

INFORMA



1000

BULLETIN

Issued by

**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**

**LENINISM
LIGHTS ROAD
TO COMMUNISM**

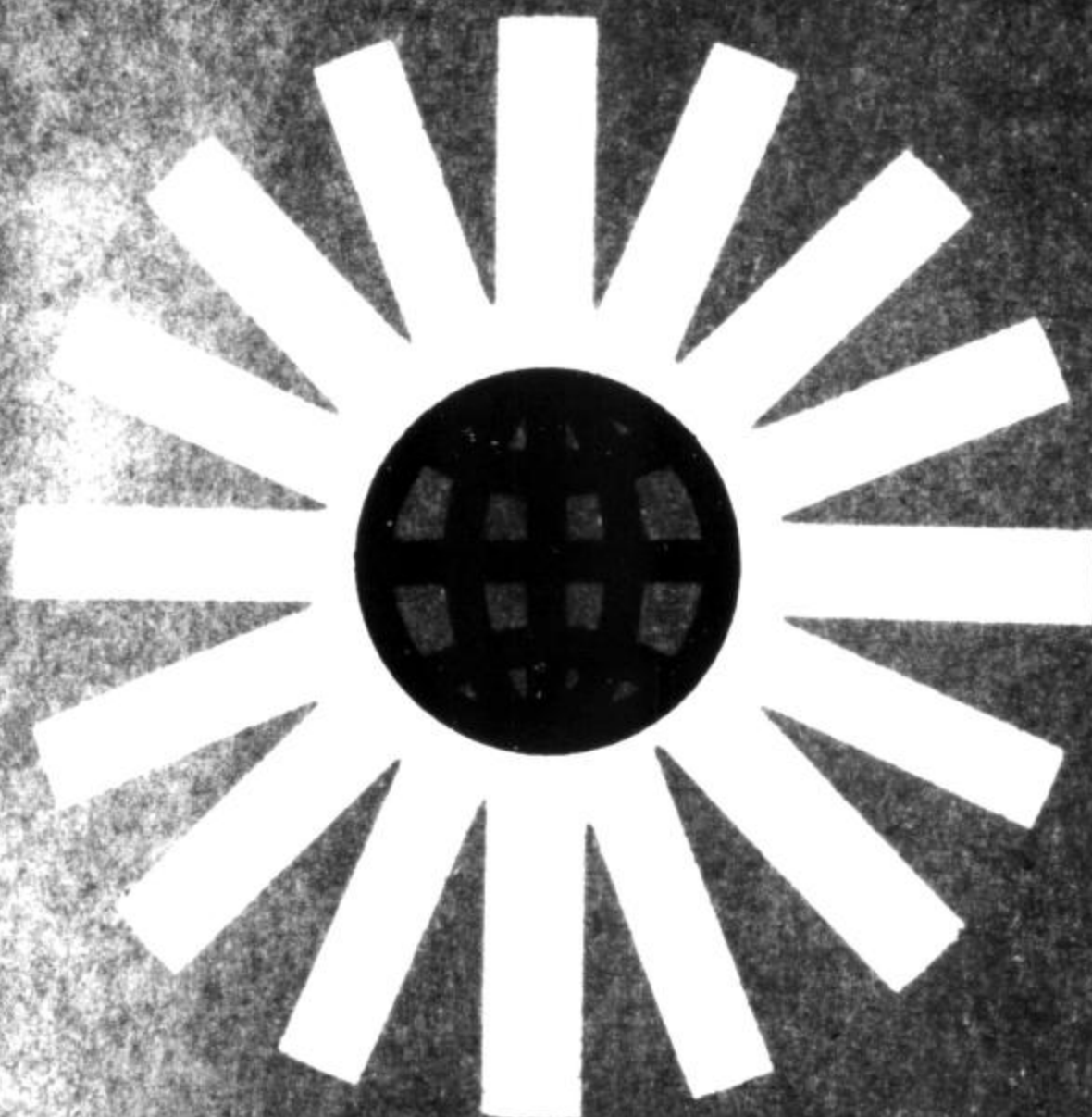
•
GUYANA

•
LUXEMBOURG

•
PORTUGAL

8 - 9

(240-241) • 1973





information bulletin — 8-9 (240-241) Vol. 11

*Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic,
French, German, Greek and Spanish*

c o n t e n t s

Leninism lights road to communism 5

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

Guyana

17th Congress of the
People's Progressive Party 22

Norway

Desire for unity recognized
(Statement of CP of Norway) 31

Luxembourg

Fight in common for social
and democratic progress 32

In brief 38

PLENARY MEETINGS

France

From report of G. Marchais to CC FCP 45

Soviet Union

International activities of CC CPSU
to implement 24th Congress decisions 55

In brief 57

(cont'd next page)

Published as a Supplement to WORLD MARXIST REVIEW,
North American edition of the Journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM by

PROGRESS BOOKS

487 ADELAIDE ST. WEST, TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA.
M5V 1T4

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

(cont'd)

STATEMENTS, RESOLUTIONS AND SPEECHES

Brazil	
Communist work in trade unions	64
Madagascar	
Situation in the Malagasy Republic	72
Portugal	
For a new major offensive (Statement of CC PCP)	74
Salvador	
A lie about a "communist plot" (Statement of CP of Salvador)	81
Soviet Union	
Seventieth anniversary of the Second RSDLP Congress (Decision of CC CPSU)	87
Canada	
For an independent, sovereign and united trade union movement	92
Sri Lanka	
PB statement on political situation	95

BILATERAL MEETINGS

Cuba-Czechoslovakia	
Joint communique	97

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

Against ideology and politics of Maoism	100
--	-----

PRINTED IN CANADA

JUNE 15, 1973



LENINISM LIGHTS THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM

A meeting on the 103rd anniversary of Lenin's birth was held at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on April 20, 1973.

The audience included the foremost workers and innovators of industrial Moscow, working people from the suburbs, men and women active in science and culture and members of the armed services. There were numerous foreign guests, diplomats and Soviet and foreign journalists.

The assembly greeted with warm applause the appearance on the speakers' platform of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, full and alternate members of the CC Political Bureau and secretaries of the CC.

Seats on the platform were also taken by deputy Chairmen of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR, deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the Chairmen of both chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, secretaries of the Moscow City Committee and Moscow Regional Committee of the CPSU, veteran Communists, representatives of Party, government and non-governmental organizations, prominent soldiers and flyer cosmonauts of the USSR.

The meeting was opened by V. V. Grishin, member of the CC Political Bureau, First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU.

D. F. Ustinov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC CPSU, presented the report "Leninism Lights the Road to Communism."

The report was heard with keen attention and repeatedly drew applause.

Comrades, every year and every decade reveals with added clarity the greatness of the life and work of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, a brilliant thinker and indomitable revolutionary, the founder of the Bolshevik Party and the world's first state of workers and peasants, leader of the world proletariat.

Never in history have the working people cherished a name as much as Lenin's. Nor has any other doctrine had an impact on the entire course of world development comparable to the impact of Marxism-Leninism. Under Lenin's banner the Soviet people have built a developed socialist society and are confidently advancing to communism. Guided by Lenin's doctrine, the working people of

fraternal socialist states are building a new life. Leninism is a source of revolutionary energy and inspiration to the proletarians of all countries, to the fighters for social and national liberation. Lenin's doctrine and cause are the common, international patrimony of mankind, and today the 103rd anniversary of the birthday of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin is being marked, together with our Party and people, by millions of men and women the world over.

We are observing the present Lenin anniversary under the deep impression of the glorious half-century jubilee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. A major political and theoretical document devoted to this event—the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee—offers a vivid picture of the immense achievements of the Soviet people, and analyzes, in the spirit of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, the concrete tasks and prospects of our society's further development. The celebration of the jubilee of the USSR was a convincing demonstration of the historic correctness of Leninism, of the potent vital force of the socialist system and the revolutionary role of the Communist Party.

I. COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION; POLICY OF LENIN'S PARTY

Comrades, our Party is rightly called Leninist. Vladimir Ilyich was at its fountainhead. Creatively developing Marxism, he evolved the theoretical foundations and organizational principles of a militant party of the working class, the strategy and tactics of Bolshevism. After founding the Party, Lenin boldly and resolutely directed its struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and the construction of a new society.

This year we will commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDLP, a turning point in the international workers' movement. The formation of the world's first proletarian party of a new type dates from that historic Congress. Class struggle and socialist construction have fully confirmed the validity of the Leninist doctrine of the party as the highest form of revolutionary organization of the working class, and of the party's leading role in communist construction.

The CPSU, a ruling party which has assumed responsibility for the destiny of the country, is confidently leading our homeland to communism. All the successes of the Soviet people are connected with the tireless activities of the Party, with its immense organizing and political work. With Leninist wisdom and foresight, the Party charts the way for the development of Soviet society; with Leninist skill it puts to use the immense potentialities of socialism; with Leninist realism it defines the tasks to be tackled next and

works steadfastly for their fulfilment. In home and foreign policy alike, the CPSU unswervingly follows Lenin's behests. The Party is always with Lenin, and Lenin is always with the Party. This is what makes the Party strong, and it is what makes Lenin immortal.

The boundless love and esteem of the almost 15 million Soviet Communists for their teacher and leader, and their unshakable loyalty to Leninism were seen in the solemn and stirring act with which the exchange of Party membership documents began—the issuing of Party card No. 1 in the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

In the process of communist construction, the 24th CPSU Congress stressed, the Party's role grows steadily. This objective law operates the more strongly the closer the unity of the Party ranks and the more active every Party organization and every Communist. The very first results of the organizing and political work connected with the exchange of Party documents show the vast and favorable impact of this highly important measure on every aspect of Party life, on Communist initiative and discipline. Currently, every Party member is even more exacting in assessing his activity and more keenly aware of being a fighter for Lenin's great cause.

In his new membership card every Communist can read Lenin's wonderful words saying that the Party is the intellect, honor and conscience of our epoch. Being a member of such a Party is a great happiness, a sign of great trust and at the same time a great responsibility. To be a Leninist Communist means serving with the utmost loyalty the cause of the working class and other working people, fully devoting one's energies and abilities to the struggle for communism, and being always and in everything worthy of the lofty name of Party member. And the Communists, following Lenin's call, inspire their fellow-workers by showing initiative and setting an example, and bring the spirit of communist ideas into our every activity.

The Party successfully discharges its leading and guiding role because it is closely connected with the masses and deeply and consistently expresses their interests. Soviet people place full confidence in the Communist Party and its militant headquarters—the Leninist Central Committee. They fully approve of and support the policy of the CPSU. This is also evident in the working people's continuous influx into the Party, whose ranks are steadily reinforced by the finest members of our glorious working class, collective-farm peasantry and people's intelligentsia. The unity of the Party and the people is the source of the invincible strength of Soviet society.

The CPSU consistently promotes socialist democracy and draws the working people into the management of public affairs. The

work of the Soviets, the political foundation of our state and a consummate embodiment of its democratic nature, has become more active and diversified.

Such mass organizations as the trade unions and the Komsomol have markedly extended their influence on various aspects of our political, economic and spiritual life. The life-giving influence of Lenin's ideas manifests itself in the creative effort of Communists and non-Party people, in the activity, initiative and enthusiasm of the masses.

Comrades, Lenin considered economic construction the main sphere of struggle for communism. In 1922, with the civil war just over, Lenin, defining the tasks facing the country in peaceful conditions, emphasized: "Now concentrate on economics..." (Coll. Works, Vol. 36, p. 588). Lenin held that nothing but a powerful, highly developed economy could serve as a solid material foundation for the new, socialist society, as a dependable factor in raising the people's living standard, and as a guarantee of the independence and defense potential of the Soviet state. He worked out a strategic plan to set up a socialist economy in our country and directed the complex work of implementing it.

Lenin's principles of economic development—economic planning, democratic centralism, combining one-man management with the effective participation of working people in management, the unity of material and moral incentives for labor, economic accounting and mass emulation—have become strong levers in developing socialist economy.

Within a historically short period our country advanced from a bourgeois and landowner system and from economic and cultural backwardness to a society of developed socialism with an up-to-date economy, a vast scientific and technological potential and a high cultural standard. The achievements of Soviet science are recognized all over the world. Excellent Soviet-made machines and equipment are in use everywhere—on land, in the water and in the air. Atomic energy has been put at man's service. Space is increasingly becoming an object of both exploration and utilization in the interest of the national economy. And we owe all this, comrades, to our Party's Leninist policy and the Soviet people's devoted effort.

The 24th CPSU Congress, proceeding from the greater possibilities and requirements of our society, set the task of gearing the economy in greater measure to the solution of the diverse problems involved in raising the people's standard of life. At the same time this course provides for the further rapid development of heavy industry, the basis of the country's economic might.

The only way to carry out the socio-economic program worked

out by the Party is to raise the efficiency of social production. And here it is particularly important to speed scientific and technological progress, improve economic management, make better use of labor, material and financial resources and enhance the efficacy of socialist emulation.

Our people are working with enthusiasm to carry out the ninth five-year plan. Important headway towards increasing the economic potential of our country and raising the living standard of Soviet people has been made since the Congress. We have already become used to the magnitude of our achievements but the present scope of creative effort is truly amazing in comparison with even the recent past.

Approximately a trillion roubles' worth of industrial goods have been put out in the two years and three months of the current five-year plan, i.e., as much as was produced in the 1961-1965 period, or under the seventh five-year plan. As for gas, mineral fertilizers, cars, refrigerators and other products, output in these two years was greater than throughout the seventh five-year plan period.

Industry made a good start this year. The first quarter's plan for goods marketing was carried out by 102 per cent, the increase in industrial output was 6.4 per cent compared with the first quarter of last year and that in average daily production, 7.8 per cent.

Construction has assumed tremendous dimensions in our country. The fixed assets of the national economy increased in the past two years by almost 80,000 million roubles, which is more than all the production assets which the country had in 1950. About 800 major state-owned industrial enterprises, as well as many production shops and other projects went into operation.

All this is a cogent proof of the greatly increased possibilities of Soviet industry and the heroic effort of the working class and all our people.

Work is going on on an immense scale to implement the comprehensive program for the further development of agriculture adopted by the Party. In 1971 and 1972 state capital investments in this economic sector increased by 70 per cent as compared with the first two years of the previous five-year plan. Deliveries of machinery, mineral fertilizers and building materials to the countryside have increased substantially. Lenin's dream about irrigating the country's drought areas is coming true. Every year sees an average of over 600,000 hectares of new lands brought under irrigation, or 70 per cent more than the average under the eighth five-year plan.

Weather conditions were very bad last year and we did not succeed in reaching the planned targets for a number of basic agricultural products. But even in those conditions, thanks to the

Party's firm policy of strengthening the material and technical basis of agriculture, the effort and increased skill of rural workers and the nation-wide drive for grain, 14 centners of grain were reaped per hectare on the average. This is higher than the average annual yield in the previous five-year plan period. As a result, the annual average harvest of grain in the past two years was about 175 million tons, or seven million tons more than the average annual harvest in 1966-1970. More rice was garnered than ever before, and the cotton harvest was the biggest in the history of the country.

Spring sowing is in full swing now. The farmers have pledged to considerably raise the crop yield and extend the sown areas, first of all under grain crops. They are resolved to fulfil the state plan for the current year, make up as much as possible for last year's inadequate yield and use the resources of each farm to the best advantage.

In a word, every economic branch has a fair opportunity to exceed all the main plan targets for 1973, the decisive year of the ninth five-year plan. And the realization of this opportunity depends on the working people themselves, on every one of us.

The program adopted by the 24th Party Congress for a higher standard of life is being steadily implemented. The overall consumption fund went up by 23,000 million roubles in the first two years of the five-year plan. Wages and salaries were raised for railwaymen, many farm machine operators, all doctors and teachers, and some other working people. Minimum old-age pensions for wage and salary earners were increased; pension provisions for collective farmers were improved; scholarships in higher and specialized secondary schools were raised. Grants and other benefits for the population from social consumption funds increased by nearly 15 per cent.

Since the end of last year, we have been fulfilling an important socio-economic assignment under the five-year plan — raising minimum wages and simultaneously increasing pay rates and salaries of medium-paid categories of workers in industry, transport, communications, state farms and certain other sectors. The scale of this undertaking can be judged by the fact that it will involve more than 50 million people. As a result of its implementation, the incomes of wage and salary earners will grow by about 9,000 million roubles in terms of one year. This year the new conditions of labor remuneration will already be extended to those working in the northern and eastern regions of the country, the Urals included.

Much is being done for the growing cash incomes of the working people to be backed with an appropriate rise in consumer goods production. Retail trade went up by more than 14 per cent in two

years and the performance of the service industry by 23 per cent. More than 4.5 million flats have been built since the beginning of the five-year plan period. The network of educational, cultural, medical and children's establishments is expanding, and other large-scale measures are being effected to improve the standard of living.

It is in this way, in Leninist fashion, comprehensively and purposefully, that the Party approaches the task of improving the people's standard of life. It is in this way, in Leninist fashion, on the basis of greater productivity of social labor and according to its actual growth, that the Party accomplishes this task.

In summing up results, we must see, as Lenin taught us, not only the achievements, but also the shortcomings. There are quite a few of them. Many enterprises, and also a number of ministries, do not on the whole fulfil assignments for selling output, mastering new equipment and raising labor productivity and profitability. New projects still go into operation too slowly, and at times poor use is made of existing capacities, raw and other materials and working hours. There are still cases of wastefulness. Our common duty is to fight vigorously against all these shortcomings.

Comrades, we must fulfil more persistently the Party's main demand regarding economic development as formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, namely, "to effect a radical change in orientation, to shift the emphasis to intensive methods of production and bring about thereby a substantial increase in economic efficiency." The key problem is to accelerate scientific and technological progress.

Lenin insisted that every achievement of man's genius and all the latest gains of science and technology be geared to building communism. And he provided us with brilliant examples of a truly scientific and revolutionary approach to problems of technical progress.

Lenin initiated and organized the drafting of GOELRO, the first-ever long-range economic development plan on a progressive technological basis. This plan remains a splendid example of solving scientific, technological, social and economic problems as a complex. As a Party leader and statesman, Lenin had a keen sense of the new and visualized, even at the inception of a scientific or technological idea, the prospects of its development and application.

We should all learn to treat science and technology as Lenin did. This is particularly important now that the Party and the people are concentrating on carrying out the task set by the 24th Party Congress—to closely link the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system.

It is necessary, above all, to create the most favorable organizational conditions for raising the effectiveness of scientific research

and hastening utilization of its results. Long-range forecasts of progress in science, technology and production, as well as inter-branch plans ensuring coordinated work by research institutions, industrial enterprises and combines at every stage of designing and introducing new equipment should play their role here.

The Central Committee of the Party considers it advisable to concentrate energies and resources on promising research and projects which open possibilities for substantially promoting science and raising the technological standard of the national economy. It is extremely important for enterprises to achieve higher efficiency in mastering the manufacture of more advanced machinery and equipment, highly-quality goods for the population, and in applying extensive, highly effective technological processes based on comprehensive use of raw and other materials.

After the 24th Congress, our industry made noticeable headway in these areas. An average of 3,500 industrial products are being put into serial production annually in the current five-year period against 1,700 in the previous five years. Production of outdated items is discontinued more readily. Some progress has also been made in improving quality. We have introduced a universal system of government certification of output. Over 7,500 industrial products have been awarded the state Badge of Quality. However, Party committees, economic management bodies and all our executives will have to do a good deal more to meet the Congress demand for more rapid technological progress and substantially higher quality of output.

Comrades, the Party sees one of the main lines of its economic policy in improving production management, achieving greater efficiency and a smoother functioning of our economic machinery. The December (1972) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU insisted on perfecting centralized planning, putting plans on a sounder technological and economic basis, strengthening discipline and increasing responsibility for the fulfilment of state assignments. What is meant is better planning and management throughout the economy—from factory shops and enterprises to ministries and central economic management bodies—and all-round utilization of the advantages of socialist planning, of the opportunities of concentrating and centralizing production.

"Communism," wrote Lenin, "requires and presupposes the greatest possible centralization of large-scale production throughout the country" (Coll. Works, Vol. 42, p. 96). The recent decision of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers on improving the structure of industrial management is of fundamental importance in this respect. The purpose of enlarging enterprises, establishing powerful production amalgamations and adopting a two-

or three-stage system of management in most industries is to speed the concentration of industrial production and promote the cost-accounting principles of economic management.

Economic management methods acquire increasing importance in the present conditions of running the economy. Prices and credits, profits and incentive funds, planning standards and all economic levers should stimulate the enterprises to make full use of their reserves, to adopt intensive plans and step up the utilization of the achievements of science and technology in production. It is on these lines that we are now working to improve the economic reform mechanism.

Automated systems play an increasing part in the control of the technological processes, enterprises and industries. In the past two years, almost as many such systems were put in operation as throughout the previous five-year period. At present more than half the Union ministries and central economic agencies use electronic computers in management and planning. It should be said, however, that automated systems of control could be used more extensively and effectively.

The growing scale of production, the increasing intricacy of economic links in our economy and the extended rights of enterprises and amalgamations presuppose greater responsibility on the part of collectives and their leaders for the state of affairs in production, for labor and state discipline. It is most commendable that, more and more frequently and firmly, the collectives themselves take to task those who impede our progress.

People have always been the decisive factor in the successful fulfilment of plans. Their creative initiative, skill and persistent organized effort translate themselves into towns, power stations, factories, stock farms and whatever else makes up our country's wealth.

Recent years have seen the working people become much more active in public affairs and production. This is manifest, first of all, in the socialist emulation movement, which Lenin considered highly important. "The organization of competition," he wrote, "must take a prominent place among the tasks of the Soviet Government in the economic sphere" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 206).

The Party's call to the workers, collective farmers and economic experts to launch an all-Union emulation movement with a view to fulfilling and exceeding the 1973 state plan met with ready response throughout the country and evoked a vast wave of new magnificent initiatives. The collectives of the foremost enterprise of Moscow and Leningrad initiated an emulation movement with the slogan "work at a high tempo from the very first days of 1973."

The steel workers of Magnitogorsk and the miners of the Donets

and Kuznetsk coal-fields are competing in more effective utilization of machinery. There are more and more followers of the method of team cost-accounting proposed by Moscow's building workers. This method saves substantial time and funds in building projects. The grain growers of the Kuban initiated a campaign for higher yields.

A valuable example was set by the foremost women workers at the Moscow electric vacuum instruments plant—they pledged to make items from saved material one hour a week. It is a modest pledge at first sight and yet, with the present scale of production, it could provide extra output worth thousands of millions of rubles if taken up everywhere. This is how the rivulets of creative initiative swell the stream of the nationwide movement for more efficient production.

The socialist emulation movement has assumed greater scope. It is becoming more varied in form and content. Its main watchword today is to produce more and better while spending less.

