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SUCCESSES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY

The 28th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) took place in Sofia June 18-22 this year. It was attended by delegations of the member states and Yugoslavia, with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic sending observers.

The participants in the session received with enthusiasm the messages sent by Central Committee secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties of the member-states on the occasion of the CMEA's 25th anniversary. They expressed confidence that the high evaluation by leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties of the CMEA's contribution to the consolidation of the socialist community will serve as a stimulus for a further promotion of cooperation and socialist economic integration of the member states.

25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

RESOLUTION OF THE CMEA'S JUBILEE SESSION

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is the world's first economic organization of socialist countries incorporating nine European, Asian and Latin American countries. This year is the 25th anniversary of its foundation.

Having started with cooperation in foreign trade, mutual exchanges of raw materials, food, machinery and equipment, and exchange of know-how and scientific-engineering achievements, the CMEA countries gradually moved to intensive cooperation in economics, science and technology, and to the creation of stable relations in the sphere of material production. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has become the chief organization for the many-sided economic cooperation among the CMEA countries. The fraternal cooperation among the CMEA countries contributed greatly toward implementing the policies of the Communist and Workers' Parties, aimed at their

close collaboration in constructing socialism and communism.

CMEA's great successes are largely due to the constant attention which the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties have devoted and continue to devote to its work. The economic policy aims, determined by the Congresses of the fraternal Parties and the conferences and meetings of their leaders, provide the Council with clear-cut points of reference, stimulate further improvement of the forms and methods of its activities and help to cope with important problems.

Experience has shown that the widespread cooperation among the CMEA countries is developing into an ever more important factor for the progress of their economies, for raising the peoples' welfare and for evening out economic development levels.

A new social structure has been created in all the CMEA states, the exploiter classes have been fully abolished and an end has been put to the social vices of capitalism: economic crises, inflation and unemployment. Socialist production relations, based on social ownership of the means of production, have triumphed and are now being perfected. The economic laws of socialism have been given free rein. The main principle of socialist society, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work," is being implemented. A developed socialist society is now being built in the CMEA countries. The Soviet Union, having built socialism, is creating the material and technical base for communism.

On the basis of the socialist mode of production, by making greater use of the possibilities existing in the socialist division of labor, the CMEA member-countries have reached high and stable rates of economic growth. In the past 25 years industrial production in the CMEA member-countries has increased 12 times.

The economic development of the CMEA member-states convincingly shows that the main aim of social production under socialism — the satisfaction of the people's constantly growing material and spiritual requirements — is being successfully fulfilled. The people's well-being is rapidly rising, based on dynamic economic growth. The national income of the fraternal states has increased eightfold. Production of consumer goods is constantly on the upswing and their quality is improving. The founding of the national educational system, the radical improvement of health services and social security, and the broad measures to solve the housing problem are some of the great gains achieved by the CMEA countries.

The socialist way of life, which establishes relations of equality,

comradeship, mutual assistance, socialist ethics and justice, has taken shape within the CMEA countries. The working people in the CMEA countries actively participate in running society and production and effectively use their right to work, rest and education.

A comprehensive system of planning cooperation between the socialist countries is taking shape within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It is a system which ensures the successful solution of major national-economic tasks in industry, transport, agriculture and capital construction. It is used to tackle large-scale projects for the development of raw material and energy resources and for the protection of the environment. The Druzhba trans-European oil pipeline, a gas pipeline and the united power system, Mir, are working effectively. The construction of atomic power plants is expanding. The utilization of the joint pool of rolling stock saves considerable expense. International specialization and cooperation of production is applied in metallurgy, engineering, the chemical industry and in other branches. A unified system of Ryad-type electronic computers has been developed.

The international economic organizations, economic associations, research coordination centers, joint laboratories and international teams of scientists are successfully solving many production and scientific-engineering problems.

The mutual foreign trade between the CMEA countries is steadily growing; it is free from the influence of money crises, speculative prices and other negative phenomena. Their money relations are being perfected and the importance of the transferrable rouble as the collective currency in the steadily growing economic relations among the CMEA countries is increasing.

The Comprehensive Program for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and the Development of Socialist Economic Integration marked a qualitatively new stage in economic relations among the CMEA member-states. Its implementation is the main way of improving the international socialist division of labor and is a powerful means of intensifying social production in each CMEA country, and of rapidly mastering the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

The implementation of the measures envisaged in the Comprehensive Program opens up fresh opportunities for the further rapprochement and evening out of the CMEA countries' levels of economic development. All the European countries which are members of CMEA are industrial or industrial-agrarian states. The Mongolian

People's Republic is rapidly developing her economy and over one-third of her national income is now produced by industry and construction. After it joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the Republic of Cuba was able to use the system of multilateral economic cooperation on a wider basis to accelerate the development of its economy.

The relations between CMEA and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are also growing and deepening successfully.

The CMEA countries, guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, are working for the further development of economic relations with all the socialist countries which are not affiliated with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. In fulfilment of their international duty, they gave effective support to the Vietnamese people's struggle against imperialist aggression and are now assisting the DRV in rehabilitating its economy.

The strengthening of the CMEA community does not mean they will set up a closed economic group. Thus, the CMEA countries' multilateral cooperation is developing, on the basis of a general agreement, with the Republic of Finland in different economic, scientific and engineering fields, and contacts are being established with other countries. At present CMEA maintains, in various forms, relations with over 20 international, inter-governmental and non-governmental economic, scientific and engineering organizations. The socialist states are prepared to expand cooperation with all countries, irrespective of their social and political systems, on the basis of equality, independence, mutual advantage and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

The session states that the détente creates a solid foundation for extensive and long-term cooperation with the developed capitalist countries. This is in keeping with the objective requirements of world economic life and meets the interests of the peoples in all countries. New possibilities for the development of this cooperation among countries with different social systems would open up with the successful completion of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance constantly devotes its attention to economic relations with the developing countries. The CMEA member-states give these countries economic and technical assistance in creating and developing their national industries and other branches of the national economy. Comprehensive assistance to the developing countries is being expanded, in particular a special

CMEA scholarship fund has been set up to help them train local personnel.

In accord with the general line on the alliance between the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement, the CMEA countries continue to expand cooperation with the developing countries, and to give them the necessary support in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and in defending their inalienable right to dispose of their own national wealth for the benefit of their own people.

The session has stressed that CMEA's activities are accompanied by a steady growth of its prestige all over the world. The fundamental principles of its operation — complete equality, independence, voluntary membership, respect for sovereignty, mutual benefit and assistance, and the high efficiency of cooperation for all participating countries, irrespective of their size and level of economic development — are beginning to exercise an ever growing influence on international relations.

Expressing satisfaction with the results of the work of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in the past 25 years and with its contribution to peace and cooperation among the peoples, the session stresses:

—the fraternal countries will continue to strengthen the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, to raise its role in implementing the policy of the Communist and Workers' Parties for further deepening and perfecting cooperation and developing socialist economic integration among the CMEA member-states;

—the fraternal countries will continue to improve the activities of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and of the international organizations of economic cooperation connected with it, on the basis of the principles of the international socialist division of labor which have been verified by experience;

—the fraternal countries reaffirm their determination to continue to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries in all fields, and to make the mutually beneficial and equal world economic relations serve reliably the peoples' interests, and the interests of lasting peace.

The session expresses conviction that the consistent and complete fulfilment of the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration will tangibly help all the fraternal countries in their creative work on building socialism and communism, and facilitate the further triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideals.

TRIUMPH OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY

The elections to the Supreme Soviet (parliament) were held on June 16, 1974, in an atmosphere of patriotic enthusiasm. They became a demonstration of socialist democracy and of the inviolable unity of the Soviet people closely united round their Leninist Party. Voting for the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people, the electorate expressed their support for the home and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government, and their determination to continue implementing the great plans of communist construction.

On June 18 the Central Electoral Committee examined the election results and established that in all the constituencies the elections were held in full conformity with the Constitution and the Statute of Elections.

The Central Electoral Committee summed up the returns sent by the 1,517 district electoral committees of the country. As many as 161,724,222 people eligible for voting had been put on the lists. Of them, 161,689,612, or 99.98 per cent, cast their ballot papers.

The election campaign raised still higher the political and labor activity of the people, who had received the pre-election appeal of the Party's Central Committee as a militant program for action and extended with renewed energy the socialist emulation drive to fulfil the five-year plan ahead of schedule.

The speech of Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, at the pre-election meeting in the Bauman electoral district of Moscow was received with great satisfaction by all the working people. It contains a profound analysis of what has been accomplished since the 24th Party Congress, shows the great successes of the Leninist policy of the Party, and clearly outlines the further prospects of communist construction and the tasks in the struggle for a durable peace and social progress the world over. The conclusions and propositons of this speech met with support at numerous meetings in town and countryside and in the statements made by people during the elections.

SPEECH BY LEONID I. BREZHNEV

Dear comrades,
Dear Muscovites,
The pre-election campaign is drawing to a close. Millions of elec-

tors have met their candidates and talked to them about people's joys and problems. These meetings developed into a powerful demonstration of the monolithic unity of the Party and the people, of the unity of all the classes and social groups of our society, of all the nations and nationalities inhabiting our great country. This is very inspiring, comrades, and instills confidence of new victories along the road to the set targets of communist construction.

Allow me to thank you, all working people of the Baumansky and Sokolnichesky districts of the capital, from the bottom of my heart, for nominating me candidate to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

For almost a quarter of a century now, I have been entrusted to represent the interests of the working people in the supreme organ of the country's state power. It is the seventh time I am addressing a pre-election meeting like this one.

Frankly speaking, it is impossible to overcome the emotion I experienced on the eve of addressing you. This emotion is due to the sense of responsibility, to profound, sincere gratitude for your confidence and for the honor you have done me.

Many good words have been said about me here. Let us refer these words primarily to the Communist Party which has raised and educated me and which I joined 45 years ago. Let us refer these words to the CPSU Central Committee which leads the country to communism along the Leninist course.

Following an old and good tradition, our pre-election meetings are always businesslike. Each such meeting is a serious talk about the fulfilment of the electors' mandate, about the political platform of the Party at the elections.

Addressing the Soviet people on the eve of the past elections, the CPSU Central Committee stressed that the Party would work for strengthening the might of our Motherland in the name of the further victories of communism, in the name of world peace, in the name of improving the life of every Soviet family, for the good of each Soviet man.

Indeed, comrades, everything for the sake of man, for the sake of the people. These few simple words contain profound meaning and express the aim of the activities of the Communist Party.

In the name of this great aim, K. Marx and F. Engels laid the foundations of scientific communism and of a powerful political movement destined to deliver man from all forms of oppression. In the name of this great aim, V. I. Lenin forged the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of which the proletariat of Russia carried out the triumphant socialist revolution.

Since the early years of Soviet Government, the Party and the state sought to use every possibility they had at the time to improve the position of the workingman. But the rise of socialism in our country was a hard process. For a long time we fought to stand our ground, to survive. We had to overcome age-old backwardness, to build big industry, to teach millions of people to read and write, to train specialists. We had to live through a terrible war and from the ruins raise thousands of towns and villages, factories and plants.

The labor and patience, the selflessness and enthusiasm of Communists and non-Party men, of workers and peasants, of all those who marched in the forefront and made many sacrifices to preserve and consolidate the main thing — socialism — merit the greatest respect. Those years have long become legend. But it is important to remember them in order more fully and more vividly to see the scale of the changes that have taken place since.

The situation today is different. By the persistent and heroic effort of millions, we have built a developed and mature socialist society. Now, too, we, of course, have to allocate substantial sums for the accelerated development of the country's economic potential, for ensuring its defense capacity. But our resources have grown immeasurably, and this enables us to do what we have always been striving for: to place the growth of the Soviet people's living standards in the focus of the practical policy of the Party.

The last elections took place on the borderline of two five-year plans — the eighth and the ninth — in an atmosphere when the Party and all Soviet people were preparing for the 24th Congress of the CPSU. To raise considerably the welfare and cultural standards of the people on the basis of high rates of development of socialist production — that is how the Congress defined the main task of the Five-Year Plan.

While reporting on the work done since June 1970, we report, at the same time, on the fulfilment of the Congress decisions. The concrete data on the state of the national economy are familiar to you. They are to be found in the Address of the CPSU Central Committee to the electors. Many problems of our development were dealt with in the pre-election speeches of the Party leaders and statesmen who spoke before me.

While sharing the assessment and judgments of my comrades in the Politbureau and in the Central Committee, I should like to stress the main, the principled side of the matter: the line of improving the people's living standards, proclaimed by the Congress, is being translated into specific, tangible deeds.

In the four years of the current five-year plan period, the state will spend 50 per cent more money on new measures for improving living standards than it did throughout the previous five-year period. And this will have a marked effect on the living standards of teachers and doctors, railwaymen and farm machinery operators, students, pensioners and other groups of the population. Over that period, 47 million factory and office workers will get a pay rise. The incomes of 39 million people will grow as a result of a rise in pensions, stipends, grants, and other payouts. Much has been done to improve housing conditions. In four years more than 45 million people have moved to new flats — such is our scale.

Tremendous changes are taking place in the development of agriculture, the lagging of which in the past limited in no small measure the possibilities of improving living standards.

The Party managed to find and to put into action the levers which, in the aggregate, ensure the steady progress of this vital branch of the economy. Economic conditions stimulating its development have been created. Comprehensive mechanization, electrification and chemicalization are in progress; land amelioration is being carried out on a broad scale. An all-out effort is now being made to assure the specialization and concentration of agricultural production. All this will enable the working people of the countryside to make effective use of the achievements of modern science and technology.

I shoud like to reaffirm that the Party will continue to firmly and consistently steer the line of the further development of agriculture so as to fully satisfy the country's growing requirements.

The 24th Congress noted a certain gap between the production of consumer goods and the demand for them. This gap has been narrowed over the past few years. Industry has substantially increased the output and improved the quality of many consumer goods, including household appliances, furniture, motor cars and other durables.

Behind all this there is the steady growth of the country's economic, scientific and technical potential. We are by right proud of the serious successes achieved in the development of our Motherland's national economy. Thousands of new enterprises and agricultural-industrial complexes have gone into operation. You know about the commissioning of a number of new electric power stations, including such giants as the Krasnoyarsk Hydroelectric Power Station, new thermal and atomic power stations. A number of entirely new productions born of scientific and technological progress, has been developed.

However, the Party never rests on its laurels. It always concen-

trates the attention and efforts of Communists and all working people on the still unresolved problems. Such an approach is characteristic of the Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, including the last December Plenary Meeting of 1973.

Having noted the tremendous successes achieved in the third year of the Five-Year Plan in all branches of the economy, the Plenary Meeting concentrated on the "bottlenecks," on the need to make fuller use of available reserves. This applies, in particular, to the food and light industries and other branches of Division B, where the growth rates do not as yet satisfy us.

The Plenary Meeting stressed that the assignments for 1974 and 1975, although on the high side, should be fulfilled. This can be achieved by mobilizing all forces, improving economic management, through higher productive labor, better discipline and organization. Not a single working day or working hour should be wasted!

The Central Committee of the Party notes with satisfaction that the decisions of the December Plenary Meeting have found wide response and support in the Party and the nation. A new wave of socialist emulation has risen all over the country. More than five thousand million roubles — such is the sum of above-plan pledges for 1974. Now, just five months later, our industry has already produced more than three thousand million roubles' worth of output over and above the plan. Such, comrades, is our people's shock work.

Our task now is to complete 1974 and the Five-Year Plan as a whole in a worthy manner. Allow me, dear Muscovites, to express firm confidence, together with you and with all the Soviet people, that we can and will do this.

Comrades, in mapping out the ways for the development of society, the Party starts out both from the current needs and requirements and from long-range objectives, from what we want our country to be at the end of the century.

Each Five-Year Plan is a noticeable step forward in the development of our country. But the 10th Five-Year Plan, we can say the jubilee plan, will hold a special place among them. And not only in the scope of planned accomplishments, which will, naturally, increase. What I mean is that, in keeping with the instructions of the 24th Party congress, the new Five-Year Plan is being drawn up in line with the long-range master plan of national economic development for 1976-1990 of which it will become a constituent part.

This means that the next, the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the USSR Supreme Soviet of the new convocation will discuss and adopt

not merely another Five-Year Plan, but documents of truly programmatic significance, which will become important landmarks along the road of communist construction.

While these plans are in the making, it is too early to dwell on the particular figures for the growth of the national income or the output of one or another item. But since they are being made on the strong basis of Party policy and Party decisions, the trend is obvious. And we can talk about it with assurance.

The 24th Party Congress stressed that the long-term orientation of the country's economic development will be determined by the line of a further substantial improvement in the working people's standard of living. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, I may assure you, comrades, and, through you, all Soviet people, that this main guideline of the Party will be strictly observed.

The long-term plans will provide for the solution of many major problems of communist construction, and this will enable us to go a long way toward the creation of the material and technical basis of communism and to raise the people's life to a qualitatively new level.

I mean the all-round development of productive forces, acceleration of scientific and technological progress, and, on this basis, raising the efficiency of the whole economy. The construction of new large national economic complexes will be started.

We have already embarked upon this road. The fabulously rich oil and gas resources of Western Siberia are being developed. The giant motor plant on the Kama is under construction. Work has begun on the Baikal-Amur railroad, which will transform the vast areas of the Trans-Baikal districts, and the Far East. Economic growth of the non-black-earth zone of Russia, with its population of about 60 million, will be a great accomplishment of future five-year plans. It is safe to say that such sweeping changes — and I have only named a few — are unprecedented in history. They will largely change and enrich our Motherland.

The rapid growth of the national economy will provide new opportunities for solving vital socio-economic problems.

In the course of the three forthcoming five-year periods we shall have to achieve full abundance of high-quality foodstuffs and consumer goods, a broad expansion in the service sphere and an appropriate growth in the real incomes of the population.

In our long-term plans we can provide for the reconstruction of most towns and villages of our boundless country. At the same time, we shall solve the complex problem of providing every family with a

well-appointed flat. So far not a single country in the world has been able to solve such a task. But we are tackling it and will solve it.

All these are not easy problems, of course. Our rate of advance will directly depend on our work, on the successes we achieve in industry, agriculture, science and technology. The labor, mind and hands of those who are smelting steel, producing oil, designing machines, building factories and power stations, sowing and harvesting grain, have always been and remain the only source of our well-being. And all we are planning, all we hope for as we look into the future can be made a reality only by you, comrades, only by workingmen.

High labor productivity and economic effectiveness — these directly determine the share of the national wealth which society will be able to allot for improving the people's life. And this is precisely why the Party has drawn the conclusion that the changeover to intensive methods of economic management and the emphasis on the qualitative factors of growth assume tremendous importance. The first rough calculations in connection with the long-term plan now being drawn up have confirmed that this is becoming a necessary condition for successful economic development.

Already now that the development rates of the national economy are much faster than the growth of manpower, the maximum saving of labor is called for. Later on, this demand will become much more stringent, because economic development will assume a still greater scope and because the number of those employed in the spheres of science, education, health and everyday services will grow. This means that the rapid growth of the national economy should not be accompanied by a substantial increase in the numbers employed in the sphere of material production. This should be achieved through higher labor productivity. Consequently, to fulfil our plans, workers and collective farmers should be equipped with more efficient machinery, new automatic lines, powerful tractors, harvester combines and other farm equipment and use the latest production processes.

The Party regards scientific and technological progress as the pivot of its whole economic policy. It should invade all spheres of production, bringing bold scientific discoveries, hundreds and thousands of improvements in production processes, new mechanisms and tools — everything that saves and facilitates work and makes it more productive and interesting.

Labor productivity, Lenin said, is, in the last analysis, the most important, the principled thing for the victory of the new social system. These words by Lenin have special significance in the present

epoch, the epoch of scientific and technical revolution. And our Party never forgets that!

The changeover to intensive methods of economic development poses not a few important and complex problems in the sphere of economic management. It calls for better planning, for a more skilful use of economic levers, for strict profit and loss accounting. The Party is dealing with these problems and will continue to deal with them.

In a word, we have set ourselves tremendous tasks in the fields of economy and improvement of the people's welfare. To carry out these tasks, it is necessary to show daily concern for combining improvement of the work of all echelons of economic management with a wide movement of millions upon millions of working people, with raising their activity, with their real thrifty masters' attitude to work. This is the essence of the Party approach to economic management. That is the right attitude borne out by the whole history of socialist construction. We are sure that therein lies the key to our future successes.

Comrades, along with the economy, long-range planning covers other aspects of social development. After all, it is the aim of socialism to satisfy the social, spiritual and moral requirements as well.

It is important for each person to know that he is equal in rights with other members of society, can always reckon on a just and respectful attitude to himself, on the concern of the state, on the help and support of the collective. Everyone is interested in taking an active part in the affairs of his enterprise or institution, in the affairs of his state. Everyone wants to have confidence in the morrow and in his children's future. We have created conditions for the satisfaction of these social needs. This is one of socialism's tremendous gains. We should preserve and augment it like other social values.

To sum up the results of social development over a short period of time is much more difficult than those of economic development — the dynamics of social process cannot always be expressed in figures. But when speaking of trends, they can be traced quite clearly.

The chief of these trends is that Soviet society is becoming ever more united and solid. Our country is for the first time in history tackling problems — unprecedented in scale and significance — of profound changes in the structure of social relations. The classes and social groups that make up Soviet society are drawing ever closer together. And this is very good, comrades: we are advancing further and further along the road to communism.

A new historical community of people — the Soviet people — has taken shape in our country. And this means that the Soviet people's common traits of behavior, character and world outlook, independent of social and national differences, are becoming ever more pronounced. This means that the alliance of the working class and peasantry, which has always been the basis of the socialist system, has found its development in the unbreakable political and ideological unity of these classes with the intelligentsia, which has long been firmly standing on the positions of socialism. And today we have every right to say that the strong alliance of all the working people, of the manual and brain workers, the alliance of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia is a real fact of our life. This alliance, in which the working class plays the leading part, is strong and unbreakable!

The strengthening of the social hemogeneity of society is a reliable foundation for the further development of socialist democracy, the political system of mature socialism.

We assert, fully convinced that we are right, that socialism, and socialism alone, ensures in practice the exercise of democratic freedoms. Real democracy permeates all spheres of our society and safeguards the interests and rights of all people, and the interests and rights of each citizen effectively. Our Leninist Party is the main bearer of the principles of socialist democracy, a guarantor of its successful advance.

Four years ago we talked about the need to take new specific measures aimed at stepping up the activities of the Soviets at all levels. Since then, laws have been passed which expand the rights and economic opportunities of the Soviets. The Law on the Status of Deputies to the Soviets has widened their scope considerably. The Soviets have become more active. The deputies are being more exacting, and their outlook as statesmen is getting broader. And this is very important, because it shows that the Party's work is yielding fruit.

Democracy is a meaningless word if it does not operate in the surroundings in which a man works every day, in which he applies his creative powers. Therefore, the strengthening of democratic principles right in production is of major importance.

We are most consistent here. The Party demands that each law and each resolution on the principles and methods on which industrial enterprises work must provide for the working people's participation in production management. Recently, for instance, the statute of production associations was endorsed. The document is permeated with

the idea of increasing the part that public organizations and working collectives play in drawing up and fulfilling plans, in improving working and living conditions, in improving all the activities of these associations. There is no doubt that Party organizations, trade unions and the Komsomol will succeed in using their extensive rights in the interests of each collective and of all society.

