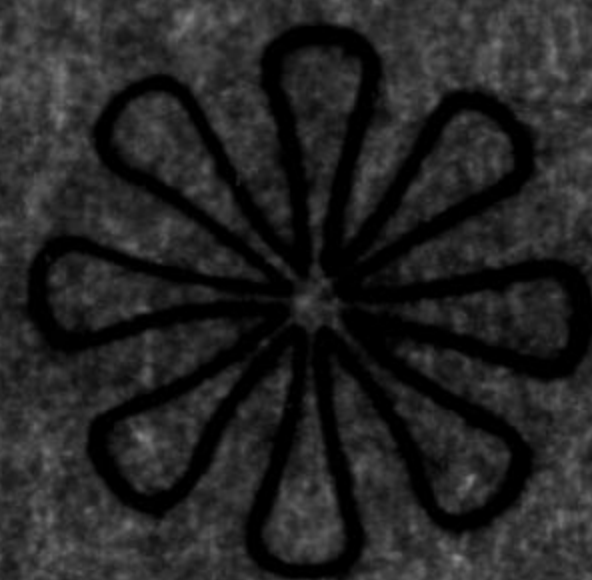
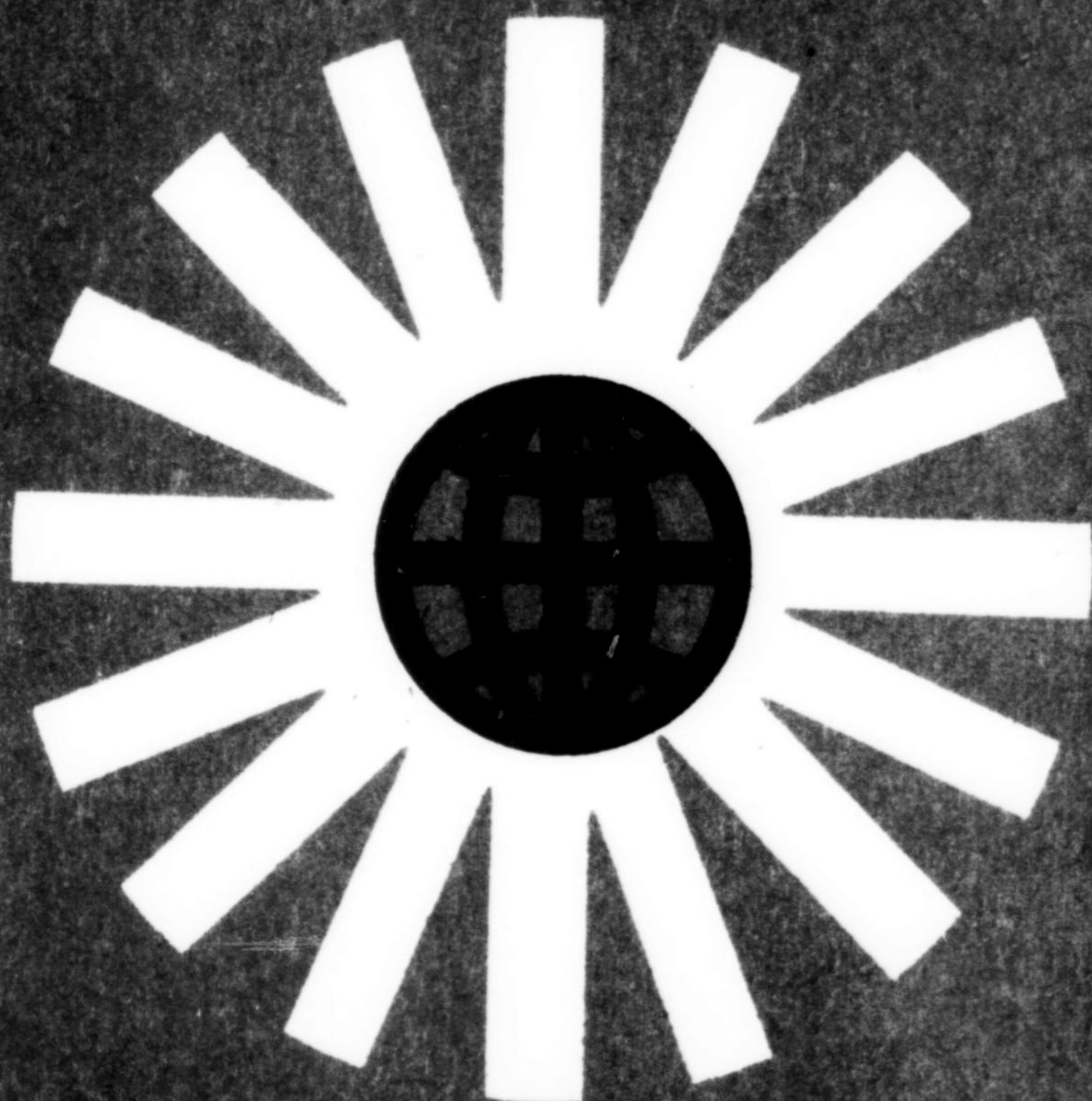


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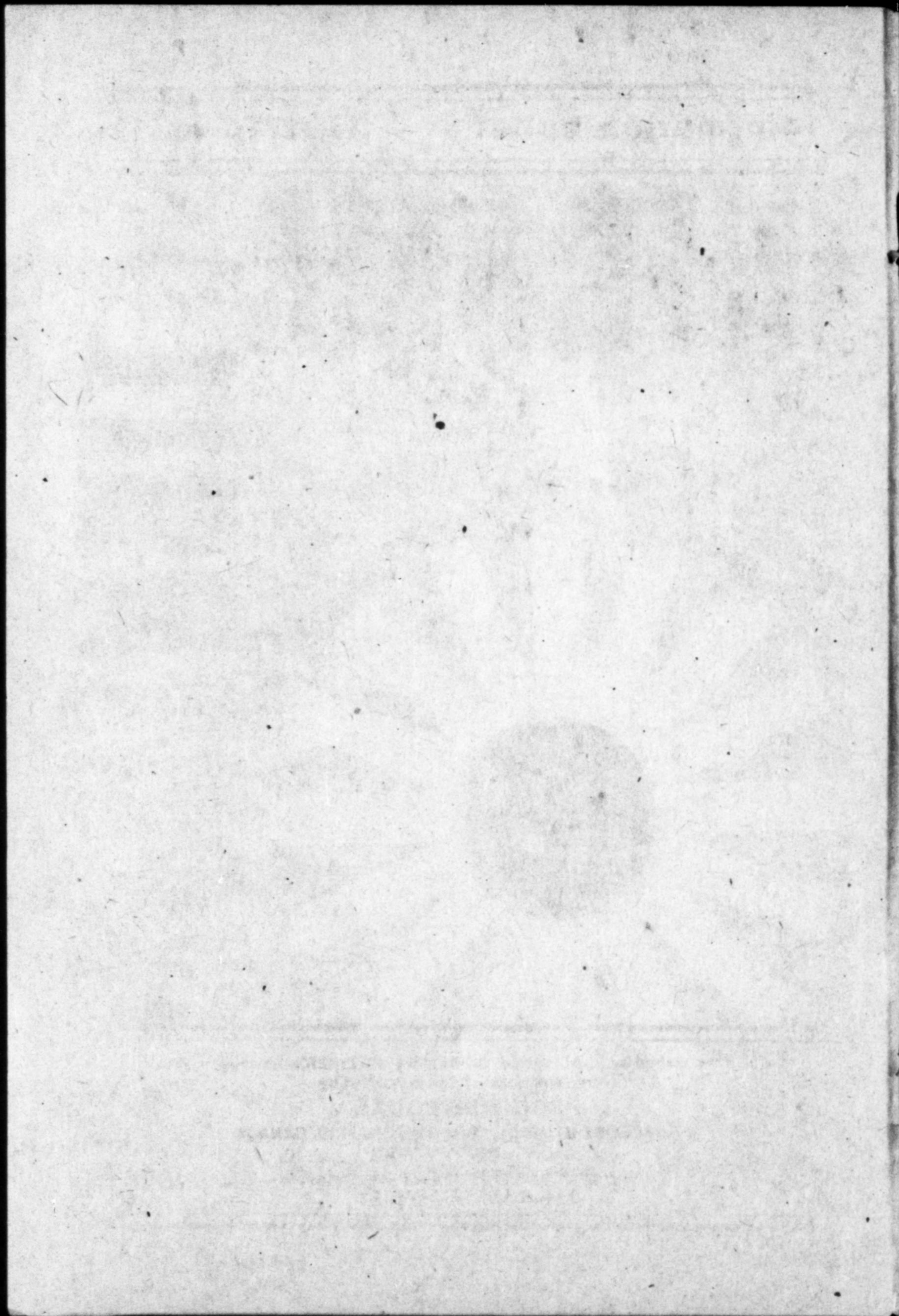
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30 YEARS —
SOCIALIST
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CHINA AFTER
10TH CPC
CONGRESS

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contents

THIRTY YEARS OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN BULGARIA	5
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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Argentina	
The decisive moment draws nearer	21
Guatemala	
Twenty-five years of struggle for working people's interests	24
Honduras	
Socio-economic struggle of the people	28
In brief	32

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

Soviet Union	
China after the 10th Party Congress	40

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THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN BULGARIA

A meeting was held in Sofia on September 8 on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. Taking part were foremost workers, veterans of the revolutionary struggle, representatives of public organizations, delegations from fraternal socialist countries and other foreign guests.

The participants gave a standing ovation to Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary, CC BCP and Chairman of the State Council; Stanko Todorov, Politbureau member, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, other Bulgarian leaders, the Soviet Party and government delegation headed by Nikolai Podgorny, Politbureau member, CC CPSU, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; the heads of delegations of fraternal socialist countries.

The anniversary meeting was opened by Vladimir Bonev, member of the CC BCP Secretariat, Chairman of the People's Assembly.

The main report was delivered by Todor Zhivkov.

REPORT BY TODOR ZHIVKOV

The 13 centuries of Bulgarian history have seen no other three decades to compare with the 30 years that have passed since the victory on September 9, 1944. Therein lies the historic significance of the socialist revolution, whose 30th anniversary we are celebrating today.

How did the fundamental change in the century-old history of heroic bloody battles for Bulgaria's liberation become possible?

This turning point, Zhivkov noted, became possible because the proletariat had emerged on the world scene as the only class in mankind's history which fights for power not to replace the domination of one class by that of another, but to eliminate all exploitation and oppression and the division of society into classes.

This turning point became possible because the Great October

Socialist Revolution had commenced the transition from capitalism to socialism, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, led by the Communist Party, had become the lodestar and powerful bulwark of the international communist and workers' movement, of the working-class struggle in all countries for socialism.

This turning point became possible because in 1891 Dimitr Blagoyev and his splendid associates formed the revolutionary Marxist party of the Bulgarian working class, which after the victory of the October Revolution took part in founding the Communist International and developed into a Leninist-type party, capable of leading the struggle of the oppressed and exploited masses to that victorious day of September 9, 1944, which shone like a red beacon in Bulgaria's new history.

Bulgaria's history, like world developments in the almost six decades of our century, forcefully proves that ours is the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, T. Zhivkov stressed.

