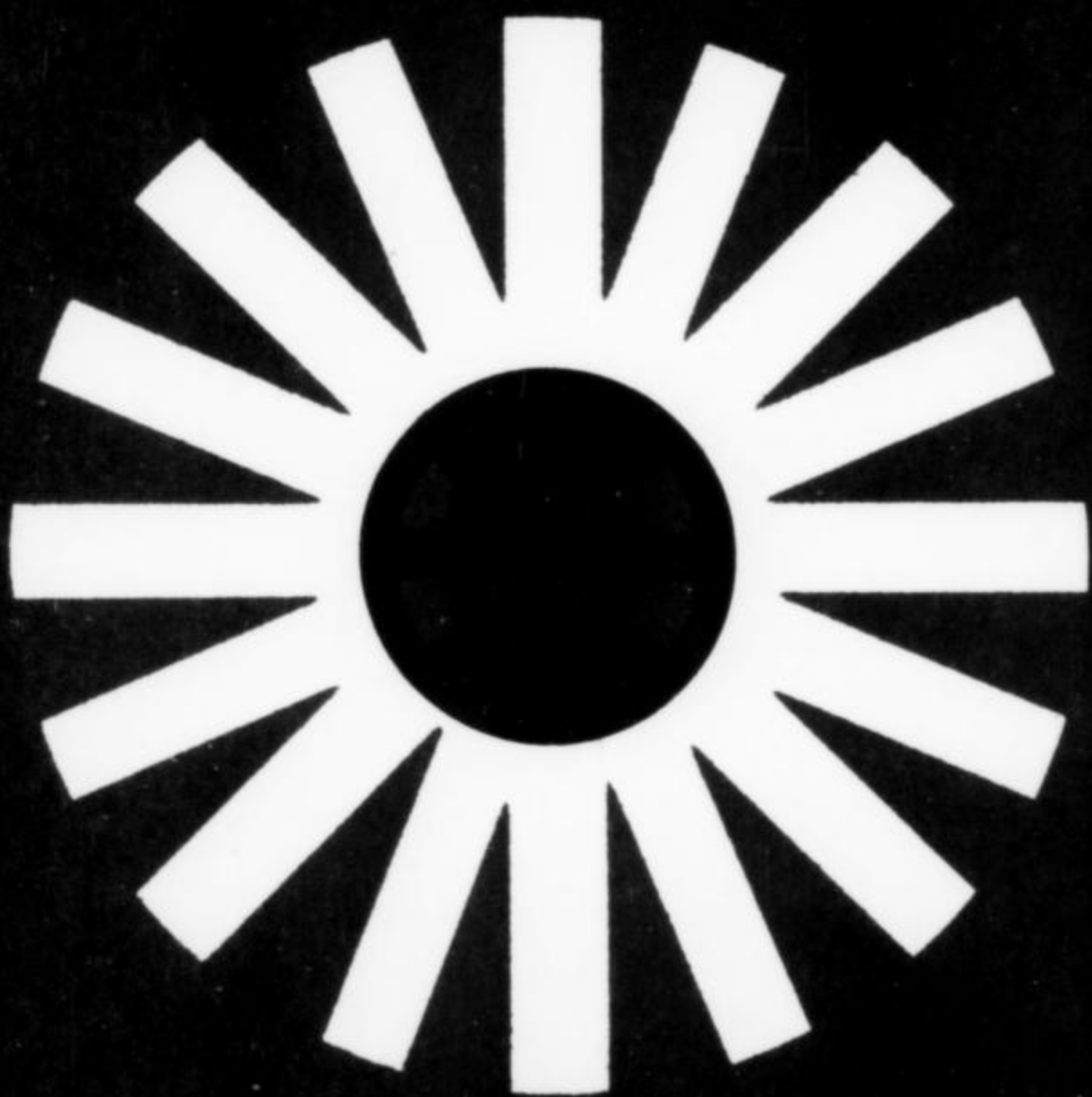




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POLITICAL RESOLUTION

ADOPTED BY THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE CP OF INDIA
HELD AT COCHIN FROM OCTOBER 3 TO 10, 1971

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of India is meeting in a political situation which is essentially different from the one that existed in the country at the time of the Patna Congress of our Party and which has arisen due to the mass upsurge as seen in the developments leading to and following the split in the Congress, the mid-term parliamentary election and its results, the growing demand for radical socio-economic changes, including amendments to the Constitution to facilitate them and the historic Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed recently.

Inside our country, differentiation within the national bourgeoisie has been proceeding rapidly with frankly pro-imperialist arch reactionary monopolists and pro-feudal sections finding themselves in growing opposition to the rest of the people, including vast sections of the national bourgeoisie.

The masses are moving to the left, including the masses traditionally following the Congress; large sections of the national bourgeoisie are moving, even if partially and haltingly, towards certain anti-monopoly, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist positions and towards positions of greater friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

A marked feature of developments in the recent period has been the greater political activity of the vast petty bourgeois mass and its shift to the left. This is reflected in the struggles and unrest of the youth and students and, to some extent, in the greater activity of the left in the ruling Congress.

This period has been marked by the defeats of repeated conspiracies and attacks by U.S. neo-colonialism and its reactionary allies and agents to weaken Indian independence and sovereignty and bring about a shift to the right in Indian policies.

In place of a situation of the offensive of the right reactionary forces at the time of the Patna Congress, the situation today is one of the rising pressure of the democratic and progressive forces for moving towards the left.

The present situation is thus more favorable than at any other time in the post-independence period for building up the national democratic front envisaged in our Party Program and taking the

Abridged.

country forward toward completion of the national democratic revolution.

One of the main features of the developments in India in 1969 and 1970 has been the increased differentiation within the ranks of the national bourgeoisie, leading to split in the Congress.

The process of differentiation in the ranks of the bourgeoisie was foreshadowed in a general way in our Party Program as the inevitable result of the contradictions of the path of capitalist development followed by the Congress leadership.

Concretely, the recent upsurge to and following the split in the Congress is due to three important factors:

—Radicalization of the masses and their rapid turn towards the left in the course of mass actions against the anti-popular policies of the ruling party during the years of its rule since 1947 rising to a new high level since 1966 resulting in loss of Congress monopoly of power and overthrow of the Congress rule in a majority of the States; this is the result of the basic contradiction between the capitalist path pursued by the Congress leadership and the needs of the Indian people;

—Significant growth of the medium and small bourgeoisie and of kulak economy under Congress rule, together with the growth of the monopoly bourgeoisie; sharpening contradictions and conflict between the medium and small bourgeoisie and the rich peasant on the one hand and the monopolist bourgeoisie and feudal landlords on the other hand; growing realization among these sections of the national bourgeoisie that the challenge of the monopolists and the feudals cannot be met without relying on the broad democratic forces and except on the basis of radical slogans;

—Growing popular resentment against American tactics of economic pressure and blackmail, against U.S. abetment of right reactionary forces in their bid for power, and against continuous U.S. aid to Pakistan, thereby aggravating threat to India's security—national revulsion against the using of all these factors as levers to undermine India's freedom and force it to accept a subsidiary neo-colonialist status under U.S. imperialism.

It is these *objective processes* that have been responsible for the important developments of the last two years and *that continue to operate in the post-election period in favor of the left and democratic forces in the country.*

While building the worker-peasant alliance as the pivot of the national democratic front, a *correct tactical attitude* towards these sections of the national bourgeoisie, mainly the medium and small bourgeoisie and the rich peasant, and struggle to free them from the political influence of monopoly and to channel their discontent into the general stream of the democratic demands of the masses, to neutralize their vacillations and tendency to compromise with

the monopolists in order to further isolate right reaction and develop the broadest possible democratic mass movement to bring about a shift to the left in our political life, should also occupy a *vital place* in the Party's *approach in the coming period* for building up the national democratic front.

At the same time, the struggle over the pivotal issue of which path the Indian people must take, the capitalist path or the non-capitalist path, will intensify in the coming period. Reversal of the capitalist path, and implementation of radical anti-monopoly, anti-feudal measures have become the need of the hour. This makes the initiation and leadership of mass action and mass movement by the Party, our firm fight and mass resistance against anti-popular policies of the government, our capacity to project concrete solutions to national problems in terms of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic positions of decisive importance for the outcome of that struggle.

Very important developments and shifts have taken place in the international area in the recent period which have had a big impact on the Indian people and on the political alignment of classes, parties and groups in our country.

The U.S. neo-colonialist offensive against the Indian sub-continent is seen most blatantly in the U.S. inspired genocide by the Yahya Khan clique in Bangla Desh (East Pakistan—Ed.)

It is in this context that the Nixon-Mao rapprochement must be seen. It is directed not only against the Soviet Union. It is directed against the anti-imperialist forces of the whole world. And in the case of India it results in strengthening the U.S. neo-colonialist drive against India's independence and sovereignty.

These developments have objectively sharpened the conflict between U.S. imperialism and India's national interests. The masses of the Indian people, including large sections of the national bourgeoisie, are increasingly taking up firmer anti-imperialist positions and moving towards closer friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This forms part of the process that is taking place in many third world countries, part of the process of the increasingly decisive role being played by the world socialist system.

Seen in this whole international context, the heroic struggle of the people of Bangla Desh has tremendous anti-imperialist revolutionary significance for the Indian sub-continent.

Inside Bangla Desh, a new phase in the struggle for national liberation has opened up, with the coming up of the resistance groups in vast stretches on Pak occupied areas, with more frequent local offensives by units of the Mukti Bahini, with certain liberated

areas coming into being, thereby creating possibilities for the initiative passing into the hands of the liberation forces.

This explains the intensification of American imperialist backing to the Yahya Khan military dictatorship to suppress the Bangla Desh struggle.

In sharp contrast to the above has been the attitude and policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries towards the Bangla Desh struggle.

In the context of international developments and the growing Nixon-Mao rapprochement, the Bangla Desh struggle has sharpened and brought to a head, as it were, the contradictions and conflicts between the Indian national bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism and strengthened and accelerated the process of closer bonds between India and the Soviet Union.

Resentment against U.S. imperialism and warm and friendly feelings towards the Soviet Union have spread among the Indian people on a more widespread scale than ever before.

In the context of these national and international developments of the recent period has come the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. It is of *historic significance* for the further development of the forces of the national democratic revolution in our country. Its significance is *long-range and basic* from the class point of view. It can be made the most potent instrument for strengthening the anti-imperialist forces in India in the struggle against reaction and also for advancing our country forward in the direction of fulfilling national democratic tasks. Its significance must be seen

a) As a mighty shield for the defense of Indian independence and sovereignty against U.S. neo-colonialism;

b) As a powerful deterrent against the Pakistani aggressors, aided and abetted by Nixon and Mao and for strengthening the liberation struggle of the Bangla Desh people;

c) As a weapon to fight back the neo-colonialist plans of American imperialism in South and Southeast Asia consequent upon its defeat in Vietnam;

d) As strengthening the forces of peace; as well as the anti-imperialist forces in South and Southeast Asia;

e) For strengthening our independent national economy through closer and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, through closer economic links with the socialist world and for freeing ourselves step by step from the crisis-ridden capitalist world market.

While the Indo-Soviet Treaty opens up immense possibilities for our national advance, such possibilities can be realized only by our steady advance in building up the national democratic front in the struggle against internal reaction and against the vacillating policies of the national bourgeoisie. Such advance alone can provide reliable

guarantees against possibilities of slide back from the treaty, as also of anti-democratic trends gaining strength inside the country.

The Party's *tactical line* in the period ahead must be decided in this *overall context of developments, both national and international*.

This tactical line continues to be one of building up left and democratic unity, in the struggle against the forces of imperialism, monopoly capital and feudalism.

The aim of left and democratic unity in the new situation is to carry forward the broad popular forces, including those within the ruling Congress into joint mass movements and mass struggles against imperialism, monopoly capitalism and feudalism and for revolutionary democracy and basic structural changes, including changes in the state apparatus. This makes it imperative not only to unite the left parties, but *also to find common ground, as well as to develop common actions, with the democratic forces within the ruling Congress*. Such common actions may even sometimes include the Congress organization as a whole, particularly on such issues as anti-imperialism, peace, Bangla Desh, support to Indo-Soviet Treaty, secularism, etc.

This does not, however, mean that the CPI will not fight the anti-people policies of the Congress governments, will not oppose their policies of compromise with imperialism, feudalism and monopoly capital. As a matter of fact, the overall policy of the CPI towards the ruling Congress is one of unity and struggle. In pursuance of this policy, the CPI will adopt a flexible attitude from state to state, taking the concrete situation of each into account.

Left and democratic unity cannot, as well, be built in the new situation by concentrating merely on national democratic issues (the fight against monopoly and landlordism) and *ignoring the international, anti-imperialist aspect of our struggle. It cannot be built by making concessions to anti-Sovietism.*

To forge closer bonds between India and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and with the fighting anti-imperialist forces abroad has become a main plank in the platform of left and democratic unity today.

Strengthening of the broad peace and Afro-Asian solidarity movement and the movement for friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has become a vital task of all left and democratic forces.

The main danger of splittism and of disruption in the ranks of the left movement comes today from the leadership of the CPM and of the newly formed Socialist Party.

While some of the left and democratic parties and groups in the country are partially at least recognizing the new alignment of

forces and readjusting their policies, the CPM leadership is continuing its old sectarian and disruptive line and its line of political murder and terrorism. Its line of creating an "anti-Congress left front" goes only to further disrupt left and democratic unity and to limit and restrict the possibilities of democratic advance precisely at a time when such possibilities have expanded to a considerable extent.

Internationally the position of the CPM leadership still remains basically grounded on the June 1963 alternative line of the Chinese Communist Party. Under formal cover of "independence" from both the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the CPM continues to oppose the 1960 Statement of the 81 Parties and the 1969 Moscow Conference documents.

While the CPM serves reaction by dividing the democratic forces, the new Socialist Party, born out of the merger of the SSP and the PSP, directly helps reaction by echoing many of the slogans of the rightists. Its slogan of socialist consolidation is but a thin cover to hide its opposition to the CPI, the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and precisely those policies of the ruling Congress which are progressive.

By loudly proclaiming that it has left the grand alliance of reaction, it only seeks to hide its secret links with the reactionary parties. It openly opposes policies directed against imperialism, and important sections of its leadership even oppose practical measures against the monopolists and landlords.

This double-faced policy of the leaders of the Socialist Party is meeting with resistance from sections of their own ranks and the party seems to be rent with greater dissension than what was there before the merger.

While our Party will strive its utmost to seek joint action with the CPM and with the Socialist Party on common mass and political issues inside and outside Parliament and the assemblies, we reject their slogan of an overall anti-Congress political front. The Party will have to carry on intense political and ideological struggle against the policies of their leaderships and to win over sections in them to correct positions.

While positive aspects dominate the post-election political situation, the most dangerous negative factor is the serious economic situation.

Notwithstanding the fact that right reaction has been routed in the general elections, the monopolists, however, still continue to hold on to their strong positions in our national economy. Though the 14 banks have been nationalized, the management and policy direction of these banks is greatly under the influence of the pro-monopolist bureaucrats and henchmen of big business.

The stranglehold of foreign capitalist exploitation has yet to be

eliminated and attainment of economic independence still remains a far cry.

There has been little progress in radical agrarian reforms except in Kerala and partially in West Bengal. The plight of the agricultural workers, adivasis, harijans and other poor peasants, who constitute 60 per cent of the agricultural population, shows no signs of improvement. On the other hand, they are beset by increasing interest and tax burdens, rising prices and growing unemployment.

Price rises continue to be one of the most alarming features of the economic situation. The monopolists, in league with the speculators and hoarders, are creating artificial scarcity all round, and jacking up prices.

Another most disturbing feature of the economic situation is the phenomenal growth of unemployment and under-employment. It is estimated that there are now 15 million unemployed persons in the country and by the end of 1974, the figure may reach 28 million.

The growth of unemployment, as also the continued inflation and price rise are built-in features of the present capitalist path of development. Experience has confirmed that these problems will get more and more acute if this path continues. Only firm and radical anti-monopoly and anti-feudal measures will create conditions for tackling these problems.

The fiasco of the Fourth Plan has also underlined the same truth. The monopolist-bureaucracy axis is perfecting its sabotage technique in the post-election situation. The most alarming and dangerous manifestation of this is the sabotage of production in the public sector by the bureaucracy and the agents of the monopolists. As a result, mainly of this, the industrial sector has stagnated during the first two years of the fourth Plan period. Far from the public sector growing to assume a dominant position in the economy, this sector is being weakened and emasculated and the way thus prepared for increasing monopoly aggrandizement and domination.

The offensive of imperialism and of foreign monopolies in India against our economy has also intensified. With mounting debt repayment charges, American "aid" is becoming more and more a farce.

On top of this whole situation has come the problem of the Bangla Desh refugees and its social-political and economic impact.

After its election defeat, reaction is resorting to *new tactics and maneuvers*.

Almost the entire Syndicate is trekking back into the ruling Congress, thus strengthening the right-wing inside it. The monopolists hope that they can manipulate Congress rule and restrain it from taking radical measures, relying on the right-wing section inside the ruling Congress, on the vacillations of the centrist section and the active collusion of the bureaucracy. An attempt is being

made to regroup all sections of the bourgeoisie and rally them behind the ruling Congress.

In fact, the dominant trend in the ruling Congress bases its policy, not on eliminating monopoly, but on "regulating" it and making it "behave."

There need be no illusion that Congress rule is going to change its basic class character or abandon the capitalist path. At the same time, it must be taken into account that the national bourgeoisie and its political leadership have come to realize that they cannot rule in the old way or retain their political hold among the masses by altogether ignoring the demand for radical changes. They have already begun to *adapt* themselves to the changed situation, of course, for safeguarding their fundamental interests and class rule.

Notwithstanding the strong opposition of the entire trade union movement, efforts to enforce a wage-freeze in the name of linking wages with productivity, etc., continue unabated. Despite strong opposition of the left forces, draconian legislation like the Maintenance of Internal Security Act has been put on the statute book.

Popular discontent and struggles are bound to grow as a result of such policies.

The Jana Sangh is trying to regroup itself and poses the greatest potential danger among all the parties of the right reactionary bloc. It has to be vigorously fought in the coming period.

The Jamaat-e-Islami attempts to confuse Muslims in India and keep them away from the mainstream of democratic opinion in the country. Besides the Jamaat-e-Islami, there are some other communal forces like the Muslim Majlis who persistently try to keep the Muslim masses away from the left and democratic movement. To fight against the communal forces it is necessary to remove the legitimate grievances of the Muslim minority.