People of the older generation will remember the movement for counter-plans. That was in the days of the early five-year plans. Today these plans are expressive of the continuity of labor traditions and foster the use of methods tested by practice, with due regard to the new conditions. Counter-plans combine state plan assignment with local initiative and the socialist undertakings of labor teams. This makes emulation more meaningful and effective, and untapped reserves are taken into account and used more promptly. It is a duty of Party, trade union, Komsomol and economic organizations to see to the steadfast application of the Leninist principles of socialist emulation: publicity, comparability of results and the promotion of better production methods.

Speakers at the recent plenary meetings of Party committees and general meetings of the membership on the results of the December 1972 plenum of the CC CPSU engaged in a lively and creative discussion of topical problems of our economic development and made suggestions for making fuller use of potentialities. In all Union republics, working people gave a socialist undertaking to supply 4,500 million rubles' worth of industrial products above this year's plan. That will be a substantial contribution to the five-year plan and an excellent gift to the country.

Tomorrow Soviet people will go to factories, building sites, fields and farms to join in an all-Union communist subbotnik and demonstrate their loyalty to the tradition of the Great Beginning, to Lenin's cause.

From the rostrum of this anniversary meeting, I wish all participants in that splendid festival of labor the best of success.

Comrades, our Party regards greater effort towards educating

the working people in a communist spirit and encouraging their political activity and their labor as a requisite of fulfilling our plans and a primary factor for the progress of socialist society. In carrying out this task, the Party strives for the unity of economic activity and ideological education and insists on taking account of the moral and political effects of economic and administrative solutions.

The new ideas and conclusions contained in the records of the 24th Congress, documents concerning the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union and decisions of the Party Central Committee help to improve our ideological work. There are, first of all, the theses on the developed socialist society, the Soviet people as a new historical community of men and the ways and means of building the material and technological basis of communism. The elaboration of these and other topical problems of theory and politics has contributed to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, strengthened the scientific foundations of ideological education, extended its possibilities and led to closer links between it and practice.

Educating the Soviet people in the spirit of the ideas of scientific communism and proletarian internationalism and a communist attitude to labor, the Party takes a firm stand against the penetration of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois views and morals into our midst. To every Communist and every Soviet citizen, to combat hostile ideological influences means fighting for the triumph of socialist principles, of our ideals.

The high moral qualities of builders of communism are moulded in uncompromising struggle against phenomena hostile to our system, such as political apathy, indifference to the public interest, hooliganism, drinking or misappropriation of socialist property. To eliminate these and other adverse phenomena, we must use every means: ideological education, disciplinary action, the encouragement in every citizen of the requirements and habits of a spiritually mature and highly cultured member of socialist society, and an exacting attitude to oneself and one's fellow-citizens.

The Party's economic, cultural and ideological activities strengthen and carry forward our social and political system and assert the Soviet, socialist way of life.

Typical of this way of life are social optimism and a deep sense of social security based on the great social and economic achievements of socialism, a guaranteed right to work and a steadily improving standard of life. This way of life is distinguished for the thoroughly humane and collectivist nature of relations between people due to common interests and goals. This way of life implies a high degree of social awareness, an uncompromising attitude to shortcomings and a high degree of social activity based on a keen

sense of the responsibility of each for the performance of the collective he belongs to and of society as a whole.

The Soviet way of life is our most valuable asset, a source of pride to all our people. It develops and gains in content in the daily course of economic and cultural progress. The better and more purposefully we work today, the sooner Lenin's ideas of man's all-round development and of the triumph of communism will become reality.

II. SOCIALISM AND PEACE ARE INSEPARABLE

Comrades, socialism promotes peace and friendship among nations through its revolutionary, progressive impact on world processes. Revealing its advantages more and more, the new system increasingly wins the sympathy of class-conscious working people, as Lenin foresaw. It is in socialism that the world revolutionary movement and laboring mankind rightly see an instance of the realization of the people's aspirations, see their hope and mainstay.

On the world scene the Soviet Union upholds what is of the greatest value in life—the interests of the working class and other working people, the ideals of socialism and communism. The Leninist Party effectively applies the principles of foreign policy left to us by our great leader as a powerful weapon in the fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, as an effective means of safeguarding the people's freedom and independence.

Foreign policy matters, and steps to fulfil the Peace Program advanced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, are given special attention by the Party Central Committee and the Soviet government. The Political Bureau in general and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, in particular, concern themselves with these matters carefully, concretely and constantly. The unprecedented "peace offensive" which the Soviet Union has been carrying on in recent years and the notable headway made in every sphere of international relations attest to truly titanic activity intended to provide favorable external conditions for building communism and promoting world peace. That this activity is duly appreciated is seen in its widespread recognition by the peoples of the socialist community and the whole of progressive world opinion.

Historical experience makes it perfectly clear that progress in building the new society is the most dependable basis for a consistent foreign policy from class positions and for an effective struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence. The changing alignment of international forces is increasingly conditioned by the fact that the socialist economy is the most dynamic economy in the

world. The high rates of economic development in the Soviet Union and fraternal countries are stable and are accompanied by a steady improvement in the working people's living and cultural standards.

Industrial output in the CMEA countries last year was roughly eight times as great as in 1950 while output in developed capitalist countries in the same period increased only threefold. The gains of the socialist world economy are particularly impressive against the background of the deepening general crisis of the capitalist system. There are numerous facts showing that today the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism discovered by Lenin operates with unprecedented force. Inter-imperialist antagonisms are growing. The chronic instability of the capitalist economy expresses itself in periodical slumps, unemployment, increased inflation and monetary upheavals. Monopoly oppression is mounting, with exploitation of the working people becoming ever more subtle.

The outlook for the peoples of the socialist countries is entirely different. The coordination of national economic plans and cooperation under the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Integration help our countries to use their resources more rationally and, moreover, enable them to accomplish tasks which would have been much harder to cope with if tackled single-handed. The CMEA countries join efforts to solve the difficult problems of supplying their national economies with numerous raw materials, fuels, machines, types of equipment, means of transport and computers and to do research. This allows scope for fuller use of the growing potential of world socialism.

Close inter-party relations, comprehensive cooperation and mutual assistance, intensive exchanges of experience in building socialism and communism, growing interaction in foreign policy and mutual spiritual enrichment form the content of relations between the socialist countries' brother parties and peoples. There you have, comrades, an embodiment of Lenin's principles of proletarian internationalism.

Lenin foresaw the time when the internationalist unity of the victorious proletariat of several countries would decisively influence world politics. His forecast is becoming a historic reality.

I wish to lay special emphasis on the fruitfulness of fraternal cooperation in foreign policy. Indications of it are the indisputable gains of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in building up international security. First among these gains is by rights the end of the war in Vietnam, the longest and bloodiest in recent decades. It was made possible primarily by the courage and staunchness of the patriotic forces of Vietnam and the mass heroism of the Vietnamese people. It was made possible by the firm support

of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of the progressive forces of the world. It is a victory of truly historic significance.

The outcome of events in Vietnam was indicative of the new alignment of world forces, of a further weakening of the positions of imperialism. It showed that in present-day conditions the freedom-loving peoples can effectively resist imperialist pressure and aggression. The invaders set in motion an enormous war machine. They did not hesitate to resort to mass destruction of the civilian population, sent tens of thousands of soldiers to their deaths and spent almost \$150,000 million. Yet, in spite of all its efforts, the biggest imperialist power had to retreat.

We see our internationalist duty in firmly supporting the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, who want to consolidate the peace they have achieved, ensure fulfilment of the Paris agreements and realize the Vietnamese people's national aspirations.

The growing support which the idea of collective security is given by the Asian countries will make for a healthier climate in the area.

Great importance attaches to growing Soviet-Indian friendship and to the development of the Soviet Union's economic and cultural relations with Japan and other Asian countries.

New opportunities to promote security and launch extensive international cooperation are opening up in Europe. We do not regard the problem of European security as an abstract issue. Our people remember only too well the fascist aggression which started from the centre of Europe, the loss of over 20 million Soviet people's lives—a loss defying all comparison—and the destruction of tens of thousands of Soviet towns and villages. This is why the Soviet Union has for many years been campaigning in common with its socialist partners to establish lasting safeguards of peace in Europe.

Our constructive policy is increasingly appreciated by realistic-minded people. We note with satisfaction that the results of post-war development in Europe are now being finalized through official recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers. Relations between the Soviet Union and influential states, such as France and the FRG, are expanding apace. An agreement was signed on West Berlin. The policy of diplomatic blockade against the German Democratic Republic failed completely. A treaty on the principles of relations between the GDR and FRG was concluded. Practical preparations are being made for a general European conference to lay the groundwork for the future peaceful development of Europe in a climate of security and cooperation on an equal

footing between the countries of the continent.

To safeguard peace, it is imperative to solve the disarmament problem. While this is no easy task, important acts such as the Soviet-U.S. agreements on strategic arms limitation or the convention on banning and destroying bacteriological weapons show that, given a realistic approach, agreement in this field can be reached. If our partners show realism and respect for the principle of equal security also in the negotiations now going on, it will be safe to hope for further advances towards curbing the arms race.

Everyone admits that the world political climate has improved noticeably since the Soviet-American talks in Moscow in May 1972. The talks may be described as a turning point in the normalization of American-Soviet relations.

We see opportunities of improving Soviet-American relations. But we also see the fact that certain forces in the United States are opposed to the idea. As regards the Soviet position, it has been defined in no uncertain terms. "If both countries, the Soviet Union and the United States," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "really advance along the path charted in common during the Moscow negotiations, we believe it may become possible in the course of subsequent contacts to make new considerable advances in furthering Soviet-American relations for the good of the peoples of both countries and of world peace."

To promote relations based on peaceful coexistence is to extend constructive economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation. Due to the rapid growth of the economic potential of the Soviet Union and the socialist commonwealth as a whole, the possibilities of cooperation have grown immensely. There is an increasing realization in the world of the hopelessness of attempts to block the expansion of relations with socialist countries. Needless to say, these relations can only be founded on mutual benefit and equality and should fully preclude discrimination or interference in domestic affairs.

Comrades, much has lately been done to stave off the danger of a nuclear war and to ensure peaceful cooperation among nations. On the other hand, many facts compel us to maintain vigilance. Not all hurdles to a political settlement in Indochina have been removed. The Israeli aggression against Arab states, with whose just cause we identify ourselves, is continuing. We will go on steadfastly supporting the national liberation movement and the peoples' legitimate fight against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The Communist Party always bears in mind Lenin's warning that imperialism tries to solve international problems by force. It therefore does whatever is necessary to strengthen and improve the defenses of socialism. Thanks to measures taken by the Party

and the state, by all Soviet people, thanks also to the efforts of defense industry workers, our glorious armed forces are equipped with the latest weapons and material. The combat readiness of the Soviet Army and Navy is high. This has a most sobering effect on all who go in for military ventures, as we have satisfied ourselves on more than one occasion.

The Soviet armed forces protect our peaceful, constructive labor. Imperialist and Peking propaganda is wasting its time playing up the myth of the "Soviet military threat." The peoples of all countries know well—and we would like to re-emphasize it—that the only purpose of the existence of the Soviet defense power is to defend socialism, the people's freedom and security, and the noble cause of democracy and peace.

Comrades, one of Lenin's most important behests to Communists and the working class was to foster the unity of the proletariat. Our Party regards itself as an inseparable component of the international Communist and working-class movement. It consistently implements the tried and tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism and contributes actively to the unification of the entire anti-imperialist front, primarily of its Communist vanguard.

Recent years have seen new and notable gains in the fulfilment of this vital task. Since the 1969 Meeting in Moscow, relations between Communist and Workers' parties have become closer and their political activity at home and abroad, more effective. This is evident in the major successes achieved of late by the Communists of France and Chile in common with other left-wing forces. Another indication of it is the expansion of the brother parties' bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

There is no ignoring the fact that the anti-Leninist, social-chauvinist position of Peking remains a serious obstacle to the struggle against imperialism. It is strange and monstrous, to use Lenin's phrase, that China's present leaders, who pose as being particularly revolutionary, should have discarded the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is strange and monstrous that the foreign policy of Peking should be pervaded by anti-Sovietism and a divisive spirit in regard to the Communist and national liberation movement, and that this policy should virtually link up with the activity of rabid enemies of communism.

That anti-Leninist line does considerable harm to the interests of the international working class, world socialism and the Chinese people themselves. This is why our Party and Leninist Communists in all countries have been fighting, and will continue to fight, against the Maoist line, for the unity of all revolutionary forces. We trust that the artificial barriers to cooperation with the Soviet

Union and other socialist countries—barriers raised by the Peking leadership—will eventually be removed and the Chinese people will take up a fitting place in the family of brother countries, in the ranks of fighters against imperialism.

Lenin saw the unity of world socialism and the international Communist and working-class movement, and a close alliance between them and the struggle of the oppressed, as an earnest of victory for our revolutionary cause. We are always loyal to this principle of Lenin's and will never abandon it.

Our firm conviction that peace will ultimately triumph is growing as the movement of the peoples and the democratic public against war gains ground. We are in favor of the mass of the people influencing world politics ever more actively. This is why Soviet people support the idea of the World Congress of Peace Forces.

We have reason to rejoice as we view the panorama of the present-day historical process. For all its contradictoriness and the difficulties encountered by this or that country as it advances along the road of social progress, we see clearly that the world is developing as Lenin said it would. The idea of socialism and communism, of freedom and independence, of brotherhood and friendship among peoples, which Lenin fought for all his life, have won over the masses and become thereby a mighty material force paving the way for the radiant future of mankind.

Comrades, behind Lenin's great teachings are historical reality itself, the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the world's population and the objective need to transform society on communist lines.

To prepare through many years of effort for the transition to communism—this was how Lenin defined the program goal of our Party, of the Soviet people's creative labor effort (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 58). We have already travelled a substantial part of the road leading to this goal. On the basis of what we have achieved and won, we will strive, as we have done in the past, to live and work as Lenin did and to vindicate by our every thought and every act, by our labor and struggle, the immortality of Lenin's cause, the cause of the Communist Party.

Long live the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, inspirer and organizer of all our victories!

May the heroic Soviet people, a people of builders of Communism, live and prosper!

Long live the ever-living, invincible, internationalist teachings of Marxism-Leninism!

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

17TH CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF GUYANA

The 17th Congress of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana met on September 2-3, 1972. Below we publish two concluding sections from the report by the Party's General Secretary Cheddi Jagan, and some of the most important resolutions on international and national issues, as they appeared in the Party's theoretical and discussion journal *Thunder*, No. 3, 1972.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST PROGRAM

The strategic line of our Party is therefore to win the masses for a policy of basic socio-economic change, for an anti-imperialist, pro-democratic and pro-socialist program.

Such a program must include:

(1) Nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy—foreign and comprador capitalist-owned and controlled mines, plantations, factories, banks, insurance and foreign trade;

(2) Planned proportional development of the economy with simultaneous concentration on industry and agriculture rather than on infrastructure; expansion of the public and cooperative sectors; transformation of the economy from primary to integrated production; e.g., transform the sugar industry as in Cuba and the bauxite industry into industrial complexes;

(3) Development of a sound all-embracing agricultural policy with land reform and an end to all forms of discrimination; diversification of agriculture to shift from the precarious dependency on sugar; an increase in the production of rice, corn, bananas, ground provisions, cattle, poultry, dairy products, etc., for domestic consumption and export. A large-scale fishing industry with a fishing fleet and factory ship;

(4) An almost total centralized planning and control, putting the total resources within the hands of the architects of the new society;

(5) Re-assessment of our role as the producer of raw materials for the metropolitan centers of industrial development; establishment of industries at home to replace imports as far as practicable and feasible; a war on conspicuous consumption and corruption;

(6) full democracy; workers' participation and control, and involvement of the people at all levels;

(7) Fullest development of our human resources educationally, ideologically and culturally;

(8) A policy of genuine non-alignment and the closest relations with the socialist world and the progressive "third-world";

(9) Strict system of foreign-exchange, rent and price controls;

(10) Establishment of a truly national health service for all;

(11) A national house-building program which would solve the grave housing shortage.

This anti-imperialist program must be viewed as an integrated whole. All the various measures are closely linked and integrated. Any attempt at implementation of the program in an ad hoc manner without careful coordination as a whole is bound to end in failure. This is why the PNC regime, despite its expansion of the public sector, is heading our country to bankruptcy.

Down with the PNC racist, anti-working class, pro-imperialist program!

Our duty is to make the masses understand that only with our program can Guyana once again move forward.

In this critical period, all efforts must be made to strengthen the party ideologically, politically and organizationally.

Members must be recruited on the basis of consciousness and conviction that only our program offers the road to salvation.

We must redouble our efforts to raise the political-ideological level of understanding of all members. More and more entrants must be recruited for our Party's ideological center, Accabre College of Social Science.

Thunder and *Mirror* are invaluable weapons in the struggle for liberation. They help to raise consciousness, combat despair, expose the government, and highlight the problems of the people. Their circulation must be doubled in the coming year. Let all comrades pledge to fulfil this important political task.

We must not forget that the imperialists have created an extensive propaganda apparatus for the purpose of brainwashing and confusing the masses. Now that they can no longer use world wars and even limited wars as escape-valves for the ills and growing contradictions of capitalism, they resort increasingly to subversion and ideological warfare. They spend billions of dollars to bribe and corrupt both from the "Right" and the "Left." Students, intellectuals, trade unionists, persons, "socialists," etc., are recruited in their service. Some philistines like the YSM leadership even demagogically refer to Marxism-Leninism, now that it is embraced by the Black Panthers and the heroic, militant Communist Angela Davis. But they distort its true meaning and rob it of its real content and value.

We must be ideologically equipped to expose these political opportunists and frauds.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITY

Let us also pledge to work to achieve the broadest possible unity for our country's liberation from puppet rule.

In the pursuit of this objective, we must be flexible in tactics, in ways and means but firm in ideology, in principle.

Our Party must struggle consistently against the right opportunists inside and outside the party, who would like to lead us into the path of unprincipled compromise with imperialism.

We must also struggle against "ultra-Leftist" phrasemongering and impatience.

While we base ourselves on the masses, we must master all forms of struggle — legal and underground, peaceful and non-peaceful, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary. We must be prepared to move swiftly if necessary from one form to another. What form the struggle will take, of course, will largely depend on the actions of the puppets and their imperial masters.

Because the puppets resort to electoral fraud, terror, victimization and force, the general strategic line for the attainment of political power in the "third-world" countries of the western hemisphere is armed, revolutionary struggle to counter imperialist violence. But because of the changing balance of forces nationally, regionally and internationally, the electoral road must not be ruled out dogmatically. Chile has demonstrated that a revolutionary alliance can come to power through the constitutional process.

In Guyana, our campaign has not yet developed sufficiently to force the PNC regime to accept our 6-point demands for free and fair elections. One government minister, in fact, has blatantly declared that there would be no changes in the fraudulent methods. What are we to do? Must we contest or not?

Main arguments against contesting are:

- (1) Contesting will give legitimacy to the PNC minority regime.
- (2) The National Assembly is a corrupting influence on some PPP members.
- (3) The Party cannot tell the electorate that it is fighting to win.
- (4) Electoral fraud is already well-known and accepted as a fact by almost everyone; we do not have to expose it further.
- (5) Contesting under conditions of fraud will reinforce the allegation that we are only an electioneering party.
- (6) We have not achieved our six demands for free and fair elections.
- (7) It is demoralizing for Party supporters to see the rigged results.

(8) If we do not contest, we will be obliged to take stronger action; this will bring about an earlier confrontation.

Arguments for contesting the elections are:

(1) Use parliament as a forum; if we are not there, we lose a platform.

(2) All forms of struggle are necessary, including the parliamentary.

(3) If we do not contest, puppet groups will move in and take on the role of so-called opposition.

(4) The Trinidad electoral boycott was successful, but the government has carried on without an opposition; the boycott has not strengthened the progressive forces.

(5) The boycott, no matter how successful, will not show in the returns, which will also be rigged.

(6) If we boycott and then do not proceed to real confrontation, the people will be disillusioned.

(7) The boycott may lead to a one party state; we should not play into the PNC's hand on the point.

(8) Parliament is one of the fronts of struggle and propaganda, limited though it is, and should be used as long as possible.

(9) The PNC will use the propaganda that "the PPP is boycotting only to cover up its weakness because it knows it will lose the elections."

There are good arguments for and against contesting the elections. In assessing what we should do, we have to be flexible not dogmatic; scientific not emotional. We must have not just a subjective approach; namely, how we feel towards fraud. What is more important is a realistic assessment of the objective situation. What are the real possibilities open to us at any given time?

Some have based their arguments on moral and legal grounds. But the PNC regime, like the PNM regime in Trinidad and Tobago, is morally bankrupt. It moves not from a moral or constitutional position, but from a position of naked self-interest.

We must also consider the peculiarities of our situation. There are not only national class problems. The social or racial problem is a barrier to the strengthening of the national and class struggles and the political battle against the PNC.

Racial unity, and thus working class unity, is indispensable for victory whatever the form of confrontation. Without such unity, confrontation can degenerate into a racial war. This must be avoided at all costs. We must carefully assess the racial problem, neither over-estimating nor under-estimating it.

Consideration must also be given whether Rightist parties and groupings like the United Force, Guyana Anti-Discrimination Movement and others, which criticize in varying degrees the puppet regime without posing, like the PPP, an alternative program,

should be allowed to dominate the Opposition in the National Assembly and mislead the people.

These and other factors must be fully considered. We must take this opportunity to have a full and frank discussion on this question. But we must not limit the discussion only to whether or not we must contest. Above all, we must discuss how best we can mobilize and struggle to ensure that the elections are free and fair. In the coming months, we must intensify our campaign. If necessary, things must be brought to a standstill.

Our last General Council meeting expressed the view that it may not be prudent to make a decision now, because events today are moving with extreme rapidity. When we are face to face with a definite election date, with reality, then we will be able more properly to assess the political situation and the balance of forces — those with the puppets and those with us.

Consequently, the General Council is of the view that this Congress should authorize the future General Council to make the decision after consultation at the appropriate time, whether or not to contest.

The prospects for successfully opposing and bringing pressure to bear on the PNC puppet regime are bright.

Let us pledge to struggle steadfastly for Guyana's genuine independence.

Long live the PPP!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Victory is inevitable!

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE 17TH CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY

RACISM IN THE USA, BRITAIN, CANADA, SOUTHERN AFRICA AND UGANDA

Convinced that there is only one race — the human race — in the universe;

Vehemently opposed to all manifestations of racism everywhere;

Particularly concerned about racism in the United States, Britain, Canada, Southern Africa and Uganda;

Congress expresses its total condemnation of the governments of the United States, Britain, Canada, South Africa, Rhodesia and Uganda:

And Congress further pledges its fullest support and solidarity with the peoples of those countries who are subjected to such degradation and humiliation.

COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM

Considering that colonialism and neo-colonialism are features of imperialism which cause the greatest oppression and exploitation of mankind;

Realizing that many nations today are still waging fierce battles to end such forms of domination;

Conscious that our own Guyanese struggle is an integral part of the international struggle against the common enemy — imperialism —and for identical goals;

This 17th Congress expresses its rock-firm solidarity and support for the peoples of Puerto Rico, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Guinea (Bissau), and all other peoples locked in battle against imperialism for national independence and complete liberation;

And Congress also categorically condemns the imperialist nations for their moribund policy of holding territories in colonialism and neo-colonialism and strenuously demands their immediate withdrawal from those areas.

UNEMPLOYMENT

That this Congress strongly condemns the failure of the PNC government to solve the grave unemployment problems in Guyana, now between 20-25 per cent of our labor force, and calls for positive measures to reduce the rising unemployment figures.

And further deplores government's plan to bring West Indians to settle in Guyana while unemployment continues to be one of the gravest problems facing our nation.

U.S. MILITARY RIGHTS IN GUYANA

The 17th Congress of the People's Progressive Party demands that the Parliament of Guyana abrogate forthwith the treaty signed between the U.S. and Guyana governments granting to the USA the right to land military personnel in Guyana, the right to over-fly Guyana with military aircraft; and the right to set up military installations in Guyana.

Congress further demands that the treaty signed between the British and U.S. governments in 1941 which ceded parts of Guyanese territory to the USA be immediately annulled by the Parliament of Guyana.

AMERINDIAN RIGHTS

Be it resolved that land titles be given immediately to the Amerindian people in accordance with promises made and re-

commendations contained in the report of the Amerindian Lands Commission.

Be it further resolved that employment opportunities be offered to Amerindians in their respective areas and that much greater efforts be made by the government to raise their economic and social standards.

CONDEMNING THE PUPPET STATUS OF THE PNC GOVERNMENT

Acknowledging that the Guyanese people have suffered from intense misery, poverty and humiliation under centuries of slavery, indentureship and colonialism;

Waged a series of relentless battles against those evil systems and secured national independence;

Betrayed by the People's National Congress which pawned our independence to U.S. imperialism for the plums of governmental office;

Profoundly concerned at the system of neo-colonialism which has by design replaced British colonialism;

Appalled at the fact that U.S. imperialism pompously decides the policies of the Guyana government;

Sincere in its desire to win for the Guyanese nation genuine independence and the right to fashion a society of their own choice;

Congress unequivocally condemns the puppet status of the treacherous PNC government, and demands that it immediately breaks links with imperialism and pursues an anti-imperialist policy in the interest of the working people of Guyana.

WORKERS' RIGHTS

Be it resolved that this Congress demands the following in pursuance of the Party's stand for the rights of all workers:

- a) The enactment of a national minimum wage law;
- b) Legislation for severance pay;
- c) Complete job evaluation for civil servants;
- d) Full employment and a guaranteed weekly wage to sugar workers;
- e) Total withdrawal of the anti-strike Trade Disputes Bill;
- f) 40-hour week for all workers;
- g) Implementation of all outstanding reports relating to workers' problems;
- h) End job discrimination;
- i) Equal pay for equal work;
- j) Enactment of changes in the National Insurance Scheme (NIS)

and its regulations to improve benefit payments, expeditious settlement of all claims and the establishment of rural branch offices;

k) Discontinuance of the use of armed police and troops against workers on strike.

DISCRIMINATION IN GUYANA

Whereas gross discrimination persists in all sections of the Guyanese society;

And whereas this unhealthy development is actively fostered as a policy by the People's National Congress government;

And whereas there is no difference between the discrimination practised against Guyanese nationals here and that prevailing in the Union of South Africa and in Rhodesia;

And whereas discrimination at official levels severely hampers the reunification of the nation and the continuation of its thrust to defeat neo-colonialism, and its direct products, poverty and ignorance;

Be it resolved that this 17th Congress of the People's Progressive Party denounces this inhuman system prevailing in Guyana and fostered by the ruling party in power, and strives actively to expose and eliminate this scourge;

And be it further resolved that copies of this Resolution with any relevant documentation be forwarded to the several international agencies fighting these evils.

FORMS OF STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

Be it resolved that this 17th Congress of the People's Progressive Party accepts national civil disobedience and armed struggle as means of achieving national liberation for Guyana.

RE-AFFIRMING OUR PARTY'S STAND ON SOCIALISM

The People's Progressive Party having since its formation in 1950 strongly advocated that scientific socialism is the only politico-socio-economic system that can bring a life of peace, progress and happiness to the Guyanese people;

Witnessed the colossal and massive failures of the People's National Congress government in attempting to solve the problems of the working people by other models of development;

Conscious of its historic revolutionary duty to liberate the Guyanese people from demagoguery, exploitation and oppression;

This 17th Congress solemnly and unreservedly re-affirms that only socialism, based on Marxism-Leninism, can emancipate the Guyanese masses from the poverty, hunger, unemployment and the

untold suffering to which they are now subjected, and realize for them a new life of full happiness and rapid development.

MASS OPPOSITION

The stage has now been reached in the political struggle in Guyana when, in order to defeat neo-colonialism, maximum unity of all progressive bodies must be obtained to create and engender mass opposition to the minority PNC regime. Every effort must be made by the PPP, which leads the struggle for socialism and democracy, to agitate and educate to bring more sections of the Guyanese people under the influence of progressive political ideas.

The crucial voice in the coming struggle is that of the organized trade union movement, for without their support, industrial action aimed at obtaining better conditions for workers and eventually defeating the PNC minority regime cannot be successful. In the coming political struggles industrial action must be seen as one of the main levers of change.

Workers organized in the trade union movement are showing increasing militancy in their fight for better conditions and living standards. Recent examples are the sugar workers and the bauxite workers, who, having by experience learned of the collaborationist attitude of their leaders, have shown their determination to break with official union policy and demand new and progressive policies geared to their needs. This determination and militancy by more and more groups of workers must be channelled into more effective industrial and political action.

The growth of working class opposition to the PNC minority regime and the success of those workers involved in unofficial industrial action have exposed the ferocity with which their demonstrations are attacked by the illegal government. These attacks are closely linked with the harassment of supporters of the PPP.

Under the circumstances and in view of the rising tide of opposition to the PNC minority regime it is necessary for the PPP to take all possible steps to win the trade union movement's support for policies of democracy and socialism.

Therefore, this Congress resolves that the People's Progressive Party should take energetic steps, such as encouragement to all party members and supporters to join and take an active part in their trade unions, to give representation to cases of discrimination against workers, to fight against bad working conditions and to ensure the democratization of the trade union movement with the aim of winning support for socialist policies.

DESIRE FOR UNITY RECOGNIZED

The National Conference of the CP of Norway, April 7-8, reviewed the outcome of talks on nationwide socialist cooperation, says a statement on Left cooperation unanimously adopted by the Conference. The text of the statement, which follows, was published in *Friheten*.

The talks were not over when the Conference was in session, and it states unanimously and with deep satisfaction that now the ground has been laid for a socialist alliance in the autumn Storting elections.

The common lists of candidates of the CP Norway, the Workers' Movement Information Committee, the Socialist People's Party and Independents are, in our opinion, an achievement in the direction of unity and a decisive step overcoming the harmful consequences of the split in the workers' movement. Mutual sincerity and tolerance have opened the way to reliable organizational collaboration of the Left forces.

It is particularly important, the National Conference holds, that the Left wing of the Norwegian Workers' Party has withdrawn from it and is participating in the general election alliance. Until the present, a large section of the Left wing of the workers' movement was connected with the Worker's Party, giving it considerable strength, which the Right leadership used for its own ends. Previously, the Left forces lacked a unifying alternative left of the Workers' Party. Now such an alternative exists. Serious changes may be expected therefore in the balance of forces within the workers' movement and on the political scene in general.

For many years, the CP Norway worked to create such merging of socialist Left forces. The National Conference herewith declares all Party members and branches throughout the country will do their utmost for the success of the common lists of candidates and thereby help elect a substantial force of Socialists to the Storting.

A cooperating group of Storting deputies would be an important factor in opposing Norway's entry into the EEC, for an independent policy and for progressive development. It will be an important factor for the further development of the now established common movement. In future, socialist cooperation should encompass all spheres. The Communist Party of Norway holds that this is the focal point of all its activity and is prepared to participate in creating joint bodies to direct the development of cooperation.

Forward, to Socialist Cooperation!

May the September Storting elections lead to nationwide recognition of the socialist Left forces!

FIGHT IN COMMON FOR SOCIAL AND DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS IN LUXEMBOURG

ADDRESS* OF 21st CONGRESS OF THE CPL TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF LUXEMBOURG

Dissatisfaction and anxiety are growing among our people. The big capitalist associations, banks and industrial concerns are raking in high profits and investing billions in the construction and reconstruction of enterprises. The palaces of banks and holdings are springing up in all parts of the capital. At the same time inflation is growing at an increasing rate and money is depreciated more and more. Wages, pensions and bank deposits are daily losing their real purchasing power.

Inflation is making the rich richer and the poor still poorer.

Money depreciation is the tried and tested device used by big capital to nullify the gains of the working people in wages and pensions and then to depress their real value.

The government coalition, which speaks for big capital and reaction, is doing all it can to secure and boost the profits of the metallurgical companies, U.S. industrial branches, the more than 43 banks and 4,000 holding companies at the expense of the working people.

The plunder of the broad masses is intensified through direct and indirect taxes.

The workers' sickness insurance has deteriorated. Social gains are in jeopardy.

Workers' wages and rights are less secure. Growth of the nominal value of low incomes is more and more lagging behind the real growth of living costs.

Through regulation of salaries in the public sector, small and middle officials, white collar workers and railwaymen get paltry sops, while the salaries of top-ranking civil servants are being considerably increased. In particular, it is intended to raise the salaries of ministers and state secretaries up to 13,000-14,000 francs per month.

The anti-inflationary measures initiated by our government within the framework of agreements with the governments of other EEC members are but a band aid on a deep wound. They are designed to reduce consumption and credits for the man-in-the-street. Together with all working people, the victims of such a policy are also the middle strata and the peasants. At the same time the

*Zeitung vom Letzeburger Vollek, April 4, 1973. Extracts.

interests of big capitalist associations and banks, landlords and real-estate owners, including the owners of big building enterprises, are protected. There is a new considerable increase in rents.

This anti-social policy is accompanied by the intensification of the Right course in ideology. In particular the Christian-Social People's Party and its press have attuned to the "hard line" of the most reactionary elements in the imperialist camp.

The long-planned offensive on the state school has been launched through broad support and financing of the confessional private schools.

The same back-pedalling can be seen in the government's foreign policy.

During the consultations in preparations for the all-European security conference in Helsinki the Luxembourg representative put forward uncalled-for demands designed to sabotage peaceful co-operation in Europe. Unlike many other Western governments, our government did not utter a single word in protest against the mass murder of the Vietnamese civilian population by the U.S. air force. The CSPP paper *Luxemburger Wort* even tried to justify these barbarous crimes.

We welcome the fact that our government declared its readiness to improve relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and took definite steps in this direction. Especially welcome is the fact that our government has at last decided to recognize the German Democratic Republic.

However, at a time when strong spring winds of a European détente are blowing, our government follows in the wake of others and keeps looking back on the U.S. and NATO headquarters. It expresses readiness to take steps towards détente not by conviction, but reluctantly, under the impact of events, but, instead of constructively cooperating in implementing the peaceful coexistence policy, it gives a hand in organizing ideological warfare against the socialist countries.

The reactionary offensive of the government coalition is conducted in all directions. It is developed simultaneously in the social, cultural, political and international fields.

UNREST AMONG ALL STRATA OF WORKING PEOPLE

The policy of the present government coalition, geared to the interests of monopoly capitalist associations and bank concerns, comes up against growing resistance by the working strata.

Dissatisfaction is mounting at enterprises, among workers. The workers are indignant over labor speed-up and the unsatisfactory regulation of wages. They come out against a new draft on sickness insurance, against reduction in sickness benefits and the abolition

of free elections of representatives to the sickness insurance committees. The unrest at enterprises was reflected at trade union conferences (Luxembourg Workers' Association and Christian Trade Union League.) It is reflected at meetings of production councils, in protests over demands advanced by many workers.

Despite the sedatives offered by the government, resentment is growing also among the middle strata. The majority of them, especially the owners of small businesses and shops, fall victim to the plunder through taxes, rising costs and the arbitrariness of the state and local administration.

The peasants come out against price regulation within the EEC, which is damaging to agricultural producers.

Unrest is spreading in the intellectual community, among civil servants, teachers and students.

The reasons for their growing resistance are traceable, among other things, to the delay in revising the level of wages, infringement of the interests of small and middle officials, teachers, the government's agreement to increase salaries only for the higher-paid categories, to the inadequacy of credits, the chaos in the school system and the growing lack of prospects for the student youth.

The coalition government's bourgeois policy, oriented on securing the profits and maintaining the power positions of monopoly capital, adversely affects not only the position of the working class, but also that of other strata. This policy ever more sharply affects the interests of the overwhelming majority of working people in our country, both physical and mental workers.

TIME HAS COME FOR UNITED ACTION BY ALL PROGRESSIVES

In the course of developments prerequisites are arising for united action by the broad masses and their political and trade union organizations against the domination of monopoly capital and its government, above all against the Christian-Social People's Party which now more than ever before is the bulwark of all reactionary trends. But even among supporters of the government parties, especially among the youth, forces have appeared demanding social and democratic reforms. Cooperation has already started between Liberal, Socialist and Communist youth.

The idea of united action is gaining ground also in the trade unions. This is evidenced by the indignation in the Luxembourg Christian Trade Union League over the measures taken by the leadership against joint action. This is also evidenced, despite some difficulties, by the positive Communist-Socialist cooperation in the Luxembourg Workers' Association.

The Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party and the splitaway Social-Democratic Party have revised and redrafted their programs

in the course of numerous conferences and as a result of contacts with their supporters. The programs include progressive demands and objectives that may serve as the basis for joint action by all left movements, including our Party.

Regrettably, the programs do not define correct ways and means of achieving progressive demands.

The SDP persists in its anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, which, as is known, it used as a justification for its split from the Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party. By its negative attitude to joint action it ranges itself alongside the Christian-Social People's Party.

The LSWP has chosen to go it alone. It is no longer as sharp in rejecting cooperation with the Communists as before, but it confines itself to cooperation only in cases when "it is impossible to act otherwise," i.e., it confines itself in the prevailing circumstances to cooperation with Communists in different communes. It lacks political vision and a clear understanding of the need for Left unity against the CSPP and reaction.

That the SDP has openly broken with Marxism and thrown it overboard and that the LSWP has tacitly renounced Marxist principles in its program is not yet the main obstacle to joint action against reaction and monopoly capital.

Communists and heirs to the Socialists' Marxist traditions, Marxist-Leninist theory and scientific dialectical and historical materialism, give their knowledge and experience to make timely and correct appraisals of the alignment of forces and the development trend, to show to the working people correct paths and aims and to mobilize them for achieving these aims. But this knowledge and adherence to Marxism-Leninism does not automatically create unity against big capital reaction.

In the trade unions and communes where Communists cooperate with Socialists they prove that they are honest and considerate partners and that such cooperation yields positive results for the working class.

Of decisive importance is the cooperation of progressive parties, organizations and individuals on the basis of jointly agreed demands, bills and objectives that conform to the interests of social and democratic progress and can become a basis for a new government and a new, progressive government policy.

PROTECTING THE STANDARD OF LIVING—ENSURING SOCIAL PROGRESS

This section deals with the tasks of struggle for higher living standards, for a democratic revision of legislation on taxes, for environmental protection, progressive reforms in school education, broader rights for production councils at the enterprises.

FOR DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS

This section defines the task facing progressive parties and organizations—to fight in common against the systematic attempts of reaction to curtail the legislative powers of the House of Representatives.

The concluding part reads: "Differences in the progressive people's camp over the nature of the EEC are not an obstacle to cooperation among progressives and their organizations for social and democratic goals." The EEC is an anti-democratic institution, an association of big trusts and finance magnates. The EEC decrees and directives are damaging to the broad masses and jeopardize the sovereignty of peoples, including the people of Luxembourg. The Communist Party calls for a joint struggle against the anti-popular measures of the EEC, for securing the rights of the peoples within the EEC.

IMPLEMENT PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Our people, more than others, are interested in safeguarding peace in Europe and throughout the world, in détente and peaceful coexistence among the peoples and states of Europe belonging to different economic systems.

The reactionary forces of our country, adhering to Right-wing positions, strive to perpetuate the cold-war and are using all means to oppose the desire for détente. They make common cause with U.S. militarism, the NATO generals and the reactionaries in the Federal Republic.

The progressives in our country, whose numbers are growing must act jointly for a foreign policy that would consistently uphold détente and good-neighborly friendly relations with all peoples, with the socialist countries and their peoples.

The policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states aimed at achieving peace and peaceful coexistence on the basis of recognition of the existing boundaries formalized by the treaties renouncing the threat or use of force, on the basis of non-interference in the internal affairs of states, and at establishing friendly economic, political and cultural relations on a mutually advantageous basis, is scoring ever greater successes.

Events testify that with the support of the peoples wars can be prevented and peace can be preserved, despite all differences in the social systems and world outlooks.

This gives rise to favorable conditions for a new regulation and consolidation of the independence of our state, for a peaceful, democratic and progressive social development of our people and also for eliminating the dangerous and costly military obligations towards NATO.

COMMUNISTS ARE PREPARED TO COOPERATE

This section reads in part: "The unity of all progressive national forces in the struggle to accomplish these aims is an imperative demand of the times and accords with the fundamental interests of our people as a whole.

"The Communists are prepared to cooperate loyally and honestly with all who, in spite of all differences in world outlooks, are aspiring to progressive socio-economic changes. . . . Communists do not pursue egoistic Party goals, they do not seek to damage their partners. They are not post-seekers and political speculators. They are undeviatingly working for the cause, for the realization of their program. They have always stood by these principles and notably with regard to alliances in the Left-dominated commune administrations of the South.

TO EFFECT REAL CHANGES IN LUXEMBOURG

The question now is not of establishing a socialist economic system, but of carrying out progressive social and democratic reforms, measures to restrict the power of the monopolies in the interests of the working people, reforms that will provide a constructive and progressive solution to the burning problems and open the way to a socialist repatterning of relations.

The Communists are true to their great political goal of replacing the corrupt and rotten capitalist system with socialism also here, in our country.

Socialism as an economic system and a new social structure is characterized by the transfer of the privately owned key means of production and big factories to public ownership, by economic planning meeting the vital interests of the people, by measures the way for which is paved by the transfer of power in the economy and the state to the working class and its allies among other strata of the people.

Socialism is the best economic system and the best political system. It completely abolishes the exploitation of man by man, arbitrary rule, plunder for profits and the domination of finance magnates. It is more productive and serves solely the social, democratic and cultural upswing of working people. It is secured through the domination of working people in the state and the economy.

Socialism has long since become a reality in the socialist countries, first of all, in the Soviet Union. The fact that the Soviet Union has attained the level of a world power whose importance is growing ever more decisive, that it is characterized by steady progress in improving the well-being of the people and advancing real democracy for the masses, that it has become a bulwark of peace — all this has been made possible by the socialist system.

The socialist system will be established also in Luxembourg, generally in all Western Europe. The economic conditions are there already. We are living in an era of radical social transformations, transition to a new socialist social system that guarantees a new and better future for people.

The realization of socialism is the cause of the people. Socialist transformations will be brought to reality only if the majority of our working people support them. The construction of socialism is not therefore the cause of one party. It requires the cooperation of different organizations and forces working for progress and the uplift of the working people. It is an honor and duty for the Communists to stand at the head of the struggle for socialist changes in our country.

We can advance towards the socialist refashioning of relations through struggle for progressive social and democratic reforms. This struggle against monopoly capital and reaction, in defense of the living standards of the people and for full democratic rights is creating conditions for a real alteration of the alignment of political forces that will make it possible to carry out social changes in accordance with the will of the masses.

The dictate of the times is unity of the working people, their parties and organizations, above all Socialists and Communists, in the common struggle for the social and democratic upsurge of our working people.

Communists realize that unity depends in large measure on the strengthening of the Communist Party, the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. This is why they regard it as their most important task to recruit large numbers of new members, to strengthen the Party organizationally and ideologically and steadily enhance its influence among the broad masses.

True to their militant traditions, the Communists will continue to fulfil this task enthusiastically.

IN BRIEF

BULGARIA

In March and April, the Bulgarian Communist Party held zone theoretical conferences which discussed ways and means of improving Party organizational work.

In carrying out the decisions of the 10th Party Congress, district committees and local branches have done much to enhance the Party's organizational and leading role in all spheres of social and economic life and promoted an atmosphere of creative quest

within the Party. They have improved their methods of work, study events more deeply and use and analyze Party information more attentively. All this helps Party organizations in rallying the masses for the successful fulfilment of the production targets of the sixth five-year plan and in the Communist education of working people in the towns and villages.

CHILE

At the end of April the CC CP of Chile resolved to hold the 15th Party Congress from November 25 to December 1, 1973. It proposed the following agenda for the congress: (1) CC CPC report, (2) Amendments to the Party Rules, and (3) Election of the new CC.

Meetings of branch organizations preparatory to the congress will take place from July 1 to September 15; local committees will meet from early September to October 21 and regional committee conferences, from October 2 to November 18.

The CC decision stresses that all these meetings should be closely linked up with the struggle of the masses and fulfilment of the political tasks involved in carrying the Chilean revolution through to final victory.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On April 29, the conferences of the CPC completed their deliberations throughout the country. They summed up the results achieved by district organizations in the two years since the 14th Party Congress and specified the main tasks in every field, to be carried out by the time the 15th Congress meets. CC CPC delegations including delegations led by CC General Secretary Gustav Husak, took part in all conferences. The conferences again showed the Party's ideological, political and organizational unity in putting into practice decisions of the 14th Congress and subsequent plenary meetings of the CC. Speakers pointed to the growing activity of Party members and organizations in socialist building and the Party's increasing prestige among the millions of Czechoslovak working people.

DENMARK

A two-day conference of the Copenhagen Communist Party organization ended there on April 8.

It adopted a statement denouncing the Danish government's economic policy, which is depressing the people's living standard. Copenhagen Communists also called for the recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and denounced further U.S. interference in Indochina.

The 30th Congress of Denmark's Young Communist League, April 20-21, was attended by 350 delegates and guests. The League's chairman, Jorn Christensen, noted the "organizational, political and ideological consolidation" of the YCL since its previous congress, and stressed continued cooperation and unity with the Communist Party. The Congress defined the tasks of the League for the coming period and adopted solidarity resolutions and resolutions in support of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

Fourteen Danish youth organizations representing more than one million young people have formed a joint committee to prepare for the Tenth World Youth Festival in Berlin.

DRV

A congress of the Ho Chi Minh Young Workers' League was held in Hanoi May 10-12. In a message of greetings to its 500 delegates, DRV President Ton Duc Tang wished them and all the young people of Vietnam "new and glorious successes in work and studies, in building socialism and strengthening our country." The main report was made by Wu Quang, First Secretary of the League. Minister Xan Thu, Secretary of the CC of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, told the congress of the diplomatic struggle for carrying out the Paris agreements on restoring peace in Vietnam, while General Le Quang Dao spoke of the successes of the People's Army over the past years.