The September 9 revolution, which won thanks to the decisive help of the Soviet Army, was from the very outset a socialist revolution, basically a repetition of the October Revolution in Russia.

Both during the anti-fascist struggle and on the eve of September 9, 1944, the Bulgarian Communist Party was the only organized and militant political force in the country. It rallied the working class and other working people and led them to a decisive battle for power. And the power set up by the people on September 9, despite the bourgeois-minded politicians in the Fatherland Front and in its first coalition government, was the dictatorship of the proletariat, the power of the working class in alliance with the working peasantry and people's intelligentsia, led by the Communist Party, the speaker said.

In his brilliant report to the Fifth Party Congress, Georgi Dimitrov showed the essence and the pattern of development of people's democracy as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and formulated the program tasks of the Party during the transition from capitalism to socialism. Carrying out the behests of Dimitrov, drawing upon the historical experience and brotherly assistance of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, and in fraternal cooperation with other socialist countries, we have fundamentally reconstructed the national economy, abolished the exploitative classes and established socialist social relations. Having resolved the tasks of the transitional period, Bulgaria began to build the material and technical foundation of socialism, develop a socialist basis and superstructure. It was in these conditions, Zhivkov noted, that the 10th Congress was held in 1971. It

went down in the history of our Party and socialist Bulgaria as the congress that adopted a new Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party and set the Party and people a new historic task, that of building a developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

At present the fixed assets of the economy total more than 38 billion levas — an immense national wealth created by the hard work and struggle of our heroic working people. But economic progress is measured not only by the quantitative growth of the industrial facilities. The main economic characteristic of Bulgaria today is the rapid expansion of industry. Industry accounts for 64 per cent of social product and 52 per cent of the national income, with the highest rate in the modern branches, which make for accelerated industrialization and scientific and technological progress.

Speaking of the national economy, T. Zhivkov noted with satisfaction the especially important role of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Bulgaria's fraternal cooperation with the CMEA member countries was decisive in its rapid economic development, he said. As to the future, we cannot conceive of building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria without broader and closer cooperation, specialization and coordination, without socialist economic integration with the other CMEA countries, the Soviet Union in the first place.

The socialist social system created and with the passing years is increasingly perfecting the new, socialist way of life basically different from that in bourgeois society, T. Zhivkov continued.

Socialism has eliminated the exploitative classes in Bulgaria, established relations of socio-political equality, unity of the basic interests of friendly classes and strata. It made the working man the full master of his country and created multiform social mechanisms for the people's real participation in discussing and tackling problems in enterprises, regions, and the country as a whole. Under socialism all the riches, all economic, scientific and cultural achievements of the country have been placed at the service of man.

Without idealizing our gains, it is fair to say that man with his new, socialist consciousness, social behavior, and way of life is the greatest asset, the golden fund of our socialist country, the speaker stressed.

All our socialist victories and gains, with which we are celebrating the 30th anniversary of September 9, T. Zhivkov continued, are indissolubly linked with the Communist Party. Having traversed a long and glorious road through the crucible of struggle against capitalism and fascism, overcoming incalculable difficulties and tempered in socialist construction, the Party of the Bulgarian Communists

is equal to its historic mission of the political organization of the working class and its tried and tested Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the acknowledged guiding force of the entire people. Under the banner of communism, shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and in common with the international communist and working-class movement, our Party was capable of organically linking the concept of the Party and people, the homeland and socialism, the national and international duty.

T. Zhivkov dealt especially with Bulgarian-Soviet relations. Our Party and people are well aware that all our achievements in the 30 years at home and on the international scene are a result of both our selfless work and of the unbreakable friendship, cohesion and unity of action with the fraternal socialist countries.

One of the main gains of our revolution is the crystal clear, consistently internationalist, truly fraternal friendship of our Party and people with the Party and people of the Soviet Union, the speaker said.

Since the Great October Socialist Revolution the Bulgarian Communists have linked the struggle for socialism in their country with the destinies of the Land of Soviets. They passionately and staunchly defended the Bolsheviks against the slander and attacks of the world bourgeoisie and its opportunist spokesmen; they popularized the life, activity and achievements of the Soviet people; they inculcated in the hearts of the Bulgarian working people their love for the Soviet Union, belief and hope in the liberating mission of its Red Army. The Bulgarian Communists and working people saw the invasion of the Soviet Union by the fascist armies as an attack against themselves. In the heart of the Rhodope mountains, near the legendary Batak, one of the first Bulgarian partisans expressed this simply and clearly: "As from today we are soldiers of the Red Army!"

The Bulgarian people, T. Zhivkov said, are proud that as a result of the mass revolutionary movement the treacherous bourgeoisie was not able to send a single soldier to the Eastern Front to fight against the Red Army. We are proud that not one Soviet soldier fell from a Bulgarian shot on the fields or in the mountains of our country. But we know well that the millions of Soviet people who fell in the field of battle in the Soviet Union and in Europe gave their lives also for our freedom, and we Bulgarians will always cherish a sacred feeling of gratitude to the Soviet peoples.

Bulgaria will never forget the sunny September days of 1944, the appearance of the Soviet Army at our borders, the thrill of waiting by

the arches bearing the inscription, "Welcome, brothers!", the tears of joy in eyes of people! We remember our first steps after September 9, we remember what Bulgaria was like then and what we ourselves were like. We remember the first Soviet tractors on our cooperative farm fields. The first construction sites. The first factories. We remember the first Soviet specialists, splendid people, whom the Soviet Union sent to our aid, though it badly needed them in the postwar rehabilitation at home. We have long forgotten what hunger is, but we remember and shall never forget the taste of the bread baked from Soviet wheat in those hungry postwar years.

There are still people in the world, T. Zhivkov said, who call themselves "revolutionaries," who are so concerned for their "independence" of the Soviet Union that in the fear of being called imitators they give in to bourgeois views and display an amazing readiness to renounce everything, including the revolution, including the correct road of socialist construction.

We Bulgarian Communists draw upon mankind's revolutionary experience, generalized in the harmonious theory of Marxism-Leninism and coming into being in the present-day struggles. Nothing is more natural to us than to study, assimilate and creatively apply the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet people, of the Party and the people who were the first to carry through a victorious socialist revolution, first to build a socialist society and are first to pave the road to communism for mankind.

The constantly growing Bulgarian-Soviet friendship has in the past few years entered a new and higher stage. Guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism and acting in conformity with the objective laws of socialist society, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party are following a line of all-round cooperation and ever closer unity of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, T. Zhivkov noted.

Present at our festivities, he said, is a dear guest, Nikolai Viktorovich Podgorny, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, outstanding son of the Soviet people, prominent in the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party and in the international communist movement. Allow me, comrades, in your name, and in the name of our entire people to warmly greet our distinguished guest and the other Soviet guests and ask Comrade Podgorny to convey to the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet people — our brother — that we, Bulgarian Communists and people will not for anything on earth forgo the supreme benefit and happiness of advancing shoulder to

shoulder with them in building the new life, in the noble struggle of mankind for freedom and peace, for the triumph of the ideas and ideals of communism!

On this day of our joyous festivities, T. Zhivkov said, we send fervent greetings to our dear friend, comrade and brother, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Hero of the Bulgarian People's Republic, outstanding party leader and statesman of our time, strategist and the builder of the unity and cohesion of the world socialist community, untiring and far-sighted champion of peace the world over.

The great Lenin once called the Bulgarian Tesnyaks internationalists in deed. A few decades later Comrade Brezhnev characterized the relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union as socialist internationalism in action.

We take enormous pride in both these assessments because they outline the straight and clear political line of the Bulgarian Communist Party since the time of Dimitr Blagoyev through the time of Georgi Dimitrov up to our days. Years and decades will go by, new generations will be born, new leaders will stand at the head of our parties, countries and peoples, but the line of fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the line of Bulgarian-Soviet brotherhood will always remain as clear and unswervingly directed ahead and upwards in the decades and in the centuries to come.

While promoting Bulgarian-Soviet friendship in every way, T. Zhivkov said, we are working for and will continue to work in growing measure for the development of fraternal friendship and cooperation with other socialist countries.

As for China, our position is clear. We do not conceal our view that the adventurist revisionist and nationalistic course of the Mao group imperils the socialist gains of the Chinese people. We resolutely rebuff and condemn the anti-Soviet and anti-communist slanders spread by Peking, its fierce struggle against the unity of the world socialist community, the international communist movement, national-liberation movements, its reactionary, pro-imperialist positions and actions in the international arena.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, T. Zhivkov continued, has always consistently championed the purity of the revolutionary teaching of the proletariat, the cohesion and unity of action of Communists throughout the world. A tribute to its revolutionary service was the election of two Bulgarians, Vasil Kolarov and Georgi Dimitrov, out-

standing leaders of the international communist and working-class movement, as general secretaries of the Comintern. An especially big part was played by Georgi Dimitrov, great son of the Bulgarian working class, in developing and strengthening the international communist and working-class movement, in evolving the policy of united and popular fronts, which is today pursued by many fraternal parties.

Educated in the spirit of consistent internationalism and revolutionary intransigence toward the class enemy, revisionism and nationalism, the Bulgarian Communist Party sees its primary duty in further strengthening the ties and cooperation with fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. I would like to express my gratitude to our brother-Communists from other countries for their solidarity, support and experience, and to assure them that in the Bulgarian Communist Party they have a reliable ally and loyal comrade.

Our Party will continue to do everything possible to broaden and strengthen the united front of Communists of the world, further to improve its strategy and tactics in the anti-imperialist struggle. We will, in future too, develop more active bilateral ties. At the same time, T. Zhivkov noted, we consider that conditions have ripened for convening a European and then an international meeting of Communist and Workers parties. The Bulgarian Communist Party is ready to take part in these meetings and to work for their successful conclusion.

T. Zhivkov then dwelt on Bulgaria's relations with the newly independent states and peoples fighting for their liberation from imperialism.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria welcomes the big positive changes that have occurred in the world over the past few years, he continued. We fully support the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress, the vigorous moves of the Soviet Party and government leaders in carrying it out, in asserting the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, in developing mutually advantageous cooperation with capitalist countries.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is also making its contribution in this respect. Together with other socialist countries it is actively working for the early and successful conclusion of the European conference and for the adoption of documents that would strengthen peace, trust and cooperation among the countries of the continent.

We are firmly convinced, T. Zhivkov said, that the genuine interests of the peoples urgently call for an early solution of the major

problems, on which peace in the Middle East depends: withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab lands and guarantees for the rights of all peoples and countries in this region, including the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs.

We resolutely support the efforts of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam in healing the wounds inflicted by the war and in building a peaceful and happy life for the people. We hope that the Paris agreement will be fully implemented and that conditions for a secure peace and progress will be created in Southeast Asia.

Our country, T. Zhivkov noted further, hails the Soviet-American agreements on limiting the arms drive, and hopes that in the near future more effective and broader disarmament measures will be carried out.

Détente, naturally, gives us no ground to forget that we are still living in a world where the laws of class struggle operate and there exist influential imperialist circles who openly express their hostility to the socialist countries and attempt to intimidate us with their saber-rattling.