The majority which the ruling Congress has won will only give it governmental stability in Parliament, not stability for bourgeois rule or for the capitalist path. The anti-popular policies of the Congress Government which inevitably arise from following the capitalist path will give rise to increasing mass resistance to them. In such a situation, the ruling Congress itself is bound to be transformed into an arena of growing struggle between the democratic and reactionary elements.

In this context, in the coming period, the *significance of the independent militant class role and mass activity of the Party, of mass mobilization, mass campaigns and mass struggles, in building up left and democratic unity for an alternative path of development as against the capitalist path and for shifting the country's political life to the left, assumes decisive importance.* Without this, the radical sections inside the Congress, as well as the Congress masses,

cannot be moved into active struggle against reaction inside and outside.

It is necessary to guard against the right *opportunist deviation* that simply by relying on top level adjustments and agreements with sections of the ruling Congress and without mobilizing mass pressure and the mass movement, without forging mass sanctions from below, without the independent mass role and activity of the Party and its independent political initiative, without timely and sharp criticisms and exposures of the government's vacillations and mass resistance to its anti-popular measures, without steadily strengthening and increasing the role and weight of the working class and of the worker-peasant alliance in our national-political life, the vast possibilities inherent in the present situation will be automatically realized.

The independent militant role of the Party and the rise of the mass movement and mass struggles assume importance not only on all-India issues, but *apply still more forcefully in the states.*

A complicated situation may confront the Party in states such as Kerala, where it becomes a partner of the ruling Congress in a coalition ministry. While exerting all efforts to preserve and develop the cohesion of such state-based coalition governments on the basis of an agreed democratic program, the Party will also have to exercise the utmost vigilance to see that its independent role and ideology do not get blunted or negated in the name of unity. Unless this is done, it will give a lever to the forces of left disruption.

The *independent class role of the Party* takes on added significance in the coming period in view of the *ideological offensive* which the national bourgeoisie has unleashed in the country, following the massive victory of the ruling Congress in the parliamentary elections and certain radical steps it has taken. The purpose of this offensive is to project a new image of the national bourgeoisie as anti-capitalist and as the builders of socialism in the country and to *ideologically disarm and cripple the working class, to make the working class and its Party the political and ideological camp-follower of the national bourgeoisie.*

This danger can be overcome only if the economism which characterizes a great deal of the work of the Party in the working class is abandoned once and for all. Ideological and political work and the building of the Party in the working class and making the class move on political issues have become of paramount importance, along with struggles for protecting the economic interests of the working class.

The danger from this political and ideological offensive of the bourgeoisie becomes all the greater in view of the reformist understanding prevalent in some sections of the Party on the Program

itself, particularly on the question of the national democratic front and peaceful transition to socialism.

While carrying out the tactical line of building up unity and united action between the progressive sections inside the ruling Congress and left and democratic forces outside as the main direction of building up the national democratic front in the coming period, it is, therefore, necessary to emphasize the importance of *the political and ideological struggle against bourgeois policies, theories and ideologies which will have to be waged in the coming period.*

The national democratic front cannot be built *without steadily and progressively building up and strengthening the role and weight of the working class and of the worker-peasant alliance in our national-political life.* This is how the working class and its Party play their *leading role in building up the front and dislodging the bourgeoisie from exclusive control of the state power.*

This is expressed in the dual aspect of our united front policy with respect to the bourgeois class whose interests the ruling Congress represents, the *aspect of unity and struggle.* It is only through correct application and implementation of such a policy based on its *two-fold aspects of unity and struggle* that the working masses can be steadily won over from the influence of the bourgeoisie and the national democratic front built up with *worker-peasant unity as its pivot.*

The struggle over the pivotal issue of which path the Indian people must take—the capitalist path or the non-capitalist path—will intensify in the coming period. It will express itself on the mass fronts, the political front and the ideological front. The period ahead, therefore, will not be one of relative calm or stability, but one of *sharp class and mass battles over the choice of the path.*

This underlines the necessity to project the independent line, program and ideology of the Party before the masses, to *sharply demarcate the Party's independent image from the image of the ruling Congress,* even while working out correct united front tactics. The masses should understand from their own experience that ours is *a class line, the line of the working class.*

Such demarcation should, and will, come from:

1) Our initiation and leadership of mass actions and mass movements which are by far the most effective and potent means of demarcation in the coming period;

2) Our capacity to project concrete solutions, in terms of anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-feudal revolutionary democratic positions, as alternatives to bourgeois policies on national problems; our capacity to mobilize radical sections inside the Congress and the Congress masses to fight jointly for these with left and democratic forces outside; and also our capacity to mobilize the masses

for implementation of progressive aspects of government policies which would generally be in serious danger of sabotage in the absence of such mass mobilization and mass action;

3) Our firm fight and mass resistance against anti-popular policies of the government;

4) Our exposure of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories of "socialism" and mass propaganda of our Party's programmatic positions, of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of scientific socialism, of national democracy and India's path to socialism as envisaged in our Party Program.

The theoretical and ideological struggle assumes as much importance in the coming period as the struggle on the mass fronts on economic and political issues. The struggle has to be waged in a coordinated manner on all the three fronts.

Two-front struggle is needed inside the Party against both deviations, one right opportunist and the other left sectarian.

The right opportunist deviation over-emphasizes the progressive possibilities of the national bourgeoisie and under-estimates the independent class role of the Party (political, theoretical and ideological) and the pivotal role of the worker-peasant alliance in building up the national democratic front.

The left-sectarian deviation refuses to reckon with the radically different situation today, the differentiation within the ranks of the bourgeoisie and underplays the progressive possibilities and potentialities of the non-monopoly sections of the national bourgeoisie.

While consistently waging the two-front struggle it has become an urgent task to eliminate all concepts and tendencies of bourgeois parliamentarism and to exercise special vigilance against the penetration of right revisionist ideas into the Party. Such a danger is likely to grow under present conditions.

The independent role of the Party, building up the worker-peasant alliance as the pivot of the national democratic front, correct united front tactics in order to build up this front—these three tasks must go hand in hand.

All this underlines the importance of building up the Party organizationally and ideologically, of basing it more firmly than at present on the working class, the poor peasant and the agricultural laborer and of building up independent political bases of the Party in every state. Without this, the present correlation of class forces in the country cannot be made to undergo that radical change in favor of the working-class and of the worker-peasant alliance, which is essential for carrying forward the national democratic revolution to completion.

The Party must concentrate on healing the split in the working class—to begin with, in the trade union movement; it must concen-

trate on re forging trade union unity step by step and raising it to a political level. More favorable possibilities have opened out for this today than ever before. Trade union unity could play a big political role in bringing about a shift in the correlation of forces in the country today.

The Party must take urgent and effective measures to overcome the weaknesses of the peasant movement which is one of the most serious failings of the democratic movement in the country today. A strong, well-organized, militant peasant movement led by the Party and firmly entrenched among the toiling peasants, especially the agricultural labor and poor peasantry, will help unleash vast forces in the countryside, give an immense fillip to the process of building national democratic unity and undermine the forces of right reaction.

The Party must pay special attention to the ideological struggle for winning the youth and students over to the ideas of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism. The radicalization and ideological ferment among the youth and students today is reaching a new high level, creating a good potential basis for the emergence of trends of revolutionary democracy. Recent international developments form a good basis for intensified ideological struggle against Naxalism and Maoism and other ultra-left trends, for winning youth and students over to correct ideological positions.

From the rout of right reaction, which has been achieved in the parliamentary arena in the recent elections, the left and democratic forces must now move forward for destroying step by step the power of right reaction in the economic field and in the field of state administration at all levels. This task is particularly difficult because the government itself seeks to appease and compromise with the monopolists in the economic sphere and relies heavily on the bureaucracy to carry on the administration at all levels. It is necessary to carry on a relentless fight against these anti-people and undemocratic policies of the government in order to help bring about a decisive shift to the left in the country's political life.

Imperialism, feudalism and monopoly capital are the three enemies to be fought in the coming period. The top reactionary strata of the bureaucracy serve as their agents and instruments and are also to be fought.

The entire mass and political movement and mass action and mass struggles must be oriented towards this objective and in this direction.

While carrying out this task, the Party will forge the mass sanctions, build up unity of the left and democratic forces, including the progressive sections within the ruling Congress, and raise it to a political level that will change the correlation of class forces in the country in favor of the working class and the worker-peasant alli-

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October 1971

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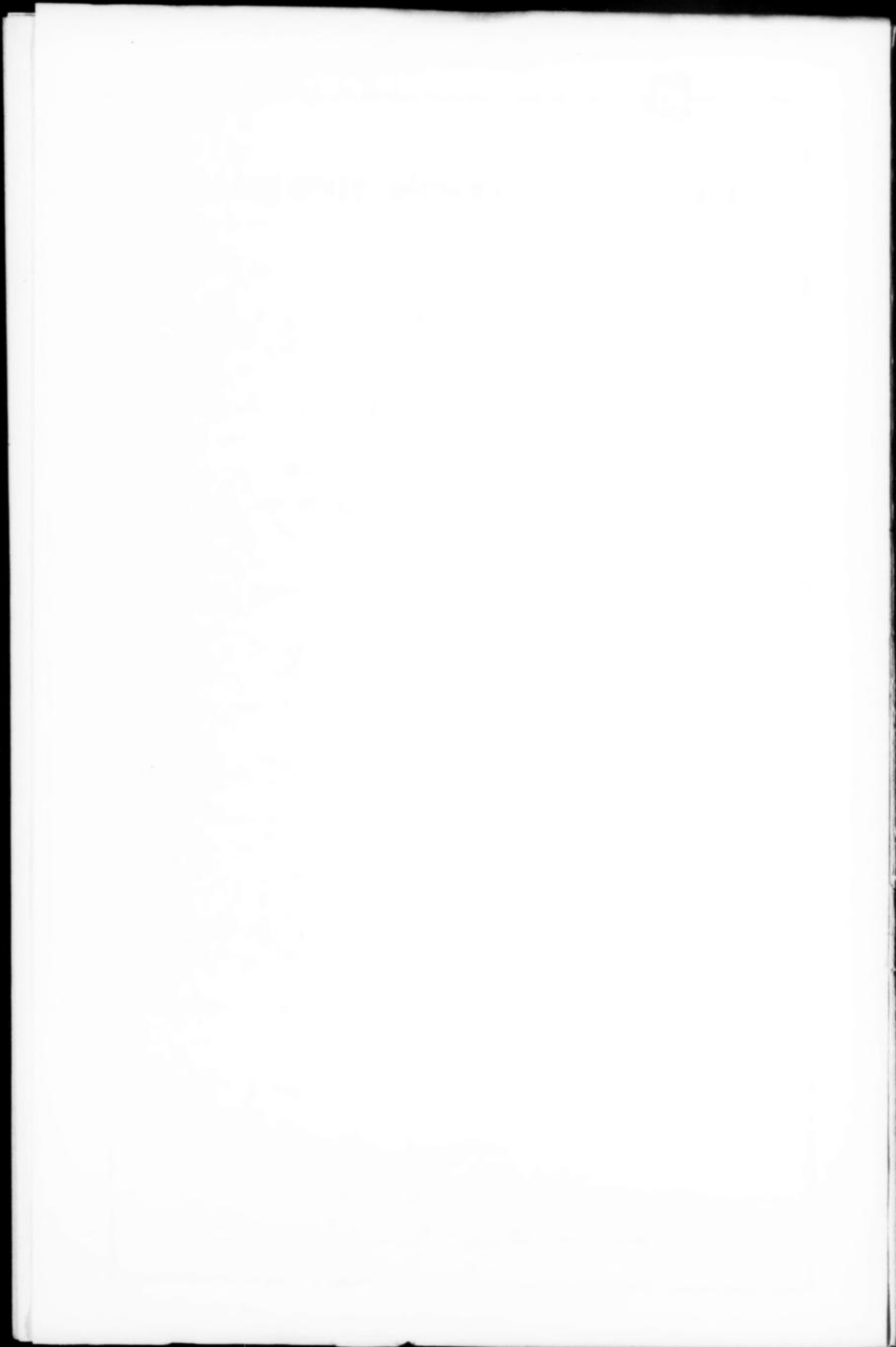
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ance. Such a change in the correlation of class forces and the mounting offensive of the national democratic forces against the forces of reaction alone can enable the working class to put an end to the exclusive control of governmental power by the bourgeoisie and replace the present government by a government of left and democratic unity at the Center. In such a government power will be jointly shared by the parties and forces representing the working-class, peasantry, radical middle class and patriotic non-monopolist sections of the national bourgeoisie. Such a government will be a potent instrument of carrying forward the struggle against imperialism, monopoly capital and feudalism to a new decisive stage.

To bring into existence such a government at the Center is our Party's central political perspective.

It must be the Party's effort all along the line to orientate the mass movement politically and ideologically in this direction.

The Communist Party of India puts forward the following broad platform around which the mass movement will have to be orientated, mass struggles developed and left and democratic unity built in the coming period.

1) For nationalization of monopoly concerns, for taking over by the state of all foreign private investments, including foreign-owned oil companies and foreign banks, for a total ban on the further import of foreign private capital as also on repatriation of such capital or profits, for freezing of all PL-480 funds and the stoppage of further PL-480 imports, for a total ban on speculative and forward trading, for the state taking over the wholesale trade in food grains and import-export trade, for weeding out the agents of the monopolists and democratizing the management of the public sector concerns and for democratizing the press by breaking its control by monopolists and vested interests.

With the commanding heights of economy controlling credit, market and big machine-building industry in its hands, the public sector would be in a position not only to give stability and security to the small and medium producer in rural and urban spheres, but also to planfully expand small enterprise throughout the length and breadth of the country, opening realistic possibilities of combating unemployment and bringing down prices.

2) For radical land reforms, amendments to the existing land ceiling laws, effective tenancy laws ensuring security of tenure to tenants, sub-tenants and sharecroppers; for distribution of all surplus and waste and fallow lands among agricultural workers, poor peasants, scheduled castes and adivasis; for the formation of co-operatives of adivasis with full assistance from the government; for adequate wages for agricultural workers fixed by law and ma-

chinery to enforce the same and free house sites for agricultural labor.

For the cancellation of usurious loans and ending usury; for remunerative and stable prices for essential agricultural commodities; for provision of fertilizer, electricity and such other necessities at reasonable rates for the working peasantry; and for rapid expansion of irrigation facilities.

3) For statutory fixation of a ceiling on urban property.

4) For abolition of privy purses and special privileges of the ex-rulers without compensation, as also to reopen the question of the private property of these ex-rulers and immediate takeover of surplus property as state property.

5) For strengthening and expansion of the public sector, ridding it of its present bureaucratic management, and democratization of its administration, relying on workers' control at all levels to run it efficiently.

6) For a national need-based minimum wage for the working class with automatic linking of dearness allowance to consumer price index providing full neutralization and on this basis complete overhaul of the wage structure.

7) For a new industrial relations policy based on compulsory statutory recognition of trade unions, right of collective bargaining and right to strike.

8) For jobs for the unemployed and adequate unemployment relief for the period of forced unemployment; for statutory unemployment insurance; for increased employment and vocational training opportunities for women; for equal pay for equal work; for ending of social oppression of all kinds and in all forms and for rapid steps to overcome the lag in the matter of education of girls.

9) For effective measures to unearth black money such as demonetization, ban on bank advances to hoarders and speculators, public control of all commodities which constitute necessities of life with a view to ensuring their supply at reasonable prices.

10) For the re-casting of planning policy, as well as the credit policy for the nationalized banks, to give special help to medium and small-scale industry and to agriculture and to bring about rapid expansion of employment opportunities. Immediate permanent takeover by government of all closed industrial units or those threatened with closure and stoppage of all labor-saving schemes that led to retrenchment or freezing of employment opportunities.

11) For reorientation in planning and allocation of priorities in such a manner as to rapidly develop backward areas to overcome regional imbalances and strengthen national unity.

12) For a moratorium on foreign debts, involving foreign exchange.

13) For the democratization of education, reform of the exami-

nation system, effective representation to the teachers and students in university administration, abolition of private managements in schools and colleges, removal of ban on the political activities of teachers, adoption of regional languages as the medium of instruction and steps to make education job-oriented.

14) For a reorganization of center-state relations with more powers to states in order to increase their initiative in developmental activities with appropriate amendments to the Constitution so as to promote democracy and strengthen the unity of the country as a whole.

15) For change in the financial and industrial policy of the government in order to free our economy from the imperialist stranglehold.

16) For change in the concept and structure of the entire taxation system as it prevails today.

17) For radical democratization and simplification of the administrative machinery at all levels and making it an instrument for rapid implementation of basic socio-economic changes; people to be associated with the administrative machinery through popular committees at different levels.

18) For repeal of all repressive laws and withdrawal of all cases arising out of popular mass movements and mass struggles.

19) For fighting against all forms of communalism and obscurantism and casteism and banning of the communal propaganda and activities of the Jana Sangh, RSS, Jamaat-e-Islami and other similar forces, and for ban on the RSS and Jamaat-e-Islami; for protecting the legitimate rights of the religious, linguistic and other minorities; for removing all forms of social inequality, for fighting against untouchability and making its practice and preaching in any form subject to deterrent punishment.

20) For franchise at the age of 18, and adoption of the system of proportional representation in elections.

21) For speedy constitutional amendments for granting full statehood to Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya and the Union Territory of Pondicherry and for creation of autonomous areas and separate states as the situation may demand in adivasi majority areas, so as to safeguard fully the interests of the adivasis in all spheres of life.

22) For strengthening of India's economic links with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and with the countries of the third world and for progressively de-linking our economy from the world capitalist market.

23) For full diplomatic recognition and strengthening of relations with the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and for establishment of proper trade relations with socialist Cuba, for recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

- 24) For improvement of India's relations with neighboring states.
 - 25) For strengthening the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist content of our foreign policy of non-alignment.
 - 26) For withdrawal from the British Commonwealth.
 - 27) For still greater support of every kind to the people's liberation struggle of Bangla Desh and for recognition of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Bangla Desh; for creation of such conditions in Bangla Desh as will make it possible for the refugees in India to go back.
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COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND: 15th NATIONAL CONGRESS POLITICAL RESOLUTION

I

The Communist Party of Ireland meeting in Congress — the 15th since its foundation in 1933 — declares that whilst the present political situation contains grave dangers, it at the same time opens up greater possibilities than ever before for the people of Ireland, North and South, to advance together to a new situation in which violence and sectarian strife can be eliminated, in which democracy can be implemented for all, in which unemployment and emigration can be solved, living standards can be improved, and entirely new social standards created for all the working people.