The broadening of the working people's participation in the work of the Soviets and in production management, the increasing activity of trade unions, the Komsomol and other public organizations make it especially urgent to raise the working people's political standards, and increase publicity in the work of the Party, government and economic organs. Much has already been done in this respect, and we shall carry on on this road.

The fundamental legislation on labor, the legislations on education, health and the protection of the environment, passed by the Supreme Soviet in the last few years, continue our line of principle — the line of constantly broadening and enriching the rights of the individual, the rights of the working man. We can say that on the whole our legislation has lately been renovated in a major way and has become more stable and democratic.

When we speak of strengthening socialist legality, we refer to two aspects of the matter. First, the strict protection of citizens' rights and ruling out any arbitrary acts, including those on the part of officials. Second, we mean strict observance of Soviet law and of the rules of public order by all citizens. Crime and all forms of anti-social behavior are a social evil which should be fought firmly and resolutely day by day. I am sure that the Soviet people share and support this view.

I should like to say a few words about the legal regulation of economic activities. Unfortunately, this matter did not receive adequate attention for a long time, with the result that many unsettled problems have accumulated. There are thousands of rules and instructions in each area of the national economy. Just try and find your way around them! The more so that many of these instructions are outdated, and contain unwarranted restrictions and petty regulations. This hampers initiative and contradicts the new demands now made on the economy.

I think that the Supreme Soviet of the new convocation, the Government, ministries and departments will take this matter up in all seriousness.

The development of socialist democracy presupposes regular im-

provement in the state machinery. It is important for officials everywhere to face up to their responsibilities more fully and to improve organizational structure wherever necessary.

We shall go on to assert, resolutely and consistently, the Leninist Party style in the work of state organs. This task was given a serious discussion at the last Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. It was said at the Plenary Meeting that in asserting the Party style of work we should step up the struggle against all manifestations of red tape.

Red-tape entangled bureaucrats and those who are outright rude to people are having a hard time now. But the more difficult it becomes for a bureaucrat to get along in our society, the more skilfully he adapts and camouflages himself. But the essence is always the same — sacrificing real work to form, and disregarding the interests of the state, society and people for the sake of departmental and parochial interests. Some officials try to avoid decision-making and the reasonable risks involved in any work, and shun personal responsibility. From the very start, they do not think so much about improving work as about putting up a wall of papers around them in case something goes wrong. There are not so many such people in our state machinery, of course. But even the few there are can do a great deal of harm.

Our society is vitally interested that the administrative posts — whether in government and economic bodies, in cultural and public organizations — be held by competent, capable people, didicated to the cause of socialism, good organizers with a good sense of the new, people who are unpretentious and accessible, capable of leading the collective and of learning from it.

Lenin said that under socialism, the mass of the population would rise, for the first time in the history of civilized societies, to independent participation in day-to-day management. This has already been achieved in our country. From top to bottom, our state is actually governed with the day-to-day participation of the masses. This is an important source of the dynamism of our society, of the stability of the political system of socialism.

Comrades, the spiritual life and culture of the Soviet people are becoming richer and more variegated from year to year. This is only natural. Today the rates of social progress, the rates of our advance toward communism depend to an ever greater extent on the intellectual potential of society, on the development of culture, science and education. While putting into practice the historic decisions of the

24th Congress of the Party, we have accomplished much in all these spheres.

Thanks to the successes achieved by our education, the Soviet people can already now be safely called one of the world's most educated nations. The completion of the changeover to universal secondary education toward the end of the current five-year period expands the mass base for new achievements in all spheres of public life. The same purpose is pursued by the Party's policy aimed at turning higher educational establishments into active scientific and cultural centers.

Soviet science is doing great work on all fronts of communist construction. It is invading, ever more actively, production and everyday life and changing the way of life of millions. This year, Soviet scientists and, along with them, the whole country and the whole poeple proudly mark the 250th anniversary of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the headquarters of our science, headed for many years now by Mstislav Vsevolodovich Keldysh, a prominent scientist of our country. We are firmly confident that Soviet scientists will go on making a great contribution to the material and spiritual progress of our great Motherland.

Scientific search and immediate concern for the good of man in his everyday life are perhaps most closely intertwined in medicine and health protection. The people highly appreciate the work of the five-million-strong army of doctors, scientists and medical workers which stands on guard over the Soviet people's health.

Socialist culture, imbibing the best and the most progressive of all mankind has created or is creating now, enriches the inner world of people, makes their lives fuller and more interesting. It helps them better to understand the essence of our work and of our struggle and of the grandeur of our goals.

Speaking of the creative arts, one cannot fail to note that in the past few years the immortal feat performed by the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War was profoundly, truthfully and excitingly recreated in many works of Soviet literature, on the screen and on the stage. The Party sets great store by such works. For the new generations of the Soviet people, the heroism of the nation which saved world civilization will always be a patriotic example, an example of courage and nobility.

Soviet spectators, readers and listeners are becoming ever more exacting. The country expects of its writers and all workers of Soviet art new highly artistic and substantial works on our contemporaries.

The Party sees its task in providing the best possible conditions for the development of socialist culture and science. We want the artistic intelligentsia to go on strengthening their ties with the life of the people, with the working class and the working people of the countryside. We want the spiritual values, so essential for the people engaged in communist construction, to be augmented in the democratic, exacting and comradely atmosphere.

I am sure that the men of Soviet culture and Soviet science will always be equal to their historic mission!

These, comrades, are some of the problems of the Party's home policy, of our social development which I deemed necessary to touch upon. I think that we can draw the following conclusion: the platform which the Party proclaimed at the last elections is being realized successfully. This is another proof of the fact that the words of the Leninist Party are never at variance with its deeds. The Soviet people know this well. They believe their Party and support its policy by their everyday work. This is the basis of all our successes, the basis of our optimism, of our unshakeable belief in the triumph of communism.

Comrades, over the past few years the Party has been engaged in extremely vigorous activities on the foreign-policy front. You understand the reasons for that. The world situation and concern for the vital interests of the Soviet people, for preserving peace on earth compelled us to concentrate on the solution of acute international problems.

Just recall what we confronted in the international arena in the relatively recent past. Fierce fighting was going on in Vietnam. The situation in the Middle East was fraught with dangerous explosions. The "cold war" weighed heavily on people's minds and lives. Our relations with the United States, the FRG and many other big states of the capitalist world remained tense.

Our Party never considered such a situation inevitable, much less, normal. Having assessed the general balance of world forces, we arrived at the conclusion several years ago that there existed a realistic possibility of bringing about a radical change in the international situation. It was a matter of starting a broad constructive discussion and the settlement of the issues which had piled up. These intentions and this policy of our Party found their general expression in the Peace Program proclaimed by the 24th CPSU Congress.

There is not a Soviet man who does not regard this Program as an embodiment of his thoughts about the destinies of the country, about

its present and future. There is not a Soviet man who does not hate war. All our aspirations and our plans for the future are associated with the preservation of peace.

The first generation of the Soviet people who did not have to trudge the roads of war and were spared the hardships and suffering of wartime is now in its prime. To put it simply, comrades, it is my ardent wish that our children and grandchildren will never know what war is. This is why the Party put forward the Peace Program and launched a campaign for a radical improvement of the entire system of international relations.

The results of our efforts are common knowledge. The chief thing is that the foundations of peace and international security have been seriously strengthened and the danger of nuclear war has diminished. The Soviet people and all peoples of the world regard this as a success of truly historic importance.

The favorable changes in the world situation are primarily due to the influence exerted on the course of developments by the world of socialism, its successes, its might and its example. This is the result of the purposeful and coordinated policy of the socialist countries. It is safe to say that never before has the coordination of the socialist countries' efforts in foreign policy been as profound and effective as in the last few years. Socialist states acted in the foreign-policy arena in permanent contact and in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding. The Central Committee of our Party has always paid and will continue to pay unabating attention to the development of cooperation with the fraternal countries in all spheres, including international relations.

One of the greatest achievements in the persistent struggle of the forces of peace and socialism was stopping the aggressive war of American imperialism in Vietnam. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people was crowned with a victory of great fundamental importance. The essential thing now is to bring about a final political settlement in South-East Asia.

It was largely due to the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and to the change in the international climate that more favorable conditions have taken shape for the struggle against imperialist aggression and for stamping out the hotbed of war in the Middle East. Agreements were reached on the disengagement of troops on the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights. At the same time, it is obvious that these are only the first steps. The main problems involved in the settlement have still to be considered at the

Geneva Conference. This is an extremely complex task. It can only be solved by joint efforts of the states taking part in the conference.

The Soviet Union is making and will continue to make its contribution to this cause. Our position with regard to the final settlement of the Middle East crisis is well known. Progress toward a settlement will create conditions for the development of our relations with all the countries of the Middle East. A really durable and just peace should at long last triumph in the Middle East!

Thus, we have good grounds for saying that the key point of the Peace Program on stamping out the most dangerous hotbeds of war is being fulfilled successfully. We have scored no small successes in other directions of our foreign policy as well.

If the trend for détente has now become dominant, then Europe is the most graphic evidence of this. Now Europe is justly referred to as a continent which may become an important link in a system of interstate relations based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, effective security and equal cooperation.

The growth of realistic tendencies in the policy of France and, subsequently, of the FRG, played no small part in the changing of the European climate. Indubitable credit for that goes to such political leaders as de Gaulle, Pompidou and Brandt and to the forces they relied upon. They were able to realize that the "cold war" oriented system of international relations was up a dangerous blind alley, that it ran counter to the national interests of their countries. Their striving to establish constructive West-East relations raised the prestige of the countries they represented in European and world politics.

Now, new leaders have taken office in France and the FRG. In their first statements, President Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Schmidt stressed that they intended to preserve and carry on what their predecessors had begun. Such policies in France and Western Germany find understanding and reciprocity in the Soviet Union.

Dozens of countries, large and small, aligned and non-aligned, have now been drawn into the orbit of peaceful coexistence. Conditions have taken shape for a serious expansion of our relations with Italy. We cooperate well with Finland, the Scandinavian countries, Austria and other states. There have been some changes for the better in our relations with Great Britain.

The current process of Europe turning into a zone of durable peace and fruitful cooperation should be given every support and continued. For this purpose it is in the first place necessary to complete the all-European Conference successfully.

Much has already been done in Helsinki and Geneva. A way has been found toward the settlement of a number of important and complex problems. It must be admitted, however, that delegations of certain states are trying to complicate the situation by making now one proposal, now another, some of them deliberately unacceptable or totally irrelevant.

Those who resort to the tactics of procrastination ought to ask themselves what alternative, as a matter of fact, can they offer for a successful completion of the Conference? To go back to the international tensions the European peoples got tired of in the "cold war" years? Do they realize the responsibility they will carry if things take such a turn? After all, this would contradict the vital interests of the peoples who want to live in peace and therefore expect the Conference to adopt weighty decisions strengthening peace and security in Europe.

We are certain that given a will it is possible to find satisfactory and universally useful solutions of the really relevant problems which still remain unsolved. This calls for only one thing: a sense of reality and concern for Europe's peaceful future. We are confident also that the importance and scope of the problems the Conference is dealing with call for participation of summit-level statesmen in its concluding stage.

The serious turn in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America has become one of the most important foreign-policy events over the past few years. Guiding ourselves by the decisions of the 24th Congress, we have adopted a principled approach on this matter, taking account of the importance of Soviet-American relations for the preservation of peace and the improvement of the international climate.

Obvious progress has been made in this field. The Soviet Union and the United States signed documents of tremendous importance — on the fundamentals of our interrelations in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence and on the prevention of nuclear war, on the first steps toward the limitation of strategic arms. Agreements on mutually benefical cooperation in many fields were also concluded. These documents and agreements have created a sound basis for a wide development of contacts and ties not only along diplomatic lines, but along many other lines as well — between business circles, scientists, cultural workers and public figures of the two countries. Many prominent members of the U.S. Congress have visited the Soviet Union. In turn, our parliamentary delegation recently visited

the USA. All this is of great importance for the solution of present-day problems and for the future of Soviet-American relations.

As you know, President Richard Nixon of the United States of America will arrive in Moscow again in the near future. The third meeting of Soviet and American leaders will take place. It is awaited with natural interest not only in our two countries, but all over the world. One can come across pessimistic forecasts of the possible outcome of the Moscow meeting in the foreign press. We think otherwise. The improvement of Soviet-American relations can and should continue. Nobody intends to try and solve any raw problems in a hurry. But we cannot mark time, either.

While giving due to what has been accomplished, we should not turn a blind eye to the difficulties and problems that still exist. These problems remain. This makes it still more important to make the most of the opportunities for further progress which exist today. This refers to the political relations between the USSR and the USA. Besides, this applies in full also to the economic relations between our two countries. The most important and complex problems, however, remain in the field of the arms race limitation. A sharp discussion is centered on them.

Those circles in the USA and in its allied countries which oppose relaxation and seek to spur on the arms race are now trying to shift the blame for this race to the Soviet Union. This is an obvious distortion of fact. To let bygones be bygones is all very well, perhaps, but in this particular case it would be very advisable to look into the past. The facts which are common knowledge show that the arms race and rivalry in the development of the most dangerous mass-annihilation weapons were imposed on us. It was not our country that first began making atom bombs, submarines carrying strategic missiles, cassette warheads and many other weapons.

We think that the Soviet-American agreements on arms limitations, concluded in 1972 and 1973, paved the way to a good goal and that is the way we should follow. We stand for the United States and the Soviet Union, by mutual consent, to show maximum restraint in further expansion of their armaments and to reach agreement which would prevent the development of ever newer strategic weapons. We are prepared already now to agree with the United States on the limitation of underground nuclear tests, including their complete termination within a specified period of time.

In a word, if the government of the United States abides by the principles of equal security and renunciation of attempts to gain one-

sided advantage, it will always find in the Soviet Union an honest and active partner in such a vital matter as the limitation and reduction of strategic armaments.

We want Soviet-American relations to become really stable and independent of time-serving considerations. We want their further development to be beneficial to our two countries and to the world at large.

The relations between the Soviet Union and Japan are changing for the better. At a meeting with Prime Minister Tanaka last October both sides were in favor of fundamentally improving these relations and agreed that it was necessary to broaden economic cooperation considerably. Big mutually profitable deals hade already been made, and the outlook for the future is not at all bad. It is to be hoped that Soviet-Japanese political relations will also make good progress. We are sure that a constructive development of Soviet-Japanese relations meets the needs of both countries. Besides, it is in the interests of peace and security on the Asian continent.

Of great importance in this connection is the fruitful cooperation of our country with India, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and other Asian countries. The past few years saw no small achievements in relations with these countries. The same goes for the Soviet Union's relations with a number of Arab states, with many African and Latin American countries.

Our relations with Argentina are improving. We have invited President Peron to the Soviet Union, and our invitation has been accepted. I think that this visit, the forthcoming negotiations and the development of political and economic contacts between our countries will serve the interests of both nations.

In a word, comrades, there have been many changes in the world in the past few years. But there must be no stopping halfway. The relaxation of tension should become irreversible and we shall fight for that.

We also come out for political détente to be supplemented by military relaxation. It is common knowledge that a number of international agreements have been concluded in the field of arms limitation, and without these, the situation in the world today would have probably been more serious. However, the arms race has not been stopped, unfortunately.

Under these conditions, the Central Committee and the supreme organs of power of our state continue to give unabating attention to strengthening our socialist Motherland's defense capacity. And I can

assure you, comrades, that our defense is reliable and will continue to be up to the mark.

At the same time, we are working tirelessly for real progress in disarmament. The supporters of the arms race argue that to limit armaments, let alone reduce them, means to run a risk. Actually, the continued unrestrained stockpiling of weapons involves much greater risk. Therefore, we call on all states and all governments again and again to put an end to the arms race and to start advancing toward the great goal — universal and complete disarmament.

Realizing the complexity of this enormous task, we are ready to take partial measures for the limitation and reduction of arms. This underlies, in particular, our stand at the negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. We think that it is possible to achieve the first practical results there in the near future, provided, of course, that all taking part in the negotiations show goodwill.

The all-round development of economic, scientific and technical ties is an important factor in consolidating the positive political changes in the international arena and in laying the material foundation for durable peace. It meets the interests of all states. It meets the interests of peoples. However, certain circles in the West want to bargain with us for political and ideological concessions in exchange for such ties. They are simply wasting their time.

We want every state to take part in the international division of labor on equal and profitable terms, without any violation of sovereignty or any interference in internal affairs. This is conducive to the overall progress of the world economic ties which keep growing in importance.

Another factor — the activization of the broad public — has assumed great importance in the effort to consolidate the positive changes in international relations. The policy of détente is acquiring a truly mass scope today. The establishment of contacts with the public of other countries, the development of ties along parliamentary, trade-union and other lines, the all-out extension of the peace front — all this will remain our constant concern.

The struggle for the triumph of realism, for the triumph of common sense in international relations is not going to be easy. Every new line on the way to lasting peace is seized in battle, over fierce resistance of the most reactionary circles of imperialism and their accomplices. Representatives of aggressive forces and the adherents of realism clash in practically all bourgeois countries. But no matter what acute

forms this struggle may take, we are certain of one thing — the future is not with the "cold warriors" and not with those who would like to push the peoples into the abyss of war.

The leadership of the People's Republic of China opposes the overall positive changes in the international arena. Whipping up a militaristic and chauvinistic frenzy inside the country, they subordinate their foreign policy to the tasks of the struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to attempts to frustrate détente. Now the leadership of the PRC has gone to the length of forming an open alliance with the representatives of extreme reaction — the Chilean junta, the leaders of the right-wing imperialist bourgeoisie of Britain, the FRG, the USA and other countries. These acts expose Peking's policy for what it really is better than any words.

As for our relations with China, we shall naturally continue to rebuff anti-Soviet slander, firmly stand guard over the interests of our state and our security. At the same time we are, as ever, all for the normalization of relations with China, for the restoration of friendship with the great Chinese people on the reliable basis of proletarian internationalism. In a word, we shall consistently follow the line of the 24th Congress of our Party on this important matter too.

Comrades, the foreign policy of the CPSU and of our Central Committee is permeated with profound concern for the good of the Soviet people. At the same time, this policy fully accords with the interests of all the revolutionary forces, with the cherished aspirations of all the peoples. This is a class line, a socialist and truly internationalist line.

Mankind is now living through a turbulent period of its history. The public forces working for social progress, and fighting against the sway of big business, against the reactionary forces, act ever more resolutely and purposefully.

This is a complicated struggle. The changes of governments and regimes take place in a variety of forms and have a variety of consequences for the working people. This has always been the case in history. We know the example of Chile, where reaction and fascism have managed to gain the upper hand for the time being. But we also see the example of Portugal where, after 50 years of fascist domination, the power is being taken over by progressive forces, who express the interests of broad masses of the people. And it is the events in Portugal, rather than events in Chile, that reflect the main trend in social development. The ultimate victory of the forces of democracy and progress is inevitable.

Allow me, comrades, to extend from this platform, on belalf of the 15-million-strong Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on behalf of all our people, our profound respect for Communists of all countries, selfless fighters for the happy future of mankind. I address the first word of wupport and brotherhood to our dear comrades Luis Corvalan and Rodney Arismendi, held in prison by reactionaries. We are with you, friends, we remember you, and shall do everything in our power that you may regain your freedom.

Aware of its high responsibility, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union takes part in solving the common problems facing the communist movement. Our Party regards as its sacred duty to promote the growth of the prestige and cohesion of the great movement representing the most influential political force in the worldwide struggle for socialism and peace, for national and social freedom.

To safeguard the Soviet people's peaceful work, to strengthen world peace — such is the main mandate of the electors. The Party never loses sight of it and works persistently for the accomplishment of this great and complex task. The election platform of the CPSU is a platform of peace. This is why all the working people ot our country support it so enthusiastically.

Dear comrades, as I am addressing the Muscovites, I should like to say a special word about our beloved city, the hero-city, Moscow.

People are apt to judge the biggest changes in the life of society by their immediate surroundings. They appraise, above all, the new things they see in their city, in their street, in the factory canteen, in a polyclinic, a shop and the school where their children study. This is only natural, and the people of our capital are no exception. There is a difference, however. It is this: Moscow is the capital for all. It commands universal attention. And the welcome changes taking place here interest and gladden all our people.

The four years that have passed since the last elections have been special years in the life of Moscow. Muscovites have got down to fulfilling the task set by the 24th Congress — to make the capital a model communist city — in a businesslike way and, I would say, wtih great enthusiasm. The Master Plan for the development of the city which provides for everything needed for improving working conditions and leisure, and for bringing beauty into people's lives has been endorsed and is already being fulfilled. This plan will actually shape the aspect of the city as it will be on the threshold of the third millennium.

Now that millions of people have already improved their housing

conditions, it becomes possible to pay more attention to the quality of building, the convenient layout of flats, the outer appearance of avenues, neighborhoods and public buildings. Our architects can and should put an end to monotony in housing developments and to dull architecture.

Finally, the inner image of the city, its soul, so to say, is no less important to us. Muscovites are expected to set an example not only in the solution of town development problems, but also in the sphere of human relations. A model communist city is a city inhabited by people with high standards of culture and consciousness, a city of exemplary public order. It is a city where people live in an atmosphere of goodwill, mutual respect and regard for one another.

Moscow has always been and will remain a hard-working city. Muscovites, including the working people of the Baumansky and Sokolnichesky districts, march in the vanguard of the nationwide socialist emulation, as ever. In this connection, I should like to note the tremendous work done by the Moscow Party organization, by the city and district committees of the Party, by the Moscow Soviet and district Soviets of Working People's Deputies. They are not only working for the fulfilment of plans, but they see and support in good time the many wonderful initiatives of the working people of the capital, initiatives which spread to the rest of the country.

In three years of the Five-Year Plan period, Moscow has produced 1,155,000,000 roubles worth of above-plan output. Allow me to congratulate you and all Muscovites on the above-plan "capital's billion" and to wish you new, still greater successes in your selfless work.

Comrades, just like other candidates to the USSR Supreme Soviet, I am a representative of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. This is a permanent, rather than temporary, factor of our political life. If you come to think of it, you will see that it embodies a principle sacred to all of us: the deeds, concerns and aspirations of the people are the deeds, concerns and aspirations of the Party.

In conclusion, I should like to thank once again the workers, engineers, technicians and office employees of Automotive Electrical Equipment Plant No. 2, the Order of the Red Banner of Labor Sewing Association "Bolshevichka," the Order of the October Revolution and the Order of the Patriotic War, First Class, Analytical Computer Plant, the motor carriage depot of the Moscow Railways, as well as the professors, instructors, students and postgraduates of the Moscow Order of Lenin and Order of the Red Banner of Labor Bauman

Higher Technical School for nominating me again candidate to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

I want to extend my cordial thanks to the authorized representative, Comrade Anatoly Nikolayevich Afanasyev, as well as to Valentin Nikolayevich Makeyev, Georgy Alexandrovich Nikolayev, Vera Stepanovna Gridneva, Nikolai Nikolayevich Seleznyov and Tamara Pavlovna Zaitseva, who have addressed this meeting and supported my candidature.

I ask the canvassers and the authorized representatives, working at the polling stations of our constituency, to accept my sincere gratitude for their active participation in preparing the current elections.

