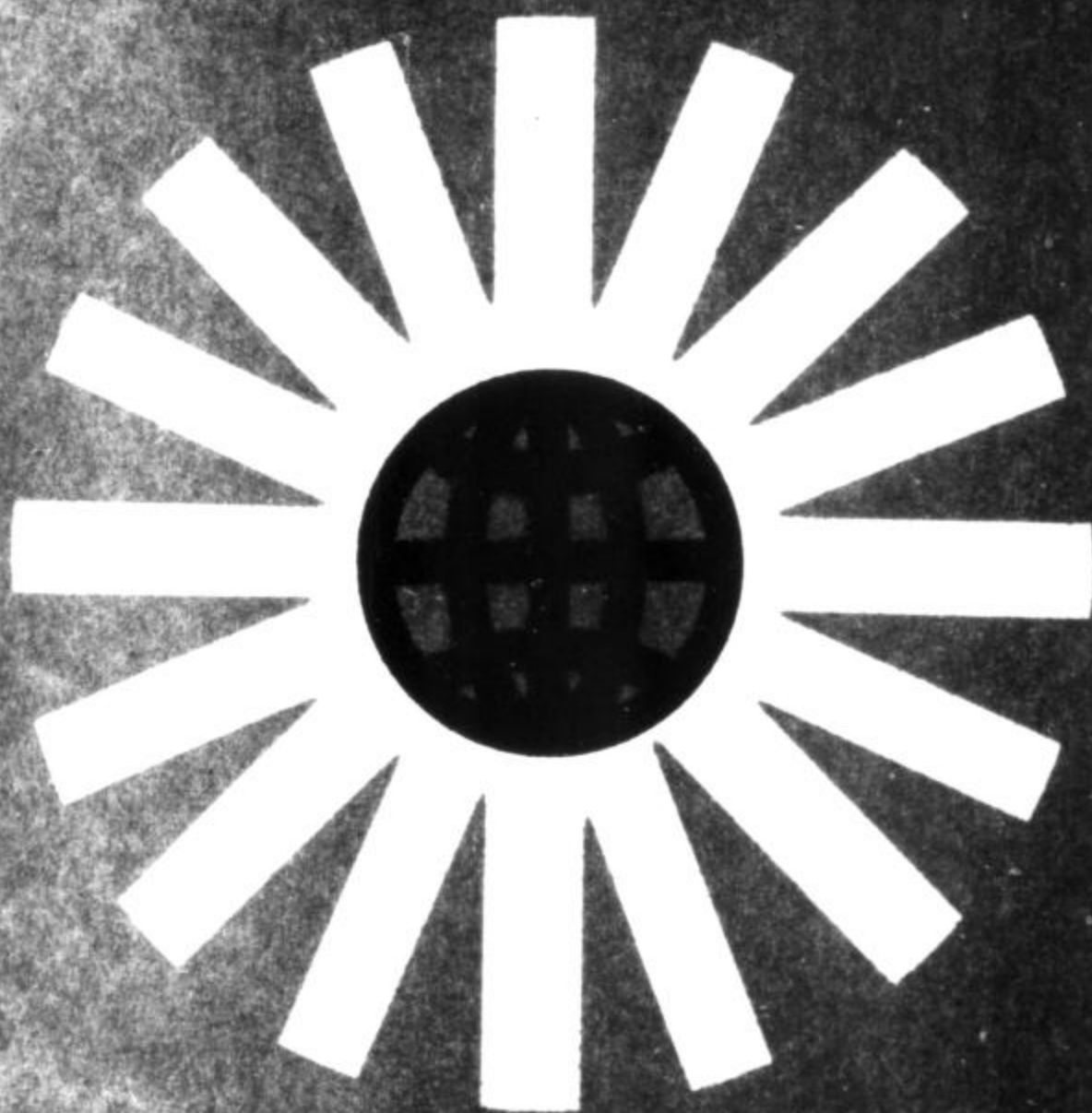


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**L. I. BREZHNEV
VISIT TO USA**

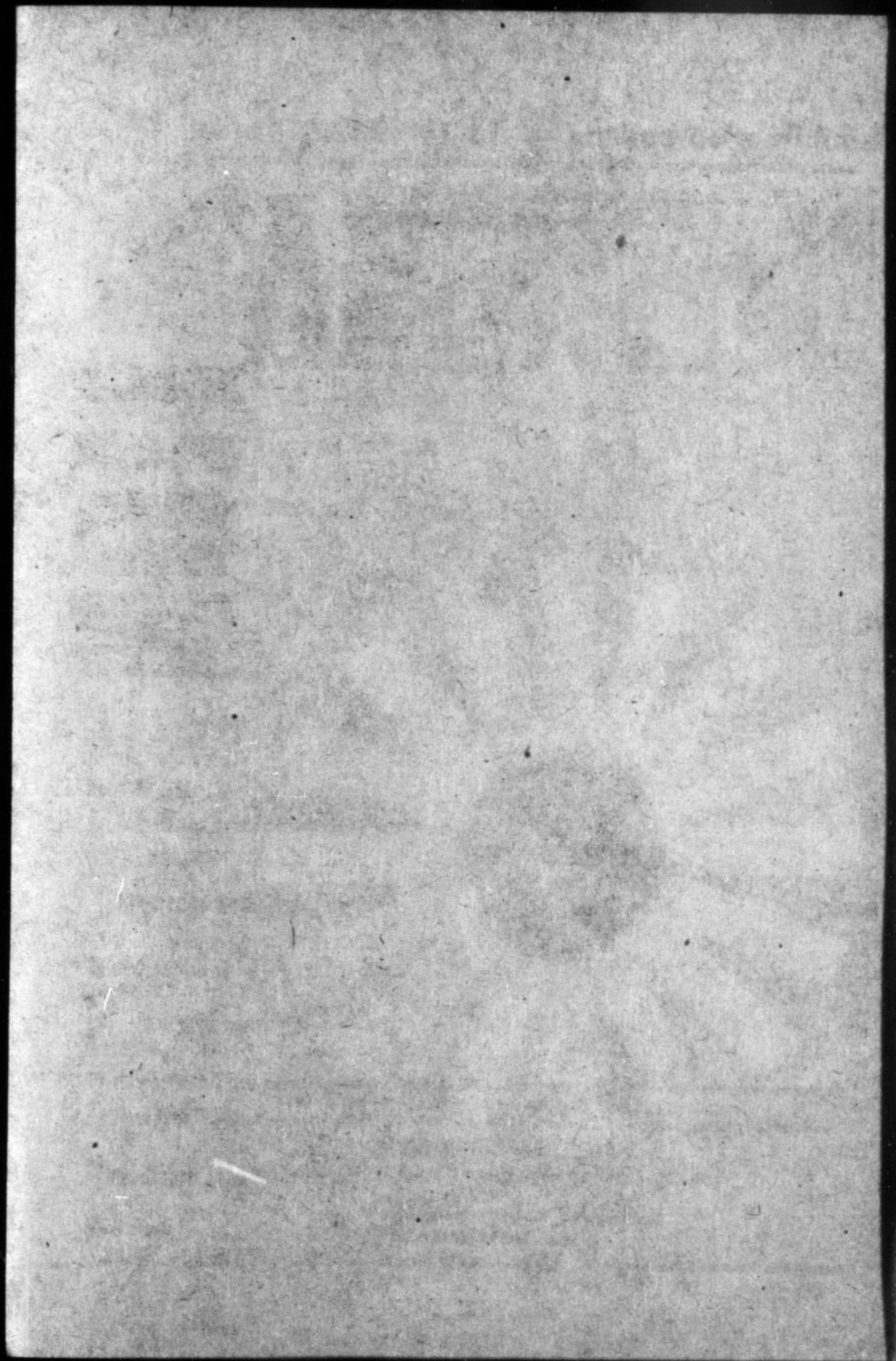
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MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO A HEALTHIER INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, made an official visit to the United States on June 18-25. He was accompanied by A. A. Gromyko, member Political Bureau, CC CPSU and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs; N. S. Patolichev, Minister of Foreign Trade; G. E. Tsukanov and A. M. Aleksandrov, assistants to the General Secretary of the CC CPSU; L. M. Zamyatin, Director-General of TASS, and other officials.

During the visit, L. I. Brezhnev and President Nixon, the final communique says, "held thorough and constructive discussions on the progress achieved in the development of Soviet-American relations and on a number of major international problems of mutual interest."

In Washington, at Camp David and San Clemente, the Soviet and U.S. leaders discussed relations between the two countries and ways and means of improving the international climate. They decided to take further important steps to give their relations maximum stability.

They concluded a series of agreements, central among which is the Agreement on Prevention of Nuclear War, a document of historic significance. Both sides are pledged to prevent a nuclear war between them and to do everything within their power to prevent such a war in general. This is of tremendous importance for world peace.

The USSR and USA expressed their readiness to examine additional ways of removing the danger of war for all time. Agreement was reached on the basic principles for drafting a new agreement on limiting strategic weapons, much broader in scope than the important Moscow agreements of May 1972. The joint communique says the two countries will help devise new measures to restrict and halt the arms race, the end aim being universal and complete disarmament.

Also concluded during L. I. Brezhnev's visit were agreements on cooperation in many different fields, from peaceful uses of atomic energy to agriculture, from outer space to the world ocean. Mutually advantageous cooperation between the two states is thus being broadened for the good of their peoples and the whole of mankind.

Much attention at the summit talks was devoted to trade and economic ties. Long-term economic cooperation will have beneficial political consequences, for it will consolidate the present improvement of Soviet-American relations.

The Transatlantic peace mission of the CC CPSU General Secretary will help to strengthen international peace and security. It accords with the fundamental interests of world socialism and of all the peoples of the world. And though the opponents of détente are doing everything to prevent a healthier international climate, time is not on their side. Convincing proof of that is the approval of L. I. Brezhnev's mission by fraternal socialist countries, Communist and Workers' parties, all peace-loving peoples.

Given below are materials characterizing the aims and results of L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the United States.

CP USA WELCOMES COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV

On June 18 the Central Committee of the Communist Party USA sent a letter of welcome* to L. I. Brezhnev on the start of his visit to the USA.

The letter follows:

Dear Comrade Leonid Brezhnev,

We extend to you the warmest welcome to our land.

There is a deep awareness by large sections of our people that your visit to the United States is a reflection of a historic shift in world affairs.

The forces behind your welcome are indicative of the coming together of many diverse groups whose specific self-interests are served by an end to the policies of the cold war.

Every step towards controlling and defusing of the world's nuclear stockpiles is in the best self-interest of every living thing the world over. A gain for peace serves the cause of progress, strengthens the anti-imperialist forces, and is in the self-interest of the peoples fighting for national liberation.

Trade between the Soviet Union and the United States is in the vital self-interest of our workers because it means jobs. Trade also corresponds to the immediate self interest of U.S. corporations because it results in business activity and profits.

Thus a broad spectrum of our people whose self interest is touched by your visit extend a hearty welcome to you.

We Communists of the United States are for defusing of the

*Pravda, June 19, 1973. Daily World, June 19, 1973.

nuclear stockpile. We are for trade between the capitalist and socialist countries because it means more jobs. We are for the socialist countries being able to use the industrial facilities of the capitalist world and we, of course, are for the liberation of the oppressed peoples and nations. But we Communists have an additional reason to welcome you to our shore.

Your presence here makes socialism a living issue. You represent a country that has travelled in 55 years from a backward land of massive underdevelopment to a modern industrial country—thanks to socialism.

You represent the triumphant power of the working class which leads a state of the whole people.

You represent a people, who with enthusiasm and happiness, are building a new life, constructing communism in the USSR.

Your visit brings into sharper focus the comparisons between the two social systems—capitalism in a crisis, unstable, with unemployment, racism and oppression—the Soviet Union, a socialist land, a multinational country that has eliminated unemployment, racism and oppression, and is committed to the loftiest humanist goals. This, in our viewpoint, only makes your visit all the more important.

Your visit here reflects a historic shift in U.S.-Soviet relations. It reflects a shift in the world class relations. You represent the class on whose shoulders history has placed the responsibility of leading civilization to a new and higher plateau of universal peace, profound social progress, and fraternity of peoples.

Your presence here is proof of the fact that the working class has accepted that responsibility and is fulfilling its historic assignment in the most glorious fashion.

For 55 years the basic long-range class policy of U.S. imperialism has been to hold back the building of socialism by a world blockade. U.S. imperialism forced that policy on the whole capitalist world. This policy has now collapsed. This fact marks a historic shift in class relations.

From this change in the world relation of class forces, capitalism's immediate class interests of trade have become now an important factor influencing policy.

This shift has opened up the waterways of trade and commerce. This has opened up the lines of communication between our peoples in the fields of science, culture, medicine and friendship. Your visit here is evidence of new victories for the policy of peaceful coexistence between governments of different social and economic systems.

Your visit is witness to a new era in history. Your visit is making history.

So, dear Comrade Brezhnev, welcome and please accept our warmest comradely greetings.

The letter was signed by Henry Winston and Gus Hall, national chairman and general secretary, respectively, of the CP USA.

L. I. BREZHNEV, GENERAL SECRETARY, CC CPSU, MEETS LEADERS OF COMMUNIST PARTY USA*

On June 22, at the USSR Embassy in Washington, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, met with leaders of the Communist Party, USA, its National Chairman Henry Winston and General Secretary Gus Hall.

The meeting was held in a cordial and fraternal atmosphere. The leader of the Communist Party, USA, expressed their high appreciation of L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the U.S. emphasizing its importance for securing a fundamental shift in Soviet-American relations and continued détente. They stressed that the visit was evidence of new victories for the policy of peaceful coexistence, and that it presented fresh opportunities for cooperation between the American and Soviet peoples in various fields, and has met with wide approval among the working people and democratic forces of the United States.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that the CPSU will continue its unremitting effort for peace, international security and friendship of the peoples. That policy, he said, is the embodiment of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress. He looked forward to new successes in the joint struggle for friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and United States, for détente and social progress.

Taking part in the meeting on the Soviet side were A. A. Gromyko, member Political Bureau, CC CPSU, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and A. F. Dobrynin, member CC, CPSU and USSR Ambassador to the United States.

L. I. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH ON AMERICAN TELEVISION**

Dear Americans,

I highly appreciate this opportunity of addressing directly, with the help of American television, the people of the United States of America on my visit to your country.

I would like, first of all, to convey to all of you the greetings

*Pravda, June 24, 1973.

**Pravda, June 25, 1973.

and friendly feelings of the millions of Soviet people who are following with keen interest my visit to your country, our talks with President Nixon, and are hoping that this new Soviet-American summit meeting will bring good fruit for improving relations between our countries and strengthening universal peace.

Our talks with President Nixon and other members of the United States Government continued for several days in a row, and were very intensive. We travelled here knowing that these will be very responsible negotiations, devoted to crucial questions of developing Soviet-American relations and a search for ways in which both states could further facilitate the improvement of the entire international atmosphere. We now have every ground to say that these hopes have been justified. We are satisfied with the course of the talks and the results that have already been achieved. The new agreements signed in Washington greatly expand the sphere of peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. A new big stride has been made along the path that we jointly mapped out a year ago, during the meeting in Moscow.

I'll be frank: personally, I am also pleased that this visit afforded me an opportunity to get some first-hand impressions of America, to become acquainted with some aspects of American realities, to meet your country's noted statesmen and public figures, to come in touch with the life of the Americans.

You are well aware of the fact that in the past relations between our countries developed very unevenly. There were periods of stagnation, there were ups and downs, but I will, perhaps, not be mistaken in saying that the most farsighted statesmen clearly realized at all times the significance of good relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. We may recall in this connection that this year marks forty years since the time when, on the initiative of President Franklin Roosevelt, our countries established diplomatic relations.

During the Second World War the Soviet Union and the United States became allies, together they fought against Nazism which threatened the freedom of the nations, threatened civilization itself. The jubilant meeting of Soviet and American soldiers on the Elbe River at the hour of victory over Hitlerism, is well remembered in our country.

It could be expected that the wartime alliance would open a new era of broad peaceful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States. I can say in all confidence: our country sought this, we wanted to consolidate and develop the good relations, the foundation of which was laid during the war.

Yet, something different happened. Instead of peace came the

"cold war" — a pitiful substitute for genuine peace. For long it poisoned relations between our countries, and international relations as a whole. Unfortunately, some of its sinister influence survives in certain measure to this day.

In these circumstances it was, of course, no easy matter to make the turn from mutual distrust to relaxation, normalization and mutually advantageous cooperation. This took courage, political farsightedness, it required a lot of painstaking work. We appreciate the fact that President Nixon and his administration united their efforts with ours in order to lead Soviet-American relations onto a really new road.

I have heard that the American political vocabulary has the expression "to win the peace." I feel that this is a historical moment when this expression can be used perhaps most appropriately. We jointly won the war. Today our concerted efforts must help mankind win lasting peace. The possibility of a new war must be excluded.

The results of the two meetings between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States and all that has been practically accomplished throughout the year between these two meetings is a convincing indication that important results have already been achieved. It turned out that a reasonable approach, acceptable to both sides, could be found to many questions that had seemed unresolvable. Only recently it was perhaps difficult even to imagine that such progress was possible.

The agreements signed last year are being implemented, on the whole, successfully. There is tangible progress in nearly every sphere, and this advance has been ensured by mutual efforts. The inauguration of a regular passenger shipping line between Leningrad and New York, the establishment of consulates-general in Leningrad and San Francisco, the initiation of friendly ties between cities in the USSR and the USA, the further invigoration of sports exchanges — all this, already today, is becoming part of the life of the peoples of our countries.

The best proof that the development of Soviet-American relations is not at a standstill but is moving ahead is the important document under which President Nixon and I have put our signatures the other day — the Agreement Between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the Prevention of Nuclear War. I don't think I will be accused of exaggerating, if I say that this is a document of historical importance.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America have concluded an Agreement aimed at preventing the outbreak of nuclear war between them, at doing all in their power to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war in general. The tremendous importance of this for the peace and tranquillity of the peoples of

our two countries, for improving the prospects for a peaceful life for all humanity is only too clear.

Even if our second meeting with the President of the USA had no other results, it could be said in all justice that it will occupy a worthy place in the annals of developing Soviet-American relations, and in international life as a whole. Now the entire world can see that both our states, after signing last year the fundamental document on "The Basic Principles of Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America," regard it not as a mere declaration of good intentions, but as a program of vigorous and consistent actions — a program which they have already started to implement and firmly intend to go on implementing.

Neither is it of small importance that our countries have agreed on the basic principles of further work to prepare a new, wider agreement on limiting strategic armaments, and for a much longer term. This means that this exceptionally important matter, initiated in May 1972 in Moscow, is moving ahead. This means that political détente is being backed up by military relaxation. Winning from this are all the peoples and the cause of peace as a whole.

Representatives of our two states also signed the other day new agreements on Soviet-American cooperation in a number of concrete fields. Together with the agreements signed earlier in the course of the past year, they constitute an impressive body of documents on the cooperation of our two states, of two great nations, in most diverse fields — from the peaceful uses of atomic energy to agriculture, from the expanses of outer space to the depths of the ocean.

Of course, the Soviet Union and the United States are such countries, which, as they say, can each survive on its own. This, as a matter of fact, was the case up to now in our relationships. But at the same time both we and many Americans well realize that rejecting cooperation in the field of economy, science, technology and culture, means rejecting considerable additional benefits and advantages which each of the sides could derive. And what is more — this would be an absolutely purposeless rejection, which cannot be justified by any sensible reasons.

This particularly concerns economics. Now, I think you, just as we, agree that it won't do merely to overcome such an anomaly generated by the "cold war" as the complete freezing of Soviet-American trade. Life puts much bigger questions on the order of the day. I mean, first of all, such forms of economic relations as stable large-scale ties in a number of economic branches, long-term scientific and technical cooperation, and in our age that is of great importance. The contacts that we had with the officials and busi-

nessmen of your country confirm that it is precisely along these lines that the main perspective for the further development of our countries' economic cooperation is taking shape.

One hears occasionally the allegation that the development of such cooperation is of a one-sided nature, and is to the advantage of the Soviet Union alone. But to say such things one has to be absolutely ignorant of the actual situation, or to deliberately turn a blind eye to the truth.

Yet the truth of the matter is that from developing and deepening economic cooperation in general, and the long-term wide-scale deals over which talks between Soviet organizations and major American firms are either under way or have been successfully concluded, both sides will derive real and tangible benefits. We have heard definite confirmation of this from representatives of U.S. business circles with whom I happened to talk both here in the United States, and earlier in Moscow. The same was the subject of our talks with President Nixon.

To this I would like to add that the leadership of the Soviet Union, just as, I understand, the Government of the United States, are attaching great importance to the fact that the development of long-term economic cooperation will have also very favorable political consequences: it will assert the turn for the better that is taking shape in Soviet-American relations as a whole.

There are good prospects, as we understand, for a broad development of Soviet-American exchanges also in the field of culture and the arts. Both our countries have much to give each other in this field. To live in firm peace it is necessary to trust one another, and to trust — one must know each other better. We, in any case, want the Americans to know, as fully and correctly as possible, both our way of life and our way of thinking.

On the whole, we can say that much has already been accomplished in the development of Soviet-American relations. But we are still standing at the very beginning of a long road. Constant concern is needed to preserve and develop the fresh shoots of good relations. Tireless work is needed to seek out the most necessary and most suitable forms of cooperation in various spheres. Patience is needed to understand these or other specific features of the other side and to learn to do business with each other along good lines.

I would think that those who support the radical invigoration of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States may look ahead with optimism, for this goal is in the vital interests of our peoples and in the interests of peace-loving people throughout the world.

The general atmosphere in the world depends in great measure on the climate prevailing in the relations between our two coun-

tries. Neither economic nor military might, nor international prestige give our countries any additional rights, but invest them with special responsibility for the destinies of universal peace, for preventing war. In its approach to ties and contacts with the United States, the Soviet Union is fully aware of this responsibility.

We regard the improvement of Soviet-American relations not as an isolated phenomenon, but as an integral and very important part of a wide process of radical invigoration of the international atmosphere. Mankind has outgrown the rigid armor of the "cold war" in which attempts were made to mail it. It wants to breathe freely and peacefully. And we shall welcome it, if our efforts to improve Soviet-American relations will help draw into the process of détente more and more states, be they in Europe or Asia, in Africa or Latin America, in the Middle East or the Far East.

We regard as very positive the fact that the normalization of Soviet-American relations facilitates the solution of such a big and important task as strengthening peace and security in Europe, the holding of an all-European conference included.

The improvement of Soviet-American relations undoubtedly has played a role in helping to end the years-long Vietnam war. Now that the agreement on ending the Vietnam war has come into force and both our countries, together with other states, affixed their signature under the document of the Paris Conference on Vietnam, we deem it especially important that the success achieved be consolidated, that all the peoples of Indochina be given the chance to live in peace.

There are still hotbeds of dangerous tension on the globe. In our talks with President Nixon we touched on the Middle East situation which is still very acute. We believe that justice must be ensured in the area as soon as possible and a lasting peaceful settlement achieved, that would restore the legitimate rights of those who suffered in the war, ensure the security of all the peoples of this rather vast area. This is important for all the peoples of the Middle East without exception. This is important for ensuring universal peace.

In a word, the elimination of conflicts that have flared up, the prevention of new crisis situations is a requisite for creating truly reliable guarantees of peace. And our two countries are called upon to make a worthy contribution to this. President Nixon and I gave these questions much attention during the talks held in the last few days.

I would like to stress here that when discussing questions of bilateral relations and general international problems alike, we invariably took into account the fact that both the Soviet Union and the USA have allies and commitments regarding some or other states. It should be stated definitely that both the spirit of our

talks and the letter of the agreements signed take this fully into account.

The main point of our discussion and agreement with President Nixon in the field of international affairs is the firm resolve of both sides to turn the good relations between the USSR and the USA into a permanent factor of international peace.

Today, as you of course know, there are still too many who prefer to shout about military preparations, about the arms race, rather than discuss problems of détente and peaceful cooperation in a constructive spirit.

What can be said on this score? The Soviet people, perhaps better than any other people, knows what war is. In the Second World War we won a victory of worldwide historical importance. But more than 20 million Soviet citizens died in that war, more than 70,000 of our towns and villages were destroyed, one-third of our national wealth was annihilated.

At present the wounds of war have been healed. Today the Soviet Union is a country of greater might and prosperity than ever before. But we remember well the lessons of war. And it is precisely for this reason that the peoples of the Soviet Union so highly value peace and warmly approve of the peaceful policy of our Party and state.

To us peace is the supreme boon, for which people must strive if they want to make their lives worthy. We believe in reason, and hold that this belief is shared also by the people of the United States of America and other countries. If this belief were to be lost, if it were to be replaced by blind reliance on force alone, on the might of nuclear or some other weapon, then civilization and humanity itself would be in for a miserable lot.

The historical path we have traversed was not an easy one. Our people take pride in the fact that in the short historical period following the victory of the socialist revolution, a backward Russia turned into a major industrial power, achieved outstanding successes in science and culture. We take pride in the fact that we have built a new society, the most stable and confidently developing society, which has brought to all the citizens of our country social justice, where the values of modern civilization are owned by the whole people. We take pride in the fact that tens of formerly oppressed nations and peoples of our country have attained genuine equality and are living in a friendly family of peoples, successfully developing their economy and culture.

We have great plans for the future. We want to considerably raise the living standards of the Soviet people. We want to achieve new successes in raising education and medicine. We want to make our villages and towns more comfortable to live in and more beautiful. We have outlined programs for developing the remote

areas of Siberia, the North and the Far East with their incalculable natural resources. And every Soviet person firmly knows: the realization of these plans requires peace above all, requires peaceful cooperation with other states.

Of course, just as any other country, we have many problems, many shortcomings. But the solution of all the problems facing us requires, just as for other peoples, not war or the artificial heating up of tension, but peace and creative labor which, we are certain, alone can secure the well-being, the abundance of material and spiritual benefits for all members of society.

I have tried briefly to describe here the thoughts and plans that fill up the life of Soviet people and what explains the nature of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. Its peaceableness proceeds from the very essence of our society. And it is not by chance that the very notion of peaceful coexistence, which these days is increasingly becoming the generally recognized foundation for developing relations between states with differing social systems, was worked out by the founder of the Soviet state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

You probably know that two years ago the 24th Congress of our country's ruling Party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—approved a Peace Program which is a concrete embodiment of the policy of peaceful coexistence in modern conditions. This is a program of active contribution to international détente, to securing truly lasting peace on earth for many generations to come. It expresses not only the convictions and intentions of the citizens of our state, but also, we are sure, the aspirations of millions and millions of peace-loving people all over the world. We are implementing this program, working hand in hand with our friends and allies, the socialist countries. On the basis of this program, we seek to build relations of goodwill and mutually beneficial cooperation with all countries that have a similar desire. And the improvement of Soviet-American relations occupies a rightful place in that program.