This can be achieved through the building of a people's alliance simultaneously in the two states and Ireland as a whole. Such an alliance would lay the basis, first for a united opposition, and later for alternative Governments to the Unionists at Stormont and the Fianna Fail at Leinster House.

Such a realistic development, creating for the first time in Ireland two Governments with similar democratic programs, would bring about an entirely new situation in which the structural problems of forming one progressive government for the whole of Ireland would be tackled in a fraternal and peaceful manner.

II

At the root of Ireland's political and economic problems, that are crystallized in the present violent situation in the North, is the historic and contemporary British imperialist political, economic and military interference in Ireland.

This created the position, 50 years ago, when, because of the struggle for national independence, Britain was forced to concede political independence, whilst retaining its economic positions, to the major part of the country. At the same time, the British ruling class frustrated the achievement of full national independence and unity by creating a second state, i.e. Northern Ireland. The effect of this was to continue British rule in the North, and to strengthen neo-colonial domination in the South.

Abridged.

Both states have been continually plagued with high unemployment, emigration, inadequate housing, low living standards and retarded economic development. After 50 years existence, both states are monuments of failure to, on the one hand, the policy of Northern dependence on Britain, and on the other to indirect 26-County dependence.

The Northern Government, at present led by Faulkner, has at all times been concerned, primarily, with the interests of the land-owning and industrial elements which it represents; whilst in the South, the Fianna Fail Government, with Lynch as its present Taoiseach, has had as its priority the advancement of the interests of the capitalist class with its state. Though there have been, are and can continue to be contention and differences between the two governments, they both have a class basis that is essentially the same, and are in fact united on such basic issues as agreeing to join the Common Market, an issue that has been determined for them by British imperialism.

III

The last 50 years have seen the declining position of British imperialism in the world system of monopoly capitalism, which today finds itself in a state of crisis. The system of imperialism—the source of all Ireland's troubles—is weakening.

As the system of imperialism is being defeated in the field, it resorts increasingly to an ideological offensive against socialism, mainly in the form of anti-Sovietism, and attempts to divide the working people by encouraging racial, political and religious sectarianism, as in the case of white against black in the United States, Turk and Greek in Cyprus, English-speaking and French-speaking in Canada, and in our own country between Catholic and Protestant.

The ever-existing class struggle between capital and labor is being fought out in every capitalist country. On a global scale it is taking place between the forces of world socialism and world capitalism. The former has altered the whole balance of world forces by its ascendancy and provides an example and a material base for the anti-imperialist forces. This is accelerating the inevitable decline of imperialism and creates thereby favorable conditions for the Irish people to advance to full freedom.

IV

At present Ireland as a whole is going through deep political, economic and social developments. These have been caused both by a rising internal political struggle, and by the effects of the

critical position in which British monopoly capitalism finds itself.

The British monopolies wanted to change the situation in Ireland so that the border would no longer be a bone of contention between the Southern and six county capitalists. They aimed to tie both sets of capitalists into the European monopolies without upsetting the basic pattern of "divide and rule." The division of the country and the division within the Six Counties has been the way in which British imperialism has divided the people of Ireland so as to hold on to the country.

The British Government are endeavoring to adjust the form of Unionist rule in the North, while retaining its substance and are at the same time cultivating ideas like the Federal or Council of Ireland solutions as well as some form of Federation of the three states, i.e., Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

The situation imposed 50 years ago by British imperialism was brought to a point of crisis when the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association launched a campaign for democracy based on the broad unity of separate forces. The emergence of the understanding of the issue of democracy and the potential of the civil rights movement added a qualitative change to the political scene. The sum effects of all these changes has been to throw both Governmental parties, in the North and South, into deep confusion with subsequent splits.

The monolithic structure of Unionism was split, pogroms were organized by Orange and Unionist forces and British troops intervened in the streets. The British Labor Government, devoid of socialist policies, was nevertheless forced to accept certain demands of the Civil Rights movement. The return of the Tory Government — with its political ties with the Unionist Party — coinciding with the entrenchment of Right Wing Unionism and the increasing struggles of the democratic forces, led to further coercion resulting in internment and open repression.

In the new political situation, caused by the tremendous resistance of the anti-Unionist forces to increased repression, the issues of democracy, national independence and socialist ideas have been elevated to a higher level.

The anti-Unionist forces have the energy and strength, and given correct political leadership and ideas, can replace the present Unionist Administration by an alternative. Unity of action and purpose are a prerequisite for this task.

Continued repression by the British will fail, as in the past, to solve the "Irish Question." Likewise, blind acts of violence by "elitist" anti-Unionist groups will not win national independence and unity for the Irish people. The state of terror inaugurated by the British cannot be defeated by such acts of counter-violence

directed at civilians in their places of work, their centers of social gatherings and in other public places. Such acts only help to grievously divide the working people, leading to a deepening sectarianism, to the strengthening of that basis of division on which the British have been able to hold on to the country. Such acts must be unequivocally condemned as outrages on the people's cause.

V

The Civil Rights Association which began the present struggle, that in its initial stage brought together people of different religious and political affiliation, stands as the unifying and rallying center of all the anti-Unionist forces at the present time. It should, and could, call together all the various people's political parties and organizations on a platform that would demand:

a) The immediate and unconditional release of all those detained under the Special Powers Act. A declaration by the British Government that they will not permit the Unionist Administration to operate powers of internment under any circumstances. The immediate stopping of arrests and detention without trial, under any section of the Special Powers Act.

b) A Public Inquiry under the auspices of the International Red Cross into allegations of brutality by the forces of the Authority against the detainees, and against people in areas subject to recent British Army action.

c) The withdrawal of the British Troops from these areas, and an end to their role as an oppressive force for propping up the Faulkner Administration.

d) The enactment by the British Parliament of a Bill for N. Ireland which would contain the legislative basis for democracy, i.e., the proportional representation system of voting, democratically re-drawn electoral boundaries, and the removal of all forms of coercive legislation, such as the Special Powers Act, from the Statute Book.

e) The suspension of the present Stormont Administration which has proved itself both unwilling to and incapable of carrying out the principles and program laid down in the Downing Street Agreement. Its replacement, pending a democratic election, by a Democratic Administration composed of representatives of the people's organizations, to administer the above proposals.

f) That immediate talks, conditional on the release of the internees, should be held between the London and Dublin Governments, plus representatives of the political parties and people's organizations in the North, to ensure that all the demands outlined above are implemented.

On the basis of such an agreed program could be developed a united anti-Unionist movement which would fully and actively support the Civil Rights Association in the carrying out of the organization necessary to the success of such mass resistance actions as the Civil Disobedience Campaign. Around such campaigns, local democratic people's administrations should be elected in all areas.

In this way would be laid the basis for a really representative Anti-Unionist Front that would further develop the mass actions of the people; that would set out to develop such common causes of both the Catholic and Protestant sections of the people as opposition to membership of the Common Market; the fight against growing unemployment; the campaign for proper housing; the struggle against increased living costs, and the many other issues that affect all sections of the working people.

As the Irish Question is part and parcel of British policies, the Anti-Unionist Front should also set out to establish the closest fraternal relations with the British Labor Movement. This year's demand, by the British Trade Union Congress, for democratic rights in Northern Ireland indicates how strong a basis exists for a powerful Irish-British alliance for a democratic solution of the Irish Question.

VI

In the present crucial situation tremendous responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Irish Labor Movement. North and South, it must recognize the emergence, once again, of the national question, this time in conditions where British monopoly capitalism, though weakening in the overall context of the international capitalist scene, is extending its power in Ireland.

The present situation gives the Irish Labor Movement a unique opportunity to place the organized working class in its proper leading place. Though dominated economically, the 26 Counties have the opportunity to advance the interests of the whole of the Irish people, by challenging the British domination of Ireland. Labor must seize the political initiative at the present time by demanding:

a) The withdrawal of the Republic's application for membership of the Common Market.

b) That the British Government introduces the necessary democratic legislation in the North, and that the Lynch Government withdraws its own repressive legislation in the 26 Counties.

c) The cancellation of the present Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement, not only as an act of political and economic pressure against Britain, but also in order to protect the jobs of thousands of workers in the 26 Counties who are being affected by its provisions.

d) The indictment of the British Government internationally at the United Nations for its political and military conduct in the North, and at the Court of Human Rights for its illegal detentions, and for the brutal treatment meted out to those detained.

e) The drafting of a secular Irish Constitution which would involve discussion by all the people in this land.

The above demands cannot be presented in isolation from each other. Their implementation, in toto, is a prerequisite for the first significant step forward to the goal of national independence and national unity.

VII

Membership of the EEC will have a devastating effect on the lives of the working people of Ireland. For the people, North and South, the fight against entry into the Common Market is inseparably linked with the struggle against British monopoly capitalism in all its economic and political forms.

Entry can only be defeated by an alliance in action of the various working class organizations, small farmers organized in such bodies as the National Land League and others, the tenants organizations, small businessmen's associations, citizens and housing action groups, and other progressive political and cultural organizations, clubs and groups.

The basis of this people's alliance should be a program that spells out clearly the will and the twin need to defeat the entry into the EEC, and to eliminate British monopoly capitalist power in the whole of Ireland. Such a program should be based on the following points: The scrapping of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement; immediate contact with a view to joint activity with the labor and other anti-Common Market forces in the three other applicant countries, viz., Britain, Denmark and Norway; the extension of trade contacts with all countries and especially with the socialist countries, as well as with the ex-colonies and underdeveloped nations; public ownership of the principal foreign concerns and the big Irish industries connected with them; development of our natural resources by the State and the setting up of new state industries; division of large estates and cattle ranches amongst the landless and small farmers, with Government incentives including provision of machinery, seed, fertilizer and stock on favorable terms, for co-operative farming; public ownership of inland fisheries; intensive development of rural industries using local raw materials; protection of the small and self-employed businessman and the prohibition of foreign-owned supermarkets.

VIII

The Communist Party of Ireland at its 15th National Congress pledges itself to work tirelessly for the alliance of the people's forces that is necessary to bring about major changes in Ireland. Only by unity in action of these forces —and by no other way — can the people's interests be advanced, a powerful and impregnable cohesion established that will open up a new road of peace and construction for our country.

The Communist Party, as a Marxist-Leninist party, is inspired with deep feelings of working class patriotism which aims to see a new Ireland in place of the two present bankrupt states.

It is also inspired with keen feelings of internationalism, that see our people's struggle as part of a powerful worldwide movement consisting of the countries that have already established socialism, the peoples who are fighting for and those who have won, their national independence, and of the working class organizations in the capitalist countries.

The CPI in its structure, scope and in its composition of vanguard elements drawn from the ranks of the working people, North and South, has proved that unity can be established on a class basis, and can be extended to embrace all of the working class and related strata of the Irish people.

As its contribution to the building of a powerful Irish people's alliance it will strive with all its might to extend the size, membership and effectiveness of the Communist Party, so that it can fight better for the concept of unity put forward in this Congress Resolution, through the structure of the Party itself, through its propaganda and publications, and through the work of its members in the trade union movement, small farmers' organizations, tenants' committees, youth organizations, cultural bodies, cooperative societies and other organizations of the people.

Belfast, October 16-17, 1971.

PROGRAM OF A POPULAR UNITY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

(Orientation)

France is in crisis.

For tens of millions of men and women, of young people, everyday life is becoming more and more difficult.

The working people are debarred from management of enterprises and the population cannot participate in framing important political decisions determining the nation's destiny.

Economic expansion is subordinated to the selfish interests of giant capitalist groups in control of the greater part of the nation's riches.

Big capital is closely associated with the state: it commands, dominates and directs the nation's life. Enormous scandals arise.

A sharp turn is essential.

Another way of life is possible.

France is rich in material and human resources.

A different policy is necessary.

The French Communist Party has elaborated a government program.

It submits it for discussion and approval by the people of France. The following are the program's basic propositions.

A BETTER LIFE

The present regime, which serves a small privileged group, is sacrificing the needs of the great majority.

The democratic government would make a radically different choice. Its goal would be to provide an opportunity for a better life to all working people, salaried and non-salaried, intellectuals and manual workers, working people in town and country and the youth.

To live better means first of all being in possession of the means for a better life.

Low salaries will be raised immediately. Today salaries should be not less than 1,000 francs a month. All wages and salaries, pensions and grants would be augmented and put in order. A new national and inter-professional guaranteed wage minimum would be established.

Adopted by the Central Committee Plenum of the FCP held October 7-9, 1971.
L'Humanité, October 12.

To preserve the purchasing power, a truly sliding scale would be instituted. Zonal wage abatements would be abolished. Family allowances would be increased.

The social security system would be modernized and the 1967-68 ordinances abrogated.

Social benefits should give the recipients and their families real access to preventive medicine and medical treatment. The principle of free medical aid would be introduced. Immediately, reimbursement for medical expenses and medicines would reach a minimum of 80 per cent, while the entire system would be improved. In cases of grave illness and expensive treatment and also in respect to persons with low incomes, all expenses would be fully reimbursed.

As for salaried workers, management of social security funds would be entrusted to their spokesmen elected by general vote on a proportional basis. Financing would be provided by increasing contributions from employers and additional state contributions.

Retirement age for men would be 60 and 55 for women. Grants and pensions must not be below the inter-professional guaranteed wage minimum. There would be new tax and social advantages for pensioners and the aged.

To live better means having the time to live, having a job and new working conditions.

A 5-day 40-hour work week would be assured for all working people without loss in wages. A policy of promotion and professional qualification would be introduced. The tempo of work will be restricted and working hours regulated.

Among the primary tasks would be guaranteeing employment, abolishing unemployment and partial employment.

Dismissals would not be permitted unless accompanied by measures to provide equivalent work.

All discrimination against the youth, women, older workers, agricultural workers and immigrants would be banned.

Immigrant workers would be on an equal status with French workers.

The rights of trade unions, workers' representatives, factory committees, production committees, committees on labor hygiene and labor safety would be broadened in these and other questions connected with the enterprise.

For women and the youth, living better means also occupying a proper place in society.

In spite of the ever growing role of women in the life of society they still suffer many disadvantages. The government would guarantee women equal rights with men in legislation, work, the family and in society and would encourage their participation in the coun-

try's daily affairs and politics. It would improve their living and working conditions.

Women must be provided good conditions for combining employment with family responsibilities. The niveau of family life would be guaranteed; there would be maternity and child protection, extended maternity leaves and a greater number of creches and kindergartens.

The youth would be eligible to vote at 18 and to be elected at 21. Together with their organizations they would contribute to drafting all decisions concerning them. Utilizing the progress made in various fields, the younger generation would help implement a policy putting their hopes and aspirations into reality.

To live better means for all to enjoy the broadest opportunities for an education, for a profession, for promotion.

The government would institute a democratic reform in education in the spirit of the times, from creches to universities. It would campaign against social segregation. It would adopt broad financial and social measures to develop the facilities, lower the number of pupils in classes and improve the training and working conditions of teaching personnel.

The first of these measures would be a truly free education at all levels provided by the state, which would finance education, the purchase of textbooks, teaching aids, etc.

A secular national education would gradually become a single state system. As such, it would respect different religions and philosophical views. There would be no official philosophy taught in schools. Private schools would be nationalized. Phased transfer of private religious schools to the state would exclude spoliation and would respect the interests of parents.

Trade unions and committees at enterprises would be directly involved in the development of professional training which would be an inalienable part of the national education.

The right to professional training would be universal, just as the right to primary education.

Theoretical and applied scientific research, as a factor of progress in all fields, would advance together with long-range research work.

The state would support intellectuals in their creative efforts, discoveries, inventions, in science and technology, art and literature.

Making culture accessible to all is a prime social requirement. Based on the reform in the national education system, this would be facilitated by providing for the working people, children and the youth the opportunities for cultural activities and by democratization of radio and television.

To live better means having at your disposal the collective equipment for modern living.

In the cities as in the villages, all people must have comfortable lodgings. Seven hundred thousand apartments would be built annually, of which 400,000 would be in the low rent category.

The government would end land speculation by imposing heavy taxes upon real estate societies. Communes would have the right to pre-emption.

Stable and moderate rents would be established.

From the very outset, efforts would be made to improve the state hospital sector in line with the general plan for modernization. Urgent measures would make it possible to train large numbers of doctors and the necessary specialized personnel.

Prices would be lowered on medicines and sanitary and hygiene articles.

Preventive medicine and research would be given priority.

The main efforts would be concentrated on the communal transport system which, with the aid of a national program, would be transformed into a modern public service. In the larger cities and in the Paris area the transport system would be modernized and extended. A metro would be built in Lyons and Marseilles. The workers' weekly transport expenses would be paid by employers.

The required balance would be established between the population, employment, transport, sports and recreation, and public facilities.

Local elected bodies, working in close contact with the population, would be responsible for this urbanization. They would combine an effective and strict economy with concern for the aesthetics and comfort of city life.

To live better also means participating in decision-making and in activities that determine the way of life, the life of every citizen, his family and the life of a country.

2. INTERVENE AND PARTICIPATE

Ever growing participation by manual and mental workers in defining objectives and means, in implementing decisions and in control is a condition for economic and social progress and individual development. There can be no real democracy without such participation.

This participation, possible only under a democratic government, would be an important innovation in national life. The political and economic reforms it would institute would at last create the conditions for this and provide the necessary means. Participation would be evident at all levels. The working people would participate actively in the management of nationalized enterprises

while at private enterprises they would get broader rights. A real joint administration would be introduced in the universities. In the regions, localities and on the national scale the working people and citizens would have a say in all important questions, and no economic or political decisions would be taken without their knowledge. They would gain experience in taking options that influence their future and the future of their country.

The new regime would rest on the sovereignty of the people. It would guarantee and broaden freedoms. Articles of the Constitution establishing individual power would either be abrogated or revised.

The National Assembly would adopt laws and control the government. A parliamentary mandate would be incompatible with certain forms of professional activity. This would be strictly and rigidly enforced.

The program approved by the majority of the electorate would be a contract between Parliament and government valid for the period of the legislature. This contract would be concluded after the majority in the National Assembly votes for it, simultaneously vesting the Prime Minister and government with power.