I regard the support of my candidature as support of the Party's policy and approval of its course. To do all for new victories of the communist cause — this is the main goal, the supreme duty and set purpose of my whole life as a Communist.

Thank you very much, dear comrades, for your confidence!

(L. I. Brezhnev's speech was heard with keen attention and was repeatedly punctuated with applause. All rose. The participants in the meeting chanted: "Glory to the CPSU!," "Glory to the Leninist Central Committee!," "Glory to the Soviet people!," "Hurrah!.")

Pravda, June 16, 1974.

A BIG CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE

ON THE RESULTS OF THE THIRD SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETING

The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR examined the report by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on the results of the third Soviet-American summit meeting and fully approved the activity of the Soviet Union's delegation and the political results of these talks that are of much importance for consolidation of relations between the USSR and the USA, for the cause of peace and international security.

The talks of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade L. I. Brezhnev; President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade N. V. Podgorny; Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade A. N. Kosygin; and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Comrade A. A. Gromyko; with President Richard Nixon of the USA, held in the Soviet Union in the period from June 27 to July 3, 1974, are a new major contribution to improving Soviet-American relations, facilitate a further easing of international tension and the assertion in international relations of principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, this being in the interests of the peoples of the USSR and the USA, in the interests of strengthening peace in the whole world.

The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR note with satisfaction that a fundamental positive change in Soviet-American relations has taken place in the past two years, owing to the consistent implementation of the Peace Program by the Party and the Soviet state.

Signed as a result of the first two meetings — in May 1972 in Moscow, and in June 1973 in the USA — were such documents of tremendous importance as the Basic Principles of Relations Between the USSR and the USA, the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, as well as other political documents determining relations between the two powers on the basis of principles of peaceful coexistence.

In the course of the third meeting of the Soviet and American leaders both sides arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to firmly sustain and implement the main line stipulated in the documents signed in 1972-1973. In their sum total, the agreements concluded between the USSR and the USA comprise a broad basis for further developing Soviet-American relations and mutually advantageous cooperation.

During the talks main attention was given to questions of further lessening the war danger and limiting strategic arms. With due account to the fundamental documents in this field signed at the previous summits, agreement was reached on the limitation of the ABM systems of both countries, on the coordinated limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests, on further efforts aimed at limiting strategic offensive weapons; and on the adoption of measures aimed

at excluding chemical weapons from the arsenals of states. All this means a substantial advance toward stronger peace and mutual trust, and enhances and deepens détente.

Of fundamental importance is the resolve of the United States and the USSR, recorded in the documents, to exert joint efforts to eliminate the danger of war and especially war involving the use of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction, to limit and ultimately end the arms race, especially the strategic arms race, to consolidate détente and to spread it all over the world. The fulfilment by both sides of the commitments assumed will serve an effective means of safeguarding international security.

The new agreements on cooperation in the field of public health, energy, housing and other construction and especially the Long-Term Agreement on Facilitating Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation are a further major step toward expanding bilateral cooperation. The development of relations between the two countries on the basis of full equality and mutual advantage, the assumed commitments to respect the rights and interests of all states are an important factor of further improving the international situation and expanding international cooperation.

A successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will be of great importance for establishing stable peace on that continent. Bothe sides proceed from the assumption that the results of the talks will contribute to the speediest conclusion of the conference at summit level, this being in the interests of the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

Of great importance is the confirmation by both sides of their positions on a peaceful settlement in the Middle East on the basis of the known resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, meeting the lawful interests of all the peoples of the Middle East, including the Palestinian people, and the right to existence of all states in that area.

The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR note with satisfaction that the new Soviet-American meeting has become a major milestone in the history of relations between the USSR and the United States and has resulted in the attainment of a number of fundamental agreements on important problems of our time. The Soviet people unanimously support the results of these talks.

The Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of

the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR state their resolve to work consistently for the implementation of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, the Peace Program adopted by it, and the concerted line of fraternal socialist countries in international affairs, to rebuff the intrigues of the aggressive imperialist forces, to strengthen the socialist community, to promote the further growth of the USSR's economic and political might, to raise the living standard of the Soviet people, and to facilitate in every way the safeguarding of lasting peace on earth and social progress of the peoples.

Pravda, July 6, 1974

JOINT SOVIET-U.S. COMMUNIQUE

In accordance with the agreement to hold regular Soviet-U.S. meetings at the highest level, and at the invitation, extended during the visit of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union L. I. Brezhnev to the USA in June 1973, the President of the United States of America and Mrs. Richard Nixon paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from June 27 to July 3, 1974.

During his stay President Nixon visited, in addition to Moscow, Minsk and the Southern Coast of the Crimea.

The Soviet leaders and the President of the United States held a thorough and useful exchange of views on major aspects of relations between the USSR and the USA and on the present international situation.

On the Soviet Side the talks were conducted by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; N. V. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

Accompanying the President of the USA and participating in the talks was Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, U.S. Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Also taking part in the talks were:

On the Soviet Side: A. F. Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the USA; A. M. Alexandrov, Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; L. M. Zamyatin, Director General of

TASS; and G. M. Korniyenko, Member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

On the American Side: Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., American Ambassador to the USSR; General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Assistant to the President; Mr. Ronald L. Ziegler, Assistant to the President and Press Secretary; Major General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Mr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Counselor of the Department of State; and Mr. Arthur A. Hartman, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs.

The talks were held in a most businesslike and constructive atmosphere and were marked by a mutual desire of both sides to continue to strengthen understanding, confidence and peaceful cooperation between them and to contribute to the strengthening of international security and world peace.

I. PROGRESS IN IMPROVING SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS

Having considered in detail the development of relations between the USSR and the USA since the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in May 1972, both Sides noted with satisfaction that through their vigorous joint efforts they have brought about over this short period a fundamental turn toward peaceful relations and broad, mutually beneficial cooperation in the interests of the peoples of both countries and of all mankind.

They emphasized the special importance for the favorable development of relations between the USSR and the USA of meetings of their leaders at the highest level, which are becoming established practice. These meetings provide opportunities for effective and responsible discussion, for the solution of fundamental and important bilateral questions, and for mutual contributions to the settlement of international problems affecting the interests of both countries.

Both Sides welcome the establishment of official contacts between the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Congress of the U.S. They will encourage a further development of such contacts, believing that they can play an important role.

Both Sides confirmed their mutual determination to continue actively to reshape Soviet-U.S. relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence and equal security, in strict conformity with the spirit and the letter of the agreements achieved between the two countries and their obligations under those agreements. In this connection they noted once again the fundamental importance of the joint documents

adopted as a result of the summit meetings in 1972 and 1973, especially of the Basic Principles of Relations Between the USSR and the USA, the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, the treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms.

Both Sides are deeply convinced of the imperative necessity of making the process of improving Soviet-U.S. relations irreversible. The believe that, as a result of their efforts, a real possibility has been created to achieve this goal. This will open new vistas for broad mutually beneficial cooperation, and for strengthening friendship between the Soviet and American peoples, and will thus contribute to the solution of many urgent problems facing the world.

Guided by these worthy goals, both Sides decided to continue steadfastly to apply their joint efforts — in cooperation with other countries concerned, as appropriate — first of all in such important fields as:

—removing the danger of war, including particularly war involving nuclear and other mass-destruction weapons;

—limiting and eventually ending the arms race especially in strategic weapons, having in mind as the ultimate objective the achievement of general and complete disarmament under appropriate international control;

—strengthening and extending the process of relaxation of tensions throughout the world;

—developing broad, mutually beneficial cooperation in commercial and economic, scientific-technical and cultural fields on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, equality and non-interference in internal affairs with a view to promoting increased understanding and confidence between the peoples of both countries.

Accordingly, in the course of this summit meeting both Sides considered it possible to take new contstructive steps which, they believe, will not only advance further the development of Soviet-U.S. relations but will also make a substantial contribution to strengthening world peace and expanding international cooperation.

II. FURTHER LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS AND OTHER DISARMAMENT ISSUES

Both Sides again carefully analyzed the entire range of their mutual relations connected with the prevention of nuclear war and limitation

of strategic armaments. They arrived at the common view that the fundamental agreements concluded between them in this sphere continue to be effective instruments of the general improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations and the international situation as a whole. The USSR and the USA will continue strictly to fulfil the obligations undertaken in those agreements.

In the course of the talks, the two Sides had a thorough review of all aspects of the problem of limitation of strategic arms. They concluded that the Interim Agreement on offensive strategic weapons should be followed by a new agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of strategic arms. They agreed that such an agreement should cover the period until 1985 and deal with both quantitative and qualitative limitations. They agreed that such an agreement should be completed at the earliest possible date, before the expiration of the Interim Agreement.

They hold the common view that such a new agreement would serve not only the interests of the Soviet Union and the United States but also those of a further relaxation of international tensions and of world peace.

Their delegations will reconvene in Geneva in the immediate future on the basis of instructions growing out of the Soviet-American summit.

Taking into consideration the inter-relationship between the development of offensive and deffensive types of strategic arms and noting the successful implementation of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems concluded between them in May 1972, both Sides considered it desirable to adopt additional limitations on the deployment of such systems. To that end they concluded a Protocol providing for the limitation of each Side to a single deployment area for ABM ststems instead of two such areas as permitted to each Side by the Treaty.

At the same time, two protocols were signed entitled "Procedures Governing Replacement, Dismantling or Destruction and Notification Thereof for Strategic Offensive Arms" and "Procedures Governing Replacement, Dismantling or Destruction and Notification Thereof for ABM Systems and their Components." These protocols were worked out by the Standing Consultative Commission which was established to promote the objectives and implementation of the provisions of the Treaty and the Interim Agreement signed on May 26, 1972.

The two Sides emphasized the serious importance which the U.S.

and USSR also attach to the realization of other possible measures — both on a bilateral and on a multilateral basis — in the field of arms limitation and disarmament.

Having noted the historic significance of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Underwater, concluded in Moscow in 1963, to which the Soviet Union and the United States are parties, both Sides expressed themselves in favor of making the cessation of nuclear weapon tests comprehensive. Desiring to contribute to the achievement of this goal the USSR and the USA concluded, as an important step in this direction, the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests providing for the complete cessation, starting from March 31, 1976, of the tests of such weapons above an appropriate yield threshold, and for confining other underground tests to a minimum.

The Parties emphasized the fundamental importance of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Having reaffirmed their mutual intention to observe the obligations assumed by them under that Treaty, including Article VI thereof, they expressed themselves in favor of increasing its effectiveness.

A joint statement was also signed in which the USSR and U.S. advocate the most effective measures possible to overcome the dangers of the use of environmental modification techniques for military purposes.

Both Sides reaffirmed their interest in an effective international agreement which would exclude from the arsenals of states such dangerous instruments of mass destruction as chemical weapons. Desiring to contribute to early progress in this direction, the USSR and the USA agreed to consider a joint initiative in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament with respect to the conclusion, as a first step, of an international Convention dealing with the most dangerous, lethal means of chemical warfare.

Both Sides are convinced that the new important steps which they have taken and intend to take in the field of arms limitation as well as further efforts toward disarmament will facilitate the relaxation of international tensions and constitute a tangible contribution to the fulfilment of the historic task of excluding war from the life of human society and thereby of ensuring world peace. The USSR and the U.S. reaffirmed that a world disarmament conference at an appropriate time can play a positive role in this process.

III. PROGRESS IN THE SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

In the course of the meeting detailed discussions were held on major international problems.

Both Sides expressed satisfaction that relaxation of tensions, consolidation of peace, and development of mutually beneficial cooperation are becoming increasingly distinct characteristics of the development of the international situation.

They proceed from the assumption that progress in improving the international situation does not occur spontaneously but requires active and purposeful efforts to overcome obstacles and resolve difficulties that remain from the past.

The paramount objectives of all states and peoples should be to ensure, individually and collectively, lasting security in all parts of the world, the early and complete removal of existing international conflicts and sources of tension and the prevention of new ones from arising.

The Soviet Union and the United States are in favor of the broad and fruitful economic cooperation among all states, large and small, on the basis of full equality and mutual benefit.

The Soviet Union and the United States reaffirm their determination to contribute separately and jointly to the achievement of all these tasks.

EUROPE

Having discussed the development of the situation in Europe since the last Soviet-American summit meeting, both Sides noted with profound satisfaction the further appreciable advances toward establishing dependable relations of peace, good neighborliness and cooperation on the European continent.

Both Sides welcome the major contribution which the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is making to this beneficial process.

They consider that substantial progress has already been achieved at the Conference on many significant questions. They believe that this progress indicates that the present stage of the Conference will produce agreed documents of great international significance expressing the determination of the participating states to build their mutual relations on a solid jointly elaborated basis. The USSR and U.S. will

make every effort, in cooperation with the other participants, to find solutions acceptable to all for the remaining problems.

Both Sides expressed their conviction that successful completion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe would be an outstanding event in the interests of establishing a lasting peace. Proceeding from this assumption the USSR and the USA expressed themselves in favor of the final stage of the Conference taking place at an early date. Both Sides also proceed from the assumption that the results of the negotiations will permit the Conference to be concluded at the highest level, which would correspond to the historic significance of the Conference for the future of Europe and lend greater authority to the importance of the Conference's decisions.

Both Sides reaffirmed the lasting significance for a favorable development of the situation in Europe of the treaties and agreements concluded in recent years between European states with different social systems.

They expressed satisfaction with the admission to the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Both Sides also stressed that the Quadripartite Agreement of September 3, 1971, must continue to play a key role in ensuring stability and détente in Europe. The USSR and U.S. consider that the strict and consistent implementation of the Agreement by all parties concerned is an essential condition for the maintenance and strengthening of mutual confidence and stability in the center of Europe.

The USSR and the USA believe that, in order to strengthen stability and security in Europe, the relaxation of political tension on this continent should be accompanied by measures to reduce military tensions.

They therefore attach importance to the current negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe, in which they are participating. The two Sides expressed the hope that these negotiations will result in concrete decisions ensuring the undiminished security of any of the parties and preventing unilateral military advantage.

MIDDLE EAST

Both Sides believe that the removal of the danger of war and tension in the Middle East is a task of paramount importance and

urgency, and therefore, the only alternative is the achievement, on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 338, of a just and lasting peace settlement in which should be taken into account the legitimate interests of all peoples in the Middle East, including the Palestinian people, and the right to existence of all states in the area.

As Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, the USSR and the USA consider it important that the Conference resume its work as soon as possible, with the question of other participants from the Middle East area to be discussed at the Conference. Both Sides see the main purpose of the Geneva Peace Conference, the achievement of which they will promote in every way, as the establishment of just and stable peace in the Middle East.

They agreed that the USSR and the USA will continue to remain in close touch with a view to coordinating the efforts of both countries toward a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

INDOCHINA

Both Sides noted certain further improvements in the situation in Indochina. In the course of the exchange of views on the situation in Vietnam both Sides emphasized that peace and stability in the region can be preserved and strengthened only on the basis of strict observance by all Parties concerned of the provisions of the Paris Agreement of January 17, 1973, and the Act of the International Conference on Vietnam of March 2, 1973.

As regards Laos, they noted progress in the normalization of the situation as a result of the formation there of coalition governmental bodies. Both Sides also pronounced themselves in favor of strict fulfilment of the pertinent agreements.

Both Sides also stressed the need for an early and just settlement of the problem of Cambodia based on respect for the sovereign rights of the Cambodian people to a free and independent development without any outside interference.

STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The Soviet Union and the United States of America attach great importance to the United Nations as an instrument for maintaining peace and security and the expansion of international cooperation. They reiterate their intention to continue their efforts toward increas-

ing the effectiveness of the United Nations in every possible way, including in regard to peacekeeping, on the basis of strict observance of the United Nations Charter.

IV. COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

In the course of the meeting great attention was devoted to a review of the status of and prospects for relations between the USSR and the USA in the commercial and economic field.

Both Sides reaffirmed that they regard the broadening and deepening of mutually advantageous ties in this field on the basis of equality and non-discrimination as an important part of the foundation on which the entire structure of Soviet-U.S. relations is built. An increase in the scale of commercial and economic ties corresponding to the potentials of both countries will cement this foundation and benefit the Soviet and American peoples.

The two Sides noted with satisfaction that since the previous summit meeting Soviet-U.S. commercial and economic relations have on the whole shown an upward trend. This was expressed, in particular, in a substantial growth of the exchange of goods between the two countries which approximated $1.5 billion in 1973. It was noted that prospects were favorable for surpassing the goal announced in the joint USSR-U.S. Communique of June 24, 1973, of achieving a total bilateral trade turnover of $2.3 billion during the three-year period 1973-1975. The joint USSR-U.S. Commercial Commission continues to provide an effective mechanism to promote the broad-scale growth of economic relations.

The two Sides noted certain progress in the development of long-term cooperation between American firms and Soviet organizations in carrying out large-scale projects including those on a compensation basis. They are convinced that such cooperation is an important element in the development of commercial and economic ties between the two countries. The two Sides agreed to encourage the conclusion and implementation of appropriate agreements between Soviet and American organizations and firms. Taking into account the progress made in a number of specific projects, such as those concerning truck manufacture, the trade center, and chemical fertilizers, the Sides noted the possibility of concluding appropriate contracts in other areas of mutual interest, such as pulp and paper, timber, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, natural gas, the engineering industry, and the extraction and processing of high energy-consuming minerals.

Both Sides noted further development of productive contacts and ties between business circles of the two countries in which a positive role was played by the decisions taken during the previous summit meeting on the opening of a USSR trade representation in Washington and a United States commercial office in Moscow, as well as the establishment of a U.S.-Soviet Commercial and Economic Council. They expressed their desire to continue to bring about favorable conditions for the successful development of commercial and economic relations between the USSR and the USA.

Both Sides confirmed their interest in bringing into force at the earliest possible time the Soviet-U.S. trade agreement of October 1972.

Desirous of promoting the further expansion of economic relations between the two countries, the two Sides signed a Long-Term Agreement to Facilitate Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and the USA. They believe that a consistent implementation of the cooperation embodied in the Agreement over the 10-year period will be an important factor in strengthening bilateral relations in general and will benefit the peoples of both countries.

Having reviewed the progress in carrying out the Agreement Regarding Certain Maritime Matters concluded in October 1972 for a period of three years, and based on the experience accumulated thus far, the two Sides expressed themselves in favor of concluding before its expiration a new agreement in this field. Negotiations concerning such an agreement will commence this year.

V. PROGRESS IN OTHER FIELDS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS

Having reviewed the progress in the implementation of the cooperative agreements concluded in 1972-1973, both Sides noted the useful work done by joint Soviet-American committees and working groups established under those agreements in developing regular contacts and cooperation between scientific and technical organizations, scientists, specialists and cultural personnel of both countries.

The two Sides note with satisfaction that joint efforts by the USSR and USA in such fields of cooperation as medical science and public health, protection and improvement of man's environment, science and technology, exploration of outer space and the world ocean, peaceful uses of atomic energy, agriculture and transportation create conditions for an accelerated solution of some urgent and complicated problems facing mankind.

Such cooperation makes a substantial contribution to the development of the structure of Soviet-American relations, giving it a more concrete positive content.

Both Sides will strive to broaden and deepen their cooperation in science and technology as well as cultural exchanges on the basis of agreements concluded between them.

On the basis of positive experience accumulated in their scientific and technological cooperation and guided by the desire to ensure further progress in this important sphere of their mutual relations, the two Sides decided to extend such cooperation to the following new areas.

ENERGY

Taking into consideration the growing energy needs of industry, transportation and other branches of the economies of both countries and the consequent need to intensify scientific and technical cooperation in the development of optimal methods of utilizing traditional and new sources of energy, and to improve the understanding of the energy programs and problems of both countries, the two Sides concluded an agreement on cooperation in the field of energy. Responsibility for the implementation of the Agreement is entrusted to a USSR-U.S. Joint Committee on Cooperation in Energy, which will be established for that purpose.

HOUSING AND OTHER CONSTRUCTION

The two Sides signed an Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Housing and Other Construction. The aim of this Agreement is to promote the solution by joint effort of problems related to modern techniques of housing and other construction along such lines as the improvement of the reliability and quality of buildings and building materials, the planning and construction of new towns, construction in seismic areas and areas of extreme climatic conditions. For the implementation of this Agreement there will be established a Joint USSR-U.S. Committee on Cooperation in Housing and Other Construction which will determine specific working programs.

For the purpose of enhancing the safety of their peoples living in earthquake-prone areas, the two Sides agreed to undertake on a priority basis a joint research project to increase the safety of buildings and other structures in these areas and, in particular, to study the behavior of pre-fabricated residential strucures during earthquakes.

ARTIFICIAL HEART RESEARCH

In the course of the implementation of joint programs in the field of medical science and public health, scientists and specialists of both countries concluded that there is a need to concentrate their efforts on the solution of one of the most important and humane problems of modern medical science, development of an artificial heart. In view of the great theoretical and technical complexity of the work involved, the two Sides concluded a special agreement on the subject. The USSR-U.S. Joint Committee for Health Cooperation will assume responsibility for this project.

COOPERATION IN SPACE

The two Sides expressed their satisfaction with the successful preparations for the first joint manned flight of the Soviet and American spacecraft, Soyuz and Apollo, which is scheduled for 1975 and envisages their docking and mutual visits of the cosmonauts in each other's spacecraft. In accordance with existing agreements fruitful cooperation is being carried out in a number of other fields related to the exploration of outer space.

Attaching great importance to further Soviet-American cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, including the development of safety systems for manned flights in space, and considering the desirability of consolidating experience in this field, the two Sides agreed to continue to explore possibilities for further joint space projects following the USSR-U.S. space flight now scheduled for July 1975.

TRANSPORT OF THE FUTURE

Aware of the importance of developing advanced modes of transportation, both Sides agreed that high-speed ground systems of the future, including a magnetically levitated train, which can provide economical, efficient, and reliable forms of transportation, would be a desirable and innovative area for joint activity. A working group to develop a joint research cooperation program in this area under the 1973 Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Transportation will be established at the fall meeting of the Joint USSR-U.S. Transportation Committee.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Desiring to expand cooperation in the field of environmental protection, which is being successfully carried out under the USSR-U.S. Agreement signed on May 23, 1972, and to contribute to the implementation of the "Man and the Biosphere" international program conducted on the initiative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), both Sides agreed to designate in the territories of their respective countries certain natural areas as biosphere reserves for protecting valuable plant and animal genetic strains and ecosystems, and for conducting scientific research needed for more effective actions concerned with global environmental protection. Appropriate work for the implementation of this undertaking will be conducted in conformity with the goals of the UNESCO program and under the auspices of the previously established USSR-U.S. Joint Committee on Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection.

CULTURAL EXCHANGES

The two Parties, aware of the importance of culutral exchanges as a means of promoting mutual understanding, express satisfaction with the agreement between the Ministry of Culture of the USSR and the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York City leading to a major exchange of works of art. Such an exchange would be in accordance with the General Agreement on Contacts, Exchanges and Cooperation signed July 19, 1973, under which the Parties agree to render assistance for the exchange of exhibitions between the museums of the two countries.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW CONSULATES

Taking into consideration the intensive development of ties between the USSR and U.S. and the importance of further expanding consular relations on the basis of the USSR-U.S. Consular Convention, and desiring to promote trade, tourism and cooperation between them in various areas, both Sides agreed to open additional Consulates General in two or three cities of each country.