Dear viewers, the importance and complexity of the problems on the agenda of our talks with President Nixon, of our meetings and discussions with members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, headed by Senator Fulbright, with prominent representatives of the American business community—all this inevitably called for a tight work schedule on this visit. As I have already pointed out, these were fruitful discussions, held in a good atmosphere. All this cannot but give us a feeling of satisfaction.

At the same time, I, of course, very much regret that the extreme pressure of business has not given me and my colleagues, who accompanied me and took part in our common work, a chance to see more of your country. While still in Moscow and then here in the United States, I received many warm letters from various American

cities, organizations, companies and private citizens kindly inviting me to visit this or another town, to see factories, farms and universities, the private homes of Americans. I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to all who wrote those letters. I was unable to take up those invitations. Of course, it would have been interesting to visit New York and Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles, to see industrial enterprises and farms, to talk to American working people, for whose achievements Soviet people have great respect. Perhaps the future will offer such an opportunity, especially since President Nixon and I have definitely agreed that in the future our contacts will be placed on a regular footing. We are looking forward to President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union in 1974.

But even though this brief visit did not give me a chance to see as much as I would like to in America, I nevertheless have every reason, when I return home, to tell my colleagues and all Soviet people both about the important political results of the visit and about the atmosphere of goodwill, and the trend in favor of peace, of détente, and of improving relations between our two countries. It is a trend which we felt during our stay in the United States and during our contacts with Government and public leaders of your country, and with many American citizens. I can assure you that these feelings are fully shared by Soviet people.

I do not believe I will reveal any secret if I tell you that in my talks with President Nixon over the last few days we not only addressed ourselves to current political problems, but also tried to look ahead and to take into account the future interests of the peoples of both our countries. In so doing, we proceeded from the assumption that in politics those who do not look ahead will inevitably find themselves behind, among the stragglers. A year ago in Moscow we laid the foundation for improving Soviet-American relations. Now this great and important objective has been successfully brought closer. It is our hope that this trend will continue, for it meets the interests of our two great peoples and of all mankind.

In conclusion, I want to express my sincere gratitude to the American people, to the President and the Government of the United States for their hospitality, for their kindness and numerous expressions of warm feelings toward the Soviet people and us, their representatives.

Dear Americans, please accept my wishes for well-being and happiness to all of you. Thank you.

ON RESULTS OF COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, having discussed the outcome of the visit to the United States of America by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and highly assessing his personal contribution, have fully approved the political and practical results of this visit which has a great principled significance and is an event of great importance.

The results of the visit of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the United States of America are a new confirmation of the fruitfulness and effectiveness of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress, a new convincing proof of the strength and viability of the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence.

The time that has passed since the Soviet-American summit meeting held in Moscow in May 1972 has clearly shown the correctness and timeliness of the steps that were taken then with the purpose of improving Soviet-American relations. The Moscow meeting and the document "Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the USSR and the USA" it adopted marked the beginning of the turn from distrust to détente, the normalization and mutual cooperation of our two countries. New favorable prospects are opening up for the development of relations between the USSR and the USA as a result of the recent talks between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and President R. Nixon.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers note that the holding and successful conclusion of the talks have laid a good basis for the normal development of Soviet-American relations, for the promotion of mutually advantageous cooperation between our two countries and at the same time are a contribution to the consolidation of détente, the strengthening of universal peace and the security of nations.

The agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War that was concluded between the USSR and the USA of unlimited duration is an important step on the way to lessening and ultimately removing the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war, to creating a system of real guarantees of international security. The practical implementation of the agreements, of the turn from atomic confronta-

*Pravda, June 30, 1973.

tion of the United States and the Soviet Union to a course aimed at preventing a nuclear war, at solving disputable questions through negotiation, will have a truly historic importance for all mankind.

The Basic Principles of Negotiations on the Further Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms signed in Washington are bound to play a great role. Continuing the trend of the Soviet-American agreements concluded in May 1972 in Moscow, this document provides for the active continuation of the efforts aimed not only at limiting the volume of strategic offensive arms and their further qualitative perfection but also at guaranteeing measures for their further reduction.

Of substantial significance is the Agreement Between the USSR and the U.S. on Scientific and Technical Cooperation in the Field of Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy whose primary aim is the development of new highly effective sources of energy.

The all-round development of peaceful cooperation between the two states in various fields, and, in particular, the opening of new prospects for the development of trade and economic relations between the two countries will contribute to greater stability of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Soviet people highly appreciate the fact that during the visit of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev wide circles of American public expressed their friendly feelings towards our people and showed an understanding of the importance of further development of Soviet-U.S. relations.

While in the course of post-war decades tensions in Soviet-U.S. relations adversely affected the international situation as a whole, nowadays, on the contrary, the invigoration of Soviet-U.S. relations, the obligations undertaken by the two countries to abstain from the threat of force or its use against the other side, against the allies of the other side and against third countries, the will clearly formulated by both countries to respect the rights and interests of all the states, will serve as an important element of a radical improvement of the international situation and open up great possibilities for constructive cooperation between all the other countries.

The necessity to strictly implement the Paris Agreement on Vietnam without any interference from the outside, registered in the course of the talks, also serves the consolidation of peace. This will contribute to giving a possibility to all the peoples of Indochina to live in peace.

The mutual understanding achieved by the two countries during the discussion of the problems of European security, specifically their mutual striving to hold an all-European conference as soon

as possible will have great importance from the viewpoint of ensuring a stable peace on the European continent.

Of great importance is the striving for the settlement of the Middle East conflict on the principles ensuring the rights and interests of all the peoples and states of the area, including the interests of the Palestinian people, that was recorded in the joint communique. The Soviet position on this question was set out at the talks. In accordance with the Peace Program, the Soviet Union attaches fundamental importance to liquidating the seat of war in the Middle East on the basis of respect for the legitimate rights of the states and peoples subjected to aggression. Withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab lands is the basis for the just solution of the Middle East problem.

The results of the Soviet-American summit talks held in June 1973 meet the interests of the peoples of the USSR and the USA and the interests of the whole of peace-loving mankind.

The results of the visit of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev to the United States are another convincing proof that there are possibilities now for solving disputable problems, no matter how complex they are, through talks on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The consistent and steadfast fulfilment by both states of all the commitments they have assumed is the condition for making Soviet-American relations a constant factor of international peace, of ensuring the irreversibility of the now developing processes of relaxation of tension and the deepening of peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation of states with different social systems.

The Soviet side expresses the confidence that the readiness of other states to join the principles of non-use of force and of taking decisive measures to exclude the outbreak of nuclear war, jointly recorded by the USSR and the USA, will be exceptionally important for ensuring universal security and durable world peace.

The results of the visit of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev to the United States and all the steps in the field of foreign policy taken by the Soviet Union after the 24th Congress of the CPSU jointly with other socialist countries are an important contribution to improving the international situation.

The results of the Soviet-American talks are highly assessed by the Soviet people, by the fraternal socialist countries, by the international Communist movement, the peaceful and progressive forces, for they meet the interests of peace, the interests of the masses of the people in all countries.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR declare that the Soviet Union will continue advancing con-

sistently along the road indicated by the 24th CPSU Congress. We shall continue strengthening relations with our friends and allies—the countries of the socialist community. We shall continue to develop ties and contacts with the countries which freed themselves from the colonial yoke, to give assistance to all peoples fighting for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. As before, the Soviet Union will resolutely rebuff any intrigues of the aggressive imperialist forces, all those who come out against détente, for the return to the cold war, for the arms race, all those who sow the seeds of animosity and distrust among the peoples.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is based on the unity and cohesion of our entire people, on their unanimous support for our Party, its Leninist Central Committee and the Soviet Government. By their selfless work the Soviet people increase the power and might of the socialist Motherland and thus consolidate the foundation for a durable peace and the security of the peoples.

THE MAGNIFICENT ROAD OF STRUGGLE AND VICTORIES*

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party the Party, government and public organizations and representatives of the working people of Moscow gathered in the Grand Kremlin Palace on July 13 to mark this memorable date.

The audience gave a long, rousing ovation to Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, Y. V. Andropov, A. A. Grechko, V. V. Grishin, A. A. Gromyko, A. P. Kirilenko, F. D. Kulakov, K. T. Mazurov, A. J. Pelshe, N. V. Podgorny, M. A. Suslov, A. N. Shelepin, P. N. Demichev, B. N. Ponomaryov, M. S. Solomentsev, D. F. Ustinov, V. I. Dolgikh, I. V. Kapi-
tonov.

On the platform were also Vice-Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Party veterans, functionaries of the CPSU Central Committee, top-ranking officials of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the YCL Central Committee, the Moscow City and Regional Committees of the CPSU, Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet and representatives of the public.

The meeting was opened by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

His concluding words were met with stormy applause.

Then Comrade Brezhnev invited to the speaker's platform Comrade M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, who delivered a report "The Second Congress of the RSDLP and Its World-Historic Significance."

The report by Suslov was followed with close attention and punctuated with applause.

Then the meeting was declared closed. Its participants stand up and sing the Party hymn, *L'Internationale*.

SPEECH BY COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV

Dear Comrades,

These days our Party and, together with it, all Soviet people, our friends and colleagues across the world are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

The outstanding role played by this Congress in the history of

**Pravda*, July 14, 1973.

the great struggle for the triumph of the revolution and socialism derives, briefly, from the fact that it founded the Bolshevik Party, our glorious Leninist Party.

Looking back on the distant and yet so near past, we cannot but admire the deeds of Lenin and his collaborators who created our Party, the first party of a new type in history, and who led it against heavy odds through the barricades of 1905 to February 1917 and from February 1917 to the victory of the Great October.

We cannot help recalling on this day what Lenin wrote at the dawn of the century: "We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance almost constantly under their fire." Indeed, only truly courageous and principled people, only those who were not daunted by selfless hard work or police persecutions, who placed the happiness of the people above all else—only those people were capable of heroic deeds performed by the first, Leninist generation of the Communists of our country.

Lenin and those who fought to victory together with him were and remain for us, the Bolsheviks of the epoch of socialist and communist construction, an inspiring and ever-lasting ideal. And now, when Party documents are being exchanged in our Party, every Communist must ask himself again and again: Have I done all I could to be worthy of the title of member of the Leninist Party? Have I done all I could to measure up to the demands made on every member of the CPSU by its history and traditions, by the creative, revolutionary Soviet reality?

To be in the ranks of the Leninist Party is honorable and obliging. And we are convinced that the members of our nearly 15-million strong Party will, as before, carry aloft the red banner of the October Revolution, the banner of communism, which we took over from Lenin!

Comrades, our Party has travelled a long and glorious historical road. It was not an easy and straight road. We had to surmount incredible difficulties. It wasn't always easy to find correct solutions to pressing problems. We lost many a glorious Leninist Communist in the fight for the triumph of the revolution and the socialist cause. Their memory is sacred to our people!

Our Party proved equal to the situation. It succeeded in blazing the hitherto unknown trail from capitalism to socialism. It succeeded in winning the boundless faith of the working class and all working people, building a developed socialist society, a state of the whole people and leading the world's biggest country on to the highroad of communist construction.

The Party has achieved all this above all thanks to its unshakable loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

Since Lenin's times the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always seen a deep mastery of revolutionary theory and its creative development and consistent defense against all enemies as one of its most important and urgent tasks. It was this approach to theory that enabled the Party to score victories of which we are proud with full justification. Such an approach is a guarantee of new signal successes in the coming years.

Comrades, a little more than two years ago the 24th Congress of the CPSU adopted decisions, the correctness of which has been confirmed by life.

The course set by the Congress for achieving higher effectiveness of our economy and assuring on this basis the improvement of the living and cultural standards of the working people is being successfully translated into reality. Since the Congress, the wealth and might of our country have grown substantially. Soviet society is ever more strongly welded together and our people are ever more closely rallied around the Party and its Central Committee.

Truly imposing are the gains of the CPSU's international policy. The implementation of the course endorsed by the 24th Congress of the Party is exerting a favorable influence on the international situation as a whole. The prestige and influence of our socialist state in the world arena are steadily growing.

Our policy promotes further extension of fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and facilitates closer unity of the Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces.

The realization of the Soviet Peace Program is bringing mankind to positions which will reduce the danger of a new war breaking out and assure the peoples the possibility of a truly peaceful development.

Convinced of the correctness of our course, we will continue resolutely to uphold the cause of peace, freedom and security of the peoples.

Noting all these shifts, evoking our justified satisfaction, we do not and shall never forget that the beginning of the road that has led us to the heights of today was the Second Congress of the RSDLP, the first Leninist Program adopted by it. This first program was carried out in full, just as was the second program approved by the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) after the October Revolution. Our present achievements show that the third program of the CPSU, the program of building communist society in our country, is also being steadily implemented.

We have bright prospects ahead, the prospects of communism. We are confident of our strength. On our side is the world's working class, all toiling humanity.

The cause begun by Lenin will triumph!

Comrades, the meeting of Party, government and public organizations and representatives of Moscow's working people, dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, is declared open.

SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RSDLP AND ITS EPOCHAL SIGNIFICANCE

REPORT* BY M. A. SUSLOV

Comrades,

There are events in the momentous and heroic history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which signify turning points in the development of the workers' and the entire revolutionary-liberation movement. One of these was the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party held 70 years ago.

Marking this notable date, we revert over and over again to the immortal genius of the great Lenin, to the time when Vladimir Ilyich launched a campaign for the formation of a truly revolutionary party. In the very beginning of the 20th century he prophetically declared: Give us an organization of revolutionaries, and we will overturn Russia! (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 467). Such an organization was established. The epoch-making significance of the Second Congress of the RSDLP, stresses the Decision of the CPSU Central Committee of April 4 this year, is that it consummated the process of unification of the revolutionary Marxist organizations and formed a party of the working class of Russia on the ideological-political and organizational principles elaborated by Lenin.

In that way the first proletarian party of a new type, the Bolshevik Party, the great Leninist Party, came into being. All that was best, brightest and heroic in the working class, its courageous sons boundlessly loyal to the cause of the people, the bravest fighters of the revolution rallied to form the ranks of Lenin's Party.

Lenin built the party of revolutionaries on the granite foundation of creative Marxism and scientific summation of the experience of the entire world workers' movement, and purposefully evolved

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the theoretical, political, and organizational principles of the Party of a new type, continuously developed and enriched these principles in the new historical conditions. A faithful follower of the cause and doctrine of Marx and Engels, he upheld the militant and revolutionary nature of the Party and in the cruel encounters with the ideological enemies of the proletariat, with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, with the revisionism of the Rightist and the "Leftist" brand, affirmed the Party's leading role in the workers' movement. The establishment and consolidation of the Bolshevik Party is Lenin's major service to the Russian and international working class, to the working people of the world.

The Party founded by Lenin, fostered on his ideas and revolutionary traditions, and continually tempered in the fire of the class battles and in the process of creative endeavor, has covered a great, historic road. It kept constantly strengthening itself organizationally; it matured politically, and became richer ideologically and theoretically. From a small cohort of proletarian revolutionaries, who held aloft the heroic banner of the struggle against tsarist despotism and capitalist slavery, our Party has turned into a powerful and well-cemented multi-million army of Communists standing at the head of the world's first socialist state.

In the 70 years of its glorious history, our Party has scored such successes that there is nothing to match them in the history of any political organization in the world. Under its leadership changes have been carried out that have not only altered the image of our country, but have also radically transformed the course of world history.

EMERGENCE OF BOLSHEVISM — A TURNING POINT IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The Bolshevik Party emerged in the arena of the political struggle when world capitalism entered its last, imperialist stage. Imperialism had aggravated to the utmost the basic contradictions of social development, and a revolutionary change-over from capitalism to socialism was on the order of the day.

Social conflicts of the new period were particularly forcefully manifested in Russia. The distinguishing feature of her socioeconomic development was the rapid growth of capitalist relations intertwining with numerous vestiges of serfdom. "... The most backward system of land ownership and the most ignorant peasantry, on the one hand, and the most advanced industrial and finance capitalism, on the other!" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, p. 442)—that was how Lenin characterized at that time the historical situation in Russia.

At the turn of the century all the most substantial contradictions of the world of those days—between labor and capital, the peasants and the feudal landowners, between the advanced capitalist town and the backward and semi-feudal village, between the cruel policy of national oppression pursued by the tsarist autocracy and the indignation of the oppressed nations—became extremely acute in Russia. The interests of tsarism were closely connected with the interests of world imperialism. As a result Russia turned into the focus of contradictions of world imperialism and became its weakest link. And the center of the international revolutionary movement began shifting from Western Europe to Russia. A popular revolution against tsarism was maturing in the country, and this under the conditions of more advanced class relations than in the period of the bourgeois revolutions in the West; a powerful movement of the working class was developing, and the actions of its ally—millions of peasants—were gaining momentum.

The Russian proletariat was directly confronted with the great task of preparing and carrying out a revolution. "History has now confronted us with an immediate task which is the *most revolutionary* of all the *immediate* tasks confronting the proletariat of any country. The fulfilment of this task . . . would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 373).

At the same time Lenin sagaciously foresaw that the victory of a democratic revolution in our country would be a prologue to a socialist revolution; it would provide a powerful stimulus for the development of the workers' movement in Europe and the national-liberation movement in the countries of Asia.

Thus, the revolutionary struggle of the Russian proletariat was assuming paramount international importance.

With the onset of the new epoch, the tasks of directly preparing the proletariat for a revolutionary overthrow of the old and rotten social system and the establishment of a new society came to the fore. But the solution of these tasks is impossible without forming a consistently revolutionary party of the working class, its political and ideological leader equipped with the theory of scientific socialism, a party of a new type. Russia, with her very acute social contradictions and an immense potential charge for the coming revolutions, became, by the logic of history, the homeland of the first party of this kind.

The old, Social-Democratic parties of the Second International formed in a situation of a comparatively "peaceful" development of capitalism, could not readjust to the requirements of the revolutionary period. Having played in the past the positive part of mustering the forces of the proletariat, they were increasingly slip-

ping to opportunist positions. Making an absolute of parliamentary and other legal forms of struggle, these parties degenerated from the parties of revolution that they had been into parties of social reform. International opportunism, most comprehensively expressed in the statements of E. Bernstein, took the road of outright revision of Marxism, and adaptation to the capitalist system. After the death of Engels, the official leaders of the Second International proved incapable of rebuffing the onslaught of opportunism, and strove to get on peacefully in the same party with the reformists, the carriers and vehicles of bourgeois ideology in the workers' movement. This ultimately brought the Social-Democratic parties of the Second International to ideological and political bankruptcy. "Typical of the socialist parties of the epoch of the Second International," Lenin pointed out, "was one that tolerated in its midst an opportunism built up in decades of the 'peaceful' period . . ." (Vol. 21, p. 110). Going into combat with such parties in the lead would mean dooming the workers' movement to defeat.

Lenin was the first among the leaders of the Russian and international workers' movement to realize and scientifically prove that under the conditions of imperialism the working class had to have a new type of party basically different from the parties of the Second International, a party of social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin proved capable of posing theoretically and solving practically the problem of establishing such a party in Russia: a really revolutionary party, irreconcilable to opportunism, well organized and closely united, equipped with a revolutionary theory and capable of guiding all manifestations of the proletariat's class struggle for its social emancipation.

The formation of the proletarian party of the new type was preceded by immense theoretical and practical work done by Lenin, his criticism of petty-bourgeois Narodnik socialism, and his resolute struggle against reformism and other opportunist trends in the workers' movement.

As early as the middle of the 1890s, Lenin came forward as the most outstanding (after Marx and Engels) revolutionary thinker who, with the mind of genius, penetrated into the very core of social phenomena, advanced the Marxist doctrine and developed it creatively in adaptation to the special conditions of the new epoch. Having thoroughly summed up and critically analyzed the experience of the Russian and world workers' movement, he provided profound and scientifically substantiated answers to the basic questions of the revolutionary movement posed by the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, and showed the working class new opportunities in the struggle for the attainment of its goals.

Already in his early works, Lenin developed the Marxist idea of the hegemony of the proletariat and its alliance with the peasantry, and substantiated the thesis of the leading role of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Then, as he creatively developed the ideas of Marx and Engels in line with the new historical conditions, Vladimir Ilyich elaborated, step by step, the theory of the Party, the historical necessity for it, its role in the struggle of the proletariat, its organizational principles, ideological foundations, strategy and tactics . . .

The Second Congress of the RSDLP, which met from July 30 to August 23, 1903, consolidated the activities of Lenin's *Iskra* in building the Party, and provided the Party with the firm foundation of the Leninist principles. The Congress consolidated the victory of the revolutionary Marxists over opportunism, and dealt a blow at all the ideas engendered by international reformism and its Russian variety as represented by the "economists" and then the Mensheviks . . .

The Second Congress of the RSDLP armed our Party with a Marxist-Leninist Program, a program of struggle for the overthrow of the system of autocracy and landlords, the toppling of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin highly assessed the Program, primarily because, unlike all the Social-Democratic programs then in existence, it contained the demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat as an instrument of the socialist transformation of society. "In this Program the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat," wrote Vladimir Ilyich subsequently, "is stated in clear and definite terms, and, moreover, is linked up with the struggle against Bernstein, against opportunism" (Vol. 31, p. 340). This fact of immense historic importance graphically characterizes the role of the Congress in affirming the revolutionary Marxist trend in the Russian and international workers' movement.

The RSLDP Program specifically stressed the need for the Party to play the leading role in the proletariat's struggle to discharge its historic mission of delivering all working people from exploitation.

The Program creatively developed the tactical principles of the Marxist workers' party with respect to non-proletarian classes, including the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities. It resolutely broke with the official dogma of the Second International theorists to the effect that the proletariat, according to Karl Kautsky, for instance, "will have to wage future battles single-handed." This dogma doomed the working class to isolation and ultimate defeat.

This "theory" found its advocates at the Second Congress too. While lauding the liberal bourgeoisie, they denied the revolutionary

capacities of the peasantry. Lenin levelled devastating criticism against these statements. He substantiated the thesis that the working class was the only and natural leader of all working people and exploited masses, because with the development of capitalism a "kinship, affinity, and bonds" appeared between the position of the proletariat and the non-proletarian working masses, and by virtue of this the working class could win them over to its side and lead them not only to a bourgeois-democratic, but also to a socialist revolution.

The working class, Lenin said, must be the rallying center and leader of all democratic and anti-capitalist forces; it must skillfully combine the struggle for democratic and socialist goals. This Leninist idea played an exceptional part in the elaboration of the strategic and tactical guidelines of the Bolshevik Party, and eventually of the entire international workers' movement.

The agrarian part of the Program, written by Lenin, was of great, fundamental importance. Before the Congress and at the Congress itself, Lenin resolutely combated the underestimation of the agrarian and peasant issue, a feature characteristic of the Western Social-Democrats. Lenin defeated the opportunist view of the peasantry as a reactionary mass and showed its immense revolutionary potential. Lenin's agrarian program oriented the proletariat on establishing a revolutionary alliance with the millions of peasants.

During the debates on the Program at the Congress opportunists of all brands waged a desperate struggle against the Program's basic principles in an attempt to emasculate its revolutionary content. The leaders of "Economism" (Martynov and Akimov) came out against Lenin's programmatic theses on the guiding role of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotsky, too, actually came out against the thesis on the dictatorship of the proletariat, putting off the realization of this demand till the indefinite time when the proletariat would make up the majority in the country and the Party would be close to "identification" with the proletariat or, in effect, would dissolve in the proletariat.

Lenin exposed the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Bund and defended the programmatic thesis on the need for an internationalist cohesion of the proletariat. He proved convincingly that nationalism was the worst enemy of the working class, that the emancipation of the workers and all exploited people was a matter not only national but also social. Advancing and championing the right of nations to self-determination, Lenin at the same time showed the utter unsoundness of the bourgeois-nationalistic demand for cultural-national autonomy which objectively was tantamount to an encroachment on the class, internationalist cohesion of the proletariat.

The Second Congress saw the complete triumph of the ideology of proletarian internationalism. The attempt of the opportunists and especially the members of the Bund to build the Party not on the class principle, but according to the national principle, and establish it not as a cemented proletarian party but as a federation of isolated national organizations, was resolutely rebuffed. Right from the start the Bolshevik Party acted as a united and centralized organization relying on the entire proletariat regardless of language or nationality. This is precisely why it could cement the working class and the working masses of multinational Russia into a monolith, internationalist force that crushed the power of the landlords and capitalists.

The Program adopted at the Congress defined a policy of alliance of the working class with the working masses of the peasantry and the oppressed nationalities, of ensuring the hegemony of the working class in the liberation movement; it consolidated the profoundly internationalist character of the Party and substantiated the close interconnection and indissolubility of the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism.

Stressing subsequently the immense historic significance of the Program adopted by the Second Congress of the RSDLP, Lenin wrote: "We educated the party of the proletariat with the aid of the Marxist program . . ." (Vol. 29, p. 192).

Lenin regarded the Party's revolutionary Program in close unity with the revolutionary principles of its organization. He always held that in a proletarian party the strength of ideas must be supported and augmented by the strength of organization. Lenin resolutely rejected ideological complacency and organizational looseness, dissociation, autonomism, features characteristic of the parties of the Second International. The party of the working class, Lenin said, must be based on the firm principles of centralism and discipline which do not deny but rather presuppose democratic norms of inner-party life. This was the goal of the Party Rules elaborated by Lenin. In contrast to the views of the parties of the Second International on organizational issues, the Leninist Party Rules clearly defined the class nature of the Party and guaranteed the proletarian character of its social composition, and assured firm organizational principles.

In building the Party, Lenin always followed a strictly class proletarian course. To Menshevik opportunism in organizational matters he contraposed the doctrine of the decisive role of a revolutionary organization in the class struggle of the proletariat. "In its struggle for power," he stressed, "the proletariat has no other weapon but organization" (Vol. 7, p. 415).

The experience of class battles provides daily confirmation of

the profound meaning of these wise words of Lenin's. Only a well organized and disciplined party adhering to the positions of scientific socialism can head the emancipation movement of the working class and bring it to victory.

During the discussion of the draft Party Rules reported by Lenin, sharp controversy flared up at the Congress, especially in connection with the first paragraph of the Rules defining the terms of Party membership. The Leninist formulation of this paragraph envisaged personal participation in one of the Party organizations as an essential condition for membership, thereby laying organizational foundations for ensuring the purity of the Party's ranks, its cohesion, centralization, discipline, and growing role of Party members. In opposition to this Martov came out with his own formula requiring only assistance to the Party, under the guidance of one of its organizations, as the only stipulation for membership. This vague formula opened the doors wide into the Party for various elements, including petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers, ideologically and organizationally unstable, contemptuous of discipline and not wishing to work in Party organizations. Thus, in the disputes on the first paragraph of the Rules, Lenin wrote, "the supporters of *bourgeois-intellectual individualism* . . . clashed with the supporters of *proletarian organization and discipline*" (Vol. 7, p. 269). The point at issue was what the Party was to be like: proletarian and ideologically and organizationally prepared for class, revolutionary battles, or petty-bourgeois, ideologically unstable and organizationally diffuse and loose.