In this manner a double agreement would be concluded: between the majority of deputies and the electorate and between the government and the majority of deputies. The final verification of its fulfilment will rest with the electorate.

The contract would be a guarantee of stability, effectiveness and cooperation of the legislative and executive powers. In case of a grave crisis, rendering application of the contract impossible, the government would resign, the National Assembly would be dissolved and the people would express their will through parliamentary elections.

Proportional representation assures each party representation conforming with its real influence.

It must be written down in the fundamental law valid for all elections.

The younger generation would be eligible to vote at 18, and to be elected at 21.

Decentralization of power, transfer of resources and means, abolition of administrative tutelage, cooperation based on accord between elected bodies and the population, constant participation of all interested parties in defining needs and elaborating decisions would allow the communes, departments, regions, to be established, to play their role in full measure.

This new regime would likewise apply to Paris and the Paris area.

Suppressive laws and edicts adopted since 1958 would be

abrogated. New laws would guarantee legal exercise of all rights and freedoms.

No one would be persecuted or disfranchised because of opinions, philosophical convictions, religion, social status or nationality.

Racism or anti-Semitism would be severely dealt with and all fascist activities and organizations would be banned.

Justice would be independent of the government, simplified and accessible to all. The defense would exercise all its rights. There would be no exceptional jurisdiction.

Freedom of speech, freedom of demonstration, assembly and association and freedom of the press would be guaranteed.

Parties would be free to conduct activities within the framework of legality. The plurality of parties and the freedom to nominate candidates for election are and will continue to be elements of French democracy.

The democratic government would fully guarantee trade union activity and the right to strike in the state and private sectors. The trade unions would develop freely and independently of the state and of political parties. The working people would enjoy the right of organization and political expression at all enterprises.

After achieving a democratic status, the French National Radio and Television Association would guarantee freedom for expression of opinions and the right to information. It would provide for a confrontation of public opinion trends and participate in the development of culture.

Active participation by the working people and all political forces in political affairs and struggle would give the parliamentary majority and the government the strength to overcome the obstacles set up by reactionary forces and to open the way to further progress.

3. DEEP-GOING REFORMS

A policy of economic and social progress requires profound democratization of the life of the country and the people. Extension of freedoms and democratization of state institutions would go hand in hand with the most important economic reforms — nationalization, democratic management and planning.

Nationalization is the modern and democratic form of organizing large-scale production. In contrast to capitalism which concentrates resources and labor in order to make profits, nationalization would unite and coordinate productive forces in the interests of the collective through democratic methods.

The transfer to the nation of large monopoly industrial and banking enterprises means placing at its disposal powerful financial and technological means necessary for correct economic orienta-

tion with consideration for the requirements of society; it means getting at the source of power of financial magnates and reducing their influence on national life; it means providing an economic basis for national independence and the development of international cooperation.

Immediately following election of the new legislature, the government would undertake nationalization of the key sectors. A minimal threshold should be cleared in the very first stage, with other sectors nationalized subsequently. The entire production mechanism would be reorganized to become coherent, diversified and progressive.

In order to establish control over the national resources and to re-orient them, the new government would nationalize the financial and credit systems as one of its first steps. This would apply to big commercial and deposit banks, large insurance companies and their financial branches. This would not, however, affect private deposits.

The following industrial sectors crucial for the key branches of the economy and technological progress would be nationalized: ferrous metallurgy and iron mines, chemistry and pharmacy, the oil, electronics and military industries, aircraft, air and maritime transport, the nuclear and automobile industries and highways.

National companies would be established in the pharmaceutical, computer, electrical engineering, machine building and nuclear fuel industries.

The government would preserve and protect private property, the fruits of labor and thrift, and likewise the interests of small shareholders. The government would also support the important sector of small and middle private enterprises, helping to satisfy the requirements of the economy and the people.

Nationalization does not mean étatisation. National enterprises would be managed democratically and independently within the framework of a plan. The administrative council responsible for direction and management would be composed of elected representatives of the personnel and the consumers and also representatives appointed by the state. The status of national enterprise would mean participation by the working people and their representatives in orientation and management. This participation would become more active as a result of broadening trade union and political rights. The national enterprise would contribute to setting plan objectives after which it would draft its own policy within this general framework. Nationalization would make co-operation possible between the large enterprises.

The government would institute a new agrarian policy and adopt measures in support of the small and middle farmer, such as

first option on land that is up for sale or rent, aid in modernizing farms and establishing various forms of cooperatives, guaranteed fair remuneration of labor and cutting farm expenses, improving conditions in the rural areas, restoring and improving rental and metayage terms.

The plan would define production orientation and its distribution in accordance with the interests of the people and country. It would take into account the interdependence of various aspects of modern life and man's needs. It would be based on long-range prospects.

Planning would be done openly. The working people and their representatives would be involved in drafting the plan, in its application and control. Bodies at all levels, including the national coordinating bodies, would have a say on options and versions concerning them. The plan would be discussed and adopted by the National Assembly.

Public access to company accounts, and reforms in planning methods would broaden the field of utilization of economic and statistical information which would be a public service in its own right.

This first series of measures, accompanied by democratization of the state, of political and social life, and also by satisfaction of the material and intellectual requirements of the people would open the way for more profound changes and would facilitate France's advance towards socialism.

4. THE MEANS

The present regime allows certain branches of industry to wither. Branches of production are destroyed and whole regions are stagnating. Tremendous physical and intellectual reserves remain unutilized. Squandering and waste of national resources for the sake of monopoly profits and the arms race are accompanied by pressure on public consumption and by growing taxes.

It is possible to assure simultaneous social progress and economic development. As a matter of fact, one cannot be achieved without the other. Attainment of the important social goals mentioned earlier is a powerful factor of economic progress. Production would be stimulated by development of the internal market. Better professional training of workers, better distribution and better conditions for restoring workers' strength would facilitate the growth of social productivity.

A new industrial policy would make more effective use of the existing production capacities and ensure better spread of innovations. This would help to prepare an unprecedented upsurge of the national productive forces.

Priority would be given to the development of industrial sectors, on which directly depends the satisfaction of social needs (building and public works, agricultural, food and pharmaceutical industries). An increase in public revenue would stimulate development of the textile, footwear, furniture and other industries.

Measures to liquidate backwardness and introduce modernization would make it possible to overcome the lag in key sectors of industry (heavy machine-building, machine tools, organic chemistry, computers, etc.).

The basic sectors would be rationalized, with modern machinery installed. The policy in energetics, based on cooperation of technology rather than competition, broad energetics programs, especially in nuclear power, would make it possible to independently satisfy national needs. Transport policy would be based on identical principles. A true aviation equipment industry would be established under a civil aeronautics program and production of engines would develop. It would ensure new achievements for the Concorde, Airbus and Mercure projects.

The policy of territorial economic development would assure the harmonious development of regions and the realization of the natural and human potential. Priority will be given to large centers of unemployment in crisis regions. It would provide for a simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, proceeding from the need to abolish the lag in the Western, Southeastern and Central regions of the country. The policy of closing down coal and iron mines would be reassessed. It would assure the development of the border territories. The consequences of the anarchic development of the Paris area would be combated.

Reduction of nuisances and pollution would be undertaken and placed in the charge of responsible bodies. This is a necessary condition for a policy of restoration, protection and conservation of nature, indispensable for man's health, recreation and culture.

The number of qualifications of manual and intellectual workers in our country, the natural resources and the existing means of production makes economic growth and social progress possible now.

Nationalization of the key sectors of industry and democratic planning would reduce parallel operation of equipment, eliminate under-capacity operation and the lag in modernizing plant and provide sufficient funds for public amenities.

State expenditures would no longer be burdened with parasitic monopoly expenditures and the spending on the *force de frappe*. The structure and orientation of public resources would be changed radically in order to distribute the national income in accordance with the requirements of social and economic progress.

Resources must come not from the working people's incomes, but from the source of material values, that is, from production. For this reason higher taxes would be levied on the actual profits made by enterprises. The new tax system would take into account the special position of national enterprises and the small and middle enterprises.

The measures modifying company taxes, which have been growing more numerous since 1958, and also the privileges of big shareholders, would be annulled. A progressive tax would be levied on big companies and fortunes.

On the contrary, working people's income tax and the sales tax would be lowered. The tax-free minimum income per family member must not be less than the annual inter-professional minimum wage. Taxes on consumer goods and the prime necessities would be lowered, especially by reducing the added value tax. The tax system would be simplified and would be fair to the small traders and artisans.

Nationalization of the financial system and key sectors of industry, and the new credit policy would guarantee the financing of production.

This would make it possible to take effective measures against speculation, price increases and inflation. Public control by employees would be instituted in financial organizations and industrial enterprises. All currency operations and foreign financial relations would be placed under control.

An immediate price freeze would be introduced on essential products and services (rents, consumer goods, medicines, city transport, etc.) with general control over prices.

The government would cut the roots of inflation, such as big capital pressure on the monetary system and credits, wasteful government spending, etc.

Such transformations would make for a consistent policy of mobilizing the country's resources and their democratic and balanced channeling to satisfy the diverse needs of the individual and the collective.

5. INDEPENDENCE, PEACE AND COOPERATION

France would be able to ensure its independence and sovereignty. It would contribute to peace, peaceful coexistence and disarmament. It would cooperate with all countries, excluding none. Its government would abide by the United Nations Charter.

France would base its relations with other countries on the principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, peaceful solution of controversial issues between states, non-interference in internal affairs, renunciation of force or

threat of force to effect a change of frontiers or to impose upon a nation a choice of allies, political or social system.

The army, whose exclusive function would be protection of national territory, would not be used for maintenance of order in the country, nor for colonial intervention.

The rights and duties of soldiers and officers would be defined and guaranteed in democratic manuals. The duration of army service would gradually approach the duration of military training, which usually does not exceed six months.

France would participate actively in all negotiations to stop the arms race and on disarmament.

It would renounce the nuclear *force de frappe* and sign without delay international agreements on limiting the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction; it would propose a world conference on reduction of armaments, armed forces and military budgets.

France would strive for a great, truly democratic and peaceful Europe. Its government would work to dissolve the existing military blocs and to organize collective security of all European states. France must not participate in any military blocs. It would take steps to leave the Atlantic pact.

Immediately after its formation, the government would contribute actively to establishing a system of collective security to be formalized by a general European treaty on security. France would recognize the German Democratic Republic. The early convening of a conference on European security and cooperation will be an important stage in building a genuine Europe.

France would not unilaterally break the ties created by the Common Market. Its government, however, would not confine the country within the framework of a Little Europe, but would broaden to the maximum cooperation with all countries without exception on the principle of respect for national sovereignty. At the same time it would strive for a revision of the Rome Treaty in order to democratize the European Economic Community institutions.

France would facilitate a political settlement of international conflicts and controversial issues on the basis of the right of each nation to determine its future in independence and peace.

Following immediate recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the government would demand the complete and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from the Indochinese Peninsula and respect for the right of the Vietnamese, Laotians and Khmers to settle their own national affairs without foreign interference.

In the Middle East France would favor a political solution of

the conflict, which presupposes application of the UN resolutions, in particular evacuation of occupied Arab territory, recognition of the national rights of all the peoples of that region, including the Arab Palestinian population, and the right to existence of the state of Israel.

France would aid the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations and would recognize the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

France recognizes the right of the people of overseas territories and departments to self-determination, who must become masters of their national riches and settle their affairs independently. France would meet the national aspirations of the people of Guiana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion, New Caledonia, Polynesia, Comoro Islands, etc., whose representative bodies have been demanding that their present status be replaced by an autonomous status.

With all developing countries, especially the countries of the former French empire, France would establish relations of co-operation excluding any spirit of neo-colonialism. These relations would be based on voluntary consent, respect for independence, sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual interest.

France would propose to all countries wishing to revise existing agreements on cooperation to start negotiations to find jointly new forms of bilateral cooperation on these principles.

The government would help towards international trade regulation guaranteeing stable and advantageous prices on goods from the developing countries in order to remedy the deteriorating situation in trade.

In general, France would make a significant contribution to countering retarded development, which is maintained by the imperialists, and to countering its consequences—famine, sickness, illiteracy.

6. FOR A POPULAR UNITY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

Realization of these grand objectives would help satisfy the urgent needs of the majority of Frenchmen. It would provide for the country's economic, social and cultural upsurge. It would break the chains with which big capital has bound the life of the nation.

The development and expansion of this political and economic democracy, never before known in France, would open the way to more profound transformations.

Socialism is on the order of the day in our country and the world over. Implementation of the government program proposed

by the French Communist Party will be a new stage in the country's advance towards socialism.

How should the triumph of this new democratic policy be achieved?

Through alliance and joint action by all the working people, manual and intellectual, salaried and non-salaried workers of town and country.

Through unity of all social strata, victims of the present regime, aspiring to changes and progress, to a free and happy life.

Through unity of democratic parties and organizations on the basis of a common government program, drafted jointly and implemented jointly.

The French Communist Party will spare no efforts to achieve this unity. This program is not proposed on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. What is needed is that the common program provide the people of France with the means for a better life, true participation in economic and political life, and implementation of deep-going democratic reforms which would lead the country onto the road to socialism.

France must have a popular unity democratic government.

COMMUNIQUE ON CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A Plenum of the CC CPC was held in Prague on October 21, chaired by J. Korcak, member of the Presidium CC CPC.

The Plenum heard a report of the CPC Presidium on the international situation delivered by V. Bilak, Presidium member of the CC CPC, and a report on the election campaign delivered by G. Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPC.

The communique published below appeared in the October 22 issue of **Rude Pravo**.

The report of the Presidium of the CC CPC on international affairs stresses that the foreign policy line followed by the Communist Party and the government of Czechoslovakia proceeds from the present world balance of class forces and the scale of the revolutionary struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. This is a struggle between two opposing class groups, a struggle between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of progress and reaction, between peace and aggression. In this historical clash, socialist Czechoslovakia has supported and will continue to support progress. The main criteria defining the forces of progress and the forces of reaction, and the touchstone of proletarian internationalism is the attitude towards the Soviet Union.

Cooperation, friendship and alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries is the firm basis of socialist Czechoslovakia's international orientation and a guarantee of her national and state sovereignty and security. "Today our people understand," said V. Bilak, "the tremendous significance of the fact that the Soviet Union, even at the height of anti-Soviet hysteria, remained true to its internationalist obligations and helped the Czechoslovak Communists defend socialism in their country without a fratricidal war."

The new Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty signed in 1970 created a broader framework and sound basis for growing cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and is a firm guarantee of Czechoslovakia's socialist future. We regard this treaty as the most important international-political document of modern history.

The Presidium report contains a detailed analysis of the earlier development of relations between the CPC and CSSR, and the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and socialist states and deals with the activities of the CPC and the Czechoslovak govern-

ment on the international arena and in the international Communist movement. It gives a positive appraisal of the growing international prestige of the CSSR and the CPC, which was restored in the post-April 1969 period.

The CPC will continue developing friendly cooperation with fraternal parties the world over and facilitating in every way the unity of the international Communist movement on principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

It is in this spirit that the CPC will continue working for implementation of the resolutions of the 1969 Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The CPC believes a decisive struggle against opportunism, revisionism, anti-Sovietism and all splitting activities in the Communist and anti-imperialist movement to be an urgent task.

The CPC fully supports and approves the important steps taken recently by the fraternal parties and countries in order to strengthen unity and all-round cooperation among the socialist countries.

Highly important in this respect were the friendly meeting of representatives of socialist countries this August in the Crimea and the 25th session of CMEA in Bucharest which adopted the Comprehensive Program for the Development of Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA member countries.

The people of Czechoslovakia once again voice their all-out solidarity with fighting Vietnam, support the timely proposals made by the DRV and Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam to stop the American war in Indochina and declare they will continue to give all possible assistance to the embattled peoples of Indochina.

Due to the uneven development in the capitalist world which is becoming more pronounced as a result of the scientific-technical revolution, a shift is apparent in the imperialist camp from overall domination by the USA to the emergence of three main centers of imperialist rivalry — the USA, Western Europe and Japan. Irrespective of the methods employed to solve the dollar crisis, it is in essence a manifestation of the law of the uneven development in the capitalist countries, preventing equilibrium and constantly worsening rivalry between them. Isolation of the most aggressive forces of world reaction demands consideration of these contradictions and prompt reaction to all centrifugal trends.

Present-day world developments also confirm Lenin's proposition that a successful struggle against imperialism can be waged only by constantly strengthening the class front and the unity of all anti-imperialist forces, through purposeful coordination of their energetic action.

In this connection the report stresses the profound significance of

the recent Soviet peace initiative on the international arena based on the program for peace adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and outlining the main trends and goals to reduce international tensions and put a stop to the armed conflicts in the world today. This program, which is a strong stimulus for the socialist and other peace-loving forces, is an expression of the consistent Leninist peace policy of the socialist state, meeting not only the interests of the Soviet people and the peoples in other socialist countries, but also the vital interests of all peoples.

Though positive development is in evidence in Europe, there still remain many potentially critical situations. There still exist forces not interested in a solution of controversial issues and preferring a certain level of tension. A European conference on security and cooperation would certainly facilitate improving the situation in Europe. In this connection we must properly assess the fact that recent bilateral and multilateral meetings helped solve some of the long-standing problems.

Normalization of relations between the CSSR and FRG is once again on the agenda. Reciprocal economic relations between the two states are proceeding without serious disturbances. Our political relations with the FRG are developing differently. It was made clear at the 14th Congress of the CPC that the Munich agreement was part of a criminal Nazi conspiracy against peace and a transgression against Czechoslovakia. The Congress stressed the hope that in the light of this historical truth the FRG would draw the necessary political, moral and international conclusions and recognize the invalidity of the Munich agreement from its very inception.

Concerning the situation in the Middle East, the report censures the continuing Israeli aggression against the Arab countries which remain the source of extreme tension in that part of the world.

In its analysis of the national liberation movement, the CPC underscores the Czechoslovak people's solidarity and support for all nations struggling for their national and social liberation. Among the most acute problems agitating the people of Czechoslovakia is the plight of millions in Pakistan. Together with the fraternal socialist countries we maintain that a political solution of urgent problems in that area with consideration for the legitimate interests of the people of East Pakistan is the only way of achieving peace. It is necessary to create conditions that would guarantee safety for returning Pakistani refugees and to prevent further aggravation of relations between India and Pakistan.