That the threat of war has not yet been fully eliminated is evident from the events in Cyprus, in the Balkans, where we are continually striving to create a cloudless atmosphere and broaden peaceful cooperation. This is common knowledge. The rightist forces, inspired by certain NATO circles, staged a coup, overthrew the lawful government and attempted to kill President Makarios. Now, Zhivkov continued, the same NATO circles are obstructing peaceful solution of the conflict and sabotaging the UN Security Council resolutions. Our position is clear: we demand respect for the sovereignty of friendly Cyprus and sincerely wish that our neighbors, Greece and Turkey, live in peace and mutual understanding between themselves and with an independent Cyprus. The Balkan peoples have more than once been used as cannon fodder in the interests of imperialist powers. Socialist Bulgaria is doing and will continue to do all in its power to bring about new relations in the Balkans, good-neighborly relations and cooperation in the interests of world peace.

The road traversed by our country in the past 30 years, T. Zhivkov concluded, is rich in content and results, it is indeed a road which for other countries, in other conditions, took centuries. We have every right to be proud of our achievements. We are convinced that our splendid people, Communists, members of the Agricultural People's

Union, members of the Popular Front, non-party people, workers, cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, our youth, our splendid working people will mobilize all their strength and knowledge, all their energy and initiative and, under the leadership of the Party, attain new heights on the way to developed socialism.

Abridged from *Rabotnichesko Delo*, Sept. 9, 1974.

SPEECH BY N. V. PODGORNYY

In his speech N.V. Podgornyy said in part:

It is with a feeling of profound joy that our Party and State delegation conveys to you, our dear Bulgarian friends, fraternal greetings and most cordial congratulations from the 250 million Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government. We convey heartfelt congratulations and the best wishes from Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The sources of inspiration of Bulgarian workers are in the great achievements of the socialist revolution, in the program inscribed on the banner of the Bulgarian Communist Party, in the Party's many-sided activities.

We know the Bulgarian Communist Party as a Party with a rich revolutionary experience.

We know the Bulgarian Communists as staunch and consistent Marxist-Leninists. The tested political leader of the working class, of the working people of the country, the Bulgarian Communist Party, skilfully guided the energy of the masses into socialist reforms in all stages of the last thirty years. The 10th Congress of the Party which adopted a sweeping program for building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria became an important milestone on that road.

We know the BCP as an integral part of the world communist and workers' movement, as a Party which wages an irreconcilable struggle against the enemies of the working class, against those who are endeavoring to split its ranks, as a Party that upholds the interests of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, with great sense of responsibility and from the standpoint of principles.

Together with you, dear friends, Soviet Communists treasure the memory of the fine sons of Bulgaria who stood at the source of the unity of our Parties. We pay a respectful tribute to Dimitr Blagoyev,

the founder of the revolutionary workers' party in your country, to Vasil Kolarov and many other remarkable Bulgarian Communists. We highly appraise the outstanding role of Georgi Dimitrov in the Bulgarian and world communist movement. The image of this unbending revolutionary-Leninist, one of the leaders of the Communist International, the leader of the Bulgarian Communists, his courage, wisdom and foresight will forever remain an inspiring model.

Bulgarian and Soviet Communists have always been loyal friends. We highly appraise the outstanding role of Georgi Dimitrov in the Bulgarian and world communist movement. The image of this un-again convey fraternal greetings to the Bulgarian Communist Party, to the Central Committee of the BCP, to its Politbureau, to an outstanding leader of the international communist movement and true friend of the Soviet Union, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

We ardently and cordially greet the true ally of the BCP — the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union and its Secretary, Comrade Georgi Traikov, the All-National Committee of Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship, all public organizations affiliated in the Patriotic Front.

That memorable September, in 1944, began a new chapter in Soviet-Bulgarian friendship. The age-old friendship and fraternity of our peoples were cemented by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, by the policy of socialist internationalism. The comprehensive, close cooperation of the Soviet Union and People's Bulgaria has been directed toward the attainment of a common goal — the establishment of the fairest society in the world.

Our economic cooperation, the broadening of scientific and cultural relations, the cooperation between public organizations are becoming greater and stronger every year. We will continue to do everything to consolidate the bonds of friendship and fraternity between the CPSU and the BCP, the Land of Soviets and People's Bulgaria, for further progress in cooperation and rapprochement between our Parties, states and peoples.

This year, and next year too, many socialist countries are celebrating their 30th or 25th anniversaries. For all our community these have been years of steady consolidation of unity and cohesion. The political alliance of the fraternal countries in the Warsaw Treaty Organization has grown in might during this last period. Economic integration is developing successfully — as can be seen, in particular, in the

results of the recent session here in Sofia of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The world socialist economy commands great resources and a powerful industrial and scientific potential, enabling the fraternal countries to settle their problems jointly, to put major projects for the common benefit into practice. Together, we have accumulated great and varied experience of cooperation. This experience shows that the trend for unity, cohesion and rapprochement of the states in the socialist community is indomitable. It ensues from the fundamental laws of social development in this epoch, from the very nature of socialism. We are confident that the process of rapprochement of socialist countries, the process of economic, scientific and cultural rapprochement will steadily develop and grow deeper with every passing year.

Advancement along unexplored roads of history naturally involves difficulties, which are quite formidable. Building a new society means straining all the power of the people and a creative approach to the problems that arise. Comrades, there are many tasks and much work ahead of us. It can be said with confidence that, taking guidance from the all-conquering teaching of Marxism-Leninism and making use of practical experience we have gained, coordinating and combining our efforts, we shall multiply our achievements. This precisely shows the advantages of socialism, namely that it creates the conditions for fraternal countries to advance successfully, leaning on each other for assistance.

The establishment of the socialist system brings new criteria, new yardsticks of the significance of each socialist country, of its part and importance on the international scene. Take Bulgaria, for instance. In the past, she had experienced all the bitterness of dependence and humiliation. She experienced all the lot of a small country in a world run by the jungle law of capitalism, where the strong seek to enslave the weak.

The situation changed radically when Bulgaria became a full-fledged member of the great and powerful socialist community. She gained genuine independence and sovereignty. Socialism does not divide people into strong and weak by their numerical strength. Each nation makes a worthy contribution to strengthening the whole of our international fraternity, and enjoys the benefits and advantages of this union on an equal footing. Like the facet of a valuable diamond, fraternal countries reflect the strength, stability and

magnificence of the whole socialist community.

Socialist Bulgaria has won high prestige on the international scene. Her active, consistently internationalist foreign policy makes a great contribution to the collective effort of socialist countries toward the affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and the deepening of international détente. Important shifts toward ensuring security and peace in Europe, implementing specific measures for settling vital international problems in other continents — in all this there is a considerable contribution by the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Our policy in international affairs is clearly defined. The Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, all fraternal socialist countries are determined to continue to do everything to make détente irreversible, ensure international security and peace. These impressive objectives are set out in the Program of Peace, adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress, in the program documents of the BCP and the other fraternal Parties. Literally every foreign-policy action of the states of the socialist camp is directed toward these objectives.

The positive shifts on the international scene create more favorable conditions for the struggle of democratic, progressive forces for the implementation of the social changes for which the time is ripe. It is not accidental that the fascist dictatorship in Portugal crumbled, that the anti-popular military junta faced moral and political bankruptcy in Greece, precisely with the relaxation of tension, with the normalization of the political situation in Europe and under the impact of a number of internal factors. The fresh wind of change, the improvement of the international situation — the situation in Europe too — decidedly do not favor these political anachronisms which have lived like parasites for many years in the stagnant atmosphere of the "cold war."

It is certainly understood that so far we are only at the beginning of the road toward a strong and democratic peace. One can hardly hope that the distrust and suspicion which accumulated in the long years of the "cold war" will give way easily to confidence and understanding. It should not be overlooked that there are imperialist elements, primarily the so-called military-industrial complex, who are obstructing international détente, because it infringes upon their economic and political interests. They will stop at nothing to preserve their weakening positions, to suppress the peoples' desire for freedom, to bring to power reactionary dictatorial regimes, as they did in Chile.

Basically at one with the imperialist elements, are the political personalities who, taking cover behind pseudo-revolutionary

phraseology and paying lip service to peace and to the interests of the peoples, are inflicting damage on liberation movements, endeavoring to block or reverse the real positive progress on the international scene, striving to fan the hotbeds of tension wherever they spring up.

However, whatever forces obstruct the strengthening of peace and international cooperation, their actions stand in glaring contradiction with the vital interests of the masses and therefore are eventually doomed. What the peoples expect is not sweeping pronouncements and fancy words about peace. They expect an effective policy, a constructive approach to outstanding problems, the utmost utilization of all opportunities to achieve a lasting, just and democratic peace.

The process of relaxation, we believe, should encompass all the principal spheres of world politics and economics. It should also touch upon the military sphere. Peace cannot be built on a powder keg, a keg which in our day is packed with nuclear-missile weapons. Détente should lead to arms limitation and to a reduction in armed forces and armaments, and first of all in nuclear weapons. We firmly believe that the steps taken in this direction, including the efforts for the limitation of strategic armaments, should be continued.

An indispensable condition of further international détente should be complete settlement of acute situations of international conflict. This relates, for instance, to Vietnam, where the Saigon regime, with real support from the imperialist powers, is sabotaging the observance of the Paris agreements and obstructing peace in this area.

One of the priority measures among the pressing practical actions which could improve the international climate considerably is further relaxation of tension where NATO and Warsaw Treaty forces come into immediate confrontation.

In this context the Soviet Union attributes great importance to the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Alongside this, the Soviet Union is advocating the conversion of the Mediterranean into a nuclear-free zone, a zone of peace. This could be facilitated by the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of all nuclear armed vessels. The Soviet Union is prepared to take this important step but, naturally, on a reciprocal basis. We believe that the implementation of these measures would greatly facilitate a further normalization of the situation in Europe and all over the world.

The timely solutions of international problems, with proper consideration of the lawful interests of all the parties concerned, is a basic condition for the steady progress of détente. Experience has shown

repeatedly how dangerous attempts to ignore this are. The events in Cyprus, for instance. The situation on Cyprus, a result of the mutiny against the lawful government of the Republic of Cyprus through foreign military intervention, remains complex and tense. The repeated intervention of certain NATO circles in the internal affairs of Cyprus is immediately responsible for the current crisis. It is high time for a representative forum of states within the framework of the United Nations Organization to take up the Cyprus problem. Only an authoritative international conference could, with the participation of representatives of the Republic of Cyprus, jointly work out solutions that would really ensure the existence of an independent Cyprus, and this would meet the interests of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

The Soviet Union, jointly with other socialist countries, has been defending the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus firmly and consistently. There must be an end to reactionary designs, to interference from without in the internal affairs of Cyprus, which is a full-fledged member of the United Nations. The Cypriot people — both Greek and Turkish Cypriots — should be secure in the inalienable right to settle their problems in calm and peace. This is required by the interests of the Cypriot people, and the interests of stronger peace and security in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The events in Cyprus must not overshadow the task of a settlement in the Middle East. In effect, these events underline the pressing need of an early settlement of the Middle East crisis. The fact is that the key problems in this explosive area are still outstanding. The Arab territories are still occupied by Israeli troops. There is no agreement on ensuring the lawful national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their sovereign right to their own statehood in one form or another. There is no agreement on guarantees of security of the Middle East states — either the Arab states or Israel.