Martov managed to push through his formula with the aid of the "Economists" and the Bundists. Yet, it was in such glaring contradiction to the entire spirit of the Leninist Rules adopted by the Second Congress that most of the Party organizations resolutely came out against it, and already the Third Congress of the RSDLP replaced the Martov formula of the first paragraph of the Rules with Lenin's formula.

On the whole, the Party Rules adopted by the Congress were based on the organizational principles evolved by Lenin. The basic principle of the Leninist Rules—democratic centralism—was affirmed as a Party law by the Second Congress. Since then democratic centralism has been a fundamental principle of the organizational structure of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

Thus, on the issues of the organizational structure of the Party Program, strategy and tactics, as well as in the elections of the Party's leading bodies, the Leninist, the *Iskra*, trend took the upper hand at the Second Congress. This was the crowning victory of a long and persistent struggle of Lenin and his associates for establishing a proletarian party of a new type, a party of revolutionary

transformation, a party of scientific communism capable of successfully guiding the struggle of the working people for emancipation from exploitation, and for the construction of socialism and communism. This marked the birth of the Bolshevik Party, the great Leninist Party. Eventually Lenin stressed with good reason that "as a current of political thought and as a political party, Bolshevism has existed since 1903" (Vol. 31, p. 24).

What are the distinguishing features of Bolshevism as a party of a new type? Its most important traits are:

—Marxism-Leninism, and first of all the theory of the socialist revolution, the epochal mission and dictatorship of the proletariat are the ideological and theoretical foundation of the party of a new type;

—the Party is the vanguard detachment of the working class, the supreme form of organization of the proletariat, its political leader at all stages of the proletariat's revolutionary and transforming activities—from the period of the preparation and implementation of the revolution to the construction of a complete communist society;

—the Party is a fusion of Marxism with the mass workers' movement, and the expansion of the Party's ties with the masses of workers and all working people is a major source of the Party's power and strength;

—the fighting capacity of the revolutionary vanguard is ensured by the unity of theory and practice, the class nature of the Party, its ideological and political cohesion and organizational unity on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism, the strictest discipline of its members, conscious attitude and activity of every Party member and his high sense of responsibility for the implementation of the Party policies;

—the Party is truly revolutionary, irreconcilable to any splitting activities, political opportunism and theoretical revisionism;

→the Leninist Party is a party of consistent internationalism.

The emergence of the Bolshevik Party was an epoch-making event marking the beginning of a new stage in the development of the Russian and world workers' movement, the beginning of a radical shift from the old Social-Democratic parties to a proletarian party of a new type on an international scale.

Lenin's teaching on the Party is a mighty ideological weapon of the CPSU and the entire international Communist movement. Herein lies the source of strength and force that enabled our Party, successfully overcoming the greatest trials and immense difficulties on its road, to score epochal victories. The Leninist principles of the Party of a new type are the truly great heritage left by Lenin to the worldwide revolutionary movement.

The Bolshevik Party, formed and fostered by Lenin, resolutely and skillfully guided Russia's working class and working masses along the unexplored path of revolutionary transformations that have radically changed the historical destinies of our country and the whole world.

LENINIST PARTY, A PARTY OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND COMMUNIST TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY

The ideas of Leninism gave the Bolshevik Party high combat ability, great organizational and mobilizing strength, and the ability to foresee the course of historical development and skillfully and expertly guide the revolutionary and transforming activities of the working class. Under the wise guidance of the Party, the Russian proletariat, with the peasantry as its millions strong ally, gained tremendous, invincible strength.

Our Party's entire experience indisputably proves that the working class can discharge its historic mission only under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist party. "Only the Communist Party, if it is really the vanguard of the revolutionary class, if it really comprises all the finest representatives of that class, if it consists of fully conscious and staunch Communists who have been educated and steeled by the experience of a persistent revolutionary struggle, and if it has succeeded in linking itself inseparably with the whole life of its class and, through it, with the whole mass of the exploited, and in completely winning the confidence of this class and this mass—only such a party is capable of leading the proletariat in a final, most ruthless and decisive struggle against all the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, it is only under the leadership of such a party that the proletariat is capable of displaying the full might of its revolutionary onslaught," Lenin stressed (Vol. 31, pp. 187-188).

Our Party rallied the working class and all the working people of Russia, aroused them for the destruction of the system of landlords and capitalists, led them through three revolutions, inspired and organized them for the construction of the world's first socialist society, aroused and organized the Soviet people to win in the Great Patriotic War, and is now leading them toward the complete victory of communism.

In the course of this great struggle, the working people came to realize from their own experience that the Bolsheviks were the only truly revolutionary party, and they forever tied up their destinies with the party, which found expression in a rapid growth of the Party membership. Whereas in 1903 there were only 3,500 Social-Democrats in the country, on the eve of October 1917, the Leninist Party had a membership of 350,000, and currently there

are almost 15 million Communists in its ranks.

In the course of its long and glorious historical development the Bolshevik Party—now the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—creatively developed, in the process of constant struggle, its ideological weaponry, improved its entire activity and accumulated immense experience in guiding the revolutionary-transforming activities of the working class at various stages and in diverse historical conditions. The Party mastered to perfection the most diverse methods and means of bringing the masses to the revolution, having at its disposal the richest arsenal of legal and illegal, parliamentary and non-parliamentary, peaceful and armed forms of struggle; it tirelessly strove to combine these forms in each concrete situation in the most rational way.

A model of the Leninist political strategy and flexible tactics were the activities of the Party in the period of the preparation and carrying out of the victorious October Revolution, and the establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

The Great October Socialist Revolution is a great national and international exploit of the Russian proletariat guided by the Communist Party. The October Revolution destroyed one of the strongest mainstays of world reaction and paved the way for the beginning of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, ushering in a new era in human history....

Following the victory of the socialist revolution, the working class was confronted with great creative tasks. In 1919, at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), another, the second Party Program, was adopted, defining the prospects and ways of building socialist society.

Armed with the Leninist theory of the laws of socialist construction, and inseparably tied with the masses, the CPSU firmly believed in the victory of socialism, in the inexhaustible revolutionary strength of the working class, and inspired it for a heroic road of creative endeavor. This was a very daring plan, yet it was also the most scientifically substantiated plan of conscious historical creativity ever witnessed by history.

In the struggle for socialism the Party had to overcome the pessimism of sceptics, the opposition of the Trotskyites, of the Right and "Left" opportunists, the desperate resistance of the class enemies in the country, and to repulse the fierce attacks of international reaction.

In a very short historical period socialist industrialization was carried out under the Party's guidance and profound socio-economic changes were effected; the country's age-old backwardness was overcome, and major problems were solved that had for centuries

occupied not only the peoples of Russia, but the whole of mankind.

In the process of socialist construction private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of man by man were abolished. Public ownership of the means of production was established in the USSR and became universally dominant, serving as a basis for a mighty upsurge of socialist production, and a steady improvement of the living standards and well-being of the Soviet people. As a result of the victory of socialism, relations of social equality and comradely mutual aid have taken shape among our people....

The construction of socialism in the USSR is a new historic feat of the working class, of all the Soviet people, a veritable triumph of the leadership effected by the Leninist Party. Victorious socialism began to exert an even mightier impact on the world's further development.

The great role played by the Communist Party in the life of the Soviet people, its influence on the course of world history, were forcefully manifested during the Great Patriotic War. This war was the fiercest and most decisive, essentially class clash between socialism and the most reactionary circles of monopoly capital. Crucial questions of historical development were being decided in the course of the war: will socialism last or will fascism bar the road to social progress, will the peoples be free or will they be enslaved by the Hitlerite military and political machine? The Communist Party was the socio-political force that welded the Soviet people, united them and directed them towards victory over the enemy. Rallying under the banner and leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people smashed the German fascist hordes, defended the freedom and independence of their country, defended and consolidated the socialist road of development, liberated many nations from fascist slavery and saved world civilization.

As a result of the rout of the German fascist invaders and Japanese imperialists the world balance of forces changed, favorable conditions arose for victorious revolutions in a number of countries, in Europe and Asia and imperialism's colonial system began to collapse. Loyal to its internationalist duty, the CPSU considerably helped by its correct policy to deepen and expand the world revolutionary process and the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples.

Thus, the guiding activity of the Leninist Party in our country and its internationalist policy were an important factor of world development.

After the victorious conclusion of the war, the efforts of the Soviet people led by the Party were directed towards the rehabilitation and further development of the national economy.

The difficulties confronting the country were truly formidable, but they were surmounted. The Party inspired the masses for heroic efforts in labor which were crowned with wonderful successes in the development of the economy and culture.

The creative efforts of the Soviet people were further reflected in the construction of developed socialism that most fully embodies the social and historical essence of the new social system, its fundamental superiority over capitalism.

The building of communism is the supreme goal of the activities of the Communist Party, which is reflected in its very name.

By the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress our country has covered a substantial part of the road to this cherished goal. Nowadays the tasks of building communism, embodied in the new Program of the CPSU, are already being solved in practice.

The road traversed by the Soviet Union headed by the CPSU is the highroad of humanity's historical ascent that was scientifically charted by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Historically a situation is taking shape when the Soviet people headed by the CPSU are breaking fresh socio-historical ground, solving new, most difficult problems of the construction and organization of socialist society, of its development into a communist society.

A responsible and glorious historical mission has fallen to the share of our Party: creatively developing the Marxist-Leninist teaching on communism, to substantiate theoretically the laws of communist construction and practically pave the road to communism.

A scientifically substantiated political line for communist construction in the present stage was drawn up by the 24th CPSU Congress, which was an outstanding event in the life of the Party and the Soviet people. The implementation of the Congress decisions is now the main concern of the Communists, all Soviet people.

The Congress defined the ever increasing satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements on the basis of a rapid growth in production as the Party's most important economic and political task for the coming years and for a longer term.

Our country now possesses tremendous economic potential: a multi-branch industry, large-scale mechanized agriculture, advanced science, skilled workers, specialists and production organizers. The Congress called attention to the need for shifting the emphasis to intensive economic operations, to the raising of economic efficiency. . . .

The great cause of the construction of communism implies the all-round development of man himself, his culture and social consciousness, his morals and communist ideology. The rearing of generations of Soviet patriots and internationalists, selfless builders of the new society, is truly a historic service of the Party.

The spiritual moulding of the new man proceeds in an uncompromising, irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology.

The process of communist construction is inseparably bound up with the growth of the influence and prestige of the Communist Party as the generally recognized guiding force, the organizing core of the entire social system....

The growth of the leading role of the Party in the present stage is determined by both the domestic and international tasks, which are tremendous in scope and exceptional in their complexity. The Party is called upon to coordinate and direct the many-sided activities of our people in all fields of creative endeavor — in the economic sphere, in the sphere of social relations, in the sphere of culture, education and upbringing — and to define the foreign-policy line of the Soviet state in the interests of peace, international security and social progress the world over....

In contemporary conditions the Communist is a revolutionary fighter for the complete triumph of the great ideals of communism, possessing high political consciousness, and realizing his responsibility for the Party's cause. Indifference, passivity and lack of ideological integrity are incompatible with membership in the Leninist Party....

According to Lenin's definition, the Communist Party is the intellect, honor and conscience of our age. This has always made it incumbent on us to do everything to be worthy of this high assessment. This demands of us to be in future, too, true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to safeguard the unity and monolithic cohesion of the Party ranks, strengthen ties with the broad working masses, never to relax the sense of high responsibility to the people, sacredly to observe the Leninist standards of Party life and Party leadership.

The problem of the place and the role of the Party in the revolutionary movement and in the construction of the new society has become in our time the most acute, most pressing problem in the struggle of Marxist-Leninists against the exponents of bourgeois ideology, as also against the different kinds of revisionists, Right-wing and "Left"-wing opportunists. And this is by no means fortuitous, of course. The destinies of the proletariat's emancipation movement, the destinies of socialism, are inseparably bound up with the existence of a militant, Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. Only such a party can stand up against all and sundry petty-bourgeois vacillations, relapses of opportunism, anarcho-syndicalism, sectarianism and extremism. Only a party tempered in struggle and consolidated by common ideological, political and organizational principles can successfully guide the great struggle for communism. This has been proved not by theory

alone but also by many years of practical revolutionary struggle. The principled line of our Party on this question has earned the recognition of the international Communist movement, helped correctly orientate the champions of the working-class cause.

The growing role of the Communist Party is bound up most closely with the understanding of the historical mission of the working class, its place in the creation of a new, communist formation. Our Party has proved convincingly, on the basis of analysis of the laws of the development of socialism, that the leading role of the working class is preserved until communism is built and the social homogeneity of society is achieved.

The creation and consolidation of the Communist Party, the successful implementation of its leading role are the great gain and achievement of the working class, the inexhaustible source of its strength and invincibility in the struggle for the triumph of communism.

CPSU—A PARTY OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISTS

Comrades, the great Lenin built the Bolshevik Party as a party of consistent proletarian internationalists, as an integral part of the international army of proletarian revolutionaries.

Born under the banner of unshakable loyalty to proletarian internationalism, the Bolshevik Party is carrying aloft this banner, enriching and developing the theory and practice of proletarian internationalism.

Bolshevism has assimilated all the wealth of revolutionary strategy and tactics, the whole world experience of the emancipation movement of the working masses, expressed the main trends of its historical development in the new epoch. Lenin pointed out that the Party relies "on the experience of the workers of the whole world, both on their theoretical experience, on the achievements of their class-consciousness, their science and experience summed up by *Marxism* and on the practical experience of the proletarians of neighboring countries" (Vol. 36, p. 282).

The history of our Party is a striking example of the indivisibility of its national and international activity, the combination of national and international tasks.

During World War I the Bolsheviks set an example of internationalist policy, an example of struggle against the imperialist predatory war and social-chauvinism. The Bolsheviks became the ideological and organizational center of the entire world current of revolutionary internationalists, which played a most important role in creating the prerequisites for the formation of the Communist International.

The October Revolution itself, accomplished under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, was a tremendous national achievement, because the first breach of the imperialist chain in human history, the creation of the world's first proletarian state, radically changed the conditions of the struggle waged by the working people of the world for their emancipation. The world's first country of workers was not only a fount of constant inspiration and confidence in victory for the fighters for the revolutionary transformation of the world, but also a support base of the world revolutionary process, a material force helping movements directed against imperialism.

Communist Parties began to appear rapidly in the capitalist countries under the mighty impact of the October Revolution, as an answer to the vital demands of the 'workers' movement, on the initiative of the Marxists in each of the countries, and with the theoretical, internationalist assistance of Lenin. In opposition to the reformism and social-chauvinism of the Social-Democratic leaders, the Leninist principles of Party organization and activity, the principles of internationalism became widespread in the workers' movement.

Lenin, our Party, rendered tremendous assistance to the young Communist parties in assimilating the revolutionary experience and revolutionary theory. The theory, strategy and tactics of the Communist movement and the ideological, political and organizational principles of the building and activity of the Communist parties were elaborated, and the prerequisites for the further growth and consolidation of the fraternal Communist Parties of a new, Marxist-Leninist type were created under Lenin's direct guidance. Thus, the ideological and political foundation of the modern Communist movement was laid.

Lenin also generalized the latest experience in forming and strengthening the Communist parties and enriched his teaching on the party of the new type, deepened and expanded the content of the principles of Bolshevism.

Bolshevism, Lenin pointed out, "has become world Bolshevism." It "produced an idea, a theory, a program and tactics which differ concretely and in practice from those of social-chauvinism and social-pacifism. . . . Bolshevism has created the ideological and tactical foundations of a Third International, of a really proletarian and Communist International," which takes into consideration "both the gains of the tranquil epoch and the experience of the epoch of revolutions, which has begun Bolshevism can serve as a model of tactics for all" (Vol. 28, pp. 292-293).

The Communist parties attached great importance to the mastering of the principles of Bolshevism, the assimilation of the ex-

perience of revolutionary transforming activity. It was repeatedly stressed in the documents of the Communist parties that the mastering of Leninism is the most important condition for raising the revolutionary fighting ability of the party, for its preparation for decisive class battles.

Thanks to loyalty to the Leninist ideas, the Communist movement has now become the most influential and organized political force of our time.

All truly Marxist parties guide themselves by the Leninist principles of the organization of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, principles creatively enriched and developed with due regard for the historical traditions and national specifics of one or another country.

The Leninist teaching on the party is being implemented in the struggle against the opportunists and revisionists of all hues. Our ideological opponents are trying to convince people that the Leninist teaching on the party has no international significance, that the organizational principles and norms of party life elaborated by Lenin reflect only the specific conditions of Russia, that they have now become obsolete and are not applicable to present-day realities. Revisionists of the type of Fischer, Garaudy and others would like to belittle the importance of the Communist parties, to undermine their ideological and organizational unity and leading role in the struggle of the working class for power and in the construction of socialism.

Jointly with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, the CPSU sees its internationalist duty in defending, developing and asserting the Leninist teaching on the party that has been tested by experience.

True to the Leninist internationalist behests, the CPSU is consistently working for the political and ideological cohesion of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It made a big contribution to the strengthening of the unity of the world Communist movement at the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 and also by its subsequent sustained and fruitful efforts to carry into effect the decisions of this conference.

Now we can note the strengthening of the solidarity of the ranks of world communism, which is conducive to the consolidation of the positions of all the revolutionary forces. In sharp contrast to the internationalist line of the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties is the divisive, nationalistic, chauvinistic policy of the Maoists. The Maoist leadership has broken with Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism, and is following a course that is hostile to the CPSU, the Soviet Union, the socialist community and the entire world Communist movement, giving

support to any reactionary regimes and forces with the aim of weakening the international positions of socialism. There can be no doubt, however, that this course of the present leaders of the PRC is doomed to inevitable failure. The policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state towards China is one of resolute ideological and political struggle against Maoism, and at the same time it comes out for normal inter-party relations.

In the present conditions the efforts to implement the course set by the 24th CPSU Congress for perfecting developed socialism in the USSR and building communism, fulfilling the plans for considerably raising the welfare of Soviet people embody the unity of the national tasks and the internationalist duty of our Party and people.

The creative activity of the Soviet people headed by the CPSU organically merges with the world revolutionary process, whose development brings closer the collapse of imperialism and the triumph of socialism on a world scale. The world socialist system, the creation of the international proletariat, has become the decisive factor of contemporary development. The imperialist system of colonial oppression has collapsed forever. The number of the newly-free independent states which have firmly made their socio-political choice in the direction of the socialist perspective is growing. The class battles in the capitalist countries are intensifying, tending ever more obviously to develop into an onslaught against the entire system of state-monopoly domination. The forces of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism are growing throughout the world, which is promoted by the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

Our foreign policy is a class socialist policy. It is directed towards creating favorable external conditions for communist construction in our country, towards strengthening the fraternal unity of the countries of the socialist community, towards helping the workers' and the national-liberation movement, strengthening peace and the security of peoples and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The CPSU views the fraternal alliance of the peoples of the socialist community as the greatest postwar achievement. In working for this alliance the CPSU has been conducting a genuinely internationalist policy; it is stepping up its drive to develop the economic integration of the countries of the socialist community, sparing no efforts for the further strengthening of their equal fraternal political alliance.

The CPSU is consistently conducting a policy of assistance to the peoples fighting for their national and social emancipation. The Soviet people have made their contribution to the historic

victory of the Vietnamese people over imperialist aggression. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and the fraternal internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were crowned with success.

The Soviet Union is invariably and consistently working for a just solution of the Mid-East crisis on the basis of the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories and the establishment of stable peace in the Middle East.

The Peace Program drawn up by the 24th CPSU Congress, which is being implemented by the efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet state, is having a tremendous impact on the development of international affairs in a positive direction.

The power and effectiveness of the Peace Program are determined by its scientific substantiation, its realistic nature, the precise assessment of the objective needs of social development. The most important objective conditions taken into account by the Party in adopting the Peace Program and working for its implementation are the fundamental changes in the correlation of world economic and political forces in favor of socialism. These changes have been achieved on the basis of the selfless labor and struggle of the Soviet people, the growth of the influence of the socialist community on world developments, the active struggle of all peace forces against the threat of a new world war. The Soviet Union, the fraternal countries of socialism and other peace forces have breached the front of the cold war and initiated the beneficial process of détente in international relations, the shift to mutually advantageous cooperation of countries with different social systems on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The April Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee highly assessed the tremendous constructive work of the Political Bureau and the personal contribution of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, in the sphere of foreign policy and international relations. This appraisal received the active support of all the people, all the progressive forces of the world.

The results of L. I. Brezhnev's visits to the FRG, the United States and France represent a new contribution to the consolidation of peace and the security of peoples. The talks that took place and the agreements reached during these visits meet the interests of the Soviet people and the aspirations of the whole of progressive mankind.

Comrades, in noting the positive shifts in the international situation, our Party does not forget, of course, that these shifts have been achieved as a result of an acute struggle against the forces of imperialism, that today, too, their resistance to the relaxation of international tensions is far from being overcome completely,

that there still continue to exist explosive hotbeds of tension, and, needless to say, that the acute class struggle is going on both in the international arena and within the capitalist countries. Especially acute is the ideological struggle, in which there is not nor can there be any peaceful coexistence between socialism and capitalism. The class opponents are trying to make use of all the possibilities for smuggling into the socialist countries an alien reactionary bourgeois ideology.

The April Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee warned about that and called attention to the need for further raising the level of the ideological work of the Party organizations, displaying constant vigilance and readiness to repulse any intrigues of the aggressive, reactionary circles of imperialism and any hostile ideological subversions. Henceforth too the main thing in our ideological work should consist in educating Soviet people to be devoted builders of communism, loyal to the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The events of recent years in the international arena strikingly show that the Leninist policy of our Party is becoming an ever mightier and more effective factor of international life. We should note with tremendous gratification the solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist parties and mass social movements with the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state in implementing the Peace Program. This solidarity is one of the main well-springs of the successes of the peace policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government.

Comrades, today, seven decades after the Second Congress of the RSDLP, we can say with justified pride that the road covered by the Leninist Party is a road of truly great historic victories and accomplishments. The CPSU has successfully coped with tasks of world historic scope. It owes this to the fact that it has always been true to the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The creative development and implementation of this teaching, of the Leninist ideological, political and organizational principles, of the Leninist norms of Party life and Party leadership, and the indestructible unity of the Party and the people are a guarantee of our further successes.

The Soviet people are marching ahead to new victories of communism under the great banner of Leninism, under the leadership of the Leninist Party!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the great Party of Lenin!

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

POLITICAL RESOLUTION

**ADOPTED BY THE FIFTH CONGRESS* OF THE PARTIDO
KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS (PKP) ON FEBRUARY 10, 1973**

I. INTERNATIONAL SETTING

1. Radical changes in the world situation since the end of the Second World War have profoundly affected the conditions for political and economic developments in the Philippines. These changes are principally defined by the growing strength of the world socialist system, the upsurge of national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the consequent disintegration of colonialism, the increasing militancy of the working-class struggles in major capitalist countries, and the developments in inter-capitalist contradictions. All these changes have combined in turning the world relation of forces against imperialism.

A new era has emerged where the main currents of history move in support of the world revolutionary movement — an era of transition from capitalism to socialism. In the correct assessment of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "imperialism can neither regain its lost historical initiative nor reverse world development. The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces."

2. Despite the imperialist counter-offensive in all fronts—decades of ideological distortions, nuclear intimidation, armed provocations and all forms of subversion employed by the imperialist powers — the Soviet Union and other socialist states have grown in political, economic, and military capability. The world socialist system continues to win the hearts and minds of all peoples struggling for national freedom and social liberation in the Third World.

The nuclear strength of the Soviet Union which has put a stop to imperialist nuclear blackmail forced U.S. imperialism to move from "an era of confrontation to an era of negotiations." U.S. imperialism is compelled to abandon its Cold War dogmas and accept the socialist policy of peaceful coexistence as the governing principle in the relations of states with different social systems.

*The Congress was held in the conditions of illegality, on Luzon. It adopted a new Program and Rules, and a political resolution which is published here in abridged form—Ed.

Of historic importance is the trip of Nixon to Moscow where he signed treaties of arms limitations and of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union. At the time of grave crisis in the U.S. economy and wanting to exploit the China market as well as the differences in the socialist community, Nixon opened rapprochement with the People's Republic of China after two decades of anti-communist hostility. The formidable combination of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and the strength of socialist assistance rebuffed the imperialist policy of domination. The terms of settlement in Vietnam have been forced upon U.S. imperialism by the new balance of forces.

The Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is giving forceful impetus to the struggle for peace and international security in place of imperialist wars. This has ushered in major events which throw into bold relief the initiative of the world socialist system in shaping the entire course of world development. The European security conference, the arms limitation agreements, the normalization of relations between the German Democratic Republic and West Germany, the treaties of territorial stability in Europe, and the Vietnam settlement are opening prospects for accelerated socialist construction and creating new possibilities for a further anti-imperialist offensive that will have profound influence in the correlation of class forces the world over.

On the other hand, obstructing the advance of the world revolutionary movement are the destructive policies of the Mao Tse-tung leadership which are characterized by anti-Sovietism, petty-bourgeois revolutionism, and great-power chauvinism. The Maoist hostility toward the international Communist movement, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in particular, are of great value to imperialism and a crime to the world revolutionary movement. The support of the Maoist leadership to West Pakistan's massacre of the Bangladesh people and the apparent sadistic glee of the Maoists in sending greetings to the Numeiry reactionary leadership while the latter was engaged in the slaughter of Communist and working-class leaders in Sudan are demonstration enough of hypocrisy and demagoguery that spring from a shameless revisionism of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. The attempt of the Maoist leaders to impose "the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" on the national liberation movement has reaped so far the mass murder of more than 500,000 Communists and patriots in Indonesia. The treacherous theory propagated by the Maoists that the working class movement in the major capitalist countries has ceased to be revolutionary is being repudiated by the proletariat in Great Britain, U.S., France, Italy, and Japan.

3. Working-class struggles are exerting tremendous pressure for

radical democratic changes in the major capitalist countries. Trade union demands have broadened into concerted attacks against monopoly capital in France, against neo-fascism in Italy, against militarism and U.S. imperialism in Japan, and for democratization and peace in the United States.

The deepening crisis in the capitalist world is precipitating a new wave of attacks against trade union rights by reactionary forces, as working-class strike actions reach a new pitch and mobilize broader strata of working people. Creeping inflation and wage-freeze policies in developed capitalist countries are eroding away trade union gains and stirring up increased militant action on the part of the working people.

Ruling class resistance has to give way to trade union demands, particularly for higher wages. The resulting high level of wages — although nullified in real terms by inflation and taxation — cut down the competitive position of the major capitalist countries in the export market. Japan's monopoly capital is seriously affected by the high cost of labor, which is reducing Japan's delicate export advantage. This has given rise to the new policy of moving labor-intensive industries, such as textile, electronic components and small machinery, to the nearby developing countries like the Philippines. U.S. industries which are "plagued by industrial unrest" like the automotive industry, are also being transferred to developing countries where man-power is cheap.

