communes shows that more young women back the Left than do women in the old constituencies. To be specific, Popular Unity collected 35.2 per cent of the votes cast by women in the old constituencies against 44.4 per cent in the new ones. The opposition secured 63.4 and 54.9 per cent, respectively.

Other surveys made by us reveal that among the workers and peasants as well there is a growing trend towards supporting the Left.

It is safe to predict that this trend will strengthen as the revolutionary process and the struggle to solve the problems facing the masses go on.

There are about 800,000 young people who could not vote on March 4 because they were below 18 years of age and who will be able to vote in the 1976 presidential elections. The latest elections revealed a difference of 500,000 votes between the Popular Unity parties and the opposition, which means that to win the absolute majority and achieve victory in the presidential elections or in a plebiscite which the executive may decide on, we must secure more than half of this number.

To say that we have only to get more votes to achieve our revolutionary objectives would be to oversimplify the problem. We have never seen the road of the Chilean revolution as one of mere

electoral campaigning. It is a road of constant encounters and grim class battles in which the fundamental thing is mobilization and struggle of the masses, and effort to raise their revolutionary consciousness. But it is certain that on this basis we can expect to win over the majority of the population and ensure that the majority of the electorate votes for Popular Unity. This will depend on several factors, above all on how we solve today's and this year's cardinal problem, that of achieving political cohesion and unity in economic management to overcome difficulties and carry forward our revolution.

In view of the foregoing, we may affirm that our primary duty is to support the government in all circumstances, against every attempt to overthrow it.

DEEPENING THE PROCESS

Another task is to extend and deepen the revolutionary process.

It is on these lines that we must bring about what we have more than once described as a normal course of development, so that the 1976 presidential elections may produce a new popular and revolutionary government that will continue the work initiated by the government under Comrade Salvador Allende.

FIFTEENTH CONGRESS

According to our Party Rules, we must convene our 15th National Congress at the end of this year. We propose that the congress meet in Santiago from November 25 to December 1.

The rules also require, as has been our custom, that the Party congress be preceded by meetings of all branch, local and regional organizations of the Party to discuss the theses for the congress and elect delegates.

In preparing for the congress, we must do our utmost to strengthen the Party organizationally and ideologically and promote fulfilment of the tasks of the revolution.

The previous congress met when the Party was in opposition. Our next congress, however, we will hold as one of the governing parties. There are substantial distinctions between the two stages. The Party worked successfully to rise to the new circumstances by carrying out its tasks in the government and among the masses with devotion and loyalty.

The present situation is certainly more complicated. A party which has won power or come to share in it needs to gain in strength and competence, so as to be able promptly to assume its new tasks, see problems clearly, master them sufficiently and apply Marxism-Leninism with due regard to the new reality.

We are now building this kind of party. Both preparations for the congress and the congress itself should help us to take a big leap in this direction.

Thousands upon thousands of comrades—the majority of our members—and many of our branch organizations and leading committees at various levels are proving their worth in the new conditions. However, there are comrades, branches and committees that are lagging behind. As we prepare for the congress we must strive to enable the whole Party, primarily all its leaders and leading bodies, to fully cope with the responsibilities facing all of us today. We will also have to promote new comrades who will have worked well in this period to various leading bodies, including the Central Committee.

DECISIVE BATTLES

Every branch organization and every leading committee of the Party should be present both mentally and physically where the decisive battles are fought, first of all in the production sphere.

On January 25 we announced that we were suspending the admission of civil servants to the Party. We stated that we would review the members recruited lately to ascertain whether anyone had joined our ranks to gain personal advantages or further interests other than those of the working class and the revolution. We checked 215 cases. As a result, we expelled five people, registered the withdrawal of 10 people and relieved four persons of administrative duties. Earlier, in 1972, we replaced dozens of persons who held key positions in government or in enterprises of the public sector.

The suspension of recruitment among civil servants is over. We have resolved, however, that in this sphere each case should be carefully examined and that each application for Party membership must be supported by not less than two members.

We also propose setting out to exchange the Party cards, which have been the same for four years. We believe the measure will be beneficial. We must see to it that all members get new cards before the congress meets.

ROLE OF THE MILITARY

The President of the Republic has modified the composition of his cabinet. He has for various reasons accepted the resignation of some ministers and appointed others. In view of general election results, which "showed an important shift among the political groups supporting the government program," as all the secretaries of state declared in their joint letter of resignation, the Chief Ex-

ecutive held that the situation did not make it imperative for the military ministers to stay in his government. At the same time he resolved that high-ranking army officers should continue to execute, or be assigned, important functions in key government sectors.

On behalf of the Communist Party, we wish to put on record the notable patriotic role played by the military ministers, above all General Carlos Prats Gonzalez, who is in charge of the important and exacting office of Minister of the Interior.

The armed forces were called on to perform ministerial functions so as to help, in common with the people, with all working men and women, in defeating the seditious movement of October and in guaranteeing that the March election, described by some spokesmen of the Right as "a goal leading nowhere," was held.

The military institutions and those of their members who served in the cabinet for several months did their duty once again, earning thereby the people's appreciation and gratitude.

We would also like to say we appreciate the work done by the civilian ministers who are withdrawing from the government for political reasons of their own.

The decisions made by the head of state were preceded by a series of malicious speculations on the part of the reactionary press that is unworthy of comment. What we wish to state is that, irrespective of cabinet changes, the reactionaries are trying to recover morally from the bitter experience of their electoral setbacks. They tend to take an even more uncompromising stand on the government while at the same time covering up crimes as heinous as the assassination of the worker Jorge Tomas Henriquez Gonzalez in Concepcion or the raid on the Socialist Party seat in La Florida.

The more obscurantist groups of the Right and the rebellious enemies of the government among the Christian Democrats are also out to discredit the project of a unified national school, which meets scientific requirements, has democratic objectives and is necessary to the country. The Minister of Education has said that the project is at the stage of discussion, in which members of the educational community, including priests and delegates, will have the opportunity to participate. But the reactionaries are not interested in either democratic debate or educational reform and progress. What they want is to create an artificial political problem and, above all, to drag the Catholic Church on to a reactionary position and set it against the government and the changes it effects.

At the same time they oppose the projected readjustment, to be financed at the expense of those who have more. They substitute for it an entirely different project in violation of the Constitution, in an effort to make it another vehicle of growing inflation.