These, above all, are problems that should be discussed and settled at the Geneva Conference. The Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, other fraternal socialist countries have always supported the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialist aggression and diktat and work solidly for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Everywhere — in Europe, Asia, Africa or Latin America — in settling all pressing international issues the countries of the socialist community have struggled tirelessly for peace, freedom and the social progress of the peoples. Throughout the global front of confrontation

between two worlds, two social systems, socialism is on the history-making offensive and advancing at a rapid pace.

(T. Zhivkov's report and N.V. Podgorny's speech were heard with close attention and repeatedly punctuated by applause.)



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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

STATEMENT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

On September 1, 1974 the CPA Executive Committee issued a statement, "The Decisive Moment Draws Nearer." Below are excerpts from this statement, published in the Party's paper *Nuestra Palabra* on September 3.

A critical mement has come in the process of restoring a constitutional system in Argentina. Deliberate disruption of supplies, jacking up of prices, the spread of panic rumors and the escalation of terrorist actions — all this, along with errors of judgement and mistakes by some government authorities, has created the present tense atmosphere of insecurity.

Immediately after the death of President Peron, the ultra-reactionary forces, fearful that the struggle against dependence and for national liberation will gain full scope and become irreversible, began to carry out counter-revolutionary acts, as yet still in the stage of psychological warfare. If the oligarchy and monopolies are today capable of disturbing internal peace, it is only because, having peacefully relinquished power in 1973, they were able to preserve their estates, the main economic and financial levers and key positions in the machinery of the State.

In their efforts to restore the anti-popular and anti-national dictatorship; they are posing as defenders of "law and order." They enjoy the support of the U.S. imperialist ruling circles, which issue them precise instructions to do everything to create difficulties for the government. The CIA agents are working ceaselessly. The ring around the country is gradually tightening. Everything indicates that Yankee imperialism will not let its prey, Argentina, escape its clutches easily.

The cattle-owning and financial oligarchy is strongly opposed to such progressive moves as nationalization of the marketing of oil

products, and is concentrating its attacks on three positive aspects of government policy: first, the draft agrarian reform law, which the oligarchy seeks to block or distort; second, the measures to organize the regular supply of food and to combat speculation, which it tries to sabotage; third, foreign policy, which it attacks to torpedo the agreements signed with socialist countries.

Knowing that they can never get back political power through democratic elections, the latifundists and imperialist companies have chosen conspiracy. The first stage on this way is economic sabotage, disruption of supplies and psychological warfare. These are all convenient means of misleading public opinion, sowing despondency, splitting popular parties and the left forces and sowing discord between them — in short, of creating a chaos to help the oligarchy capture power and establish a fascist dictatorship at an opportune moment.

One should not be trapped by those seeking to sow discord and bring in division. In the present complex situation in Argentina any mistake by the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in defining the main enemy would be fatal.

Some aspects of government activity, far from facilitating the democratic and anti-imperialist process, are stimulating the actions of reactionaries and advocates of a coup. One such aspect is the relationship between prices and wages. Prices are rising steadily with no equivalent wage increases. The workers and other people see with alarm that government control over prices and wages is ineffective. If the government relied on active and organized action of the people in the resolute and important fight against speculation, and end would be put to it.

The right-wing Peronists claiming to be the only continuers of Peron are not sitting idle either. They support those in the federal police who collaborated with the dictatorship, facilitate subordination of autonomous provincial government bodies and interference in the affairs of militant trade unions, create a threat to the gains of universities, encroach on freedom of the press by closing down opposition papers, and cover up the criminal acts of para-police units that operate as virtual "death squads." They treat with such hostility the young Peronists fighting for the implementation of the program, that one gets the impression the latter are being provoked to rash actions.

Despite the offensive of right-wing forces of every hue, the most important aspect of the present situation is the increasing public

awareness of the need for democratic anti-imperialist unity to defend the constitutional system.

The organized offensive of reaction, on the one hand, and the broad scope of united mass action, on the other, show that the decisive moment is drawing near. If the masses unite in their actions they will be able to prevent any change of policy from above and resist or crush those who would try the tactics and methods of Pinochet in our country.

The new processes within the armed forces indicate the possibility of the latter protecting the constitutional system.

The alarming escalation of terrorist actions is aggravating the situation still more. The terrorism of right-wing para-police units and stepped-up adventurist actions of the extremists are conducive to the designs of conspirators. In a situation not yet ripe for direct revolutionary action and with the expectations of bourgeois reforms not yet fully realized, isolated acts of violence objectively mislead the masses and help push "strong men" to the fore, i.e., precipitate coups of a fascist type.

It is said that since the Right completely dominates the situation, nothing can now be done within the framework of the law. In that case fascism would have already won. There are negative developments to be opposed, but there are other developments which can and should be defended.

The multi-party assembly convened by the Supreme Council of the Justicialist Movement to work out a joint national program caused alarm among the reactionaries who fear that this can lead to national democratic and anti-imperialist unity supported by the vast majority of the nation.

This important and necessary initiative may fail if hostile action or evasive positions on a joint progressive program are allowed to cause vacillations.

The Communist Party firmly stands for continuing the process in a constitutional framework. However, it holds that in the present critical situation, in the face of inevitable difficulties in promoting the process of change, and in the face of oligarchy and imperialist aggressiveness, one more step is needed: the formation of a broad democratic coalition cabinet.

Those who would create chaos and aspire to power have to be checked. The internal situation is not normal, with the country living through an extraordinary moment. In such circumstances anti-

imperialist national unity must be reflected in government bodies.

The Communist Party declares its readiness to share responsibility for carrying out the following tasks:

1. Resolutely oppose the plotters against the people and the country; prevent a reactionary coup from destroying the established order; protect human and civil rights.

2. Consistently apply, with broad participation of workers and other people, the law against the disruption of supplies.

3. Ensure the holding of a Constituent Congress which should adopt a modern constitution, as well as orderly elections in 1977.

4. Ensure implementation of the minimum common program of all parties and democratic and anti-imperialist forces sharing the aspirations and just demands of the working people and oriented on progressive changes in the socio-economic structure of the country.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR THE INTERESTS OF GUATEMALA'S WORKING PEOPLE

Below is an abridged text of a statement issued on August 31 by the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Party of Labor.

September 28, 1974 marks the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the party of Guatemalan Communists. These were 25 years of intense struggle, sacrifices and accumulation of experience during which the GPL's theoretical and practical activity was closely interwoven with the revolutionary movement.

During the first five years of its semi-legal and legal existence (1949-1954), and in the 20 years it has been underground (1954-1974), the GPL has striven to express the interests of working people in town and country and to use all forms, in the most difficult conditions, to expand the struggle for meeting their demands.

From 1949 to 1954, our Party carried out intensive work with the Communists coming out, as a result, in the forefront of the struggle for a free, democratic and independent Guatemala during the revolutionary upsurge, when the country was governed by the administration of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

When the monopolies and landed oligarchy felt their economic and political power was endangered, Yankee imperialism undertook in June 1954 an armed intervention to cut short the revolutionary process. Death, jail and exile once again became the lot of Communists. The ruling classes thus left the revolutionary forces no choice but revolutionary violence in response to reactionary violence. The split in the revolutionary movement makes it easier for imperialism and the ruling classes to fight it, and as a result of cruel terrorist and criminal acts over 16,000 men, women and children were murdered in little more than eight years (1966-1974).

The best response to systematic killings of Communists was given by the workers, peasants, intellectuals and students, who multiplied their efforts to build up a political weapon of the working people. The Party of Labor is a vital necessity of the Guatemalan proletariat, it has deep roots in the consciousness of the most advanced sections of the people, and is replenished by its most staunch, devoted and resolute representatives. In spite of repeated blows struck by the oligarchy, imperialism and their machinery of repression and oppression, the Party of Communists has been and will continue to be a force which cannot be destroyed physically, politically or ideologically.

The GPL does not exist for its own sake. It is a political tool of the workers and peasants, embodying the will of people ready to carry out the far-reaching revolutionary changes the country needs. The Party exists by virtue of the revolutionary tasks facing it. It is based on a scientific and creative interpretation of Guatemalan reality in the light of Marxist-Leninist ideas. Its objective is the revolutionary transformation of the present wretched reality.

The GPL is a party of the working class and peasantry, a party of a new type, and a profoundly revolutionary one. It is a party which not only scientifically explains reality but also struggles to change it. It works for a new situation at home in which we Guatemalans could decide our present and future. The GPL speaks for the working people of town and country, employees, students and intellectuals. Its aim is to tackle the problems of the broadest middle sections of the population. To many the GPL is the only party capable of freeing the people from the yoke of exploitation and capitalist oppression.

That is why the oligarchy, Yankee imperialism and other enemies of the working people, who realize that the strengthening of the GPL precipitates the end of exploitation and oppression of Guatemalans,

are waging a fierce battle against our Party.

On the other flank, the so-called ultra-revolutionary elements, with their ill-conceived objectives, attack the Party, slander it, question its role, fight the Party with the full malice of their empty, demagogic rhetoric and, in violation of all the standards of ideological struggle, vilify it and act virtually as informers and agent-provocateurs.

The GPL wages a tireless struggle against reaction and imperialism. Its duty is to expose and oppose pseudo-revolutionaries with their slanderous ultra-left rhetoric who, playing into the hands of the enemies of the people and revolution, render valuable support to the reactionaries.

NATIONAL CRISIS

Guatemala's social, political and economic crisis continues to deepen. Antagonistic contradictions between exploiters and the exploited and the struggle between different factions of the ruling classes are growing more and more acute. The cost of living is being steadily driven up by mounting inflation, aggravated by our country's dependence, speculation, corruption and wage freezes. Unemployment and partial employment are increasing and dependence on U.S. monopolies is growing. Repression and violations of democratic rights continue. As a consequence of this situation, the most reactionary section of the ruling classes and imperialism have been seeking to resolve the crisis through the establishment of an even more centralized, authoritarian, repressive state, a fascist-type regime which would guarantee the interests and profits of the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy and U.S. monopolies.

The ruling classes and imperialism, unable to find a way out of the country's crisis, are seeking ways of resolving it at the expense of the toiling majority so as to keep receiving huge profits. The exploiters know that they suffered a defeat in the election of March 3, 1974, that the present government is a result of usurping of power in violation of even reactionary legality, and that the people realize that a handful of Guatemalan and foreign tycoons has flaunted their will by illegally and fraudulently imposing a head of state.

The Laugerud government, which represents the interests of imperialism and the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy and is weak politically, socially, economically and morally, will be forced to understand that there are no simple solutions for the complex and serious problems facing the country. We Guatemalans have entered a period when it is possible to wage a mass struggle to overthrow the power of reaction.

Popular dissatisfaction is greater than ever and continues to grow.

The present government's policy, which is reflected in the announced anti-inflation plan, will in fact only aggravate inflation and greatly harm the workers, peasants and middle sections by virtue of the fact that 88 per cent of the new taxes are indirect and only 12 per cent are direct. This means that they will be paid by all consumers, not only those who have greater economic opportunities, i.e., the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy and foreign enterprises. Thus inflation will go on, to the detriment of the workers, peasants, employees of state and privately-owned enterprises and small owners, who will continue to receive low wages and incomes despite paltry rises. Prices of prime necessities will go up while shortages increase. The big landlords and capitalists will grow richer, paying the workers' labor in money worth less and less. They will continue to rake in big profits, use their influence in government to keep from paying the small taxes that affect them, and go on exploiting the people even more.