As a first step they agreed in principle to the simultaneous establishment of a USSR Consulate General in New York and a United States Consulate General in Kiev. Negotiations for implementation of

this agreement will take place at an early date.

Both Sides highly appreciate the frank and constructive atmosphere and fruitful results of the talks held between them in the course of the present meeting. They are convinced that the results represent a new and important milestone along the road of improving relations between the USSR and the USA to the benefit of the peoples of both countries, and a significant contribution to their efforts aimed at strengthening world peace and security.

Having again noted in this connection the exceptional importance and great practical usefulness of Soviet-U.S. summit meetings, both Sides reaffirmed their agreement to hold such meetings regularly and when considered necessary for the discussion and solution of urgent questions. Both Sides also expressed their readiness to continue their active and close contacts and consultation.

The President extended an invitation to General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, to pay an official visit to the United States in 1975. This invitation was accepted with pleasure.

L. BREZHNEV
General Secretary
of the CPSU Central
Committee

R. NIXON
President
of the United States
of America

Moscow, July 3, 1974

FIVE YEARS OF SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MEETING

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the International Communist Meeting held in Moscow on June 5-17, 1969, the press of many brother parties carried articles summing up the five years of the struggle by the working class and Communist parties for socialism, democracy and national liberation, against imperialist domination.

The past five years have shown the importance of developing cooperation, contacts and interaction between fraternal parties as a

form of promoting unity in evolving common strategy and tactics, fighting against imperialism, generalizing the experience and contributing to the theoretical treasure-house of the world communist movement.

Since June 1969 Communist parties have met more than 30 times to outline their future strategy and tactics and, what is no less important, to analyze problems of the worldwide class struggle. The same period has seen over 40 international forums on a wide range of topical problems.

The exchange of experience on the current problems of Party work has become part and parcel of cooperation among Communist and Workers' parties.

In the past five years brother parties have carried forward their cooperation and strengthened their unity.

BULGARIA

The past five years, Konstantin Tellalov, Secretary of the CC CPB, wrote in *Rabotnichesko Delo*, have fully confirmed the validity of the main document adopted by the 1969 Meeting. The international working-class movement was thus equipped with a political program the fulfilment of which became an immediate task.

The alignment of world forces have kept on changing in favor of socialism since the Meeting.

Thanks to the growing might of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, their consistent Leninist foreign policy and the vigorous action of all progressive forces, imperialism had to accept the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The internal contradictions and the general crisis of capitalism are deepening and the antagonisms between the United States, Western Europe and Japan are growing sharper. At the same time the political maturity of the working class in capitalist countries is increasing, with the Communist and Workers' parties playing an ever greater role as the motive power of the revolutionary process. The struggle for national independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America is gathering fresh momentum.

Loyal to its internationalist tradition and mindful of the pressing interests of the present-day struggle, the Bulgarian Communist Party sets great store by the role of the CPSU and the Soviet Union in the international communist movement and the world revolutionary process. The CPSU has rich practical and theoretical experience. It makes the biggest contribution to the common effort to build a new

society and to the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. This makes unity with the CPSU and the Soviet Union a vital necessity for our movement and an internationalist duty of every brother party and every Communist.

The results achieved in the past five years show that the Communist and Workers' parties, the international working-class and national-liberation and democratic movements have new opportunities to extend their peace offensive and score new gains in the fight against imperialism.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Rudé Právo carried a commentary analyzing the results of the period following the 1969 Meeting.

The world socialist system has grown stronger and the increasing potential of world socialism is having an ever greater impact on the economic and political development of the world.

The world communist movement has achieved closer unity in the struggle against imperialism, right opportunist attempts to undermine Marxism-Leninism, and the Maoists' divisive activity, which brings grist to the mill of ultra-reactionaries in capitalist countries.

The five years that have elapsed since the Moscow Meeting have again shown to the world that socialism is inseparable from peace. The change in the alignment of world forces in favor of socialism played a decisive part in the current turn from confrontation to détente in international relations. Better Soviet-American relations, brought about as a result of Soviet initiatives, the efforts to resolve the Middle East conflict by peaceful means and the favorable trend of development in Europe made for an overall change in the international situation. Even so, we must not forget what the Moscow Meeting stated five years ago, namely, that détente implies neither a class truce nor ideological reconciliation.

Exchanges of experience on pressing issues of strategy, tactics and ideology and key aspects of Party work are part of the practice of the international communist movement. They contribute to a deeper analysis and better knowledge of the present stage of the class struggle in the world and to greater cooperation inside the movement as a whole. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the most experienced and seasoned contingent of the world communist movement, has made an immense contribution to the strategic, tactical and theoretical arsenal of the movement.

The new stage of the class struggle against imperialism requires an early joint discussion of a number of key questions such as the character of the present stage, the strategy and tactics of the movement in general and its national contingents in particular. Our Party stressed, therefore, that the time is coming to prepare for a new international meeting which should become a big event in the international communist and working-class movement.

FINLAND

Proceeding from Marxist-Leninist teachings, wrote *Kansan Uutiset*, the Communist Party's daily, the 1969 Meeting deeply analyzed the main trends of social development at that stage and defined the common tasks of the world communist movement in the struggle against imperialism. The past years have proved the conclusions drawn by the Meeting.

World Communist unity has grown stronger in the past period and this has benefitted the growth of anti-imperialist forces. Of special importance in this connection is the policy of peace and international security pursued by the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries, first of all by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the newspaper says.

Some Communist and Workers' parties today propose beginning preparations for a new international meeting. The Communist Party of Finland supports this proposal. Besides, it considers that the Marxist-Leninist parties of Europe should meet again to discuss measures for promoting peace and security on our continent.

F R G

The brief period that has passed since the Moscow Meeting, Hermann Gautier, deputy Chairman of the German Communist Party, commented in *Unsere Zeit*, confirms what the Meeting stressed, namely, that imperialism cannot regain its lost historical initiative nor turn back the wheel of history. The main development trend of mankind is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces.

Surely, no one can deny that the world socialist system has gained in strength and influence. The peace offensive launched by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries determines the character of our epoch. It must be emphasized that the Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the present gains, above all by its Peace Program

approved by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

Developments over the past years have also revealed the failure of the Peking leaders and their followers in our country who tried, in alliance with the most reactionary imperialist forces, to slander and torpedo the peace policy of the socialist community. The results of the struggle against anti-imperialist forces show that Maoist attacks on the decisions of the 1969 Meeting have failed. The increased unity of the world communist movement is also a result of the ideological and political struggle against Maoism.

H. Gautier notes the importance to peace and détente of the treaties signed by the FRG with the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia, the four-power agreement on West Berlin and the treaties and agreements between the two German states formalizing the results of World War II. The treaty on the principles of relations provided an international basis for normal relations between the GDR and FRG and new opportunities for the further normalization of relations between them.

Precisely because the program put forward by the 1969 Meeting has largely been carried out and the international situation has changed in many respects since then, the time has come for the Communist and Workers' parties to exchange opinions and experiences again in view of the new conditions for their international struggle and to decide on a new policy for the progressive forces to follow in joint action against imperialism. That would also be an important contribution to the unity of the communist movement. This is why our Party, like other fraternal parties, considers that a new international meeting has become necessary.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The 1969 Meeting provided replies to the fundamental questions of the strategy and tactics on the main fronts of the international class struggle, *Neues Deutschland* wrote editorially on June 5. An expression of the vitality of proletarian internationalism, it gave rise to a new upsurge in the political, ideological and organizational activity of Communist parties. First and foremost, the Meeting substantially helped to strengthen the unity of the world communist movement by giving Marxist-Leninist answers to the new questions raised by the revolutionary struggle. It showed the universal validity of Marxism-Leninism in our time and indicated new ways of defeating right-opportunist trends, adventurist, sectarian views and petty-bourgeois nationalism.

In the years that have passed since the Moscow Meeting the world communist movement has become stronger and its international influence has spread wider. It has raised the fight against imperialism to a new plane and the growing opportunities for revolutionary struggle have been used more purposefully.

A decisive contribution in this respect was made by the consistently internationalist policy of the CPSU and the dynamic activity of its Central Committee and its General Secretary, Leonid I. Brezhnev.

The program of anti-imperialist action approved by the Meeting has been largely carried out. The further development of this anti-imperialist platform in the Peace Program announced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU played a decisive part in the struggle against the imperialist policy of aggression and for a lasting world peace. A new political situation has arisen, marked by a turn from cold war to détente and favorable to the struggle for social progress all over the world. It is due primarily to the dynamic progress of world socialism.

The Soviet-U.S. agreement on the prevention of nuclear war and other agreements between the two countries, the establishment of diplomatic relations by 108 states with the German Democratic Republic and its admission to the UN are important developments.

Implementation of the program for anti-imperialist action adopted by the 1969 Meeting and of the Peace Program advanced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU have won over to the Communists' side many more millions of people of diverse political and religious convictions. In this historic struggle, the world communist movement has increased its role as the most powerful and most influential ideological and political force of today.

Neues Deutschland pointed to the tremendous international impact of the increased economic power of socialism, noting the progress of socialist economic integration as the central factor for strengthening socialism. This integration has now reached a new stage making it possible and necessary to accelerate the process on a planned basis.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany regards it as central to its policy to strengthen its fraternal alliance with the CPSU and other fraternal parties and to unite the GDR even more closely within the socialist community.

The past five years have shown that the 1969 Meeting was right in stating that the role of the anti-imperialist democratic movements of Asia and Africa in the world revolutionary process keeps growing and that social progress is gaining ground in many African and Asian countries. They have also shown that Afro-Asian countries can

uphold and consolidate their independence provided they draw on world socialism for support in view of the increasing pressure of imperialism.

The divisive and great-power chauvinist policy of the Maoist leadership and the frontal attack of Maoism, intended to split the communist movement, have failed. After the 1969 Meeting it became more imperative than ever to combat Maoism with the utmost resolve. The Peking leaders broke completely with Marxism-Leninism and the world communist movement. At the same time the true nature of China's great-power policy stood out more clearly. In Europe, the Maoists link up with aggressive NATO quarters. This is directed against the socialist countries' policy of peace. The Maoists try by means of demagogy to ingratiate themselves with Afro-Asian peoples so as to make them subservient to China's hegemonist interests. The anti-socialist, extremist, anti-Soviet class collaboration of Peking with imperialist governments means that anyone willing to fight steadfastly against imperialism must take a firm stand against Maoist policy.

We can now set ourselves the task of stepping up the worldwide offensive of Marxism-Leninist and publicize the example of socialism more effectively so as to free more millions of working people in capitalist countries from the effects of anti-communist indoctrination.

The development of the revolutionary process today, the strategic starting point of the struggle of all progressive forces, is characterized primarily by the fact that the decisive revolutionary changes are due, in the first place, to the further progress of socialism. At the same time it is becoming more important to bring about closer interaction of the peace policy of the socialist countries and the anti-imperialist activity of the masses. The task is to make irreversible the positive results gained and to achieve further progress in the interests of peace and international cooperation.

The SUPG favors the early convocation of a new European meeting of Communist and Workers' parties, which could adopt new steps to help carry out the slogans of the 1969 Meeting with due regard to present-day conditions.

HUNGARY

Five years ago 75 Communist and Workers' parties met in Moscow, *Népszabadság* commented editorially on June 5. The Meeting was the starting point of restoring the unity of action of the over-

whelming majority of brother parties and a milestone in the struggle which led to an offensive against the most reactionary and aggressive forces of imperialism. At the same time it blocked the intrigues of splitters and prevented division of the international communist movement.

However, we must not forget that the principle of peaceful coexistence has not yet become a firm, universally accepted standard of international relations.

A highly important task of the Communist and Workers' parties is to close their ranks more and more in the struggle for lasting international security, for the prevention of wars between nations, for détente and an end to cold war. This is all the more necessary since the struggle of the world communist movement is hampered by the policy of the Chinese leadership, which attacks the forces seeking peaceful coexistence — the Soviet Union, socialist countries and Communist parties — and allies itself with the most reactionary forces. In home policy, the Peking leadership is drifting farther and farther away from what may be called building socialism.

For lack of mass support, the splitting groups formed by Maoists in 30 countries are falling apart one after another.

The unity of Communist and Workers' parties benefits from closer ideological and organizational cohesion and more vigorous struggle against opportunism. Those who try to undermine world communist unity from the right or "Left," to substitute phrase-mongering for the unity of Communist parties and meaningless talk for international solidarity and loyalty to the common cause, find themselves in increasing isolation. The unity of the communist movement, the anti-imperialist forces is unthinkable without an uncompromising struggle against opportunism of all shades.

In present-day conditions, *Népszabadság* stresses, meetings of fraternal parties are the most effective and advisable form of internationalist ties between them. The time has come now to convene a new meeting of European Communist parties. This is made relevant by the fulfilment of the tasks set at Karlovy Vary in 1967 and by the new stage in the struggle for peace and security on the continent. More and more brother parties consider it necessary to set about preparing for a new international meeting so as collectively to assess changes since 1969 and outline tasks for the future.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has always advocated internationalist cohesion of the Communist parties. It has never agreed, nor does it agree now, with those who fear that an interna-

tional meeting may prejudice the autonomy of their Party or who make their participation in it conditional on the presence of all other parties. According to the classics of Marxism-Leninism, autonomy implies that each party chooses the methods by which it will contribute to the common cause and thus serve its own interests. He who is interested only in his own objectives and does nothing for the good of the movement as a whole is not an internationalist. No one party can exert decisive influence on the solution of key problems of today. It is in our common interest to exchange experience and close our ranks more than ever.

INDIA

The weakened positions of imperialism and neo-colonialism, the strengthened positions of Communist and Workers' parties and the growing trend toward international détente are the salient features of the five years that have passed since the 1969 Meeting, wrote *New Age*, the Indian communist weekly.

In evaluating the events of the past five years, it is safe to say that they have proved the conclusions of the Moscow Meeting. The activity of Communist and Workers' parties, as set out by the Meeting, made it possible to consolidate the unity of the main revolutionary forces of our time, the weekly notes. This is conclusive proof that the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union at their head, are a reliable guarantee of peace.

At the same time, as the revolutionary forces of today score more gains, reaction steps up its offensive and rekindles anti-communism.

New Age emphatically condemns the Maoists' treacherous role as detrimental to the world communist movement and the peoples' national-liberation struggle. Maoism is opposed to international détente and cooperates in this respect with the most reactionary forces. The Maoists have completely abandoned Marxism-Leninism.

The changed alignment of forces and the new developments in the world revolutionary process pake it imperative to strengthen the communist movement ideologically and increase its role in the present-day world.

MONGOLIA

In the five years since the Meeting there has been a growing demand for the fraternal parties to coordinate their activity, theoretically generalize new world phenomena and answer the new ques-

tions, wrote *Ünen* in an article entitled "International Unity of the Communists: a Great Force." The Mongolian Communists fully support the brother parties' idea of convening a new international meeting of Communists to discuss topical problems.

International meetings of Communist parties are an example of Marxist-Leninist analysis of the historical experience of Communists. They realistically and correctly evaluate various world processes and collectively formulate and carry out internationalist tasks. By working out documents that define the strategy and tactics of the world socialist system, international working class and national-liberation movement against imperialism and indicating ways of promoting the unity of the communist movement, the 1969 Meeting made a tremendous contribution to the theory and practice of the worldwide revolutionary liberation movement and to Marxist thought.

By stepping up their political activity, achieving closer unity and contributing to their common treasure-house of ideology and theory, the Communist and Workers' parties have become the most influential political force both nationally and internationally.

Tremendous credit goes to the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries for proving by deeds their ability to express the fundamental interests of the workers and other working people and to build a new life, thereby inspiring the working people of all continents to fight for a new social system.

The Communist and Workers' parties of non-socialist countries enjoy increasing public support and are becoming a major national political force.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party strives to expand ties and cooperation with brother parties, strengthen the unity of the world communist movement and put into practice the ideas collectively formulated at the international communist meeting.

Our Party, *Ünen* writes further, today has manifold contacts with almost 80 parties. It exchanges views with the CPSU and other fraternal parties on current international problems, primarily problems of the communist movement, coordinates its activity with them, helps to uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and gives rebuff to revisionism and nationalism.

The Chinese leaders' activity causes great damage to the communist movement. The Maoists foment great-power chauvinism and ally themselves with international opportunism. Hence a pressing task of the Communist movement is, now as in the past, firmly to resist Maoism.

Present-day conditions increasingly demand unity of action of the Communists and anti-imperialist forces, who must use the new opportunities to step up their offensive against imperialism, against the forces of reaction and war.

POLAND

The outstanding and decisive factor of the past five years has been the transition from cold war to international détente and the almost universal approval of the principles of peaceful coexistence as the basis of international relations, wrote *Trybuna Ludu,* the daily paper of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Of course, these changes have been made possible by the growing international role of socialist countries and their resolve to foster relations with countries belonging to a different social system on the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual benefit and mutual respect.

The documents of the Meeting constituted a starting point for carrying forward the strategy and policy of peaceful coexistence as the sole alternative to a divided world. The 24th Congress of the CPSU explicitly defined the stand of the Soviet Communists by creatively developing the Leninist principles of Soviet foreign policy. Subsequent congresses of Communist and Workers' parties took account in their documents of the conclusions made by the 1969 Meeting. The common front of Communist and Workers' parties, of the forces of socialism, progress and peace, a front brought into being in this way, is an indestructible factor in stemming the tendencies of the reactionary bourgeois quarters.

The strength and economic power of the socialist countries, their political and moral impact on the international alignment of class forces and their role in settling conflicts by peaceful means have increased over the past five years and so have the unity and cohesion of the brother parties in every field.

Recent years have seen the increased prestige of Communist and Workers' parties of capitalist and developing countries at home and abroad, and their higher role and influence in the fight for the political, economic and social objectives of the working class.

At the same time there are problems common for all parties, stemming from the identity of the anti-communist activity of class enemies, from certain general objective laws of social and economic development, the common strategy and ultimate goals of all Communists and the dialectical unity and inter-connection of the fight for socialism and the fight for the interests of the working class, for

greater political influence on the masses, and for the political rule of the working class.

The Moscow Meeting formulated the principle of each party bearing international responsibility. This principle has become a criterion of proletarian internationalism and the class solidarity of Communists.

Unfortunately, not all parties calling themselves Communist recognize these objective fundamental laws of the communist movement. The Communist Party of China ignores the objective demands of internationalist solidarity. The ideological basis and everyday activity of its leadership are intended to split the communist ranks. This is weakening the struggle for a progressive transformation of the world.

The CPC leadership's appeals for replacing the class division of the world into socialist and capitalist states by division into rich and poor countries with a view to bringing the latter under its political control, and for intensifying the economic and military integration of West European countries and their arms race, as well as China's opposition to the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, are prompted by chauvinist views and great-power ambitions. They amount to ideological and political subversion against the Communists' effort to encourage the developing countries' desire for independence, further the process of détente and ensure peaceful coexistence.

There is a growing feeling among Communist and Workers' parties that it is necessary to call a new European conference like the 1967 conference at Karlovy Vary. The Communists of Europe, who recognize the need for such a meeting, consider that most of the tasks set at Karlovy Vary have been accomplished and that fundamental political changes are occurring in Europe on which the Communists should take a common stand. The changes that have come about since 1969 make it necessary to call a new international meeting. The Communists must adopt a common stand on key problems of the world.

Nowe Drogi, theoretical journal of the Polish United Workers' Party, carried an article entitled "Toward Unity."

The 1969 meeting, it says, stressed the importance of the socialist community as the main political factor today and the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle, a factor uniting and supporting all trends toward revolutionary progress, the national-liberation struggle and the desire for a lasting and just peace.

These gains, achieved through unrelenting struggle against the

most reactionary forces of imperialism, are due to the change in the world alignment of forces in favor of socialism. The greatest contribution to détente and the effort to end cold war and eliminate seats of armed conflict was made by the peace policy of the CPSU and Soviet Government, the vigorous activity of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the implementation of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. All countries of our community are taking part in planning and carrying out this great peace offensive.

The improvement in Soviet-American relations, the universal recognition of the postwar European realities, the international recognition of the GDR, the progress made by the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, and the negotiations on key problems of disarmament have been the most important gains of the peace offensive of recent years.

Steady consolidation of the ideological unity of the communist movement is very important to the further progress of the cause of socialism and peace. To foster peaceful coexistence, it is indispensable to improve ideological work and its methods.

Recent years have been marked by effective struggle against diverse trends of modern revisionism. Developments have brought out the falsity of the revisionists' claim to "innovation" and relegated them to the backyard of political life in their countries.

The Maoists have also suffered serious setbacks. Their divisive plans and activities have led them to a profound and growing isolation in both the communist and the national-liberation movement. The rabidly anti-Soviet and chauvinist character of Maoist ideology and the subordination of foreign policy to Peking's hegemonist aspirations running counter to the interests of progress and peace have dispelled all illusions about Maoism and revealed the true, anti-socialist nature of its phrase-mongering.

Many fraternal parties today propose convening a new meeting of European Communist and Workers' parties, to be followed by an international meeting. This means that the international communist and working-class movement has new opportunities to use and new tasks to fulfil. The Polish United Workers' Party fully supports these proposals and will join actively in preparing for these meetings.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE SWISS PARTY OF LABOR

Following is a political resolution adopted by the 10th Congress of the Swiss Party of Labor (Basel, June 1-3) and published in *Voix Ouvrière*, June 4.

A few years ago official spokesmen of the international big bourgeoisie, in particular those of the leading class of our country, alleged that the Marxist-Leninist critique of capitalism was outdated because capitalism had overcome its difficulties, eliminated its contradictions and confirmed its lasting character.

CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

There are facts which emphatically and completely refute those allegations. The capitalist world system is in the throes of a general crisis that is becoming ever more evident to all. Inflation, that incurable illness of the system, the chronic monetary crisis, the energy crisis and environmental crisis, and successive crises of the Europe of trusts are the more striking manifestations of the general crisis. They are, to quote Engels, consequences of the revolt of the productive forces against the social structure and against antiquated relations of production and property.

At the same time, serious changes are taking place on the international scene. The Congress of the Swiss Party of Labor hails the restoration of freedoms for the people in Portugal after half a century of brutal police and fascist dictatorship. It welcomes the important victory achieved by all the democratic and progressive forces of Italy in the referendum on divorce, and the widespread mobilization of popular forces against terroristic attacks and a revival of fascism. It welcomes the unprecedented progress made by the united Left in France during the presidential election thanks to the unity achieved by the Socialists and Communists on the basis of a common government program.

SWITZERLAND AND ITS INTERNATIONAL ROLE

Some gains have been registered in the sphere of peaceful coexistence, as well as in settling disputed issues in Europe and the world. The conference on security and cooperation in Europe goes on, if not without meeting obstacles and resistance, but it can and should produce favorable results as regards a durable settlement acceptable to all nations.

While maintaining its state neutrality, Switzerland must make every effort for cooperation on the international level and work under all circumstances for détente, peaceful coexistence and peace irrespective of whether or not it is a member of the UN. Another duty facing it is to pursue a policy of universality and recognize every state that is founded after the abolition of colonial rule.