The course of events in Czechoslovakia and the world over creates favorable conditions for a more active Czechoslovak foreign policy whose main tasks and orientation were defined by the 14th CPC Congress. Fulfillment of these tasks must be the prime aim of our

ideological activities and in educating our people in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. We must ensure that our people are proud of their socialist homeland and its contribution to peace and progress and correctly understand the essence of all the events and processes taking place in this class-divided world and take a firm, active and principled stand in the great world struggle between socialism and imperialism.

"Our explicit principle," said V. Bilak in conclusion, "is unity of national and international interests. And this demands greater effort and initiative on our part in the joint measures of the socialist countries so significant for the triumphant flourishing of socialism the world over. We shall reinforce Czechoslovakia's political, economic and military might in order to make our country a firm and reliable link in the socialist community. This is a task not only for Communists, but for all the people of Czechoslovakia, not only for the Party but for all state, economic and public bodies and organizations."

There were ten speakers in the debate on the report dealing with international affairs.

G. Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPC, reported on the campaign for the November nationwide elections.

The speaker stressed the point that the Party and public approved the materials of the September CC CPC Plenum and appreciated the results of the election campaign so far. Organizational and mass-political activities are progressing satisfactorily in the pre-election period, and broad segments of the working people have displayed more activity, which has also found expression in the achievements of the Czechoslovak economy.

Gustav Husak thanked all Party and public offices, organizations and citizens who participated in the election preparations. He also expressed his gratitude to state and economic bodies for their efforts in developing the Czechoslovak economy and raising the people's living standards. The speaker then described in detail the tasks facing the Party and society in the period immediately preceding the election.

IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

L. I. BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO FRANCE

L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union and member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, visited France from the 25th to 30th of October at the invitation of the President of the Republic of France, G. Pompidou, and the French government.

L. I. Brezhnev and those accompanying him were in Paris and Marseilles where they got acquainted with various aspects of the life of the people of France. The guests were given a rousing and friendly welcome.

L. I. Brezhnev held negotiations with the President of France and also met with the Prime Minister and other members of the French government.

In the course of the visit several important agreements were concluded. The joint Soviet-French Declaration signed on October 30 says in part: "The two sides note with satisfaction that L. I. Brezhnev's visit made it possible to confirm the continuous expansion and deepening of cooperation between the two countries, as well as the special nature of the relations of friendship and mutual respect existing between the peoples of the USSR and France. This visit will give new impetus to Soviet-French accord and cooperation which serve the interests of peace."

Below we publish some statements and documents reflecting the course and results of the visit.

VISIT TO THE LENIN MUSEUM

V. I. Lenin lived and worked in Paris on Marie-Rose Street No. 4 from June 6, 1909 to June 12, 1912.

The French Communist Party, jointly with the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee, organized a museum here, which opened on April 27, 1925. French Communists have done a great deal to give visitors a broad picture of Lenin's life and revolutionary activity.

On October 27, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU

Central Committee, visited the museum. He was met by the Deputy General Secretary of the French Communist Party, Georges Marchais, Politbureau members Guy Besse, Jacques Duclos, Georges Frischmann, Benoit Frachon, Raymond Guyot, Roland Leroy, Paul Laurent, René Piquet, Gaston Plissonnier, Georges Seguy and alternate member of the FCP Politbureau Madeleine Vincent.

Victor Joannes, Director of the Maurice Thorez Institute, spoke about the history of the museum and some of the exhibits concerning the life and activity of V. I. Lenin in Paris.

With great interest L. I. Brezhnev visited Lenin's apartment and saw the displayed documents.

From the room that had been Lenin's study, L. I. Brezhnev and Georges Marchais stepped out onto the balcony and were warmly greeted by thousands of working people. Georges Marchais addressed the gathering.

SPEECH BY G. MARCHAIS

Dear Comrade Brezhnev. Dear Comrades of the Soviet government delegation,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, on behalf of the working people and progressives of our country allow me to welcome you in this house where Lenin lived.

When the greatest revolutionary of all times carried on militant activity in our capital to which he was forced to emigrate because of tsarist repression, capitalism held undivided sway over the world.

True revolutionaries who were guided by the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels constituted only small groups persecuted everywhere by the police.

Thanks to Lenin, socialism was no longer just an ideal, it became also a reality.

It was under his leadership that the first socialist revolution in history, the October revolution, triumphed and the first socialist state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which you represent here, was established.

Since the beginning of the century, when Lenin found refuge in this modest apartment, socialism has made giant strides in history.

Henceforth it is socialism that determines the direction of social development and commands initiative on the international arena.

Socialism means one-third of the world's production.

Socialism means powerful states developing on all continents.

Socialism means a society the aim of which, as Lenin said, is to assure the "complete well-being and free all-round development of all its members."

Socialism is the future of mankind, it is also the future of France.

We are struggling for socialism.

The program for a democratic government of Popular Unity advanced by the French Communist Party, affords our people the most favorable means of advancing along this road in the conditions of our country. Fulfilment of this program would make it possible to establish a new democratic system in France with an advanced economic and social content opening the way to socialism.

The Soviet Union is making an essential contribution to the long struggle waged on a world scale for social progress, independence, peace and socialism.

This was again confirmed by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the important international initiatives taken subsequently by the Soviet government. That is why, being deeply loyal to proletarian internationalism, our Communist Party and the French working class have always regarded as natural and necessary the fraternal solidarity binding them with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The important meeting held in Moscow last July has again confirmed the solidity and viability of these friendly ties.

The friendship between our two parties is just as natural and essential for our two countries.

Frenchmen, irrespective of their political views or philosophical convictions, never forget that the Soviet Armed Forces played a decisive role in the destruction of Nazi barbarity, that they swung open the gates of the Treblinka and Oswiecim death camps, that they saved the peoples from Hitler slavery.

The people of France know that Franco-Soviet cooperation is a guarantee of European security.

The development of this cooperation in all spheres on the basis of national sovereignty, equality and mutual advantage is vitally important to France's national interests.

For these reasons, together with all Frenchmen who cherish peace and our country's future, we expect from the Franco-Soviet talks new steps forward in economic and political cooperation between our two countries.

For these reasons we shall always combat any manifestations of anti-Sovietism, whatever the pretext or whoever the initiator. It is absolutely evident, and no one doubts this, that the actions we have been taking and shall continue to take in all circumstances to develop this cooperation between France and the Soviet Union and to reinforce peaceful coexistence, in no way contradict our resolve to fight with all available forces against the domination of big capital in the life of our country, for a society free from exploitation of man by man, for a socialist France.

Dear Comrade Brezhnev, may I ask you, when you return, to

convey to Soviet Communists and all Soviet people most fraternal and warm greetings from French Communists, the working people and democrats and assure them that we shall do all in our power to strengthen friendship between our two peoples, European security and cooperation, and world peace.

Long live the example and teachings of Lenin!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live Franco-Soviet friendship and cooperation!

Long live socialism and communism!

SPEECH BY L. I. BREZHNEV

Dear friends, comrades,

Dear Comrade Marchais,

You will surely appreciate our emotions on visiting the place where the great leader of our Party and the international proletariat, the founder of the Soviet state, V. I. Lenin, lived and worked.

We are grateful for the opportunity afforded us to visit this place so dear to every Soviet man.

Soviet Communists, disciples of the great Lenin, are successfully fulfilling his behests and ideals.

We never forget that Lenin deeply respected the people of France, appreciated their democratic and revolutionary traditions and made a close study of the historical experience of the Paris Commune and other actions of the French proletariat.

Many thanks to the French Communists and the Central Committee of the French Communist Party for the solicitude displayed for everything connected with Lenin's stay in Paris.

Long live friendship between the Soviet and French peoples, between the USSR and France!

The visit to the Lenin museum, the fraternal and sincere meeting between the General Secretary of the CC CPSU and the representatives of the working people of Paris on Marie-Rose Street turned into a stirring demonstration of proletarian internationalism and growing friendship between the Soviet and French peoples.

L. I. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH ON FRENCH TELEVISION* ON OCTOBER 29, 1971

Esteemed citizens of France, friends,

It is a great pleasure for me to address you, citizens of friendly France, and to convey heartfelt greetings from the Soviet people.

**Pravda*, October 30, 1971.

Our visit to your country is drawing to an end. It was an interesting, pleasant and, we believe, a useful visit. We are satisfied with the results of our political discussions with President Pompidou of the French Republic and members of the French Government, our meetings with working people of France, representatives of political and business circles, scientists and cultural workers.

I should say that I myself and those members of our group who have not been here before were nevertheless coming to France as to a familiar and, in many respects, near country. And no wonder; for to millions of Soviet people France is near as a country of heroic democratic and revolutionary traditions, a country which has given the world outstanding thinkers, a country where the Marseillaise, and "Internationale" were born. Soviet people know France also from remarkable works of your art and culture. Books by Stendhal and Balzac, Hugo and Zola, France and Rolland, celebrated creations of your composers and artists, in short, the entire immortal contribution of the French people to world culture is well known in our country and is dear to Soviet people.

But knowing a country from afar is one thing, while a first-hand acquaintance is quite another, and we were deeply impressed by our meeting with France. We shall not forget the magnificent architectural ensembles of Paris, the majestic monuments of antiquity and the throbbing life of your capital today. We shall not forget the unique image and the southern color and dynamism of Marseilles.

It was with great interest that we visited the Renault motor works, the port of Marseilles, excellent research institutions. There is no doubt that France, which is one of the most industrialized powers of the world thanks to the skill of her working class, the talent of her scientists and engineers, has great possibilities in the age of scientific and technological revolution.

But we were impressed most of all by our meetings with the French people — their cordiality, keen sense of humor and particularly their warm feelings of friendship for the Soviet land, which we witnessed everywhere in your country.

Going back to the question of our talks with President Pompidou and other French statesmen, I would like to say that pressmen asked me about the content and prospects of these talks. As is known, journalists are very inquisitive and energetic people, they would like to know everything about the discussions as soon as possible. And although we are having the final meeting tomorrow with President Pompidou, Prime Minister Chaban Delmas and members of the French cabinet, nevertheless, some questions from journalists can already be answered. We are fully

satisfied with the progress of these talks, and we are confident that their results will attract attention not only in France but also beyond her borders.

The Soviet Union and France have decided to lend still greater depth and strength to the political cooperation between them. We have widened the areas of accord in our approach to the existing world problems and, in the first place, to European problems. The Soviet Union and France will more fully coordinate their efforts to restore peace where it is disturbed and strengthen peace where it exists. We were also unanimous in our determination to put the relations between the Soviet Union and France in the economic, scientific and technological fields on a firm, long-term basis.

It may be stated, therefore, that a new big step has been taken in strengthening the friendly cooperation between the USSR and France, cooperation which serves the cause of peace, security and the independence of peoples.

I would like to lay special emphasis on the fact that our discussions with the French President were characterized by a friendly spirit, complete frankness, mutual trust and a desire for concord.

Esteemed friends, here in France we were asked many questions about the life of the Soviet people, about various aspects of the economy and policy of the Soviet Union. As we were pressed for time it was impossible to give a more or less detailed answer to these questions. Therefore, today I shall try to compensate for it to some extent and give a condensed account of some aspects of our work.

I shall begin with the main thing: the Soviet people are engaged in great constructive work and passionately desire peace.

The Soviet people's love for peace is rooted in the very character of our social system, and is inseparably linked with our plans of communist construction, with our home policy as a whole.

Economic development plans of the USSR earmark great sums for the development of the economy of the country and for social needs, for industry and agriculture, the development of the tremendous natural wealth of the Soviet land.

The ultimate goal of our entire economic development is improvement of the living conditions of the Soviet people. We are steadfastly working to ensure that the possibilities for such an improvement grow with every passing year in step with the growth of the national economy as a whole.

Suffice it to say that in the current five-year period the consumer goods and food industries which directly cater to the population will receive almost twice as much in capital investments as they did in the last five-year-plan period.

The standards of life in our country are raised largely through an increase in the earnings of the working people with simultaneous implementation of a policy of stable prices and, whenever possible, by reducing the prices of individual types of goods. Under the new five-year plan appropriations on increasing earnings and pensions—above all in the lower brackets—and on the other measures to improve the life of the people are twice as large as under the preceding five-year plan. The measures to increase wages and salaries will affect about 90 million people, that is, practically all factory and office workers. By 1975 the real incomes of the Soviet population will be roughly 30 per cent higher than at present.

We are building many schools and other educational institutions, kindergartens and creches, sanatoria and holiday homes, medical institutions and sports centers, all of which are available to Soviet people either free of charge or for a minimum fee.

Housing construction is particularly intensive. In the last five-year plan period more than 11 million well-appointed flats were built in the Soviet Union. Incidentally, in the Soviet Union flats are turned over to dwellers free of charge, while the rent and rates (electricity, gas, heating, hot water) amount to four per cent of a family's total expenses on the average.

The society we are building presupposes high educational standards of the people as a whole, a rich cultural life. In the current five-year-plan period transition to universal secondary education is to be completed throughout the country. Now there are more than 800 higher educational establishments in the USSR and their number is constantly growing. The schools universities and other higher educational establishments, specialized secondary schools and advanced training courses have a total student body of 80 million, that is, one-third of the country's population. Tuition is free throughout the country. However, the scale of our work is so great that we still have a shortage of labor of all qualification levels.

I should also like to tell you, friends, that now more than two million Soviet schoolchildren and students study French. The attention given in our country to French culture is evidenced also by the fact that in the years of Soviet power books by French writers, thinkers, political leaders have been published in 54 languages in a total printing of over 250 million copies in our multinational state.

Esteemed listeners, the growth of the economy, advancement of the welfare and culture of the people in our country are accompanied by an activation of the entire public life, the further development of socialist democracy. This means growing participation of the broad masses of the working population in administering the state and in all public activities.

This participation is implemented, above all, through the Soviets — elected organs of state power from top to bottom throughout the country. You will better realize the scale of the work of the Soviets if I tell you that at present they have a total of 2,000,000 deputies who are helped by another 25 million voluntary activists. Deputies of the Soviets are closely linked with the voters, who give them a mandate, and they may be recalled, deprived of their mandates in case they fail to do their duty. Of late the rights and powers of the Soviets have been considerably extended in our country.

The entire life of our country is under a strong influence of the press. There are about 640 daily newspapers in the Soviet Union, with a total circulation of over 80 million copies. In addition to professional journalists they have hundreds of thousands of voluntary contributors—workers, peasants, intellectuals. Every day many thousands of letters on most various questions are received from working people and carefully discussed in the editorial offices. All this enables the Soviet press to be a powerful mouthpiece of public opinion.

An important factor of our social life are the trade unions. They unite more than 93 million working people, have a large budget and enjoy broad rights in the sphere of production, in protecting the rights of working people, in ensuring conditions for their recreation, health and cultural development. We have also many other mass public organizations. The participation of broad popular masses in managing the affairs of society becomes more active and deeper with every passing year. We are proud of this, and we will facilitate this process in every way.

Dear friends, speaking of our successes which, naturally, gladden us, I do not want to give you the impression that everything is ideal in our country and that we have no difficulties and shortcomings. Not at all. We have quite a few complicated problems which have to be given constant attention. Our Party tries to pinpoint these problems correctly and in good time so as to concentrate the people's energy and country's resources on their solution. On the whole, a good atmosphere of peaceful creative labor is reigning in our country, and we are looking to the future with optimism.

It goes without saying that our achievements would have been still greater and our difficulties fewer, if it had not been for the war unleashed by German fascism. The war brought grief to every Soviet family. It took a toll of more than 20 million lives. Almost one-third of the country's national wealth was destroyed. More than 70,000 towns and villages reduced to ruins and ashes—this was the effect of the war on the Soviet Union. The French people, our ally

in that war, who themselves experienced its horrors, including the Nazi occupation, who lost hundreds of thousands of their sons and daughters, will easily understand our feelings when we recall the war.

It is natural, therefore, that our Party, the Government and the people of our country see it as their duty to do everything to prevent a recurrence of the tragedy of war. This purpose is also served by the foreign policy of our country.

Its principles were formulated by the founder of the Soviet state, V. I. Lenin, and we are loyal to these principles to this day. We are strengthening the alliance and developing cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, with all peace-loving states. We are pursuing a policy of peace, of mutually advantageous and equal cooperation of states with differing social systems. We are doing everything in our power to contribute to an early liquidation of dangerous hotbeds of war created by aggressors in Indochina and in the Middle East. We are striving to thwart the actions and plans of the aggressors, enemies of the independence and freedom of peoples. We are helping those who have freed themselves from colonial dependence and want to build a new free life. We are striving to put an end to the disastrous and wasteful arms race, working for the prohibition and liquidation of nuclear weapons, for replacing the opposing military blocs with a peaceful equal cooperation of all states.

You probably know that at its 24th Congress our Party put forward a program which was called the Soviet peace plan in many countries. Carrying this program into life, our Party and the Soviet Government came forward with a number of constructive proposals during the past half year. We appealed for calling a conference of the five nuclear powers and a world disarmament conference, proposed a discussion of the problem of troops and arms reductions in Central Europe. Together with France the Soviet Union made an active contribution to reaching the West Berlin agreement important for international detente. We are persistently working for calling an all-European conference of states, which is bound to become an important stage on the way to ensuring a lasting peace and security for all the peoples of Europe. We are glad that on this question, just as in many others, the USSR meets with understanding and support from France.

We attach special importance to Europe. Here in Europe there are more than 30 states with an ancient and glorious history. A tremendous economic potential is concentrated here, science and culture are highly developed. At the same time Europe is a territory where many wars were started in the past. Here states arose and disintegrated, whole empires grew up and collapsed. And, finally,

came the last war with the horrible atrocities of fascism, the mammoth toll of human lives, millions of cripples, destroyed towns and villages and priceless monuments of culture.

Twenty-six years have passed since the end of the war. It is our desire that Europe should at last become really peaceful, that the threat and use of force have no place in relations between European states, that respect for the sovereignty of every state and the inviolability of its borders be secured. We want a reduction of the troops confronting each other, we want to develop cultural and technological cooperation and mutually advantageous trade. This is what the Soviet people think and that is what we are working for.

The independent foreign policy of France, her constructive contribution to ensuring international peace enjoy great sympathy in our country, contribute to the strengthening of the long-standing and deep feelings of friendship the Soviet people have for the talented and freedom-loving French people.

I avail myself of this opportunity once again to thank President Pompidou, the French Government and all those who received us with warmth and hospitality, who displayed feelings of friendship and affection for our country. I wish all of you, dear friends, success and good health. I wish prosperity and happiness to your families.