4. At the end of the Second World War, the position of the United States in the capitalist camp was one of singular dominance and no imperialist policy could be effective without the initiative or support of the U.S. But by the end of the 1950s, West Germany and Japan fully recovered and joined the capitalist race for markets. The formation of the European Common Market in 1958 signalled the coming of "a new empire system" that would squeeze out U.S. exports from the European markets and from more than 40 other countries associated with the Common Market. By the middle of the 1960s, the trade war between Japan and the U.S. was already full-blown and in 1971 their growing contradiction began to appear in their scramble to capture the China market. Common Market countries are now seriously concerned with Japanese export penetration from developing countries where Japanese labor-intensive industries are based.

The U.S. is compelling Japan and the West European countries to absorb more U.S. exports. The imposition of import surcharges, dollar devaluation, and the high fever of protectionism in the U.S. have all the prospect of bringing inter-imperialist contradictions to a new intensity. The contraction of the spheres of exploitation and the impact of scientific and technological revolution on the uneven

development of world capitalism will even hasten the sharpening of inter-imperialist conflicts.

The world capitalist monetary system dominated by the dollar—which was founded in the years of unchallenged U.S. supremacy within the imperialist fold — has collapsed under the weight of U.S. military spending for aggressive wars, foreign assistance in support of reactionary puppet regimes, and extensive export of capital. When U.S. President Nixon tried to avert the worsening monetary crisis in 1971 by suspending the convertibility of dollar to gold, he smashed the very foundation of that system, together with the confidence in the dollar on the part of the other capitalist countries. The U.S. dollar will continue to float from crisis to crisis and, when it sinks inevitably, the world capitalist system will go down with it.

The growing inter-imperialist contradictions have significantly affected the correlation of forces within the imperialist camp itself. No longer could U.S. imperialism maintain its singular hegemony over the whole capitalist world. This is increasingly influencing the nature of imperialist relations with the developing countries. Special bilateral relations between one imperialist country and its former colony are being set aside to give way to neo-colonialism as a collective enterprise of the major capitalist powers. Thus as they pursue their neo-colonial policies, the imperialist powers have found a convenient way of patching up their contradictions in the shift from bilateral to international channels of "foreign aid" to developing countries, and in their increasing use of international front organizations, the most notorious of which are the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). This neo-colonial tactic is at the same time intended to avoid a sharp confrontation with militant patriotism and anti-imperialism in the former colonies.

In the context of the new balance of forces where the socialist states are the decisive factor in world development, the struggle within the imperialist camp for the redivision of markets is also a compelling force pushing the capitalist countries to seek broader grounds of economic relations with the socialist states. Until about the middle of the 1960s, the dominant policy-making interests in the U.S. were still stubbornly hanging on to the Cold War policy of trade restrictions and embargo against the socialist states, while the other capitalist countries were already carrying on substantial trade with the socialist community. No doubt the intense struggle for markets among the capitalist powers contributed greatly to the U.S. change of policy.

Inter-imperialist contradictions, complemented by the vigorous drive for peaceful coexistence by the socialist states led by the

Soviet Union, have produced the desired effect on the politico-military alliances of imperialism.

The military strength of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is being sapped by the socialist offensive for detente in Europe. The monetary-trade war between the U.S. and the Common Market countries is undermining the delicate unity in this aggressive military bloc.

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is virtually defunct. France has shunned participation without formal withdrawal. Pakistan, New Zealand, and Australia are phasing themselves out. SEATO's membership now is limited to the U.S. and its loyal puppet states, and their role is clearly that of an isolated gang of militarist aggressors in view of the radical political changes in Asia, particularly after the Vietnam settlement.

The flexibility of U.S. imperialism in responding to its own monetary-trade crisis, as well as the contraction of its sphere of exploitation resulting from inter-imperialist contradictions and the new balance of forces, is shown in its vigorous support of the offensive of U.S. multinational corporations whose concentrated drive to establish manufacturing strongholds abroad is expected to bring into the U.S. a broader flow of dollars to mitigate the balance-of-payments crisis. Through the expanded operations of its multinational corporations U.S. imperialism also hopes to integrate its interests with the national bourgeoisie of the new states, insure a closer guarding of the raw-material sources and markets it has cornered against its imperialist rivals, and penetrate more export markets from its foreign low-cost manufacturing base.

5. Of great historic significance is the upsurge of the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa which battered down the colonial empires of imperialism. In the 1960s the process of liberation accelerated with the decisive support of the socialist states. In this period alone, more than 40 colonies freed themselves from imperialist oppression and are now in the process of consolidating their economic independence, some taking the road of non-capitalist development.

This development dealt a powerful blow against imperialism and radically affected the terms of struggle between the peoples in the new states and the imperialist powers. The growth of the socialist community of states introduced a crucial factor in the balance of world forces; its active support enables the new states to resist imperialist aggression, overcome the colonial legacy of backwardness and consolidate their economic independence.

The new states have entered a new phase in their liberation movement, namely, the struggle for what Lenin called "economic liberation." It is the fundamental task of this stage to root out imperialist domination in the key sectors of social and economic

life by deep-going changes. As experienced by new states, the struggle for economic independence involves an intensive effort to break the stranglehold and interference of foreign monopoly capital. The truth of Lenin's teaching is being confirmed by the experience of new states, that national liberation can only be completed if it runs its course toward social liberation by attacking the roots of exploitation, feudal and capitalist.

In the context of the new relation of forces in which the socialist states play a decisive role, the Third World countries are presented with a clear choice in advancing their struggle for national liberation: to follow the capitalist path of development, or take the intermediate steps toward socialist development.

Deserving special mention are the developments in Chile where working-class unity under Communist-Socialist leadership has shattered another imperialist link in Latin America when the Popular Unity coalition emerged victorious in the electoral struggle in 1970, and removed the country from the sphere of imperialist exploitation. Chile's shining revolutionary example, together with the achievements of Cuba, has pushed the revolutionary process in Latin America into a new phase.

6. The collapse of colonialism did not end imperialist oppression and exploitation of the peoples in the former colonies. In order to continue exploiting them in the period of political independence, the imperialist powers have devised various methods of keeping the new states under economic, political, and military domination. These methods are called neo-colonialism. At various stages of the historic struggle between the world revolutionary forces and imperialism, neo-colonialism changes and develops. Indeed, it is the ability of imperialism to adapt itself to new conditions which explains its ability to prolong its existence.

The growth of the world socialist system and the resulting new balance of forces greatly influence the policies of imperialist powers toward their neo-colonies. Assuming more priority now is the serious concern of imperialist powers over the long-range future of the whole capitalist world in the face of sharpening class battles on a world scale. In this light, the general course of imperialist strategy in the Third World is to prevent the withdrawal of former colonies from the world capitalist system. To achieve this, it is the central task of neo-colonialism to enforce capitalist relations or accelerate capitalist construction in the new states under the influence of imperialist powers.

Thus it is the major concern of U.S. imperialism to give full support to the export of capital to developing countries as a vehicle for structuring them along private-enterprise capitalism. International and regional financial organizations of imperialism are pressuring the new states by financial blackmail to open their

economy to foreign monopoly capital and to grant it all the privileges it needs in the extraction of superprofits.

Imperialism cannot ignore the overwhelming demand in the former colonies to overcome economic backwardness, which the ruling classes also support for their own class interests. This demand in fact was the underlying reason for political independence, the frustration of which could always generate conditions of political instability. At the same time, the imperialist powers see their own interests in the struggle of the new states to do away with obstacles to economic progress. This entails the expansion of markets that comes with limited economic and social reforms. Reformism that ushers in the process of the implanting of capitalist relations is also necessary to imperialism to counteract the phase of national liberation struggle that seeks the revolutionary transformation of outmoded social relations as a prerequisite to genuine progress.

Thus, it is the orientation of neo-colonialism to do away with feudal or semi-feudal backwardness. This is in contrast to the approach of traditional colonialism which sought to preserve feudal relations. Accordingly, neo-colonialism abandons the well-known colonial set-up of relying on a feudal oligarchy or tribal nobility as its social base, and instead builds up, or forges ties with, the national bourgeoisie of the new states.

Limited as it may be, the inducement of capitalist relations in the neo-colonies will stimulate the expansion of productive forces on which the proletariat can grow. Imperialism is compelled by the new balance of forces to speed up the conditions for the emergence of its own grave-diggers.

The process of doing away with colonial structures in the former colonies as an obstacle to economic progress is irreversible. Powerful forces give new momentum to this main trend in the Third World. Socialist assistance to the developing countries is considerably increasing, with the object of breaking economic backwardness and freeing them from the stranglehold of foreign monopoly capital. The imperialist powers are on the counter-offensive with their own schemes of limited industrialization that will make the former colonies mere technological extensions of foreign monopoly capital. Inter-imperialist competition is pushing the frontiers of new markets not only for consumer goods but also for low-technology machines, as well as for used or second-hand equipment the imperialist powers are discarding as they accelerate replacement of industrial technology to keep themselves in international competition. The impact of the scientific and technological revolution on the capitalist industrial system, combined with such other factors, is giving rise to a new international division of labor in which the imperialist powers specialize in "research-and-development intensive, high skill and high technology dynamic industries," leaving to the developing

countries the "labor-intensive industries of relatively small optimum size."

There is no question that this policy of neo-colonial industrialization spells some amount of economic progress to the neo-colony. It provides additional employment, expands export of manufactured products, generates higher incomes, improves skills and in general raises the average level of economic progress. But since the whole scheme is to retain the neo-colony within the sphere of imperialist exploitation, neo-colonial industrialization means improved methods of extracting wealth of the new states. It means a more intensive exploitation of cheap labor-power by modern industrial technology.

In Southeast Asia, this imperialist controlled industrialization is taking shape as a form of collective neo-colonialism under the patronage primarily of U.S. and Japanese finance capital. The economies of the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, and Thailand are being integrated under the aegis of multinational corporations.

7. The great advance won by the world revolutionary forces against imperialism is not an occasion for complacency, nor for an illusion of final victory. It is a time for a fresh and more vigorous assertion of worldwide anti-imperialist unity and greater unity.

Aggression and reaction are in the core of imperialism. The new balance of forces limits the possibilities of imperialist aggression, but imperialism has become no less aggressive in essence.

The sharpening struggle between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction can awaken the most reactionary instincts of the imperialist powers. There is no ground for underestimating their capacity for wars, both global and limited. Even as U.S. imperialism is forced to accept the politico-military settlement in Vietnam, it is still waging genocidal wars in many parts of the world. It still maintains military bastions in Thailand, Taiwan, Japan, and the Philippines. In the Middle East, imperialism is using Israeli aggression as a spearhead to crush the revolutionary democratic regimes in the Arab region.

In a desperate bid to enforce its influence in the Third World, imperialism uses savage repression on Communist activities. It hangs on to its last ground of neo-colonialism by stirring up regional hatred, racial dissension, and religious enmity.

To make effective its rule by proxy as it withdraws its troops and military bases from its neo-colonies, it provides military and political support to fascist regimes and builds up resources for political repression.

By the weapon of reactionary nationalism and anti-communism, imperialism struggles to isolate the national liberation movement from the socialist states and the international working class.

Imperialism organizes ultra-Leftist groups and anarchist bands

to provoke Rightist terror. It splits revolutionary forces by systematic intrigues and blackmail, and propagates pseudo-revolutionary ideas. It breaks up anti-imperialist unity by exploiting petty-bourgeois revolutionism that thrives on subjectivist notions like Maoism.

8. To the world revolutionary forces the future belongs, with the defeat of imperialism and internal reaction. But victory can only be insured by the closer unity of the national liberation movement with world socialism and the international working class. The Philippines struggle forms part of a single worldwide revolutionary process.

The second section of the resolution gives an analysis of the consequences of colonialism and characterizes the neo-colonialist regime following the granting of "political independence" to the Philippines in 1946.

III. THE PRESENT NATIONAL SITUATION

A. Changing Socio-Economic Structure

1. The Philippines is a neo-colonial country of dynamic capitalist development. Its economy is in the main backward and deformed by colonial plunder. Its productive forces are largely underdeveloped. In the countryside, strong survivals of feudalism and other forms of the pre-capitalist mode of production still predominate.

Under the hegemony of finance capital, spearheaded by U.S. imperialism, the Philippines is vigorously being transformed from a predominantly feudal country into a modern capitalist economy. Today, it is experiencing a tremendously rapid pace of capitalist build-up through the instrumentality of the martial-law dictatorship. The country is fast becoming the manufacturing base of labor-intensive products of U.S. and Japanese monopoly companies. The country's economy is being closely integrated in the industrial system of world capitalism, particularly the industrial demands of U.S. and Japanese imperialism.

2. Foreign monopoly capital is the motive power of the country's capitalist transformation. Political, economic, and social developments initiated by the neo-colonial state-power revolve around the interests of foreign monopoly capital and some sectors of the big bourgeoisie it has absorbed. The financial resources of the country are mobilized according to loan agreements and development plans designed by U.S. and Japanese financiers, by West German state bankers and other West European investment firms, and by international financial organizations that represent the collective interest of giant multinational corporations. Massive capital resources are channeled toward the implementation of infrastructure projects of

the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. Agricultural production is revamped along capitalist lines to make it "cash-intensive" for the absorption of chemical products as well as implements and storage facilities manufactured by monopoly corporations. Land reform is made to serve as a means of systematizing the exploitation of peasant labor in raw-material and food processing for foreign trading and manufacturing firms. Food production is being enhanced with the specific imperialist motive of lowering the general wage level for labor-intensive manufacturing by foreign capital. Based on the policy formulated by the Ford Foundation and financed by the World Bank, the entire educational system is being revamped; it is being converted into a vocational school for training skills required by neo-colonial industrialization. The tariff and tax systems of the country are re-oriented in keeping with the new imperialist policy of making the Philippines a manufacturing and export base of low-labor-cost products. All obstacles to capital movement are being dismantled and a premium is placed on the pillage of the economy through free repatriation of superprofits by foreign monopoly capital. All devices of capital accumulation are being developed to the full to satisfy the capital requirements of multinational corporations from the local capital market. Imperialist finance capital has reduced local investment banks into fronts and government financial institutions into mere conduits. To lend legitimacy to the regime of foreign monopoly capital, a new "Constitution" has been "ratified" by means of unprecedented trickery and military intimidation.

3. In the Philippines, foreign investments have come in three stages. The first concentrated on the extractive and agricultural processing industries for export of raw materials and semi-processed agricultural products. This has given rise to the colonial pattern of trade and reinforced feudalism in the country. More than 70 per cent of the labor force had been tied to agricultural production, and the peasantry bore the heaviest burden of colonial exploitation defined principally by the cheap price of agricultural exports and the high price of essential commodity imports. Manufacturing was in reality limited to the processing of agricultural products, such as sugar production and processing of coconut oil and abaca fibers.

The second stage was import-substitution that came under the protection of export-import controls of the 1950s. It involved packaging and assembling operations and manufacturing of limited number of consumption goods to replace imported commodities in the domestic market. Although U.S. monopoly capital cornered the Philippines market under tariff protection, as against other foreign suppliers, import-substitution investment was of little success as it experienced the constraints of the predominantly feudal economy, particularly its limited market and its incapacity to generate suffi-

cient foreign exchange for industrial expansion and for repatriation of profits. The economic backwardness of the country wrought by colonial pillage now becomes an obstacle to the inherent demand for superprofits on the part of finance capital.

The third and present stage is the imperialist strategy of neo-colonial industrialization. This means the extensive and rapid transformation of the country into a production base of multinational corporations for the export of labor-intensive manufactured or semi-manufactured products, as distinguished from the export of primary products that characterized the first stage. This new industrialization policy is geared not to the domestic market but to the export market, at the lowest possible level of wages, making a country like the Philippines the sweatshop of the world capitalist system. Thus, instead of providing only raw materials and semi-processed agricultural products for the world capitalist market, as it was in the first stage of foreign investments, the Philippines economy, or specifically foreign monopoly capital in the Philippines, would also increasingly produce low-cost component products, textile, electronic and other technologically simple, labor-intensive manufactured goods, as well as processed food products for the major capitalist countries.

In agriculture, the new imperialist strategy entails the expansion of processing industries, and thus the reduction of land and labor resources devoted to rice and corn production so that these resources may be employed in a widely diversified agricultural production to provide a constantly adequate supply of materials for the processing industries, including vegetable and fruit canning, poultry and meat packing, and small-scale cottage industries. These industries will be adjuncts of multinational companies and will each concentrate on a particular complementary stage of the whole productive process.

The "policy of self-employment" announced by the martial-law dictatorship as part of its program of dispersal of industries, means the distribution of labor operations of monopoly companies to households. This is an implantation of adjunct manufacturing in Japan where each household works on separate parts of a television, radio, or other products, which are later assembled centrally by the same big corporations that also provide the capital to the households. It is a novel way of exploitation that partly explains "the economic miracle" of the Japanese economy, at the expense of the Japanese working people.

Land reform in the hands of foreign monopoly capital becomes a method of breaking up the land monopoly of the old landlord oligarchy to pave the way to the development of raw-material and food processing industries, as well as to small-scale adjunct manufacturing. The formation of cooperatives is seen as a coercive measure for compelling the peasants to pay the onerous purchase

price of their landholdings, and as a means of organizing the labor of Filipino peasants to suit the industrial requirements of the major capitalist countries.

4. The new export orientation to which the Philippine economy is directed by imperialist design is closely related to the regional division of labor that is shaping up in Southeast Asia. The mobilization of its resources is connected with the imperialist effort to achieve the political and economic integration of the Southeast Asian countries. Neighboring countries are being fashioned into complementary units, forming an integral part of the industrial structure of the major capitalist powers, particularly the U.S. and Japan. Neo-colonial industrialization is assuming a regional character and receiving the benefit of centralized planning in the high councils of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), the World Bank, and the ADB.

The regional integration that is unfolding in Southeast Asia is a scheme designed for the interests of multinational corporations. These international leeches hope to produce one or a few component products in each country, and the countries in the region together make up the entire network of their operations. This is exemplified by the complementation plan of Ford in the production of its "Asian car." The plan involves the setting up of plants in different countries of the region for the manufacture of different parts of the Asian car. Chrysler's scheme follows the same pattern. This is not limited to car manufacturing, for within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) negotiations are underway for a treaty framework that will govern regional complementation on such industries as home appliances, agricultural machinery, pharmaceuticals, chemicals and petrochemicals, and foodstuff processing. As adopted by the Philippine government the car complementation plan of Ford, Chrysler-Mitsubishi, and other monopoly corporations is known as the Progressive Car Manufacturing Program (PCMP).

The ASEAN had already approved the establishment of a Community of Central Banks and Monetary Authorities which will facilitate the formation of a regional payments union and a regional arrangement for a collective effort in development, finance and investment, banking and insurance, and export credit. Together with the creation of the Asian dollar, these developments place the ASEAN countries well on the way to a rudimentary Common Market under the domination of multinational corporations, particularly U.S. and Japanese.

With the integration of Southeast Asian countries, including the Philippines, multinational corporations hope to overcome the limited market of each country. The pooling of markets by the removal

of trade and investment barriers within the region will give adequate scope to large-scale manufacturing operations of giant foreign enterprises. Abundance of raw materials and cheap manpower in the region will enable them to produce low-cost manufactured goods with which they can penetrate other markets and undersell their competitors. The opening of the vast China market lends impetus to this Asian integration.

5. The imperialist strategy of neo-colonial industrialization alters the country's economic structure, opens the way to limited expansion of the productive forces, changes the form of exploitation of the masses, and realigns the position of social classes.

The economic relations represented by the Bell Trade and Laurel-Langley Agreements have to be discarded as an obstacle to the new pattern of relations not only with the U.S. but with the whole capitalist world as well. Export of primary products predominantly to the U.S. has to give way to export of low-cost manufactured products by multinational corporations to the widest possible market.

Without giving up its control over the key sectors of the Philippine economy, U.S. monopoly capital is conceding away its preferential rights in the exploitation of Philippine natural resources as a necessary condition to opening the economy to equal treatment of Japanese investors, West German financiers, and other imperialist interests. The increasing participation of other imperialist powers in the pillage of the Philippine economy entails the relative loosening of bilateral neo-colonial ties with the U.S. which is made to appear by pro-imperialist propagandists as a movement of absolute independence from U.S. imperialism.

Neo-colonial industrialization does not in any way reduce the dominance of U.S. imperialism. But U.S. imperialism now operates with the presence of Japanese imperialism as well as the increasing interests of West German, French, British, Belgian, and Dutch monopolies. The complex of inter-imperialist relationships, attended by unity and contradiction, will reflect on the interests and outlook of the various segments of the ruling classes. The dynamic growth of Japanese monopoly capital poses a serious problems to U.S. investments, but investment partnership may open the way to minimize the conflicts. At any rate, the Philippines is fast becoming a part of the arena of inter-imperialist contradictions.

6. Neo-colonial industrialization sets the trend toward the expansion of the country's productive forces, though controlled by the demands of imperialist interests. The introduction of technology will develop skills and the manufacturing operations of foreign monopoly capital will bring in producer goods that will absorb manpower from the unemployed masses and *sisantes* of the rural

areas. This sets the pace for the accelerated growth of the Filipino proletariat.

7. The rise of a strong bourgeois class is being assiduously promoted by pro-imperialist policy-makers, and petty-bourgeois mentality is fostered by various schemes of corporate shares dispersal for raising capital resources of monopoly corporations from the savings of employees and wage earners.

As the country is being transformed into a production base of multinational corporations, the national bourgeoisie is undergoing stratification. Foreign monopoly capital is setting up manufacturing enterprises in joint-venture with the Filipino big bourgeoisie. Thus the big bourgeoisie is being induced to align with foreign capital. In banking and finance, this interlocking is strong, but the result is that foreign capital is turning Philippine investment banks into a device for scooping up capital resources from the savings of Filipino working people and as a conduit for funneling these resources to selected investment projects designed in the interest of multinational corporations. In finance as well as in manufacturing, the elements of the Filipino big bourgeoisie who are in joint-venture with foreign monopoly capital have the status of junior partners, whose role within the framework of imperialist strategy is to provide political protection to foreign capital and raise capital resources from the local capital market. Filipino entrepreneurs face the choice of being ruined or of submitting themselves to the domination of foreign monopoly capital. The oppression of monopoly capital will steadily be felt by the entrepreneurs of the middle strata of the bourgeoisie as the allocation of scarce foreign exchange and credit resources increasingly favor foreign capital. The disposition of credit resources is generally determined by policies dictated by the loan and credit agreements with the World Bank and the IMF. The Central Bank, the Development Bank of the Philippines (DBP), and the Philippine National Bank (PNB) have been reduced to mere re-lending agencies of the AID, the Bank of Tokyo, the World Bank, and a consortium of U.S., Japanese, and West European banks, and the proceeds of loans from these sources are channeled to investment projects predetermined by these foreign financial monopolies. The major portion of the loanable funds of the Social Security System (SSS), the Government Service Insurance System (GSIS), and the Medicare Commission — accumulated forced savings of millions of Filipino employees, workers, and employers — are used up by enterprises controlled by foreign capital. The two biggest Philippine investment companies have virtually become the corporate shell of the World Bank group, the ADB, and a group of U.S., Japanese, and West European banks. The recent entry of the three biggest giants of world finance

capital — Bank of America, Chase Manhattan Investment Corporation, and First National City Bank of New York — into the Philippine investment banking and the local operations of the Private Investment Company of Asia (PICA), the Asia Pacific Capital Corporation and other multinational financial institutions will complete the financial subjugation of the Filipino bourgeoisie and insure the bondage of the Filipino people by a small group of foreign financial vultures.

B. From Feudal to Capitalist Agriculture

1. The shift in imperialist trade and investment policy advances the frontiers of capital in the rural areas and tears down the feudal obstacles along the way. The imposition of martial law set aside the decisive opposition of the landed oligarchy to the break-up of landlordism as a means of defusing the revolutionary potential of the peasantry and as a speedy measure for restructuring agriculture from a one-crop system to a diversified production for the processing of raw materials and food-stuffs required by the major capitalist countries. On the basis of the existing land reform law and AID plans, the martial-law government has ordered the transfer of lands to tenants in the form of family-sized farms of three or five hectares each. With the massive loan from the World Bank, the government hopes to transfer ownership of more than 1.3 million hectares of rice and corn lands to about 650,000 tenants. But it will take time before the land reform decree can be fully implemented. In the meantime, the contradiction between the peasants and the landlords is still the governing force of social relations in rice-producing areas.

The break-up of landed estates and the distribution of these to tenants on onerous terms is to be followed by the grouping of uneconomic land-holdings thus distributed into cooperatives or *samahang nayan* of which the tenant-landholders are compelled to be members. The cooperative is the production unit of processing industries financed by foreign monopoly capital and its joint-venture partners among the big bourgeoisie. At the direction of monopoly capital, the cooperatives will produce diversified agricultural products, raise poultry, hogs and livestock, or engage in dairy farming to meet the expanding requirements of processing industries. The spread of adjunct manufacturing among the peasant families that will find consolidation through the instrumentality of the *samahang nayan* will augment the money income of the rural households but will achieve the extensive penetration of capital in the countryside and the intensification of capitalist exploitation of peasant labor. The impoverished tenants are being turned into half-peasant and half-proletariat, making them closer to the objective

situation of the proletariat and thus more disposed to unity with the latter in the struggle for social emancipation. The rise of corporate farms and agricultural enterprises will generate conditions for their transformation into proletariat.

Since the tenants-turned petty-landholders are prohibited by the dictator's decree to transfer or sell their family-sized farms in any way except by hereditary succession, they are tied to the land in a new form of bondage. Heavily indebted to rural banks and the prosperous farmers at present, they are to be saddled with the burden of amortization payments of their small landholdings that may amount to P16,000 to P21,000, including interest, at the end of the amortization period of 15 years. The oppressive terms of "cash-intensive" agriculture make necessary increased credit resources which the peasants, or their *samahang nasyon*, must avail themselves of in order to survive. These credit resources are borrowed from the AID, the World Bank and groups of U.S., Japanese, and West European banks, and are then channeled for re-lending through the rural banks and government credit organizations. The old feudal exploiters of the peasantry are disappearing as landlords and re-emerging as rural bankers, financiers of private development banks, and manager-owners of agricultural enterprises.

2. The rise of *sisantes*, the landless rural semi-proletariat, has come to a more rapid pace in the last five years. This segment of the peasantry is now a bigger army than the tenants. Partly they will be employed by the emerging elite of the countryside composed of the upper and middle strata of the peasantry whose fortunes will be considerably improved by small-scale agricultural enterprises and processing industries, and some will drift to the urban centers to join the ranks of the proletariat. The break-up of feudal agriculture is releasing labor for the labor-intensive industries of foreign monopoly capital.