RESOLUTE JOINT ACTION

After the grim lesson received by most Guatemalans during the fraudulent elections of March 3, and seeing the inability of reformist parties to head the struggle for respect of the electorate's will, the masses of the people have realized better than ever that the reactionary classes will relinquish power only if force is used.

With the experience of the last few years in mind, the most active sections of the people realize that this is achievable only with organization, unity and popular struggle. It is essential that all party and non-party democratic, patriotic and revolutionary elements realize that lesson and proceed from such realization to action, to a stubborn struggle for the economic, socio-political and military organization of the people, to joint action at all levels, first of all in the municipalities, villages, estates, factories and other labor and student centers. The whole people must rise in united ranks to the mass struggle against the reactionary policies which bring Guatemalans high living costs, low wages, flagrant violations of democratic rights, foreign domination, systematic repression in the villages and constant threat on the part of urban reactionaries, who are ready to clamp down with a new wave of repression. Mass insistence on immediate demands will open the way to greater action for democracy, which will lead to an increasingly resolute, head-on struggle between the reactionaries, small in numbers, and the democratic and revolutionary forces with whom the majority sides.

This is the task of the day, and its implementation is the responsibility of all Communists and revolutionaries.

Our Party will unswervingly continue its struggle for power so as to set up a regime capable of carrying out the agrarian, anti-imperialist, popular revolution, which would open the road to socialism.

Let us join our efforts in the struggle for the right to live, against hunger, for democratic rights, for removing the reactionaries from power!

STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF HONDURAS

On June 29 the Political Commission of the Communist Party of Honduras published a "statement on the socio-economic struggle of the Honduran people." Below are excerpts from the document.

The movements for satisfaction of the demands being advanced by mass organizations of teachers, trade unions, students and peasants are not an accidental phenomenon or the caprice of one or another of their leaders.

There is an objective reason for these movements: *the sudden aggravation of the economic crisis to which Honduras is prone as a dependent country with a warped economy.* Needless to say, this crisis is international in character since it affects the entire capitalist system. However, in a country like ours, whose industrial structure retains numerous feudal survivals, the crisis takes on a more pronounced character than in the economically more developed countries. The despair generated in the masses by the growing crisis determines their militancy and presents demands.

But there is also a subjective reason, connected with the government's position with respect to the urgent measures needed to prevent the aggravation of the crisis in Honduras: the regime is not taking any effective measures and, as a result, the crisis continues to deepen. This being so, the people cannot remain inactive as this would signify acceptance and perpetuation of a situation where the poor become poorer and the rich richer. The people are upholding their rights and putting forward demands because remuneration for

their labor is constantly diminishing and up to now no decisions have been adopted or carried out which could partly alleviate their condition.

The regime established on December 4, 1972 is increasingly losing the sympathy with which the people initially greeted it. The explanation is that the present leaders are wasting time on secondary questions instead of directing all their energies to resolving such basic problems as agrarian reform and state-planned economy. As a result, the present government was unable to create a social basis for itself and is more and more becoming a power of the military. A section of the Honduran bourgeoisie, the reformist bourgeoisie, from which the government derives its class content, is also dissatisfied with stagnation in carrying out the program of transformations, which it supports. This has led it to voice criticism and put forward demands.

For the government, the only solution is again to set about implementing the basic tasks of the National Development Plan, especially the agrarian reform. If the people see the government tackling the fundamental causes of the crisis, they will undoubtedly support it against the conspiracy of the ultra-right and U.S. imperialism.

The following can be said about the present situation in the country: the military leaders are running short of time for carrying out their program. If they waste their time on reformist and unrealistic measures, and overlook the basic tasks, this will lead to serious consequences for them. The year and a half that has passed since the military came to power show that they are remiss in carrying out their commitments to the people. For this reason, the bourgeois-reformist process, on the uptrend until last January, is now on the decline.

Vacillation in carrying out the basic measures of the National Development Plan, and their substitution by a routine and conformist program run counter to the bourgeois-reformist process. When the government stops short of implementing even the timid reforms, it plays into the hands of its most aggressive enemy, the ultra-rights who, with the aim of changing the character of the regime, can act either externally, by means of a fascist-type counter coup, or from the inside, by imposing an ultra-reactionary policy on the government. At present, either is possible.

The present situation at home and in the world is favorable for defeating the erroneous scheme of the technocrat government and providing a broader political part for the social forces capable of carrying out the tasks set in the National Development Plan, and also for finding ways of resolving the dispute with Salvador without pre-

judicing the national interests. Dialogue with these forces and ties with the masses would consolidate the regime and open up broader prospects for carrying out the charted tasks in the near future.

The Communist Party has held a clear-cut stand with respect to the bourgeois-reformist government headed by the Armed Forces. We defined our line in the main document of the Central Committee's 15th plenum last February 10. This line consists of the following main points:

1) firmly support the positive aspects of the bourgeois-reformist process; 2) constantly point out the limitations of this process, proposed by a part of the Honduran bourgeoisie with clearly defined class aims; 3) unswervingly uphold our independence, as a party of the proletariat, in making an objective analysis of the process and in continuing the struggle for the aims of the revolution at the present stage; 4) carry on a resolute struggle against the conspiracy of the ultra-right so as not to allow them to capture key positions.

The Communists consider positive such government measures as the tax on the export of bananas, creation of such organizations as COHDEFOR and BANASUPO*, and also the fixed minimum wages, though the present index is very low. With regard to these measures, we have urged and continue to urge the masses to give them energetic support. Most of our criticism of the government is engendered by its inadequate enforcement of certain decisions, as for instance, the decision on minimum wages, which is being sabotaged by many employers.

We Communists have no illusions about the present government. We know perfectly well that it is not a revolutionary government, and that its aim is not to carry out a revolution in the country. In characterizing it as "bourgeois-reformist," we point out its real class content and its limited political and economic aims, which are directed at developing capitalism in Honduras and not at establishing another socio-economic system. Our support of its positive aspects is fully conscious: we do so because elimination of the feudal survivals is an urgent necessity for advancing Honduran society in every respect, and primarily with respect to the class struggle, which is now hampered by economic backwardness.

* COHDEFOR — Corporacion hondurena de desarrollo forestal, a government organization set up to protect the forests of the country from wanton destruction by foreign monopolies. BANASUPO — suministradora de productos, an organization formed by the National Development Bank to deal with supplies and prices. Its purpose is to fight speculation. — Ed.

The ultra-right and U.S. imperialism try to benefit from the strike movements developed by the various mass organizations. Some of these strikes were staged by the enemies of popular-democratic reforms with the aim of causing anarchy as a pretext for repressive actions or for encouraging putschist tendencies in the most reactionary sections of the army. Teachers, students and class-conscious workers should keep this in mind, and not allow their just demands to be used by the ultra rights for their reactionary and criminal aims.

It is the government's duty to carry on a dialogue with popular organizations with a view to finding a rational solution to each problem. To consider these movements unjust and to take repressive measures on that basis would be conducive to throwing the country back to its ignominious past.

We Communists declare that only a democratic, anti-imperialist, agrarian and popular revolution can lead Honduras out of the present desperate situation and to direct it along the road of social progress. It is for this revolution that we are waging and will continue to wage an irreconcilable struggle.

We acknowledge, however, that in the situation of backwardness characterizing our country, a clearly envisaged and consistently implemented program of reform can play a definite role in creating conditions promoting the country's development. Therefore we hold that the only way for the government to solve the problems put forward by the masses through their demands in relation to wages, lies in putting into practice the economic reforms envisaged by the National Development Plan, among which the most important is the agrarian reform. These reforms would give it not only the economic means of satisfying the most urgent demands of the working people, but also the corresponding mechanisms for alleviating the general crisis plaguing Honduran society.

IN BRIEF

BANGLADESH

For two months the Communist Party of Bangladesh has been actively participating in the national campaign of relief to the victims of the unprecedented floods which caused tremendous damage to the economy and left millions homeless.

Overcoming the economic dislocation in the wake of the floods has become a major task of all progressive forces of the nation, CP General Secretary Mohammed Farhad, declared.

FINLAND

On September 15, the Communist Party organized a mass meeting to celebrate the 30th anniversary (on September 19) of the signing of the armistice between Finland and the states at war with it.

The meeting was addressed by CP Honorary Chairman Ville Pessi, who noted the Soviet Army's decisive role in the defeat of fascist Germany.

After the armistice, which signalled a historic turn in Finland's policies, he said, difficult, persistent work began to put it into effect.

Throughout its activity the CPF has advocated greater friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Finland as being in the best interests of the Finnish people.

Turning to Party tasks, Ville Pessi stressed the need for unswerving implementation of the 16th Congress decisions by all Communists.

CP Vice Chairman Olavi Hänninen declared at the meeting that the Soviet-Finland Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty was the most important of all of Finland's state treaties and the cornerstone of its foreign policy.

Warmly greeted by the participants in the meeting, Academician A.M. Rumyantsev, member of the CC CPSU, conveyed to the Finnish Communists, friends and supporters of the CPF the warm, heartfelt greetings of the CPSU Central Committee, Communists and all working people of the Soviet Union.

Speaking of the significance of the Finland-Soviet Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty, he stressed that Soviet-Finnish relations have become an indubitable and instructive example of peaceful coexistence of states with different economic and social systems, of their equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation.

FRANCE

Hundreds of thousands of Parisians and people from other parts of the country took part September 7 and 8 in the traditional festival of the French Communists' militant newspaper *L'Humanité*, which celebrated its 70th anniversary this year.

The festival was vivid testimony to the growing strength and prestige of the FCP and its mounting ties with the masses.

"Unity of democratic forces! Alliance of the French people!" was the main slogan of the event during which many debates were held with the participation of FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais and other Party leaders, as well as prominent politicians, scientists and journalists.

The festival was a manifestation of international solidarity and proletarian internationalism. It became a meeting place for dozens of delegations from fraternal Party newspapers. A delegation of the CPSU, as well as a delegation of *World Marxist Review*, also attended.

On September 11, *L'Humanité* published a draft resolution of the special 21st FCP congress approved by the Central Committee. Its five sections give a detailed analysis of the situation in the country and define the Party's tasks in the coming period. The FCP, it concludes, is resolved to do all it can to bring together in a broad majority everyone advocating a policy of social progress, democracy, independence, peace and democratic reform.

On September 12, *L'Humanité* carried a statement by FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais on the situation and struggle of France's peasants who for two months have been actively demanding increases in farm prices and the raising of their purchasing capacity.

The FCP, the statement says, fully supports the struggle of agricultural workers for their demands. French Communists insistently demand a special session of Parliament to discuss the situation in agriculture and call upon all French working people to display solidarity with the peasants' struggle.

FRG

The GCP newspaper *Unsere Zeit* held its first festival September 21 and 22 in Düsseldorf, which drew some 250,000 persons.

The participants in the event were addressed by GCP leaders and editors of the newspaper. Among the speakers was GCP Chairman

Herbert Mies, who said that the mass character of the festival was an indication of the attractive force of the GCP's ideas and work and the popularity of its newspaper. They will always contribute to détente, peace and cooperation and fight for the FRG to play a positive, constructive role in Europe. Mies called for joint action of Communists, Social Democrats, Christian and non-party workers, for unity of all the country's democratic forces in the fight against reaction, for the interests of the working people.