Delegates spoke of the heroism displayed by young people during the barbarous bombings by U.S. aircraft and of the new tasks facing them. A decision passed by the congress assures the Working People's Party that the young generation will always work, fight and live in the spirit of Ho Chi Minh's precepts.

FINLAND

The 10th Congress of the Democratic People's Union of Finland, held in Pori April 14-15, was attended by 245 delegates. The Union's Vice-Chairman A. L. Tiekso reported on the home and international situation. The Congress also discussed the objectives of the Union in the 70s and adopted a pertinent resolution. Dr. Ele Alenius was re-elected chairman, and Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the CP of Finland, and A. L. Tiekso, were elected deputy chairmen. Aimo Haapanen was re-elected General Secretary of the Union.

In Kuopio 1,100 delegates representing a membership of over 45,000, gathered at the 10th Congress of Finland's Democratic Youth League on April 20-22 to discuss topical problems of the country's youth movement. The Congress unanimously adopted a new program and a series of resolutions, including an appeal for

active participation in the Tenth World Youth Festival in Berlin. A 39-member Central Board was elected, with Pekka Saarnio as its chairman.

The inaugural congress of a new workers' party, named the Socialist Workers' Party, convened in Mikkeli on May 5-6. The congress adopted the Rules and program documents of the Party.

The Party's statement on foreign policy, endorsed by the Congress, welcomed détente in foreign relations and expressed hope that the multilateral preparatory consultations in Helsinki would culminate in the early convocation of the all-European security and cooperation conference. The Congress called on the peace-loving forces to work for a dependable and lasting peace in Vietnam, and supported solution of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the UN Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967.

The SWP, the statement says, hails the Soviet Union as the world's first state of working people and the leading peace force. It identified itself with the anti-imperialist struggle of the world socialist system, the national liberation movement and the workers' struggle in the capitalist countries. The Party is emphatically against Finland's involvement in the Common Market sphere of influence and declared for more extensive economic cooperation between Finland and the socialist countries.

The congress elected the Party's leading committees.

Paivan Uutiset was confirmed as the Party's newspaper.

FRANCE

An international conference for the liberation of the Saigon regime's political prisoners was held in Paris, April 12-14. It was sponsored by organizations of the Vietnamese living in France. It was attended by French, U.S., Swiss, Italian, Japanese, Finnish and British organizations championing a lasting peace in Vietnam.

FRG

The annual Party Group Organizer Day was held in Bottrop, April 8 by the Ruhr-Westphalian Regional Organization of the GCP. At the conference and in working sections, the 420 Party cell leaders discussed the membership's current tasks and compared notes on the campaign to reinforce the Party. The motto of the event was "the group's primary task is to win more members for the Party and more readers for *Unsere Zeit*."

GREAT BRITAIN

The 29th Congress of the Young Communist League was held

April 14-16 at Scarborough. It was attended by 255 delegates representing a membership of 2,500. The main report was made by YCL General Secretary Tom Bell. The Congress's main resolution, "Young people and the mass struggle to return a Labor government committed to left policies," defines the priority demands of the nation's progressive youth: an end to youth unemployment; maintenance of apprentice quotas, an expansion of trade training, etc. The Congress set the goal of 4,000 members by the end of the year and of building up a strong and united youth and students' movement. A special resolution calls for better work at schools and in industry. The Congress made some changes in the YCL Rules and passed resolutions on participation in the May Day celebrations, continued support for the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Northern Ireland and South Africa, more energetic YCL campaigning against racism, and solidarity with Greek students. The Congress came out against British membership of the Common Market and called for a European security conference at an early date.

GUINEA

An international youth conference for concrete solidarity with African liberation movements was held April 22-24 in Conakry. Sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, it was attended by representatives of all African liberation movements and delegates from many European, Asian and Latin American youth organizations.

The conference discussed in detail the ways and means of stepping up the struggle and supporting African liberation movements. In particular, it recommended a series of measures aimed at making the First All-African Youth Festival, being held in July in Tunis, and the 10th World Youth Festival to be held in Berlin, powerful demonstrations of solidarity with the African peoples' fight against Portuguese colonialism, racism and apartheid. The conference also recommended the holding of a "youth action week in support of African liberation movements," dispatching international teams and specialists to the liberated areas of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), and making use of all available propaganda and information means in support of the fighters and movements against colonialism in Africa.

ISRAEL

The Tenth Congress of Israel's Young Communist League, held in Tel-Aviv in the middle of April, heard, discussed and approved the report and theses of the YCL Central Committee on the period since the previous Congress (April 1968). The report noted, among

other things, that the League's membership had doubled in the past five years, that its activity had been more lively, and that the League continues to be the young guard of the Communist Party of Israel. In its resolutions, Congress defined the tasks of the League for the coming period, demanded the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories, and called for an end to discrimination and persecution of the Arab population.

ITALY

A National Conference of the Italian Communist Party in Rome, March 31 - April 1, discussed the issues of freedom of the press and information. Enrico Berlinguer, ICP General Secretary, noted that mass information media were playing so prominent a role in moulding public opinion that their democratic use, content and policy have become decisive for safeguarding freedom and developing democracy.

The Conference noted that the struggle for a radical democratic reform of the press, radio, television and other information media is part of the struggle by Left and democratic forces for the country's social progress.

Many top leaders of the ICP took part in the conference.

JAPAN

The People's Party of Okinawa (PPO) has resolved to join the Communist Party of Japan. All 400 delegates to the PPO's 17th Congress (Naha, Okinawa, April 14-15) voted unanimously for this.

Founded in 1947, the PPO fought for the return of Okinawa to Japan, against U.S. bases on the island, for the working people's interests.

POLAND

Provisional organizations of the Polish United Workers' Party completed their biennial conference on April 13. Many of the conferences were attended by Edward Gierek, First Secretary, CC PUWP, and other members of the Party leadership. The conferences summed up the work of the respective organizations in the past two years and discussed ways of speeding implementation of the political-ideological and socio-economic program of the Sixth PUWP Congress.

Five Polish youth organizations with more than five million members merged in a Federation of Socialist Youth Leagues at a meeting in Warsaw on April 11. Stanislaw Ciosek was elected chairman of its Main Council. The Rules of the Federation and an

appeal to the Polish youth were adopted unanimously. The meeting was addressed by a PUWP delegation headed by Edward Babiuch, Member of the Political Bureau and CC Secretary of the Party, representatives of the State Council and the government, and delegations from fraternal socialist countries. Receiving members of the Federation's Main Council, Edward Gierek, First Secretary CC PUWP, said that the Party leadership welcomed the founding of the Federation, and assured it of the Party's aid and support.

SWEDEN

The Communist Youth League held its 30th Congress in Goteborg, April 20-23. It was attended by 405 delegates. The Congress discussed and approved the "Program of a Socialist Alternative for Sweden" and the League's new Rules. It noted that League organizations had been reconstituted and strengthened over the past two years. The approved Rules state that the League is the youth organization of the Left Party — Communists of Sweden.

Bengt Karlsson was elected League Chairman. "We," he said in his closing remarks, "consider ourselves part of the Communist youth of the world and will do all in our power to make the Berlin Festival a manifestation of the fight of youth against imperialism, for solidarity and friendship."

YUGOSLAVIA

On May 10-11, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) held its Fourth Conference in Belgrade, which was attended by 418 delegates and guests. The delegates heard and discussed the LCY Presidium report on the Party's activity between the Second and the Fourth Conferences, a report of the LCY committee for statutory matters, a report of the Auditing Committee, and a report by S. Dolanc, Secretary of the LCY Presidium's Executive Bureau, on LCY activity in implementing the Action Program approved by the Second LCY Conference and the guidelines of the letter of the Chairman of the LCY and the LCY Presidium's Executive Bureau.

The conference was opened by S. Dolanc, who read out a message of greetings from Josip Broz Tito, LCY Chairman.

The League of Communists, J. Broz Tito stresses in his message, is closing its ranks as it fights to promote the decisive role of the working class in Yugoslav society. This helps to strengthen the working people's confidence in the LCY as the vanguard of the working class.

The conference approved the Presidium report and the reports of the committee for statutory matters and Auditing Committee. It adopted a resolution on the Party's tasks for the coming period.

The conference voted for re-electing Josip Broz Tito Chairman of the LCY at the coming Tenth Congress.

On May 11, the LCY Presidium re-elected S. Dolanc Secretary of LCY Presidium's Executive Bureau until the Tenth Party Congress.

PLENARY MEETINGS

POLITICAL SITUATION IN FRANCE AFTER PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

**REPORT BY GEORGÈS MARCHAIS, GENERAL SECRETARY
OF THE FCP, TO THE CC MEETING ON MARCH 28.**

Dear Friends,

For ten years the French Communist Party has fought unceasingly for a union of Left parties on the basis of a government program with an advanced social content, opening the way to socialism. Such a union was finally established at the end of last summer and for the first time we participated in the elections with such a program. Therefore we should appraise our achievements primarily on the basis of this new and important factor.

I. GENERAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTIONS

In the first round of voting the Left parties, which adopted a common program, obtained 10,004,250 votes in France (42.11 per cent of valid ballots). In the 1968 elections these same parties polled only 8,115,082 votes in the first round (36.55 per cent), and 9,263,142 (41.47 per cent) in 1967. If we consider the 1965 presidential elections, we can say that in the first round the candidate of the Left polled 7,655,042 votes (32.04 per cent of valid ballots), while the 4,808,285 votes polled by Jacques Duclos and 1,133,222 votes polled by Gaston Defferre in 1969 together totalled 26.28 per cent of valid ballots. Thus the Parties that were now united on a common program have never in the recent past received so many votes either in absolute figures or in percentage. Besides, with the votes of the United Socialist Party and the votes gained by other candidates supporting the Left camp, the Left forces won a majority in 27 Departments and took a leading place in 39 more Depart-

*L'Humanite, March 30, 1973. Abridged.

ments, while the UDR, Giscard d'Estaing supporters and Centrists won a majority in only ten Departments and a leading position in only 17 Departments.

In the second round the Left parties polled almost 11 million votes (46.3 per cent of valid ballots). In general the regrouping of voters in support of the Left candidates, who received the highest number of votes in the first round and became united Left candidates in the second round, was satisfactory.

The majority which polled approximately 8,650,000 ballots lost a million votes (6.3 per cent) compared with 1968. It got a few more votes than in 1967, but in percentage it lost 1.3 per cent in spite of being joined by the Democracy and Progress Center, which in 1967 and 1968 was not in the majority. Compared with the presidential elections, the losses of the majority are even more pronounced — almost 2 million votes compared with 1965 and 1,400,000 compared with 1969.

As for the Reformers who polled under 3 million votes, they did not achieve the expected results. True, they fared better than in 1968, but with their 12.5 per cent of the vote they did not get their percentage of 1967. They are far behind Lecanuet's score in 1965 — 3,770,771 votes or 15.78 per cent — and still farther behind the score of Poher who obtained 5,268,613 votes or 23.31 per cent in 1969.

In short, the Right forces emerged from these elections considerably weakened, while the Left forces grew stronger.

However, these results should not be judged only quantitatively, arithmetically. Other factors should be borne in mind for a correct evaluation, in the first place — and this is an essential element — the stakes in the electoral struggle.

In this respect these parliamentary elections can be compared with no other elections.

For the first time ever, the people of France were to express their opinion on an advanced government program envisaging such profound economic, political and social reforms as the extension of the public and nationalized sector, democratization of national life enabling the citizens to participate in public affairs at all levels, wide-ranging social measures and a fundamentally new foreign policy.

Moreover, this consistently anti-capitalist program was clearly presented as a program for transition to socialism. The preamble to the common government program says: "Presenting a common government program, the French Communist Party and the Socialist Party realize that this is a political act of great importance. They state their common determination to put an end to the injustice and contradictions of the present regime. To achieve

this and open the way to socialism, deep-going changes are necessary in the political, economic and social life of France."

And, finally, the realization of this program implied Communist participation in the government on the basis of equality with our partners in our rights and duties.

On the other hand — and this is another basic factor in appraisal — the big bourgeoisie threw all its forces into the battle. It mobilized all economic, political and ideological means in order to remain in power.

It resorted to gross distortion and crass falsification of the common program and its aims, to unbridled anti-communism, bringing us 50 years back. In his statements the President of the Republic, who comported himself not as a head of state but as leader of a reactionary party, tried to artificially dramatize the political debate.

He used the bogey of disorders in an attempt to again create an atmosphere which was so favorable for the UDR in June 1968. At the same time, ignoring the elementary truth, reaction cried about the menace of the "dictatorship of parties" and a "return to the Fourth Republic" with its permanent government crises.

As never before, employers engaged in this struggle, including the enterprises. Acting through the leaders of the National Council of French Employers and the Association of Owners of Large French Enterprises and also personally influencing their workers and employees, the employers intensified their pressure to force them to vote against the common program. Parallel with this, attempts were made to cause financial panic in order to justify the flight of speculative capital.

Besides, if up to the present the big bourgeoisie kept the reforms in reserve, this time, after the first round, it was forced to bring them in on the side of the majority to save the latter. Thus, Lecanuet, Abelin and Servan-Schreiber tried to make up for the losses of the majority, although earlier they swore they would do nothing. This is fresh confirmation of the fact that there is no room in France for the so-called "third force." Thus, the leaders of reformers, deceiving those of their voters who saw in them an opposition force, even a force striving for change, stood exposed as docile helpers of the Right.

The fact that in these conditions 11 million voters declared in favor of decisive political changes as proposed by the parties of the united Left forces, is of tremendous political significance. This is actually the most important fact of the elections, a completely new basis for the continuation of the democratic struggle.

To make a correct appraisal it is necessary to keep in mind the three following considerations:

First, we had only six months to acquaint voters with the com-

mon program and to get their approval and support. This was accomplished in difficult conditions. We do not have big information media at our disposal. While the criticisms and falsifications of ministers and Right leaders were given much publicity by the radio and TV, we were actually denied access to these media. Even on the eve of the second round the Left parties were denied the right to express their views on TV, while the President of the Republic appeared on numerous occasions. Besides, in most cases newspapers and magazines campaigned against the common program.

Second, certain political forces claiming allegiance to the Left, did not support the common program. Until the last moment the United Socialist Party did more to criticize the program than to explain its implications for the people of France. As for the Leftist elements, they concentrated on denigrating the common program and combating the union of the Left parties around the common program. Once again, they rendered a service to the bourgeoisie.

Third, by far not all the organizations representing the people of France interested in the changes envisaged by the common program, were equally active in the campaign to secure the success of the Left. If the General Confederation of Labor from the very start did all it could to win the working people's support for the common program, the French Democratic Confederation of Labor criticized the program, though in the end it called for voting in favor of the Left. The National Federation of Workers in Education did not support the program and the General Confederation of Cadres openly opposed it. We recall all these facts not for the sake of polemics but because these are the real facts which impeded the unification of all democratic forces, while the bourgeoisie concentrated all its forces to fight the common program. As far as we are concerned, we still believe it desirable and possible for all the democratic forces interested in a real change of the regime and policy to fight in common on the basis of common interests, mutual respect, equal rights and duties, at the same time maintaining their identity and independence. We shall continue and reinforce our efforts for this union to include the forces involved in the struggle for the success of the common program.

What conclusion can be drawn from this general analysis? At the 20th Congress we said that these elections would be an extremely important stage. And so this first large-scale political battle for the common program signified an important step forward. The elections have created a new situation opening rich prospects, which is attested to by all commentaries. The anxiety expressed in the statements by the majority leaders and in articles in the reactionary press is due to the fact that the elections failed to solve

any of the problems and, moreover, the big bourgeoisie emerged considerably weakened, while the democratic forces, having reinforced their positions in the country and in Parliament, are now in a better position than ever before to enter a new stage in the struggle for the social and democratic renovation of France.

V. OUR WORK IN THE COMING PERIOD

What are the main aspects of our immediate activities?

The following three features characterize the post-election political situation:

- there is a desire for change in the country;
- as a result of the Parliamentary elections the Left forces have grown stronger;
- the ruling coalition, on the contrary, has become markedly weaker.

The government will, therefore, be forced, to a certain extent and demagogically, to reckon with the desire for change and to make certain concessions. But it cannot give a positive answer to all pressing demands. Its policy will essentially remain unchanged.

The international monetary crisis is growing more acute and, as we said before the elections, the French government, acceding more and more to Nixon's demands, is aggravating the country's economic difficulties.

Prices are again climbing rapidly and the deterioration of living and working conditions will continue.

The fight started by lycee and college students for reintroduction of the military service deferment is indicative of the dissatisfaction immediately following the elections. This struggle conducted with responsibility and with the support of all democratic organizations is an integral part of the action for better conditions in schools and against social segregation in education.

In general, the struggle must be developed in all spheres in order to force the government to satisfy the greatest possible number of demands advanced in the common program, particularly those demands which the Right coalition demagogically included in its electoral pledges.

The prime task is to support and organize actions for the immediate satisfaction of the most urgent demands of the people.

The Communists will occupy a worthy place in the popular struggle for the achievement of a maximum of the social objectives contained in the common program. In each individual case they will strive to lend to this struggle a mass character, which is indispensable for its success.

At the same time, however, and in the spirit of which I have just

spoken, they will display maximum initiative and courage in determining the forms of action that would correspond to the fighting spirit of the working people and turn to account the present opportunities and conditions of the social struggle.

Naturally, Communists will first of all support the struggle for demands at enterprises, offices, stores and educational establishments.

In the present conditions, however, more attention should be given to organization of the struggle for the people's main demands: the right to low-rent apartments, better living conditions and improved transport facilities, meeting requirements in school education, lowering taxes, democratization of TV information, the right to vote at 18 years of age and introduction of a proportional system of elections.

In these and all other fields popular, mobilizing slogans should be formulated.

Our parliamentary group, now considerably reinforced, will, naturally, participate more effectively in this struggle to improve the living standards of the ordinary people and to achieve the tasks approved by our voters.

On the other hand, we must continue to multiply our efforts to improve the work of the municipalities, to make them more responsive to the concerns and aspirations of the population, to ensure the greatest possible social effect in their work under the present conditions of administration, and to involve in this administration all those willing to participate in it.

And, finally, guided by the same desire for more effective work, the Communists will intensify their activities in mass organizations, which play a growing role and which can, as we have already noted, occupy a worthy place in the union to assure the triumph of the common program.

The second important task is to popularize the common program and our conception of France's transition to socialism, and to work for their approval.

The development of the struggle for the social objectives of the common program would naturally give the people a better understanding of it.

However, we must resume and give a new impulse to our political and ideological work in order to explain our policy of struggle for democracy and socialism and win its approval.

In this respect we face a dual task:

On the one hand, we must again start a nationwide discussion on the great topics forming the foundation of our policy and the common program, formulating them in a popular form.

On the other hand, we must carry out vast and diversified work

to explain to various segments of the working people in a more comprehensible and palpable manner just what they would gain from the transformations we propose. For this we must utilize to the best advantage all our forms of propaganda.

And, finally, the third main direction of our work is the development of the union.

As was mentioned earlier, the accord reached by the Left parties on the basis of the anti-capitalist common program opening the way to socialism, is a big step forward in our people's struggle. and this accord has already won the approval of 45 per cent of the people of France. This is a valuable achievement and a solid basis for the continuation of the struggle.

It should be realized, however, that the union is not irreversible. It is obvious that the present situation does not suit the big bourgeoisie and is undoubtedly a nightmare for it.

For this reason the bourgeoisie will maneuver. As a matter of fact, it does not make a secret of its intention to put pressure on the Socialist Party, on the Socialists in the attempt to force them to go back on their commitments.

We must watch these maneuvers all the more closely because their underlying idea is to reduce the role of our Party to that of a secondary force. On the other hand, Edmund Maire, under the pretext of uniting supporters of "self-governing" socialism and opposing them to the supporters of some sort of "centralized" socialism, is actually trying to divide the Left forces.

What should we do in this situation?

We must continue our efforts to reinforce and consolidate the union between the Communist and Socialist parties and the Left radicals, to develop joint action in Parliament and throughout the country on all possible issues.

However, there can be no question of subordinating mass action to the accord among other Left organizations. We should not forget that a decisive factor is the development of unity at grass roots, organization of concerted action by the working people, the establishment of a broad and powerful popular union which is our aim more than ever before.

To achieve this, it is obviously necessary to give broader scope and a thoroughly elaborated and more effective orientation to our ideological, political and organizational work among all the exploited.

There are important groups of working people, including workers, whom we practically do not reach. In other words, our propaganda and the message of our Party do not reach them. They hear of our Party and its policy only from the adversary, on the radio and TV, or read about it in their papers.

We have lately made certain efforts at enterprises, especially the larger ones, and achieved some results. Our cells at enterprises often took an active part in the election campaigns. And now, relying on what has already been done, we must do still more. We should not conceal the fact that there are still large enterprises in the state and private sector where Party work is weak or is not conducted at all, where Communists are active only in the trade union branch, where they do not carry on political and ideological struggle. Yet it is precisely among the workers of these enterprises, notably the most exploited of them, the specialized workers, that there are many men and women who tomorrow could give indispensable support to our struggle.

There are also workers in numerous small and middle-sized establishments where we have no cells, where often trade unions are non-existent and which are sometimes located in areas where the Party is not particularly active or is not represented at all. We can no longer leave out of the union of popular forces the five, ten or even twenty workers of some small enterprise whose political isolation is used to advantage by the forces of reaction.

There are also many workers in trade and the services, in what is generally called the service sphere (though this is not quite correct). True, there are examples of good Party work in this sector, including organizational work, but the most important work still lies ahead. In most of the cities, for example, we embrace few or no workers at all at large department stores and still fewer assistants and employees of small establishments with reduced staffs, even though there are great numbers of them. Yet they are most brutally exploited and are forced to work at ungrateful, monotonous jobs, often holding out no prospects for them. Theirs is not the work of a specialized worker at a conveyor belt, but their work days extend through their life just like a never-ending conveyor belt. We should make greater efforts to address these working people who are particularly susceptible to reformist ideology.

You are well aware, comrades, that these are only examples meant to focus attention on the problems and give food for thought.

We think that in the same spirit we should more consistently give attention to a factor of which we have often spoken at our congresses and Central Committee plenums. This concerns the many social changes constantly taking place in our time and leading to serious consequences. I repeat that these changes are many and varied.

In many cities workers migrate from the center to the suburbs where living conditions are entirely different and where new problems arise. In some regions or parts of regions certain types of activity are declining, while new fields of activity are developing

with all the ensuing changes in the composition of the labor force. Again, these are only examples intended to recall the recommendations of the 19th Congress, and I quote: "During a comparatively short period of time important changes have occurred in the social composition of our country, in the structure of different social strata and the position of various sections of the population. An analysis of these transformations should rest on a principled basis . . . and a constant study and reflection, taking into consideration the evolution of social life." This is indeed indispensable so as here, too, not to leave the field to our adversary and all manner of reformist illusions. All too often, however, we appeal to the working people in general, in the abstract, not paying due attention to their real situation and their real problems.