The working class and the people cannot allow, nor will they allow, anyone to turn an educational matter into a religious problem, mock at the working people's right to a readjustment of incomes, or take advantage of an initiative of the executive as a means of compelling it to emit more money or authorize taxes affecting the people. The working people's mobilization, which assumed a mass scale in various cities and in the capital yesterday, will be pressed forward with a view to the early implementation of the government plan as presented.

FULFILLING THE PROGRAM

The outcome of March 4 enhanced the authority of the government and emphasized the government's duty to advance with determination towards fully implementing the program, follow a firmer policy towards the seditious section of the opposition, strike harder at profiteers and those who traffic in black market goods, and take appropriate steps towards solving the country's serious economic and financial problems.

Javier Meneses Zuniga, a worker of the Alborada neighborhood of Santiago, expressed the sentiments of his class in a letter to *El Siglo*.

"To cause panic," he writes, "those shameless fellows have been hoarding for a long time because they have enough money to buy and lay by things without running into financial straits. Could a worker do that? Impossible, because he lives from hand to mouth. And so the plutocrats, having grabbed what they need, are campaigning through the media they own, playing up shortages and urging immediate recourse to speculation and the black market..."

"One wonders how much longer we are going to put up with those swindlers and their shameless doings. I think we must stop taking it lightly and must act. We are occasionally too soft on them, and even protect those brazen fellows. It's high time we stopped being good-humored about it. We must get more votes than the 44 per cent we have now, and I think we can do that by offering our people security in regard to the fundamental things. If the government protects us we are going to be firm, but if it wavers many may turn back and that would be bad. If we forge ahead together we are bound to win the fight very soon, comrades, and I'm sure that is what's going to happen."

The Communist Party thinks it will be precisely as this worker says provided we are firm with reaction.

Long live the Communist Party!

Long live Popular Unity!

Long live President Allende!

TIME FOR CHANGED FOREIGN POLICY SAY COMMUNISTS*

A radical change in foreign policy was demanded by Mr. Tony Chater, head of press and publicity, at the Communist Party's executive meeting at the weekend.

The fight for peace was essential in the campaign to win a labor government committed to left policies. "Without a foreign policy for peace, all advances at home are threatened," he said.

Recalling Kissinger's call for a new Atlantic Charter, he pointed out that the balance had shifted against imperialism, the old cold-war policy based on a U.S.-dominated alliance of capitalist states no longer corresponded to reality.

"The forces ranged against imperialism, that is, the Socialist world, the national liberation movements, and the working class within the developed capitalist countries, have grown in strength."

Divisions between the imperialist powers themselves widened as the world capitalist system's crisis deepens. With the emergence of Japan's industrial power and the enlargement of the EEC the U.S. was no longer an almost all-powerful imperial power.

American political leadership in the Western alliance was increasingly challenged as the extent of its political crisis was revealed by Watergate and other scandals.

Among the important events reflecting the changed position was the signing of the Vietnam peace treaty and the withdrawal of U.S. troops; although there remained a hard struggle to secure its full implementation.

Today there was greater understanding of the aggressive nature of imperialism and the signing of the peace treaty showed "that the people really do have the power to impose their will for peace and justice on the imperialists."

But there was need to keep up the struggle to implement the peace treaty. Bombing continued in Cambodia in violation of the treaty and civilian prisoners in Saigon's jails have not been released.

Britain had attended the Paris conference which approved the peace treaty. "We must insist on an end to the consistent support given by successive British governments to the U.S. aggression in Indochina.

"The British government should demand an end to the bombing of Cambodia, recognize the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnamese people's revolutionary government, insist on

*Morning Star, 15 May, 1973.

the release of civilian prisoners in Saigon's jails, and on the implementation of the peace treaty."

China's admission to the United Nations was a recognition of the bankruptcy of the cold-war policy of isolating the Chinese revolution.

But peaceful coexistence with the capitalist states combined with enmity to the Soviet Union cannot provide a meaningful basis for Chinese foreign policy.

A positive response to repeated Soviet proposals for acting in unity where there is agreement, based on a principled stand against imperialism, would give real content, strength and purpose to China's declared attachment to the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence.

Hostility to the Soviet Union had led China to adopt a number of positions actually harmful to the struggle against imperialism.

"In Bangladesh, China supported Yahya Khan and, in Europe, welcomed the enlarged EEC and the aim of integration in the economic, political and military spheres and has opposed the dissolution of NATO."

Recent developments in Europe, including the recognition of the GDR and the various treaties and the SALT talks, were of tremendous importance in the struggle for peaceful coexistence.

Millions must be mobilized through their trade unions, political parties and other organizations in support of peace and national liberation to ensure continued progress.

There remained an explosive situation in the Middle East. "Israel, with U.S. support, continues to intervene in the affairs of her neighbors, particularly Lebanon and Syria, in an attempt to hold back the forces of national liberation and social progress."

The Lebanese army's attack on the Palestinian forces could only increase divisions in the Arab world.

There was a need to pressurize the U.S. and British governments to stop supporting Israel and instead use their influence to compel Israel to abandon its aggressive policy and give up Arab lands seized in June 1967.

In Africa, the people had turned to armed struggle against the unholy alliance of Portuguese colonialism, South African apartheid and Rhodesian racist rule backed by Western imperialism, particularly Britain and the U.S.

Turning to Kissinger's proposals for a new Atlantic Charter, Mr. Chater said the plan was for a "super-NATO under U.S. domination," including Japan.

The desired goal was to stem the erosion of U.S. imperialism's domination while "a new accommodation with the socialist world is forced upon it by events."

British imperialism's aim in joining the EEC was to create a new

bloc of Britain and the Six in competition with the U.S. and Japan and directed against socialism.

Already the British working class was feeling the effects with food prices shooting up and VAT forcing up other prices.

In Ireland the problem would not be solved by the white paper's approach, because the interests of its people, in both North and South, "remains secondary to the interests of the great industrial, commercial and financial monopolies."

Mr. Chater said widespread opposition to the EEC in Britain must be reflected at this year's TUC and Labor Party conferences by an insistence on a pledge from the next Labor government to withdraw from the EEC.

An alternative to the Common Market and Nixon's super-NATO was provided by the conference on European security and co-operation which was a tribute to the Soviet Union's initiative for peace. Pressure was needed to ensure that it took place.