Thank you.

PRINCIPLES OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND FRANCE*

L. I. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and G. Pompidou, the President of the French Republic, proceeding from the long traditions of friendship existing between the two countries,

fully resolved to give new scope to the fruitful cooperation that has been established between the Soviet Union and France after the visit to the USSR of General de Gaulle in 1966,

wishing to strengthen the contribution of both countries to the cause of peace in Europe and in the whole world and to facilitate the development of cooperation among all states,

adopted, as a result of L. I. Brezhnev's visit to France, the following principles on which the political cooperation of the two countries rests.

First. The cooperation between the USSR and France meets the

**Pravda*, October 31, 1971.

common aspirations and mutual interests of the Soviet and French peoples and should be based on the reciprocity of the advantages and commitments of each of the two countries.

Second. This cooperation is not directed against the interests of any people and in no way affects the commitments undertaken by both countries in respect of third states.

Third. The policy of accord and cooperation between the USSR and France shall be continued further; it is destined to become a permanent policy in their relations and a permanent factor of international life.

Fourth. The political cooperation between the two countries, based on respect for the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter, aims at facilitating and restoring peace in areas of conflict, easing international tension, settlement of disputes by peaceful means and economic development and improvement of the conditions of life of the peoples.

Fifth. New impetus shall be given to political consultations between the two governments with the use of both conventional diplomatic channels and of special meetings of their representatives, with the aim of actively assisting the strengthening of European and international security and the development of peaceful cooperation of states irrespective of their social system and on the basis of the October 13, 1970 Soviet-French Protocol that was an important stage in the organization of such cooperation. In particular, these consultations will make it possible to find possibilities for concerted actions, including in international organizations and at international conferences, in cases when, in the common opinion of both Sides, the cause of peace could benefit by this.

Sixth. The cooperation of the USSR and France in the political field will find, in particular, its expression, with due consideration for the rights and prerogatives of other interested powers, in the exercise of the responsibility borne by the two countries in the world, responsibility as permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization, their responsibility in Europe stemming from the results of the Second World War.

In the event of the emergence of situations creating, in the opinion of both Sides, a threat to peace, a violation of peace or causing international tension, the Soviet Union and France will act in accordance with the Soviet-French Protocol of October 13, 1970.

Seventh. Of much importance is the close cooperation of the USSR and France in Europe, jointly with interested states, in the maintenance of peace and in continuing the line of detente, in the strengthening of security, peaceful relations, cooperation among all European states on condition of the unswerving observance of the following principles:

- inviolability of the present borders,
- non-interference in internal affairs,
- equality,
- independence,
- renunciation of the use of force or the threat to use it.

Eighth. The USSR and France are convinced that the cooperation of all European peoples in the cause of developing their industrial potential, exchanging experience and knowledge and protecting the environment will enable Europe to accelerate the pace of economic, scientific and technical progress.

Ninth. The USSR and France will exert efforts for the speediest attainment of a political settlement in the interests of universal peace in areas where peace is being endangered or violated.

Tenth. The two Sides will give every assistance to the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament, and first of all, nuclear disarmament, to overcoming the world's division into military-political groupings, to consolidating the role of the United Nations Organization in accordance with the provisions of its Charter.

Eleventh. The USSR and France will build their bilateral relations in all fields in such a way that they will serve as a good example of equal cooperation of states with different social systems.

Twelfth. The development of economic and trade exchanges on the basis of the existing agreements, supplemented by the Agreement of October 27, 1971, cooperation in the field of developing natural resources, exchange of experience in the field of industry and technology will be viewed as having substantial importance for the strengthening of ties between the two countries.

Thirteenth. Encouragement will be given to everything capable of facilitating a mutual enrichment by cultural values and a development of means for constantly improving the acquaintance of the Soviet and French peoples with their culture and activities, considering their long relations in this field, their traditions and friendship. The attainment of these aims will be served by the further expansion of university, scientific and art exchanges, distribution of information, contacts between organizations of the two countries, in particular youth organizations. This also applies to contacts between citizens, including youth meetings, trips on a collective or individual, official or unofficial basis. The initiatives undertaken in this direction shall be supported by the competent authorities.

Paris, October 30, 1971

General Secretary of the CPSU Central
Committee, Member of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
L. BREZHNEV

President of the
French Republic

G. POMPIDOU

STATEMENT* OF THE FCP POLITBUREAU ON L. I. BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO FRANCE

Leonid Brezhnev's visit to France, which met with mass approval and warm reception, imparts new dimensions to the prospects of Franco-Soviet cooperation. It is an important milestone in the evolution of the situation in Europe and a success for the policy of peaceful coexistence.

While the French economy is experiencing the ill effects of the policy of the monopolies, the monetary crisis of the world capitalist system and growing imperialist rivalry, Franco-Soviet cooperation, based on respect for national sovereignty and mutual reciprocity, more than ever corresponds to the interests of our country and our people.

In connection with this the envisaged two-fold increase in the volume of Franco-Soviet trade, large joint projects and industrial cooperation afford valuable opportunities guaranteed by a long-term agreement. This should be energetically pursued.

After the signing of treaties between the USSR and the FRG, between Poland and the FRG and also after the conclusion of a quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, the decision by France and the USSR to turn their concord and cooperation into a constant element of relations between them and a permanent factor of international life heightens the chances for a détente and security in Europe. Conditions are at hand today for a sharp turn on our continent in favor of a stable and guaranteed peace, for dealing with and abolishing antagonistic military blocs, for significantly reducing military spending which is such a burden for nations. In this area political cooperation between France and the USSR could play a determining role and effectively contribute to a political solution of present conflicts and controversies, first of all in Indochina and the Middle East.

If only a few years ago the term peaceful coexistence was banned from the vocabulary of reactionary governments, today the solemn declaration, signed jointly by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the President of the Republic of France, estimates it as possible and necessary to turn Franco-Soviet relations into a good example of equal cooperation between states with differing social systems.

The French Communist Party, which has always stood for peaceful coexistence, and, together with it, the working people, democrats and peace supporters, believe this to be a new and important

*Adopted November 2, 1971. *L'Humanite*, November 3, 1971.

success for the Soviet Union's correct Leninist policy, for its tireless peace initiatives. The visit to France by L. I. Brezhnev and the results of the visit prove once again that socialism is indissolubly linked with peace, independence, national sovereignty and equal cooperation.

And now our government must carry out, without any reservations or preconditions, the decisions on the principles of cooperation between the USSR and France, signed by Georges Pompidou and Leonid Brezhnev.

The French Communist Party appeals to the working people and democrats to display vigilance and act to ensure that the possibilities for such concord become a reality. This is especially essential because it is not possible to ignore statements on adherence to the Atlantic Alliance, attempts at restricted interpretations of Franco-Soviet documents and malicious comments in the reactionary press.

Encouraged by the obviously positive results of L. I. Brezhnev's visit for France and for peace, the men and women of France will continue to work for the development of Franco-Soviet cooperation and for immediate multilateral preparations for a conference on European collective security, for its convocation in 1972, for recognition of the GDR and admission of the two German states to the UN, for a reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe, for France's participation in the Geneva disarmament conference and for the signing by the French government of the existing treaties on nuclear weapons.

The statement further says that the French Communists and all working people are fighting against the domination of big capital and for socialism. It recalls the popular unity democratic government program proposed by the French Communist Party, which says that the foreign policy of the democratic government would be inspired by the most noble and progressive traditions. These traditions combine service to national interests and obligations of international solidarity with the working-class, democratic and anti-imperialist forces of the world.

IN POLITICAL BUREAU OF CC CPSU, PRESIDIUM USSR SUPREME SOVIET, AND USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

CONCERNING L. I. BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO FRANCE*

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, having discussed the results of the visit to France by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, at the invitation of President Georges Pompidou of France and the French Government, fully approved the activities of Comrade Brezhnev during his visit, which was an act of great international importance.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's discussions with President Pompidou and other French statesmen, the joint documents adopted as a result of these discussions, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's meetings with French working people have raised Soviet-French cooperation in all fields, above all the political field, to a new and higher level. The principles of cooperation between the two countries laid down in a special document signed on behalf of the Soviet Union by L. I. Brezhnev and on behalf of France by G. Pompidou, are of great importance for the further development of the relations between the USSR and France. New prospects for economic cooperation between the two countries have been outlined.

As a result of the visit the traditional relations of friendship between the Soviet Union and France have become still stronger, which meets the interests of the peoples of the two countries. Cooperation between the USSR and France is becoming a permanent factor in international relations that will facilitate a peaceful and just settlement of the existing international problems, the elimination of hotbeds of war, an easing of international tensions, the strengthening of security in Europe and throughout the world.

Of special significance is the broad coincidence of the positions of the USSR and France, confirmed and developed in the course of the discussions, regarding the state of affairs on the European continent. An important step has been taken on the way to calling already in 1972 an all-European conference on problems of security and cooperation. The USSR and France are prepared to cooperate closely in continuing the policy toward a détente and the maintenance of peace in Europe. Both countries resolutely come out for

*Pravda, November 6, 1971.

strict observance by all European states of the inviolability of the present borders, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, independence, renunciation of the use of force or threat of force.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers of the USSR note with satisfaction that in the course of the visit of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to France feelings of friendship and good will for the USSR and the Soviet people were expressed by the President, the Government of France and the French people.

The visit of L. I. Brezhnev which has been highly assessed by the Communist movement, the peace-loving states and the entire world democratic public, was an important contribution to ensuring an international détente, facilitated a further practical development of the principle of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation between states with differing social systems.

COMMUNIQUE

ON THE VISIT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CC CPSU L. I. BREZHNEV TO THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

From October 30 to November 1, 1971, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union L. I. Brezhnev was on a friendly visit in the German Democratic Republic at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

During the stay in the GDR on October 30, 31 and November 1, 1971, meetings and talks were held between L. I. Brezhnev and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) E. Honecker which were also attended by other leaders of the two parties and states.

Questions pertaining to the further development of relations between the CPSU and the SUPG, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, as well as topical problems of European and world politics were discussed in a cordial, comradely atmosphere.

The two sides exchanged information on the progress of socialist and communist construction in their countries. It was noted with satisfaction that the main feature characteristic of the situation both in the Soviet Union and the GDR is the great labor enthusiasm of the working class, the peasantry, the socialist intelligentsia, who are inspired by the tasks set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Eighth Congress of the SUPG. Closely rallied behind their Marxist-Leninist parties, the working people of the USSR and the GDR multiply with every passing day the social wealth and justly take pride in the fruits of free creative labor, born of socialism.

Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and E. Honecker expressed the common view that the line for the development of all-round relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, as drawn up by the congresses of the two parties, is being successfully implemented. The cooperation along party and state lines is becoming more intensive and comprehensive. Production cooperation and specialization, based on socialist division of labor, is growing deeper, facilitating the creation of firm reciprocally advantageous ties and economic rapprochement of the two states. Scientific and technical problems of great importance for the national economies of the USSR and the GDR, for the fulfilment of their annual and long-term plans, are being solved by joint efforts.

**Pravda* and *Neues Deutschland*, November 2, 1971.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic will also in the future concentrate their efforts on implementing socialist economic integration in the interests of the peoples of the two countries and the entire socialist community. The pooling of the fraternal countries' efforts in solving most complex problems posed by the scientific and technical revolution, will increase the economic might of the socialist community, enhance its influence on the process of world development.

The ties of brotherhood and friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic are constantly growing stronger, the scale of exchanges of the achievements of science and technology, culture and sports is widening, accelerating the two peoples' rate of advance along their chosen path of socialist and communist construction. The two sides agreed on measures to further expand the relations of fraternal cooperation between their parties, states and peoples.

When discussing international problems, the leaders of the Soviet Union and the GDR paid much attention to the situation in Europe, to the efforts of the socialist states to ensure security on the European continent. They stated that the Peace Program advanced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and supported by the fraternal socialist countries is meeting with ever broader international recognition. The active peace-loving policy of the socialist countries is the main motive force in the changes taking place in Europe in the direction of stronger peace. The initiative and the constructive steps of certain West European states, and France among them, whose government was one of the first to come out for a relaxation of tension on the European continent, have played and are playing a positive role in the attainment of these changes.

The great importance was stressed of the treaties signed by the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic with the FRG that confirmed the inviolability of European borders, including the border between the GDR and the FRG and the Western border of the People's Republic of Poland. The two sides believe that the ratification in the near future of these treaties, apart from meeting the long-range interests of the signatory states, would open up broad possibilities for organizing peaceful cooperation in Europe.

The general course of events in Europe, among which the conclusion of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin occupies a prominent place, testifies that complex international problems not only should, but can be solved by negotiations. E. Honecker informed L. Brezhnev about the progress of the current negotiations between the GDR and the FRG and the Senate of West Berlin. The Soviet side expressed support for the businesslike and constructive position of

the German Democratic Republic, for her efforts directed at the speediest conclusion of these talks.

The participants in the meeting are unanimous that there exist at present all the conditions for convening an all-European conference on security and cooperation. They believe it necessary to start without delay and on a multilateral basis practical preparations for the conference which is called upon to play an important role in creating foundations for a lasting peace in Europe.

It was stated with satisfaction during the meeting that, despite the counteractions of imperialist circles, the prestige and influence of the GDR in international affairs is growing and that its foreign-policy positions are growing stronger. An ever greater number of states are coming to realize that full-blooded international life in Europe, including the solution of the vitally important problem of ensuring European security, are unthinkable without the active participation of the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign peace-loving socialist state. The growing international recognition of the GDR is a natural process that will inevitably continue in the future.

The two sides noted the particular urgency of the question of the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations Organization and its specialized agencies. This would lend the UN a genuinely universal character, advance the matter of détente and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world. The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic will undertake all necessary steps for the speediest solution of this question.

The participants in the meeting noted the rising activity of reactionary imperialist circles in the West that are trying to hinder the normalization of the situation in Europe and the settlement of international problems. The leaders of the CPSU and the SUPG, of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic are convinced that the European peoples will firmly defend the interests of peace and security on the continent and will, in the long run, frustrate the designs of the opponents of détente and of peaceful good-neighborly cooperation of states.

The two sides resolutely condemn the continuing United States aggression against Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. They express their profound solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of those countries and reiterate their position in regard to the need to completely withdraw American troops from their territories, and give these peoples the opportunity to settle their internal affairs themselves, without interference from outside. The two sides resolutely condemn the continuing aggression of Israel against the Arab states, which is carried out with the active help of imperialist powers. The Soviet Union and the GDR will in the future as well do everything

necessary for attaining a settlement of the Middle-East conflict in accordance with the UN resolution of November 1967.

Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and E. Honecker expressed deep satisfaction that the meetings of Party leaders and statesmen of the USSR and the GDR have become a regular practice in the relationships between the two parties and the two governments. They agreed to maintain and further develop this practice in the interest of strengthening the unity, friendship and fraternal alliance of the USSR and the GDR.

The leaders of the CPSU and the SUPG expressed the belief that the constant development of relations between the two countries, firmly based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, constitutes a tangible contribution to the further strengthening and consolidation of the socialist community — the main bulwark of the peace and security of the peoples.

JOINT SOVIET-CUBAN COMMUNIQUE

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, A. N. Kosygin, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, stayed in Cuba on a friendly visit from October 26 to 30, 1971. He was given a fraternal and cordial reception by the leaders and peoples of the Republic of Cuba.

While in Cuba, A. N. Kosygin and persons accompanying him visited a number of industrial and agricultural enterprises and educational institutions and had cordial meetings with representatives of different circles of the Cuban people.

A. N. Kosygin had friendly talks with the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, Fidel Castro; Second Secretary of the Central Committee and Minister of the Armed Forces, Raul Castro; Member of the Politbureau and President of the Republic of Cuba Osvaldo Dorticos, and members of the Politbureau Juan Almeida, Ramiro Valdes, Armando Hart, Guillermo Garcia and Sergio del Valle. Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and Minister Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, and Member of the Central Committee, Cuban Ambassador to the USSR Raul Garcia Pelaez also took part in the talks.

Taking part in the talks from the Soviet side were: Member of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Georgian Republic G. D. Javakhishvili; Alternate Member of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of the Merchant Marine of the USSR T. B. Guzhenko; Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR S. P. Kozyrev; Member of the CPSU Central Committee, Ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Cuba N. P. Tolubeyev.

During the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding, the two sides discussed questions of the further strengthening of the relations of fraternal friendship between the USSR and the Republic of Cuba, and cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic, cultural and other fields. During these talks they also had a wide-ranging exchange of opinions on the topical problems of the world Communist and national liberation movement and on the basic international problems of our time.

Both sides expressed profound satisfaction with the active and

fruitful all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba.

The Soviet side highly appraised the achievements of the people of the Republic of Cuba in building the foundations of socialism. It again condemned the imperialist blockade practised by the United States of America against Cuba and various U.S.-encouraged hostile actions, including piratical actions and violations of air space, and it also expressed itself against the unlawful presence of the North American military base of Guantanamo on Cuban territory.

The Cuban leaders expressed the sincere gratitude of the people of the Republic of Cuba to the peoples of the Soviet Union, to the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government for their constant assistance and support to Cuba, which are regarded by the Cuban people as an invaluable contribution to the solution of the complex tasks of socialist construction and strengthening the country's defense capacity.

During the talks they discussed in detail practical questions relating to the state and further development of Soviet-Cuban cooperation in different fields. The two sides reaffirmed their mutual desire to continue to develop and strengthen in every way the fraternal friendship between the USSR and Cuba on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The Soviet and Cuban sides expressed full unanimity in assessing the present international situation and social development throughout the world, which are characterized by a deepening of the revolutionary process. The two sides stressed that this onward march of the revolutionary forces finds expression in the strengthening of the world socialist system, its growing economic and military might, rapid development of the national liberation movement of the peoples oppressed and exploited by imperialism and in the struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries.

Both sides reaffirmed their conviction that in conditions marked by unceasing attempts of international reaction to undermine the unity of the socialist countries, which is a decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle and a guarantee of success of the world revolutionary process, an imperative need is to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries and all the revolutionary forces.

Having discussed the situation in Southeast Asia, the two sides condemned the aggressive actions of the United States of America aimed at expanding the war in Indochina, and its continued interference in the affairs of the area. The two sides reaffirmed their full and undivided support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people, as well as for the struggle of the Laotian and Khmer peoples which are also victims of imperialist aggression.