3. Increasingly more agricultural lands are being placed on capitalist production with the rise of corporate farms and lands under "labor administration." The 13 new sugar mills opened in the last four years have absorbed an additional 5,000 hectares for sugar production. The labor force in the sugarlands now exceeds 400,000, including the more than 36,000 *sacadas* or migrating workers. Production is also on a capitalist basis in the large rubber plantation of the Goodyear, Goodrich, and Firestone corporations. So is pineapple production in the vast plantations of Del Monte and Dole companies in Cotabato and Bukidnon. U.S.-Japanese capital has established banana plantations in Southern Mindanao, covering more than 15,000 hectares of land and supplying an estimated 50 per cent of the total banana requirements of Japan. The rise of capitalist agriculture and processing industries in Mindanao will be speeded up as the forces of foreign monopoly capital succeed

in exterminating the Muslim way of life as a resistance to rapid capitalist development.

C. *The Politics of Finance Imperialism*

1. As the class struggle on the world scale intensifies, the forces of imperialism show particular concern about the direction of the socio-economic development of the underdeveloped countries as a decisive factor that determines the future of the world capitalist system. Leading the drive to steer the Third World countries away from the socialist path of development, U.S. imperialism undertakes the vigorous implementation of its "strategy of economic development" in the Third World. This is merely a beguiling name for the policy of enforcing the development of capitalism in the underdeveloped countries. The main vehicle for achieving this is the acceleration of the export of capital, and it is here that foreign investments play a significant role in furthering the basic objective of U.S. imperialism. Hence, multinational corporations are the vanguard of imperialism, investing export of capital with the political mission of enforcing or building capitalist structures in the developing states while raking in super-profits in the process.

There is a discernible shift of emphasis in imperialist strategy in countering the growth of the national liberation movement, which is in close correlation with the necessity of enforcing capitalism in the underdeveloped regions of the world. Imperialist ideologues are pursuing the policy that "insurgency" in the Third World grows out of mass poverty, of economic and social backwardness, and the best way of dealing with "incidents of insurgency" is to institute social and economic reforms that necessarily come in the process of capitalist construction. This thinking predominates in the policies of the World Bank, which is now the most powerful international front of foreign monopoly capital. It is also appearing in SEATO's emphasis on economic and social programs.

Thus imperialism is under pressure from the national liberation movement to concede reforms as a condition for political stability to foreign investments, and to secure some amount of economic progress as a condition for its prolonged existence.

2. Viewed from the requirements of foreign monopoly capital, the Philippines is ill-prepared. Centuries of plunder by Spanish colonialism, decades of systematic exploitation by U.S. imperialism and an interval of Japanese fascism—all this has left formidable human and institutional obstacles to rapid capitalist construction required by the shift in imperialist policy.

Limited reforms to do away with such obstacles faced by foreign monopoly capital may take 200 years or more, in the estimate of pro-imperialist technocrats. The problem is compound-

ed by the fact that the reforms necessary for the future of capitalism in the country involve conflicting interests of the ruling classes, particularly those relating to land reform. The demands of foreign capital cannot wait that long.

In the Philippines, imperialism is seeing the rapid growth of political consciousness and the expansion of organized masses. The impotence of the neo-colonial state-power to deal with the basic social and economic problems of the people is strengthening mass support for a genuine alternative in a popular democratic government in the hands of a united front of all exploited classes and of all patriotic and democratic forces. Imperialism is racing against time, and its demands must be met by the neo-colonial state-power in the shortest time possible. By the imposition of martial law, foreign monopoly capital hopes to achieve this in the next five years or so.

Thus there are two complementary reasons for the imposition of martial law. The first is to suppress the growing political awareness of the masses and the second is to pave the way for a more accelerated capitalist development. This means that the role of the military-technocratic government in the Philippines is to eliminate all political risks to, and provide all economic opportunities for, foreign monopoly capital in the Philippines. Among these risks, foreign capital is demanding that the neo-colonial government must institute what the ADC study on *Southeast Asia's Economy in the 1970s* points out as "an intangible infrastructure," namely "peace and order," particularly political peace and order.

The implementation of the Nixon Doctrine provides also a pressing necessity for the imposition of martial law. This calls for the partial replacement of the covert presence of U.S. troops and military bases in the neo-colonies of U.S. imperialism with local fascism. The Nixon Doctrine recognizes U.S. foreign policy has been expensive in terms of dollars for the maintenance of U.S. troops and military bases in foreign countries, and expensive too in terms of American lives lost on Asian soil. All this is being changed. Under the Nixon Doctrine, imperialist policy is definitely less expensive, because Vietnamization, Koreanization, or Philipinization of the imperialist security system against the national liberation movement now entails the killing of Asians by Asians, of Filipinos by Filipinos.

In the Philippines, the main problem of the CIA and other imperialist manipulators was how to create the necessary condition for the rise of a dictatorial government to achieve the tactics of repression and reform. This culminated in the imposition of martial law.

The Nixon Doctrine underscores the major policy changes in the Philippines. It is expected that a comprehensive review of Philip-

pine-American relations in the light of the new balance of forces is forthcoming, particularly calculated to remove the more brazen political, military, and economic impositions by U.S. imperialism. Overtures for diplomatic relations with socialist countries and the subsequent opening of trade relations with them were initiated by the government. U.S., Japanese, and West European monopolies are competing to make the Philippines a third-country production base for their trade expansion to the China market.

Fearing the political advantages of diplomatic and trade relations with socialist countries, the local tentacles of U.S. imperialism began laying the ground for political repression. The imperialists and their allies among the Filipino big bourgeoisie would like to rake in for themselves all the economic benefits arising from such relations, but minimize or nullify the political gains of the people out of such a progressive step.

The uncertain status of U.S. investments in the country in view of the termination of the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement in 1974 was a pressing problem that U.S. monopoly capital wanted resolved without the intervention of the growing anti-imperialist forces. The new imperialist policy of foreign investments in the Philippines would require a firm guarantee in the constitutional framework of the country. Hence, the imposition of martial law is inseparably linked with the adoption of a new Constitution tailored to the demands of foreign monopoly capital, without the intervention of the politically organized masses.

3. The character of the neo-colonial state-power is even accentuated under the martial law dictatorship. Its role is to provide political security, centralized planning and capital accumulation to foreign monopoly capital and its partners among the big bourgeoisie. The activities of the state are being steered away from active involvement in industrial enterprises. The state is reduced to a mechanism by which foreign monopoly capital is guiding the development of the Philippine economy in conformity with the plans of the IMF, the World Bank, the ADB, and the AID. The elements of the "new society" are contained in the ADB's study entitled *Southeast Asia's Economy in the 1970s*, particularly the policies relating to the "green revolution," export-oriented labor-intensive manufacturing, wage structure, population control, and private foreign investments. The joint-venture form of foreign investments follows the prescription of the *Pearson Report* prepared on the initiative of the World Bank. The revamp of the entire monetary system was based on the study of the IMF. The development of the country's transport system, power potential, manpower training, and other forms of social overhead capital is determined by the ADB and World Bank surveys and loan agreements. The country's policies on land reform, cooperatives, national

police, and investment policies were formulated by the AID.

4. The reforms instituted by the military-technocratic government, particularly those relating to landownership of the peasantry and labor-intensive manufacturing, will produce some economic progress as well as unfounded hopes. For awhile they will blunt the edges of class contradictions and disorient the organized masses. But in due time the people themselves, as they advance from one gain to another in their own struggle, will find their true bearing toward national freedom and economic liberation from the dictatorship of foreign monopoly capital spearheaded by U.S. imperialism.

These reforms were instituted without the benefit of popular participation. Indeed, it is the reactionary character of the martial-law government that it is insuring the elimination of mass involvement in economic and political changes. While it gives boundless opportunities to foreign capital, it prohibits strikes, pickets, rallies, and other forms of mass action. Newspapers, radio and television are subject to military censorship. For the military-technocratic government is the iron claw of foreign monopoly capital. It is suppressing the opposition of the people against its objective of converting the country into an imperialist entrepot in the model of Hongkong, making the Filipino working masses the coolie of multinational corporations.

Hand in hand with the implementation of these reforms, imperialist forces are consolidating the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois elements in the hope of forming a political party for the parliamentary elections under the new Constitution. The dominant foreign wing of the Catholic Church is in the process of organizing an anti-communist socialist party.

5. Using the ultra-revolutionary phraseology of Maoist adventurism, the CIA forces — the subversive agents of multi-national corporations — sponsored counter-revolutionary and anarchist groups to break up the unity of the anti-imperialist movement. Riding on the Maoist "communist" vehicle, imperialist forces fomented an anti-communist hysteria by drumming up the imminent threat of a "communist" seizure of state power by way of deliberately generating the conditions for the imposition of martial law. In the making of the present crisis, Maoist subjectivism complements imperialist barbarism.

The conditions of struggle for national freedom and social liberation of the Filipino people from the stranglehold of foreign monopoly capital have been extremely difficult. Taking advantage of the balance of forces in their favor and the underdeveloped revolutionary mood of the masses, the forces of imperialism and reaction have struck with impunity. As it goes through the present crisis, marked by the victory of the reactionary forces, the PKP is

faced with even greater sacrifices. But the struggle must continue. Our cause is just because we are fighting for the national independence and economic liberation of the Filipino people, for the freedom and future of the working masses. The people will prevail.

In the present crisis, the PKP's task is to preserve and strengthen its ranks, and forge close links with the masses. It must combat terrorism that isolates the Party from the people and must condemn opportunism that seeks unprincipled conciliation with the forces of reaction. The PKP cannot be dragged into a left adventurist policy by infantile revolutionary phrase-mongering. At this time, there is no substitute for clarifying the causes of the crisis, for learning well the lessons it can teach with a self-critical outlook, and for determining the immediate tasks of the struggle.

Today, we begin to work with the masses to prepare them for the next step in the revolution.

The Fifth Congress Partido Komunista NG Filipinas
Central Luzon, February 10, 1973.

THE ALL-CYPRIOT AKEL CONFERENCE

The All-Cypriot AKEL Conference attended by almost 1,000 delegates was held in Nicosia June 10 to discuss the Party's organizational tasks.

The conference was opened by AKEL Secretary on organizational problems Dinos Konstandinu, and AKEL General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou reported to the delegates. After the debates the conference unanimously adopted a political resolution and a resolution on organizational matters.

Below we publish excerpts from E. Papaioannou's report.

We have gathered here today in conditions of serious political events on the world arena and at home. It is our intention to arrive at a correct appraisal of these events in order to outline the concrete tasks facing us.

The climate of détente and the spirit of cooperation are spreading on a world scale. Serious blows have been dealt to the supporters of "cold" and "hot" wars, and although they have not yet laid down their arms, they have much less chance to revive and continue their policy.

The initiative in ensuring a relaxation of world tensions, cooperation, peace and security is firmly in the hands of the world's progressive and democratic forces, first of all the Soviet Union.

The existing state of war in the Middle East is fraught with dan-

ger of a new explosion whose consequences for the entire world are difficult to foretell. There is an urgent need for a peaceful solution on the basis of the Security Council resolutions. The Zionist aggressors and their accomplices in the imperialist camp must be pressured to make them abandon their defiant recalcitrance and comply with the insistent demand of world public opinion and the Security Council decisions. The Zionists, who are pursuing their imperialist predatory designs, must not be allowed to strike a blow at peace and international détente . . .

FOR A GENUINE DEMOCRACY IN GREECE

Serious events are taking place in Greece. The people, who have brought so many sacrifices to the altar of freedom and democracy, continue to fight persistently for a life in conditions of democracy, for the right to be the true masters of their home and to shape their future themselves.

The monarchy bears the most serious responsibility for the April 21, 1967 coup. Now, the colonels have abolished the monarchy, proclaiming Greece a "presidential parliamentary republic." The emergency measures instituted by the dictatorship remain in force, however; only promises have been made to hold a referendum within two months and parliamentary elections before the end of 1974. But what sort of elections will they be if the parties are banned and the emergency situation continues? The military regime is maneuvering in order to survive and avoid the isolation to which the people of Greece have condemned it.

We harbor no illusions concerning the true intentions of the military regime. Neither a monarchy nor a military regime will bring democracy to Greece. It is the unconquered, democratic people and their organizations who will bring democracy to Greece. We believe in the people of Greece and their strength, we do not doubt that the united and persistent struggle of the Greek people will restore democracy to Greece, a genuine democracy worthy of the fine people of Greece and their struggle.

Just as the people of Greece expressed their solidarity with the liberation struggle of the people of Cyprus, so we, too, express our solidarity with the struggle of the people of Greece for the early restoration of all the democratic institutions.

THE IMPERIALIST PLOT AGAINST CYPRUS

NATO circles, advocates of the cold war headed by NATO Secretary General Luns, have already revealed their plans in relation to Cyprus. They want the country to become a NATO bridgehead

against the progressive Arab countries ensuring deliveries of Middle East oil.

The imperialist plot against Cyprus dates back to 1963. In the past decade there have been many imperialist plans for the division of Cyprus and involving it in NATO. All these plans, however, have met with the indomitable will and emphatic "no" of the people of Cyprus, with President Makarios as their spokesman.

AKEL has always been the standard-bearer of patriotic unity and the people's struggle to foil the imperialist plans. Our Party has always, without deviations or hesitations, devoted all its energy and continues to do so to achieve popular unity in order to ensure decisive and effective opposition to any intrigues aimed at the division of Cyprus.

Thanks to the rallying of the internal front around President Makarios, thanks to the energetic resistance of the people of Cyprus, international support and solidarity, primarily the vigorous support of the Soviet Union, Cyprus has been saved from the nightmare of division and imperialist bondage.

The imperialists, however, have turned to new methods of subverting from within and splitting the home front of popular resistance by exploiting existing political and other differences.

It was precisely Luns and none other, who, approximately a year ago, brazenly interfered in the internal affairs of Cyprus by attacking President Makarios and praising the role played by the three bishops. Thus, the hidden became obvious and so has the NATO plot behind the backs of the three bishops, who disregarded the will of the people of Cyprus and came forward with their notorious provocative and unlawful decisions.

CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES

At the same time the Grivas clandestine armed groups launched their operations against the Cyprus state and the republic's elected President. Their so-called "victories" to-date are: tens of thousands of pounds in damage to the Cypriot state as a result of explosions and looting; the murder of two young men, fathers of large families; and serious harm to the tourist industry in Cyprus.

By virtue of the growing resistance of the people and the alertness of the state security services, these cloak-and-dagger knights were compelled to end their operations against Cyprus.

But not entirely. The walls of houses, schools, churches and government offices are besmirched with insulting and threatening slogans and other abominable inscriptions—a disgrace to our culture and demeaning for us in the eyes of foreigners. It is high time that

local and government authorities should order the immediate removal of this scribbling.

The knights of the cloak and dagger became active again in connection with the elections in the Diocese of Paphos. They threw bombs and organized other disturbances in a desperate attempt to foil the elections. But once more they suffered crushing failure.

The results of the episcopal election in Paphos are a significant victory for the patriotic forces aspiring to peace and order and democratic rule of law. The patriotic population of the Paphos Diocese, and all Cypriots, support Archbishop Makarios, our President, in his efforts to improve the climate in the Church and end the dissident activity of the three bishops who are fanning internal strife.

So long as there are underground armed forces and open encouragement of armed criminal activity, there will be a danger of bloodshed.

We approve of the government measures fortifying the police and forming reserve police units. But these units must be strong enough to maintain law and order. The people are sure to render the lawful government peace preservation agencies performing their duty under oath every possible aid and support in breaking up the underground armed groups, turning their arms over to the government and establishing a rule of law, democratic order and peace.

But the state security agencies should also be purged of all elements enlisted in the underground anti-government armed groups or giving them active support. The government has begun to dismiss these elements, and must complete the process. The people want to feel the existence of state security organs whom they can trust to maintain public safety. Rule of law and democratic order will not be restored until there is a security service truly loyal to Cyprus and applying the laws of the Republic impartially.

AKEL has always been a factor of political stability, order and democratic rule of law. It has given all its strength to the fight for the salvation of Cyprus and nothing will alter its consistent policy in this respect.

Despite malicious slander and enemy attacks, AKEL will carry on as the standard-bearer of patriotic unity, staunch champion of the people's interests and fighter for peaceful democratic development towards a truly free, democratic and prosperous Cyprus.

THE AKEL PROGRAM

Some ten years ago our Party framed a program for the country's economic development and the democratization of the Constitution. This program has been a compass not only for the Party, but also for large sections of the people.

Much of this program has been put into effect through the government's five-year development plan. For this reason, in connection with the 13th All-Cypriot Congress of our Party in the spring of 1974, the Party will revise its Program and bring it abreast of the present situation and the new conditions. The Party's Program will face the future, defining the long-term perspective concerning all the vital problems of the Cypriot people.

A more just distribution and redistribution of the national income is one of the most burning issues to be handled in the Party Program and at the coming Congress.

It is difficult to accept a situation where various enterprises pocket enormous profits while there are hundreds of families, chiefly in the rural areas, whose incomes amount to barely £200 annually. The housing problem is another blight for thousands of families.

The drought—said to be the worst in the history of Cyprus—has created tremendous problems for our agriculture and the country's economy as a whole. Having decided to compensate their losses to part of the farmers, the government proved itself grown to its responsibilities. But the drought created many other urgent problems which it must deal with without delay.

It is not my purpose to examine all the main economic problems of the country; this will be done at the coming All-Cypriot Congress of our Party.

SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS QUESTION

The aim of the continuing broad inter-communal negotiations in Cyprus is to resolve the Cyprus question on the basis of a single, sovereign, territorially united and independent state. The Cypriot Government and the overwhelming majority of the population agree with this line of resolving the Cyprus question.

There is an insignificant minority that insists on immediate "enosis" (union) with Greece. I doubt that those who favor this line really believe that their aims are attainable in the present conditions.

There are differences, and no one can foretell how much time it will take for the negotiations to succeed. But it is a thousand times better to negotiate and to try and find common ground for mutual understanding than to attack each other and widen the abyss between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots.

But there are grounds to hope for agreement. For this it will be sufficient to restore confidence, a spirit of goodwill, and the conviction that the Cypriot state can be united, unitarian and indivi-

sible, a state in which all Cypriots will have fully guaranteed equal rights.

We are firmly convinced that the majority of the Turkish Cypriots are aware of the necessity for close cooperation with the Greek Cypriots. The majority of the Turkish Cypriots are aware that we can and must live together in our country, and cooperate in building a peaceful, happy and joyous life. It is necessary to forget the past and look with faith and confidence to the future. Those who cling to the old outlook, to the line of division, cannot be of any service to their community.

We call on our compatriots, the Turkish Cypriots, to help overcome the extreme postures that lead to division, to approach the problems that are being discussed at the inter-communal negotiations from a positive and realistic standpoint, in a spirit of goodwill. The reward for a democratic and just solution of these problems will be a united and prosperous Cyprus providing a high standard of living and a high cultural level for its children.

THE ROLE OF AKEL

Our Party has always played, and continues to play, an important role in the country's political life.

Our Party is a party of principle. Its credo is social justice, elimination of exploitation of man by man, and a socialist society. This is its subsequent goal. In the present stage our Party, together with the vast majority of the people, is fighting to secure full freedom, liberation from any imperialist presence and from dependence, for salvation from the danger of a civil war and division, for a peaceful, democratic and just solution of the Cyprus question.

Our Party is a factor of political stability, democratic law and order. The working people of Cyprus need their party as every man needs pure air to breathe.

Anti-communist inkslingers portray our Party as a "danger." But the facts have shown convincingly that the danger—mortal danger—to Cyprus comes from the murderous plotters who tried to assassinate President Makarios. The imperialists, too, are a danger to Cyprus. And so are the underground armed groups operating against the people and the state.

AKEL uses absolutely democratic methods in its work. This is one of the fundamental principles of its Program. AKEL has existed for 50 years, serving the Cypriot people and its struggle. We are proud of this, but certainly steer clear of smug complacency. We want to serve our people still better and still more thoroughly. We want to build AKEL into a still more powerful instrument in the hands of the people.

This is precisely why we are discussing our organizational problems and shortcomings today. This is why we shall examine our work self-critically, and shall work out measures and pass decisions for an all-round improvement of our organizational work and for bringing our organizational policy abreast of the political requirements and the struggle of our people.

A MASS PARTY

What kind of a party do we need? We need a mass party, but a mobile, active, militant, closely united, disciplined and politically trained party fully aware of the problems of the people and the popular struggle. We need a party that has roots wherever our people live and work. We need a party capable of mobilizing the people rapidly to tackle vital problems and to fight for the salvation of Cyprus.

In substance, we have such a party. But there are weaknesses, and we shall speak of them in order to find the best ways of eliminating them.

Some comrades think there is a contradiction between our wanting a mass party and our other wishes for a mobile, active, internally united and ideologically and politically trained party. But there is no such contradiction. There is no guarantee that a numerically small party will be necessarily more mobile, active and closely united. Besides, we already have party groups of 5-10 people. Do they perform their party duties more effectively than those other groups which consist of 15-20 people? The facts show that this is not so.

A mass party does not mean that it must be weak and flabby. On the contrary, the more massive the party is, the closer will be its links with the masses, and the greater its ability to mobilize the masses and achieve the aims for which the people are fighting.

In sum, we have to look for the causes of the Party's weaknesses and shortcomings elsewhere, and not in its being a mass party. The causes are subjective. They must be traced to our organizational weaknesses exhaustively set forth in the document available to each delegate and discussed by all our Party organizations and groups.

THE BASIS OF THE PARTY

The Party group is the basis of our Party. All members and all functionaries of the Party, without a single exception, belong to a Party group.

"The main problem facing our Party," says the document we are discussing here, "is the inefficient work of many groups, organ-

izational weakness and lack of the minimum Party discipline. This may be seen from the poor attendance at meetings, sometimes lower than 50 per cent of the membership, as a result of which we have a large number of 'sleeping members.' Most of those who have drifted away fail to meet the Party's basic requirements—attendance at group meetings, payment of dues and participation in fund collections launched by the Party. There are also members who do not regularly read the Party press. This is a very grave organizational and political point which the conference on organizational matters must look into."

Certainly, there are objective reasons for this situation in the Party groups, and one of these is the specific conditions of the present stage of the national-liberation struggle, which witnesses a decline in the class struggle.

But there are also weaknesses of a subjective nature which we must deal with in all earnest and with the utmost attention. The subjective factor is the regulating factor, the decisive one, and we must therefore examine the effects of this factor most thoroughly.

It depends mainly on the secretary of the Party group whether it works well or badly. We have found beyond the shadow of a doubt that the best results are achieved by groups that have a really active and capable secretary, one who prepares the work of the group together with the other members of its bureau and has close contact with the members of the group, marshalling them for work.

To prepare a group meeting the secretary must, firstly, examine the question or questions to be raised at the meeting together with the other members of the bureau. The agenda should not be top-heavy. As a rule, there should be one main item, and possibly a second, less important item. These items should vary in accordance with the interests and problems of the district or enterprise where the group operates.

The members of the group should be notified—but not through any third person—about the question that is to be examined at the meeting, so that they should come prepared to participate in the discussion. Personal contacts with members of the group are of the utmost significance. The report of the secretary or some other leader of the group must be thoroughly prepared.

The group meetings should be lively, well organized and the atmosphere should be one of goodwill. The meetings must not be dragged out. We want the group members to leave the meetings with a sense of enthusiasm and optimism, not tired and disappointed. We do not need quarrelsome arguments and nihilism. What we need is creative criticism and self-criticism of our deficiencies and shortcomings in order to make our work more effective.

At each group meeting there should be someone responsible for collecting membership dues, and someone else selling pamphlets and other Party publications.

It is better to have fewer meetings, and they must be well prepared and yield good results. They must not be perfunctory, with little or no effect. Comrades, the normal functioning of a group, regular contacts between the secretary and the members of the bureau and members of the group will stem the outflow from the Party and promote its stable numerical growth. The outflow of members is due mainly to shortcomings in the work of the Party groups. If our Party groups are to succeed in admitting new members, help them understand the important role played by our Party, impress on them that they can enhance the Party's role by their work, if we instil in them our ideological beliefs, faith in the working class and the people, if we maintain constant contact with them, then we can be sure that these new members will remain and will perform their Party duty better and better.

The other point we should look into if we want to reactivate the passive members and help them remain in the Party, is the human approach.

A Party member, like all people, is human, and has human weaknesses. His looser ties with the Party, his drifting away from it, is precisely one such weakness. Most of those who have drifted away, or are passive members, have some economic, family or other problems, which contribute to their parting with the Party by reason of the efforts they concentrate on solving their problems. By showing an interest in their problems and discussing these problems in a friendly way, we might help find the right solution, and these members will feel that the Party is standing by them.

We should never follow the line of least resistance and expel people who have drifted away. We must meet them, and more than once, and discuss their relationship with the Party. They must be helped to understand that drifting away from the Party will not help them solve their problems, and is only likely to aggravate them. Not until we have exhausted all ways and means of convincing them, and not until they refuse to take back their membership card or commit some serious offence punishable by expulsion, have we the right to expel them.

Comrades, the document you have before you speaks of major shortcomings in women's Party groups. Many of them do not hold meetings. This is a very serious question, since women account for more than one-third of the Cyprus work force and constitute the majority of the population. Thus, there are great possibilities for drawing women into the Party. We must resolutely reject any underestimation of the role of women and take the necessary

organizational measures to ensure the normal functioning of women's Party groups and to create new ones wherever possible.

We should give much attention to the youth and draw it into the Party. The youth is the future, those who will take over from the older generation and carry on to the end. We are happy that today young people live incomparably better than we of the older generation lived. But we must help them understand that this better life was made possible by the older generation's struggle, by the struggle of trade union organizations and our Party, the party of the working class.

Some progress has been registered in work among white-collar workers and intellectuals, but this is no cause for self-content as there still exist major unused opportunities.

There are opportunities for the Party's growth in all cities without exception, and city committees should concentrate on this.

District committees have improved their work and carried out the main tasks set by Politbureau and CC decisions. The district leaderships are a key factor in the Party's life and activities. That is why their nomination and election should be carried out with the greatest care to ensure that all district committee members are capable and active people devoted to the Party.

The document emphasizes the role of Party members active in mass organizations. AKEL members should be the most active organizers of the working people in trade union and other mass organizations. Drawing unorganized workers into the unions is one of our main tasks, for only through the trade unions is it possible to raise and resolve questions arising at the place of work.

All Party organizations — national, district, industrial and professional — play a decisive role in raising and resolving problems concerning the working people with the help of their trade union organizations. This is confirmed by the experience of Party organizations where they are active. That is why more attention should be given to them, and our work within mass organizations should be improved.

THE BRITISH BRANCH

On September 28, 1972, our Party set up its British branch, which now numbers several hundred members. The decision to set up the branch was adopted by the Politbureau and CC after repeated requests by our Cypriot comrades. Life has proved the correctness of this decision.

The AKEL branch in Great Britain has the objective of promoting action on problems of Cyprus and the Cyprus community. It has brought together a great number of formerly isolated Party members. It is planned to enlist 771 members in AKEL by September 1973, when the branch's first conference is to be held; the circula-

tion of the newspapers *Charagvi* is being planned accordingly.