It was up to the movement to ensure that the foreign policy document of the Labor Party executive reflected these needs and was based on this sort of policy.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

STRICTLY OBSERVE THE PARIS AGREEMENT ON VIETNAM

Press statement made on the instruction of the DRV Government by Le Duc Tho, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Working People's Party of Vietnam, upon arrival in Paris on May 14 for discussions with the USA on fulfillment of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam.

I should like, first of all, to report a very serious incident: for the first time since the signing of the Paris Agreement in Vietnam, on May 9, 1973, four times several groups of F-4 U.S. Airforce planes bombed the Locninh area in the zone under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, killing many people and causing substantial material damage. On May 12, 1973, the Foreign Ministry of the PRG of the RSV expressed its strong condemnation and protested against these extremely serious violations of the Paris Agreement by the United States.

We fully support this statement and demand that the USA immediately stop these acts of war which can lead to very serious con-

sequences. These acts are a new step in U.S. interference in South Vietnam through the use of force. Carried out on the eve of the scheduled meeting between the DRV and the USA, these acts are an integral part of a plan to put pressure on us. The United States often resorts to such methods whenever negotiations are in progress.

At the present time the United States is again resorting to force and other maneuvers, flagrantly violating the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and wishing to exert fresh pressure.

These efforts will undoubtedly be in vain. I consider it necessary to state here very seriously and unequivocally that if prior to or during the planned meeting between Dr. Kissinger and myself the American airforce again bombs the zone under the control of the PRG of the RSV and repeats the incidents that took place in Locninh, our meeting will be cancelled or, if it is already in progress, will be immediately broken off. The American side will be fully responsible for such a situation arising.

Dear friends, more than three months have elapsed since the signing of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam.

After this agreement was concluded the government of the DRV and the PRG of the RSV have unfailingly abided by it and have carried it out to the letter, attempting to maintain the ceasefire, maintain and strengthen the peace, ensure the basic national rights of the people of Vietnam and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination.

The U.S. government and the Saigon administration, however, have seriously and systematically violated the Paris Agreement on Vietnam.

This situation is caused by the fact that the United States government has not yet abandoned its intention of forcing neo-colonialism upon South Vietnam and carrying out the "Nixon doctrine" in Indochina in spite of the fact that the United States was forced to withdraw from Vietnam after the defeats it suffered there.

With American support the Saigon administration violates the ceasefire, carries out tens of thousands of minor operations to capture territory and bombs zones controlled by the PRG of the RSV; the Saigon administration frantically resorts to terror, coercion and purges against the people of South Vietnam. It does not observe democratic freedoms in South Vietnam and stubbornly refuses to release Vietnamese civilians, so that hundreds of thousands of political prisoners continue languishing in South Vietnamese jails and camps. At the talks between the two South Vietnamese sides the Saigon administration studiously ignored a solution of urgent problems facing South Vietnam at the present time and made unreasonable demands which contradicted the Agreement, thereby hampering progress at the talks.

The government of the United States, with even greater brashness, dispatched planes to bomb regions from Locninh to Shamat under the control of the PRG of the RSV or to carry out reconnaissance flights violating the DRV's air space. More, on its own initiative it stopped operations in de-mining the territorial waters, ports and rivers of North Vietnam and unilaterally broke off the sessions of the mixed economic commission, which includes representatives of the United States and the DRV.

Flouting the Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Accord in Laos, the government of the United States has carried out numerous air attacks in Laos.

In Cambodia the government of the United States has escalated the war by sending B-52 bombers to carry out continuous destructive raids against many thickly populated regions, and is now planning direct aggression by sending in Saigon and Thai troops.

These serious and systematic violations committed by the U.S. government and the Saigon administration pose a direct and serious threat to peace in South Vietnam and cause mounting tension in Indochina. The U.S. government and the Saigon administration must be held fully responsible for the consequences arising from this situation.

World and American public opinion strongly protests against the violations of the Agreement by the United States and the Saigon administration, against the recurrence in Cambodia of the process of escalation of the war which the United States implemented in Vietnam, as a result of which American military involvement continues in Indochina. All assertions attempting to make black look white, confusing the truth with falsehoods and not corresponding to reality made by the United States and the Saigon administration in their attempts to shift the blame onto the DRV cannot mislead public opinion. If the United States truly wishes to evacuate this region and wants to establish a reliable peace in Vietnam and in Indochina, it must strictly observe all the provisions of the Paris Agreement and the Act of the International Conference on Vietnam. This is the only possible way of achieving a conciliation between the USA and the DRV, thereby facilitating peace in Indochina and creating conditions for normalizing relations between the USA and the DRV.

If the United States continues violating the Agreement and forcing its neo-colonialism upon South Vietnam, it will come up against the resolute struggle of the people of Vietnam and will not be able to avoid new and certain failure. The experience of the past decade has demonstrated that no crude force, no amount of threats and pressure can shake the iron determination of the people of Vietnam to struggle for the independence and freedom of their country.

On behalf of the government of the DRV I have come to Paris

guided by a feeling of good will and standing on serious positions, and I am prepared to review, together with the American side, fulfillment of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and the measures capable of ensuring strict fulfillment of the Paris Agreement.

As concerns the DRV, we have always abided strictly by the Paris Agreement on Vietnam. We insist that the American side and the Saigon administration do the same. First of all, the American government is responsible for the scrupulous and direct observance of the ceasefire, immediate release of political prisoners and observance of democratic freedoms by the Saigon administration. It must stop immediately the bombings of zones under control of the PRG of the RSV, and its reconnaissance flights over DRV territory, it must immediately resume the discharge of its obligations to de-mine territorial waters, ports and rivers of North Vietnam, immediately resume work of the mixed economic commission comprised of representatives of the United States and the DRV. Such are the obligations and responsibilities of the government of the United States and the Saigon administration as laid down unequivocally by the Paris Agreement on Vietnam. World public opinion and progressive opinion in the United States demand that they strictly abide by these obligations.

We believe that only if all sides strictly observe and unfailingly fulfil the Paris Agreement on Vietnam will it be possible to preserve a stable peace in Vietnam and help maintain a lasting peace in Indochina and South East Asia.

APPEAL OF CC CP GREECE TO GREEK PEOPLE

Following is a summary of the CC CPG appeal to the Greek people published in *Rude Pravo* (CSSR), May 22, 1973.