Expressing their full solidarity with the struggle of the heroic

Vietnamese people and other peoples of Indochina, the two sides demand a complete, unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States and its allies in aggression. In this connection they fully support the 7-point proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, which they regard as an important contribution to the solution of the conflict on a reasonable and fair basis. Both sides fully support the resolute struggle of the peoples of Laos and Cambodia against American imperialism, its allies and agents, and again voice their support for the 5-point proposals for a political settlement of the Laotian Patriotic Front, as well as the political program of the National United Front of Cambodia.

The two sides strongly condemn the continued provocations against the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the aggressive action against the Korean people. They fully support the well-known program of the KPDR Government for a peaceful unification of the homeland.

The Soviet and the Cuban sides expressed their resolute support for the struggle of the Arab peoples for the elimination of the consequences of Israel's aggression, for an immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab lands occupied in June 1967, for the recognition of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the people of Palestine and for the establishment of a lasting and fair peace in the Middle East. The two sides share the opinion that the achievement of a political settlement of the conflict in this area would help ease international tension. During their exchange of opinions on the situation in Europe the two sides stressed the special importance of a stable peace in Europe and throughout the world. The Cuban side expressed support for the efforts of the USSR and other socialist countries aimed at calling an all-European conference on security and cooperation.

Both sides positively assessed the four-power agreement on West Berlin and stressed its importance for maintaining peace in Europe. They stressed that the earliest ratification of the Treaties concluded between the USSR and the FRG and between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG would help further improve the situation in the European continent and relieve international tensions.

They expressed the unanimous opinion that the German Democratic Republic, which holds an important place in the economic, political and cultural life of the present-day world, should take part, on an equal footing, in all steps relating to present-day peace in Europe and throughout the world. In this connection the two sides came out for the simultaneous admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the restoration of the legitimate

rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations as the only representative of the Chinese people.

Discussing questions of ensuring peace and international security, the two sides expressed themselves in favor of general and complete disarmament under strict international control and in this connection came out in support of the convocation of a world conference to discuss all questions relating to the disarmament issue.

The Soviet and the Cuban sides noted with satisfaction that the movement for the national liberation of the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa has become a powerful force.

Having discussed the situation in Latin America, the two sides noted an upsurge of the revolutionary movement on the continent, which increasingly opposes itself to the domination of imperialism there and oligarchies linked with it.

In this connection they expressed solidarity with the Popular Unity Government in Chile with Salvador Allende at its head, and with the structural changes being carried out by the Government of Peru. The two sides also expressed resolute support for the social and economic measures being carried out by these countries so as to regain their national wealth and strengthen their economic and political independence; the two sides strongly condemn the imperialist practice of using economic reprisals aimed at preserving the exploitation and oppression of the peoples of these countries.

The Soviet and the Cuban sides condemned joint attempts by imperialism and reactionary oligarchies to hold back the development of the revolutionary movement in Latin America.

Reaffirming the positions of the Soviet Union and Cuba with regard to the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, the two sides express their sympathy and support for the struggle of the colonial peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to achieve national independence and full sovereignty over their own territories. In this connection the representatives of Cuba and the Soviet Union, meeting in a Latin American country, expressed sympathy with the striving of the Panamanian people to exercise full sovereignty over the whole of their national territory.

The Soviet side reaffirmed the warm sentiments of friendship and profound respect the peoples of the Soviet Union have for the fraternal Cuban people, and their readiness to continue to render all-round support to the Cuban people in their struggle to strengthen socialist gains and against provocations by the forces of imperialism.

The two sides express satisfaction with the results of their meetings and talks which made a new important contribution towards strengthening the relations of fraternal friendship and close co-

operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Cuba.

On behalf of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government, A. N. Kosygin reaffirmed an invitation to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Fidel Castro, to visit the Soviet Union. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Havana, October 30, 1971

DECLARATION OF CC AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE PARTY OF SENEGAL*

The Central Committee of the African Independence Party of Senegal states its decision to approve the work of the June 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and, consequently, to sign all the documents it adopted.

The Central Committee of our Party believes this meeting of Communists to be one of the most significant political events of the past decade. It has become extremely significant for our clandestine party, fighting under exacerbated neo-colonialist conditions in Africa and in our country, with one of the most notorious anti-national regimes on the continent.

The Meeting demonstrated the maturity of our great movement at the very time that imperialism and our ideological opponents of all shades expected the movement to fall apart. Following discussions of the basic problems of the theory and practice of the movement, the Meeting confirmed the historical tendency towards cohesion of all Marxist-Leninist forces and enhancement of the role and responsibility of Communists the world over.

The Meeting has become an important milestone in building up the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, a decisive turn in the struggle of all anti-imperialist forces.

The documents adopted by the Meeting are of historical significance and are permeated with a Marxist-Leninist spirit. They outline, clearly and dynamically, the main problems of the day, the strategy of the Communist movement as a whole and the tactics of each of its detachments in local conditions.

In an identical creative spirit the Meeting contributed a Marxist-Leninist analysis of new phenomena that emerged as a consequence of the growing influence of socialism on the modern world, the struggle of the Communist parties and the modern scientific-technical revolution. Special attention was paid to an analysis of the struggle of broad sections of the youth, which is of primary importance to the emerging independent nations where the population is multiplying rapidly.

We hold that all these guidelines of the Meeting conform fully with the basic interests and requirements of the struggle being waged by the Senegalese workers and people.

As for the Meeting's Main Document, it constitutes a remarkable synthesis of all the best experience in the struggle accumulated by

*Abridged.

the Communist parties. This document will undoubtedly be a great contribution to their struggle and the struggle of the peoples the world over. For our Party this is a valuable document which will help us better to align our national tasks with the common struggle of all the other fraternal parties and the anti-imperialist, democratic forces the world over.

The Central Committee of our Party agrees with the analysis of the existing international situation contained in the document, which also points to new and broad opportunities for the success and victory of the revolutionary movement and to the erroneous tendencies that idealize the process of struggle, separating it from the antagonistic class relations. A victorious outcome, in the final analysis, depends upon the resolution of these antagonisms.

Our Party approves the document's Marxist-Leninist analysis of present-day imperialism and its colonialist and neo-colonialist system. The weakening of the forces of imperialism is accompanied by greater aggressiveness on its part, first and foremost American imperialism which stands at the head of international reaction. The International Meeting outlined the tasks facing each of the three great forces composing the world revolutionary process—the socialist world system, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the oppressed nations and developing states—in strengthening their solidarity in order to create a broad, world anti-imperialist front. Only the joint efforts of these three revolutionary currents are capable of weakening imperialism and forcing it to retreat, this is the only way for the revolutionary movement to achieve fresh successes and victory. Any violation of the unity of these three forces means weakening the common struggle against imperialism.

Our Party is in complete accord with this fundamental conclusion of the International Meeting.

The Main Document will help strengthen the unity of our parties by clearly defining the development of their relations on the principle of sovereignty for each party and proletarian internationalism indissolubly linked with it, which presupposes non-interference in internal affairs and eliminating tendencies towards national isolation which are alien to genuine unity.

In all respects the 1969 Moscow Meeting signifies the advent of a significant phase in the international Communist and workers' movement. The African Independence Party of Senegal will do all in its power to assimilate and maintain the mobilizing spirit of the International Meeting, to organize the workers and people of our country to carry out the national-democratic revolution for the victory of socialism and in this manner to contribute to the common struggle of the people against imperialism.

Central Committee,
Dakar, August 16, 1971. *African Independence Party of Senegal*

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RESTORATION OF RIGHTS OF CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC IN THE UN

BELGIUM

A statement by the Politbureau of the Belgian Communist Party says that the admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations is a triumph for peace over the heritage of the cold war which certain quarters are in vain attempting to revive. The Communist Party of Belgium welcomes this victory.

This serious defeat for American strategy within the UN framework reflects the deep-going changes in the balance between the forces of imperialism, war and discrimination between states, on the one hand, and the forces of peace, reason, progress and cooperation, on the other.

This triumph of reason can lead to other victories. Those groups who for 25 years have been opposing recognition of People's China are again joining forces to oppose European security and cooperation. Here, too, they are forced to retreat. Their foul maneuvering, however, is still capable of delaying the establishment of a European security system.

Those who are working for European security should draw from the defeat of the enemies of reason in the UN new strength and arguments to advance their cause. Belgian public opinion, whose pressure will be of decisive importance, is justified in expecting that the leaders of our country will realize this and will act accordingly in favor of European security and cooperation. (*Drapeau Rouge*, Oct. 29-Nov. 4, 1971)

ITALY

"The Politbureau of the Italian Communist Party hails the UN decision to restore the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic in this international organization," says an October 27 communique released by the Politbureau of the ICP. "This decision is the result of the 20 years of struggle by Communists the world over, all socialist countries irrespective of existing differences, all anti-imperialist and progressive forces of the world."

The Politbureau says further steps are needed to institute a policy of peace, to step up to the struggle for an end to the American aggression in Indochina, to broaden UN universality starting with

admission of both German states to this organization and taking further initiatives for a just peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict and the early convening of an all-European conference on security and cooperation. The Politbureau of the ICP censures the stand taken by the Italian government when voting on UN membership of the Chinese People's Republic.

In order to strengthen peace and progress, unity of all anti-imperialist and progressive forces is more imperative than ever before. In conclusion the communique stresses that the Italian Communists would make their contribution to the establishment of cooperation and unity among all anti-imperialist forces in the common struggle.

CANADA

"For 22 years United States imperialism strove to erase the existence of the People's Republic of China. This time it met with ignoble defeat.

"This should now be followed up by bringing the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea into the UN.

"The complex international situation, the ever present danger of aggression, the growing struggle for national and social liberation, and the more favorable conditions for a peace offensive exemplified in the 6-point program of the Soviet Union, all these emphasize the need for coordinating the efforts of the socialist countries, of all anti-imperialist forces.

"It is to be hoped that People's China and its representatives in the UN will replace anti-Sovietism and division by a policy of united action, one directed to strengthen the cause of peace, democracy and socialism and the anti-imperialist struggles of the people."
(*Canadian Tribune*, Oct. 27, 1971)

FRANCE

Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the French Communist Party, made the following statement:

"In spite of U.S. pressure, the UN General Assembly has restored to the Chinese People's Republic all its rights in the United Nations.

"We are gratified by this decision, for which we have fought ever since the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949. Admission of People's China to the UN is a reflection of the historical changes that have taken place in the world, of the retreat of imperialism on a world scale and the mounting difficulties which American imperialism faces in its bid for hegemony. This is one more victory for

the policy of peaceful coexistence. It is further proof of the real opportunities for inflicting defeats upon imperialism.

"The French Communist Party would like to see the Chinese Communist Party reunited with the international Communist movement, especially in view of the continuing American aggression in Indochina, and would also like to see the Chinese People's Republic take a stand in the UN in accordance with the desire of the peoples of the world for peace, independence and disarmament." (*Humanité*, Oct. 27, 1971)

LAUNCH AN OFFENSIVE TOGETHER WITH THE MASSES

TO ALL CHILEANS

APPEAL OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Popular government is implementing its program. Nationalization of the large-scale copper mining industry signifies the return to Chile of its main wealth. President Allende's decree to deduct from the compensation paid to the Anaconda and Kennecott companies the sums exported from Chile in the form of super-profits is an act of justice, courage and patriotic duty. Nationalization of the telephone company, a branch of the powerful IT&T Co., is also an expression of dignity and true sovereignty. Abolishment of textile monopolies, the institution of state control of the banks and other anti-oligarchical measures are a blow at the parasitical clans which, together with imperialism kept the country in a state of backwardness and held back its development. The agrarian reform is also being accelerated.

Everything that has been done by the Popular Unity bloc government demonstrates that the basic direction of our country's development has changed. A revolutionary transformation of society has taken place in the interests of the vast majority of people.

The enemies of Chile and its people are attempting to thwart this process, strangle democratic development, crush the freedoms and overthrow the government. Nixon's personal advisor Kissinger claims that the Marxist regime in Chile is a serious threat not only to democracy in Latin America but also in other countries of the

Adopted on October 3. Published in *Siglo*, October 4, 1971.

Western Hemisphere. Democracy for him means the right for imperialists to exploit other nations' wealth. One North American journalist who earlier censured CIA interference in the affairs of Bolivia, expressed his firm belief that the CIA is not idle in Chile.

The wave of hatred for the Popular Unity bloc and President Allende, the campaign of provocations, the economic boycott and regrouping of reaction's forces are all part of a conspiracy against the country.

The dilemma is—with Chile, or against Chile.

The working class, the people and all patriots must answer this question adequately. We are capable of resistance, we shall resist and we shall triumph. The people of Chile have created the Popular Unity bloc, displaying heroism that assured its victory. They overcame tremendous difficulties and today they are in a better position to isolate and defeat all those who create obstacles in their way and who are attempting to conquer the people of Chile. The government has a powerful social and political foundation and incalculable reserves.

The enemy wants to divide the people and is striving to use the traditional political differences, the power game between the government and the opposition. He intends to provoke a clash between the various social segments.

The enemy resorts to intrigue and deception and capitalizes on any manifestation of sectarianism, Right or Left deviations. He takes advantage of all possible deficiencies of the past inherited by the present government, as well as mistakes and drawbacks in work.

Today the unity of the working class and the masses in city and village must be stronger than ever before. Mass organizations must show class unity, respect for the rights of every population group, promote joint action by supporters of the present government and all those who advocated changes while supporting the former government, and also mutual understanding on a democratic basis for the sake of realizing the cherished hopes of the people.

Every patriot has his place and responsibilities in the struggle for Chile's freedom and independence, in defense of the Popular government, for the promotion of social reforms in a constitutional state, in the liquidation of imperialism and the oligarchy in our country. This requires our utmost efforts, better work and greater vigilance.

We, Communists call for:

—greater output at enterprises, mines, in agriculture and improvement of the services;

—immediately rendering effective participation of the working people in management of all enterprises in the state and mixed sectors, economy, public services and government offices;

—organization of supply commissions in which housewives, trade

unions, maternal centers, block committees and shop keepers from every village and block would fight speculators and ensure regular supply of the prime necessities;

—the creation of centers for implementation of the agrarian reform on all confiscated estates to give effect to the transfer of land to the peasants;

—preparation for the Sixth Congress of the United Trade Union Center of the Working People of Chile as a true expression of the unitarian will of the working people;

—increased vigilance of the masses and committees for the protection of enterprises and public service offices;

—abolition of bureaucracy and achieving effective and true solutions of every concrete problem.

The people stand for complete fulfillment of the Basic Program of the Popular Unity government. The support and mobilization of the masses, the decisive struggle for implementation of changes through legal measures, the modification of laws in accordance with the constitution will make the revolutionary process irreversible. Defeating the escalation of anti-Chilean conspiracies means deciding the future of the Popular government, the future of the revolution and the country's independence. Let us close our ranks against imperialism.

The people will not allow the betrayal of Chilean interests. All attempts to oppose the Popular government will be crushed by the full force of the law, through the unanimous and militant mobilization of the masses.

Communist Party of Chile

Santiago, October 1971.

THE CPSU AS THE PARTY OF CREATIVE MARXISM

M. SUSLOV

MEMBER, POLITICAL BUREAU,
SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

The Soviet people are now solving intricate and diverse problems of the further all-round development of socialist society and the building of the material and technical basis of communism, outlined by the 24th CPSU Congress. We are deeply convinced that these tasks will be successfully accomplished. Our Communist Party, equipped with the great Marxist-Leninist teaching, steadily enriching and developing it, guides with great success the revolutionary transforming activity of the masses.

All progressive, genuinely revolutionary forces of the world recognize that the CPSU, under whose leadership society was for the first time transformed on a socialist basis and a path to communism is being blazed in the USSR, is a theoretically and politically experienced and battle-seasoned detachment of the world Communist movement.

The 24th CPSU Congress once again conclusively demonstrated that the CPSU was, and remains, a party of the working class closely linked with the people and expressing their vital interests, was and remains, a party of creative Marxism, a party which organically embodies in all its activity the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice on the basis of a scientific analysis and generalization of the latest tendencies of social development.

The report of the CPSU Central Committee delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the Directives for the new five-year plan, the speeches of the delegates and all the Congress documents and decisions embody the collective thought, the collective experience and the collective will of the Party, comprehensively examine fundamental questions of improving developed socialist society and laying the material and technical basis of communism in the USSR, questions of the further cohesion and development of the world socialist

Introductory speech delivered at a scientific conference dedicated to the problem "The 24th CPSU Congress and the Development of Marxist-Leninist Theory," held under the joint auspices of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences and the Higher Party School of the CPSU Central Committee and the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Published in issue No. 14, 1971, of the *Kommunist*, theoretical and political journal of the CC CPSU.

system, the prospects of the struggle for peace, democracy, the national independence of the peoples and social progress, questions of the unity of the international Communist movement. The results of the Congress proceedings graphically and convincingly show that in all its activity our Party relies on the Leninist ideological legacy, firmly follows the Leninist line and creatively solves pressing problem of social progress.

The fraternal Parties in speeches of their delegates at the 24th Congress, in documents adopted at Congresses and Plenary Meetings of their Central Committees and also in the press note that the scientifically-based decisions of the CPSU on questions of home policy and on international problems are of tremendous importance for the working class and all progressive mankind, the struggle of the revolutionary forces for the overthrow of capitalism's domination and for the building and strengthening of socialism.

The constructive program of the struggle for peace and international security, against the imperialist policy of aggression, for the abolition of the remnants of colonialism and neo-colonialism and mutually beneficial cooperation, outlined by the 24th Congress, is an outstanding contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. The CPSU and the Soviet Government not only put forward a peace program but, relying on the colossal and ever-increasing might of the USSR, in alliance with other socialist countries and with the support of all the democratic, peace-loving forces, are implementing it. All this raises the attractive power of socialism, strengthens its positions and creates more favorable historical conditions for extending and deepening the world revolutionary process.