The British AKEL branch is represented at this conference by three delegates. We hope this will help strengthen the branch's ties with our Party's organizational and political work in Cyprus.

The British branch has a very important role to play, for we should not forget that there are some 80,000 Cypriots living in Great Britain.

EDUCATIONAL AND PROPAGANDA WORK

Educational and propaganda work is an important aspect of Party activities. I do not wish to repeat what the document says. It cannot be said that work among Party members and activists has reached its peak or that all possibilities for stepping it up have been exhausted.

Our Party's enemies, from the extreme reactionary Right to ultra-Left Trotskyites and opportunists, from professional anti-Communists to renegades and Party expellees, are doing their worst to slander the Party and its leadership. They resort to the most incredible lies and slander, using the most incredible falsehoods.

We are not surprised by the war against us nor by the way it is being waged. It is not this that should worry us. But there are credulous people, especially among the youth, who do not know people or the state of affairs. Our propaganda work should provide truthful information, it should expose lies and slander. It should give a crushing rebuff to anti-communism, tear away its demagogic accoutrements and show it up for what it really is. Class hatred and defense of the capitalist principle of the exploitation of man by man are the alpha and omega of the ideological credo of the heralds of anti-communism.

There have been attempts, daily continued, to represent our Party as non-revolutionary and its leaders as cowards and self-seekers for not allowing themselves to be drawn into armed adventures. At the same time, these very same circles or those akin to them have tried and continue to try to represent our Party as menace No. 1, as a party ready to take over the power, against which all means are permitted.

AKEL, however, is neither a party of adventurers nor a party of plotters. It is a politically mature party of the working class of Cyprus, a political force which places the people's interests above all else and believes that the best way to meet them is by using absolutely democratic, peaceful means.

Not all is gold that glitters. According to Leninist 'dialectics, Leftist ultra-revolutionism is in no way different from Right oppor-

tunism, for once beginning to draw a circle to the left one winds up on the right.

No, AKEL is not a party of Left or Right deviations. It is a party of the working class possessing a truly correct strategy and tactics based on the conditions of the national-liberation struggle. Imagine for a moment what would happen if AKEL ventured on cloak-and-dagger tactics in its struggle. Cyprus would have been in ruins today and imperialism would have dominated in our country.

The ideological front has many forms, which is why theoretical and political training is so essential for our Party. Marxism is not a dogma, it is a science. It is the science of sciences. If it fails to take into account the specific conditions of each country, it can be distorted or, at best, deteriorate into useless imitation. Marxism is a living doctrine that develops with the development of society. Every one must march in step with this development, and if this is true of the leading theoreticians of Marxism-Leninism, it is doubly true of us who lack the high standards of theoretical knowledge. We must study and study this science again — at schools, seminars, on our own. We have many books and magazines at our disposal.

Our daily *Charagvi* plays a very important role in our propaganda work. It is a paper of the workers, a paper of the people. That is why we must do everything to bring it into every home, to every working man or woman, to every workbench.

INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY

Another question I wanted to take up is inner-party democracy. Our Party is the most democratic of all the parties in our country. Not in words but in deeds. Firstly, all members without exception enjoy equal rights within it. They are laid down by the Party Rules. Every Party member and activist is entitled to freely express his view at party meetings on any subject, to express judgment concerning any action by the leadership or any member of that leadership, to exercise control over the work of the Party and shape its policy. No Party member is hounded for daring to have an opinion of his own, which he can express freely at meetings of his Party branch. More, the leadership is hard put if Party members fail to voice their views and it encourages them to state them out loud.

Before a Party decision is adopted members are fully entitled to put forth their views in the Party in an organized way, not through factional infighting. But from the moment when, after due detailed discussion, the Party adopts a decision on any question, all Party bodies, all Party members, from the General Secretary to

the rank-and-file, are governed by that decision and must work to put it into effect.

All the Party's leading bodies up to the very top are elected by the Party membership and are answerable to them and to our Party's supreme body, the Party congress.

This is what democratic centralism means. It means real democracy, not anarchy. I stress this, because the theory of liberalism voiced by some people is absolutely alien to our Party and its principles. If we embraced this theory, it would mean the gradual but no less certain disintegration of our Party. According to that theory, even after a Party decision is adopted members are free to express opposite views, and not only inside the Party, but outside it as well. If we accept this "theory of democracy" we would turn our Party into a debating club or, at the very least, an anarchist party. Some — fortunately, they can be listed on one's fingers — would like to have the privilege to express their views after decisions are taken, however and wherever they care to; they object when it is pointed out that that is, in effect, a privilege not enjoyed by other members or activists. While seeking such impermissible privileges for themselves, if the Party, a district leadership or activist denounces their views they protest and declare that there is no democracy. They are strange, very strange democrats. They like to denounce everyone whenever they feel so inclined going against decisions taken by meetings and other Party bodies. But when they themselves are denounced for their views they deny other Party members and activists the right.

Our enemies envy the unity and cohesion of our Party and its leadership. What is the secret of this enviable unity? It is the principle of democratic centralism, the principle of collective leadership. From 1959 up to the present moment there has not been a single Party decision, on any question, big or small, which was not the outcome of collective discussion and agreement. This is the secret of the unity and cohesion of the Party and its leadership. Our Party will implement and defend these invincible democratic organizational principles as the apple of its eye, for they protect it from the attacks of its enemies. No one can disrupt the Party's unity, because it is based on ideological and organizational principles steadfastly implemented by a responsible Party leadership.

PARTY VIGILANCE

Party vigilance is an important aspect of our work. Vigilance is the concern, not only of the comrades especially responsible for it, but of all Party members and activists. What do we mean by Party vigilance? Simply that we must have eyes and ears to note any suspicious action against the Party and the people, that we

must immediately draw the attention of the corresponding Party bodies to these suspicious actions so that the leadership may, in turn, take all necessary measures to protect the Party and the people. Vigilance should be maintained in every direction. To ignore or underestimate this important aspect of our work can cause the Party great, possibly even irreparable, damage.

CADRES

The cadres problem is correctly called a "problem of problems." There is not a document or decision of Party bodies, central, district or local, which would fail to emphasize that shortcomings and omissions were due primarily to the shortage of cadres. This does not mean that the Party has not been promoting new workers. We all know that it has scores and hundreds of capable, active functionaries.

The problem is that we do not have enough activists to meet the steadily growing requirements of the Party and the movement as a whole. We need workers for the lower, middle and upper echelons, activists for work in Party groups, village, mixed and district committees, in city committees, province bureaus and committees, for work in the Party's central apparatus. We need educated, capable and devoted people, to fill the vacancies in various departments of our Central Committee.

But such people do not sprout like mushrooms. They are not turned out by schools or colleges. Serious, persistent work in this field begins in the primary Party branch and is combined with the Party's political and organizational work. Party functionaries are tested and put forward by the struggle our Party wages at the head of the working people. They pass through the crucible of day-to-day work, criticism and self-criticism. They pass through the university of the working-class party in which the study term has no end. That is why the problem of promoting cadres is a difficult one requiring much time and many other things.

Our Party is also faced with the problems of cadres because in addition to the inevitable operation of the law of natural depletion, there are the constantly growing needs of the Party.

What should our policy be in order to provide the best possible solution for this problem?

Firstly, we should single out the most active Party members and give them specific assignments.

Secondly, it is necessary to maintain a correct balance between old and new workers. The new worker gains from the older his battle experience and at the same time prepares to replace him.

Thirdly, we should help new workers to acquire all the ideological and political knowledge they will need for their work.

Fourthly, every new worker should be given assignments boldly, but at the same time with caution, so that he will have the opportunity of showing his initiative and enthusiasm, but without bending under the weight of his assignment.

Fifthly, we must create a favorable, comradely atmosphere to give our new workers the opportunities to display their abilities.

We need Party functionaries devoted to the Party and the working class. We need fighters inspired by the lofty ideals of socialism and communism. We need educated men and women ready to assume the duties of a full-time party functionary.

Comrades, we must value our cadres, value that bulwark of the Party which toils day and night, giving all their strength to the Party, regardless of health and life. Allow me to avail myself of the opportunity to express from the conference rostrum our high appreciation of all the true, devoted, indefatigable workers of our Party. We owe all our achievements to them. Let us surround them with even greater love and concern, let us help them do their work still more efficiently.

Comrades, at the very beginning of my report I mentioned the climate of international détente that has developed in the world. This climate helps us in resolving the Cyprus question by peaceful means, at the negotiations table.

Our country is only a tiny point on the map of the world. But it is an important strategic point. That is why the imperialists stubbornly want to capture and use it as an unsinkable aircraft and missile carrier. Life may be preparing new trials for us, but the imperialists cannot impose their will on us, because we are not alone, because with us is the unconquered people of Greece. With us are all the freedom-loving forces of the world. With us is the camp of unaligned nations and the mighty socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. The Mediterranean is no longer the sea of the American Sixth Fleet, it is also the sea of the mighty Soviet fleet, a guarantee against any foreign intervention.

We must hold the fortress called Cyprus, and we shall hold it regardless of any sacrifices we may be called upon to make. The victory will go to us, to Cyprus, to the Cypriot people.

Long live the united resistance and struggle of our people under President Makarios! Long live AKEL!

DRV PARTY AND DELEGATION VISITS THE USSR*

On July 10, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Government of the USSR gave a luncheon in the Grand Kremlin Palace in honor of the delegation of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, headed by Le Duan, First Secretary of the WPPV Central Committee, and Pham Van Dong, member of the Political Bureau of the WPPV Central Committee and Prime Minister of the DRV Government.

The luncheon was attended by the members of the DRV Party and Government delegation and other Vietnamese comrades. Dang Quang Minh, Ambassador of the Republic of South Vietnam in the USSR, was also present.

On the Soviet side the luncheon was attended by Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, A. A. Grechko, V. V. Grishin, A. A. Gromyko, A. N. Kosygin, F. D. Kulakov, K. T. Mazurov, A. J. Pelshe, N. V. Podgorny, M. A. Suslov, P. N. Demichev, B. N. Ponomarev, D. F. Ustinov, V. I. Dolgikh, I. V. Kapitonov, K. F. Katushev, as well as the Vice-Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Chairmen of the Chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Ministers of the USSR; department heads of the CPSU Central Committee, top-ranking officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and other officials.

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed those present.

SPEECH BY COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV

Esteemed Comrade Le Duan,
Esteemed Comrade Pham Van Dong,
Dear friends,

On behalf of our Communist Party, on behalf of the entire Soviet people we welcome through you the heroic Vietnamese people with whom the Soviet people are linked by long-standing and durable bonds of unbreakable friendship.

We welcome the Working People's Party of Vietnam founded by the outstanding Marxist-Leninist Ho Chi Minh, the Party which has carried out profound revolutionary changes and in the grim years of imperialist aggression aroused the entire people to the struggle for independence and has carried with honor the banner

**Pravda*, July 11, 1973.

of freedom and socialism through the hardest of trials.

We warmly welcome our great friends Comrade Le Duan, Pham Van Dong, other Vietnamese leaders, the dedicated followers of Ho Chi Minh, staunch fighters for the common Marxist-Leninist ideals and the goals of our Communist parties.

We have had meetings with you many times, dear Vietnamese friends. But the present meeting is a special one. It is taking place at a time when the war is over, in which the Vietnamese people won outstanding victories, when a new climate is being established all over the planet, when the trend to peace and relaxation of tensions is gaining ground ever more obviously.

On behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on behalf of the Soviet people we warmly congratulate the Working People's Party of Vietnam, all our Vietnamese friends, on the historic victory!

The Soviet people have always been at one with their Vietnamese brothers. We regarded and regard the rendering of all-round assistance and support to your struggle for peace and socialism as our internationalist duty. Back at the 23rd Congress of the Party we declared with conviction that "no one will ever be able to quench the torch of socialism which has been raised high by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam." And this torch is alight for the whole world to see.

The war in Vietnam was not and could not be a merely regional matter. It profoundly affected the interests of many states. Its consequences told on the entire world politics. The very fact of an outright aggression against a socialist state largely blocked the road to the improvement of the international atmosphere. It is not accidental that the struggle for the liquidation of the seat of war in Southeast Asia was one of the key points of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress, became the common demand of the socialist states, of all progressive forces of our time.

I believe it would not be amiss to recall today the important conclusion of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow four years ago. This conclusion is: "The main link of united action of the anti-imperialist forces remains the struggle against war, for world peace, against the menace of a world thermonuclear war and mass extermination which continues to hang over mankind."

Internationalist support for Vietnam from the Soviet Union, from all the fraternal socialist countries, was an inseparable part of this struggle. The great feat of Vietnam, its victory, is a great success for the anti-imperialist forces, the common success for the cause of social progress.

The victory of the Vietnamese comrades has now been con-

solidated in a major political document, the Paris Agreement. The prospect of further development of socialist construction has opened up before the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and conditions are arising for the advance to a peaceful reunification of the country.

We identify ourselves with the position of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and declare for complete and strict fulfilment of the Paris Agreement by all sides. This is precisely what is meant by the signature of the Soviet Union affixed to the closing act of the International Conference on Vietnam.

The striving to impose on anyone is alien to the socialist countries. Revolutions are not exported. But we always fight resolutely against export of counter-revolution, against imperialist interference in the internal affairs of the peoples. Every people must have the inalienable right to choose its own social system, to decide its own destiny.

In the name of this, in the course of many years, the socialist countries have waged a consistent struggle for durable, unshakeable peace, the benefits of which could be enjoyed not only by the present generation but also by the generations to come.

Carrying into effect the Peace Program, the Soviet Union has taken a number of big steps after the 24th CPSU Congress towards further consolidation of international security.

One of the most important steps has been the agreement on the prevention of nuclear war, signed between the Soviet Union and the United States. We do not doubt that implementation of this agreement, just as of the other Soviet-American agreements, accords not only with the interests of the Soviet and American peoples, but also the interests of general improvement of the political climate in the international arena, the interests of the entire socialist community, the cause of social progress.

The Helsinki Conference on security and cooperation in Europe has got off to a good start. Given the good will of all its participants, it can and is bound to become a milestone in the consolidation of European peace. The Soviet Union worked hard to prepare the all-European conference, and we will strive to assure full success of this important international cause.

The essence of the positive changes in world politics, to put it in a few words, lies in the reconstruction of international relations which has begun on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence, i.e., the very same principles Lenin advanced at the very beginning of the formation of socialism.

This, of course, is not a simple matter. It calls for political soberness, adherence to principle and persistence, for it concerns

relations between states with different social orders. We firmly adhere to Marxist-Leninist ideology, the ideology of the working class. The capitalist states have their own, bourgeois ideology. But we consider that this should not prevent specific steps to ease tension, concerted measures designed to remove the threat of a nuclear war from mankind for all time.

The Soviet Union deems it necessary gradually to press for practical moves not only towards political but also military détente. The depth and thoroughness of relaxation of tension, the entire cause of consolidation of peace, will largely depend on the solution of these problems.

Acting together with the fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union is working to ensure that the edifice of peace is erected on a firm foundation of respect for the sovereignty and independence of each country, each people, and to make the process of détente global, all-embracing.

In this respect, complete normalization of the situation in Southeast Asia, on the Asian continent as a whole, would be of great significance.

The struggle for deep democratic changes in South Vietnam, for the creation of conditions for the peaceful reunification of the North and the South is still encountering resistance by reactionary forces. There are obstacles to the implementation of the agreement on the restoration of peace and attainment of national concord in Laos. The armed struggle continues in Cambodia where the patriotic forces are persistently striving for genuine freedom and independence for their country. The successes of the consistent policy of the DRV in strengthening peace on Vietnam soil inspire all the peoples of the Indochinese Peninsula in the struggle for their national aspirations.

It is our conviction that the restoration of peace throughout the Indochina Peninsula will create sound preconditions for further specific steps to consolidate security on the huge Asian continent and give a further impetus to the establishment of equal good-neighborly cooperation between all Asian states without any exception.

Guided by the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, our country invariably supported and is supporting the just struggle of the Arab peoples for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression. The Israeli troops must be withdrawn from all the occupied Arab lands, the frontiers of the states of that region must be restored so that the security of all countries and peoples of the Middle East will be reliably protected in conformity with the well-known resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the UNO.

The successes in strengthening international security make it

imperative for all of us to wage the struggle for our common lofty aim — lasting peace on earth — with still greater energy, still greater persistence. This is the pivot of the foreign political activity of the socialist states, fully conforming with the vital aspirations of all peoples.

Comrades, our meeting is taking place at an important moment, and, one might say, at a turning point both as regards development of the situation in Southeast Asia and international development as a whole. We seek to consolidate the positive changes in international affairs, to make them irreversible. This will be tremendously facilitated by the further growth of the cohesion of the socialist states, close alliance between world socialism and the national liberation forces, development of unity and cooperation of Communist and Workers' parties, all anti-imperialist forces.

Regarding from this angle the visit of the Vietnamese Party and Government delegation and the talks which have opened today, we can definitely say already now that our joint work will make it possible to raise Soviet-Vietnamese friendship to a new level, that it will extend the scope of our cooperation in all major fields, and make a good contribution to the strengthening of our common great revolutionary achievement, the world socialist system.

The efficacy and strength of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship were conclusively proved in the days of war. Now, in the days of peace, we are fully resolved together with our Vietnamese comrades to strengthen still further the brotherhood of our peoples.

We are in favor of extensive, fruitful and systematic contacts between our Parties on the basis of the tried and tested principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, of close contacts between public organizations, extensive economic cooperation. The Soviet people understand only too well the concern of their friends for the rehabilitation of the war-devastated economy, improvement in the living standards of the working people, advance of culture and education.

Over many years, the Soviet Union has given extensive disinterested assistance to the Vietnamese people in building up their defenses, in the struggle against aggression. We also extended considerable aid in the development of the DRV economy. I am pleased to tell the Vietnamese comrades that the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government have decided to regard all assistance rendered as given free. We are confident that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, relying on internationalist support from all socialist states, will successfully accomplish the tasks confronting it.

May I, comrades, express our profound satisfaction with the visit of the Vietnamese Party and Government delegation and propose a toast:

To the heroic Vietnamese people!

To their fighting vanguard, the Working People's Party of Vietnam!
To inviolable Soviet-Vietnamese friendship!
To the health of our dear friends, Comrade Le Duan, Comrade
Pham Van Dong, to the health of all the Vietnamese comrades!

Then a speech was made by Le Duan, First Secretary of the
Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam.

SPEECH BY COMRADE LE DUAN

Esteemed Comrades Breshnev, Podgorny, and Kosygin, Soviet
Party leaders and statesmen,

Dear Comrades,

Allow me on behalf of the delegation of the Working People's
Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic
of Vietnam to convey to the Central Committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, and the Soviet
people feelings of sincere gratitude for the exceptionally friendly
and warm welcome accorded to our delegation. Allow me to thank
Comrade L. I. Brezhnev for his wonderful words about our country,
about the glorious revolutionary cause of our people.

In response to the ardent desire of the entire Vietnamese people
and the wish of President Ho Chi Minh as expressed in his testa-
ment, our delegation arrived on a visit to the Soviet Union with
feelings of cordial friendship and sincere gratitude of the Viet-
namese people to the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union
and its Central Committee headed by esteemed Comrade L. I. Brezh-
nev, to the Soviet Government and the entire great Soviet people
for the wide-ranging support, vast and valuable aid they have ren-
dered the Vietnamese people, thereby making a very important
contribution to their great victory in the struggle against the U.S.
imperialists, for the salvation of their country, and in the construc-
tion of socialism.

Dear Comrades,

There is a Vietnamese saying: "When you drink water, remember
about its source." And now, in the joyous atmosphere connected
with the victory, the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the
Vietnamese people keep recalling the important contribution which
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people
have made to the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people for
almost half a century. From the very first days when the Vietnamese
revolution was in embryo, and to the days of the glorious victories,
especially in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists, for the sal-
vation of the country, and in the construction of socialism, the
CPSU, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people, acting in the
spirit of noble internationalism, constantly stood shoulder to shoul-

der with the Vietnamese people, invariably rendering them cordial support and generous aid motivated by fraternal feelings. We shall never forget the statement and the appeal made by the 23rd and the 24th CPSU Congresses, which expressed solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam and Indochina and provided a fresh source of confidence and enthusiasm for the Vietnamese people. The Soviet Union's extensive support and great and wide-ranging aid, along with the innumerable magnificent and momentous achievements of our Soviet brothers and sisters, were for the Vietnamese people a new material and moral stimulus for our countrymen and the fighters in our entire country on the road to ever greater victories, right up to the present brilliant triumph. This support and aid graphically reflect the militant cohesion of comrades and brothers who have common ideals.

Today, in this cordial and gala atmosphere, allow me to convey once again, on behalf of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the DRV Government, and all Vietnamese people, feelings of sincere and deep gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people.

For a long time the very name of your country — the Soviet Union—has occupied a special place in the hearts of the Vietnamese people, because the Soviet Union is the homeland of the October Revolution, which ushered in a new era in human history; it is the homeland of Lenin, the brilliant leader of the world revolution. The Soviet Union is the country where Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the first Vietnamese Communist, saw the road to the salvation of his people and his country. In the darkness of the colonial regime of the past and now in the bright days of independence and liberty the Vietnamese revolutionaries and the Vietnamese people have always followed with a feeling of deep sympathy and special pride every victorious step of their Soviet brothers and sisters in the protection and upbuilding of their country.

The exceptionally difficult and at the same time boundlessly glorious road of revolutionary struggle covered by the Soviet people is an immortal epic testifying to the tremendous viability of socialism, the great talents of the Soviet people, in combat and in creative work alike.

The Soviet Union, the first country which has successfully built socialism, is also the first country blazing the trail to communist society, thereby turning into reality mankind's noblest and most beautiful dream. Thanks to its immense contribution to world history over many decades and thanks to its tremendous economic and military potential the Soviet Union now plays a particularly important part in the struggle of the peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Filled with boundless pride and jubilation at the brilliant achieve-

ments of their Soviet brothers, the Vietnamese people sincerely wish the Soviet people new and even greater achievements in communist construction, in the protection of world peace, and in rendering aid to the world revolutionary movement, in keeping with the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. The Vietnamese people are quite sure that the 250 million-strong Soviet people, inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and thanks to its boundless creative potential, will score new great achievements of the epoch, raise still higher the Soviet Union's historic role, and make an outstanding contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the nations of the world, thus meeting the aspirations of its brothers and friends on all continents.

Dear Comrades,

As you know, the Vietnamese people have just scored a victory, with the aid of their brothers and friends the world over, in the most cruel of all the known colonial wars. The Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam says that the USA and the other countries fully respect the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and the right of the South Vietnam population to self-determination. And on March 29 of this year, the last unit of the U.S. expeditionary force was compelled to leave South Vietnam.

This historic victory has provided favorable conditions for the Vietnamese people and opened up for them excellent prospects for continuing the struggle to preserve and consolidate lasting peace, to build socialism in the North, to consummate the cause of independence and democracy in the South, and to achieve a peaceful reunification of Vietnam.

For the past five odd months the DRV Government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam have unfailingly abided by, and unswervingly fulfilled, the Paris Agreement, while the USA and the Saigon Administration are seriously and systematically violating the very important military and political clauses of that Agreement concerning both South and North Vietnam. The Vietnamese people are resolutely fighting against all these intrigues and actions of the USA and the Saigon Administration, and demand that they fully and unfailingly carry out the Paris Agreement and the joint communique of June 13, 1973; they insist on having an answer to the 6-point proposals made by the PRG of the RSV on June 29, 1973. The Vietnamese people will certainly win in their just struggle. Such is their iron will, such is the desire of the nations of the world, such is the inexorable tendency of historical development.

The Vietnamese people ardently hail the big victories of the Lao-tian and Cambodian peoples in the war of resistance against the

U.S. imperialists, for the salvation of their countries. The Vietnamese people give full support to the struggle of the Laotian people who demand that the USA and the Vientiane Administration unfailingly carry out the Vientiane Agreement. The Vietnamese people give full support to the struggle of the Cambodian people, respect their independence and sovereignty, and resolutely condemn the U.S. imperialists for the barbaric bombing raids on the liberated areas of Cambodia.

We are fully aware that now as before all the victories of the Vietnamese Revolution are closely connected with the solidarity, great support and aid of the Soviet people, as well as the Chinese people and the peoples of other fraternal socialist countries, the international Communist and workers' movement, all the countries that cherish peace and justice, the aid and support of all progressive mankind. To live up to the trust of their brothers and friends on all continents, the Vietnamese people are fully determined to overcome all the difficulties and privations and continue the just struggle at the new stage, right up to complete victory for the sake of their country's interests, thus at the same time fulfilling our noble internationalist duty; the Vietnamese people are prepared to make every effort to contribute to the common revolutionary cause of the nations of the globe.

Dear Comrades,

The great friendship and the militant cohesion between our Parties and peoples, a cohesion which arose and became tempered in the crucible of the common struggle and stood many trials of time and history, are becoming stronger, ever more lasting and inviolable with every day. Following behests of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, who carefully cherished all his life Vietnamese-Soviet friendship, our Party, Government and people are determined invariably to make every effort so that the great friendship and militant cohesion between our two countries will eternally flourish and gain in strength.

In this joyous atmosphere characteristic of a meeting of brothers and comrades I would like to propose to drink to:

The glorious victories of the Soviet people in communist construction!

The glorious victories of the Vietnamese people in socialist construction in the North, the consummation of the cause of independence and democracy in the South, the implementation of the peaceful reunification of Vietnam!

The eternal, lasting and great friendship and militant cohesion between the Vietnamese and the Soviet peoples!

The cohesion of the fraternal socialist countries and the international Communist and workers' movement on the basis of the

principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

The health of Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev!

The health of Comrades Nikolai Viktorovich Podgorny, Alexei Nikolayevich Kosygin, the other leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state!

The health of all the comrades present here!

Speeches by Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and Le Duan were punctuated with prolonged stormy applause. The luncheon took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

JOINT SOVIET-VIETNAMESE STATEMENT*

A delegation of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the DRV Government headed by First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party Le Duan and member of the Political Bureau, Prime Minister of the DRV Government Pham Van Dong was in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit from July 9 to 16, 1973, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

During its stay in the USSR the Vietnamese delegation visited the Likhachyov plant in Moscow, travelled to Leningrad, where it familiarized itself with places of historical interest, and also visited a number of Leningrad industrial enterprises.

In Moscow and Leningrad the delegation attended meetings which developed into a vivid demonstration of the unbreakable Soviet-Vietnamese friendship. Everywhere in the Soviet Union the representatives of fraternal Vietnam were accorded a warm, heartfelt reception which was an expression of the invariable solidarity of Soviet working people with the heroic Vietnamese people.

During the visit First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam Le Duan, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPPV, Prime Minister of the DRV Government Pham Van Dong and member of the Political Bureau of the WPPV Central Committee, Deputy Prime Minister of the DRV Government Le Thanh Nghi had meetings and conversations with the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet N. V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers A. N. Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR A. A. Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central

*Pravda, July 17, 1973.