The appeal notes that Greece is being turned more and more into an operational base of the United States and NATO against socialist countries, Arab nations and the Mediterranean peoples.

At the same time there is growing opposition in Greece to the junta and its American patrons. New opportunities are developing for unity in struggle against the dictatorship.

It is indispensable that the various separate actions of the Greek people merge in a common nationwide movement against the dictatorship, for a new democracy.

In fighting against the junta and imperialism, the Greek people derive strength from the extensive support given them by the socialist and democratic forces of the world.

The CPG declares that the country's genuine deliverance from the tyranny of monopoly and imperialism and their reactionary superstructure will be a result of a joint revolutionary struggle with the working class at its head, a struggle in the course of which democratic, anti-imperialist and subsequently socialist objectives will be attained. The Party strives, and will go on striving, to bring the majority of the working class and working people into the effort to achieve these objectives.

The Greek people must overthrow the dictatorship and establish a new democracy. This is the immediate task of the CPG, which is concentrating on it.

The overthrow of the dictatorship and the establishment of a new democracy as a result of steadfast struggle by the people and all democratic anti-fascist forces, with the working class at their head, will constitute a significant advance at the democratic, anti-imperialist stage of the revolution, a step towards forming a provisional government of parties and organizations opposed to the dictatorship.

This government will adopt a series of measures to end all restrictions on freedom, and will in due course announce free elections to a legislative assembly which will draft a new democratic Constitution and decide on the form of government.

To facilitate cooperation, the CPG would agree to the question of the King being settled by a referendum should other parties ask for it.

Our Party is willing to cooperate with any party or organization ready to fight for the program of a new democracy.

This program comprises four fundamental provisions: establishing a democratic regime; consolidating national sovereignty and independence (which connotes a policy of active neutrality); taking steps to ensure the country's free and independent economic development (which means, in particular, curbing monopoly power); adopting at once a social policy serving the people's interests.

Overthrowing the dictatorship and establishing a new democracy calls for purposive efforts and resolute struggle by the Greek people as a whole. They must prepare to use any form of struggle — peaceful or otherwise — depending on the attitude of the reactionary forces.

Historical experience teaches us that to play a decisive role in the fight for democracy and socialism, the working class needs a strong Marxist-Leninist party having a clear revolutionary ideology, linked with the people, first of all the working class, by close organizational bonds and united on its principles.

The CPG requires strong underground organizations skilfully combining illegal with legal activity and leading the struggle of the masses. Greater effort is needed to fill the vacuum that was created, remove the effects of a fundamental mistake — the decision

to dissolve party organizations taken in 1958 — and enable the Party to meet the new requirements.

Ideological and organizational cohesion and unity of the Communists are the principal requisite for unity of the forces fighting against the junta. The CC CPG trusts that those Communists who find themselves outside the Party but have refused to give in to anti-Leninist tendencies realize that they belong in the Communist Party of Greece. Whoever is in the ranks of the CPG, the glorious party of the working class and people, can contribute effectively to its resurgence.

The Communist Party of Greece directs the following appeal to the Greek people: patriots, unite and fight to overthrow the dictatorship and bring about a new democracy!

MEETINGS

JOINT POLISH-YUGOSLAV STATEMENT

The following is the complete text of the Joint Polish-Yugoslav Statement signed in Belgrade on May 8 and published in *Trybuna Ludu* on May 9, 1973.

While on a friendly official visit to Yugoslavia on May 4-8, Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC of the Polish United Workers' Party, had a far-ranging exchange of opinion on Polish-Yugoslav relations, the international situation and world events, with Josip Broz-Tito, President of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Gierek and Tito informed each other about the socialist development of the Polish People's Republic and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and the activity of the PUWP and LCY.

They expressed satisfaction over the cordial atmosphere of respect for the views and practices of the two socialist countries which reigned during the negotiations, and stated that their talks had benefited Polish-Yugoslav friendship.

I. The First Secretary of the CC PUWP and the President of the SFRY and Chairman of the LCY agreed to record the results of their exchange of opinion in the following joint statement:

—they are satisfied with the growing all-round cooperation between Poland and Yugoslavia and the PUWP and LCY, as initiated by their negotiations during President Tito's friendly official visit to Poland in June 1972;

—they state that the traditional Polish-Yugoslav friendship based on the similar historical background of the two countries and firmed by the common aims of socialist construction, will follow the principles of equality, mutual respect, and interest in all-round cooperation;

—they declare that the prevailing mutual understanding and respect for the international situation of the two countries and the different ways followed by them in shaping socialist social relations have been conducive to mutual trust and friendly cooperation. This approach to Polish-Yugoslav relations reflects the long-range interests of the two countries, and of the PUWP and LCY, and helps promote democratic and peace-loving principles in international relations;

—they declare that the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Government of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, and the PUWP and LCY, are determined to expand and consolidate long-term all-round Polish-Yugoslav cooperation and resolve all problems that may arise between them in a constructive spirit of friendship and mutual understanding;

—by virtue of past positive experience, they will continue the broadest open exchange of opinion in all spheres and at all levels concerning the ways of socialist development and also concerning topical international issues and the struggle for world peace and progress;

—they reaffirm their determination to extend the all-round cooperation between the PUWP and LCY on the broadest possible basis and enrich present-day socialist thought and practice by creative discussion and exchanges of opinion;

—they agree on the exceedingly great importance of economic cooperation as the basis for still broader relations between the two countries in all fields; rapid economic growth of the two countries, the attained level of mutual exchanges of commodities, agreements on economic cooperation and the development of the raw materials basis, and agreements in other economic fields represent a dependable basis for a successful long-term development of economic relations; further efforts to expand cooperation and specialization based on modern scientific-technical solutions, should, apart from considerably increasing commodity exchanges, also provide greater opportunities for a more adequate inclusion of the economies of the two countries in the international division of labor;

—they note that broader use should be made of science and that scientific and scientific-technical achievements should be more broadly exchanged; the two countries should pool efforts in expanding the use of modern technology; this is an important factor of development, and is also conducive to dynamic growth of economic

cooperation between the two countries, especially of the younger generation.

II. The PUWP and LCY are convinced that developing socialist social relations in their two countries, and basing their international activities and their relations with other Communist and Workers' parties and with all progressive movements and forces on the principles of respect for independence, equality, mutual confidence and solidarity, they are performing their historic duty, for which they are responsible to the working class and people of their countries, and thereby contribute actively to the struggle for world peace, progress and socialism.