The Congress declares its close internationalist solidarity with the heroic and arduous struggle of the Chilean people, who have become a victim of a brutal fascist coup carried out with the complicity of imperialist powers. It identifies itself with the peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia, who are compelled to continue an armed struggle for their independence and future, and insists on fully implementing the Paris agreements, as well as on Switzerland recognizing the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. It also identifies itself with the struggle of the peoples of Spain and Greece, the Arab and Palestinian peoples and the peoples of Africa and Latin America for their liberation.

DISARRAY, WASTEFULNESS, IMPOTENCE

The general crisis of capitalism manifests itself in Switzerland in conditions undoubtedly differing from those in other capitalist countries. Nevertheless, it reveals to a growing section of the public the inability of the ruling class to bring a steadily deteriorating situation under control.

Anarchy, disarray, waste and environmental pollution are now more typical of capitalism than ever. Capitalism misuses the achievements of science and technology to provoke irrational and utopian reactions. This logic of the system must be defeated and so must its apologia for austerity.

The necessary growth of the economy must be legalized, controlled and used for the common good of the people and country and not in the interests of big capital, specifically in the sphere of nuclear energy. Advances in science and technology are indispensable factors

for progress but their disastrous or harmful side effects must be avoided.

AT THE EXPENSE OF LABOR

Galloping inflation and the soaring cost of living hit every section of the people: the low-paid, pensioners, peasants, handicraftsmen, small traders and small employers. At the same time they aggravate the contradictions of the system, leading to rapid concentration of capital and hence to greater power of the banks, trusts and monopolies and greater exploitation on their part. It is becoming more and more evident that the sole purpose of the so-called emergency policy of the bourgeoisie (virtually no more than initial steps affected by deep-going differences among the bourgeoisie) is to rescue the market economy in crisis and put the burden of the so-called anti-inflation campaign on to the shoulders of labor. This is why the ruling class and the Federal Council are committed to a "policy of incomes" and wage freeze, which can only be implemented at the working people's expense. They intend to cut spending on social needs, which is a common concern. Contrary to the law and the Constitution, they take a stand against adjusting old-age and disablement pensions and grants paid to persons who have lost their breadwinners. They intend to raise indirect taxes on consumption and interest on mortgages which will automatically entail a new increase in rent and make the situation in the countryside worse still.

FOR A NEW POLICY: SOLUTIONS ADVANCED BY THE SPL

The Congress is emphatically against a policy of state-monopoly capitalism that can only serve the interests of big capitalist corporations by adding to their profits, reserves and means of speculation and exploitation and thus spurring on inflation rather than curbing it.

The SPL counterposes its own solutions against this class policy, which affects the legitimate interests of the working classes and a substantial majority of the people, as well as common and national interests. It demands a new and different policy meeting the requirements of the people and country and not prompted by the desire to preserve the already excessive privileges of the all-powerful minority. The SPL demands democratic control over prices, profits and the export of capital and services. It demands measures to effectively curb the power of cartels and trusts, and a taxation system assuring real taxation of big capital and preventing fraud and speculation.

Lastly, the SPL demands nationalization of the big banks and industrial as well as trading enterprises, a measure which is in the common interest.

A WAY OUT OF THE IMPASSE

The Congress stresses that in present conditions the only realistic way to implement these new solutions, come out of the impasse and bring about a political and social renovation is to unite the working-class forces, form a Left alliance and unite all popular forces on the broadest possible basis to uphold and guarantee their rights and common interests, as well as the interests of the country in face of the domination of finance and big capital.

The Congress notes with satisfaction the refusal of all member organizations of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, as well as of the federations of office workers to back the policy of pay freeze. It hopes this refusal will extend to any form which this policy may take.

The Congress is firmly opposed to all restriction of the needed expansion of social maintenance. Specifically, it declares for adjusting old-age and disablement pensions and grants paid to persons who have lost their breadwinners. Priority should be given to really and immediately improving the condition of the first group of the persons. The Congress also insists that the measures in favor of the second group of persons promised two years ago be carried out at last.

The Congress regards the new financial draft of the Federal Council as both ineffective and utterly unfair from the social point of view. It sees in the draft a further "reform for the rich" and will expose its meaning to the people if it is left in its present form after discussion in both chambers of parliament.

TAKE ACTION AGAINST THE HIGH COST OF LIVING AND INFLATION

Lastly, the Congress has decided to counter the emergency class policy of the big bourgeoisie and the draft article of the Constitution that is to underlie this policy with a nationwide popular initiative against the high cost of living and inflation. It authorizes the Central Committee and Political Bureau to draft a relevant document, and calls on the whole Party and all its members and friends to do their utmost in this important matter.

As for the initiatives which are to be submitted shortly to the people, the Congress confirms that the SPL supports the initiative of the Socialists and trade unions regarding "better maintenance in case of

illness," the initiative of the Swiss Federation of Tenants and the Popular Movement of Families in respect of "effectively protecting the tenants' interests," as well as the tráde unions' initiative concerning "participation" in the management of enterprises, which it regards, first of all, as a guarantee of the working people's new rights on the job.

"NO" TO DANGEROUS XENOPHOBIA

The Congress emphatically rejects and condemns the stupid, inhuman and suicidal xenophobia initiated by the extreme right-wing National Action, and calls the working people's attention to the grave danger which this poses to both the Swiss and foreign workers: the skilfully provoked division of their forces in face of the employers, and economic disruption, which may result in closing workshops and enterprises, unemployment, a deterioration of social maintenance, and so on.

FOR JOINT STRUGGLE BY ALL WORKING PEOPLE

The SPL declares in this connection that it has no intention of underestimating either the problems created in Switzerland by the large number of foreign workers (who are more numerous than in other capitalist countries), or the gravity of the double game which the employers, the bourgeoisie and the government play in this matter. It declares accordingly for stabilizing the quota of foreigners, which should not be specified depending on capitalist profit alone but with due regard to the requirements, interests and living conditions of the whole population. On the other hand, the SPL declares for complete equality in living and working conditions for all working people irrespective of nationality, for the abolition of the disgraceful status of seasonal workers and for guaranteeing foreigners democratic rights — freedom of assembly, association and speech.

The SPL insists again that an effective and lasting solution of these problems will depend primarily on joint and coordinated struggle by all working people, irrespective of nationality, for their common rights and interests, against capitalist exploitation and the class policy of the big bourgeoisie.

FOR A NEW SWITZERLAND

This struggle will be long, difficult and intense, of course. The Swiss Party of Labor is the only force which clearly sees the necessity of this struggle for a radical transformation of society. It plays an

indispensable, vanguard role in this struggle, a role which it alone can assume. Fully trusting its members and the citizens following it, the Party will indefatigably continue its activity so as to build a new, socialist Switzerland tomorrow.

DECLARATION OF NINTH CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND MEXICO

The Ninth Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Central America and Mexico made a contribution to the friendship, solidarity and struggles of our peoples. It was preceded by two preparatory meetings, one of which was held in December 1973. Regrettably, by some oversight, the documents drawn up at the December meeting were published as resolutions of the Ninth Conference, which met later, toward the end of May 1974.

The conference found that the political activity and influence of labor, democratic and anti-imperialist forces in Central America and Mexico had grown over the past two years. In Panama, the struggle is spreading for the country's sovereignty and independence. The recent elections in Salvador and Guatemala have shown that as mass pressure increases and new social strata join the struggle, the reactionary regimes are finding that they cannot maintain themselves in power by the old traditional methods. In Honduras, conditions favor the struggle of the people and their organizations. In Nicaragua, the working class has been more active; the major strikes of the past two years have invigorated the country's political life and created conditions for a democratic anti-Somoza front. In Costa Rica, the Left forces are winning legal positions and there is growing organization and militancy among the workers. In Mexico, the working class is stepping up the fight for its social and economic demands and for political and organizational independence of the labor movement.

The conference demonstrated the complete identity of views on the main political issues and developments in our region.

As in the rest of the world, the obsolete system of oligarchic imperialist domination is in a state of deep crisis. It provides fresh

proof that the predominant tendency in today's world, as well as in our region, is against imperialist and oligarchic hegemony and in favor of the people. But the North American strategists, working in collusion with local oligarchies, are testing and carrying out various economic, political and military measures in an attempt to arrest this liberation trend, defend their selfish interests and keep alive a system based on domination and exploitation.

North American imperialism is the chief enemy of our peoples, the bulwark of the reactionary ruling classes, the greatest obstacle to the popular struggle for democracy, national sovereignty and socialism. It must therefore be defeated on all fronts.

Mexico's capitalist development, though dependent, has reached the stage when monopoly is gaining the upper hand and the financial oligarchy is inclining toward merger with the state. The big bourgeoisie is working in alliance with imperialist capital which, notwithstanding contradictions, is keeping the country in a state of dependence. However, developing class contradictions show the people that the big bourgeoisie is their main enemy.

Central America is in a state of profound crisis rooted in the backward and dependent economic structure which perpetuates underdevelopment, blocks progress and makes for more poverty. This is a structural crisis that can be resolved only by deep-going structural change, primarily in agriculture. This change can be carried out only be the working class, peasantry, patriotic sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle strata. Only in this way can the crisis be overcome and the present ruling classes deprived of their power.

Unable to overcome the crisis, the ruling classes are resorting more and more to restriction and outright violation of civil rights in order to maintain their positions. But that has resulted only in an upsurge of the popular struggle. The workers and peasants fighting for democracy and for their class interests are being joined by sections of the petty bourgeoisie compelled to fight for restoration of their democratic rights. The broad democratic struggle is thus gaining in intensity.

Many organizations and groups are involved in the fight for democratic aims. In some countries it has been possible to bring them together in a democratic front committed to upholding the people's interests. In others there is as yet no permanent coordinating machinery and no concrete plans for promoting united action. The conference emphasizes the need to find adequate forms for combining the workers' struggle for economic and political demands and the peasants' struggle for land and civil rights with the common struggle of the

workers, peasants and other patriotic strata for liberation from imperialism and for democracy.

The conference believes it is possible to combine broad democratic interests and coordinate the popular movements in each country.

United struggle, the conference stated, will help our parties further to develop the struggle of the workers and peasants, bring them together in an alliance without, however, isolating themselves from the other masses, and gear our organizational and political work to our ultimate aim of socialist transformation.

The structural crisis was the main cause of the July 1969 war between Salvador and Honduras, which accelerated the crisis of the Central American Common Market and its consequences are still being felt. They have to be eliminated if we want to assure peace. The conference supports the document jointly drawn up by the Communist parties of Salvador and Honduras in February 1974 and congratulates their Central Committees for taking an objective approach to the problem. At the same time, the conference emphasizes that peace between Salvador and Honduras must be concluded and strengthened, and relations between the two governments restored and normalized as soon as possible. No government should try to dictate terms to another.

The protracted regional crisis has ushered in a period of political instability throughout Central America. This is causing despair among the ruling classes and there is a clear tendency to use military methods to find a way out of the crisis. We cannot therefore discount the possibility of fresh military conflicts. There is a concealed danger of war between Salvador and Honduras. Other nations and governments might become the targets of armed provocation directed and financed by American imperialism and carried out by the Central American gorillas headed by General Anastasio Somoza, imperialism's chief stooge in this part of the world.

The Communist parties of Central America and Mexico, concerned for the interests of their peoples, consider it their duty to exert every effort for peace and actively to oppose the outbreak of war, which would benefit only the sworn enemies of our peoples.

Considering the differences in the situation and problems of our various countries, the conference reaffirms the inalienable right of every people to choose forms of struggle it considers best suited to its needs. And the conference stresses anew its solidarity with all peoples fighting for self-determination as the prelude to building a just society.

The conference expresses its militant solidarity with our comrades in Chile, Guatemala, Uruguay and the peoples of these countries. That solidarity imbued the proceeding of our conference.

The conference greets the heroic people of Cuba, their government and Party on the 15th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, which today is stronger than ever and is a source of inspiration for all our peoples.

It appeals for more active solidarity with the fraternal people of Nicaragua in their fight against the bestial dictatorship of the Somoza dynasty imposed by American imperialism despite the blood shed by Augusto Cesar Sandino, the hero of the Nicaraguan people. The dictatorship has kept the people in a state of political, social and economic backwardness. The conference reaffirms its fraternal solidarity with the people of Honduras fighting for sovereignty of their natural wealth; with the Panamanian people and their government fighting for reunification of the national territory and elimination of the colonialist enclave which American imperialism is maintaining by force of arms; with the fraternal Peruvian people and their government in their desire to strengthen the country in the face of foreign domination.

The conference calls on all fraternal parties and peoples to intensify the campaign in defense of political prisoners in Paraguay, where Comrade Antonio Maidana, member of the Communist Party Central Committee, and other political detainees are the victims of the repressive gorilla regime. It calls for an intensified struggle to free Mexican political prisoners, particularly the two outstanding peasant leaders, Ramón Dazsos Palomino, General Secretary of the Independent Peasant Center, and Samuel Sánchez, member of its Central Committee.

APPEAL TO ALL LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The Communist and Workers' parties of Central America and Mexico, gathered at their Ninth Conference, invite all Communist and Workers' parties of Latin America jointly to explore the possibility of holding a conference of Workers' and Communist Parties of our region, and to discuss its organization, agenda and related matters.

We believe that the revolutionary movement in Latin America would benefit from such a conference, held in the spirit of unity and aimed at clearing up common viewpoints on such questions as the

present state of the revolutionary process, its successes and setbacks, the present alignment of forces, diverse forms and specific features of the revolutionary process, and at making a scientific analysis of possibilities for coordinated action of all our parties and all anti-imperialist forces.

Central America, May 1974

Mexican Communist Party
Guatemalan Party of Labor
Communist Party of Salvador
Nicaraguan Socialist Party
People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica
People's Party of Panama

IN BRIEF

ARGENTINA

A plenum of the CC, Communist Party of Argentina (CPA) was held in Buenos Aires on June 22. General Secretary Arnedo Alvarez noted in his report that the Party continues to support all positive steps of the government in carrying further the process of liberation, despite some negative aspects in the government's activity.

The determined action of the masses united in the struggle to uphold their vital demands for a genuine liberation of the country, he said, will help to strengthen the democratic gains and substantially broaden them. Conditions have appeared for reaching agreement between the political parties of the people on the basis of a common program. This will help step up the action by all democratic and patriotic forces and form a national unity government capable of directly expressing the will of the majority of the people.

The struggle between counter-revolution and the people is bound to intensify, and we must prepare for this in every way, not excluding violent measures.

We should be able, Arnedo Alvarez said further, to win over as many allies as possible, even those who vacillate and are inconsistent but who will take part in the struggle against the dependent position of the country.

The Right fascist forces are attempting to hamper the struggle of the people and liquidate their gains. These forces are afraid that our people's struggle will set an example and that the gains we are winning will stimulate the resistance and militant action of the people in Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay.

The General Secretary then spoke of the agreements concluded by Argentina with socialist countries and of its extensive trade with Cuba. These measures can be regarded as a qualitative change in the country's foreign policy.

In the current struggle against reaction, said Arnedo Alvarez, the composition of temporary and constant allies of the working class is considerably expanding, making it possible to avert a counter-revolutionary putsch, attain complete national liberation and clear the way for socialism.

AUSTRALIA

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) was held on June 15-16 in Sydney, with the participation of 72 delegates and 32 members of the CPA National Committee. It elected the National Executive Committee, chairman and national secretary of the Party.

AUSTRIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austia (CPA) held a plenary meeting in Vienna at the end of June. It unanimously approved the report by Political Bureau member Erwin Scharf, which drew the government's attention to the need of using every opportunity for an early and positive completion of the European security and cooperation conference.

The plenary meeting declared for Austria's broader economic ties with the countries of the socialist community.

DENMARK

A national conference of the Communist Party of Denmark (CPD) took place in Copenhagen on June 22-23. Its participants once again strongly denounced the Left extremists in Denmark.

Addressing the conference, Party Chairman Knud Jespersen stressed that "organizationally as well as politically the Communist Party has lately achieved notable successes." "In a short period we have resolved important tasks." Jespersen said. "During the election cam-

paign we successfully continued our work, winning six seats in the Folketing for the Communist Party."

The conference adopted a manifesto, "For Unity of the Working-class Movement Against Big Capital."

HUNGARY

A plenum of the CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) was held in Budapest on June 20. It discussed the world situation, the foreign-policy activity of the Party and Government and approved the measures adopted since the previous plenum. In connection with the fifth anniversary of the international Communist meeting in Moscow, the CC noted with satisfaction that international events had fully confirmed its conclusions on the main questions of the struggle for social progress and peace. The HSWP has taken and will continue to take an active part in the joint efforts of the Communists of the world. It supports proposals for broader relations between the brother parties and for coordinating the activity of the Communist parties.

The CC HSWP stated that the process of world détente was gaining momentum. The most reactionary, aggressive forces of imperialism are opposing détente. The foreign policy of the present Chinese leadership is also blocking the process of détente.

The CC further noted that in the foregoing period the unity of the socialist countries had grown stronger. The might of the socialist countries is enhanced by their cooperation in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The CC HSWP highly appraised the countrywide socialist production emulation in honor of the 11th HSWP Congress and the 30th anniversary of the country's liberation from the German fascist invaders.

IRAQ

A plenum of the CC, Communist Party of Iraq (CPI), held on June 21, focussed attention on the internal political problems of Iraq and the Kurdish question, in particular. The democratic development of Iraq is the main factor guaranteeing the national rights of the Kurds and their right to retain their national identity.

The rightist leadership of the Kurdish movement ignored the favorable situation for the settlement of the Kurdish problem, namely, the existence in Iraq of an anti-imperialist regime and progressive national patriotic front.

The imperialist and reactionary forces are attempting to obstruct

the national regime in Iraq, to force it into turning away from the progressive home and foreign policy course, the course of economic reform, strengthening the progressive national-patriotic front, settling the Kurdish problem on the principle of granting autonomy to the Kurd region, and establishing closer relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The imperialist and reactionary forces are bringing pressure to bear on Iraq with the view of creating a breach for the penetration of capitalist monopolies, abolition of the revolutionary content of the measures for nationalizing the holdings of foreign oil compainies, and restoration of their influence.

The plenum approved the political report and adopted a number of resolutions, including ones on the situation in the Arab East and on solidarity with the Chilean people. The plenum demanded freedom for Luis Corvalan and other imprisoned Chilean patriots, and also for Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

POLAND

The 14th plenum of the CC, Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP), which took place in Warsaw on June 25, heard a report by Politburo member and Prime Minister Piotr Jaroszewicz on the fulfilment of the socio-economic targets in the period since the first national Party conference held at the end of 1973.

Jaroszewicz noted the dynamic growth of industrial production in the country and the rise of the working people's incomes. He reviewed the main fields of the Party's and government's economic activity, and the successes attained in them.

Edward Babiuch, Politburo member and secretary of the CC, reported on the activity of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat. He emphasized that Poland's successes were the result of close ties of the Party with the working class. The Party is continually strengthening these ties, consistently upholding the workers' interests. The Party's policy and the practical activity of its bodies serve the aim of deepening and strengthening unity of the workers and farmers, workers and intellectuals. Strengthening the unity of the people has always been and remains the general line of all Politburo and Secretariat resolutions and the activity of the Government.

The speaker further noted the dynamic development of Polish-Soviet relations, the main preconditions for which are the common views and fraternal cooperation of the PUWP and CPSU. We also pay great attention, he said, to the development of fraternal good-

neighborly relations with Czechoslovakia and the GDR. The PUWP will continue to strengthen the socialist countries' unity and the ideological cohesion of the communist and working-class movement, and to consolidate the forces of progress and peace.

SOUTH AFRICA

The CC, South African Communist Party (SACP) held a plenary meeting recently. Its resolutions were published in *The African Communist,* No. 57, second quarter of 1974.

The plenary meeting noted the positive tendencies in the international situation, characterized by the strengthening of the forces of peace, socialism and the national-liberation movement. It declared its complete solidarity with the Chilean people: demanded the restoration of democratic freedoms in the country and the release of Luis Corvalan and other patriots and democrats.

The resolution on the Middle East expressed firm support for the just cause of the Arab peoples and condemned the Zionist and imperialist policy of Israel.

The meeting declared its support for the African peoples' liberation struggle, for unity and friendship of the African peoples.

The South African Communists condemned the anti-Soviet and divisive activities of the Maoists.

The meeting expressed its profound appreciation to the socialist countries, the independent states of Africa, and to the working class, and all democrats for their assistance to the liberation movements of Southern Africa.

The SACP, reaffirming its unvarying principle of proletarian internationalism, considers itself an integral detachment of the world communist movement and shall ever uphold and work for the unity of this movement, the resolution concluded.

ALONG THE ROAD OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party, meeting in Lisbon on June 17, considered the internal political situation and approved a document on the subject discussed. The document entitled "Along the Road of Democracy and Peace" notes that in a short time after the overthrow of the fascist regime the National Salvation Council and the provisional government took a number of measures in home policy which meet the interests of the people and radically changed the political situation in the country.

Diplomatic relations were established with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and a road was opened for the promotion of friendship and cooperation with these countries in the political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural spheres. Negotiations began with representatives of the national-liberation movements of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

It is necessary to carry forward the process of renewal of the cadres and abolition of all fascist institutions, especially in the provinces, and of their replacement by new organizations conforming to the current process of democratization.

Capitalist exploitation still remains in Portugal, and the standard of living continues to be the lowest in Europe. It is necessary for the working people to go on with the struggle for their economic demands. The Communist Party warns against the danger of advancing unfeasible economic demands and against the maneuvering by reactionaries whose aim is to provoke the workers' discontent with the actions of the Labor Ministry.

Reactionaries are trying to split the popular movement and disrupt its alliance with the armed forces, create economic difficulties in order to plunge the country into a crisis, provoke the dissatisfaction of the working people and the middle strata, aggravate social conflicts, thereby creating an atmosphere of uncertainty and anarchy, and multiply political provocations and acts of ideological subversion.

Anti-communism is coming out more and more clearly in the actions of counter-revolutionary forces, the document says. The Portuguese people know from their own experience that anti-communism, the talk of communist threat, has always served as a cover for the abolition of democratic freedoms.

The Communist Party calls for the protection of the democratic gains and for nipping in the bud the attempts of reaction and fascism to take revenge.

EDITORIAL FROM AVANTE!

Avante!, the paper of the Portuguese Communist Party, carried in its fifth issue an editorial entitled, "The Need for a Clear Understanding of the Present Situation."

It is less than two months since the fascist dictatorship was overthrown, but some already seem to have forgotten what the fascist yoke was like; they underrate the democratic gains achieved and act as though their loss would be a minor happening.

The political situation remains complex. The democratization process will continue to be tortuous. There will be both achievements and setbacks. Solution of the colonial problem will also be a difficult task. At the same time there are conditions facilitating implementation of the Armed Forces Movement's program (which is now the government program) up to and including elections to a constituent assembly at which the Portuguese people will freely elect the regime of their choice.

In the atmosphere of natural enthusiasm and joy following liberation from fascism many fail to take into account the main aspects of the complex situation that developed after April 25. Hence the need to explain it persistently, for only a clear understanding of it can assure the correct action of political forces and the masses.

The transitional regime and freedom. We have already noted that, although democratic freedoms have been restored, the country does not yet have a democratic regime. The present regime is transitional, its institutions are forming in the course of a tortuous and unsteady process influenced by a variety of factors, including the present alignment of social and political forces.