In short, we must engage in a more responsible kind of work in "all directions," first and foremost among the wage and salary earners, who, I repeat, comprise about 80 per cent of the active population, that is, about 16 million men and women. While not neglecting other social strata, notably the peasants, it should be said that it is precisely among the wage and salary earners that we find the main forces that should be united in order to form a victorious majority.

Essentially, it is the France of factories and offices, laboratories and universities, working France of town and country that can and should be united to form a powerful majority for a new democracy. The success here depends primarily on the work of the Party and its improvement in all areas. After all, our constant efforts to consolidate and broaden the union cannot and should not in any case lead to a relaxation of the work of our organizations.

VI. THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

Everything confirms the idea which we have never ceased to emphasize—success in the struggle of the working-class and democratic forces, the maintenance and progress of the union, formation of a movement of the majority of our people capable of leading our country along a new path, depend on the growth of the influence and action of our Party.

When we say this, we do so not in Party interests but in the interests of the workers' and democratic forces, in the interests of our people.

It is commonly recognized that our Party has played a decisive role in the formation of the union of the Left parties on the basis of an advanced common program. It has devoted and will continue to devote all its forces to ensuring the support of this program by

the majority of our people to make it a reality in our country. The union is the foundation of our Party's policy.

This means that the strength and influence of the Communist Party are the best guarantee for all those who wish to see this union maintained and grow stronger as it opposes reactionary maneuvering, for all who wish to see France advancing towards socialism along its own chosen road.

If the Left forces are to win a majority and be victorious and if a real change is to be effected in the country's policy, the Communist Party must grow stronger. It is necessary to win growing support for the main idea that there can be nothing really new in the country's political life unless the Communist Party is given a worthy place in the running of affairs in France.

The elections made it possible to take a step forward in this direction, but we must advance further.

All our forces must be brought into motion at this new stage of the struggle. We need still more forces in order to fulfil the tasks facing us.

In all spheres we must draw conclusions based on our analysis of the elections.

First of all, we must increase Party membership. The admission of many new members over the past months shows that there are still untapped opportunities for a more vigorous membership drive in France. We need this. There are also great opportunities for strengthening the Communist Youth organizations, and we must make use of them.

Our propaganda, which has improved greatly, must advance still further, be more responsible and diversified. It should be more closely aligned with the present political and ideological struggle mentioned earlier.

The principal weapon of our propaganda is *L'Humanite*. It has been proved lately that the circulation of our newspaper grows thanks to the efforts of the entire Party. And these efforts must continue and expand.

In the field of education the decisions of the 20th Congress should also be realized.

There are many comrades among us, men and women, who during the election campaign proved to be valuable activists, energetic, unbiased, showing initiative and competence. They should be more boldly entrusted with responsible tasks which they are fully prepared to fulfil. We must put an end to the doubts and hesitation still existing in appointing young people to Party work and to key posts.

In short, comrades, we must enter this new stage of our strug-

gle prepared to do everything to bring still nearer the moment of decisive successes.

The conditions of our struggle today have not been so favorable for a long time. A great deal now depends on us.

ON INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF CC CPSU TO IMPLEMENT DECISIONS OF 24TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY

**DECISION* OF PLENARY MEETING OF CPSU CENTRAL
COMMITTEE, ADOPTED ON APRIL 27, 1973**

Having heard and discussed L. I. Brezhnev's report on the international activities of the CPSU Central Committee to implement the decisions of the 24th Congress of the Party, the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, held April 26 and 27, 1973, wholly and entirely approves the work done by the Political Bureau to ensure a lasting peace the world over and reliable security for the Soviet people who are building communism, and notes the great personal contribution made by L. I. Brezhnev toward accomplishing these tasks.

The Plenary Meeting expresses full agreement with the analysis of the international situation made in the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and stresses the topicality of the tasks set in it in the field of the CPSU's international activities.

The active, constructive international policy of the CPSU, a policy which relies on the great strength and prestige of the Soviet state and the support of the entire people, is conducive to positive changes in the world situation. The positions of the fraternal socialist countries and their unity have grown stronger and the influence of their concerted policy on the course of international events increased, the principles of peaceful coexistence have won broad recognition as norms of relations between states with different social systems, and a turn from the cold war to the relaxation of tension is taking place. The imperialist aggression against Vietnam has been stopped.

At the same time the Plenary Meeting again calls attention to the need for constant vigilance and preparedness to give a rebuff

**Pravda*, April 28, 1973.

to any machinations by aggressive, reactionary circles of imperialism.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee instructs the Political Bureau to continue to follow undeviatingly the foreign policy course laid down by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, taking as a guide the propositions and conclusions of L. I. Brezhnev's report at the present Plenary Meeting, to fight for the full implementation of the Peace Program and to work so that favorable changes that have been achieved in the international situation will become irreversible. This will be largely facilitated by the continuation of direct top-level contacts between the leaders of our Party and state and representatives of other states.

The CPSU will do everything necessary to further consolidate the unity of the socialist states, to strengthen and extend all-round fraternal ties with them. Of special importance is improvement of economic cooperation with the CMEA countries, which at this stage calls for a maximum use of the possibilities of socialist economic integration, which will help further strengthen the economic and defense might of the socialist community.

The CPSU reaffirms the Soviet people's solidarity with the Vietnamese people and will promote in every way the establishment of peace in Indochina.

The CPSU Central Committee proceeds from the fact that prerequisites have taken shape for creating in Europe a dependable system of security and cooperation, which would become a living and rousing example of peaceful coexistence. In this connection the Plenary Meeting attaches fundamental importance to the successful holding of an all-European conference.

The Plenary Meeting approves the work that is being carried out to develop the Soviet Union's relations with states of a different social system on the principles of peaceful coexistence, holding this to be an important condition for broadening and consolidating the positive tendencies in world politics. The activation of the USSR's external economic, reciprocally advantageous ties with these countries and the utilization of new opportunities along this road will promote the consolidation of peace, and accords with the interests of our people.

The Plenary Meeting considers it necessary to continue to develop cooperation with the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America; it confirms the line of the CPSU towards supporting the legitimate rights of the Arab peoples in the struggle against the Israeli aggression, towards settling the Middle East conflict in accordance with the well-known UN Security Council resolution.

The Plenary Meeting notes with satisfaction the solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties and mass public movements with the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state in realizing the Peace Pro-

gram. As before, the CPSU will firmly conduct the socialist, Leninist course in the struggle against imperialism, in all its international policy, will support the peoples defending their right to independence and social progress. Consistently coming out for the political and ideological unity of the Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU Central Committee expresses readiness to take part together with the fraternal Parties in the realization of concrete initiatives directed towards this goal.

The Plenary Meeting stresses that the stubborn struggle of the leadership of the People's Republic of China against the unity of the socialist countries and the world Communist movement, against the efforts of the peace-loving states and peoples seeking a relaxation of international tensions, and Peking's anti-Soviet course injure the cause of peace and international socialism. The Plenary Meeting reiterates the resolve of our Party, in its relations with China, to continue to carry out the line of the 24th CPSU Congress.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee calls on the Communists, on all working people of the USSR, to lay a firm foundation by their dedicated labor in the third, decisive, year of the Five-Year Plan period, for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of all planned targets as defined by the 24th CPSU Congress, to achieve substantial growth of the efficiency of all branches of the national economy and higher quality of the products made.

By their selfless labor for the good of the Motherland, by their high consciousness, by rallying behind the Leninist Party, the Soviet people will make a new big contribution to ensuring the peace and social progress of mankind.

IN BRIEF

CHILE

A CP Central Committee plenum was held in Santiago March 28-29. It discussed a report by General Secretary Luis Corvalan analyzing the political situation in the country and the Party's tasks. Most of the debate on the report was devoted to the work of Communists in resolving urgent economic problems.

Resolute criticism was voiced against the provocative activities of extremist elements in the country. The plenum's work was summed up by Luis Corvalan.

A plenum of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Chile was held April 20 in Santiago to celebrate the Party's 40th anniversary. The session was attended by President Salvador Allende,

Central Committee members and foreign delegations invited for the occasion.

The leaders of foreign delegations delivered messages of greetings. The head of the CPSU delegation G. A. Zhukov, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, handed a message of greetings from the CC CPSU to the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Chile and presented a bas-relief of V. I. Lenin as a memento from the CPSU to Chilean Socialists.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A regular plenum of the CC CPC was held in Prague March 21. Voting on a motion of the CC Presidium put forward by General Secretary Gustav Husak, the plenum unanimously decided to recommend CC Presidium member Ludvik Svoboda for re-election for a new term as President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The plenum also discussed organizational questions. It elected CC member J. Baryl Secretary and member of the Secretariat of the CC CPC.

FINLAND

A plenum of the CC CPF was held on April 1 to mark the 25th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union.

The session was opened by CPF Chairman A. Saarinen.

Ville Pessi, Honorary Chairman of the CPF, stressed that "the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty is a fundamental document of Soviet-Finnish relations. Its importance, far from decreasing, increases as ties between our countries expand."

Honorary CPF Chairman Hertta Kuusinen noted that the Soviet-Finnish Treaty had served to enhance Finland's international prestige.

In a unanimously adopted message of greetings to the CC CPSU, the participants in the Plenum declared, in part:

"Finnish Communists will continue to promote the development of friendly relations and cooperation between our countries and peoples as resolutely as 25 years ago and fight against the extreme-Right forces seeking, notably through the agreement with the EEC, to alter the foreign policy line which has brought our people such great results."

A regular plenum of the CC CPF was also held on April 1 to discuss urgent domestic political problems in the light of a report by Party Chairman Aarne Saarinen.

A. Saarinen informed the CC members of meetings between delegations of the CPSU and CPF held March 26-29 in Helsinki. A

resolution on the subject notes that the comradely and frank talks and the exchange of views on urgent problems faced by both parties, the political situation in their countries, and the joint struggle against imperialism were extremely fruitful.*

The CPF attaches special significance to cooperation with the CPSU, which has a vast experience in implementing the principles of Marxism-Leninism, strengthening the ranks and unity of the international Communist movement, and in building a socialist and communist society. The CPF especially values the expansion and deepening of cooperation and solidarity between the CPSU and the CPF based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

FRANCE

A plenum of the CC, French Communist Party was held in Paris March 28-29, at which FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais reported on "Political Situation in France After the Parliamentary Elections" (excerpts from the report see elsewhere in this issue.—Ed.)

Political Bureau member and CC Secretary Andre Vieuget informed the plenum that during the recent 1973 card exchange drive more than 39,000 new members joined the Party (38,119 new members joined during the whole of 1971).

On April 6, the Political Bureau of the FCP discussed the main aspects of the political situation in France. In its statement it declares that the workers' struggle, notably at the Renault factories, the actions of lycee and university students, and the political circumstances in which the new session of Parliament began, wholly confirm the analysis and conclusions of the latest CC plenum. It is now necessary, the statement goes on, for all Party branches to carry out detailed discussions on the basis of that plenum's work.

FRG

The Seventh Plenum of the Board of the GCP was held March 10-11 in Duesseldorf. A report, "To Uphold the Interests of the Working Class and Strengthen the GCP with the Help of the Daily Newspaper *Unsere Zeit*," was made by Georg Polikeit, member of the GCP Presidium and Chief Editor of *Unsere Zeit*. Endorsing the report, the Board decided to launch *Unsere Zeit* as a daily in the autumn of 1973. A published communique states that the newspaper will be the only one in the FRG consistently coming out on the side of all working people and supplying information indepen-

*The communique on these meetings was printed in the previous issue of the Information Bulletin.—Ed.

dent of big business; it will be poles apart from the means of manipulating public opinion in the hands of the ruling class. This, it is further stressed, is in the best interests of all socialists and all democrats in the FRG. The Board addressed an appeal to the democratic public and all GCP members to actively support the newspaper.

In a report at the plenum, Presidium member Hermann Gautier noted that the political situation in the FRG was characterized by an aggravation of the class struggle. The speaker sharply criticized the government's policies, pointing out that the Social-Democratic leadership was seeking to strengthen the rule of big capital aimed against the interests of the people. The Presidium report re-emphasizes that the all-round strengthening of the GCP and expansion of its influence is fundamental for changing the balance of forces in the FRG in favor of the working class.

Speaking on behalf of the Presidium, Deputy GCP Chairman Herbert Mies sharply denounced the purposeful actions of the FRG ruling classes aimed against the normalization of relations with the GDR. He demanded immediate ratification by the Bundestag of the treaty on the basic principles of relations between the FRG and the GDR.

Eighteen persons took part in the debate. The Plenum unanimously endorsed the Presidium's report. In conclusion, GCP Chairman Kurt Bachmann summed up the Plenum's work as a new and important step in the development of the Party.

On March 30, the newspaper *Unsere Zeit* published a decision by the GCP Presidium to set up a Commission on Constitutional Problems under Honorary GCP Chairman Max Reimann and Presidium member Jupp Angenfort. The GCP notes that there is a widening and deepening gap between FRG constitutional law and its application. The GCP resolutely denounced the plans of the ruling classes aimed at further restricting democratic rights.

The issue of the newspaper also carries a statement by GCP Presidium member Hermann Gautier in connection with a declaration in the Bundestag by the Secretary of State of the Internal Affairs Ministry G. Baum, who alleged that the "GCP pursues anti-constitutional objectives." H. Gautier rejected these slanderous assertions and stressed that as a party of the working class the GCP consistently upholds the interests of the working people, the interests of the majority of the population. In spite of threats, the GCP will continue to pursue its policy.

HUNGARY

On April 18, an enlarged plenum of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was held in Budapest. It discussed international problems, some questions of domestic poli-

tics and a report on the implementation of the economic tasks defined by the November 1972 CC Plenum.

INDIA

A session of the National Council of the Communist Party of India was held March 29-April 1 in New Delhi.

The session hailed the results of the mass march to Parliament in Delhi in which more than half a million people took part and which was held under the slogan of struggle for far-reaching socio-economic change in the interests of the working people. It also expressed its profound gratitude to the 15 million persons who gave their name to the appeal to Parliament. The National Council of the CPI called upon the entire Party, all democratic mass organizations, all the working people, to go forward from this splendid success and step up the struggle against reaction, for a better life and for an India advancing to the left.

The session considered and adopted the report on "Political Developments Since the Last National Council Meeting and Our Tasks" and a number of resolutions: on the struggle of peasants and farm laborers for land; the takeover of wholesale trade in food-grains; the victory of the Vietnamese people; preparations for the world congress of peace forces; and the observation of "Organization Month."

The session noted a big increase in CPI membership of about 30,000 in 1973.

ITALY

A meeting of the Leadership of the Italian Communist Party held March 28 heard a report by General Secretary E. Berlinguer on the recent meetings in Moscow of delegations of the CPI and CPSU.* The ICP Leadership approved the delegation's activity and expressed satisfaction with the results of the meetings.

JAPAN

The 10th Plenum of the CC CP Japan was held in Tokyo April 8-9. A report on CPJ activity and the political situation was made by T. Fuwa, Chairman of the CC Secretariat.

MONGOLIA

The 5th Plenum of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was held April 16-17 in Ulan-Bator. It discussed questions

*A communique on the meetings was printed in the *Information Bulletin*, No. 6, 1973.—Ed.

of agricultural development and passed relevant resolutions.

The plenum was addressed by First Secretary CC MPRP, Y. Tsedenbal. Dwelling on international problems, he stressed, in part, the need for a resolute struggle against imperialist ideological subversion and for ceaseless exposure of the subversive activities of the Maoists, who are promoting a foreign policy of great-power chauvinism and would like to destroy the fraternal friendship between the peoples of socialist countries.

ECUADOR

Meeting in Guayaquil in early May, the CC CP of Ecuador discussed the domestic political situation and the convocation of the Ninth Party Congress. It resolved to set the congress for November 15-18, 1973.

FRG

The GCP Executive held a meeting in Duesseldorf, May 5-6. Party Chairman Kurt Bachmann hailed the coming visit to the FRG by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, member of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR. We will do our utmost, he said, to ensure that L. I. Brezhnev's visit contributes in important measure to good-neighbor relations between our two countries and constitutes a major event in the struggle for peace and security in Europe. It is in the best interest of the working class, youth and all working people to establish close relations with the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community.

Speaking at the meeting, Max Reimann, Honorary President of the GCP, a veteran of the German and international working-class movement, pointed out, for his part, that L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG will be an event of historic significance.

The GCP Executive approved a message of greetings to L. I. Brezhnev in view of his coming visit.

The Executive resolved to convoke the next Party congress in Hamburg, November 2-4.

Kurt Bachmann, speaking of preparations for the congress, said that the GCP must in collaboration with other democratic forces defeat reactionary attempts to prevent the FRG from continuing to advance along the road of normalization of relations with socialist countries and of peaceful coexistence. He said that the GCP would go on fighting against exploitation and rising prices, against monopoly attack on the working people's vital rights. He called for resistance to all attacks on the GCP and for steadfast maintenance of democratic rights and freedoms.

IRAQ

The CC of the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) met in plenary session in April.

The report submitted to and approved by the meeting deals with the international and the inner political situation.

The task facing the Arab liberation movement, the report says, is to establish a broad inter-Arab front of progressive forces. This task is closely linked with that of forming progressive fronts in each particular Arab country. The Arab liberation movement must carry deeper the progressive changes it brought about and safeguard Arab-Soviet friendship in the interest of the fight against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The meeting spoke highly of Soviet foreign policy and stressed the importance of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. It laid special emphasis on Soviet-Arab friendship. "The Soviet Union," it noted, "is a loyal ally of the Arab liberation movement and all progressive forces fighting against imperialism."

STATEMENTS, RESOLUTIONS AND SPEECHES

COMMUNIST WORK IN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT*

(BRAZIL)

The Executive Commission discussed progress made in the fulfillment of "Directives on Work in the Trade Unions," published in March 1972 ("Unite and Organize the Working Class to Isolate the Dictatorship"). Following are the main conclusions from this analysis to be discussed in all Party branches.

I. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND THEIR LESSONS

1. To give a correct appraisal of the employed forms of resistance to the dictatorship and its economic and financial policy, in particular its wage policy, it is necessary to take into account the existing conditions of exploitation, fascist repressions and terror.

The innumerable facts of 1972 confirm the anti-labor substance of the dictatorship's policy. Everything testifies to an unparalleled growth of the profits made by foreign and local monopolies. Incomes are increasingly concentrated in the hands of a small group of the privileged at the expense of the overwhelming majority of producers. While inflation is depressing the purchasing power of wages, the government, though agreeing to a wage regulation, does not allow it to be brought in line with the real growth of living costs. Ever more workers cannot find a job. Insecurity is growing, while those having a job are not guaranteed against its loss.

The government resorts to all means of suppression and intimidation to retain the situation intact. In fact, there has been no action of workers in support of their political and economic demands when government spokesmen did not resort to threats, make arrests or remove workers' leaders from trade unions, etc. The Minister of Labor went even to the length of declaring as "unpatriotic" the working people's struggle for the most elementary and just demands.

The dictatorship is conducting a broad propaganda campaign and effectuating a program of demagogic measures, such as the "Plan

*Document adopted by the CC Executive Commission, Brazilian Communist Party. Published in *Voz Operaria*, February 1973.

of Social Integration," aiming to deceive the working people, dampen their discontent and distract them from the struggle for their interests and rights. But their discontent and militancy are on the rise, even though the dictatorship is still in a position to pursue its policy of exploitation and terror.

All this means that the Party must closely watch the course of events, know the mood of the working people, maintain close contact with their struggle for partial demands and with their organizations, and play its vanguard role guided by the need to mobilize the main forces of the Brazilian proletariat and give a correct orientation to its joint actions.

2. The most significant landmarks of the trade union movement last year were union conferences and congresses. In all, there were 19 conferences and congresses on the state and national level. Their participants included organizations of urban and rural workers, civil servants, municipal and medical workers.

All conferences and congresses without exception had a distinctly class character. A novel aspect was the fact that most of the delegates were elected at trade union meetings, which testifies to the growing shift of the center of struggle for economic demands from the top leadership to the rank and file membership. Noteworthy was the unity around the most pressing demands. Exceptionally important was the adoption of resolutions in favor of unity as the basis for a higher level of joint action in defense of the workers' economic and political interests, as envisaged by the "Directives on Work in the Trade Unions." This success can be expected to lead to mass movements which, given correct orientation and leadership, can strengthen the united front against the dictatorship.

The conferences and congresses also adopted decisions in support of democracy and the agrarian reform and against imperialism. This is especially important in the present situation prevailing in Brazil.

3. Analyzing the development of the trade union movement in 1972, the following facts should be pointed out: the growing number of voters at major trade union elections; more radical programs of demands; during the struggle for higher wages to offset the high cost of living and for other demands attendance at meetings was more active than in previous years; the greater part of the workers refused to participate in the official May Day celebrations; some unions observed the May Day without tutelage on the part of the employers and the government; more and more people join urban and rural trade unions; the number of unions in towns is about 3,000 and in villages it exceeds one thousand; a sharp increase in the number of industrial accidents (1,500,000 in 1971) was re-

peatedly exposed; a greater number of complaints was sent to labor tribunals throughout the country; the struggle against unemployment, for fair payment of skilled labor, for the pension right for women after 25 years of service has gained in scope and become more massive.

Despite fascist repressions, the trade union movement has won some gains. Thus, the system of minimum wages was modified, the number of wage zones was reduced from 10 to 5, and the struggle went on for a uniform wage minimum throughout the country; victory was won in the struggle for normative wages which were introduced for adult workers by Decision No. 38 of the Supreme Labor Tribunal, preventing employers, through wage regulations in keeping with collective agreements, from dismissing workers and employing others at a minimum wage; some categories of workers won the lower limit of wages; five strikes were called to fight delays in the payment of wages.

The mobilization and organization of rural working people are growing. On May 25, the Day of Agricultural Workers, more than 4,000 agricultural workers and office employees held a big demonstration for an agrarian reform and other demands in one of the cities in the state of Minas Gerais. In various parts of the country the struggle is intensifying between posseiros and grileiros (owners of land having no legal title to it and those who appropriated land holdings on forged documents.—Ed.). Rural trade unions submitted over 200,000 complaints to labor tribunals. In the North and Northeast, more and more peasants take action, demanding jobs and bread. For their part, the colons of Transamazonia, who can no longer bear their appalling living and working conditions, are on the move. Preparations are going on under the leadership of the Confédération of Farmers for the National Congress of Rural Working People, set for May 1973.