Representatives of 21 brother parties, including a delegation of the CPSU, as well as a delegation of *World Marxist Review*, attended the festival.

GREAT BRITAIN

On September 14, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain met in London for a special meeting with the participation of district Party secretaries and Communist candidates for the October 10 parliamentary election.

Speaking at the meeting, CP General Secretary John Gollan noted that withdrawal from the Common Market, halving of the military budget and greater allocations for social needs were the main points of the Party's election manifesto. (It was published on September 18.)

GREECE

On September 23, the Greek government repealed the 1947 law banning the Communist Party and the propaganda and dissemination of Communist ideas. The new decree legalizes the Greek Communist Party and recognizes it as a political organization, thus ending almost 30 years of clandestine activity.

A statement by the Party Central Committee notes that now Greek Communists have the task of continuing the struggle for the working people's interests in new conditions.

INDIA

From August 21 through September, the Communist Party of India and mass trade union, peasant, youth and student organizations supporting it conducted a national campaign against inflation, rising prices and for implementation of the minimum demands program put forward by the CPI National Council.

The CPI appealed to all Left and democratic forces to actively participate in this campaign.

The CPI called on all its organizations to show the utmost organiza-

tion, discipline and vigilance during the campaign, to stand clearly away from the actions of reactionaries who would like to exploit mass dissatisfaction to sow anarchy and chaos and undermine the democratically elected bodies. The CPI advises all its organizations to cooperate with the authorities in exposing black-marketeers and hoarders of consumer goods.

In the course of the campaign its participants discovered and expropriated large stocks of food, cloth and other consumer goods from black-marketeers; they were later sold publicly at fixed, accessible prices.

Assessing the campaign, CPI General Secretary Rajeshwara Rao stressed at a press conference that "the new experience will make such action possible everywhere."

ITALY

On September 15, mass rallies in Bologna concluded the two-week national festival dedicated to the 50th anniversary of *L'Unita*, the militant organ of the Italian Communist Party.

Hundreds of thousands of people from all over the country filled the streets and squares of Bologna. For more than four hours the truly popular demonstration filed before the rostrum on which stood CPI Chairman Luigi Longo, General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer and other Party leaders, as well as many foreign guests, including a delegation of the CPSU.

Addressing a mass meeting, Berlinguer stressed the importance of Communist press festivals as a display of CPI strength and cohesion and its close links with the masses of the people.

The CPI General Secretary called on the Italian working people to be united in the resolute struggle for their rights. He noted the firm, deep ties the ICP maintains with the CPSU and the brother parties of other countries.

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He also spoke highly of the Soviet Union's role in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace, for further international détente.

The participants in the meeting gave a warm reception to the foreign visitors at the festival. The CPSU delegation conveyed heartfelt greetings on the occasion of *L'Unita's* 50th anniversary from the CPSU Central Committee, its General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev, as well as the newspaper *Pravda*.

PORTUGAL

Addressing a meeting in a Lisbon suburb last September, Portuguese Communist Party General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal observed that two opposing trends were apparent in the country: on the one hand, important steps were being taken toward democratization and decolonization; on the other, there was feverish reactionary, counter-revolutionary activity.

Support for the Armed Forces Movement, he said, was especially important as it represented a "guarantee of freedom and peace." Only reactionaries or Left extremists could deny its important role.

Cunhal called for building up greater unity of the worker and trade union movement so as to rebuff the plans of reaction, fascist and reactionary groups.

It is to be regretted, Cunhal noted, that in the present situation some coalition parties have taken upon themselves the grave responsibility of launching some form of anti-communist campaign, thereby hoping to win more votes in the coming elections. A split in the democratic forces and a break with the Armed Forces Movement would be a grave blow to democracy.

RUMANIA

On September 2, the Communist Party paper *Scinteia* published the draft "Program of the Rumanian Communist Party for Building an All-Round Developed Socialist Society and Rumania's Advance to Communism." It consists of an introduction and the following sections: "The Struggle of the Rumanian People, Progressive and Revolutionary Forces, the Working Class, and Communist Party for Social and National Freedom, Against Fascism and War, for Carrying out the National Armed Anti-Fascist and Anti-Imperialist Uprising;" "The Communist Party's Struggle for the Establishment of a Revolutionary-Democratic Government, the Overthrow of the Exploitative Classes, Carrying Out the Socialist Revolution and Building the New Social System;" "Main Tasks of the Subsequent Stage in the History of Socialist Rumania;" "The Party's Leading Role in a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society;" "The Role of the State in

Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society;" "The Development of Socialist Democracy;" "Party Policy on the National Problem;" "Party Ideological Activity and Political Educational Work;" "The Basic Principles of Subsequent Transition to Communist Society;" "International Economic Relations and Cooperation in Production with Other States;" Changes in the Balance of World Forces and the Prospects of International Development;" "Rumania's Foreign Policy;" "International Solidarity of the Rumanian Communist Party with Brother Parties;" "The Party Program — Guide for the Whole People."

In accordance with a decision of the CC RCP, the draft Program will be discussed at meetings and conferences of Party organizations, at plenums of district, municipal, city and communal Party committees, after which it will be submitted to the 11th RCP Congress to be held this November.

On September 15, *Scinteia* published the "Theses of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party for the 11th Congress."

The CC expresses confidence that Party organizations, all Communists and the people as a whole will take an active part in discussing the Theses, as well as the draft Program and Directives of the 11th RCP Congress for the 1976-1980 five-year plan. The CC holds that discussion of the documents should help consolidate the Party and the unity of its ranks and improve the work of Party bodies and organizations.

SOVIET UNION

The CC CPSU passed a resolution "On Work in Selecting and Educating Ideological Cadres in the Party Organization of Byelorussia" (it was published August 31 of this year).

The resolution offers a profound and comprehensive analysis of the experience accumulated by the Communists of the Republic in their activities aimed at implementing the instructions of the 24th CPSU Congress on stepping up Communist education of the masses. Extensive work is being carried out in selecting and educating ideological cadres — politically mature people with the necessary theoretical and professional background and capable of independent initiative. Their efforts are directed at developing the political activity and labor initiative of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. Leading workers of Party, local government, economic administration, trade

union and Komsomol bodies take a direct part in this work.

At the same time the CC CPSU criticized some Party committees of Byelorussia for weakening attention to ideological sectors of work, selection of personnel and pointed out a number of weaknesses and shortcomings.

The CC resolution on work with ideological cadres in Byelorussia is an important political document. Its evaluations, conclusions and recommendations are of vital importance to all Party organizations. The resolution stresses that ideological work is the frontline of building communism and the struggle against international imperialism, and reaction, opportunism and revisionism in all their manifestations.

The CC resolution assesses the streamlined system of work with ideological cadres, including ideological and theoretical studies, information practices, summing up experience and long-term planning of activities. Special attention is drawn to the elaboration of scientific bases and methods of ideological work and assessing its efficacy. Every Party committee must be guided by the resolution and rely on accumulated experience to draw up and carry out measures for better selection, assignment and education of ideological cadres.

Our ideological cadres, the decision says, must have a profound grasp of the problems of internal and external Party policy, of economic and cultural questions. Linking propaganda of Marxist-Leninist theory and Communist ideals with the solution of practical problems, they must actively support all that is new and progressive, ably organize the struggle against manifestations of petty-bourgeois psychology. While in practice upholding the principles of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism, consistently and forcefully exposing bourgeois and revisionist ideology, they must continuously master the Leninist art of political enlightenment.

USA

In August-September American Communists carried out an active campaign for the nomination of CP candidates to Congress and local government offices in the November elections. The election campaign has revealed the growing prestige and influence of Communists among broad sections of the American public.

URUGUAY

A bulletin of the CP Uruguay received in September in Buenos Aires reports that, despite bans and campaigns against the Party, it is strengthening its organization and growing in numbers. The Com-

munist Party is engaged in agitation work, spreading its publications and leaflets, demanding freedom for CP First Secretary Rodney Arismendi and other jailed patriots, restoration of democratic rights. The bulletin notes the increase in the number of CP branches and of its influence, especially at industrial enterprises. The CP actively supports the growing trend toward unity of all progressive forces opposed to the Bordaberry regime.

YUGOSLAVIA

On September 18, Josip Broz Tito, Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, chaired an enlarged meeting of the Executive Committee of the CP Presidium in Belgrade. It discussed questions of cooperation between the League of Communists and Communist, workers' and progressive parties and movements.

New Pamphlet From New Outlook

THE BIG STAKES OF DÉTENTE

Gus Hall

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

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FROM THE PARTY PRESS

CHINA AFTER THE 10TH CPC CONGRESS

Below is the first part, and passages from the second part, of a survey in *Kommunist*, the theoretical and political journal of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (No. 12, August 1974).

This is a time of important positive changes in international affairs, in the development of the world revolutionary process, in the consolidation of the forces determining the development of humanity. The socialist world, the decisive factor in the social progress of the peoples of all countries and continents, is successfully increasing its economic potential and exercising an ever greater influence on the world scene. Having lost the historical initiative, imperialism is suffering continuous political, economic and social convulsions, and is compelled under the onslaught of the proletarian class struggle to adjust itself to the sharpening internal contradictions. The national liberation movement has gained big victories both in impact and in scale.

Special mention should be made of the impressive advances in the struggle for peace. The implementation of the Peace Program drawn up by the 24th Congress, to which Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, is making a big personal contribution, is highlighted by new successes of the agreed policy of the socialist countries, aimed at consolidating the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The international détente does not mean, of course, that the struggle between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of progress and reaction, is over. In its subversive activity against the socialist countries, peace and international security, imperialist reaction is making ever greater use of the anti-Leninist national-chauvinist policy of Mao Tse-tung and his adjutants. The Chinese leadership's

actions against the unity of the socialist community, all revolutionary forces of our time, and Peking's anti-Sovietism, its policy of frustrating the efforts of the peace-loving countries to strengthen the security of the peoples, are harming the cause of peace and socialism. At the same time, the conversion from cold war to détente, now under way, is an obstacle to the adventurist Maoist forces, and exposes the Peking leaders as enemies of peace and security, and of socialism.

The growing international influence of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, their consistent efforts to normalize relations with China and their friendly attitude to the Chinese people, has put the Peking leadership in an untenable position. Thanks to the fruitful results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, the Marxist-Leninists have succeeded in repulsing Maoist attempts at organizationally splitting the communist movement. A crushing theoretical and political defeat of Maoism as an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist trend is required in the interests of the whole revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle.

The importance of concentrating on this task has become still greater in connection with the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China, held at the end of August 1973. Its documents and the policy of the Chinese leadership following the Congress show that the Maoist line is departing still more sharply from the main laws governing socialist construction, and that the dictatorial, military-bureaucratic character of the rule of Mao Tse-tung and his immediate associates is becoming still more pronounced.

SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE PRESENT INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Instability is still the main determining feature of the present political situation on the domestic scene in the PRC. It is highlighted by a sharpening of the struggle within the top ruling groups, and also between Peking and the periphery, over the ways and methods of society's further development. The People's Republic of China will celebrate its 25th anniversary (October 1, 1974) with its essential social, political and economic problems still unsolved. This due first and foremost to the fact that Maoism has not given, and is unable to give, Chinese society a positive program. The implementation of Mao Tse-tung's thoughts is causing a further deformation of socialist principles in China.