The PPR and SFRY, as well as the PUWP and LCY, will continue to promote the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations, and strive for the active cooperation and equality of all peoples and states regardless of size and social system, for the abolition of all oppression and exploitation, for broader equal economic cooperation without discrimination, for reducing the gap between the economically developed and underdeveloped countries, for world peace and social progress.

Therefore, the First Secretary of the CC PUWP, Edward Gierek, and President of the SFRY and Chairman of the LCY, Josip Broz-Tito agree:

—that present-day world developments testify to far-reaching social, economic and political changes, in which the forces of progress, peace and socialism are playing an ever-greater role;

—that the relaxation of tension and the unfolding process of understanding, and likewise the consolidation of coexistence, are closely connected with the greater influence of the working class and other progressive forces fighting for peace and social progress, with the peace-loving policy of the socialist countries, and with the readiness of many other countries to contribute to the consolidation of peace and the development of international cooperation;

—that the struggle of the anti-imperialist, progressive and peaceful forces, and the national-liberation movements, are helping consolidate socialism as a world process;

—that the non-aligned countries' struggle for peace, independence and equal international cooperation, against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racialism and all forms of political and economic exploitation and interference, is helping consolidate democratic and peaceful international relations and contributes to world progress;

—that alongside positive world developments, the imperialist forces are still seeking to dominate peoples politically and economically, that they pursue a policy of strength and pressure, impinging on the peoples' basic right to independence and freedom, that neo-

colonialism as a tendency is becoming more pronounced and that the gap between the developed and the insufficiently developed countries is growing wider; all this is a source of deep concern.

III. The Polish People's Republic and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia:

—welcome the conclusion of the agreement terminating the war and re-establishing peace in Vietnam and Laos as an important victory of the peoples of Indochina in their just struggle for freedom and independence; at the same time, they are deeply concerned over the fact that real peace has not yet been achieved, and firmly demand that the rights of the peoples of Indochina are respected and concluded agreements are observed; they express special concern over the continued imperialist aggression in Cambodia; they declare their full support of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the liberation struggle of the peoples of Cambodia and Laos; they reiterate their demand that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to decide their own future and shape their own mutual relations;

—hold that the situation in the Middle East is highly disturbing due to the intransigent aggressiveness of Israel and that in the interests of general peace and security urgent measures are required to resolve the problem on the basis of the Security Council resolution and other UN documents; Israeli troops must withdraw unconditionally from all occupied Arab territories and the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine must be respected; settlement of the Middle East crisis will add to security throughout the Mediterranean area;

—declare that, being convinced that peace and security in Europe are of the utmost importance to international cooperation, they are determined to help make Europe a continent of lasting peace, security and equal all-round cooperation of sovereign states and peoples; for this reason, they express their belief that all necessary conditions prevail in Europe for the further resolution of inherited difficult problems. This is borne out by the treaties concluded between the USSR and FRG and the PPR and FRG, and also by the agreements between the GDR and FRG, the implementation of which will help greatly to strengthen confidence and security in Europe;

—declare that they will continue to participate actively in preparing the all-European conference on cooperation and security in order to assure its earliest convocation and effective contribution to the shaping of a new all-European system of security, to the growth of confidence and democratization of relations in Europe, which will also have a positive effect on events in other regions of the world;

—hold that European security is closely linked with, and depends on, consolidating peace and security in the world at large; the European states should therefore contribute to the resolution of the crisis in the Middle East and to the restoration of peace and security in the Middle East and the Mediterranean area;

—hold that general and complete disarmament is a highly important goal, and support the efforts to hold the disarmament conference with the participation of all countries at an early date.

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, and Josip Broz-Tito, President of the SFRY and Chairman of the LCY, express their deep confidence that the many problems now troubling the world can be solved through consistent application of the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for the independence of all countries, allowing all peoples to develop freely, and through the participation of the international community in the struggle for peace and progress.

They regard these aims as part of the socialist ideal and as a powerful incentive for further efforts of the PPR and SFRY, the PUWP and LCY in the interests of the peoples of Poland and Yugoslavia, and in the interests of the cooperation and friendship of all the peoples of the world.

JOINT STATEMENT* OF ITALIAN AND FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTIES

The General Secretaries of the Italian and French Communist parties, Enrico Berlinguer and Georges Marchais, met in Rome on May 8 and 9, 1973.

The following took part in the negotiations: Agostino Novella, Political Bureau member, ICP; Sergio Segre, member CC ICP, and head of International Department; Lina Fibbi, member CC ICP; and Angelo Oliva, deputy head of International Department. Jean Kanapa, member CC FCP, and head of Foreign Department, and Jacques Denis, member, CC FCP and deputy head of Foreign Department.

Comrades Marchais, Kanapa and Denis met with Luigi Longo, Chairman of the ICP.

The FCP and ICP General Secretaries exchanged information and views on the wide range of problems pertaining to the position in their respective countries and the international situation. They devoted special attention to the problems of Europe, especially its capitalist countries.

*L'Unita and L'Humanite, May 12, 1973.

They recorded full agreement of their parties and decided to publish the following statement.

JOINT STATEMENT OF ICP AND FCP

Today, the working class and popular masses in Common Market and other European capitalist countries face increasingly acute common problems.

Exploitation by big business creates unbearable conditions of life and work for millions of men and women. The Common Market's monopoly orientation and economic integration, the monetary crisis, the development of multi-national companies, and inflation adversely affect the living standards, employment and interests of the people generally. Authoritarian tendencies and the existence of fascist regimes are a danger to democracy in Europe. The United States is seeking to tighten its already burdensome tutelage of European economic and political life and activate the imperialist strategy of dividing the world into blocs.

It is necessary immediately to launch out on fundamental democratic and social change to bring freedom, progress, justice and security to millions of working people and the youth.

It is necessary immediately to rebuff the U.S. attempts to bring the West-European countries' economic development and political decision-making under its sway. It is necessary to democratize the EEC, force it to cooperate on an equal footing and in the interests of the people both with the United States and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

It is necessary immediately and actively to press for collective security, armaments reduction, dissolution of military-political blocs, and for a Europe of peace and friendship.