After April 25, after the overthrow of the dictatorship, freedom was proclaimed. A de facto situation emerged in which the basic democratic freedoms (freedom of the press, information, association, strikes)

were not legally enforced; their fulfilment came to depend almost exclusively on the will of individual persons.

Only people failing to take into account the existing state of affairs can think that such a situation can persist infinitely. At the same time certain measures to establish order could, doubtlessly, have been adopted later and could have been less tough. Some administrative decisions (with regard to which the PCP's views were not taken into account), doubtlessly, need not have been taken. It is quite obvious that such decisions could have been prevented if not for utter confusion in a realistic assessment of the political situation by some quarters; if not for anarchic concepts of freedom, and the use of that freedom not for the benefit of the Portuguese people, but to continuously undertake political provocations against the forces taking part in the democratization process, especially against the armed forces.

Freedom of the press, as yet unlegislated, was used by some not to attack the enemies of freedom but to attack the armed forces, the Government, the democratic forces; at times this was done in such slanderous expressions that each line represented a violation of the criminal code.

Freedom of demonstrations was used by some not to support mass action but to create a situation of constant provocations in the streets and drive a wedge between the armed forces and the masses.

Even freedom of strikes and legitimate dissatisfaction of the workers were used by reactionary employers and fascist conspirators to cause unjustified complications of social conflicts, paralyze the public transport, bring about a bread shortage, disrupt the economy and open a convenient road for counter-revolution.

The irresponsible persons who thus exploited the freedoms gained as a result of the April 25 revolution are primarily responsible for the sudden sharp restriction of those freedoms. Their actions offered an ideal pretext for pressure on the part of various still powerful forces aimed at restricting the freedoms gained.

The lessons of the past events are clear. It would be only right to study the experience and draw the necessary conclusions so as not to repeat mistakes, avoid dissillusionment and bar any continuation of dangerous retreats which would be hard to prevent in the democratization process.

The PCP, and with it all other democratic forces, are fighting constantly and consistently on all levels to make the democratic freedoms as broad as possible. The success of this struggle will be the greater the higher the sense of responsibility in using those freedoms.

The coalition government. It should never be forgotten that in the present circumstances the armed forces exert great (in some cases decisive) influence on national policy. Neither should it be forgotten that the provisional government is not a "worker-peasant government," it is not a "popular front government," it is not even a "government of Left forces," even though the Communist and Socialist parties are represented in it. It is a very broad coalition of social and political forces that have reached agreement on a number of fundamental objectives (the establishment of a democratic regime, an end to the colonial war, and others), but which have in some cases widely divergent ideas on the ways and means of achieving those objectives and on specific priorities.

Thus, the intensive debate in Portuguese society is in some cases going on within the government coalition. It is therefore only proper for every component in that coalition to have the right to independently voice its point of view, which may differ from that of the majority of the coalition.

There is nothing bad in this. What is bad is when a political force pursues the government policy in the government and an opposition policy outside the government. The legitimate right to independent opinion is one thing. The need for real efforts and a sense of responsibility in government action is quite another.

Like other political forces, the PCP does not always agree with measures of the Government or the National Salvation Council. In some cases the Party clearly and publicly voices its objections or reservations. At the same time, it pursues the same policy within and outside the government, it fairly assesses the latter's positive measures and assumes its share of the responsibility for the present political course. For all its inconsistencies and contradictions, this course is one which, in the present circumstances, can lead to the establishment in Portugal of a democratic regime elected by the people.

The alternative is obvious: either further democratization in the framework of the present coalition or the risk of establishment of a new dictatorship which may be even more violent and repressive.

The PCP firmly opts for democratization and enjoys in this mass support throughout the country. . . .

Communist participation. The PCP takes an active part in the process of democratization of Portuguese society. It does so in close association with the masses, sensing their moods, wishes and needs; it daily learns from the masses and at the same time places its revolutionary experience at the service of the masses, warning them of dangers and showing them the way.

Wherever they are, at factories or other places of work, in the fields, the trade unions or the government, Communists uphold the interests of the working people, being guided in their work by one main, primary concern: to defend and consolidate democratic freedoms, end the war, bar the way to counter-revolution, lead the country to democratization, up to and including free elections to the constituent assembly.

Communists are in the government because the need for their participation in the democratization of national life was recognized by all, because the people wanted it, because the Party held that participation in the government would enable it to speak most effectively for the interests of the people and the country.

The government program is of a limited character. But many government measures were useful and should be continued in future.

Thus, insofar as Communist participation in the government proved an important factor in setting up the present ruling coalition and of mass support for and confidence in, that government, their withdrawal from the government would undoubtedly mean a sharp and violent disruption of the political equilibrium, a loss of the democratic perspective and opening the way for reactionary policies.

For this reason the working people and democratic forces continue to insist that Communists remain firmly in the provisional government in spite of all difficulties, contradictions and dangers.

The colonial question. One of the demands which inspired the April 25 movement and one of the reasons why it received such broad mass support was its declared intention to put an end to the colonial war. An end to the colonial war has become a national demand. And it is necessary to end it urgently, from the political, economic, social and diplomatic aspects. The question is to know how to achieve this and what the specific solutions of the issue are.

The democratic demand for a broad national debate on the colonial problem dates back to the fascist time. The Armed Forces Movement's program had as one of its objectives the demand for a debate on that important problem. Events, however, are out-stripping plans, the situation is developing, and today more than ever before the need is obvious for a debate which, if it is to be successful, should be, on the one hand, calm and constructive and, on the other, held in conditions of freedom and genuine respect of different views.

A just solution is in no way facilitated (indeed, it is compromised) by either placatory positions foregoing issues of principle or inflamatory rhetoric and calls for violence and rebellion which can only strengthen conservative trends.

A most positive factor is the existence of genuine national agreement concerning the need to end the war and seek political solutions in conditions of respect for the principles of self-determination and independence. This general agreement represents an enormous step toward a just solution. Talks have already begun with the legitimate representatives of the peoples under the yoke of Portuguese colonialism. This is also a positive development.

However, widely divergent views are being expressed on the prospects of such a solution in the near or more distant future, as well as on the ways and means of decolonization.

The key, general idea on which the PCP insists is that an end to the war and a political solution is highly improbable if the right to self-determination and independence is not recognized in practice. Once this right is recognized the process leading to a just solution will become much simpler.

Despite the complexity of the situation two main factors continue to offer grounds for belief in the success of the democratization process now under way in the country. The first is the strength of the mass popular movement, the unity of the working class and the Democratic Movement. The second is the active participation of the armed forces in the process. The earnest of victory is defense and consolidation of the unity of the popular and democratic movement and the alliance of the people and the armed forces.

Reaction and fascism are continuing their attempts to regroup and foment disorder. On June 10, reactionaries tried to hold their first street demonstration. The attempt failed dismally, but it goes to show that reaction has not yet been disarmed.

If they are vigilant in the face of danger and have faith in their cause, the united democrats, armed forces and masses can win success in building up a Portugal fully and finally free of fascism and war, a democratic, peaceful and independent Portugal.

RESOLUTION OF CC FRENCH CP PLENUM

On June 12, 1974, *l'Humanité* published a resolution on problems of French policy, adopted by the Central Committee of the French Communist Party in plenary session. The resolution reads as follows:

The Central Committee approves the report on problems of French policy after the presidential election, delivered by Georges Marchais on behalf of the Political Bureau.

A new situation has arisen in the country. The overwhelming majority of the French people seeks change. The alliance of the Left has become the principal and permanent factor in French politics. It has reached the threshold of a majority and its victory is not far off. Even those who believed they were voting for change by expressing confidence in Giscard d'Estaing will learn from experience that he neither can nor is willing to meet their expectations. The main lines of the common program add up to a consistent and limited set of democratic reforms. They are the only basis for genuine and reasonable changes making it possible to lead France out of the crisis.

These changes can only be brought about through alliance and action on the part of the people. To unite and consolidate the overwhelming majority of the people is the task of the day.

This alliance will be formed jointly by all working people, by those who create the nation's wealth, by youth and women, by all who seek prosperity, freedom, security and national independence.

The Communists will not relax until all political forces, all ideological currents striving for a more just, freer and more humane society, are united.

The Communists want to form this alliance in common with those Frenchmen who had thought they could pin hopes for change on "reformers" or "centrists" but who tomorrow will welcome the prospects offered by the united Left.

The Communists want to form this alliance with those Gaulists who are concerned with the independence and greatness of France and refuse to tolerate the pro-Atlantic and reactionary principles of the President of the Republic.

The Communists want to form this alliance with the millions of Christians who see in their faith a basis on which to fight for a fraternal society.

We set no limits to this alliance. With the exception of financial and

industrial magnates and their underlings, anyone will find a place for himself in the alliance of the French people.

The people's alliance, which the Communists are working courageously to bring into being, can materialize only on the principle of respect for the multiformity of France. It will be a loyal alliance in which every man or woman and every organization will retain their independence.

This vast national alignment will make possible genuine change, a new policy guaranteeing social progress, democracy, well-being and the greatness of the country.

We Communists have no other ambition than to uphold as effectively as possible the demands of those who work, suffer and hope.

We have no other desire than to be in the forefront of the fight for freedom and democracy, in defense of an independent France.

We have no other desire than to be in the front ranks of those who strive to acquaint everyone with the solutions offered by the united Left so as to form a broad majority bloc of the French people.

The Central Committee addresses its appeal to every Communist and every Party organization. To form an alliance of the French people, it is necessary to have more Party members and branches.

We must all be able to take a broad view of our tasks, bring tens of thousands of new people into the Party and organize more actions that will make the French Communist Party still more militant, more open and creative — the great party of the alliance serving France.

RESOLUTION OF JOINT PLENUM OF THE CC AND CCC ITALIAN CP

Passed by a joint plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Italian Communist Party and published in *l'Unitá*, June 6.

The CC and CCC ICP approve Enrico Berlinguer's report and call on all Party organizations to draw specific conclusions from the analysis of the exceptional experience of the joint struggle against repealing the divorce law and from the success in the May 12 refer-

endum in order to extend on new and broader lines the democratic movement and struggle for freedom and reform, since civic and cultural progress in the country depends on this.

The criminal massacre in Brescia showed how serious the fascist danger is and brought to the fore the issue of democratic security and public order. The CC and CCC once again and emphatically point to the responsibility of the governments and their agencies which have for years connived at the conspiracies, organizations and gangster operations of terrorists and fascist militante bands in spite of the efforts and sacrifices made by a substantial proportion of the state apparatus and the forces of public order. They reaffirm the specific demands put forward in Enrico Berlinguer's report for a common and coordinated plan of action ranging from the center to the periphery and capable of ending complicity and connivance and eliminating fascist gangsterism and terror in any form.

All Communists are in duty bound to work for the broadest possible mobilization of all democratic forces, which is needed to isolate subversive groups, make the authorities adopt effective measures to track down and call to account those responsible for the black conspiracy and its executors themselves, end connivance and negligence with regard to them, and create an ideological and political anti-fascist atmosphere making for militant defense of the democratic regime. Accordingly, it is necessary resolutely to expose the complicity of both individual members of the Italian Social Movement, who must be handed over to the judicial authorities without delay, and the ISM as a whole in subversion, terrorism and banditry in order to contribute to the departure from the neo-fascist party, especially in some areas of Central and South Italy, of the social strata which the ISM has so far been able to mislead by electoral demagogy and which are now shocked by the crimes of those behind the black conspiracy.

Economic problems have sharpened to the utmost due, among other things, to the erroneous principles and methods prevailing in the government's activity and to its manifest inability to cope with its tasks. It is necessary to set about overcoming the current crisis and sparing the country the disastrous prospect of a recession coupled with growing inflation and prevent the burden of the crisis from being shifted on to the shoulders of the workers and other working people, the peasants and small and medium employers. The course of action proposed by the director of the Italian Bank is wrong, socially unfair and hence unacceptable. The directives issued by the Christian Democratic Party leadership are contradictory, ambiguous and virtu-

ally negative. Their purpose is to curtail the powers of regional and local government bodies at a time when the growing crisis of the state calls, in fact, for moving in the opposite direction. The idea is to avoid — specifically, in view of the CDP's resistance to every measure likely to affect its power system — all substantial change in the economic system whereas it is precisely this kind of change that the situation demands.

The Communists conclude from this that the country needs a new political leadership more than ever. The task is to form a new alliance of diverse social and political forces that could assure maximum popular support and democratic prestige for the political leadership of the country. It is essential to bring about a general democratic turn in every sphere: the orientation and prospects of economic policy, foreign policy, the fight against fascism and subversion, for a healthy public climate, for steps to strengthen and renovate the democratic and representative regime legalized by the Constitution.

The CC and CCC consider it the duty of the whole Party to step up their activity in order to provide all conditions necessary for this change, strengthen opposition to the present government, exert pressure with a view to imposing even now correct solutions to the more serious and pressing problems, demand a complete renunciation of all discrimination and prejudice against democratic parties, and seek still greater coordination within this framework so as to consolidate the foundations of the democratic regime through specific measures for improvement and renewal.

Political life in the country gained fresh momentum as a result of the May 12 referendum. The Communists propose closely watching the progress of the discussion and confrontation of opinions begun — in a new way — among the Catholics and to join in the battle of ideas and in political initiatives in order to force the CDP, which is in a serious state of disarray now, into adopting concrete decisions, first of all in the sense of finally abandoning its integralist line and the idea of preserving what is an evil system of rule. In more general terms, the Communists regard the experience of the campaign over the referendum as a further proof of the great importance of joint action with the Socialist comrades and as a spur to a broader dialogue with all democratic forces — lay and Catholic, political and cultural — and as an important condition for the country's continued political and civic progress.

As regards, in particular, the problem of the family, the Communists reaffirm their commitment to campaign for early approval,

specifically by confronting views on the need to amend the text of the reform law on the family already approved by the Chamber of Deputies, as well as for the approval of concrete proposals aimed at providing greater protection of rights to the less secure wife or husband and children in case of divorce. To preserve the family and safeguard its interests, however, it is important, first of all, to adopt at along last a policy of renovating the whole of Italian society.

MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Central Committee meeting held on July 24 considered questions relating to the first session of the ninth Supreme Soviet (parliament).

The decisions passed by the meeting and the Supreme Soviet session carry forward the Party's Leninist policy of building communist society in the Soviet Union, strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, international peace and security, and advancing the social progress of mankind. The Party directs the creative energies of millions of working people to raise efficiency of social production and combine the advantages of the socialist economic system with the achievements of scientific and technological progress.

The results of the Central Committee meeting and the Supreme Soviet session have been wholeheartedly approved by the people who take pride in the great achievements made over recent years in all spheres of economic, social and cultural development, and have been inspired by the prospects mapped out by the Party for a further progress of the country. By their selfless labor millions of Soviet people display their firm determination to translate communist ideals into life.

The labor and political activity of the people is convincing proof of the profound democracy of the socialist system and of the steadily growing might of the Soviet Union. The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, are confidently advancing toward fresh accomplishments for the prosperity of their socialist homeland and for the triumph of communism.

MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA

A special meeting of the CC PPP, held on March 3, 1969, approved the "March Line" specifying the Party's strategy and tactics. Appreciable changes have occurred since and yet the economic structure of society is the same as ever, oligarchic and imperialist domination has not been abolished, and our strategy has therefore not been revised in any way.

Let us look at changes in tactics.

TESTING THE MARCH LINE

The strategy defined by the March Line according to the guidelines of the Ninth Plenum (1962) consists in going over from the hegemony of the national bourgeoisie to the hegemony of the worker-peasant alliance and in accomplishing a popular national democratic revolution.

The tactical line implies struggle by the people against authoritarian militarism, and the formation of a popular alliance. To strengthen this alliance, a program of political, economic, social and educational demands was put forward with due regard to the situation.

It must be remembered that the Party was divided over the question of the coup. The situation was highly complicated and tangled and this prevented a precise evaluation. However, developments showed that it was wrong to describe the coup as a putsch.

The Party can niw maintain that the coup of October 11, 1968, which overthrew Arnulfo Arias, was a revolutionary action taken in a national crisis.

The March Line defined the military regime as a petty-bourgeois reformist government operating in a social crisis, at a time when the oligarchy had lost its ability to govern the country politically and when bourgeois reformist nationalism, which was looking for a solution to the crisis, had been defeated. Had political, ideological and organizing activity been revolutionary, flexible and extensive enough, it could have changed the alignment of forces in favor of popular and progressive organizations and thus provided opportunities for the development of a popular, democratic anti-imperialist movement and rapidly drawn the people into struggle to free the country.

One of the Fifth Congress guidelines was to set up a leadership that

could make our Party a revolutionry mass organization, end subjectivism and primitive methods, and firmly establish Marxist-Leninist methods of leadership.

Actually, while its responsibility had increased after the coup, the Party found itself faced with the same problems as the Fifth Congress had called for solving. In other words, its organizational structure and leadership methods prevented it from fully assuming the political and revolutionary responsibility which the working-class party must bear by its nature if it is to use a critical situation for advancing the revolution. The Party's political and ideological development fell short of the political demands of the day.

The enormous amount of work shouldered by a weakened Party leadership resulted in the emphasis being shifted on practical activity to the detriment of ideological work. The latter could not be carried on properly because the leadership scattered its efforts and also due to the objective conditions in which the Party was working. As a result, empirism became a method of leadership.

As empirism had gained the upper hand and there were shortcomings in implementing the general line framed by the Party, five Political Bureau members met in December 1970 to analyze the domestic situation and Party work. The meeting helped to take more effective steps to improve leadership.

The question of the leadership's tasks in a situation requiring greater efficiency prompted the Party to call an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau in September 1971 which decided on steps to reorganize and reinforce the leadership.

Better conditions for Party work after March 1969 made it possible to pursue the general line more effectively. Contacts were established with progressive elements in the government and the National Guard, and some comrades came back from exile. The authorities showed a degree of tolerance of the Party's activity. Nevertheless, these gains were not accompanied by comprehensive implementation of our general line, if we have in mind some of its strategic aspects and, above all, the need for all Party members to assimilate this line.

The early changes for the better bred various illusions, and empirism gave way to economism as a method of struggle. The latter expressed itself in the tendency to reduce the Party's struggle to social and economic demands, subordinate political action to the allies' class interests, restrict mutual understanding inside the alliance to oral agreement and seek no political agreements on common goals, forms or methods of struggle.

CLASS STRUGGLE IN PANAMA

The class struggle in our country since 1969 has been marked by the involvement of every segment of the population due to increased political consciousness.

There are those who want to preserve the system of internal rule which existed before 1968 and the system of imperialist domination over our country. They are the landed and house-owning bourgeoisie, the commercial bourgeoisie and the bureaucratized officialdom which has made a fortune. They make up what we call the oligarchy. Besides, foreign private monopolies, the colonial administration of the Canal Zone and Yankee imperialism have a vested interest in preserving the old order.

On the other hand, there are forces seeking a change in the system of social relations of production or objectively interested in this change. They are the working class, agricultural proletariat, poor peasants, part of the petty bourgeoisie, the students and military, who realize the need for change. We may also mention here the nationalist industrial bourgeoisie, a potential ally of the progressive forces.

Comparing the balance of forces between the opposed classes, we may say that the following important changes took place between 1969 and 1973:

(a) The most important and decisive development at this stage of the class struggle is that the workers and poor peasants can take the offensive in the given objective conditions, that they realize this and that there are signs of this offensive, if isolated ones. In a measure, these classes are advancing to the formation of a worker-peasant alliance.

(b) . . . The interests of the large social sections favoring revolutionary change coincide only as far as the ultimate goal is concerned. These sections are not a single whole because they proceed according to their class or group characteristics and have no common principles, program or methods worked out by joint effort. Nevertheless, the idea of establishing a broad anti-imperialist front is gaining ground as the ideological struggle goes on.

(c) International developments, which are characterized by the growing might of the socialist system, further gains of the countries fighting for liberation, the intensifying struggle of the working class in capitalist countries and the dwindling strength of imperialism, create conditions objectively favorable to Panama's revolutionary and progressive forces and aggravating the contradictions between our coun-

try and imperialism while at the same time fostering the people's struggle. Under the impact of the international factor, a political current has developed in Panama which stresses the special role of the Third World and manifests itself in anti-Sovietism and nationalism. On the other hand, the Soviet Union's expanding relations with other countries, including Latin American, favor the people's liberation revolution in Panama.

The oligarchy which was in power until 1968, and imperialism retain their economic positions in Panama and this means, in fact, that they may win political battles. The government is doing nothing to undermine the foundations of the oligarchy's economic power and enables imperialism fully to carry on its neo-colonialist policy even though it puts forward increasing demands directed against U.S. colonialism.

The nationalist industrial bourgeoisie backs the government, in which it is represented and which it wants to follow a policy meeting its fundamental interests. The road it would like Panama to take is objectively contrary to the interests of the oligarchy. It approves of moves to regain the Canal Zone, which it regards as a new field of its activity. Therefore it has a stake in the government pursuing a democratic and nationalist policy. This is very important in the present inner political situation because this bourgeoisie plays a progressive role.

In the early months of military government, the working-class movement was dealt heavy blows. It gradually regrouped its ranks and had assumed a vast scale by 1970, being inspired by General Torrijos' policy of resolutely supporting the trade unions and unity of the working-class movement and protecting the working people's rights. More trade unions came into being and it is safe to say that today the trend toward forming unions encompasses the whole country.

The unions, being class organizations, do not confine themselves to economic struggles but put home and foreign policy demands to the government and urge it to resist Yankee imperialism. Ideologically, however, most workers are still influenced by bourgeois reformism although an intensive ideological struggle is going on among the working class.

There is a visible uptrend in the movement of poor peasants, who want to set up their own organizations throughout the country. Nor do the organized peasants limit themselves to economic demands arising from the agrarian reform but advance political demands as

well. The latest national congress of CONAC (National Confederation of Peasant Asentamientos. —*Ed.*) discussed the tasks facing it in the struggle against the oligarchy and imperialism. In connection with the Security Council meeting in Panama, CONAC reaffirmed its anti-imperialist position and declared for the restitution of the Canal Zone and the liberation of the country. Other forces operating in the countryside, while less considerable, must be taken into account none the less. They are Christian Democratic and other groups which are influenced by the Catholic Church and are very active today.

The country's leading posts are held by members of the petty bourgeoisie, who head the key ministries. In other words, the government is petty-bourgeois. However, some groups of the petty bourgeoisie are opposed or unsympathetic to it. They comprise the teachers, numerous civil servants, employees of private enterprises and independent working people. Opposition to the regime is considerable even among the students.

The ruling petty bourgeoisie is anti-oligarchic. With regard to the United States, it insists on restoring the Canal Zone and revising the whole system of relations with imperialism. However, it distrusts the masses and some of its main spokesmen in the government prefer bourgeois reforms to the possibility of the country taking a revolutionary road, which would be in keeping with the conditions prevailing in the country and with the interests of the masses.

The government comprises both petty-bourgeois groups who tend to draw nearer to the big employers as the revolutionary process develops and groups whose position is close to that of the working class.

The students are an important factor in the social struggle in Panama. For several decades now, the student movement has upheld progressive positions in the fight against the oligarchy and imperialism.