The trade union movement launched some actions demanding freedom and autonomy for the unions. Solidarity with those affected by government meddling in trade union affairs (as in the case of the Confederation of Employees of Credit Institutions) became more effective. Speakers at union congresses, conferences and meetings and statements by union organizations criticize the fascist legislation and the policy of the dictatorship, which intrudes into the unions' activity in an effort to impede their work to educate and mobilize the working class and other working people and help them to fight for their rights and interests. Some federations and confederations took steps to have these problems discussed, which brought an angry reaction from the Ministry of Labor. The Ministry reaffirmed the dictatorship's directives on the trade union movement and insisted on "peace, order and harmony between employ-

ers and employees," saying that without this "the country's productive forces will be unable to supply the profit expected of them." It became evident that the dictatorship is out to shackle the trade union movement, so that the working people may be exploited still more and made to supply more profit. However, fewer and fewer people in the movement lend ear to the talk about "social peace."

In stressing these facts, we must not forget that the trade union movement still has serious shortcomings. The reason for most of these is that the movement has not yet struck deep roots in big industrial enterprises, where the country's proletariat is concentrating more and more, and that it lacks a solid backing among the masses. Numerous working people are still outside unions and few people work in union organizations on a permanent basis. Considering the fascist reign of terror and the serious legal curbs which have been imposed on the freedom of union activity for decades, as well as the economic, historical and social factors influencing the evolution of Brazilian society, it becomes obvious why the trade union movement has scored only small and limited gains in late years. However, the important thing for us is the actual state of the labor movement, specifically the real changes—slow but sure changes—in favor of organizing and uniting the working people to fight for their rights and interests, for social progress.

II. "DIRECTIVES ON WORK IN THE TRADE UNIONS": DISCUSSION AND IMPLEMENTATION

1. The "Directives on Work in the Trade Unions" were discussed at the level of leading bodies in all states and in the Federal District. In some states they were also discussed by a number of municipal Party committees. As for branch organizations, the "Directives" reached only a few of them.

In the course of discussion, the policy set out in the "Directives" was on the whole received with approval. The opinion was voiced that a document of this nature ought to have been drawn up much earlier. There were constructive criticisms that will be helpful in posing with greater precision and depth certain problems analyzed in the document.

Some headway was made in putting the "Directives" into practice. More comrades joined in the effort to implement our trade union tactics. Our work is coordinated and directed somewhat better than before. The Communists now play a bigger role in promoting the trade union movement and its unity of action. In other words, we are advancing in this highly important field of Party activity, discarding harmful methods of leadership and work such as spontaneity or an indiscriminate approach.

On the other hand, analysis revealed three shortcomings in our trade union work. First of all, most Party members still have an inadequate knowledge of the Party's policies, in particular with regard to educating, organizing, mobilizing and uniting the working class and the working people generally. Secondly, most Party members do not work in the trade unions. Thirdly, there are serious cases of incomprehension of problems, which makes unity of action difficult, tells on our activity and leads to big mistakes in this field of work.

Along with this, owing to the inadequacy of the Party's effort in the enterprises, our influence over the working class is still not strong enough, nor does it reach deep. We can achieve radical gains at an early date provided we really concentrate on strengthening the Party's standing in big enterprises.

To alter this state of affairs, it is indispensable that leading Party committees should understand the ideological content and political meaning of the line and tasks set out in the "Directives," do away with the serious shortcomings in question and help the Party to work properly in the unions.

2. The January 1972 resolution of the Central Committee stated the Party line in respect of work in the unions as follows:

"(a) Our activity must center in the enterprises (we must operate both inside them and from without) so as the better to organize the working people, strengthen their unity, step up their struggle, lay a durable groundwork for the trade union movement and extend the struggle against the dictatorship. A special effort should be made to achieve unity and to form and consolidate trade union commissions at work places.

"(b) Work in the trade union movement is the principal means of activating the labor movement. This work must from now on be aimed at organizing the struggle for the fundamental demands approved at trade union conferences and congresses. We must concentrate on organizing and intensifying the campaign against the dictatorship's policy on wages so as to mobilize the working people and develop their united action at all levels—in the enterprises, municipal districts and states and throughout the country."

The resolution stresses the need to help mass organizations in agitation and propaganda. Regarding our activity in the countryside, it says: "The Party should help to strengthen existing rural trade unions and to form unions where there are none as it campaigns for the application and extension of labor and social legislation in the countryside and for other demands, above all the demand for a radical agrarian reform. We must help in holding regional and national trade union congresses."

"In implementing this policy of the Central Committee," it says

in the 'Directives', "we must realize that the Communists' task is to work in the enterprises and labor unions and constantly to help the working people to formulate their pressing demands in precise terms, organize the campaign for these demands and select suitable methods of campaigning. In so doing, it would be wrong to impose recipes while operating outside and over the heads of the trade union movement. Only by taking into account the actual conditions in which the movement develops and by participating in it, in the solution of its problems and in its struggles, can we promote its strength and its progress, as well as pave the way for a more extensive struggle, revealing to the working people the political objectives they should strive for, including the assumption of state power by the working class."

Party organizations must not deal with these problems through formal or superficial discussion. These problems require deep study and constant updating according to developments. We must both study and proceed from them in our everyday Party work, in our revolutionary practice. Without this we cannot as vanguard promote the education, organization and unification of the working class so that it may play its role in isolating and defeating the dictatorship.

Working people's action in 1972 demonstrated the possibility of advancing in accordance with the perspective indicated by the Party. Constant, steadfast and effective struggle for our objectives will help us to muster forces, and will enable the working class to assume the leadership in the struggle to overthrow the country's reactionary, anti-labor and anti-national regime. By following this road, the Party will be able to build up its strength, increase its influence and train thousands of people who can lead the working-class movement as both trade union and political leaders having a sound theoretical background. To achieve this, however, it is not enough to pass resolutions—we must also work to carry them out.

3. Our activity in the trade unions improved somewhat in 1972, as has been said. However, we made—mostly in certain election campaigns — sectarian and "Leftist" mistakes which did serious harm to both working-class unity and the Party. The main reason for these mistakes was a lack of understanding of the permanent interests of the working class and the correct line of struggle outlined by the Party. These mistakes should lead us to the conclusion that we must continue to wage in our ranks, in the trade union movement and on the anti-dictatorial front an ideological struggle against petty-bourgeois "Leftist" and sectarian concepts and make people increasingly aware of the importance of unfolding a mass movement and of achieving unity of action of all the forces fighting for the immediate interests of the working class, against the dictatorship. Our biggest mistake was to take a stand leading to the

isolation of the Party, and to its dissociation from the working class and other working people.

Another mistake to be eliminated is that our activity in the trade union movement is not permanent and is confined almost entirely to participation in campaigns for higher pay. On the other hand, we must exercise more effective control over the activity of comrades working in the trade unions and help them in concrete fashion to solve the problems they come up against, since they are mostly young people lacking experience.

We wish to point here to the biggest shortcoming in our work which must be removed completely and at once. It is an aspect of the activity of the whole Party, from the leadership downwards, which consists in the fact that it is not the Party as a whole but only certain "experts" who concern themselves with fostering the political awareness of the working class, and with uniting and organizing the workers. We can no longer tolerate this serious shortcoming, which has deep theoretical roots, for it affects the very nature and role of the Party as the party of the Brazilian working class. All of us, from the CC and other higher Party committees downwards, must concentrate on activity serving the interests of the working class.

III. THE OUTLOOK FOR OUR WORK IN 1973

Our analysis of the state of the trade union movement and the summary we have made suggest that our main tasks in the trade union movement today are as follows:

1. Working in the trade unions in both town and countryside according to the decisions of union congresses and conferences. To this end, Communists should study these decisions.

2. Taking into account, at the next stage of our struggle, the following passage of the "Directives": "Concentrating on aid in holding representative union meetings to discuss problems of the working people and specific action plans at every enterprise and in every industry in support of this or that demand and for the execution of decisions of union congresses and conferences."

3. Doing our best to shift the emphasis in our union work to big enterprises, so that it may assume a mass character, contribute to organization and unity at grass roots and take place in a steady, autonomous and consistent manner. Only by leaning on mass action for support will we be able to overcome the reformist and paternalist trends still prevailing in the Brazilian trade union movement.

4. Imparting continuity to and improving our effort towards establishing closer links between trade union organizations by helping them to hold conferences and congresses, taking part in these and striving to ensure that delegates are elected at mass

meetings. In carrying on our work, we should bear in mind the congresses and conferences planned for this year and give proper attention to others which may be called in municipal districts or states or by professions.

5. Launching preparations for May Day. Last year the Executive Commission itself underestimated this task, which found reflection in *Voz Operaria*. The line in this respect is the same as last year: "Influencing and helping in preparations for May Day festivities. In present conditions, we must help in holding big trade union meetings without the tutelage of employers and without official interference." Where big meetings cannot be called, we should sponsor more modest ones. Failing to commemorate the date in any way is impermissible. We can begin with small things and then go on to large May Day demonstrations in the working people's interest.

6. Party organizations should discuss the issue of their participation in trade union elections well in advance. Our Party should ignore no union elections and should pay proper attention to elections in the biggest unions, as well as in federations and confederations.

7. Striving to extend legal and illegal agitation and propaganda among the workers. Above all else, we must help trade unions to improve the distribution of printed matter, which is likely to play a most useful part in educating, mobilizing and organizing the working people.

Following is also a list of tasks for Party organizations:

1. Discussing the "Directives" in all organizations which have not yet done so.

2. Each Party organization should make its own plan for work in the trade union movement. The plan should define the tasks for the organization to concentrate on.

3. Planning and carrying out specific steps to train people for work in the unions. Emphasis in our personnel and educational work should be laid on the training of a working-class cadre.

4. Designating in Party secretariats people responsible for work in the unions.

5. Setting up Party groups in the unions to coordinate Communist activity in them, mainly in the more important unions.

6. Encouraging Party members to study problems of the working class and the labor movement.

7. Each Party organization should sum up its union work and submit its key conclusions to the appropriate higher Party body.

SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY*

(MALAGASY REPUBLIC)

The Ramanantsoa government is confronted with a grievous economic situation, which is the result of the neo-colonialist course followed by the previous government for 14 years. This situation is aggravated by the openly hostile attitude of foreign companies, mostly French-owned, which still continue to hold the main economic levers.

The most convincing example of their attitude is the decision of the Maritime Conference of the Indian Ocean (an association of shipowners) as of February 19 to levy a 20 per cent surcharge on incoming or outgoing cargoes at Tamatave. Following the government's intervention the shipowners announced postponement of the measure until March 20. This decision will have a very drastic impact on the price index.

The frequent strikes at different enterprises in Tamatave do not facilitate the task of the government, which is trying to harmonize the Tamatave dockers' legitimate demands with the urgent need of quick unloading of 50,000 tons of rice imported from the People's Republic of China (10,000 tons were given as aid).

Recently there were dismissals at Tamatave enterprises, the motive of the employers being that they could no longer bear "the heavy burden of wage increases" as a result of the workers' struggles.

The vegetation period for rice, the staple food product, falls in October-April.

The climatic conditions, too, do not contribute to the improvement of the situation. In February and March there were six cyclones, causing human losses and inundating and burying in sand many rice fields. But the most grave aftermath was a disruption of rice supplies for the main centers, because roads and bridges were destroyed due to soil subsidence, cave-ins, etc. In some northern towns (Sambava, Andapa), such essentials as petrol, condensed milk, medicines, are in short supply. The question arises of the reasons for the shortages. Some say they are due to disruption of supplies, others say they are caused by sabotage . . .

Noteworthy, too, is the fact that student unrest has ended in the main and that classes quietly resumed in February. Only the university students have not yet returned to the campus.

*Extracts from the review of developments in the Malagasy Republic made by the National Bureau of the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar. Published in full in Party documents of March 8 and 15, 1973.

The public wants the recent measures introduced by the government to accelerate the normalization of the situation. Among these, the following should be noted:

—The government's decision on the monopoly of the state and its organs for paddy harvesting, distribution and sales;

—The decree on taking into custody persons violating the law or committing a crime against the security of the state.

Prior to the promulgation of the decree, the government issued an appeal to the people, signed on February 27 by the Minister of the Interior, in which it warned the instigators of the unrest: "The government can by rights show no hesitation and cut short provocations."

The report of March 6 of the arrest of two former ministers of the Social-Democrat government (Victor Miadana and Rene Rasidy) and several former deputies only confirms the view of observers that there is collusion between the leaders of the former regime and certain political and economic forces in France interested in keeping Madagascar economically dependent on the French monopolies, even to the detriment of the Malagasy people's aspirations to genuine independence and friendship between the two peoples.

In this situation the progressive and democratic forces of the country and the whole world should not for a moment relax their vigilance. They should also treat warily the information of some foreign press agencies (France-Press, Reuter), which count on the geographical remoteness of the island and the absence there of any other sources of information for the outside world. They play up most insignificant events in the effort to convince the public abroad that the Ramanantsoa government does not enjoy popular support. We know that during the incident in Diego-Suarez the French papers wrote about thousands of demonstrators, while the trustworthy observers counted only 500 of them. There were 100 demonstrators in Majunga, 70 in Antsohihy and 20 in Anahidrano.

Madagascar's democratic and progressive forces, the people as a whole are fighting a difficult battle to take the country out of imperialism's orbit and to advance towards economic independence. In this struggle they rely on the solidarity of all democrats and progressives across the world, in particular the democrats and people of France, to defeat all maneuvers and provocations of French and world imperialism.

INTENSIFICATION OF THE "ANTI-PARTY" CAMPAIGN

Today, as in the past, the same maneuvers are used to discredit political parties. Again we hear the time-worn arguments: "All political parties must be banned," "parties are the cause of clashes between tribes," "the parties represent nobody," "the parties cause

divisions," etc. (By way of example we refer to articles in the Catholic newspaper *Lumiere*.)

Use is made of the most specious methods — insults, defamation of party leaders. Certain elements are trying to induce members to leave the party, etc.

The Independence Congress Party of Madagascar (AKFM) denounces the maneuvers of imperialism's allies aimed at dissolution of the parties, at maintaining confusion and hesitation among the public, which would facilitate the attempts to prod people towards ill-advised acts conflicting with the national interests.

The AKFM declares again that there should be no denunciation of the parties as such and that their programs, principles and methods of struggle for the country's interests should serve as the criterion in their appraisal. All political parties as a whole cannot be held responsible for mistakes committed by one of them.

The priority task of the political parties is to train and prepare the masses so that every citizen should feel responsible for the situation in the country. Political parties are the means of rallying all the forces aspiring to progress, and not the tools of division and propaganda of hatred for the other parties, even if they unite people holding identical views and positions.

Thus, the AKFM denounces the position of some leaders of parties and organizations, who are concerned only with fomenting hatred among their supporters for all holding different positions. It again condemns personal attacks on political leaders and political assassinations.

The AKFM repeats its earlier statements, affirming that in the extremely difficult period the country is passing through it is imperative for the political parties to renounce mutual attacks, to explore in common the possibilities of working in a calm atmosphere with the purpose of consolidating our economic independence and laying its foundations, for the purpose of educating and informing the public.

This is why the AKFM attaches much importance to government statements recognizing the existence of parties and trade unions.

FOR A NEW MAJOR OFFENSIVE

STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL COMMISSION OF THE CC,
PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY, (MARCH 1973)

The Political situation is plainly developing in favor of the democratic forces and to the disadvantage of fascism and colonialism.

The fascist regime is rent by growing contradictions and difficulties. The democratic forces are becoming better organized and more active as they build up their unity. Both objective and subjective conditions hold the promise of a notable upsurge in the people's struggle, which can lead to big gains.

DEEPENING CRISIS OF FASCIST REGIME

The present situation has the following five essential characteristics:

1. A deteriorating economic situation due to the declining rate of development, the drop in agricultural production, the foreign trade deficit, colonial war expenditures and galloping inflation. The monopolies and their government put the burden of economic difficulties on the shoulders of the working class and other working people and middle strata. They freeze wages, step up exploitation, sharply increase the cost of living, intensify concentration in industry, trade and agriculture, make Portugal ever more subservient to foreign imperialism and speed the fusion of the state with monopoly in a single machinery. These policies, which enable the monopolies to continue securing big profits, make the working people's condition still more difficult, lead to greater unemployment and the ruin of small manufacturers, traders and farmers and involve the national economy in a severe crisis, all of which creates objective conditions for an intensification of the class struggle.

2. Growing internal isolation of the fascist government. The regime's social basis is shrinking as the state merges with monopoly. Caetano's ploy designed to extend the political basis of the government got him nowhere. A political opposition comprising diverse elements and centering on a program of effective liberalization measures is developing within the regime under the impact of internal antagonisms. Large groups of Catholics dissociate from fascism and colonialism. The Church refuses, if very hesitantly, to support without qualification every aspect of government policy. The ruling fascist camarilla is dwindling as its isolation increases.

3. Growing international isolation of Portuguese fascism. International developments (above all the end of the Vietnam war, the easing of international tensions, changes in favor of lasting security in Europe and the defeat of extreme reactionary forces in a number of countries) will compel the fascist government to readjust its policies and make concessions. As far as its home policy is concerned, it will have to affect "liberalism" on the world scene. In foreign policy, which so far has adhered to cold war positions, its only alternative is to retreat. Portugal's participation in the Helsinki preparations for a European conference and its "opening the door to the East," announced by Foreign Minister Patricio on February

21, are real set-backs for fascist diplomacy, which will have to adapt to the new situation.

4. The maturing of conditions for an end to the colonial war and for a political solution. The liberation movements of Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Angola register new advances in resisting the escalation of the war and counteracting aggression, subversion and terror (the latest and most glaring manifestation of which was the assassination of Amilcar Cabral). The Portuguese people are stepping up their resistance to the colonial war. This expresses itself in a vast political movement extending to new areas against fascist bans, in increasing agitation, in desertion, discontent and protests in the armed forces, and direct blows to the military and colonialist machinery. World opinion condemns Portuguese colonialism ever more emphatically.

The combination of these three factors is inexorably bringing nearer the hour when the Portuguese colonialists will be forced to attempt and solve the problem by neo-colonialist methods and then to relinquish their booty.

5. A new upsurge in the struggle of the working class, the masses and democratic forces. The workers' fight for their demands is gaining in scope and there are more and more strikes. The trade union movement resists government attempts to eliminate it and scores new gains. The democratic forces renew, intensify and extend their initiatives. Young workers and students are in the lead. The struggle of the peasants, small traders, doctors and teachers, manifestations of discontent in the armed forces and movements in defense of the people's interests are indicative of the expanding social basis of the anti-fascist movement, of its anti-monopoly character, the social and political breadth of the front and the diversity of its objectives and organizational forms, and the steady if uneven upward trend of the people's fight.

The evolution of the political situation is a sign of the deepening crisis of the fascist regime and heralds still greater difficulties for it. It shows that the working class, the democratic forces and the masses have a real opportunity to launch a major offensive.

The very situation suggests the following main lines for the people's struggle:

1. Economic struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, peasants and middle strata, who are affected by fascist policy, for higher pay and a shorter working week, against unemployment, the high cost of living and the tax burden, against the monopolies and their policy.

2. Struggle for fundamental democratic freedoms, against repression, for the release of political prisoners, for the right of information, freedom of speech, association and assembly, trade union liberties and the right to strike.

3. Struggle for an end to the colonial war and for the recognition of the right of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique to immediate and full independence; for a political solution; for immediate negotiations with the lawful spokesmen of the peoples oppressed by the Portuguese colonialists, that is, with the revolutionary parties carrying on a national liberation fight (PAIGC, FRELIMO, MPLA).

4. Struggle against the subservience of Portugal and its economy to foreign imperialism; against a foreign policy serving the interests of the more aggressive imperialist quarters; for the dismantling of military bases on Portuguese soil; for expanding relations with socialist countries.

These are the lines of struggle, these are, first and foremost, the immediate objectives which should be decided on in each particular case and which can induce the masses to act. The working class, democratic forces, the people and youth can achieve major successes in fighting for these manifold objectives.

To launch a new major offensive against the fascist dictatorship means, first of all, unfolding particular struggles for immediate concrete objectives in the factories and other enterprises, the trade unions, the countryside, ports, ships and barracks, student unions, educational institutions, neighborhood clubs, various associations of working youth, the democratic movement and its autonomous organizations. It means putting up stronger resistance to fascist policies in every sphere of national life, multiplying and extending militant action for the most diverse goals and merging them in one vast struggle.

Organizational work is of decisive importance today. Progress in the struggle of the working class and other working people, of youth and the democratic forces, will depend on it.

This work is a form of struggle for the right of association. The entire history of the Portuguese anti-fascist movement shows that the movement neither can nor should wait for official recognition of the legitimacy of its organization before developing and strengthening them. The government will never recognize of its own free will the legitimacy of any organizations whose goal is to uphold the interests of the working people and other anti-monopoly strata and fight against fascism and colonialism. This applies to every sector and every front of the struggle. The government has outlawed electoral registration commissions just as it outlawed workers' commissions and youth commissions. It interferes in the affairs of even such recognized organizations having approved Rules and operating on a regular basis as the trade unions, students associations and cooperatives whenever they engage in independent activity—it removes their leaders, closes their premises and bans their further activity. Under a fascist dictatorship, the right of associa-

tion must be won by organizing. Experience shows that the existence and development of diverse forms of organization of the workers and anti-fascists depends primarily on their strength and determination and on the support they enjoy among the masses.

As for the democratic movement, the development, maintenance and efficacy of legal and semi-legal forms of organization depend on their flexibility, the diversity of organizational solutions with due regard to prevailing conditions, the activity of its commissions, the coordination of democratic participation by its assemblies in the solution of fundamental problems with the decisions and activities of narrower bodies, and the unity of all political trends and all democrats involved in the movement.

This creative effort is a condition for more effective organization of the democratic forces.

The fascist "election" to the National Assembly, due to be held this year, will afford additional opportunities to organize and extend the popular struggle provided the opposition makes proper use of the election campaign.

Not that the government can be expected to produce anything more than a sham election. The prohibition of opposition meetings and the persecution of democratic election commissions show that the government will try to restrict democratic activity to the utmost. However, the democratic movement is strong enough to impart a different trend to developments.

It is a welcome fact that provincial bodies, in organizing and multiplying political actions, made it clear, together or severally, that they intend to nominate their candidates even though without setting any deadlines but putting off to a later date their decision on whether or not they will join in the "election."

The democratic movement can strike the dictatorship telling blows, achieve considerable successes and launch a major political campaign from which it will emerge much stronger provided it combats electoral illusions and counters backstage intrigues and deals with collaborationists, as well as "Leftist" demagoguery and blackmail, builds up its unity and appeals emphatically to the masses.

THE PCP REAFFIRMS ITS POLICY OF UNITY

Success in the fight against fascism and colonialism hinges largely on unity of the forces opposing them. This is also true of success in the struggle for particular demands.

The PCP campaigns unrelentingly for the militant unity of the working class and other working people in the enterprises, the trade union movement, peasant actions, the movement of working

youth, the unitary movement of students, democratic movements, activity in the armed forces, the struggle against the colonial war, all struggles and other actions against fascist policy, for the Portuguese people's aspirations and goals.