The conditions for the attainment of these goals are now more favorable due to the successful détente initiatives of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and peace forces throughout the world, and to the struggle of the workers and the people generally, now at a higher level. Important steps towards unity of the democratic forces have been made in many countries.

In this situation, the vital interests of the working masses call for bold initiatives to assure constructive relations between the working people and their various political and trade union organizations.

This lends greater importance to strengthening cooperation between the Communist parties of capitalist Europe. The ICP and FCP declare their readiness to assist every initiative towards that goal.

The time is also ripe for agreement and cooperation, based on equality and mutual respect, of all workers' and democratic forces

that want radical change in this part of the world. For our two Parties, this concept, this unity policy, is not merely a tactical move, it is of fundamental and long-range importance today for democratic renewal of society, and tomorrow for the building of socialism in forms dictated by conditions, traditions, and the people's will.

Socialism, for which the Italian and French Communists are working, has nothing in common with the bureaucratic and totalitarian caricature of anti-communist propaganda. On the contrary, it will give the working people, the citizens, wide participation in the affairs of society at every level, will expand democratic rights and freedoms and assure the free development of the personality. The ICP and FCP declare their readiness resolutely to take up the elaboration of joint initiatives by Communist and Socialist parties and the forces that speak for the Catholic masses, on the key issues confronting the working class and peoples of Western Europe.

To lead Western Europe towards a democratic community, uphold our peoples' right to sovereignty and freedom to shape their destinies, to make our special contribution to social and human progress, to peaceful cooperation and the building of socialism — such is the great task that corresponds to the initiative and energy of the working people, the youth, the progressive forces of Europe. Rome, May 10, 1973.

L. I. BREZHNEV'S FRIENDLY VISIT TO POLAND

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was on a friendly visit to the Polish People's Republic on May 11-12 this year at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the PPR State Council and Council of Ministers.

During his stay in the Polish People's Republic, L. I. Brezhnev was given a warm fraternal reception by the working people and the leaders of the PPR. L. I. Brezhnev met and talked with E. Gierek, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee.

Taking part in the talks on the Soviet side were A. A. Gromyko, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs; K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; K. V. Rusakov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and assistant to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A. I. Blatov, assistant to General

^{*}*Pravda and Trybuna Ludu, May 13, 1973.*

Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as S. A. Pilotovich, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Ambassador to the Polish People's Republic, who accompanied L. I. Brezhnev on his visit. The Polish side included P. Jaroszewicz, member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP Central Committee and Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers; F. Szlachcic, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee; S. Olszowski, member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP Central Committee and the PPR Minister of Foreign Affairs; R. Frelek, member of the Secretariat of the PUWP Central Committee and head of the International Department of the PUWP Central Committee, and J. Waszczyk, deputy managing director of the PUWP Central Committee Secretariat.

The Polish comrades told their guests about the election campaign in the Party, which took place in an atmosphere of the Communists' high activity, and about the fulfilment of the country's plans of economic and social development, mapped out by the Sixth PUWP Congress. The Party, state and public organizations are now giving much attention to the problems of educating working people, and particularly the rising generation, in the spirit of socialism and young people's participation in building socialist Poland.

L. I. Brezhnev informed the Polish leaders about the work of the April Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee which discussed the international activity of the CPSU Central Committee to carry out the resolutions of the 24th Party Congress, and about the efforts of Party and government organizations for enhancing the efficiency of social production and combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system. The exchange of Party cards now proceeding in the CPSU plays an important role in advancing the Communists' creative initiative and raising their responsibility for the attainment of the five-year plan targets and implementation of the resolutions of the 24th CPSU Congress.

The sides noted with profound satisfaction the successful development of all-round friendly relations between the CPSU and the PUWP, between the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic. They again confirmed the mutual aspiration to deepen the two countries' political and economic cooperation both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis — within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance — and to actively promote the implementation of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration.

The participants in the meeting emphasized that the determining role in the steady development of the process of the rapprochement of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic was played by fraternal cooperation between the CPSU and the

PUWP, which makes it possible to utilize ever more fully the experience of socialist and communist construction in mutual interests, to coordinate the efforts of both countries in international affairs, and to raise to a new level the unbreakable Soviet-Polish friendship.

Pressing problems of the international situation and of the world Communist movement were discussed in the course of the talks.

The Polish leaders pointed out that the important changes for the better that were taking place in the international arena were largely connected with the Leninist policy of the CPSU, which found its fullest expression in the Peace Program advanced by the 24th Congress and confirmed and developed by the April Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. The PUWP is in full solidarity with this policy, which it has been and will be supporting by its activity in the international arena.

The Soviet side pointed out that the Polish People's Republic, by its purposeful peace-loving policy, was contributing substantially to the consolidation of peace in Europe and all over the world. Actively following together with other socialist countries the line of establishing peaceful coexistence in relations between states belonging to differing social systems, people's Poland has gained high international prestige.

The CPSU and PUWP leaders expressed their satisfaction with the improvement of the situation in Europe. This was largely promoted by the signing of treaties by the USSR and the PPR with the FRG, the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, and the treaty on the principles of relations between the GDR and the FRG. Prerequisites have been created for completing the process of the normalization of the FRG's relations with socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia — on the basis of recognizing the invalidity and illegality of the Munich diktat — and for the entry of the two German states into the United Nations Organization. An important role in consolidating and deepening the positive changes on the continent is to be played by the forthcoming all-European conference of states on security and cooperation.

The USSR and the PPR attach major importance to the preparatory consultations in Vienna and the forthcoming talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments, first and foremost in Central Europe.

It was pointed out that, as a result of the consistent policy of socialist countries and the vigorous activity of the world Communist movement and all progressive and peace-loving forces, a general improvement of the international atmosphere has been achieved. Of paramount importance in this respect is the historic victory of the Vietnamese people. The Soviet Union and Poland, which have invariably given fraternal support to the heroic people

of Vietnam, emphasized their determination to extend all-round cooperation with the DRV and to promote the consistent fulfilment of the Paris agreement and the establishment of peace in all of Indochina.

The sides express their conviction that it is essential to build up efforts for stabilizing international security and, particularly, to work for the earliest possible elimination of the hotbed of war in the Middle East on the basis of the fulfilment of the known UN Security Council resolution, satisfaction of the just demands of Arab peoples, and respect for the legitimate interests of all the states of this area, including the Arab people of Palestine.