Those of the military who favor change call for an anti-oligarchic policy and and end to U.S. colonialism in Panama. On the whole, however, they are distrustful of the revolutionary forces. At the moment they advocate a policy of joint action with the workers, peasants and students even though they have not renounced paternalism because they would like to make these sections executors of their will. Certain military men declaring for change have taken an anti-imperialist stand, having overcome their nationalist and bourgeois reformist leanings. A highly important factor is the qualitative change that has occurred in the National Guard as a result of the

technical, political and ideological training received by its personnel.

The progressive trend in the National Guard is daily gaining in influence and setting the tone for government policy to a much greater extent than in 1969-1970. This is a political factor of tremendous importance which our Party constantly stresses.

The Church as a whole disapproves of the government's activity. There are different trends in it. Those quarters which actively opposed the government earlier have changed their tactics while holding the same stand. Progressives are growing stronger and some spokesmen of the clergy adhere to an anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist position.

The ultra-Leftists in Panama play the same role as elsewhere. They are opposed to the current process and fiercely attack the government, rejecting its policy as assessed in this document. They regard our Party as one of their main enemies and are conducting an infamous campaign of slander against it. Their position is objectively reactionary because their activity plays into the hands of imperialism and the oligarchy, with which they are at one in striving to check the current process.

Our Party has been allowed to engage in political activity on a limited scale which, however, has not been specified. This raises the question of how legal it is. The fact that the Party is actually operating in legal conditions has given rise to deviation in its ranks. The right-wing deviationists, who claim that we enjoy complete legality, see everything through rose-colored spectacles, imagining that the Party is in power. The Left deviation finds expression in the inability to take advantage of the situation by using new methods of struggle to strengthen the Party and the current process.

TREND OF DEVELOPMENT

This, then, is the political scene in Panama. The situation confronts the Party with problems whose seriousness must not be underrated if we want to steer clear of unwarranted optimism. To be sure it may change and the revolutionary forces, specifically the Party, may be afforded ample opportunities to deepen the process and turn what is a possibility into a reality. However, we must not forget that the forces opposing us are very strong and will not surrender without fighting. After all, the economic and social foundations of oligarchic and imperialist power are intact.

From the strategic point of view, it is indispensable to carry forward the process and bring about a change in the alignment of the

forces involved in social struggles. It is necessary to go over from the hegemony of the bourgeoisie to the hegemony of the worker-peasant alliance supported by democratic and progressive elements of the petty bourgeoisie. These forces are able to carry out structural changes, which are overdue, and to defeat the oligarchy and imperialism for good. It is essential to set in motion the nationalist industrial bourgeoisie and draw it into a broad coalition of democratic forces making it possible to form a popular, democratic revolutionary government that, being united, will achieve national independence.

Reality shows that the camp of progressive forces is expanding. Hence the task is to lay the organizational and political groundwork for worker-peasant unity by forming mass fronts and then to establish an anti-imperialist front.

The struggle to end the colonial regime in the Canal Zone has become a slogan of all progressives and democrats, who are undoubtedly prompted by interests of their own. This circumstance makes it necessary for us to evolve a program for freeing the Canal Zone, remembering that this economic, political and military complex is a capitalist state monopoly. When the part of our territory has been freed it must become *state property*.

A public sector developing in production originally consisted of state-owned enterprises and cooperatives of working people.

An important task is to strengthen the public sector of the economy, make it competitive in relation to privately-owned enterprises, build it in other spheres of production and, above all, aid the forces that can stimulate its development.

The working class of Panama must fight for the unity of the trade union movement so as to accomplish in this way its economic and social mission in the revolution. Worthy of note in this connection is the formation of the National Trade Union Center of Working people. It is essential to strengthen the Center as a unifying factor of the labor movement and ensure that the National Commission of Organized Working People becomes the center of Panama's working people. Furthermore, we must convince the unions and the working people that their duty is to protect, expand and control the public property in the economy and not to confine themselves to fighting against the employers.

A further task of the working class is to go on devising specific active forms of the worker-peasant alliance and aid the asentamientos, which may express itself in voluntary work, literacy campaigns and political education.

The trade union movement should realize that it must safeguard the revolutionary process by every means. It must be educated in a spirit of class solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

Peasants constitute the majority of the population. Public property in the form of asentamientos has become possible in the countryside. A revolutionary peasant movement has come into being on a national scale. It is CONAC, which should be transformed into a national organization of the whole peasant movement to unite both the asentamientos and the thousands of *precaristas*, Indians and small producers who have already begun to set up agrarian juntas.

CONAC should also prevail on the peasants to support the revolutionary process in every way.

It is necessary to found national organizations of youth and women, as well as neighborhood and regional organizations. These mass alignments in the form of united fronts should adopt appropriate programs in line with the tasks of an anti-imperialist political front, help in mobilizing the masses, support the revolutionary process and participate in popular government bodies.

Our Party must show everyone that it rejects the idea of a "united party." The current process involves several classes and hence unity based on a combination of differing interests can only be achieved by putting forward a unitary program reflecting the aspirations of diverse classes whose common goal is national liberation. However, a firm alliance must not rule out the ideological independence of the classes grouped in it. What we advocate is not a "united party" but an anti-imperialist political alliance.

One of the primary tasks arising from the present process is to launch an ideological struggle that will enable us to expose outspoken and disguised enemies, nationalist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reformism, neo-colonialism, right-wing opportunism, which denies the class struggle and calls for "national unity" even with the oligarchy, and "Left"-wing opportunism, which rejects the idea of an anti-imperialist alliance of many classes, denies the existence of the revolutionary process in Panama and complicates in the name of a "pure revolution" the fight for popular unity.

In view of the growing danger emanating from imperialism, which is ready to launch armed aggression by training mercenaries both at home and abroad, it is imperative to organize defense of the revolutionary process. The National Guard should become a mass army of the people equipped with modern arms and material, inspired by high moral principles and showing proper discipline and revolutionary

awareness, which is a requisite of effectively safeguarding the country and the revolutionary process against counter-revolutionary inroads. This army should be backed by a solid home front, and hence the people must be trained to use every form of struggle. This is a condition set by history and there can be no vacillation over it, because with a people unprepared for struggle, the process will be slackened and our achievements and, indeed, national independence will be endangered.

The development of the revolutionary process has revealed beyond all doubt that the foreign policy of Panama is subordinate to U.S. interests. Hence the task is to end diplomatic dependence. We live at a time when the socialist community and the progressive regimes in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America are a factor in settling international conflicts, such as the one between Panama and the U.S.

The Party must improve its organizational structure on the principles of a united political leadership and the collective method of action and put an end to primitive practices. We must bring this structure into line with present-day requirements, prepare for the use of every form of struggle, make democratic centralism a standard of Party life, and strengthen the leadership so as to maintain at all cost the unity of our policy line, pursuing it in the most diverse conditions. To reinforce the Party's leading bodies, draw every Central Committee member into fruitful work, which should be organized and controlled, and ensure the interaction and cooperation of all Party bodies are pressing tasks which must be carried out if we want a correct, confident and firm leadership.

In fighting against the class enemy and opportunists, we must maintain strict discipline and high moral standards based on loyalty to our policy line and Marxist-Leninist principles.

We must fight uncompromisingly against attempts to bring division into the Party, against renunciation of our class independence, against nationalism and chauvinism as incompatible with proletarian internationalism, against factional activity, passive contemplation, liquidationism, anarchism and petty-bourgeois individualism. Educational work, which we must carry on more thoroughly and systematically, has a big part to play in this.

We must pay close attention to the training of new cadres, provide facilities for them to learn diverse trades and professions needed for carrying out Party assignments, and afford every Party member the opportunity to raise his cultural standard and engage in creative work.

The Party must carry its ideological work deeper. This means that

we must devote special attention to the methods and content of our propaganda by improving primarily our press, specifically *El Militante*, the Party's national newspaper, which should come out every week. Provided we do this, our press will be able to orientate the membership all the more effectively, contribute to its unity and serve as a connecting link in our political relations at home and abroad.

The Party should set out to increase its membership and go over from spontaneous conscious growth brought about and controlled through well-organized campaigns. It should recruit new members above all among the active and sound forces of the working class and peasantry. We must seek greater participation in every popular organization, in government bodies, in all provinces, including the predominantly Indian provinces, as well as in the Canal Zone, which is Panamanian territory.

In seeking unity, the Party should strengthen its links with other revolutionary and progressive forces and redouble its efforts to convince these organizations of the urgency of an anti-imperialist front and united action.

Internationally, the Party should foster its relations with the world communist movement through more frequent bilateral and multilateral contacts and by improving the forms of foreign political relations.

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S EIGHTH PLENUM, PEOPLE'S VANGUARD PARTY OF COSTA RICA

(APRIL 20-21 AND MAY 4-5, 1974)

The eighth plenum deems it necessary to state that our political line in the election campaign was a sectarian one. This was further accentuated by the change of our original slogan, For Popular Power. It had been conceived as a long-range slogan, but we gave it a different slant to mean immediate struggle for popular rule. And we concentrated all our propaganda on this, changing the political line worked out earlier. We also abandoned all of the slogans which could have won us the votes of groups which, while progressive, saw no possibility of establishing popular rule as a result of the elections. Actually, we were fighting for a new type of government that would carry out a deep-going social revolution in which our Party would play the main part. However, there were no objective or subjective conditions for that, national or international. There was no national crisis and no firm unity of the revolutionary and popular forces capable of providing political and social support for such a new-type government. Our tactical slogan, therefore, did not meet with wide response from the people. That explains the confusion among the politically less developed sections of the people.

This self-criticism should not be interpreted as renunciation of the struggle for power within the framework of our Program. But there has to be a critical analysis of the Party's activity during the election campaign so as to discard all sectarianism, which disregards objective reality and leads to adventurism. On the other hand, this critical analysis should alert the Party to the danger of abandoning the ideological and political work necessary to lead the masses for an immediate struggle for a new-type government.

We can therefore give a dual assessment of the election campaign: we sustained defeat in the sense that we did not win new sections of the people, but, on the other hand, the votes cast for our candidates are of great revolutionary significance, for they show that a definite section of the people continues firmly to support our political leadership.

Among the negative factors that influenced the election campaign the following should be noted:

Shortcomings in Party activity in various fields.

Inadequate financing, which prevented us from making proper use of propaganda facilities and effectively countering the bourgeois parties which, of course, had millions of colons at their disposal.

The fascist coup in Chile and the criminal repression perpetrated by the gorillas, reaction and imperialism at the height of the election campaign. This created an atmosphere of pessimism and fear among large sections of the people.

Fear of military intervention similar to that in a number of Central American countries. This led to the belief that such intervention might follow our Party's victory at the polls.

The high-powered campaign of slander launched by the Catholic hierarchy on the eve of the elections.

The split of the Left forces, for whose unity we did not do everything we should have done, created an impression of weakness and doubt in the possibility of the people's victory in the near future.

The so-called Left Popular Front made its campaign of deception and calumny against the Communist Party the center of all its political activity. We did not effectively counter this campaign.

Mistakes in our parliamentary activity, responsibility for which rests with the Political Commission of the Central Committee, and the inadequate spread of timely information on developments in parliament and the municipalities prevented us from using our activity in these bodies to win mass support. Yet such activity, closely linked with the masses and the class struggle, has two important advantages: it helps us carry out our plans and prompts deputies and municipal councillors to improve their work, for they are always in the midst of the struggle. Our experience, and its critical analysis at this plenum, should help us mobilize the working class and the other people in the fight for their immediate demands and for the revolution.

The 11th Party Congress (1971) adopted the policy elaborated by earlier Central Committee plenums. It is a policy of working for anti-imperialist agrarian, popular and democratic front, to be effective also at the time of the 1974 elections. The Congress called for building up such a front, with the Party contesting in the elections as part of it. But there was neither adequate planning nor adequate effort to achieve this. At the last moment, on the eve of the elections, we found that the situation did not favor such a front. And we had to contest in the elections having as our only allies two small, though very militant, youth groups.

All these shortcomings point to the need for better and more systematic work among the masses. This must be centered on developing all forms of the class and popular struggle in accordance with a carefully thought-out plan. We must aim at better organization of the trade unions, students, women and youth in mass united movements. Members of parliament and municipal councillors must maintain constant and direct contact with the masses, always be where the action is. The Party newspaper and the propaganda commission must help them in this.

The mistakes committed in building unity point to the pressing need for careful examination of new political democratic movements, particularly of the Left, and also of mass movements. We must promote mutual understanding with them, so as to lay in the next few years the ground for an anti-imperialist and democratic front that will become the determining political factor in the people's struggle and in all future election campaigns.

Our election experience has revealed serious short-comings in the Party's activity. We are not up to the tasks posed by the revolution. We must lose no time in reviewing our methods of work, organizational forms, education and propaganda, finances and cadre selection. The Party must also make a special effort to overcome the subjectivism which at times manifests itself in our work.

The Central Committee instructs the Political Commission to convene a special plenum to discuss the application of Party policy in present-day conditions.

The plenum also instructs that an immediate start be made on preparations for the 12th Party Congress to discuss building the Party and unity of the popular forces.

With a view to elaborating scientifically-grounded tactics for discussion at the next plenum, the Political Commission is instructed to study the nature and implications of present-day reformism, as embodied chiefly in the National Liberation Party and in a number of government institutions that are carrying out a reformist policy.

PLENUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party met in plenary session on April 18-19, with General Secretary Khaled Bagdash in the chair.

It heard a report by Politburo member Youssef Feisal on the latest developments over the problem of troops disengagement and the aggravated situation on the Syrian front, and passed a resolution hailing the staunchness of the Syrian armed forces and urging all patriotic and progressive forces of the Arab countries and the world to support Syria.

The meeting also heard a report by Politburo member Daniel Naameh on the 50th anniversary of the SCP and the tasks facing it at this stage. It approved the report and draft action plan and adopted a corresponding resolution. Ibrahim Bakri, member of the Political Bureau, delivered a report on progress in the unification of Party organizations and the results of unification measures in the Party organizations of Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, Hama and other cities.

The CC regards the completion of the consolidation process in a number of Party organizations as an important gain. It considers that the work begun on unifying other Party organizations requires close attention and must be finished as soon as possible. The meeting adopted a corresponding resolution and guidelines which were circulated to various Party organizations.

In his report on the economic situation in the country Maurice Salibi, member of the CC, dealt with the state of affairs in the public sector, economic development trends and the activity of rightist trends promoting the interests of the private capitalist sector. The CC discussed the report and passed a resolution on the economic situation and the Party's tasks in the economic field and in the struggle for the people's demands.

The meeting also heard and approved reports on other activities of the Party.

UNIFICATION WORK AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE FOURTH PARTY CONGRESS

The Central Committee, having heard a report on progress in unifying the Party, considers that Party organizations have taken important steps to restore unity.

It welcomes the efforts and initiative of the Party organizations and resolves that the unification of Party organizations at all levels must be completed by May 10, 1974.

The CC also resolves to complete in May 1974 the drafting of documents needed for convening the Fourth Party Congress.

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

(Abridged from *Nizal al-Shaab*)

October 28, 1975, will mark 50 years since the founding of the glorious Syrian Communist Party, the party of the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and other working people.

The Party was founded by a group of revolutionary intellectuals and advanced workers when, in 1925, the Syrian people's struggle against the French invaders was on the rise and the Great National Revolution took place. This came about under the direct impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, after the Soviet Union had frustrated the conspiracies and schemes of its internal enemies and foreign invaders and after the founding of the Third International.

The rise of the SCP was a result of objective evolution and the people's national liberation struggle and class battles.

From the moment it came into being, the SCP had to fight on all fronts — ideological, political and social — as the independent vanguard of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals. It performed this task with honor.

The Party made a noteworthy contribution to the fight against foreign colonialism, for independence and national sovereignty. And ever since Syria won political independence, it has helped to safeguard the country's independence against imperialist conspiracies and contributed to the effort to achieve economic independence.

The SCP's ideological work has been aimed at disseminating the ideas of scientific socialism and upholding Marxism-Leninism against all attempts by the class enemy to misrepresent it.

The SCP was the first political force to call for friendship with the Soviet Union a stronghold of the peoples and their mainstay in the fight for political, economic and social emancipation. Our Party is proud of the fact that today the country's progressive national forces, make common cause with it in strengthening the bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union as the principal factor of the fight against

imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for independence, social progress and socialism. Friendship with the Soviet Union, being a criterion of proletarian internationalism, has also become a criterion of genuine patriotism.

The SCP has always been in the forefront of the class battles for the material and cultural demands of the people. It has invariably fought against all military dictatorships and for greater democratic freedoms for the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people. The Party has made numerous sacrifices in this fight.

Our Party has always taken a stand against every form of national or religious segregation and for women's rights.

The SCP backs the struggle of patriotic forces in all Arab countries and calls for the unity of these forces, always stressing the need to promote cooperation and solidarity between Arab peoples in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and Zionism, for national independence, social progress and socialism, for the Arabs' progressive democratic unity. Our Party sides with the Palestinian resistance and national liberation movement, with the heroic and just struggle to guarantee the Palestinian Arab people the right to return to their homeland and to self-determination on their territory. It has always identified itself with the struggle which the peoples of the world are carrying on against colonialism and imperialism, for independence, liberation, democracy and world peace.

The SCP is fighting for the unity of world communist movement and its cohesion around its vanguard force, the great Party founded by Lenin, for the unity of the forces engaged in the world revolutionary process, the socialist community, the revolutionary working-class movement and national liberation movement in the whole world. Our Party condemns Maoism and resolutely combats it in common with all brother parties. It firmly adheres to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine as the compass and guide for action and creatively applies it in the conditions prevailing in our country.

The SCP has successfully stood all the tests to which it was put in its long and heroic history. Today it participates with all progressive national forces in the solution of the problems facing our country. Our Party's struggle has always aroused the hatred of the imperialists, Zionists and Syrian and Arab reactionaries. These forces try to split our Party, to undermine and weaken it.

By contrast, the masses are coming to appreciate the Party's role more and more. They see that by its struggle the Party has contributed to the economic, social and political achievements of the

country. This is becoming ever more evident to the masses and the fair-minded comrades who show interest in the problems of socialism and communism but are still influenced by the adventurist and opportunist group which is doing its utmost to torpedo the unification of the Party and perpetuate its division. This understanding contributes to the process of unifying the Party and strengthening its unity in accordance with the supreme interests of the country and people and the working-class cause.

Taking a positive view of the stage which Syria is now passing through, the SCP strives to help in bringing the country nearer to the stage of transition to socialism. The present period is characterized by far-reaching progressive changes effected or being effected in the political, economic and social spheres and enabling Syria to step on to the road of non-capitalist development. Our Party defends the progressive national regime and its policy and takes part in the progressive national front which comprises the SCP, the Arab Baath Socialist Party and other progressive parties and movements and forms the basis of the regime. Our Party wants this front fully to play its role in national life.

The SCP is fighting shoulder to shoulder with progressive national forces, relying on the progressive national front, to strengthen the vanguard standing of Syria in the Arab world and on an international scale. It helps to frustrate conspiracies and intrigues against Syria.

The SCP considers that the prestige won by Syria in the Arab world and on the world scene has grown as a result of the national liberation war of October 1973. It does, and will go on doing all in its power to fulfill its duty to the country and to the working people.

The SCP considers that the 50th anniversary of its founding, which it is going to mark on an extensive scale, should help to strengthen the Party and its unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and increase its progressive patriotic role in the country. The Central Committee has resolved to form a commission that will draw up and carry out a vast program of events marking the 50th anniversary of the Party and intended to accomplish the following tasks:

One; raising the Party's theoretical and cultural standards and carrying on more active propaganda among the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and the masses generally to publicize the ideas of scientific socialism, Marxist-Leninist teachings and the principles of proletarian internationalism, defeating attempts to distort Marxism-Leninism and carrying on these activities with due regard to

the present stage in the country's development and to the situation in the Arab world.

Two; acquainting the masses and, above all, the younger generation with the more vivid chapters of the Party's history and struggle.

Three; spelling out the Party's policy with the aid of the documents of Party congresses and Party leadership.

Four; seeing to it that the anniversary events help to strengthen the bonds of friendship between our Party and people and among the world forces of freedom, progress and socialism headed by our friend, the Soviet Union, and the great Party founded by Lenin.

Five; using the anniversary events to make more active inner-Party life, strengthen the Party organizationally, promote its unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teachings and the principles of proletarian internationalism, extend its influence among the workers, peasants and women, and defeat all adventurist, divisive and revisionist attempts.

Six; using these events to strengthen the Party's links with its allies in the progressive national front, on the one hand, and all Arab progressive national forces, especially in the eastern part of the Arab world, on the other.

We must ensure that the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Syrian Communist Party becomes an important stimulus to further progress in the Party's struggle for national liberation, democracy, socialism and Arab unity.

Damascus, April 1974.

STRENGTHEN REVOLUTIONARY AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITY

Following are extracts from a letter by Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary, CC CP of Uruguay, circulated shortly before his arrest.

I think conditions are ripening for raising the unity of the world communist movement to a higher plane. Needless to say, this will have to be done, possibly for a long time to come, without the Chinese, who are going through an ideological crisis and persevere in their open hostility to the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

This process is dialectically linked with the development of the international situation. It is by no means idyllic, as we Latin Americans know only too well. However, it is indicative of the tremendous role which the Soviet Union and the socialist community play in the world by maintaining peace and *imposing* peaceful coexistence. (It may be recalled that at the 1969 Meeting some objected to all talk about imposing peaceful coexistence on imperialism. They forgot about the main contradiction of today's world, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. Objectively, this meant playing down the typically imperialist tendency toward war, aggression and fascism.)

A closer interconnection of the three principal streams of our epoch is coming out. They are the socialist revolution, national-liberation movements and the struggle of the working class of developed countries (it is obvious that the class struggle in Europe has intensified).

In the international sphere, the principled, well-considered and flexible policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, generalized at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, is bearing fruit. The near future will see it produce even more substantial results. From this point of view, the Soviet-Cuban communique and the speeches made by Leonid Brezhnev and Fidel Castro in Havana constituted a sober and deep-going evaluation of achievements and unsolved international problems.

In carrying on its activity, the CPSU has known how to combine the defense of Marxist-Leninist principles against diverse manifestations of revisionism with flexible and judicious effort aimed at promoting the unity of the international communist movement, in particular the economic, political, military and ideological unity of the socialist system. In doing so, the CPSU has never lost sight of the major problems that have yet to be solved.

All this holds a big promise in every field. In the matter of upholding peace, peaceful coexistence is asserting itself along with the growing role of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. The main trends of world development are seen in the existence of many Asian and African countries looking to socialism (following a non-capitalist road of development or passing through distinctive processes of transition from revolutionary democracy to more advanced objectives). A new stage of increasing mutual understanding and coincidence of views with non-aligned countries (e.g., the Algiers Conference) has set in. These countries are no longer what they were in the early 60s. The aid given them by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is becoming ever more active. Even the People's Republic of the Congo, Yemeni Republic and other small countries tend to assume a radical position and announce socialist goals. What would have become of them had it not been for the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the new world situation? What would have become of the Arab countries even in the case of their oil boycott?

Further signs of this new alignment of forces are the severance by the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community (with the exception of Rumania) of relations with the brutal fascist junta in Chile, as well as their active support of the campaign of worldwide solidarity with the Chilean people. This campaign has involved large sections of the world public, from the international working class to bourgeois governments of Europe. The British Labor Government stopped granting credits to the Chilean junta. "That's interference!" shout flunkeys from *Paiz*. They are all aware of the international isolation of Chile's bloodthirsty generals.