The PCP supports bilateral and multilateral political cooperation—which must necessarily be clandestine—with all genuinely anti-fascist political associations and forces, as well as with non-party democrats, and strives to promote this cooperation in the interest of united action on every front.

The PCP consistently advocates the unity without discrimination of all legal and semi-legal democratic unitary organizations. It welcomes the important steps taken towards extending and strengthening the unity of all anti-fascists. To foster unity, it is necessary to search for and find in the sphere of politics and organization and in regard to forms of struggle that which unites the diverse elements, and not accentuate or dramatize what divides them. At the same time it is indispensable to guard against "extension to the Right," which could mean renouncing the fundamental objectives and lines of the struggle of the masses and dissolving the movement in something of an amalgam paralyzed by opportunism, as well as against attempts to bring into democratic organizations "Leftist" division, verbal hysteria, the method of intrigue, conspiracy and subversion, or demagoguery from "below" coupled with intolerant dirigism, which has caused serious damage to the student movement and would have the same effect on democratic organizations. While admitting without discrimination all who are willing to fight together for common objectives, unitary movements must isolate and firmly resist all who try to split and disrupt them from within.

The PCP considers that the united front of democratic forces should not close its door to those who cooperated with the regime at one time but subsequently broke with it for good and who demonstrate by deeds their readiness to fight for the fundamental aims of the anti-fascist movement. At the same time the Party warns against certain attempts to form a "refashioned opposition," which would be nothing but an alliance of opportunists active on the periphery of the regime and the opposition.

The Portuguese democratic movement is a major unitary movement having a vast mass basis. It can take over political initiative by promoting and strengthening the unity of all democrats without exception, pursuing a correct policy, carrying on earnest organizing work and appealing firmly to the masses.

In seeking a solution for the country's political problem, the PCP and other anti-fascist forces have missed no opportunity to fight for freedom, including legal and constitutional opportunities, in spite

of the fascist nature of the Constitution and legislation. The fascist government led by Salazar in the past and by Caetano today, has always tried, by resorting to repression and violating the Constitution and laws or revising them unexpectedly, to deny the people every possibility of upholding their interests, fighting for their objectives and shaping their destiny.

The ruling classes are badly miscalculating if they imagine that by robbing the people of elementary liberties and resorting to police repression they can for ever suppress their will for a free and independent existence or continue with impunity — against the people's will and the interests of the country, and against the fact that the movement for freedom is irreversible—three criminal wars in Africa whose sole object is to maintain the dirty interests of big monopoly groups at the cost of barbarous treatment of the peoples of Portugal's colonies, at the cost of blood, sorrow, privations and sacrifices of the Portuguese people, especially the younger generation.

The fascist government's obstinate refusal to grant the people elementary freedoms, and its repressive measures and colonial wars spell a continued lack of peace and security and are fraught with still worse conflicts. By ending the fascist dictatorship, establishing freedoms and calling a halt to the colonial war, the Portuguese people would be able to set about solving their big national problems in a peaceful atmosphere.

The government may well be expected to counter the people's expanding struggle and democratic movement with more drastic repression. At the same time it will try, in pursuing its domestic, colonial and foreign policy; to misrepresent the nature of problems by means of demagoguery. The working class, the democratic movement, the movement of working youth and students, and anti-fascist and anti-colonial forces should be prepared to counter repression and expose all demagoguery and to turn as often as possible against the regime itself.

Under fascism, the most diverse forms of struggle must be used. We must properly combine them in some cases and modify or change them in others, decide on the primary task to be dealt with at each particular moment and constantly take into account the mutual influence of diverse forms and the support they are given by the masses. The likely evolution of the situation this year and the serious and occasionally sharp changes which can be foreseen make it necessary to bear the above circumstances in mind.

The regime's antagonisms and difficulties are growing. A new upswing in the popular movement is in the making.

Conditions are developing for the early consolidation of diverse forms of organization, the attainment of militant anti-fascist unity

on a broad basis and for the intensification in every sphere of the struggle for concrete objectives, for the steadfast, resolute and confident preparation of a new major offensive against the fascist dictatorship, for bread, for an end to the colonial war, for freedom.

A LIE ABOUT A "COMMUNIST PLOT"

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMISSION, COMMUNIST PARTY OF SALVADOR

The Defense Minister, Colonel Carlos Humberto Romero, accompanied by the Chief of the General Staff, Colonel Manuel Alfonso Rodriguez, told the press on behalf of the government on Tuesday, February 13, that a Communist plot was uncovered and listed terroristic acts committed since the middle of last year. He charged the Communist Party of Salvador with masterminding the "subversive plan."

This is used by the government to justify and legalize the scores of arrests and unlawful violations of the domicile, launched since Saturday, February 10.

In face of such accusations, we have the following statement to make:

1. It is a downright lie that the Communist Party of Salvador has ever prepared or carried out terroristic acts or hatched plots. This invention about a "Communist plot" is but the old, time-worn and desperate pretext for suppressing the organizations of the working people and the people generally and doing away with their leaders and activists.

2. It should be clear to them that terrorism is *not* the line of the Communist Party of Salvador. But there is no concealing the fact that such acts are being carried out in our country; they are the result of the criminal, repressive and anti-democratic policy pursued by the successive Right-wing military governments.

Nearly one year ago the Salvadorans were prevented from reaching a democratic solution to the protracted political and structural crisis at the last elections. This was done with the help of crude violence and open pressure. Strikes were crushed by brutal repression, trade union and political leaders were assassinated, many citizens were kidnapped and disappeared without a trace and many others were tortured and humiliated. The alarm that is now raised by the military leaders is ridiculous and insincere, for they them-

selves have engendered the phenomenon of terrorism from below by enforcing terrorism from above.

3. The political line and attitude of the Communist Party of Salvador towards terrorism are well known. The government is well aware of this attitude, for we have applied and defended it many years since. It is well known also because the government failed in its attempts since the beginning of 1968 to compel us, through assassinations of our comrades, machine-gunning of our homes and other provocations, to take the road of revenge and terrorism in the hope that in this way it will be able to destroy us with relative ease.

The Communist Party is fighting for a social revolution, for socialism and communism. Forming part of the revolutionary process which leads to socialism and communism, the peoples of dependent countries, such as ours, and of the developing and Third World countries must first of all free themselves from the political and economic domination of imperialism and remove from power local oligarchies, which maintain the most serious evils of the socio-economic formations already superseded by history, brutally exploit the working people, crush economically the small and middle owners of town and country, destroy national culture, freedom and democratic rights and betray the sovereignty of the country.

This is why at the present historical stage through which our dependent country is now passing, the Communist Party of Salvador is fighting for a revolution that would give political and economic independence to our country, carry out profound agrarian transformations that are essential for socio-economic progress and bring to power a truly independent and popular government coming from the midst of the people of Salvador and not from the secret confabs of the Yankee Embassy spokesmen with the top military and vain-glorious representatives of the oligarchy, as is the case today. This independent government would introduce the broadest democracy for the people who are now deprived of their rights.

Though we regard this revolution as part of the process of advance to socialism, it will not be a socialist, but a popular-democratic, anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution opening the way to socialism. We Communists know from the theory of Marxism-Leninism and our own experience that revolutions never were and never will be the work of small groups isolated from the people and taking into their own hands the task of "making a revolution." Revolutions are carried out by social classes, which, by their very interests and the existing system of production and social relations, are objectively prepared or "destined," if you like, to play a revolutionary role in the struggle against those classes which seek to maintain their interests and dominant positions in the system of economic, social and political relations and, therefore,

frantically defend the existing system, trying to preserve it at all costs despite the cruel sufferings of the vast majority of society, which they exploit.

The mission of the Communist Party is to help the objectively revolutionary classes, and, above all, the working class, the most revolutionary of all classes, to realize their historic role, i.e., to become subjectively revolutionary classes. For this, the Communist Party promotes the organization and struggle of these classes for their immediate interests and links this struggle with the intermediate objectives of the revolution, giving an impulse to the working class to unite its forces and organizations and to consolidate its alliance with other classes and revolutionary strata, with the peasantry and middle strata. With the same aim in view, we Communists constantly combat the reactionary ideology of imperialism and of the class minority in the country, acting as its ally. We do not restrict the popular struggle to the economic sphere, but strive to carry it on in the political sphere, imposing on the ruling classes and their instruments of power a political battle for the immediate satisfaction of just, though limited, demands.

Conducting this struggle, the masses learn from their own experience to distinguish their enemies and fight against their methods, accumulate and develop strength that one day will be sufficient to accomplish a revolution. This struggle offers the opportunity to learn the functioning of the instruments of the ruling classes and some minorities of the people, such as the army, the clergy and others, who have been misled into performing a mission alien to them, the mission of oppressing and deceiving the people.

The Communist Party is growing and developing in the process of this multi-faceted struggle, in the most disadvantageous conditions. It is supported by fighters from among the workers and people in general, who have distinguished themselves in this difficult struggle. It masters the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and is strengthened and steeled through its own experience in prison cells and tortures, inspired by its martyrs and heroes. The Communist Party and its development are closely linked with the country's social life, including your desperate repressions, colonels of the gallows and knives.

This makes it clear that the work of the Communist Party and its development should consist essentially in work among the majority classes comprising large masses. This was and continues to be the policy of the Communist Party, even when we are forced to retreat and go deep underground. It is the policy of the masses and was not and can never be a policy of small groups substituting their direct actions for revolutionary actions of the masses who are the only ones who can accomplish the revolution. The Communist Party does not make a revolution, but leads the masses

to its accomplishment. It can be easily understood why Communists do not conceive the revolution as a "plot" or as a result of a succession of terroristic acts. Considering these methods to be erroneous, this, certainly, does not prevent us from understanding that these groups which have devoted themselves to this type of struggle and believe in it, come from the people and are fighting against the reactionary and criminal policy which we, too, are combating with our own methods.

4. How will the revolution conquer power? The Communist Party considers that life itself will give an answer to this question and this answer will depend on the relationship of the social and political forces which we will manage to unite in favor of the revolution, on the action and size of that section of the army which will decide to support the revolution, on the degree of isolation and weakness of the ruling classes and on the international conditions that will prevail at the moment when the revolutionary process will have matured for the conquest of power. If the forces of the revolution are very powerful and their enemies are isolated and weakened and the international conditions are favorable, power will be conquered in a less painful way, the less painful the greater are the forces on its side and the more favorable are the subjective conditions. The Communists have always been and will be principled supporters of humanism, which runs through our entire teaching. We have been and will be in favor of the least painful of all possible ways.

At the same time, however, Communists are realists, we do not confuse our wishes with reality and know perfectly well that the ruling classes and their helpers in power are those who have the possibility of imposing on the people the most violent and painful way. The ruling classes of our country are particularly cruel, murderous and anti-democratic and, therefore, it is our duty to prepare ourselves and prepare the masses for the coming to power in the conditions of the most cruel violence on the part of the oppressors.

Confirming that we are and will be looking for the least painful way possible in the prevailing conditions, the Communist Party of Salvador is confident that the entire people know that this is the truth without hypocrisy. This truth has been borne out by the political history of our country over many years, when the Communists demonstrated most convincingly that this is our line of conduct. Nor can our enemies ignore this truth.

People as a whole know that we are not "plotters" but revolutionaries, and they no longer believe in "Communist plots" which the government "discovers" at definite intervals to justify repression.

The Communist Party of Salvador demands that its enemies fight honestly and openly, without subterfuges. The use of terrorism

to ban the Party only proves that you, Right-wing colonels, lack the courage to confess that your repressive actions are actually directed against the defenseless working people of Salvador and that in this way you are trying to impede their historic mission.

5. The statement of the Defense Ministry says that the Communist Party intended to thwart the plan of reforms proposed by the government. This is simply absurd and ludicrous.

What reforms do you mean? Until now the only reforms carried out by the government were the following: a new Penal Code for the fascist court directed against different forms of the popular struggle and all progressive thinking; the "combers" of the Security Corps were also instituted for the purpose of intimidating the whole people. We are decidedly against such "reforms."

The decision to build the Cerron Grande dam does not imply any social reform, just as the decision to build a sugar refinery in the Jibon Valley. Though these are positive measures favoring the numerous group of middle and small owners, they change nothing in the existing structure. There is talk of some plan including an agrarian reform, but though, according to Colonel Molina (the President since 1972. — Ed.), "the study has continued for many years already," no one still has any idea of what sort of reform is meant.

On the other hand, no one can be sufficiently confident that the government has serious intentions of carrying out reforms. We heard such talk beginning from January 25, 1961, when the government which came to power with popular support was overthrown and replaced by another government flaunting the banner of reforms. But everything ended in empty talk and vacillation. The sincere reformers in these governments were removed or reduced to impotence. Then came the reformer Rivera, but everything was reduced to growing debts to the United States. He was followed by Sanchez Hernandez, full of promises, whose first cabinet included sincere reformers, but very soon he got rid of them, succumbing to the pressure of the oligarchy. Despite this, he continued his "reform" discourses, giving assurances that "the agrarian reform will be carried out," etc.

Molina came to power with more vigorous reform proposals than those of his predecessor. Along with reactionary gorillas and assassins he brought some sincere reformers into the government, but so far we have seen nothing but a strong blow struck at the university, the Penal Code, people's organizations, etc. This was the only thing done effectively. All the rest is just discourses and promises.

What right does the present government have to launch repressions in defense of reforms that are non-existent? They are needed as a justification of the failure to carry out reforms "through the

fault of Communists." Gentlemen, please stop your speculations which have gone on around this for 12 years now. If reforms are undertaken without delay, resistance will undoubtedly come from the oligarchy, which is closely linked with the Party of National Conciliation, the Government Assembly, the top military chiefs, the government, etc.

The Communist Party takes a definite position with regard to the declared socio-economic reforms as a whole. It will take up a position on each of them as they become more specified. We shall fight for each of these measures to be carried out most consistently in the interests of the working masses and the people generally. As soon as they are adopted, we shall call on the masses to demand their scrupulous implementation. In everything that may benefit them. We are guided by the conviction that the concessions made by reformism to the masses, though they are attempts to bribe them, are the result of the mass struggles of the past few years, their gain, and they have the right to enjoy it.

At the same time, we will organize the struggle against all attempts to maintain the domination of imperialism and big capitalists over the country.

When this statement went to press, we learned about the expulsion from the country of 21 imprisoned political and trade union leaders, who were flown out by an air force plane. This is already the third act in which the government resorts to expulsion, publicly and openly violating the political Constitution, while neither the Supreme Court of Justice nor the Legislative Assembly are doing anything to protect it, which is their obligation.

The Communist Party calls on all Salvadorans not to allow themselves to be intimidated by the "combers" or political repressions and to be misled by the unscrupulous government propaganda, and to take an active part in the struggle for freedoms and democratic rights.

We especially urge the working class to rally its ranks in the trade unions, federations and confederations, so as to defend its leaders against government repressions, advance towards the unification of the entire trade union movement and defeat the anti-labor policy recorded in the Penal Code.

Political Commission, CP Salvador

San Salvador, February 18, 1973.

SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF SECOND RSDLP CONGRESS

DECISION OF CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE*

It will be 70 years on July 30 since the opening of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP). Its epochal significance lies in the fact that it completed the process of uniting the revolutionary Marxist organizations, and brought into being a working-class party based on the ideological, political and organizational principles formulated by Lenin. There thus emerged a proletarian party of the new type, the Bolshevik Party, the great party of Lenin. "As a trend of political thought and as a political party, Bolshevism dates back to 1903" (Lenin).

The path our Party has travelled since then has no precedent in the whole of history. From a relatively small underground organization it grew into a powerful united army of Communists now numbering nearly 15 million, a party at the helm of the world's first socialist state. The CPSU, the working class party, has become the militant vanguard of the entire Soviet people in building communism. In the Party, Lenin wrote, "we see the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch."

In building the Party, Lenin was guided by the knowledge that, in the conditions of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the working class needs a new type of party, a genuinely revolutionary and genuinely Communist party radically differing from the parties of the Second International. In Lenin's definition, the Party must lead the struggle of the proletariat for the revolutionary refashioning of society and be the guiding force of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. Drawing on the teachings of Marx and Engels and on the experience of the Russian and world workers' movement, and creatively developing Marxism in adaptation to the epoch of imperialism, Lenin formulated an integral doctrine of the party as the supreme form of revolutionary working-class organization and comprehensively elaborated its theoretical and organizational principles, the strategy and tactics of Bolshevism, the norms of Party life and the principles of Party leadership.

The St.-Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, founded by Lenin in 1895, was the embryo of the Russian revolutionary proletarian party and the rallying point for Social-Democratic organizations in a number of industrial

*Pravda, April 13, 1973.

centers. The First Congress, in 1898, proclaimed the foundation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. However, since it met without Lenin and his close associates, then in exile, it could not formulate the Party's Program and Rules, nor overcome the division within the Social-Democratic movement.

Much of the credit for the ideological and organizational preparation of the revolutionary proletarian party and for the break with the opportunists must go to the newspaper *Iskra*, founded and directed by Lenin. The local Party committees and a galaxy of professional revolutionaries united around it on a principled Marxist basis. In Lenin's words, *Iskra* united the flower of the Russian revolutionary proletariat.

The Second RSDLP Congress adopted the Party's Marxist-Leninist Program, a program of struggle to overthrow the autocracy, landlord and capitalist rule and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat as a means of reconstructing society along socialist lines. The Congress consolidated Bolshevism's victory over Economist opportunism and dealt a telling blow to its supporters in the world Social-Democratic movement.

The Second RSDLP Congress was also a turning point in the world labor movement. "The founding of the Bolshevik Party," the CC CPSU Lenin Centenary theses say, "opened a new stage in the Russian and international labor movement. For the first time the proletariat had an organization which, in the new conditions of history, could successfully lead its struggle for social emancipation."

Lenin's theory of the party is a magnificent contribution to the treasure-store of revolutionary Marxism. The most vital requirements of the worldwide proletarian class struggle are scientifically expressed in Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin created, strengthened and steeled the Party in relentless struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, revisionism, Trotskyism, Right and "Left" opportunism, social-chauvinists and national-deviationists, against all the enemies of revolutionary Marxism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened a new era in human history, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, was performed under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Socialist transformations unprecedented for their depth, scope and tempo were carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party. Our country overcame age-old backwardness to become a mighty socialist power. The CPSU united people of all nationalities on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism and has educated generations of genuine internationalists and dedicated builders of communism.

The monolithic unity of the Soviet people around their Leninist Party, their boundless loyalty to the cause of the October Revolution and their socialist Fatherland, were strikingly demonstrated in the grim years of the Great Patriotic War. The Soviet people displayed unparalleled courage and mass heroism at the front and at work. True to its internationalist duty, the Soviet Union helped the enslaved peoples break out of the fascist yoke. The power of the first socialist state and the correct Leninist policy of the CPSU facilitated the success of popular-democratic and socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries and the collapse of imperialism's colonial system.

The deep-going socio-economic transformations carried out by the Soviet people under CPSU leadership have given our country a developed socialist society. The fundamental changes in the economic, social and spiritual life of society have produced a new historic community, the Soviet people, the indestructible brotherhood of more than 100 nations and nationalities united by common interests and aims and by the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a vivid demonstration of our peoples' internationalism and friendship.

The growing leading role of the Communist Party, a crucial objective regularity of the development of socialist society, manifests itself with increasing force in the building of communism.

Lenin's teaching on the Party has been developed further in the Program of the CPSU, the resolutions of the 23rd and 24th congresses, and other Party documents. Enriching Marxism-Leninism creatively, the CPSU has generalized the experience of socialist and communist construction and that of the present-day world revolutionary movement in congress and plenum resolutions, and in its documents on the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Lenin Centenary and the 50th Anniversary of the Soviet Union.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU, which set a clear political line for communist construction in the present stage, has been an outstanding event in the life of the Party and the Soviet people as a whole. The Congress set the historic task of organically blending the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system; and securing a considerable rise in the people's material and cultural standards on the basis of a rapid and all-round development of the productive forces.

Under the Party's leadership, the working class, collective farmers and people's intelligentsia are making good headway in implementing the Congress decisions. Their work is centred on fulfilling the plan of the third and decisive year of the ninth five-year plan

period. "The main task now," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, stressed, "is to sharply change the orientation and shift the emphasis on intensive methods, thereby securing a substantially higher efficiency in our economy."

The CPSU is preoccupied with improving the Soviet political system, laying stress on the further development of socialist democracy and enhancement of the role of the Soviet Working People's Deputies, vehicles of genuine popular rule, and of trade-union, Young Communist League and other public mass organizations.

The Party performs its leading role all the better, the better its qualitative composition and the more organized the activity of all Communists in fulfilling decisions. This depends directly on Party discipline, on the ideological firmness and theoretical knowledge of its members, on consistent exercise of democratic centralism, and on the Communists' constant and close ties with the masses in all sectors of communist construction. The CPSU is continuously perfecting the style and method of Party guidance. It shows constant concern for the efficiency of its organizations, is educating Party members in the spirit of Bolshevik intolerance of faults, and is creating the necessary climate for criticism and self-criticism. The political and organizational work relating to the present exchange of Party cards is strengthening the Party and helping to improve the methods of directing our society, and accentuating the responsibility of every Communist for his assigned task.

The CPSU is a party of consistent proletarian, socialist internationalism. Under the internationalist banner it has led the people of the multinational Soviet country through all trials to victories and achievements of world-historic significance. Internationalism and intolerance of any and all nationalism — this is the guideline in all our life and a most important condition for successful communist construction.

The foreign policy of the CPSU, centered on the Peace Program of the 24th Congress, assures a favorable external climate for communist construction in our country, strengthens the socialist community, and helps the working-class and national-liberation movements. It is directed against imperialist aggressive policy, affirms the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation with states of the opposite social system, strengthens world peace and security, and assures social progress throughout the world. It is consistent with the interests of all peoples.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a tested militant detachment of the world Communist movement. The theoretical activity of the CPSU, its principled Leninist policy, and its consistent struggle for the cohesion of the socialist community and the unity of the entire world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, and against

bourgeois ideology, reformism, Right and "Left" opportunism, meet with the approval and support of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. The vast amount of experience gained by the CPSU in effectuating the principles of Leninism, directing the revolutionary struggle and building socialism and communism, and its rich experience of developing the Party itself in accordance with the requirements of every new historical stage, are the patrimony of the entire world revolutionary movement. No development of Marxism-Leninism is conceivable without full consideration of this experience.

The Central Committee of the CPSU considers it fitting to mark the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDLP as an important date in the history of Lenin's party, the history of our country, the history of the entire international Communist and working-class movement.

The central committees of the Communist parties of the Union Republics, the Party's territorial, regional, city and district committees, the primary Party organizations, the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, and the political administrations of frontier and interior troops, should conduct political work on this anniversary among all sections of the population, laying special stress on Lenin's teaching on the party, and on the world-historical experience of the CPSU in directing the building of socialism and communism, and fighting for the unity and cohesion of the world Communist and working-class movement.