Attempts to put Maoism into practice, no matter what camouflage

is used for this, lead inevitably to a deepening of its crisis, to differences within the ranks of Mao's followers. The attempts to iron out the snags while hanging on to the essential Maoist ideas, is only driving the existing evils deeper and delaying the solution of the problems facing the country.

THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF CHINA'S DEVELOPMENT

Defining the general direction of the country's internal development, the 10th Congress set the course on continuing the "cultural revolution" and formalized the proposition made in Chou En-lai's report that Mao Tse-tung had worked out "the main line and policy of the CPC (i.e., periodical "cultural revolutions" — *Ed.*) for the entire historical socialist stage."

It is also indicative that the Congress affirmed the priority of periodical "cultural revolutions" over the solution of the country's economic problems. More, the Ninth CPC Congress mentioned the so-called "revisionist theory of the productive forces" only casually, whereas the 10th gave top billing to criticizing it. In the main report, Chou En-lai accused Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta of "opposing the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" (i.e., opposing new campaigns of the "cultural revolution" type) and of insisting that "development of production should be the main task after the Ninth Congress."

This Maoist proposition elaborated at the 10th Congress puts the country on a distinctly voluntarist course, because it aims at achieving success not by building up the productive forces and improving the social relations, but by means of "cultural revolutions," which, as we know, amount not only to political and ideological arm-twisting, but also to methods of violence.

The 10th CPC Congress has given fresh impulse to the Maoist policy of all-embracing militarization. War preparations are conducted under cover of propaganda howls about the spurious threat of a "sudden attack" by the Soviet Union, though in their propaganda abroad, in conversations with representatives of NATO countries, the Maoists have altered this slogan, saying that the USSR is creating the impression of a threat in the East, while priming for a sudden assault on the West. The absurdity of these insinuations is more than obvious: the Soviet government has repeatedly offered the Chinese side to conclude an agreement on the non-use of force and on non-aggression. Peking has consistently rejected these proposals.

The Ninth Congress of the CPC had approved Mao Tse-tung's "great strategic idea," based on his invention of a "threat to China from the North," urging "preparations for the event of war, preparations for the event of natural calamities" and "digging deep tunnels and laying in stocks of grain everywhere." The 10th Congress reaffirmed both these propositions, and added a new one: "... To be fully prepared for a possible aggressive war on the part of imperialism, and especially for a sudden attack on our country by the Soviet revisionist social-imperialism." Brandishing these anti-Soviet slogans, the Congress called on, "the working class, the poorest peasants and the middle strata, the commanders and fighters of the PLA, and the multinational people of the country, to step up preparations for war." The obligation of "preparing for the event of war" is listed among the major tasks in the "General Program" section of the CPC Rules adopted by the 10th Congress.

The fact that the PRC has "manufactured an atomic bomb, a hydrogen bomb, and an artificial earth satellite," is described by the Chinese mass propaganda media as the country's biggest achievement. What is glossed over in total silence is that militarization is draining China's already limited resources. In 1973, for example, direct military expenditures consumed more than 40 per cent of her budget, and an immense amount of human labor. The Peking leadership uses the lie of a Soviet "threat" to justify the priority development of military branches of the economy to the detriment of civilian industries.

The new element in the country's militarization after the 10th Congress is the high-speed formation of "militia" (minbing) units, especially in the cities. Their number has grown several times over during the recent period. The bulk of the militiamen have had a definite amount of military training. This militia, as the *People's Daily* said on December 13, 1973, is assigned "a big role in the struggle against aggression and subversion on the part of imperialism, social-imperialism."

The priority of "revolution" over production, and the Maoist militarization policy, are contrary to the interests of socialist construction in the PRC.

ECONOMIC POLICY

During the period after the Ninth Congress economic propositions were to some extent brought closer to the country's real requirements. A certain increase of industrial and agricultural production

was achieved through greater centralization of management, introduction of some elements of cost-accounting, a boost in the role of specialists, tighter production and labor discipline, which had loosened during the "cultural revolution," stricter controls of the quality of production, and reintroduction of some of the rules and regulations of the period before the "cultural revolution." But since the early half of 1973 this process is again being held up.

Instead of a long-term and concrete economic program, the 10th Congress, has again proclaimed a whole assortment of Maoist postulates, loud in form but empty of content.

Most conspicuous in this connection are the following points:

First, there is no mention in the documents of the 10th Congress of the necessity of building the material and technical basis of socialism or of proportionate economic development; of satisfying the material requirements of the working people; of the principle of payment according to labor, of profitability, cost-accounting and other rational methods of management that had been discussed in the Chinese press prior to the 10th Congress.

In the propaganda of the 10th Congress decisions and the reports of how they are being implemented, the propositions of Chou En-lai's report are complemented with reminders of Mao Tse-tung's "ideas" of the late 1950s, including the one on "smashing foreign stereotypes and developing industry our own way," and the one about "the false course of seeking personal benefits," which is a reference to the working people's legitimate desire to improve their material condition. In the matter of economic development the accent is on the proposition that "politics is the commanding force," on the use of extra-economic administrative, political and ideological factors and methods, and on stoking up an artificial atmosphere of military psychosis. As before, this is done without the slightest consideration of the capacity and development level of production and of the economy as a whole.

Second, nothing is said in the 10th Congress propositions about building large-scale modern industry, or of developing heavy industries for civilian purposes. What is strongly emphasized, however, is the policy of "walking on your own two legs" and "learning from Ta Ching and Ta Chai." What this means is that, while stepping up large-scale military production, the Chinese leadership wants the people to concentrate on small-scale, mainly local, production with "reliance on your own resources," in the civilian fields.

While employing the country's basic material resources to increase

the military potential, the Maoists want to mitigate the internal difficulties of meeting civilian needs by developing small and artisan industry, handicrafts, and auxiliary peasant industries. These measures would be justified as a temporary means of coping with difficulties (in fact, they had helped to somewhat enliven the economy after the "cultural revolution"). But, certainly, this is no way to overcome China's lag behind the highly-developed industrial countries or to build the material and technical base for socialism. Lenin said: "Large-scale industry is the one and only real basis upon which we can multiply our resources and build a socialist society. . . . Without highly developed large-scale industry, socialism is impossible anywhere; still less is it possible in a peasant country. . . ." (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 408). Lenin also emphatically stressed: "A large-scale machine industry capable of reorganizing agriculture is the only material basis that is possible for socialism" (Vol. 32, p. 459).

Third, there is no analysis in the 10th Congress materials of any data concerning the economic situation in the present stage of the country's development, and not one concrete economic task has been set in them for the future. In the case of the Ninth Congress this could to some extent be ascribed to the fact that it was held after a sharp political struggle, the "cultural revolution." But in the case of the 10th Congress, it shows that the Peking leadership has no intention of expanding the essential fields of a peace economy, and means to use the bulk of the country's material resources for creating a military-industrial base.

Certainly, China's economic development is also impeded by objective difficulties. But this only makes it doubly important to find the right answer to the question of the priority of individual economic fields, including the rate of growth of heavy industry, the place of agriculture and the medium and small-scale industries. The Maoist postulates, however, do not say how to cope with the existing difficulties. They doom the economy to new difficulties and the people to a life of privation and low culture.

It is important to stress that the economic policy conducted by Mao Tse-tung and his followers since the late 50s (with deviations and maneuvers from time to time) and reaffirmed by the 10th CPC Congress, is continuously aggravating the negative aspects of China's economy.

The socialist basis in China is being twisted out of shape by the crude deformations in the machinery and method of socialist economic management, including the rejection of

sceintificallly-grounded planning, of working people's control over the economic development, and of the principle of distribution according to labor. And the subordination of social production to Mao's hegemonic policy, its use for anti-socialist purposes, adds to the gravity of this situation.

THE CHINESE POWER STRUCTURE

All power in China is now concentrated in Mao Tse-tung and a tight group of his political and military aides.

It has to be said, however, that there is no unity within the Mao entourage, with various groups jockeying for position. The main groups are: the "lefts" or extremists, the men largely responsible for the "cultural revolution" and the so-called pragmatists, who in the present campaign often pose as "lefts" for purely tactical reasons. The military is sometimes referred to as an independent group. Events in China suggest that the overall Mao policy, endorsed by the 10th CPC Congress, of continuing the revolution with proletarian dictatorship, i.e. continuing the "cultural revolution," is merely a cover for stronger uncontrolled power by Mao and his closest aides.

To concentrate power in the hands of a few top Maoists, the Peking leaders have not convoked the All-China Congress of People's Representatives since 1965. The State Council and other government organs do not have a constitutional madate. The "revolutionary committees" organized during the "cultural revolution" to push through Mao policy have no constitutional legitimacy whatever.

The Chinese leadership is using more refined methods in its social policy to win popular support. This is evidenced by the slogans of "leading role of the working class," "implementation of the line of the masses," and also promotion to leading posts of a certain number of Maoists with working-class or peasant backgrounds. Actually, however, the working class and peasantry have been removed from participation in government through Party and elective bodies and have been deprived of opportunities to frame or carry out policies conforming to their interests. The Maoists continue to pressure the intelligentsia, among which opposition views and sentiments are widely current.

There has been much talk of the need to combat the bourgeoisie. But this has not affected the political or material position of the former national bourgeoisie. Representatives of bourgeois-democratic parties, the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, the Democratic League and the Association for Democratic Construction, have intensified their activities.

The Peking leadership is also employing more subtle methods in its nationalities policy. Of late it has abandoned some of its harsher repressive measures against ethnic minorities and has removed from the administration of autonomous regions men discredited in the eyes of the people. In some cases they have been replaced by representatives of the minority concerned and its representation of local bodies has been somewhat increased.

However, all these maneuvers in social and nationalities policy have not led to any modification of basic Maoist policy. In fact, the Party Rules approved by the 10th Congress envisage "many more cultural revolutions" (every seven or eight years). Furthermore, the report on the Party Rules emphasized that this accorded with the "objective law" proclaimed by Mao Tse-tung.

Mao has now launched a new political campaign: mass meetings of workers and peasants, soldiers and students are being held to demand continuation of the "revolution in the superstructure," "defense of the cultural revolution" and against the "restoration of capitalism." Again posters have appeared criticizing local Party leaders. Criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius has increased, with the main accent on Mao's dictum that "without destruction there can be no construction." This is obviously meant to justify violence. The political struggle continues to center on the issue of power, on the methods and direction of the country's development. To all practical purposes, China is being dragooned into a new stage of the so-called cultural revolution.

A new development in the political in-fighting as part of the campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius is rehabilitation and appointment to a high post of Teng Hsiao-ping, the former Party General Secretary. During the cultural revolution he was branded "black bandit Number Two." Now he has been brought into the Politbureau and has taken over many of the functions of Chou En-lai whose political role and activity have been curtailed on the pretext of poor health and old age.

Another indication of the in-fighting is the new poster campaign directed, observers say, against certain Party and army leaders.