The enemy's behavior shows that prerequisites are arising for a more favorable international situation, even though we Latin Americans are now going through a period of fierce enemy counteroffensive. When Kissenger poses as a champion of peace he is merely giving expression to the Yankee imperialists' wisest position on their powerlessness and their difficulties: socialism is going from strength to strength, the cold war has failed and the United States was de-

feated in Vietnam, the new situation has arisen in Africa and the economic and monetary crisis is developing, as well as to the new reality in Latin America itself, where there is a stronger Cuba now and the process in Peru goes on while all the economic antagonisms besetting Yankee imperialism in our countries are plainly sharpening. A tiger that gets no meat will eat grass.

In Mexico, Kissinger played the part of a good boy by avoiding clashes over economic issues or obscuring the Cuban question. He had to do so in spite of the attitude of the lackeys of imperialism, the dictatorial regimes of Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia, and the fact that the Allende Government is no more and has been supplanted by the Chilean junta assassins subservient to the Yankee monopolies, the Pentagon and the CIA.

Worthy of special note among all these developments as an event of prime importance is Leonid Brezhnev's visit to Cuba, a country dear to us all. Fidel called the visit historic and so it was for many reasons, in particular because the General Secretary of the CPSU was in Latin America, in socialist Cuba, at so crucial a moment. The visit was also historic due to its impact on Latin America and the rest of the world. It will enhance Cuba's international role, which is in itself an objective contribution to the entire national-liberation and working-class movement in our countries. It will also strengthen links with the non-aligned countries and deal a blow to "third" positions. The visit will make it possible to raise ths socialist camp's relations with Peru, Panama and other countries to a higher plane. It is a new and powerful blow to the partly pierced blockade of Cuba and coincides with the objective trends characterizing the new Latin American reality (the thesis on "ideological pluralism," the arrival in Havana of an Argentine economic delegation led by Gelbard, the favorable stand taken on Cuba by numerous countries at Punta del Este, and so on). There are many other things besides these.

This is a new and great victory for the unity of the world communist movement. It will contribute in large measure to the unity of Latin America's Communist parties.

After the coups in Chile and Uruguay and other complications of the revolutionary process on the continent, the unity of our parties and closer cooperation among them (I would like very much to write "maximum coordination of their action") are vastly important. Unity and cooperation have always been important but today their fundamental, decisive character is enhanced.

In view of the changes brought about in the alignment of political

forces on the continent by the reverse in Chile and against the background of the continuing imperialist and fascist counter-offensive, Brezhnev's visit and coincidence of the main points of view between Cuba and the Soviet Union are of great importance. This will mean still greater support for Peru on the part of the socialist community and a favorable development of relations with Argentina and other countries. It is acquiring strategic significance. New political, economic and military crises will develop inexorably on the continent. Yankee imperialism will try to strike at Peru and Panama. In spite of the financial settlement of the nationalization issue in the case of Peru and the settlement regarding the Panama Canal, the Pentagon and its flunkey-minded partners in Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Bolivia and Uruguay look with hatred on the two countries' nationalist governments.

Hence it was an act of infamous betrayal on the part of Mao Tse-tung to receive Pinochet's ambassador, the act being accompanied by an article in *Pekin Informa* on Soviet "interference" in Latin America. The *Paiz* scum reprinted it as an editorial. In view of this, all that is happening in Argentina is vastly important. We said earlier that after the Chilean reverse, the very change of government in Argentina, apart from indicating a relative increase in the role of the government of the Argentine nationalist bourgeoisie, has far-reaching implications as a factor for resisting Yankee imperialism in Latin America and, the more so, because of the radicalization of very large sections of the population. We stressed that the more fiercely the enemy attacks, the greater and not smaller our numbers must be, and that we must not be radical in vain. Everyone realizes that the overthrow of Perón would be a telling blow to the fight which the Uruguayan people are carrying on today and would affect the process going on throughout Latin America.

Of course, it is true that, on the other hand, reaction in Argentina is on the offensive and that fascism and Yankee imperialism openly carry out their plans, using terrorism and other manifestations of extremism. And Perón yields one position after another, as if sawing the branch on which he is sitting.

There is a class logic to this. On the one hand, Argentina's nationalist bourgeoisie follows a highly positive foreign policy on many issues, as economic relations and talks with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries or agreements with Cuba show. It also tries to heighten the role of Argentina on the continent and resist the fascist-minded gorillas aligned behind Brazil. It looks to large-scale

capitalist development in Argentina and has even set the aim of increasing the population to 50 million by the year 2000. On the other hand, in the domestic sphere, the nationalist bourgeoisie is out to consolidate its power as a class by blocking an independent movement of the working class and the broad radicalized sections of the middle strata, especially young people who seek socialism consciously or intuitively. (The unity of the political organizations of Argentina's youth, including the Communist Youth Federation, is a fact of immense importance in the complicated situation of today and will be so in the future.)

This fundamental contradiction of the Perón government, a natural result of its class character, undermines and weakens it from within and complicates its role on the continent.

Relations with the Uruguayan dictatorship are an obvious aspect of this contradictory situation. On the one hand, it is natural that Perón, who has on the borders of his country Pinochet, Banzer, Stroessner and the latest Brazilian gorilla, should wish to improve his positions and prevent complete subordination of the Uruguayan dictatorship to Brazil. This line would draw no criticism had Perón expressed solidarity with the Uruguayan people. What this means in practice to Bordaberry and his military accomplices is a guarantee of political "peace" on this frontier as well. As far as the Uruguayan dictatorship is concerned, the game is clear and worth playing. The regime is seen favorably by Yankee imperialism and backed by the Brazilian dictatorship even though the latter looks with distaste on its flirt with Argentina. By making deals with Argentina, The Uruguayan dictatorship expects to solve all its international "problems." A traditional doctrine of the Uruguayan army has been to shuttle between Brazil and Argentina, leaning at the same time on the United States and its "guarantees" against strong neighbors. True, Bordaberry and some of his patrons would have preferred to have a gorilla in Argentina instead of Perón.

But the image of Uruguay is being daily marred in the eyes of world public opinion. The dictatorship has won a "place of honor" for our country, which is compared to the most infamous regimes of Latin America. International solidarity with the Uruguayan people and their struggle hits the dictatorship hard even if this solidarity is not active as yet.

The situation in Latin America today is undoubtedly very difficult. Moreover, very hard times are ahead. But I repeat: the revolutionary process will go on developing, and Uruguay is one of the weak spots of "gorillism" in Latin America.

There are signs of other developments: rabid anti-Marxism in various countries, bloodshed and fascism in Chile, and so on, and, on the other hand, Cuba at Punta del Este and its growing diplomatic and economic role on the continent. The thesis of "ideological pluralism" — a form of peaceful coexistence and at the same time an expression of antagonisms with the United States — is gaining ground. The Venezuelan Government has reportedly declared for restoring relations with Cuba. How and when? It does not say, but still . . .

Lastly, nothing should be expected to come easily. Blood is flowing all the way from Guatemala to Chile. It is also flowing in Uruguay, if on a different scale (Perrini was tortured to death, two Communists — Cabrera and Graciela Castillos — were tortured as alleged Tupamaros). There are grim battles ahead but if we are able to fight and unite with the democratic forces of the continent and of Uruguay we will have no "dark five years" nor a "black decade".

The task is to unite popular and party forces throughout the continent. It is primarily we, the Communists, who must agree our points of view regarding both the policy line and the elaboration of new, possibly manifold and unusual ways of drawing closer together, above all organizationally, and jointly coordinate the action of the working class and democratic, revolutionary-democratic, anti-imperialist movements.

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST THE COUP

DECLARATION OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF WORKING PEOPLE OF URUGUAY

On June 27, 1973 the Executive Secretary of the National Convention of Working People (NCT), meeting an emphatic demand put by several NCT congresses, called for a genral strike in reply to the reactionary and rightist coup staged under the leadership and on the initiative of Bordaberry and his accomplices.

A few hours later, the workers had occupied hundreds of enterprises. Production came to a standstill throughout the nation except certain basic services which the trade union movement itself had

taken steps to keep functioning. A heroic 15-day battle began in which the working class showed admirable courage, exemplary discipline and self-abnegation in resisting repression, the arrest of hundreds and thousands of trade unionists, expulsion from the occupied enterprises (often forcible) and the fierce campaign of intimidation and lies launched by the regime. Thereby the workers upheld the honor and dignity of a people who cherish the democratic and revolutionary traditions of Artigas and who cannot be ruled with the whip and dictatorship.

The strike failed to bring down the dictatorship. In fact, when it was over the working people came up against the Bordaberry regime's hatred and repressive measures — dismissals, arrests, the outlawing of the NCP, the persecution of its leaders and the abolition of rights and other gains. Furthermore, the regime adopted a policy leading to lower wages, unemployment and poverty.

For all that, the general strike dealt a serious blow to the regime by preventing its final consolidation, barring the way to a fascist orgy, dispelling all hopes and humility among the people and isolating the dictatorship. Caught in this bitter struggle, the latter was unable to provide itself at that time or later with even minimal social or political support. In this way the strike created the conditions for an inevitable defeat of the dictatorship in the near future.

The past year has shown that the working people and the NCT were right in resisting the reactionary coup with might and main and that the strike had a tremendous impact on subsequent developments.

Bordaberry and his followers showed that the sole purpose of the dictatorship imposed on June 27, 1973 was to enable the oligarchy of latifundists, bankers, big exporters and monopolists, whose chief spokesman is Bordaberry himself, to continue plundering the national economy, even at the price of nationwide poverty and economic ruin. Unemployment, low wages, stagnation and recession in production brought on the worst crisis ever and forced hundreds of thousands of our compatriots — workers, technicians and other specialists — to emigrate.

In pursuing this policy, the regime did not hesitate to trample on the people's rights and democratic freedoms or on their fine long-standing traditions.

However, the past year has also shown that the general strike and unrelenting resistance to the dictatorship were not in vain. The regime's weakness is daily becoming more evident, its isolation is growing and its internal antagonisms are gaining in intensity. It holds

power with the backing of a handful of oligarchs, the U.S. imperialists and the armed forces. Regrettably, in spite of the constructive statements made in February 1973, the armed forces are again becoming a "mailed fist serving the economic and political interests" of the oligarchy. Developments suggest, however, that in this sphere, too, there is growing conviction of the need for *change*, a conviction that no real and positive changes can be brought about without removing Bordaberry and the oligarchic top rulers from power and seeking closer links with the people, with the working class, with all social and political quarters unconnected with the oligarchy.

Accordingly, the patriotic goal that may now be put forward is to overthrow the dictatorship and pave the way for a provisional government of social and political forces representing our people as a whole and comprising both civilians and military men, a government capable of achieving the minimal objectives on which the patriots are agreed, meeting the demands and urgent needs of the population and restoring the people's rights and freedoms.

To achieve this goal, it is necessary first of all to unite our people, organize thier forces (which are enormous) and fight without respite, fully realizing the vastness of the task and never doubting of victory.

On the first anniversary of the historic general strike, the National Convention of Working People, the genuine trade union center of the working people of Uruguay, firm and militant as never before, hails the working class, its trade unions and all those who suffer from persecution and unemployment or languish in prison. It says to them:

Forward, comrades! The dictatorship shall fall!

Long live the unity of the Uruguayan working people!

For higher wages, work and freedom!

For a patriotic, democratic and progressive provisional government!

Montevideo, June 27, 1974.

JOINT STATEMENT BY THE POPULAR UNITY PARTIES OF CHILE

EXTRACTS FROM DOCUMENT

. . . The Chilean people are approaching the most serious period in their history. Our country is ruled by the most repressive anti-popular and anti-national government it has ever known. The fascist regime is following a policy of brutality, crime and persecution, of hunger and poverty for the vast majority of Chileans. This grave challenge can only be met by setting up a broad anti-fascist front comprising all of our people's men, women and youth. It must be a front capable of defeating the dictatorship, establishing a renovated democracy and placing the country again on the road of revolutionary change with support from the majority of the people.

The September 11 coup was a culmination of the fierce anti-government campaign by the country's most reactionary quarters — the monopolies and the landed oligarchy — closely allied with and led by North American imperialism . . .

The coup had been the reactionary minority's ultimate goal from the outset. The rightists knew that after the 1970 presidential election they could never recapture power by peaceful means. Their entire policy with its audacity and dexterity, its wild ideas and hatred, which they needed because they were an absolute minority, was designed to muster forces and clear the way for a coup to regain power.

However, all this should not make us forget about the part our mistakes played in the defeat which the overthrow of people's rule meant to Chile. The resistance of the people's enemies was backed by their enormous economic power and by aid from without. Still, it was resistance by a minority and if this minority succeeded in winning over social strata whose objective interests were inseparable from the development and gains of the Popular Unity government, the historical responsibility for this rests chiefly with the popular movement and its leadership.

We failed to provide the only political condition that would have made it possible to mobilize the people and would have enabled them to take effective action against their enemies. The result was "Leftist" and rightist deformations which handicapped the process under way . . .

The principal shortcoming of Popular Unity was its inability to head off the isolation of the working class and ensure that the majority of the population backed it. This was due in decisive measure to the concepts advanced by the ultra-Leftists, who exerted pressure on Popular Unity and its government. The sworn enemies of Popular Unity, who took advantage of these mistakes, had no difficulty in winning support for their policy among broad social strata: small and medium employers, members of the professions and other sections of the people whose political consciousness was low and who had nothing in common with the interests of the imperialists or the big bourgeoisie. In the political sphere, the alignment led by Frei used these sectarian and narrow concepts for winning the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) for a policy of intransigent opposition to the Popular Unity Government.

The popular movement was not sufficiently aware of the domestic situation and the character of the Chilean armed forces, and this made difficult cooperation between popular forces and the patriotic and constitutionalist part of the military. The general isolation of the working class led to the isolation of the constitutionalists in the armed forces and strengthened the hand of the advocates of a coup.

The results of our government activity, which we must study more carefully so as to draw conclusions for subsequent struggles show that there were also manifestations of right-wing opportunism. They consisted mainly in the inadequacy of the principles of radically changing the structure of the bourgeois state, in bureaucratic practices, insufficient participation in government by the working people, cases of administrative corruption, the indifference of some government officials to specific problems of the masses, erroneous economic trends current in some segments of the working-class movement, tolerance of fascist excesses, and inadequate mobilization of the masses to support the Popular Unity Government's measures.

But the chief cause of the isolation of the working class was the inability of our leadership to implement a policy of alliance that would result in isolating the chief enemy . . .

Every move of the military junta is an explicit rejection of what the opposition to the Popular Unity government said it upheld. Indeed, the opposition had talked of democracy and yet it imposed a dictatorship. It had talked of freedom and yet it dotted Chile with concentration camps. It had talked of respect for the individual and yet it made torture and execution without trial a daily occurrence. In a mere eight months, the fascist military dictatorship revealed its class character

and reactionary ideology. What many saw yesterday as merely a Popular Unity slogan is now a fact obvious to all! "The only possibility of preserving imperialist and capitalist domination in Chile is the bloodiest and most brutal fascism."

In a mere eight months, the dictatorship's policies came to be rejected by the overwhelming majority of the people for the simple reason that repression, economic crisis and unqualified submission to imperialism directly affect most Chileans day after day. The workers, members of the professions, small and medium employers, civil servants and young people suffer directly, if in varying degree, from the effects of the fascists' anti-popular and anti-national policies.

Politically, repression is being stepped up not only against Leftists and the working class but, increasingly, against the CDP, the independents and even Christian churches. . . .

In a mere eight months, the dictatorship created the objective conditions of its isolation. It enjoys no social support of any significance. However, resistance to fascist policies is made most difficult by repression, and this induces many sections to assume a stance that, while expressing disagreement, is passive and submissive none the less.

Hence the primary task is to transform the discontent of the vast majority of the people with the fascists' activity into mass action.

The starting point in carrying out this urgent task is to achieve solid unity. The sad experience we have gained and the manner in which our enemies exploited our former differences point more clearly than ever to the need of promoting unity of the democratic, progressive and revolutionary forces. Popular Unity calls on the whole people to unite in order to defend the future of our country. There is a broad basis for attaining the immediate goals to which all democrats can and should advance together and on which we can establish an anti-fascist front. This basis is respect for human rights, restoration of democratic rights, protection of the living standards and working conditions, struggle against the policy of impoverishing the small and middle peasants, traders and industrialists, and defense of national independence.

It is for the working class to put itself at the head of the masses fighting against the dictatorship. By virtue of its numbers, concentration, political consciousness and organizational potentialities, the working class must become the core and motive force of anti-fascist resistance.

The ultimate goal of the anti-fascist front is to defeat the dictatorship, sweep away the totalitarian and police state established by it,

found a new democratic, national, multi-party and popular state that will carry forward the achievements of our country and people and end the rule of imperialism, the big monopoly and agrarian bourgeoisie, respect the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people and set up a new economy capable of guaranteeing the independent progress of the country. In line with this orientation, the anti-fascist front will work out its government program as it expands.

Politically, ever more active participation of the CDP in the anti-fascist struggle is a necessity of exceptional importance. We suggest that the CDP as a whole join fully in the resistance movement and anti-fascist front. We know that this process will not be easy. Our experience tells us, however, that we have common enemies who are enemies of the country and that we can jointly plan the future liberation of Chile from dictatorship, prevent it from going back to the past and rid it of foreign domination. We are ready, therefore, to take joint action so as to uphold the interests and rights of the working masses and the people.

In our anti-fascist struggle we also seek unity with the Left-wing organizations outside Popular Unity, under an agreement on the program and methods of struggle and on the basis of relations of brotherhood and mutual respect within the framework of joint effort ...

The character which the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship will assume in the end cannot be defined at this stage. The main task is to work for the all-round isolation of the dictatorship and creatively foster the popular movement's ability to fight on the basis prompted by experience.

The key task today is to turn growing discontent with fascism into organization, political energy, and mobilization of the masses to fight the dictatorship. We emphatically reject terror and adventurist practices, for they provide a pretext for more repression instead of helping to isolate the dictatorship. The Popular Unity parties intend to spare our people new sacrifices. They consider, however, that as every possibility for the people to express their will by democratic procedure draws nearer, every form of struggle will become perfectly lawful, and that decisions on the form of struggle should be taken with due regard to the need of uniting all democratic forces, to the degree of political consciousness achieved by the masses, the real alignment of forces and the need for every action to improve this alignment in favor of the people ...

Governments, mass political organizations, democratic institutions and leaders expressed tremendous international solidarity with the

people of Chile. They protested against the dictatorship and resolutely declared in support of the cause of democracy and freedom for which the popular resistance movement is fighting. The Popular Unity parties appreciate this solidarity and declare that it stimulates our fight and is indispensable to it.

Santiago, May 1, 1974.

ROAD OF DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

On July 1, 1974 *l'Humanité* carried an article analyzing the political situation in Portugal.

Two months after the collapse of the dictatorship, Portugal is summing up its initial advances on the road of democracy and peace, the newspaper of the French Communists writes.

The main political structures of fascism have been destroyed, freedom of association, assembly and opinion restored and the right to strike recognized. All this is a historic victory for the Portuguese people. These freedoms must be consolidated, extended and legalized as early as possible. This aim of the Communists and all democratic forces meets two tasks:

1. Preventing counter-revolutionary forces and those who unwittingly play into their hands from misuing today's democratic opportunities in order to organize conspiracies or ventures likely to call into question the objectives and early gains of the April 25 movement.

2. Putting an end to the alarming trends that are emerging in certain political and military quarters toward curbing the exercise of freedoms on the pretext that these freedoms are being "abused."

The initial social measures of the provisional government have substantially improved the life of an appreciable section of the working people. However, the people's standard of life is still the lowest in Europe. This fact is very important, for it explains the impatience shown by the personnel of some enterprises.

The economic rehabilitation of a country ravaged by fascism and colonial law cannot be accomplished overnight.

Big capital would like to strangle the regime, and its early acts of treacherous aggression consist in organizing economic subversion: restricting or denying credits to small and medium enterprises, which encounter serious difficulties in management as a result, blocking

orders, secretly taking capital out of the country, and so on.

The program of the armed forces and of the provisional government which must carry it out does not provide for radical social reforms. It is not aimed at nationalizing the banks or the main monopoly groups.

This means, the Portuguese Communist Party declares, that if big capital resorts to its economic weapon, its heavy artillery, to resist democratization of the country, the alternatives will be to surrender or to take effective steps to foil the counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

In these circumstances, the working people's struggle for economic demands is of decisive importance. The forms in which the working people should take action and the demands they should advance must be carefully studied by democratic procedure.

Accordingly, the Portuguese Communist Party calls attention to the danger of key economic sectors being disrupted. It warns against the "danger of putting unrealistic demands" (such as the demand for a 35-hour week), which may create an impasse. Revolutionaries today must be able to distinguish between "things of the first and secondary importance," the PCP states. In supporting "serious and realistic" demands, the working people must, first of all, act in common if they want to defeat the strategy of counter-revolution.

That strategy consists in (1) splitting the popular movement and undermining its alliance with the armed forces; (2) provoking economic difficulties, turning all protest against the provisional government and maintaining a climate of insecurity and anarchy in the enterprises; (3) in filtrating the new government structures to hold back democratization; (4) clearing the decks in this way for a "strong government" capable of "restoring" political, social and economic order.

The problem of the colonial war, which causes great concern, must be solved without delay. The democratic forces point out that it would be unrealistic and dangerous to try to pursue a policy not based on effective recognition of the peoples' right to self-determination and independence. So far there is no unanimity on this issue in the government coalition, among the social, political and military forces carrying on democratization. The fact that the talks are deadlocked makes "sincere and frank nationwide discussion," which the program of the armed forces movement provides for, still more indispensable.

The working class responded to the calls of the PCP. The recent CC plenum declared for loyal and sincere cooperation among all members of the anti-fascist coalition, that is, the Communists,

Socialists, Social Left Movement, and People's Democratic Party. It is also essential to achieve closer unity of action with the domocratic movement, the unitary movements of youth and working women, and the trade union movement.

Alliance with the armed forces is still the decisive condition for success, and every encroachment on it must be firmly repulsed.

"There are hard battles ahead," the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party points out. "It is necessary to unite and organize and to keep in touch with reality. Only on these conditions can the Portuguese people be certain of their victory."

New Pamphlet From New Outlook

THE BIG STAKES OF DÉTENTE — **Gus Hall**

Report by the General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA to the June 29-July 1 meeting of the Party's Central Committee. Analyzes détente as the class struggle at a moment when both classes have state power; shows that monopoly capital is forced to recognize present-day realities while its basic aims remain unchanged. Emphasizes centrality of détente as an issue; relates it to worldwide crisis of imperialism, economic and political instability of the capitalist world, problems of developing countries. Places détente as the central issue facing the people of the U.S. Shows who are the enemies of détente and why. Discusses the direct self-interest of the U.S. working class and the overwhelming majority of the people of the U.S. in détente. Relates it to domestic affairs, the crisis in everyday living, economic problems, the Nixon Administration. Deals with aspects of the Party's work, the need in this period for the Party to take leadership initiatives, its role in mass movements, industrial concentration, political independence, recent progress in the Party's work and some problems, united-front work and Party building and the relationship between them. **48 pages 50c**

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