Broad use should be made of Party documents related to the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Lenin Centenary and the 24th CPSU Congress, centering propaganda and mass political work on enhancing the communist education of the working people in the light of the tasks listed in the Report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, "On the 50th Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." The development of the countrywide socialist emulation movement for pre-schedule fulfilment of the 1973 economic development plan, and the targets of the Ninth Five Year-Plan in general, the decision of the CC CPSU says, should be the main content of the political and organizational work of Party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations.

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Science and the Higher Party School of the CC CPSU, together with the humanitarian institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences will hold an academic conference on the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDLP. The Central V. I. Lenin Museum and its branches, and the Marx and Engels Museum, will organize exhibitions illustrating the history of the CPSU.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN AND UNITED TRADE UNION MOVEMENT*

Throughout its history, the Communist Party of Canada and its members have worked untiringly to advance the unity of the working class, and for a united trade union movement which would express the true interests of Canadian labor.

The Communist Party, its members and the Left-wing generally in the trade union movement have consistently advocated and fought for full autonomy in all unions, and for complete inner union democracy, as necessary to the earliest possible achievement of an independent, sovereign and united Canadian trade union movement. Communists see the trade unions as being the most vital force in the struggle against U.S. domination, and for a truly independent Canada, based on the real and lasting interests of the Canadian people.

An independent, sovereign and united Canadian trade union movement would greatly strengthen the possibility of international trade union unity, so imperative today as imperialism seeks to solve its problems at the expense of the working class. International labor unity is an urgent requirement to advance the struggle for peace and security in the interests of the working class everywhere.

COORDINATED EFFORTS

The special conditions facing U.S. and Canadian labor which arise from the operations of the U.S.-based multinational corporations can and must be handled through agreement between the unions concerned, based on equality and fraternal relations. There is every reason for agreement on coordinated efforts in bargaining and other relations with the corporations, for the exchange of ideas and information, and for mutual assistance in struggles involving the multinational corporations.

Canadian trade unionists are now expressing more than at any other time their desire and demand for new relations based on equality and fraternity with the U.S. trade union movement.

This demand arises at a time when Canada has come under intense and growing economic and political pressure from the United States to bail out U.S. imperialism which, at the expense of the American workers and the workers of other countries, seeks to extricate itself from deepening crisis arising from its bankrupt foreign policies.

*The Canadian Tribune, April 25, 1973.

U.S. ownership and control of the commanding heights of the Canadian economy places Canada in a particularly vulnerable position, as the Nixon economic measures showed in 1971.

The DISC program, the U.S. Burke-Hartke Bill or similar type legislation, the U.S. demand to change the auto pact, and the constant pressure to compel Canada to provide the U.S. with unlimited access to our energy and raw material resources, have one aim—to transform Canada into a source of raw material supply for the U.S. while limiting the development of Canadian secondary industry. The end result could be the disappearance of more than half a million jobs in manufacturing alone, and a drop in living standards. Canadian workers in growing numbers see this grave danger.

LABOR SOLIDARITY

Canadian workers are also seeing the brutal and anti-working class attitude of the Right-wing trade union leadership of the United States AFL-CIO, headed by George Meany and Jay Lovestone. That leadership brought the cold war into the trade unions and as part of it gave full support to U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. That leadership gives full support to the measures proposed by U.S. imperialism to make the working people, including the American workers, shoulder the consequences of the economic crisis. The Meany-Lovestone leadership is shown as being completely unconcerned with the probable disastrous effect of U.S. imperialist policies in Canada.

Working-class internationalism and international labor solidarity in the struggle for labor's rights and interests have no place in the "business unionism" of Meany & Co. This is so obvious that Mr. Donald MacDonald, president of the Canadian Labor Congress, when asked on February 20, 1973 why he did not present the views of Canadian labor to Meany and the AFL-CIO, said: "We know they aren't even interested in giving such consideration. It would be a waste of time. They are fully familiar with our position."

Mr. MacDonald's observation is a complete argument for an independent, sovereign and united Canadian trade union movement, and it is incumbent on the Canadian Labor Congress to provide the leadership to bring this about at the earliest possible moment.

The Edmonton Convention of the Canadian Labor Congress in 1970 adopted a statement which set out modest guidelines on limited autonomy for all its affiliates. This Canadian decision was apparently ignored by the AFL-CIO leadership, and most of the U.S.-based International Unions have refused to act on them.

Developments since 1971 establish the need for a policy that goes far beyond that of the CLC Edmonton Convention. The Cana-

dian Labor Congress and its affiliated unions should insist that the AFL-CIO and U.S. headquarters of the International Unions place no obstacle in the way of Canadian workers achieving an independent and sovereign Canadian trade union movement based on equality and fraternal relations. The U.S. unions should declare their support for this objective which, in the spirit of true working class internationalism, corresponds to the real interests of Canadian and American labor.

If the CLC fails to act decisively at this time, it could open the door to an extension of raiding and greater splitting of the trade union movement, a condition which the employers and the big business political parties would welcome and encourage. On the other hand, if the CLC acts to lead the struggle for a new relationship between Canadian and U.S. labor, then the way would be open to uniting all trade unions in Canada, enabling the trade union movement to play an even more effective role in the political arena in the struggle against monopoly policies.

POWERFUL, UNITED FORCE

If the Meany-Lovestone leadership of the AFL-CIO and the officers of International Unions refuse to cooperate and oppose the legitimate aim of Canadian labor, the 1974 Canadian Labor Congress Convention should adopt such measures as are required to ensure that the fight for an independent, sovereign and united Canadian trade union movement will be advanced and achieved, and that labor in Canada become a powerful and united force in the struggle for the genuine independence of our country, for economic policies directed to achieve jobs and rising standards and a foreign policy of peace and trade, for an end to monopoly rule.

*Central Executive Committee
Communist Party of Canada*

STATEMENT BY POLITICAL BUREAU ON CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION*

(SRI LANKA)

"The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka considered the present political situation in the country.

"The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka wishes to draw the attention of the progressive sections of the people to the fact that the issues arising out of the present impasse on the Press Council Bill and the so-called constitutional crisis resulting from the Speaker's ruling of 19.1.1973 have become confused in the minds of the people.

"It must be borne in mind that the attempt to curb the press monopoly in Sri Lanka has a long and chequered history, that in the past reaction has always found the monopoly press a convenient platform, and that once again reaction is trying to re-group its forces in the name of 'press freedom'.

"The Communist Party, which has expressed its reservations on some aspects of the Press Bill has nevertheless decided in the present context to support the bill in the National State Assembly. In the contemporary situation it welcomes the fact that the overwhelming majority of the members of the National State Assembly have shown a clear and firm resolve to stand firm against reactionary maneuvers aimed at creating a rift in the progressive movement.

"The Government can learn from the events of the past, the true nature of the monopoly capitalist press in Sri Lanka, and in the view of the Communist Party it should act firmly to curb the power of the capitalist press.

"The Communist Party wishes to point out that the best way that the government can now act is to use powers it possesses under the Business Acquisition Act to nationalize without further delay the capitalist newspaper companies of Sri Lanka. This would have an advantage over the present Press Council Bill, in that the working class press would be left free to carry on its struggle against imperialism and reaction.

"The Party is of the view that such an act of nationalization will not only break the local press monopoly but will, to some extent, unify the whole of the leftward moving masses of the country. It

*Information Bulletin, 1973 January-February, News & Views from the Communist Party of Sri Lanka.

needs no reiteration that in the manifesto the United Front undertook to take steps to curb the press monopoly.

"The Party is convinced that reaction is attempting to use this question to cloud the real issue facing the country today. The need of the hour is the formulation of a program that can solve the economic crisis that is developing.

"The Communist Party is of the opinion that any encroachment on the living standards of the people will have the effect of alienating from the Government the organized working class and the masses in general and objectively lead to a strengthening of the hand of reaction.

"The Communist Party of Sri Lanka therefore calls upon the United Front and the Government to initiate a basic change in economic policy. As pointed out in the Central Committee statement of 28.1.1973 it should be emphasized that only the strengthening of ties with the Socialist countries and the developing countries and resolute anti-imperialist measure can save us from total economic disaster and a resurgence of reaction.

"The Communist Party of Sri Lanka warns the progressive forces not to allow reaction to divert the attention of the masses from the main issue. It is urgently necessary that they should launch an offensive on the economic front, with a new policy orientation which alone can strengthen the unity of the progressive forces and win the confidence of the masses."

30.1.1973

BILATERAL MEETINGS

JOINT CUBAN-CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIQUE

From April 2-7, 1973, a Czechoslovak Party and Government delegation visited Cuba at the invitation of Prime Minister Fidel Castro, First Secretary, CC CP Cuba. Following is a recapitulation of the joint communique on the visit released by the CTK agency. The full text was printed in the newspapers *Granma*, and *Rude Pravo* on April 9.

During the visit official talks were held between Party and Government delegations of Czechoslovakia and Cuba headed, respectively, by Gustav Husak, General Secretary, CC CP Czechoslovakia, and Fidel Castro.

In the course of the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, the two sides discussed new aspects in the development of fraternal relations between their countries and exchanged views on the most important problems of the international situation and the international revolutionary movement.

The delegations noted with satisfaction that the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and Cuba, as well as between the two countries' governments and public organizations, are developing successfully and finding concrete embodiment in the successful implementation of government treaties and numerous agreements concluded between bodies and organizations of both countries.

Both sides reaffirmed their mutual desire to continue to expand and deepen this cooperation and further develop friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and Cuba in every possible way. They expressed confidence that fruitful cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Cuba promotes the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries in the struggle against imperialism, for social progress and universal peace.

The Czechoslovak side once again resolutely denounced the illegal retention by the U.S. of the military base at Guantanamo on Cuban territory and expressed full support for the Cuban people's and government's demand for the unconditional dismantling of the base.

Czechoslovakia and Cuba, as member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, expressed their readiness to continue to deepen cooperation with other CMEA member-countries

in the interests of international socialist division of labor and fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration.

Both sides re-emphasized the decisive importance, both for Cuba and Czechoslovakia, of all-round mutual cooperation with the Soviet Union and CPSU as well as the importance of the international help and support given by the Soviet Union to both countries in all spheres, especially in economic development and the defense of the gains of socialism.

Thanks to the active policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, an atmosphere conducive to further international détente and the betterment of international relations has lately been created in Europe and the rest of the world. However, the policies of aggressive imperialist forces, especially in the Indochina region and the Middle East, continue to threaten these positive trends.

Both sides attach primary importance to the further strengthening of the unity of the socialist community and the international Communist and workers' movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as well as of unity with national-liberation movements and all other anti-imperialist and democratic forces, and reaffirm their resolve to continue to pursue this goal.

Analyzing the political situation in the world today, both sides reaffirmed their common view that the balance of forces is changing increasingly in favor of socialism. The general crisis of capitalism, they noted, is growing more and more acute.

Discussing the situation in the Indochina region, both sides hailed the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, which they characterized as a great victory for the heroic Vietnamese people after years of struggle against American imperialist aggression, for independence and national liberation.

Both sides stressed their readiness to continue to give all-round help and support to the courageous Vietnamese people in the next stage of their struggle for the implementation of the signed agreement and the rehabilitation of the country.

The Czechoslovak and Cuban sides also hailed the signing of the agreement on the restoration of peace in Laos as an outstanding victory for the Laotian patriots.

At the same time both sides confirmed their readiness to support the Cambodian people's just fight for freedom and independence, against imperialist aggression, and expressed the hope that peace would soon be restored in Cambodia.

Both sides expressed support for the Korean people's just struggle and the demands of the government of the KPDR for the early withdrawal of American troops from the southern part of the

country, and for the constructive demands of the KPDR government for the peaceful, democratic reunification of Korea without any interference by imperialist forces.

Both sides attach great importance to questions of limiting the manufacture of weapons and achieving universal and complete disarmament under strict international control and the banning of the manufacture of chemical weapons and liquidation of their stocks. Both sides support the convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all countries.

The Czechoslovak and Cuban sides, the communique says, are unanimous in their assessment of the present national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which markedly contributes to the successful struggle against imperialism, the strengthening of the anti-imperialist front and the implementation of progressive social changes.

The delegations exchanged views about the situation in Latin America and came to the conclusion that of late considerable successes have been achieved in the struggle of Latin American countries against imperialist oppression and exploitation, for national independence and fundamental social and economic changes.

The Czechoslovak and Cuban sides expressed their full solidarity with the people of Chile and support for the Popular Unity government of President Salvador Allende in its efforts to carry out an anti-imperialist and democratic program of changing the country's social structure.

Both sides expressed their understanding of, and support for, the measures taken by the government of Peru in defense of the country's national interests, and also their support for the Panamanian people's just demand for the right to exercise their state sovereignty throughout their country's territory.

The Czechoslovak and Cuban delegations expressed their confidence that Comrade Husak's visit to Cuba, as well as all the meetings and talks with Comrade Fidel Castro and other Cuban Party and Government leaders, which took place in an atmosphere of profound mutual understanding and community of views, in a spirit of international solidarity and brotherhood, represented an important step, contributing to the further expansion of fraternal relations between the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and Cuba and would promote the unity of the countries of the socialist community and the cohesion of the international Communist and workers' movement.

Comrade Husak invited Comrade Castro to pay an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia with a Party and Government delegation. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

AGAINST THE IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS OF MAOISM

**A RECAPITULATION OF ARTICLES THAT APPEARED IN
COMMUNIST AND PROGRESSIVE NEWSPAPERS IN
MARCH, APRIL AND MAY**

BANGLADESH

The peoples of the world are waging a ceaseless struggle for universal peace and security, writes the *Dacca Purbodesh*. There is a clear trend towards détente, and hotbeds of conflicts that had caused the alarm and concern of all progressive people are gradually being eliminated.

At the same time, however, the Peking leadership, with its fantastic, groundless territorial claims on its neighbors, openly interferes in the internal affairs of other countries and aggravates tensions.

This policy can also be traced, the newspaper goes on, in China's positions vis-à-vis countries of the South Asian subcontinent. While declaring support for national-liberation movements and readiness to grant "unselfish" help to developing countries, Peking in reality pursues selfish goals and tries to bring pressure to bear on sovereign states. *Purbodesh* recalls in this connection that Peking had supported the reactionary Yahya Khan dictatorship and its repressions against the Bangladesh people in 1971.

An analysis of the foreign policies of the United States and China, the paper continues, reveals that they are closely aligned on many important international issues. "Their approach to such problems as the rejection of the use of force, banning the use of nuclear weapons and general disarmament are remarkably similar." The U.S. and China are both trying to prevent normalization of the situation in the young Bangladesh republic, they are opposed to progressive social and economic reform and support reactionary and ultra-left elements within the country.

G D R

Of late, writes *Neues Deutschland*, organ of the CC SUPG, there has been an increase of provocations by Maoist groups in the FRG.

Most active are those which for three years have been shamelessly using the name CPG and the wealth of tradition it implies for their selfish ends.

Like other Left-opportunist sects in the FRG, this Maoist scum, which styles itself a "revolutionary party of the working class," pursues the sole objective of fanning anti-Sovietism, urging sections of the working people and students to engage in putschist activities and keeping them away from the revolutionary movement of the working class.

It is quite obvious who stands behind these people. They are least of all concerned with the interests of the working people, the interests of peace. But they have raised a violent hue and cry to the effect that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are, allegedly, attempting to "use the European security conference to enslave the peoples even more behind the mask of peace and security." They call for demonstrations against the Soviet Union.

The actions of these Maoist groups are well-coordinated. They constantly seek to keep the workers from fighting against their real enemies, they are trying to set up what they call a "revolutionary trade-union opposition," that is, to split the united trade union organization of the West German working class; they constantly slander the Soviet Union and the GDR, the German worker and peasant state.

Light on this Maoist grouping has been shed by a recent report about "intensive discussions" between the Maoist CPG group and "national-revolutionary elements," i.e., undisguised neo-fascists.

These pseudo-revolutionaries pay lip service to the need for radical measures while in fact aligning themselves with counter-revolution, with old and new Nazis. Their purpose is to instill fear of Communists among West Germans, divert the workers from the revolutionary road and discredit the Communist movement.

This Maoist band has given its newspaper the lofty name of *Rote Fahne*, originally founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and later banned by Hitler. They call their youth groups the "Young Communist League of Germany." Thus the Maoists flagrantly trample on the great traditions of the party founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg which had waged a heroic struggle for the social and national interests of the working people, against fascism.

Neues Deutschland goes on to stress that these anti-Communists, enemies of the Soviet Union and the GDR, enjoy complete freedom in the FRG, whereas genuine Communists, members and supporters of the German Communist Party are persecuted, and the Communist Party of Germany, the real CPG, continues to be banned.

ITALY

Unita, organ of the Italian Communist Party, published an editorial sharply criticizing an anti-Soviet commentary of the Hsinhua agency printed in the newspaper *Jenminjihpao* concerning the multilateral consultations in Helsinki on preparations for an all-European conference on security and cooperation. The *Unita* article offers a telling rebuttal to Peking concoctions about Soviet policy in the Mediterranean and unsubstantiated assertions about the Soviet Union's desire "to establish its domination" in the region.

"Before going into the deliberately anti-Soviet tone and commentary," *Unita* writes, "it must be emphasized that the statements distort the truth from the point of view of the basic elements of the situation." The American navy, the newspaper notes, first penetrated into the Mediterranean many years ago, invading a region thousands of miles from the United States to threaten with its guns all the peoples inhabiting its shores, especially the Arab peoples who had been fighting and are continuing to fight for freedom from imperialist "guardianship," to install reactionary or fascist regimes to support Israeli aggression. Besides Atlantic Treaty bases, the United States has bases in Italy, Spain, Greece and Turkey. On the other hand, the Soviet presence in the Mediterranean after the six-day war of 1967 assisted the states and peoples that had been the victims of aggression.

In the Mediterranean area, *Unita* continues, there is at present a state of war, even though there are no hostilities now, because the Israeli leaders refuse to carry out the UN resolutions. He who ignores these facts does not, of course, promote détente in Europe and the Mediterranean. We want the Mediterranean to be a sea of peace. But for this a process must be started which would result in the liquidation of foreign bases and the withdrawal of foreign navies. To think that this should be done by one side only is certainly not conducive to détente in Europe or the Mediterranean.

European and Mediterranean problems are interrelated, *Unita* continues, but the solution of European problems cannot be put off until those of the Mediterranean are resolved. Besides, the latter involve not only European countries, but Arab countries, Israel, and Turkey, as well.

"Currently concrete preparations are under way for an all-European conference which may resolve some of the problems facing our continent. Any attempt to lump these questions together may mean that even those that can be settled will remain unresolved; in other words, it would mean obstructing the movement towards détente. If one proceeds from absurd, preconceived positions rather than from a clear analysis of facts, one cannot contribute to peace or détente in Europe or the Mediterranean.

"On the other hand, at a time when even conservative govern-

ments have stopped peddling the old, time-worn accusation of the USSR of alleged expansionism, when the Soviet government's policy of peace and détente has been universally recognized, it is strange and reprehensible to see these accusations revived by the Chinese and presented in impermissible expressions that go so far as to make the USSR the main enemy."

JAPAN

In its May 10 issue, *Akahata*, organ of the CC CP Japan, carried a leading article devoted to new attempts from Peking to interfere in Japan's democratic and revolutionary movement.

Since the restoration of relations between Japan and China, the article says, Peking, far from ending its interference in the affairs of Japan's democratic and revolutionary movement, has been exploiting the new conditions for continuing such interference. An example is the behavior of the delegation of the China-Japan Friendship Society headed by Liao Cheng-chih, which visited Japan last April.

Liao Cheng-chih and other delegation members openly attacked the Communist Party of Japan. For example, during a meeting with Liberal-Democratic Party member Kawasaki, speaking of the possibility of improving relations between the Communist parties of Japan and China, Liao Cheng-chih declared that "as long as Miyamoto is alive relations will not improve." In this connection *Akahata* points out that a statement of this kind concerning a Party representative duly elected by the Party Congress and Central Committee is nothing short of direct interference in the affairs of the CPJ. On May 9, a member of the Chinese delegation, Han Hsi-ya, speaking in Nagasaki appealed to "the broad masses of Party members" to overthrow the Party leadership.

These acts of the delegation headed by Liao Cheng-chih are concrete confirmation that the main representatives of the CPC, who are pursuing a great-power policy of interference, have not given up their ambitious designs of subordinating Japan's democratic and revolutionary movement to their political and ideological domination.

It is well known, the article continues, that one of the reasons behind the attacks by great-power elements in the CPC against the CPJ is the fact that the latter has rejected the Peking-sponsored policy of putschism and anti-Sovietism. The political situation in Japan and the Japanese people's struggle have already proved the total bankruptcy of this "Chinese theory."

In conclusion the article declares that the CPJ will consistently oppose interference by CPC representatives, resolutely uphold the principles of independence and equality and, together with broad sections of the Japanese people, do everything to promote genuine friendship between Japan and China.

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Unen, the CC MPRP daily, carried an article on Maoist great-power chauvinism. It stresses that the Chinese leadership's policy of dividing the world Communist movement and all revolutionary forces — a policy detrimental to social development — is increasingly criticized and condemned by progressive world opinion. Maoism runs counter to the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It has adopted a hostile ideology — bourgeois nationalism.

Great-power chauvinism has become more active over the past ten years, *Unen* writes. The Maoists exaggerate the "exceptional" role of their country while minimizing the achievements of the peoples of other countries. They try to set their nation above others.

The Mao Tse-tung group has completely abandoned the Leninist approach to the national question and pursues a chauvinist policy towards China's national minorities.

These minorities, *Unen* goes on to say, fought side by side with the Chinese people against Koumintang reaction and Japanese imperialist aggression, took an active part in the Chinese revolution and thereby made a substantial contribution to its victory and the formation of the CPR. They had devoutly hoped that the establishment of a people's republic in China would make for a fair settlement of the national question. However, their hopes were dashed by Mao's chauvinist policy.

The Maoists' great-power chauvinist policy towards the national minorities of China expresses itself in the forcible Sinicization of the Uighurs, Tibetans, Mongolians and other peoples and ethnic groups living in China.

Over a million and a half Mongolians lived in the past in Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, the Kirin, Liaonin and Kansu provinces and along the Yellow River, the article notes. During the "cultural revolution" launched by the Mao group, Inner Mongolia's autonomy was abolished and intellectuals and other local cadres were persecuted. The territory and population of the region were carved up and annexed to Chinese provinces. A number of one-time districts of Inner Mongolia are unmarked on a map of China printed in 1972. There are now less than 500,000 Mongolians in Inner Mongolia, whose Mongolian population once exceeded 1,500,000. This is a result of the Mao group's policy of Sinicizing the national minorities.

The forcible Sinicization of Tibet, the Sinkiang-Uighur autonomous district, Inner Mongolia and other regions inhabited by national minorities, *Unen* comments, are an indication of how utterly foreign to Marxism-Leninism and how disastrous Maoist policy is. This unfair, chauvinist policy has affected forty-five million non-Chinese.