Committee, Minister of Defense of the USSR A. A. Grechko, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee K. F. Katushev.

Taking part in the meetings and conversations were:

From the Soviet side—member of the CPSU Central Committee, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers V. N. Novikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Trade of the USSR N. S. Patolichev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Foreign Economic Relations S. A. Skachkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee K. V. Rusakov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR N. P. Firyubin and the USSR Ambassador in the DRV I. S. Shcherbakov;

From the Vietnamese side — Member of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, DRV Ambassador in the USSR Vo Thuc Dong, Minister, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the DRV Nguyen Van Kha, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the DRV Nguyen Co Thath, Deputy Minister of National Defense of the DRV Major General Tran Sham.

Information was exchanged during the talks that passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and comradely mutual understanding. Questions of further developing the all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were discussed, as well as the fulfilment of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and other topical international problems of mutual interest.

I.

The Soviet leaders informed the Vietnamese friends about the course of communist construction in the USSR, about the political and labor enthusiasm with which the Soviet people are working to fulfil the tasks of the third, decisive, year of the Five-Year Plan.

The Vietnamese delegation expressed the warmest feelings of the Vietnamese people for the Soviet people, for the land of the great Lenin, the homeland of the October Revolution — the greatest revolution in human history that opened the era of socialism and communism and showed the peoples the road of struggle for their liberation.

The Vietnamese side expressed profound admiration for the outstanding achievements scored by the Soviet state in the years of its existence. The Soviet people defended with honor the gains of the October Revolution, saved mankind from the fascist menace, actively contributed to the creation of favorable conditions for the formation of the world system of socialism, which is the determining factor of human society's development, and to the mighty upsurge of the worldwide movement for national independence. It

scored unprecedented progress in developing its economy, culture, science and technology, and was the first to open the era of space exploration for the good of man. The Soviet Union is now a great world power with modern industry, developed collective agriculture, powerful armed forces, advanced culture and science. The Soviet Union is a country that was the first to complete the building of socialism and is now paving the road to communism.

From the day of its formation the Soviet state has made a big contribution to the cause of preserving peace and strengthening friendship among the peoples. The Soviet Union together with other fraternal socialist countries is actively contributing to the strengthening of revolutionary and progressive forces of the whole world in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Vietnamese people sincerely wish the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, new, even bigger successes in fulfilling the grand tasks of Communist construction set by the 24th CPSU Congress. This will greatly facilitate the strengthening of the might of the world socialist system and serve as an inspiring example for the struggle of the peoples for the cause of socialism.

The Vietnamese leaders described the situation in Vietnam, the task of the new stage, the measures aimed at the strict fulfilment of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam, the rehabilitation of the national economy, and the building of socialism in North Vietnam.

The Soviet Party and Government delegation expressed admiration for the heroism of the Vietnamese people, for their glorious victories in the war of resistance for salvation of the Motherland and in the building of socialism in the DRV. The Soviet leaders expressed confidence that the Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, using the aid and support of fraternal socialist countries, will score full success in building a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and flourishing Vietnam.

The Soviet side stressed that it regards the victory of the Vietnamese people, won under the leadership of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, as convincing evidence of the tremendous vital force of socialism, of great devotion, staunchness and courage in the struggle against imperialist aggression, for the right to be masters in their own house. The Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, providing for respect of the main national rights of the Vietnamese people, as well as the Joint Communique of June 13, this year, are a fundamental achievement of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, a result of

the great exploit of the Vietnamese people, a common victory for the socialist countries, the national-liberation movement and the entire progressive mankind.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the entire Vietnamese people, fulfilling the behest of the esteemed President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese Party and Government delegation expressed heartfelt, profound gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people for the great, valuable and effective support and aid to the Vietnamese people on the military, political and diplomatic fronts, which was an important contribution to the Vietnamese people's historic victory in defending their independence and freedom and in the building of socialism.

The Vietnamese side confirms the invariable position of the Government of the DRV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the position of full respect for and undeviating fulfilment of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam, and demands that the United States and the Saigon Administration act likewise.

The Soviet Union firmly supports the policy of the DRV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam aimed at fulfilling the Paris Agreement, preserving peace in Vietnam, building socialism in North Vietnam, developing South Vietnam along the road of peace, independence, democracy and neutrality, and advancing towards the peaceful reunification of the country.

The Soviet Union will develop in every way friendly relations with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam which are the only true exponents of the aspirations of the South Vietnamese population.

The sides express their support for the agreement on the restoration of peace and the attainment of national accord in Laos and believe that a strict and full implementation of this agreement will ensure the sovereign rights of the Laotian people to a free and independent development of the country.

The Soviet and Vietnamese delegations stress their solidarity with the patriotic forces of Cambodia successfully upholding the right to the freedom and independence of their country.

II.

The Soviet and Vietnamese leaders believe that the new alignment of forces in the world, the growth of the political, economic and military might of the socialist states, the strengthening of the

national-liberation movement, the upsurge of the workers' and Communist movement create real preconditions for further victories in the cause of peace and social progress. The Vietnamese people's victory in the struggle against imperialist aggression that found expression in the signing of the Paris Agreement, plays an important role in strengthening security and peace in Asia and in the whole world.

The Working People's Party of Vietnam and the DRV Government support the Soviet Union's activities which, in accordance with the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, are directed at consolidating peace and international security, at implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems that were elaborated by V. I. Lenin, at supporting vigorously the peoples struggling for independence, freedom and social progress.

Both sides hold that the final international-legal recognition of the inviolability of state borders now existing in Europe, including the border between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which was reflected in the appropriate treaties signed by the USSR, Poland and the GDR with the FRG, is a very important step forward in preserving peace and security in Europe and in the whole world.

Both sides believe that the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation, which has commenced its work, is called upon to consolidate the results of the world anti-fascist war and create additional favorable conditions for the strengthening of peace and security on that continent.

The Soviet and the Vietnamese delegations resolutely support the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America directed against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for independence, freedom, democracy and social progress.

In the opinion of both sides, the special importance in the present conditions is the utmost strengthening of cohesion and cooperation among socialist countries, the strengthening of the alliance between the socialist system and the forces of national liberation, further cohesion of the Communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The CPSU and the WPPV state that they will multiply their contribution to the cause of rallying all peace-loving anti-imperialist forces of our time.

III.

Having made an all-round study of relations between the USSR and the DRV, the Soviet and Vietnamese Party and Government delegations note with great satisfaction the continuous fruitful

development of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship and fraternal cooperation in all the most important fields — political, economic, ideological and also in the field of defense. The two sides discussed the current and long-term tasks of further developing relations between the Soviet Union and the DRV in all fields.

The two sides agreed:

- to expand fraternal ties between the CPSU and the WPPV at various levels, to hold consultations and exchange views on questions of mutual interest;

- to facilitate the further deepening of economic and technical cooperation between the two countries, including the training of Vietnamese national personnel in the fields of economy, science and technology, in the interests of rehabilitating and further developing the DRV's socialist economy and raising the living standard of the Vietnamese people;

- to encourage the development of ties between scientific and cultural institutions, as well as between public organizations of both countries, to exchange experience of socialist and communist construction.

During the visit to the Soviet Union of the DRV Party and Government delegation an agreement was reached in principle on the Soviet Union's aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in rehabilitating and developing the national economy. The Soviet side expressed readiness to rehabilitate economic facilities that were built in the DRV with the Soviet Union's assistance and to help in building new industrial enterprises, including hydropower projects, facilitating the development of North Vietnam's socialist industrialization. In 1974 the Soviet Union will supply to the DRV various industrial and agricultural equipment, means of transport, consumer goods and foodstuffs needed by the population and for the rehabilitation of the national economy.

Proceeding from their invariable internationalist position in the question of giving support to the fraternal Vietnamese people and considering the needs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam connected with the tasks of rebuilding the war-ravaged national economy, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government adopted a decision to consider the credits granted by the Soviet Union to the DRV in previous years for the aims of economic development as gratuitous aid. The sides signed an appropriate document.

The Vietnamese side expressed warm gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government for this friendly act and believes that this decision will be a big inspiring factor for the Vietnamese people and evoke a feeling of profound gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet Government and the fraternal Soviet people. The Vietnamese Party

and Government delegation stresses that the aid which the Soviet Union will provide in accordance with the agreement that was reached in principle during the visit, will play an important role in the further building of socialism in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The sides expressed the conviction that the visit by the DRV Party and Government delegation to the Soviet Union and the results of the talks are a new important milestone in the further strengthening and development of inviolable friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the WPPV, between the USSR and the DRV.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Comrades Le Duan and Pham Van Dong invited a Party and Government delegation of the Soviet Union to pay an official visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This invitation was gratefully accepted. The date of the visit will be agreed upon additionally.

FRIENDLY VISITS OF DELEGATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY OF VIETNAM AND THE DRV GOVERNMENT

VISIT TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

A delegation of the WPPV and the DRV Government, led by the Party's First Secretary Le Duan and Political Bureau member and Premier of the DRV Government Pham Van Dong, paid an official friendly visit to the PRC on June 4-11, 1973, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the PRC.

The joint communique says in part that the two sides "conducted negotiations on further strengthening the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties and countries, on questions of the new situation in the revolutionary struggle of the people of Vietnam, and other matters of mutual interest." In the communique the Chinese side "reaffirmed its unshakable determination to continue performing its internationalist duty . . . and rendering support and assistance to the fraternal people of Vietnam in their struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace, for socialist construction in the North, achievement of independence and democracy in the South and for subsequent peaceful unification of the country, for a peaceful, independent, democratic and strong Vietnam."

An agreement was signed during the visit, providing for China's gratuitous economic and military aid to Vietnam in 1974.

VISIT TO THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

A Party and Government delegation of the DRV, led by Political Bureau member of the WPPV and DRV Premier Pham Van Dong, was on an official friendly visit to the MPR on June 22-26, 1973, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the MPR Government.

The joint communique points out that the DRV delegation was everywhere accorded a warm welcome and fraternal hospitality. During meetings and talks with a Party and Government delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, led by Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, both sides exchanged views in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding on the development and strengthening of relations of friendship and cooperation between the two parties and

countries, the new situation in the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnam people and on other questions of mutual interest.

Both sides registered unanimity on the questions under discussion. With a feeling of deep satisfaction both delegations pointed out that the friendly bonds between the MPRP and the WPPV and the MPR-DRV cooperation are developing and strengthening on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Mongolian delegation stressed the determination of the People's Revolutionary Party, the Government and people of Mongolia to continue giving fraternal aid and support to the Vietnamese people. Both sides hailed the imposing successes of the fraternal socialist countries in building socialism and creating the material and technical base of communism.

VISIT TO THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

A delegation of the WPPV and the Government of the DRV, led by Pham Van Dong, Political Bureau member of the WPPV and Premier of the DRV Government, paid an official friendly visit to the KPDR on June 26-July 1, 1973, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labor and the Government of the Republic.

The Vietnam delegation was received by KPL General Secretary Kim Il-sung and everywhere it was accorded a warm welcome. The joint communique notes that during the talks held in a friendly and comradely atmosphere the two sides exchanged information on the situation in their countries, discussed further development of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and other questions of mutual interest and reached unanimity on the questions under discussion.

The sides noted with satisfaction the successful development of relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Korea and Vietnam based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which have been firmly established in the course of the joint anti-U.S. struggle, and expressed their resolve to strengthen and develop still further these relations in all spheres.

An agreement was signed during the visit on Korea's gratuitous aid to the DRV in 1974.

The joint communique also points out that the Vietnam side actively supported the KPDR's just position and rational proposals concerning Korea's independent and peaceful unification.

VISIT TO THE USSR

See documents published earlier.—Ed.

VISIT TO THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

A Party and Government delegation of the DRV, led by WPPV Political Bureau member and Premier of the DRV Government Pham Van Dong, was on an official friendly visit to the HPR on July 16-23, 1973, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Council of Ministers.

The delegation was received by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, and Jeno Fock, member of the HSWP Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The delegation was everywhere given a warm reception. The joint communique points out that views were exchanged on further development of fraternal relations between the two parties and countries and expansion of cooperation between them. The talks confirmed complete identity of views on all questions discussed.

The two sides examined pressing problems of the international situation and stated with satisfaction that due to the consolidation of alliance between the socialist countries and the growing scope of the movement for national liberation, democracy and peace in the favorable conditions existing today the peoples can gain still bigger successes in the fight against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism.

The Vietnamese side, the communique says, supports the Hungarian People's Republic in its activity jointly with the USSR and European socialist countries to achieve peace and security in Europe and promote peace throughout the world. It holds that the growing strength of the socialist countries is the determining factor in this struggle.

The two parties will continue to promote the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement and the socialist world system. They will fight for the unity and strengthening of all anti-imperialist forces.

At the conclusion of the talks the two sides signed an agreement on Hungary's credits to the DRV in 1974 and gratuitous military aid, as well as on commodity exchange and settlements between the two countries.

The Hungarian Government, the communique notes, guided by its internationalist policy and taking into account the vast destruction caused by the war, decided to regard as gratuitous the credits granted to the DRV in the previous years.

A Party and Government delegation of the DRV, led by WPPV Political Bureau member and Premier of the DRV Government Pham Van Dong, was on an official friendly visit in the Polish People's Republic on July 23-28, 1973, at the invitation of the Central Com-

mittee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Council of Ministers.

On July 28, the DRV Party and Government delegation arrived in Bucharest on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Rumania. Information on these visits will be published in our next issue.

PLENARY MEETINGS

DECISIONS AND CONCLUSIONS OF FOURTH CC PLENUM, PARAGUAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Fourth Plenum of the CC, CP Paraguay met in May of this year in deep secrecy to discuss a report on the situation in the country; the Central Committee Manifesto addressed to the working class and all people; a report on the situation in the Party and its work among the masses; convening of a national Party conference.

After reviewing the development of events in the country, the Fourth Plenum stated that, as foreseen by its previous conference, there was a noticeable worsening of the conditions of poverty and hunger for the toiling people of town and country. After Stroessner's "re-election" the cost of living went up by more than 40 per cent, reducing to nought the 10-per cent minimal wage increase introduced by the government in March under pressure of popular demand. Galloping inflation has exposed the falsehood of the policy of "financial stabilization" and "development in the direction of the foreign market" dictated by Yankee advisors. Purchasing prices on farm produce remain low. More and more small and middle producers are ruined and small and middle enterprises go bankrupt or are on the verge of bankruptcy. The "glorious" wheat plan, one of the dirtiest schemes of the dictatorship gang, is failing. Production is advancing at a snail's pace and its important sources of income are being cut back. Taxation abuses are strangling broad sections of the people. Large-scale official smuggling is ruining the national industry. The country's debt continues to grow. Private banks are raking in millions in profits at the expense of national accumulation. Broad masses of people continue to emigrate in search of work and to avoid dying of hunger, while Stroessner's "great construction projects" serve only the military objectives of the American Pentagon (highways, airfields, etc.). Dependence is growing on the imperialist Yankees and the reactionary pro-imperialist Brazilian regime which does not hide its plans to establish hegemony in Paraguay and in Latin America.

In this situation the Fourth Plenum noted, there is a growing revival of the workers' and popular struggles which are becoming more frequent, better organized, more militant and unitary.

The Central Committee was pleased to note that the workers'

movement, fighting against the police agents, the employers and the Inter-American Regional Working People's Organization, who have infiltrated the unions of the Confederation of Paraguayan Working People, and also against the factory owners and police, has become active and is standing firmly on its feet, mobilizing its militant forces and fighting for its just demands. Peasant actions for their demands are also growing broader and more organized. Workers in the system of education are consolidating their organizations and preparing for greater action. Artists in the Paraguayan Artists' Association demand that Stroessner's swindlers be expelled from key posts in their organization. The students are expanding their movement, winning important partial victories. Various groups in industry and trade are mobilizing and exerting pressure on the dictatorship, advancing their just demands. On the other hand, the revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces are becoming more active and united.

The Fourth Plenum underscored that in such an upsurge of the people's fighting spirit the renovated Communist Party plays a positive and stimulating role and that its line of joint struggle, of uniting and coordinating all progressive and patriotic forces and forming a broad anti-dictatorial national front is winning over more and more people and is gradually becoming an organizing force, even though the masses are still weak and scattered.

In the light of this situation and accordance with the political line defined by the Third Party Congress, the analyses and conclusions of the two preceding CC Plenums, the Fourth Plenum reviewed the results of the Stroessner "re-election" farce.

Our Party warned that Stroessner's autocracy would not fall of itself as a rotten fruit falls, and pointed out that in order to abolish the regime of personal power, there must be concerted and organized action by the workers and people, united coordinated action by all democratic, patriotic and progressive forces, and a broad national anti-dictatorship front must be established in the course of the struggle of the workers, peasants, students and various social and political segments opposed to the dictatorship. And though there were important actions by workers and people, though unitary groups did emerge during the struggle against the election farce, they are still weak and scattered and lack sufficient strength to topple the dictatorship.

Staging the farce of February 11, the dictatorship resorted to brutal repressions. But it also had the support of the conciliating, Rightist and anti-Communist leadership of the parties of bourgeois-latifundist opposition. It relied on the agents of the police and employers who infiltrated the trade unions and the Confederation of Paraguayan Working People, on certain conciliators among the

church hierarchy and on those who had no faith in the strength of the working class and mobilization of the people and who spread the illusion of a "salvatory overthrow" or action by some small groups isolated from the people. Such positions concerning the capacity and strength of the working class and the people as a whole were the main obstacle to the broad, militant and victorious advance of the united struggle of the masses and to democratic, progressive and patriotic forms of all anti-dictatorial trends aimed at foiling the plans of perpetuating personal power and at abolishing Stroessner's perfidious military-police dictatorship.

The election farce, however, failed to reinforce and consolidate the dictatorship. On the contrary, the people's discontent and hatred have grown deeper. There is a higher level of organization and unity around anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist programs. Political radicalization of the masses is in evidence.

Proof of the fact that the dictatorship has emerged weaker from this election farce are the 300,000 citizens who could not vote; approximately 250,000 citizens who ignored police intimidation and fines and did not go to the polls; the hundreds of thousands of Paraguayans whose ballots were pronounced invalid and who did this in protest against the dictatorship, and as many voters who cast their ballots in favor of the candidates of the Liberal-Radical Party opposing the Nazi Stroessner. If we add the fact that out of fear the dictatorship denied the voting right to over a million people living abroad, then we have an approximate picture of the scale of the opposition and isolation of the dictatorship which ensured Stroessner's "triumph" through crude forgeries and manipulations, taking advantage of the lack of organization and unity among the anti-dictatorial forces.

Taking into account the regime's growing financial-economic crisis, the ever more acute and insoluble contradictions facing it and the expanding struggle of the workers and the people, their political radicalization and the regrouping of the socio-political forces with an obvious anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist orientation, the Fourth CC Plenum again stresses that the conditions are now more favorable for defeating the dictatorship's plans to preserve its power and for destroying the dictatorship, winning political freedom and establishing a government that would follow a policy of consistent democratization — long before termination of Stroessner's "presidential powers" in 1978. Now, as never before, it is imperative to give an impulse to the struggle and multiply the organized and united actions of the working class, the peasants, office employees, students, intellectuals, teachers and other social strata. The Fourth Plenum also stressed the need for stimulating united and coordinated actions of all anti-dictatorial, democratic, progressive and patriotic forces

within the framework of a broad national anti-dictatorial front on the basis of a program platform.

In line with this orientation the Fourth CC Plenum has decided to stress the need for consolidating and developing the important unitary beginnings that have emerged in the struggle against the election farce and for establishing a central or national organ which would coordinate the work of all anti-dictatorial forces, relying on hundreds of unitary commissions, liaison or coordination centres at places of work, residence or study in town and country. The Fourth Plenum calls for intensifying a fraternal dialogue with all anti-dictatorial, anti-imperialist strata and trends, without sectarian exclusiveness, being guided by the need to create a national force capable of putting an end to the dictatorship and establishing a consistently democratic government which would be in a position to realize the program of democratic, economic and social transformations.

Taking into consideration the big opportunities that have emerged for achieving joint, organized action of the working class and all the people, creating an anti-dictatorial national front on the basis of a program platform, the Fourth CC Plenum calls for efforts to expose and isolate all agents of the dictatorship and the CIA. It is necessary to purge the trade unions and the Confederation of Paraguayan Working People of agents of the police and the employers, such as the traitor Nicanor Fleitas and his gang; to remove conciliators calling for a dialogue with the dictatorship, and anti-Communist and anti-Soviet slanders; to intensify efforts to win over to our side the patriotically-minded commanders, officers, sergeants and soldiers so that at the decisive time they would resolutely support the actions of the anti-dictatorial forces.

In accordance with this orientation the Fourth CC Plenum appeals to all the anti-dictatorial forces to prepare the masses for more energetic forms of struggle so that they could destroy the forces of the dictatorship at the decisive moment.

Such is the road to victory indicated by the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party.

II.

The developments and long-term perspectives in the country were analyzed with an eye on external, as well as internal factors. The Fourth Plenum stressed that the international situation was having a positive effect on the deeper awareness and political radicalization of the masses. The relation of world forces has changed in favor of peace, democracy and socialism. Other favorable factors are: the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system; the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, brought about thanks to the unity and heroism of the

peoples of Indochina and the powerful impact of international solidarity, especially that of the Soviet Union; the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which was a striking testimonial to the success of Lenin's national policy; the role of the Soviet Union as the bulwark of world peace and security, the most powerful support of the worldwide revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement, and the faithful friend of peoples fighting wars of liberation, including our people; the consolidation of the socialist world system and the world Communist and working-class movement; the developing unity of action of the three main revolutionary forces of our time; the important victory achieved by the coalition of Communists, Socialists and Left Radicals in France, which offers new and realistic opportunities for the victory of the anti-monopoly, democratic and popular forces.

The Fourth Plenum also noted that the political awakening of the working people in our country is traceable to the upswing of the democratic, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist struggle throughout Latin America. The Cuban revolution is a striking example for the liberation movements on the continent. The consciousness of our people is influenced by: the victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile and the consolidation of its government thanks to the consistent implementation of the program of far-reaching democratic, agricultural and anti-imperialist changes, the ultimate aim of which is to achieve socialism; the suppression by the Popular Unity government in Chile of repeated putschist attempts by the imperialist-supported Rightist elements; the agrarian and anti-imperialist changes in Peru; the consolidation of Panama's sovereign rights and the progressive undertakings of the Panamanian government; the successes of the Broad Front in Uruguay; the failure of the reactionary military camarilla in Argentina, which had hoped to retain power; the deep split in the Organization of American States and the consequent decline of U.S. influence in that organization.

Conscious of the necessity for stronger united action and solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces, the Fourth Plenum reaffirmed the preceding Plenum's resolution on the importance of cementing the Marxist-Leninist unity of the world Communist and working-class movement, and contributing to united action and the solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces as the guarantee of success in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. The Party will work harder to redouble solidarity with Cuba, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Panama, Uruguay and Argentina, and with all the peoples fighting for national liberation.

Furthermore, the Fourth Plenum stressed the need to continue to expose the chauvinist, divisive and anti-Soviet Maoist policy.

III. SITUATION IN THE PARTY

The Party's growing role in the country has helped shape more favorable objective conditions for strengthening and developing its ideological unity and united action based on Marxism-Leninism and the documents adopted by the Third Congress. Following the Third Plenum of the Central Committee the Party made new important headway, principally in organizing Party branches at enterprises, in residential neighborhoods, among the youth and peasants, and in securing their regular and planned functioning despite the clandestinity in which they operate and the police repressions. Veteran and new Party cadres have been drawn into Party work. The Party's organizations continued to expand their ties with the masses, promoting their organization and their unity in struggles for economic and democratic demands and for an anti-dictatorial national front. During this time, the Party increased the number of its allies, sympathizers and friends, and maintains close and sincere cooperation with them. The agreements of last January 10 with the comrades who had left the Party after its Third Congress and who now stopped mutual attacks and promote joint action for the release of political prisoners, are an important success for the Party's policy of alliances in the struggle against the dictatorship and imperialism.

The Fourth Plenum noted that the ideological and political level of Party members has risen, and that principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership, and conscious discipline and militancy have taken deeper root, as evidenced, depending on the political situation at home and abroad, by the closer observance of agreements, a more principled stand in the ideologico-political struggle against deficiencies inherited from the past, outspoken fraternal discussions at all levels to improve and assure fulfilment of agreements and plans, and by the practical measures aimed at bettering the work style and leadership along collectivist lines.

All this is evidence of the fact that the Party is entering on a new stage of its development as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist vanguard capable of giving leadership to the united action of workers and the popular masses in the battle for their demands, for an anti-dictatorial national front and the elimination of the police and military regime headed by the Nazi General Alfredo Stroessner.

Pointing to the positive aspects in the work and development of the Party, the Fourth Plenum took notice of the requirements arising from developments at home and abroad, and, complying with the standards of a Marxist-Leninist party, criticized the serious flaws and deficiencies still occurring in Party work. The Plenum took note of the necessity of overcoming the deficiencies

in the system of contacts between the main bodies and between these and other Party organizations. It took note of the necessity of improving these contacts in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism inscribed in the Party Rules.

At the same time, the Fourth Plenum pointed to faults observed in important areas of the struggle. It noted the successes achieved by some units of the Party in ideological and educational work, and stressed the necessity of such work throughout the Party, at all levels. On the other hand, it criticized failures to observe agreements, which delayed the appearance of *Bases*, our political and theoretical journal, caused interruptions in the regular issue of *Adelante*, the Party newspaper, and also prevented regular and more rapid distribution of other Party propaganda matter. The Plenum approved the Party's international line and its success in fortifying its international positions; it also noted the insufficiency of information and the need for more planning and quicker responses in international affairs; the insufficient organization and control over the fulfilment of decisions at all levels; the need for ending the conciliatory attitude towards repeated and intolerable shortcomings that retard the growth of the Party and impair its ties with the masses.

In each case, the Fourth Plenum defined ways and means for eliminating the shortcomings, accentuating better organization, better planning and mutual control—from the top down and from the bottom up—in order to assure better fulfilment of the collectively framed Party decisions, plans and tasks.

To express the Party's opinion on the developments in the country and on the perspectives ahead, and also to fortify Party building in close contact with the masses, the Fourth Plenum decided to publish a Manifesto addressed to the working class and the whole people, and also instructed the Political Commission to draw up a document on the transfer to Brazil of Saltos del Guaira and the adjoining territory, on the Itaipu hydropower station, national sovereignty and the country's interests. All Party organizations and members must use these documents to expand their ties with the masses and allies, to stimulate their struggle and organization and consolidate their unity. With the same aim in view the Fourth Plenum decided to circulate the Program and Political Theses on a broader scale with the view of popularizing among the majority of the working class and people the ideas of democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist transformations.