The CPSU and PUWP leaders emphasized that, as the experience of the past had shown convincingly, the militant unity of anti-imperialist forces is a guarantee of success in the struggle for the vital interests of peoples and for social progress. The participants in the talks pointed out that the conclusions and ideas of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow are playing an immense role in promoting the unity of the Communists of all countries. The CPSU and the PUWP shall spare no effort to strengthen the solidarity of the socialist community and world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

During his visit the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, on behalf of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, presented Comrade Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, the Order of Lenin which he was awarded for his outstanding role in advancing fraternal friendship between the Soviet and Polish peoples, for great services in promoting peace and socialism.

On behalf of the PUWP Central Committee, the State Council and the PPR Council of Ministers, E. Gierek confirmed the invitation to a Soviet Party and Government delegation to visit the Polish People's Republic. Both sides attach major importance to this visit.

L. I. Brezhnev's meetings with the Polish leaders proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding and demonstrated the complete unanimity of views of the CPSU and the PUWP on all the problems discussed.

L. I. BREZHNEV'S FRIENDLY VISIT TO GDR*

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, was on a friendly visit to the German Democratic Republic on May 12-13, 1973, at the invitation of the Central Com-

**Pravda* and *Neues Deutschland*, May 14, 1973.

mittee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the GDR. The people of the GDR accorded him a warm, fraternal reception.

During his stay in the GDR L. I. Brezhnev and his party had meetings and talks with the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SUPG, Erich Honecker, and other members and alternate members of the Political Bureau of the SUPG Central Committee.

Erich Honecker spoke of the progress made in implementing the decisions of the Eighth SUPG Congress on building a developed socialist society in the republic, strengthening its foreign-policy positions, the Party's work in the sphere of the ideological and political education of the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

L. I. Brezhnev spoke of the development of the mass socialist emulation movement in the USSR, the measures taken by the CC of the CPSU and the Soviet Government to raise the effectiveness of the national economy, to apply the achievements of scientific and technical progress, to translate into life the plans of the socio-economic development of the Soviet Union, outlined by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The participants in the meeting expressed profound satisfaction with the development of relations between the CPSU and the SUPG, between the Soviet Union and the GDR. The all-round political, economic, scientific and cultural cooperation, active participation in the multilateral ties of the socialist states in the realization of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration, meet the vital interests of the two countries, of the entire socialist community.

The two sides stressed the unbending resolve to constantly strengthen and deepen the unbreakable brotherhood, unity and friendship between the USSR and the GDR, and to this end stimulate in every way the links between the national economies of the two countries on the basis of broad utilization of socialist division of labor and cooperation, to build up cooperation in every field of public, state, economic and cultural life. In this connection the sides noted the great importance of the multiplying and expanding direct friendly contacts between the workers, peasants, representatives of the intelligentsia and youth of the USSR and the GDR.

The participants in the meeting stressed that the all-round development of relations between the USSR and the GDR rests on close fraternal cooperation between the CPSU and the SUPG. It is implemented on a planned basis, which is in conformity with the high level of relations between the two states and peoples. Regular meetings of leading figures of the CPSU and the SUPG have become

a tested form for exchanging experience, mutual information and for coordinating the policies of the two Parties.

The leaders of the SUPG stated that, in accordance with the behests of Karl Liebknecht and Ernst Thaelmann, they regard the attitude to the CPSU as the touchstone of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The great and diversified experience of the CPSU is an inexhaustible source of aid in solving the tasks of creating a developed socialist society in the GDR.

A wide range of topical international problems were touched upon during the talks.

The sides stated with satisfaction that as a result of the joint efforts of socialist countries, efforts supported and approved by the peace-loving peoples, a turn is taking place in Europe from the cold war to détente. They assessed highly the complex of treaties of the USSR, the Polish People's Republic and the GDR with the FRG, based on the recognition of the principles of the inviolability of frontiers, of the territorial integrity of European states, particularly stressing their importance for ensuring peace on our continent. It was stressed that the fraternal cooperation of the socialist states united in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, is an important, constantly operating factor of European security. The two sides regard the further all-round development of the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries, the strengthening of its unity and cohesion as their most important foreign-policy objective.

After reiterating the full solidarity of the SUPG with the Peace Program advanced by the CPSU, the leaders of the GDR welcomed the successes attained in its implementation, the consistent efforts of the Soviet Union towards asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states belonging to differing social systems. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the people of the GDR welcome the decisions of the April Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. They express profound gratitude to the Soviet Union for the great support it has rendered and continues to render the GDR in the international arena.

The Soviet side stressed the constructive contribution made by the GDR, in keeping with the decisions of the Eighth SUPG Congress, to the positive changes in Europe. The peaceful foreign policy of the GDR is of great importance for peace and détente in Europe, for promoting all-European cooperation. The role of the GDR as a factor of peace and security in the affairs of Europe, and the world continues to grow. The wide international recognition of the GDR is testimony that the socio-political changes that have taken place on the continent are irreversible, and that the course aimed at the diplomatic isolation of the socialist German state is completely bankrupt.

The sides noted the great urgency of the question of the coming into force of the Treaty on the Principles of Relations between the GDR and the FRG, and of their admission to the United Nations Organization. The two sides deem it necessary to note that the entry of the GDR and the FRG to the UN should take place in the near future.

The leaders of the USSR and the GDR also exchanged views on questions of West Berlin. They stated that the four-power agreement of September 3, 1971, according to which West Berlin does not constitute a part of the FRG, nor will it be governed by it in the future, as well as the relevant agreements between the GDR and the FRG and between the GDR and the Senate of West Berlin, have laid the necessary foundation for maintaining a normal, tranquil situation in that area. The strict observance of these agreements is the guarantee of mutual understanding by all the sides concerned with the affairs of West Berlin.

The participants in the meeting expressed satisfaction in connection with the beginning of negotiations between Czechoslovakia and the FRG. The normalization of relations of the FRG with Czechoslovakia, based on the recognition that the Munich diktat is unlawful and invalid, as well as the normalization of the relations of the FRG with other socialist countries, would be in the interests of European peace.

Preparations for the all-European conference are in the center of European politics. The conference is called upon to work out practical measures towards deepening détente and ensuring strong security on the European continent, based on the inviolability of frontiers, on developing relations of good-neighborliness and peaceful cooperation. The USSR and the GDR come out for the early conclusion of the multilateral consultations in Helsinki, and are prepared, together with the other member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty, to facilitate in every way the success of the all-European conference.