The 24th CPSU Congress furnished a profound scientific analysis of the present stage of the confrontation between socialism and capitalism. What distinguishes this stage is that world socialism has finally secured for itself the historical initiative and determines the main content and trend of social development; it has achieved a radical change in the relationship of forces and continues to push back capitalism; it has entered a phase when the advantages of socialism are revealed ever more fully and comprehensively. Life has fully confirmed the truth of the proposition formulated in the CPSU Program about the ever greater influence exerted by the world socialist system on the course of social development. The impact of socialism on the development of world history has acquired a truly global nature. It influences the processes under way in the world by its economic, socio-political, scientific, technical and ideological development. The common front of the three principal revolutionary forces of our age—the world socialist system, the working class of capitalist countries and the national liberation movement—is being strengthened in the course of the historic con-

frontation between socialism and capitalism. The world revolutionary process is developing in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution. All this makes the present epoch the most revolutionary epoch in the history of mankind.

Capitalism is compelled to adapt itself in every way to the changes caused in the world by socialism which is growing stronger, by all the revolutionary democratic forces. But capitalism has neither socio-political reserves nor spiritual values to elaborate ideas capable of attracting the masses and thereby responding to the decisive historical challenge of the age, the challenge of socialism. Today it has become still clearer that the policy of maneuvering and adaptation applied by the monopoly bourgeoisie is incapable of eliminating the incurable vices of capitalism and saving this obsolete social system from inevitable doom.

The domination of monopoly capital brings mankind an intensification of economic and political instability, an exacerbation of the old contradictions and the emergence of new ones, reaction in home and foreign policy, militarization of all social life, armed aggression now in one now in another part of the world, the constant menace of a thermonuclear war, economic crises and monetary upheavals, unemployment, a growth in social inequality and poverty of the millions against the background of the immense production possibilities and the enrichment of a handful of multi-millionaires. The unprecedented aggravation of all the antagonisms of capitalist society makes revolutionary changes a burning necessity.

The mounting achievements of socialism and the expanding scale of the world revolutionary process are accompanied by a sharp exacerbation of the ideological struggle. The undermining of the positions of the imperialist bourgeoisie under the pressure of the revolutionary forces intensifies its frenzied resistance. It is employing ever more refined forms of struggle, resorting to ideological subversion and trying to utilize every possible revisionist vacillation. Account must also be taken of the fact that in view of the involvement of broad non-proletarian masses in the anti-imperialist struggle, their political instability and ideological immaturity are quite frequently making themselves felt. All this engenders diverse trends alien to Marxism-Leninism—adventurist "Leftism" and the advocacy of spontaneity, vociferous revolutionism and compromise. Anarchists and Trotskyites, Maoists and other revisionists and reformists are active in the ranks of the foes of the Communist movement. It is quite symptomatic that differences between these trends are increasingly obliterated. The Right and "Left" opportunists link up more frequently on the ground of anti-Sovietism, anti-communism and nationalism, on the basis of struggle against real socialism. The 24th Congress which made a new contribution to the

cohesion of the Communist ranks struck a powerful ideological and theoretical blow at all brands of opportunism and revisionism, elevated still higher the prestige of socialism and the leading role of the Communist movement in the world revolutionary process.

In line with present-day conditions, the Congress developed the Marxist-Leninist proposition about the leading revolutionary transforming role of the working class in all social movements of our time and defeated the attempts to belittle the role of the working class in society. It will be recalled that fallacious, capitulatory arguments about the supposed weakening of the revolutionary potential of the working class and a decrease of its importance in the life of society have become widespread abroad in recent years. Insolvent tendencies have appeared to contrast to the working class either the intelligentsia, or the peasantry, or the students. Bourgeois reformism and opportunist ideology and policy are exploited by imperialism in its attempts to undermine the working-class movement from within, to "integrate" it into the capitalist system. The 24th CPSU Congress, in full conformity with Marxist-Leninist teaching, scientifically summed up the contemporary real processes, showing that all the fundamental changes of our age—social, economic, scientific and technical—do not weaken, but enhance the epochal role of the working class as the grave-digger of capitalism, as the builder and organizer of socialism.

The Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' parties are the militant vanguard of the working class, its leader and ideological guide; they have firmly consolidated their position as the most influential, most organized and active political force of our time which really heads the social progress of mankind.

The 24th Congress noted that in recent years the working class of capitalist countries further raised its militancy as the chief and strongest opponent of the power of the monopolies. The working class is the magnet attracting all the exploited sections, all the detachments of the anti-monopoly front. The growing scale of the proletariat's class battles in the citadels of capitalism, their increasing massive scope and acuteness presage new, even more powerful battles which may lead to fundamental social changes, to the overthrow of the omnipotence of the capitalist monopolies and the winning of power by the working class in alliance with other sections of the working people.

The Congress documents scientifically substantiated the growth of the leading role of the working class in consolidating socialism and laying the material and technical basis of communism. Enhancement of the historic mission of the working class is determined by the growth of its importance in the system of socialist production, its leading role in social relations and its characteristic traits—revo-

lutionary spirit, discipline, organization and consciousness—because it is the working class that is the standard-bearer of the ideas of scientific socialism capable of rallying around itself the masses on the basis of the communist ideal.

The analysis of the content of the present stage in the development of Soviet society and its prospects, made by the 24th CPSU Congress, is a big contribution to the theory of scientific communism. It is a distinction of this stage that developed socialist society has been built and is successfully functioning in the USSR for the first time in history. This proposition is of great importance in principle. It indicates a clear direction for conducting theoretical studies of the problems of our society's socio-economic development.

In scientific literature definition of the historical place of socialism is at times confined merely to the characterization of socialism as an undeveloped, immature society (as compared with full communism). This is correct from the viewpoint of the historical perspective of the growing over of socialism, as the first phase of communism, into its higher phase. Speaking of socialism, we naturally always bear in mind the prospect of its development. Communism is our great goal, it is sacred for us, and deep scientific substantiation of the ways and means of achieving it is the cardinal task of our workers in the theoretical sphere. But no less important is the theoretical elaboration of problems which fully reveal all the aspects of what socialism *really* is as compared with the past, to what historical heights it raises mankind.

A comprehensive and profound study of the material basis of our society—the socialist mode of production, its place in history and fundamental distinction from capitalism, the specific laws inherent in socialism, the objective mechanism of their operation and their planned use in the interest of the entire society—is a primary task of Marxist scholars. We need profound scientific knowledge of socialist reality because only on its basis can the Party's economic policy be formulated, national economic plans drawn up and the entire system of state guidance of the economy and the forms and methods of socialist management improved.

Mature socialism presupposes the all-round and harmonious development of the economic, socio-political and cultural conditions of life. At this stage society has a powerful material and technical base which is created through the comprehensive development of the national economy and the introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology. Socialism ensures stable and high growth rates of production and labor productivity. Developed socialism is characterized by mature social relations which are shaped on the basis of the complete dominance of socialist property, the

elimination of all exploiting elements and the achievement of the socio-political and ideological unity of society. Here the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of the work done is fully introduced. Developed socialist society has a corresponding political superstructure—a state of the entire people which embodies the deepest democracy. It is marked by the wide development of education, the general spread and assertion of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The dialectics of development of socialist society is such that in its advance it realizes ever more fully its possibilities, develops and improves, and at the same time creates the prerequisites for the transition to the higher phase and gradually grows over into communism. The development of socialism and the building of communism are one continuous process in which every new stage is linked in continuity with the preceding one and represents a higher level of the ascending, forward movement of society.

Developed socialist society accomplishes in practice the principal economic task of communist construction, it builds the material and technical base of communism which historically and socially represents a qualitatively new phenomenon. Its construction is an intricate, multi-plane and comprehensive task which demands the exertion of prolonged and sustained effort.

The ways of building the material and technical base of communism were substantially concretized at the 24th Party Congress. A qualitatively new level in the development of the material elements of the productive forces, the means of production, fundamental changes in the technology of production processes and a radical improvement of the technical side of the organization of production, labor and management must be ensured on the basis of the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. It is also a matter of creating a harmonious branch structure and optimal proportions in the national economy, rationally locating the productive forces and making the most effective use of the natural, material and manpower resources. All this is bound to raise substantially the productivity of social labor and the effectiveness of the entire national economy.

This will serve as the basis for further improving the production and other relations in developed socialist society, ever more fully satisfying the constantly growing needs of the people, creating true abundance of material and cultural wealth, ensuring the most favorable conditions for the moulding of the new man and the all-round harmonious development of people who control the material components and guide social relations.

The ever fuller satisfaction of the needs of the working people and the comprehensive and harmonious development of the indi-

vidual exert in turn a tremendous impact on improving and expanding production, on raising the productivity of labor.

Guiding itself by the fundamental Leninist tenet and relying on the new, colossal reserves created in our country, utilizing and realizing more fully the advantages of developed socialism, the Party pursues the line of the all-round, comprehensive development of the productive forces and production relations, the social, ideological and political life of Soviet society.

The developed socialist economy affords us possibilities and resources for successfully coping with more complex socio-economic tasks that are far greater than those we possessed earlier, at the initial stages of socialist construction. These possibilities and resources for accelerated economic growth are realized more fully through the consistent Party line of raising the effectiveness of the national economy in every way. Intensification of production processes on the basis of the latest scientific and technological achievements, improvement of the inter-branch and intra-branch structure of social production through the priority development of its most progressive trends, the scientific organization of labor, improvement of economic planning and management, development of socialist forms and methods of operating the economy—such are the major elements of this economic line of the Party. Its consistent implementation makes it possible to combine most effectively the advantages of socialism with the utmost development of the scientific and technological revolution, to accelerate the advance to the higher phase of communism, and, on this basis, successfully tackle our cardinal social task—steadily to raise the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

It goes without saying that the Party has always sought to develop the economy in the interests of raising the welfare of the people. The aim of socialist production, Lenin pointed out, consists precisely in ensuring "full well-being and free, all-round development for all the members of society." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 54).

But this task was not easy. It was solved by overcoming tremendous difficulties and primarily by concentrating efforts on those sectors of our development that were most important in definite conditions. Only mature socialist society creates material prerequisites for its fuller accomplishment.

The historic significance of the 24th CPSU Congress lies in the fact that it outlined a broad program of social measures to raise the well-being of all sections of the people, gradually to draw together the living standard of urban and rural dwellers on the basis of evening up first of all, the levels of labor productivity in industry and agriculture, to create more favorable conditions for

work and leisure, for comprehensive development of the capabilities and constructive activity of the Soviet people, for education of the growing generation. The cardinal task of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, as defined by the Congress, is to ensure a substantial advance of the material and cultural standards of the people on the basis of high growth rates of socialist production, its higher effectiveness, scientific and technological progress and accelerated growth of labor productivity.

The Congress emphasized that a substantial advance of the material and cultural standards of the people is not only the cardinal task of the Ninth Five-Year Plan but also the general orientation of the country's long-term economic development.

A rise in the well-being of the people is an exceedingly many-sided task in content and importance and it would be wrong in the extreme to approach it from a purely consumer viewpoint. A sufficiency of material goods is an important prerequisite for the development of human capabilities, for the blossoming of the personality, improvement of material production, the advance of science, technology and culture, for social progress.

The Party solves the problems of an all-round improvement of the living standards of the people in close connection with the task of achieving social homogeneity in our society.

"The Party's policy," L. I. Brezhnev said at the 24th Party Congress, "is directed towards helping to bring the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia closer together, and gradually erasing the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between brainwork and manual labor. This is one of the key sectors in the building of a classless communist society. In our country the drawing together of all classes and social groups, the moral and political upbringing of the Soviet people and the strengthening of their social unity are being achieved on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which expresses the socialist interests and the communist ideals of the *working class*."

It is a great achievement of the Party's Leninist national policy that all nations and nationalities comprising our multi-national Soviet people have attained a high level of development in all spheres of life. Evening up the levels of economic, socio-political and spiritual development of nations and nationalities has ensured the swift and all-round social progress of the Soviet people.

The processes of the development of socialist democracy are an important object of theoretical analysis. Lenin pointed out that the source of strength of the socialist state lies in its indissoluble bonds with the masses, in drawing them into real administration of social affairs. In full conformity with these ideas, the Congress stressed that the Party sees the meaning and content of socialist

democracy in an ever wider participation of the masses in the administration of the country, in social affairs. This process naturally is inseverably linked with raising the social activity, political consciousness and spiritual maturity of Soviet people, with improving the work of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the trade unions, Komsomol and other mass organizations. Utmost improvement of socialist democracy, whose class essence expresses the fundamental interests of the working class and the entire Soviet people, further development of the constructive initiative of the masses, extension of their participation in state and social administration—such is the main political line of Soviet society's advance towards communism.

The 24th Congress, summing up the international experience of socialist construction and relations between socialist countries, substantiated a number of important theoretical propositions concerning the prospects and laws governing the development of the world socialist system.

Differences in the initial development levels of the productive forces and in the socio-economic structures, historical distinctions—all this influences the time and forms of the emergence of the new social system. Hence differences in the stage of maturity of socialist development and forms of the political and economic organization of society, specific features of the economic structure and methods of guiding the constructive activity of the masses. But a scientific generalization of the entire experience in the development of the world socialist system and also on analysis of the sources of its achievements and difficulties enabled the Congress to formulate the question of the paramount significance of the general laws of socialist construction on a still more deeply grounded theoretical and political plane. The Congress materials once again emphasized that, ignoring the general laws, it is impossible to build socialism and ensure its advance. At the same time it is necessary scientifically to substantiate the ways of their realization and the mechanism of their operation at each concrete stage in one or another country, taking into account the distinctions of its historical development.

The conclusion of the Congress which reveals the prospects of the development of the world socialist system and relations between socialist countries are of great theoretical and political significance. The Congress emphasized that the community of the social system and the coincidence of the basic interests of the peoples of the socialist countries determine the leading historical tendency towards their drawing together and their cohesion. At the same time the Congress spoke with Leninist directness and frankness about objective and subjective difficulties which arise in the

course of the emergence of the world socialist system and about the ways of overcoming them. The anti-Leninist and anti-Soviet line of the present Chinese leaders represents a great danger for the cause of socialism. We resolutely reject this line and the slanderous fabrications about the policy of the CPSU spread from Peking. At the same time we have always wanted and are prepared now to promote in every way the restoration and development of good-neighbor relations and friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

We now see more clearly the basic laws of the development of the world socialist system which have taken shape and are actively in evidence. But many questions still demand theoretical analysis and scientific generalization. It is a matter of deeper scientific substantiation of processes which are new in their historic essence, the processes of the development of world socialism. In the first place it is highly important to demonstrate, from positions of proletarian internationalism, the objectively law-governed character of the political and economic rapprochement of the socialist countries, the vital interest of every people in strengthening the cohesion of the world socialist system, which fully meets the national interests of every socialist country. It is an important and urgent task to elaborate the problems of socialist economic integration which, as demonstrated in the Comprehensive Program of CMEA countries, ensures all its participants the most effective use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, rapid expansion of production and the consolidation of socialism's position in the economic competition with capitalism.

The 24th Congress outlined an inspiring prospect of rapid development of all sides of Soviet society through the organic fusion of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system.

Leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party is an indispensable condition for the successful solution of all the problems of communist construction. It is only natural therefore that we pay great attention to developing the teaching of the Party's leading role, to elaborating questions of Party development. The CPSU came out resolutely against the revisionist attempts to belittle the role of the Party and the Leninist organizational principles. The consistent struggle of the CPSU for the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the role of the Party of the working class, as the fraternal parties see it, is of great international significance.

The Party's leading role has been won in a long and persistent struggle for the basic interests of the working people and rests on high moral and political prestige among the masses. The unity of our Party and the Soviet people is now stronger than ever before.

The entire course of social development shows that with the extension of the tasks and scale of communist construction the leading role of the Communist Party and of its political, organizational, ideological and theoretical activity is heightening.

Enhancement of the leading role of the Party at the present stage follows from the vast and highly complex internal and international tasks, from the greater political maturity and constructive activity of the masses, extension of socialist democracy and growing demands on social administration, from the need to improve the communist education of the working people and constantly to enrich Marxist-Leninist theory, the only theory capable of encompassing all aspects of social life in their unity, indicating the true road for advance and avoiding mistakes and subjectivist decisions. It is the Communist Party which, on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist generalization of the experience of communist construction, the experience of the masses, charts the political line of all state and mass organizations, guides and unites them, promotes in every way the constructive activity of the masses and directs their efforts to one goal—the victory of communism. It strives to reveal to the maximum the creative possibilities of all the links of our state of the entire people, of every collective and working man.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union embodies the unity of Soviet society. The growing role of the Party flows from the need to consider more fully and to combine the needs of all classes and social sections of society, the interests of the entire people, all nations and nationalities, all generations of our society. Accordingly, the Party strives to improve the forms and methods of its activity, to develop the Leninist principles and norms of intra-Party life, strengthen the unity of its ranks, raise the efficiency and responsibility of all its organizations, to deepen and consolidate its bonds with the masses.

The main thing now is to mobilize all our forces and reserves for carrying out the grand plans outlined by the 24th Congress, fully to utilize the abilities and knowledge, energies and talents of the Soviet people for building communism.

The new tremendous tasks facing us in the current five-year period demand of us Communists, especially of workers in the social sciences, a substantially higher level of theoretical activity and creative elaboration of urgent problems of communist construction.

Problems of improving economic planning and management are as important as they were before. The main thing here is to make our plans at all levels a real instrument of scientific, technological and socio-economic progress. They must contain scientifically-based optimal solutions of fundamental problems of national economic

development, direct the socialist economy along the most progressive paths so as to achieve the highest effectiveness of social production.

Problems of elaborating a long-range plan perspective beyond the bounds of five-year plans are particularly important and also the most intricate. We need plans for a long-range perspective. It is impossible to advance confidently to communism without looking far ahead, without seeing the highroads leading to it. Science, its most diverse branches, has an exceedingly great role to play in solving problems of long-term planning. To draw up a scientifically-based real long-term plan we need profound scientific prognostication in the sphere of the economy and scientific-technological progress and also coordination of this research on a nationwide scale.

Enhancement of the general level of planning and scientific prognostication requires deep comprehensive studies of socialism's economic laws, the mechanism of their operation and utilization in the practice of planning and socialist management. It is a matter not only of formulating the essence of the laws but also of analyzing their operation and interaction which determine the real tendencies of society's economic development, of studying their manifestations in given concrete conditions.

We need profound studies which provide an analysis and generalization of new phenomena in their dynamics, disclose the essence and tendencies of processes under way, studies which furnish a Party, class evaluation and contain scientifically-based practical proposals and recommendations for economic policy. We need studies which make it possible to find more swiftly the reserves within our social system, to bring these reserves into action and further accelerate the entire process of social development.

Loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its consistent application are one of the primary requisites for our new successes in building communism.