The Fourth Plenum also decided to publish the following documents: on convocation of a national Party conference to discuss work among the masses and organizational questions; address on launching the 18th fund-raising campaign to collect two million

guaranies; a communique on the agreement of January 10 ending mutual attacks and a national and international campaign for the release of political prisoners; a circular letter to Party members concerning the agreement of January 10.

IV.

The Fourth Plenum was a big advance in the development of the Party's tactical line. It carried deeper the analysis of developments in the country and their connection with the international situation. It specified the alignment of political and social forces between the dictatorship and its opponents. It stated the need for implementing in a planned way the Party's line of unity and work among the masses, indicated by the Third Party Congress, in close connection with the building of the Party and formation of a national anti-dictatorial front, and defined the ways and means of achieving these tasks. In this sense, the convocation of a national conference to discuss the Party's work among the masses and organizational questions and the address on the 18th fund-raising campaign not only testify to the growth of the Party and its influence among the masses, but also speak of qualitative changes that are under way in our country, in the workers' and popular movement, in the regrouping of social and political forces, as well as of the realistic perspectives of success in organizing united mass struggles for economic and democratic demands and paving the way for the overthrow of the Stroessner regime.

The Fourth Plenum of the PCP Central Committee concluded its work with an earnest appeal to all Party branches and members to develop active ideological, political and organizational work so as to ensure the fulfilment of the adopted decisions.

*Paraguayan Communist Party
Central Committee,*

May 1973.

COMMUNIQUE* OF PCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

On January 10, 1973, important agreements were signed between the Paraguayan Communist Party and a group of comrades who had left the Party after its Third Congress. Essentially, the agreements fully approved by the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee amount to the following:

"Taking into account the interests and requirements of the popular and working-class movement in our country, we agree to work in common.

*Published in *Adelante*, No. 106, May 1973.

"1. We have agreed to cease all mutual attacks in public and internal documents and in personal talks.

"2. We are for establishing responsible contacts to be planned and controlled at all levels and wherever the necessary conditions are available so as to organize united and coordinated actions in defense of the political prisoners and to give help without any discrimination to comrades who are still imprisoned and those who will be freed. We regard this step as a possible starting-point for joint actions in other directions of the struggle against the dictatorship and imperialism."

In pursuance of these agreements, additional agreements were signed on March 23, envisaging the establishment of liaison and coordination centers at different levels, formation of a common relief fund for political prisoners and leading organs in Party branches with the aim of launching a broad campaign for the immediate release of political prisoners.

The above-mentioned steps signify an important victory for the line aimed at achieving unity of all strata of the people and establishing a broad anti-dictatorial front, a line that was approved by the Third Congress.

The Central Committee calls on all Party members to work for the strict fulfilment of these agreements and for an atmosphere of fraternal cooperation, for creating numerous centers of liaison and coordination with all anti-dictatorial forces in order to organize united mass struggle for the release of political prisoners, lifting of the state of siege, for the abolition of repressive anti-popular legislation, for democratic freedoms and vital economic demands of the masses. These numerous mounting actions of the masses will help to rally forces and form a powerful anti-dictatorial front, which is essential for abolishing Stroessner's regime of personal power and undermining the foundations of imperialist domination.

The Central Committee urges all Party members to consolidate the Marxist-Leninist unity and cohesion of the Party, actively defend its positions, heighten ideological and political vigilance and improve and step up the struggle to fulfil the decisions adopted by the Third Congress and plenary meetings of the Central Committee, cementing the Party's links with the working class, the peasants, students and democratic intelligentsia. The CC appeals for maximum efforts to strengthen the broad solidarity movement in defense of political prisoners and for their release, both nationally and internationally.

The Central Committee calls on all loyal comrades who for one motive or another are working in groups outside the Party but who earnestly strive for the unity of all Paraguayan Communists within

the framework of a Marxist-Leninist party, to share in the Party's organizational work.

The doors of the Party are wide open to all comrades who, having overcome ideologico-political divergencies, are again eager to return to the Party imbued with the spirit of genuine unity, so as to fight in a disciplined way for the implementation of the program and political line adopted by the Third Congress. The Program, the Rules, the political line and resolutions of the Third Congress are the immovable foundation of the Party's unity.

Following this road, the future Fourth Congress of our Party will be an expression of the superior and real Marxist-Leninist unity of Paraguayan Communists.

April 1973.

Central Committee,
Paraguayan Communist Party

STEP UP THE STRUGGLE FOR POPULAR UNITY

POLITICAL RESOLUTION* OF THE CC PLENUM, CP COLOMBIA

In view of the approaching 1974 Presidential elections the various parties of the oligarchy are becoming more active.

The conservatives have chosen Gamez Hurtado, who rabidly denigrates socialism and is opposed to any concessions to the policy of bourgeois reformism, particularly the so-called "agrarian reform." The forces behind this candidate are the exponents of the most reactionary and anti-Communist line in Colombia's policy. He is also supported by the most backward latifundists. The campaign for Hurtado is also supported by the "gorillas" of Brazil, agents of the extreme reactionary circles of Yankee militarism in Latin America.

Lopez Michelsen, the official Liberal Party candidate, was nominated at a time of internal strife within this traditional political organization. He will be backed by the most powerful section of the big oligarchy connected with North American monopoly interests.

Nomination of party candidates does not mean the coalition system of the liberal-conservative oligarchy has been cancelled. The aim is to attract the masses to the two old traditional parties by

*Voz Proletaria, July 5, 1973.

putting forward demagogic theses and inciting party sectarianism.

The People's National Alliance (ANAPO), disregarding the will of broad sections of the party, has nominated General Rojas Pinilla. The ANAPO leadership refused to discuss the joint opposition program and does not respond to appeals by Communists and the National Opposition Union (UNO) to form a united front at the coming elections. Such a negative and exclusive stance becomes a serious obstacle to uniting all opponents of the existing system.

Not one of the oligarchy's candidates will resolve even a minimum of the problems facing the people and the country. One candidate speaks for extreme reaction and fascism, another is for the continuity of traditional policy dressed up in "liberal" demagoguery, invoking the democratic past and pretending to advance the false slogans of the "Left forces."

The candidacy of Rojas Pinilla expresses the confused and inconsistent attitude of the opposition, impeding an understanding between ANAPO and the more progressive trends among the opposition. The possibility of a shift favorable to the interests of the working people, their rights and democratic freedoms, the interests of the country, lies in the development of the people's struggle, with an independent and revolutionary orientation.

The best way to conduct the election campaign would be to nominate a common opposition candidate, who would unite in a single powerful movement important forces expressing their disagreement and dissatisfaction with the regime in distinct forms.

However, this perspective does not depend on Communists alone. This requires a unitarian disposition on the part of all those opposing the regime. At any rate, if it is impossible to reach election accords, it should not be an obstacle to continuing joint work, expressed in concrete actions, by all who are fighting against the oligarchic power, including certain sections in ANAPO.

There is common ground, calling to act in common. This concerns, for example, pressure to achieve guarantees during the election campaign, the demand that the elections be held without the state of siege and political prisoners, stopping official reprisals and violence, etc.

Communists have made a decisive contribution to the establishment and consolidation of UNO, which is not simply an electoral movement, for it considers the elections as a means of accelerating the formation of popular unity and asserting Left positions in Colombia's political life.

UNO intends to put up a people's candidate to be nominated at the broad National Opposition Convention this August in Bogota. It is especially important to assure the success of the convention, which must become the culmination of the intense organizational

work of hundreds of unitary organizations throughout the country, in the rural areas and in towns.

Nomination of Hernando Echeverri Mejia by the Broad Colombian Movement (MAC) is a positive factor. We welcome his decision and likewise the decision of MAC to assume responsibility in the approaching campaign. Communists, true to the democratic principles which should regulate relations with other sectors participating in the formation of popular unity, which we are facilitating in every way, will enthusiastically support the presidential candidate to be nominated at the UNO national convention.

The Communist Party should participate in the elections with a single platform throughout the country, under the banner of the Communist Party and popular unity embodied in the UNO.

We must work intensely to reach agreement not only on the presidential candidate, but also on problems concerning public organizations so as to have in them nuclei of Communists and allies experienced in the struggle for people's interests.

We must not limit ourselves to propaganda work. It is necessary to take advantage of the elections to organize the masses and extend the struggle for their economic and socio-political demands. The activity of Communists and their allies should be centered on concrete actions against the grinding high cost of living, which now is the biggest tragedy for the people. These concrete actions should be tied up with the struggle for liberties, against the oligarchic power and its imperialist abettors.

Part of our election campaigning is the ideological struggle against the reactionary theses of the ultra-Right and various bourgeois trends. This requires the unmasking of the Trotskyites, Maoists and other groups who have made abstention the center of their calumnies aimed against our Party whose significance and historical role as an experienced fighter for the Colombian revolution should be elevated.

We must also expose provocations by agents of the secret services supported by elements that have infiltrated the so-called "ultra-Left" groups, whose aim is to impede the development of action by the masses, the students', workers' and peasants' movements.

A national trade union meeting would be an important advance not only for united action by the workers' movement, but also for a policy of popular-democratic unity. Our work should be based on the principles of trade union democracy. It should ensure success of the meeting as an essential aspect in consolidating the independent, class trade union movement whose backbone is the Trade Union Confederation of the Working People of Colombia.

Bogota, July 1, 1973.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

THE MEANING OF WATERGATE*

JAMES E. JACKSON

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Watergate is an infield error in a carefully designed game-plan to administer a crushing defeat to what remains of democratic electoral and legislative controls upon the executive power of the government in order to insure the unbridled political domination of the monopoly-capitalist class over the state.

Nixon is not some unfathomable, abhorrent evil and corrupt individual. Nixon is a worthy and committed servant of the general interests of the monopoly capitalist class as a whole. If his game-plan for effecting basic changes in the political superstructure, toward the elaboration of a regime of personal power, for concentrating unshared power in the executive leadership of the government and nullifying the possibilities for popular intervention in the decision-making processes of government, has gone askew, has been temporarily aborted by the Watergate disclosure, it cannot be concluded that his effort in this direction had no relationship to the grand designs and strategic domestic political purpose of the master class of monopolists to whose service he is scrupulously committed. We must seek the meaning of Watergate in other than the tricky character of the personality of a Nixon; it lies in the nature and fundamental political tendency of the capitalist system in its *state monopoly stage*. . . .

Under the aegis of the Nixon Administration the military-industrial complex forged to the forefront as the dominant category of the monopoly capitalist class. The union of personnel between the giants of industry along with aides from the military and the intelligence branches of the police — especially of the CIA and FBI — and the state apparatus distinguish the Nixon Administration from its predecessors. The domination of the state apparatus by the personnel of the monopolists has been brought to a high point of development. The narrow class interests of the monopolists have been given free reign to determine both foreign and domestic policies. The biggest corporations and the government interchange executive and administrative personnel in shifts, like a game of

*World Magazine, June 16, 1973. Abridged.

musical chairs. Under this order of state monopoly capitalism, the monopolists constantly strive to streamline the government of all democratic frills and encumbrances to its functioning exclusively for the maintenance and strengthening of the economic, social and political position and monopolist interest of the bourgeoisie.

The undermining of the already limited bourgeois democracy is a continuing operational tendency of the capitalist society in its state-monopoly stage. The economic basis is established for it and the social and political roots of Right-wing tendencies are nurtured by state-monopoly capitalism. The distinctive features of state-monopoly capitalism as the ultimate socio-political formation of the capitalist epoch continually reproduce the striving toward a fascist type of state governmental structure of class dictatorship . . .

That the bourgeoisie wishes for a restructuring of the governmental system to better accord with the narrowest class interests of the monopolists is given expression—even if inadvertently—in a statement made on television by one of the members of the Select Senate Committee which is currently holding hearings on Watergate. Senator Howard Baker Jr. (R. Tenn.) said: "Democracy is not a comfortable form of government. Democracy is an uncomfortable process. . . ."

The odorous pus-flow from the ruptured boil on the body-politic that is Watergate is a manifestaton of a malignant systematic illness of capitalist society, a condition that is not temporary. On the contrary, it is terminal. . . .

Watergate is the exposed fragment of a comprehensive and long-range strategic class conspiracy on the part of finance capital, on the part of the *dominant* section of the main monopolists to secure its total control of the state apparatus, to insure its dictatorship over the masses, under contingent circumstances when it would find that the "old methods of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism" no longer sufficed.

Watergate was designed to be a substantial stride down the road toward a neo-fascist state — not in its classical well-known form — but in a *modern*, modified and "original" design to correspond to unique current U.S. and international circumstances. . . .

Watergate reveals that a considerable contingent of ultra-Rightist, neo-fascist types — largely drawn from the front offices of huge monopoly corporations, the military and the police forces — especially the intelligence services, the CIA and FBI — have been given command of wide areas of administrative and executive power in the government by the White House. Watergate has disclosed that the process of fascization of the government apparatus has been under development for a considerable period of time. The President has arrogated to the executive branch of the state more and more unchecked power at the expense of the legislative and judicial

branches and at the expense of the citizens' Bill of Rights, that is, constitutional rights and privileges. Nixon has packed the Supreme Court and the Federal District and Appellate courts with men of his own type. . . .

The secretive route toward a radical change in the form of their class rule taken by the monopolists, via the subversion of the norms of bourgeois democracy and the transfer of effective power to the President and his appointed surrogates, was determined by a number of particular circumstances. . . .

The monopolists confront a number of problems in their efforts to fit a fascist or neo-fascist straight-jacket over the state structure in the United States at this time. First of all, the reactionary war-of-aggression against the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, with its high cost in lives of U.S. drafted soldier-youth, its well-publicized massive atrocities committed against the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples as at My Lai, the carpet-bombing of Hanoi, areas of Cambodia, etc., resulted in a massive movement demanding peace. The resistance to the war was a politicalizing influence upon millions, leading them to view with suspicion and sharply criticize the policies of government.

The economic consequences of the disastrous war adventure, the rise in prices and loss of jobs, inflation and the rise in taxes and curtailment of expenditures for meeting the social needs of people have brought tens of millions into conflict with the Administration. The government's policy of "benign neglect" of social programs in general and the securing of the equality needs of Black Americans in particular have intensified the social criticism of masses and strengthened the hostility of the Blacks against the regime.

Secondly, the people of the United States still retain the livid scars from the bludgeoning of popular liberties and the recourse by government to naked police terror against real or alleged critics of its policies which was characteristic of the McCarthy years. Masses have not forgotten the lesson of those years: that when tyrants jail the Communists they fit handcuffs on the whole nation. Therefore, they have to pursue their aims by a different route than McCarthy took. For the same reason, history does not permit the ruling class to repeat the same pattern of the classical fascist ascent to power as it occurred in Germany. Our people and the world's peoples are endowed with memory of the ghastly consequences of fascism in power following the German fascist model. It would easily detect and reject such a brand. Imperialist war for national aggrandizement is an indispensable accompaniment of fascism of the German Nazi model. For with the loot of the conquests the masses at home are to be bribed into no resistance to the surrender of their civil liberties and democratic rights, and accept the exclusive

leadership of the annointed surrogate of the most powerful sector of the monopolist capitalist class. . . .

A determined center of the ruling monopoly capitalists plotted an underground route to the institutionalization of a particular Americanized modern version of fascism as the effective governmental form. This Trojan-horse route to fascism was to be accomplished without fascists and without a fascist party.

To accomplish it required the cooperation and good offices of the President himself. It required also an extensive operating center within the old guard Republican Party, now the governing party, but a presence within the Republican Party that left the neo-fascists with a freedom of operation unrestricted by the rules and traditions of the old bourgeois democratic "party of the establishment."

The Committee for the Re-Election of the President (CREEP) provided just the "wheel within the wheel" that the fascist conspirators needed, and they took full charge of it. One task they set themselves was that of insuring that no liberal challenge would be able to rise again against them from out of their rival party of Big Business, the Democratic Party. This would be accomplished both through the accumulation and elaboration of blackmailing material for character assassination and scandal campaigns for use in destroying candidates who may challenge for membership in Congress or as presidential opponents in the future on the one hand, and by elevating people like Robert Strauss and other reliable conservatives into the leadership of the Party.

The neo-fascist conspiracy of monopoly capital to erect a contingency structure within the government to insure a permanency for their unbridled class rule after the Nixon term of office expires in 1976, was timed to take advantage of the Nixon "landslide" success in the 1972 elections. Under cover of his prestige and relying on his authority "to carry it off" undetected and without serious challenge, they expected to execute the key steps in their on-going conspiracy to change the form of government to fulfill the fascist function of insuring the permanence of the domination of the monopolists of the state power. The operatives in the plot worked from safe havens of appointed posts in the executive controlled governmental bureaucracy. These technicians of the fascist coup were drawn from the intelligence branches of the CIA, FBI, metropolitan police departments, the Army, Marine Corps, Naval and Air intelligence services. From this motley brigade, a cadre from an undercover political array was formed into a special secret "Security Agency" force solely beholden to and accountable to the President's chosen surrogates — Mitchell, Dean, Haldeman, Ehrlichman — and under the field command of men of a genuine fascist ideological persuasion such as Hunt and Liddy. In place

of an organized popular base they would make exceptional use of the latest scientific and technical developments in electronic equipment for spying, infiltrating, forgeries, deception and manipulation of the media of mass information to impose their will upon the country.

Watergate signifies that the ruling monopolist class has no confidence in its ability to meet the rising demands of the masses for relief from the burdens of capitalism's deepening crisis which is being shoved onto their shoulders: joblessness and high prices soar, taxes increase and social services are retrenched, all down the line the quality of life of the masses declines while the fortunes of the ever narrowing circle of the rich multiply. Funds are withdrawn from meeting the educational needs of the people while the fires of racial bigotry are stoked with new combustible savageries against the Blacks and other non-white national minorities.

Watergate signifies that the ruling class anticipates an upsurge in the struggle of the working class accompanied by the militant action of broad strata of the people currently burdened by the reign of the monopolists. Watergate signifies that the capitalist class has no confidence that it can cope with coming struggles of the masses to secure their livelihood, and enlarge their political power and win for themselves a new birth of freedom from the yoke of exploitation and discrimination which the monopolists have imposed upon them. That is, they have no confidence they can meet the rising tide of challenge from the masses through the bourgeois democratic forms of exercising their class rule. They fear that they would be beaten in class battle waged on the plain of even the limited democracy that obtains presently. Therefore, they have made up new rules for a new "game plan" to deal with the anticipated forthcoming struggle of the masses against them. They are bent on realizing a new U.S. neo-fascist form for securing their domination and control of the state power to safeguard their grip upon the economy. Such is the essence, the real meaning of Watergate.

What is to be done to meet the arrogant challenge of Watergate?

The Watergate disclosures have exposed aspects of a far-ranging operation of the *dominant* section of the ruling class, with the President of the U.S. acting as its surrogate, whose objective is to displace the traditional bourgeois democratic form of its class rule by a highly centralized State corporate bureaucracy with all operational powers vested in the executive. The measures taken by the Nixon Administration to disembowel the rival party of the monopolists, the Democratic Party, to suppress in its infancy any moves toward the rise of a genuine mass anti-monopoly-labor party, and to penalize and prevent the radicalized advanced masses from following the logical course of their developing political consciousness into

joining the Communist Party. It constitutes a new style in approach to the accomplishment of the goal of the oldest political tendency of capitalism in its imperialist age, absolute control of the state power by the monopolists — which is the equivalent political function of fascism.

That the real rulers of the country are the monopoly capitalists and that their influence has always been dominant in the determination of government policies has long been established. . . .

What is new is the brazen use of the office and executive powers of the presidency to circumvent and undermine the established democratic processes to unconstitutionally, illegally and surreptitiously impose a new pattern of monopoly class domination over the political life of the country, a corporate bureaucratic state form with its accent upon the personal power of the President, which in its political essence corresponds to a neo-fascist type regime.

A very special feature of the present operational tendency to fascization which Watergate reveals to a degree, a feature which is distinct from the classic pattern of the fascist bid for power, is this: the Nixon government represents and basically speaks and acts in behalf of the *main sections* of the monopolists' ruling class, the *decisive majority of that class*, not simply the ". . . most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." This important difference explains the speed with which large sections of the class declared their opposition to the exposed features of Nixon's political police methods. . . .

The Watergate disclosures are a dramatic evidence of a permanent tendency inherent in state monopoly capitalism to effect neo-fascist alterations in the political superstructure on the part of the *main forces* of the ruling class. This tendency, however, is increasingly countered by another, that of making some accommodation to the new reality of the changed relation of forces as between the two world systems, socialism vis-à-vis capitalism, in international affairs, and to yield concessions to the rising tide of popular democratic struggles of the anti-monopoly forces at home which are generated by the working class, the militant actions of Black people's freedom and equality movements and the demands of Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American (Indian) and other oppressed national minorities.

Both tendencies of modern capitalism at the present stage, the one toward more repressive and dictatorial government, and the other toward yielding concessions in hope of moderating the class struggle, stem from capitalism's deepening general crisis. Watergate sharpens and brings to the crisis point these two tendencies operating in U.S. capitalism. The tendency for policies of realism related to coexistence requirements is supported by the dominant world political trends and economic developments: the

conspiracy of the neo-fascist tendency which is being unmasked in the Watergate affair has every chance of being beaten by the mass actions of an informed and rallied people who cherish their hard-fought-for democratic rights.

The fascist menace formulated in the White House underground can be effectively fought and defeated only in the general context of forwarding the anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist struggle in which the working class comes forward to take the lead. The crisis of Watergate cannot be overcome by a simple change of the guard of the class interests of the monopolists, nor by restoring the balance of the rival party of the monopolists, the Democratic Party, to its pre-election "prestige." At this point in history and the general decline of world capitalism, the anti-fascist struggle cannot be conceived of as a *different* cause from that of the anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist struggle. It rallies all supporters of democracy and believers in freedom to the working class cause of curbing the monopolists, removing them from government and placing genuine representatives of the people in command of the state.

Watergate opens new political opportunities before the U.S. working class to be about the business of preparing and bringing into being a genuine mass anti-monopoly Labor-People's Party.

Watergate raises the crying necessity for a real change of system; the masses seek the way forward; we must show why socialism is the answer and how to get it.

Watergate is the instant point of reference to expose and teach the anatomy of monopoly capitalism to the millions.

Watergate is a *profound ideological propaganda and agitational challenge to and opportunity for the Communist Party* to raise the consciousness of millions as to the nature of capitalism and the necessity of the socialist alternative. This we must do if the bell of freedom is not to be silenced and if the quality of life for the masses is to rise to the lofty heights that modern scientific and technical attainments have made possible.

SUPPORT SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITANT BLACK WORKERS

STATEMENT BY THE CC OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CP

The first half of 1973 has seen the oppressed working people of our country moving into action in many fields to challenge the regime of white domination and starvation wages.

The massive strike movement which spread from Natal, involving tens of thousands of Black workers, is remarkable evidence of a new wave of unity and militancy.

It is a serious legal crime for Africans to strike, punishable by heavy prison sentences. It is customary for an army of police to descend on strikers, employing tear gas, baton charges, police dogs and even fire-arms to drive the workers back to work.

This time the movement was too strong, widespread and militant for such methods to succeed in breaking the workers' spirit and unity. The workers came out into the streets on demonstrations—on at least one occasion, headed by the red flag. They sang the forbidden songs of the African National Congress.

The South African government is in an insecure and precarious situation. African guerrillas are winning further advances in the bordering regions of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe. In South Africa there is the ever-present threat of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the liberation movement. In this situation the Vorster government felt obliged to avoid a showdown with the strikers.

The state and the employers were compelled to behave with restraint. Some pay concessions were made, even in the mines and other industries which had not actually been involved in strikes.

True, these increases were small in cash terms and did not even compensate for the increase of prices resulting from inflation. Most African workers are still paid at rates below subsistence level.

The workers have by no means won all their demands. Their trade unions are still unrecognized; their strikes illegal; many leaders have been victimized. But they have taught the employers and the government a salutary lesson. And the workers themselves have begun to learn the immense power they have in their hands once they are organized and determined.

The government and the employers (aided by the white-dominated "official" trade unions, collaborators with apartheid) are trying to provide a safety-valve by setting up dummy "works councils,"

company unions, or Black unions subordinated to the white-led Trade Union Council (SATUC). To advance and consolidate their struggle Africans will reject such diversions, demand full trade union rights, including the right to strike, and build up the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the only truly representative workers' industrial organization, which has courageously fought every form of the color bar since its inception eighteen years ago.

The strike movement has given fresh impetus to the world movement of sympathy and solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa in their fight against apartheid and white terror.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the members of the Organization of African Unity and the lands of Asia and Latin America and the national liberation movements in other regions striving for freedom, have maintained and intensified their consistent support for the South African revolutionaries.

The working class in Britain, the United States, the FRG and other imperialist countries have raised sharp questions concerning the way in which the monopoly capitalists of their countries — through South African subsidiaries and branches — are extracting enormous profits from forced labor and apartheid.

The great Trade Union Conference against Apartheid held at Geneva on 15-16 June 1973, representing 186 million workers and, uniting for the first time for many years, all the main detachments of the trade union movement, unanimously denounced apartheid and race discrimination as a crime against humanity. It called for a whole series of practical measures to be taken by governments, trade unions and employers to boycott racist South Africa and render financial, moral and material support to the workers and people of South Africa "through their authentic trade union and political organizations."

Despite such powerful internal and external pressures, the fascist government of South Africa maintains unyielding terror against the patriotic and democratic forces of the country.

Like thousands of other victims of repression, Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada and the other heroes of the Rivonia Trial of ten years ago are still serving life sentences under the abominable conditions in the hellish prison of Robben Island and other jails. Abram Fischer, eminent advocate and Communist, now in his 65th year and seriously ill, languishes in Pretoria Central prison for a life sentence notwithstanding appeals for his release from church leaders and other notable South Africans.

Savage sentences of imprisonment were recently imposed on the "Pretoria Six" — Petrus Mthembu, Gardefier Sejaka, Theophilus Cholo, Justice Mpanza, Alexandre Moumbaris and Sean Hosey — for the "crime" of struggling for the liberation of our motherland.

Inside South Africa the call has gone out from the Communist

Party and the national liberation movement to raise still higher the banner of resistance; to organize and carry out every form of struggle, legal and illegal, violent and non-violent, until the fascist racialists are overthrown and the people win their freedom.

We, the South African Communist Party, call upon the millions of opponents of apartheid in every country to intensify their splendid campaigns of solidarity; to isolate and quarantine the racists in every field, political and economic; in commerce, diplomacy, sport and culture.

We appeal with confidence to our comrades of the Communist and Workers' Parties in all countries to take a leading and dynamic part in implementing the resolutions of the United Nations and the Geneva Conference.

No truck with the white supremacists of Pretoria!

No arms — investments — trade — white immigration — for South Africa!

Throw Vorster out of Namibia!

No apartheid teams in world sport!

Free Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada, Fischer and all political prisoners!

Expel South Africa from the United Nations!

Forward to a free, democratic South Africa!

June 1973.



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