The USSR and the GDR attach great importance to the forthcoming negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments, first of all in Central Europe, and come out for thorough preparations for and constructive holding of these talks.

The participants in the talks, having noted the great importance of the victory of the heroic Vietnamese people, expressed the resolve to continue to render fraternal aid to the DRV in the construction of socialism, to support the just national aspirations of the peoples of Indochina who are striving to restore peaceful life. The sides express solidarity with the policy of the DRV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam aimed at the consistent implementation of the Paris agreement.

During the exchange of views the participants in the meeting confirmed that they regard as important the strengthening of relations with progressive Arab states. The USSR and the GDR come out for settling the Middle East conflict on the basis of the well-known resolution of the UN Security Council, for the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression and respect for the legitimate rights and interests of all states and peoples of that area, including the Arab people of Palestine.

The leaders of the CPSU and the SUPG stressed that the positive changes in international life are in decisive measure linked with the coordinated purposeful actions of the socialist states. New opportunities are opening up in the present conditions for rallying the countries of socialism, the world Communist movement, all progressive forces in the struggle for the vital interests of the peoples. Special emphasis was laid on the need to expand the interaction of the Communist and Workers' parties in the propaganda and assertion of the ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin, to wage consistent struggle against bourgeois ideology, social-reformism, Right and "Left" opportunism.

The CPSU and the SUPG believe that the strategy and tactics, worked out collectively and agreed at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, have been fully justified, the influence of socialism has grown and the positions of all revolutionary forces have strengthened.

The two Parties reiterate the resolve to continue to come out unswervingly for the unity and cohesion of the Communist and working-class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to strengthen and deepen cooperation between the CPSU and the SUPG in every field.

On behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, L. I. Brezhnev presented the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SUPG Erich Honecker with the Order of Lenin, awarded to him for his outstanding role in developing fraternal friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and the GDR, for his contribution to strengthening peace and socialism.

The meetings of L. I. Brezhnev with the leaders of the SUPG, which passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, confirmed once again the complete identity of views of the CPSU and the SUPG on all questions discussed.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, L. I. Brezhnev invited a party and government delegation of the GDR to visit the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. The date of the visit will be fixed additionally.

COMMUNIQUE* ON MEETING BETWEEN DELEGATIONS OF CPSU AND LAOTIAN PATRIOTIC FRONT

On May 14 a meeting between the delegations of the CPSU and the Laotian Patriotic Front took place at the CPSU Central Committee.

The Soviet delegation included: M. A. Suslov, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, B. N. Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; D. F. Ustinov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and R. A. Ulyanovsky, Deputy Director of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation of the Laotian Patriotic Front included: Nuhak Phoumsavan, member of the Standing Committee of the LPF Central Committee; Sisana Sisane and Khamphy Boupha, members of the LPF Central Committee, and executives of the LPF Committee.

During the talk which proceeded in a comradely, fraternal atmosphere the representatives of Laotian patriots spoke about the long and courageous struggle waged by the people of Laos for the independence and freedom of their homeland. Nuhak Phoumsavan, head of the delegation, stressed that the agreement on restoring peace and achieving national accord in Laos signed in Vientiane on February 21, 1973, was a result of the victorious struggle of the patriotic forces and the entire Laotian people supported by the countries of the socialist camp, the national-liberation movement and the peace-loving peoples of the world, and a result of the militant solidarity of the peoples of Indochina.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Patriotic Front and the people of Laos the delegation expressed deep gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the government of the USSR and the Soviet people for the all-round effective support of the Laotian patriots' just struggle for national independence, against U.S. imperialists.

The Soviet side stated that the Soviet Union has invariably come out in support of the just struggle waged by Laotian patriots for a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral, united and prosperous Laos. The signing of the Vientiane agreement was hailed in the Soviet Union as a victory of the Laotian patriots. An important role in reaching the agreement was played by the construc-

*Pravda, May 15, 1973.

tive stand of the Laotian Patriotic Front. The establishment of peace in Vietnam and Laos is an important step in the normalization of the situation in Indochina and in Southeast Asia as a whole. It has provided favorable conditions for the further struggle of progressive forces for peace and security in Asia.

The delegation of Laotian patriots was told that the Soviet Union, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with peoples fighting for national liberation, would, in the days of peace as in the days of war, side with the people of Laos in their just struggle for national interests.

Both sides stressed the need for a strict implementation of the agreement on restoring peace and achieving national accord in Laos, as well as the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam. They came out for an immediate end to the U.S. bombing of Cambodia and the fight of the Cambodian people to settle their own affairs. The sides have also expressed satisfaction with the expansion of relations between the CPSU and the LPF and the further growth of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Soviet people and Laotian patriots.

USSR-CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

A joint Soviet-Congolese communique* on the results of a visit to the People's Republic of Congo by a CPSU delegation signed on May 15, stresses the need for continued strengthening of the unity of all fighters against imperialism and for peace, democracy and socialism.

During the visit, the CPSU delegation headed by I. S. Gustov, CC CPSU alternate member and Deputy Chairman of the Party Control Commission of the CPSU Central Committee, was received by Marien Ngouabi, President of the PRC and Chairman of the CC, Congolese Party of Labor. During the talks M. Ngouabi noted that his coming visit to the USSR would be fresh proof of the strength and viability of the inter-party and inter-state relations existing between the peoples of the two countries, an important stage in the development of Soviet-Congolese cooperation in all spheres. The President expressed his high appraisal of the CPSU's support of the national-liberation movement.

The CPSU delegation met with Political Bureau members H. Lopes and S. Nguoto responsible for Party education and organization respectively, and held a working meeting with the CC CPL commission for foreign political contacts and planning.

*Pravda, May 17, 1973.

The CPSU delegation informed the CPL representatives of the results of the April 1973 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Representatives of the CPL described the results of the CPL Extraordinary Congress.

The communique outlines the basic principles for developing and broadening relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Congolese Party of Labor. Both sides reviewed in detail the existing relations and discussed certain measures for the development of this cooperation, in particular the principle of developing inter-party relations on a planned basis. They stressed the importance of continued exchanges of experience in party work. The development of inter-party relations, both sides underlined, plays a big role in consolidating inter-state relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of both countries.