The sharp power struggle is indicative of the unstable political situation in China. The extremists and pragmatists, while sharing Mao's foreign policy ambitions and his anti-socialist concepts and anti-Sovietism, do not agree on what direction the country's development should take and on the underlying principles and methods of economic up-building.

Mao and his confidants continue to rely on the army to maintain themselves in power. They want to keep the army under still tighter control and make it their pliant instrument.

Army officers continue to hold key posts in the Mao regime, accounting for more than 40 per cent of the Party's Central Committee. But Mao is worried lest the military-area commanders build up their own power bases. Toward the close of last year he shifted eight of the 11 area commanders. This was obviously meant to strengthen central control, obviate separatist tendencies in the provinces by weakening the real power of area commanders, which rests on the clan spirit in the army and on influence in provisional Party and so-called revolutionary committees, in which army officers held the key posts. This reshuffle of the top army command also suits the "leftists" and pragmatists, who count on exploiting the army's weakened political position to strengthen their own influence in the army, the Party and the government apparatus.

The 10th Congress laid much stress on the "militia," urging that it be given a bigger role. The new Party Rules say that, like the army and administration, it must come under a "single leadership." Ostensibly the "militia" was formed to fight external enemies, but it can be used also to put down worker discontent. The *People's Daily* and the *Red Flag* said in a joint editorial, "For Good Organization of the Militia" (September 1973), that one of its functions would be defense of the existing regime, and solution of tasks involved in the class struggle. Chinese propaganda described this para-military organization as the "main base of the proletarian dictatorship," actually, of course, the dictatorship of the military-bureaucratic Mao group.

Besides using the army, the "militia" and the "revolutionary committees," the Maoist dictatorship is resorting to such forms of coercion as "re-education" camps for cadre personnel, some of whom are sent to do hard labor in the so-called May 7 schools; young intellectuals are sent to the villages for "re-education" (according to official data, 8 million, were "resettled" in the past few years). The call for violence was frankly proclaimed during the anti-Confucius campaign. The Maoists urge coercion in relation to those who want to "change the main line" of Mao Tse-tung.

The 10th Congress urged a greater role for Party organizations, measures to impart to the Party "optimism and energy" and strengthen "uniform Party leadership" in all political, economic, cultural and military matters.

But the Congress resolutions and post-Congress practice suggest

that Mao and his lieutenants do not intend to restore the Party's Marxist-Leninist foundation. One gathers from the new Rules that the Party is a purely executive organization whose functions are to carry out the Mao line. The Party has been deprived of its most important function, the framing of home and foreign policy. The Rules call for periodical Party congresses, but with the reservation that they can be convened "ahead of schedule or postponed." In other words, everything will depend on the subjective wishes of the Peking leaders. The Rules make no provision for regular Central Committee plenums, and there is the same vagueness with regard to "local Party congresses," and no mention at all of Party branch meetings. In short, the Congress strengthened the central leadership, concentrating it in the hands of a few Mao confidants, with local Party organizations imposing Mao's policy on the masses.

The 10th Congress introduced nothing new on the role of public organizations in China's political system.

According to the Chinese press, the formation of trade unions, dissolved during the "cultural revolution," was completed in all provinces and large cities in August 1973. But there is no mention anywhere of re-establishing the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, and there is no document governing trade union activity. The formation of women's organizations was completed in the provinces and big cities after the 10th Party Congress. The same applies to the YCL committees disbanded during the "cultural revolution." These measures, however, are evidence not of sincere desire to activize public organizations, but of a desire by the top leaders to use them as conduits of Maoist ideology.

The question has again been raised of organizing unions of poor and middle peasants which, according to the Maoists, would include 70 per cent of the rural population. Provincial congresses have already been held. The idea is to use these unions as a reserve army for the Maoists. That is suggested by the slogan, actively boosted after the 10th Congress: "Chairman Mao is the great saviour of the poor and middle peasants!"

The re-establishment of public organizations on a new, Maoist ideological and political basis is expressive of the attempt to shore up Mao's position in various sections of Chinese society and use elements of the socio-political superstructure to bolster the Maoist regime.

The Congress documents justify the systematic reshuffling of cadres. The justification rests on the "need for regular repetition of

the cultural revolution" and the disquisitions about a "real Communist being prepared (in the words of Chou En-lai) to accept the ordeals of repeated relocation." The report by Wang Hung-wen says that every Communist must have the courage to "go against the stream." There is also the demand "to train millions of continuers of the proletarian revolution." This, of course, is given a Maoist interpretation: in the first case, the allusion is to a "stream" hostile to Maoism; and in the second to the "cultural revolution." Both these propositions are being propagated by the "leftists." The idea is to use promotion of young cadres as a pretext to a new purge of "pragmatists" and a shake-up of the whole power network to strengthen their own positions.

After the 10th Congress the Maoists started an extensive drive to instil a "new world outlook" in the conscience of Chinese people.

First a "movement for the criticism of Lin Piao and improvement of style" was launched throughout the country. In the beginning of 1974 it developed into a national political campaign of "criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius" the main purpose of which was to create conditions for new persecutions of dissidents. Under the guise of criticizing Confucius, who lived 25 centuries ago, and removed political figures, a fight is being waged against all people concerned with the destinies of the country who, in their approach to the solution of outstanding problems, incline toward the platform of the Eighth CPC Congress, which had defined the tasks and direction of China's development from positions of Marxism-Leninism. It is significant that already in 1958 Mao called those adhering to the platform of the Eighth Congress defenders of Confucianism, which is presently under attack. In launching this new "movement," Mao Tse-tung seeks primarily to consolidate his uncontrolled power and prevent a critical analysis of the causes of existing difficulties by cadres and the Party. However, Maoist brainwashing is incapable of eradicating from the minds of Communists and the toiling masses the significance of the socialist gains of the PRC's first decade, which were reflected in the decisions of the Eighth CPC Congress. That is why the widespread ideological campaign going on since the 10th Congress is designed to firmly implant Maoism in the public consciousness.

This, too, is the objective of the continuing "revolution in literature and art, education and public health," pursued by the Maoists with the aim of keeping the development of the public consciousness at a level making possible the use of intellectual knowledge to consolidate the Maoist regime, on the one hand, and to prevent that part of the

society to escape their control, on the other. Since the autumn of 1973, the indications of normalization of the study processes at schools and institutes of higher learning that began in 1971-1972 have been reversed. There are renewed demands for a "resolute reform of the educational system," i.e., a return to student enrolment along lines rooted in the "cultural revolution:" above all, political loyalty to Maoism, not standards of knowledge; reduction of study time; simplification of the study process. Study plans and study aids are being revised in line with the requirements of Maoism. The "Red Guards" are being revived at colleges and universities, wall-posters have reappeared, the examination system and partial rehabilitation of old teachers are being attacked. Through the magazine *Red Flag* the Maoists have been issuing direct warnings that "the fundamental revolution in education caused by the cultural revolution is only just beginning." The new political campaign has once again disrupted studies.

What are the conclusions about the internal situation in China that can be drawn from all that has been said?

First, the general direction of China's development defined by the 10th CPC Congress and the Maoist leadership's economic policies are not in keeping with the interests of building socialism, with the interests of the Chinese people. These policies are increasingly deforming the economic basis and are aimed at militarization of the nation and backing up the Peking leadership's anti-Soviet, anti-socialist policy on the international scene.

Second, the policies of Mao Tse-tung and his followers and the state of affairs in all the main domains of Chinese society are clear indication that the Maoist regime is, by its very essence, hostile to socialist democracy and represents a military-bureaucratic dictatorship. Moreover, not content with establishing an anti-democratic system at home, the Chinese leadership seeks to impose it on other countries and parties. This is one of three reasons behind ceaseless Maoist attacks against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Third, the Maoists' anti-popular course, which runs contrary to the objective requirements of the development of Chinese society, inevitably breeds a critical attitude to the Chinese leadership's policies at home and facilitates the spread of views supported by the healthy internationalist forces of the CPC.

The second part of the article analyzes Chinese foreign policy after

the 10th CPC Congress. It states, in part:

The 10th CPC Congress and events since then have revealed more clearly than ever the head-on counterposition of Maoist foreign policy and world socialism, the attempts to gang up with the forces of imperialism to promote selfish interests, the desire to hamstring détente. The Peking leaders' foreign policy is aimed at having Maoism rule supreme at home and speed up the transformation of China into a state capable of imposing its will on the peoples of the world. In its drive to consolidate and expand China's influence on the world scene, the Maoist leadership seeks to compensate the discrepancy between China's possibilities and global ambitions by staking on contradictions between the two world systems and on rapprochement with as many states of different class structures as possible, exploiting the "third world" countries for its selfish ends.

The article goes on to cite and evaluate numerous facts indicating how the Peking leaders ganging up with the most reactionary forces of imperialism on an anti-Soviet and anti-socialist basis, of their attempts to undermine the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and discredit their policies.

The last section examines their splitting activities in the ranks of revolutionary forces.

The Mao Tse-tung group continues to employ refined splitting tactics against Communist parties, striving to push them into neutralist positions and representing the international communist movement's struggle against Maoism as a bilateral affair of the CPSU and the CPC. In some cases Peking tries to encourage a kind of pro-Maoist opportunism to peddle ideas alien to Marxism-Leninism under cover of tolerance toward the policies and ideological principles of the Chinese leadership.

The 10th CPC Congress took the line of strengthening ties between Peking and foreign splitters. Whereas in 1972 those ties were somewhat muted, 1973 saw them spruced up; this was coupled with a certain recasting of the ideological activities of pro-Peking groups, which now attack all aspects of the domestic and foreign policies of the countries of the socialist community. Criticism of imperialism has been relegated to the background.

Peking tries to prod its foreign followers into supporting the policy of rapprochement between the PRC and the West. Recently Peking has been visited by delegations representing pro-Maoist groups in Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, Sweden, France, the United States and other countries. All of them were received at the

highest level. The Chinese leaders seek to present these paid foreign agents of theirs as "independent" pro-Maoist groups, advising them to emphasize that they are a "social product" of their respective countries and that their "revolutionary ideas" reflect their national specifics.

The struggle for strengthening the communist movement's unity on a Marxist-Leninist, internationalist basis has to an enormous degree helped to expose and isolate Maoism. The conviction is growing among Communist Parties that strengthening the unity of the communist movement and resistance to Maoism are two aspects of the same task, which is why the struggle against Maoism is gaining momentum.

Resistance to the Chinese leadership's hegemonistic policies is also mounting on the part of the national-liberation forces. The last few years have provided ample evidence irrefutably exposing the Maoists as traitors to the cause of national liberation. Peking took the side of the reactionary military regime of Yahya Khan against the national-liberation movement of the people of Bangladesh; it is engaged in a double-dealing game around the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Chinese government expelled the envoy of revolutionary Chile soon after the fascist coup there and is giving open diplomatic support to the Chilean military-fascist junta. At present, when a worldwide campaign is on in defense of the lives of Luis Corvalan, Rodney Arismendi and other revolutionary fighters languishing in fascist dungeons, Peking's propaganda, usually so lavish of all kinds of "denunciations" and declarations, is conspicuous by its silence.

The world revolutionary and liberation forces are coming more and more to see that the Maoist leaders are capable of striking any progressive movement in the back if they see no way of subordinating it to their great-power interests. One of the latest examples is Peking's stand in connection with the anti-government coup in Cyprus organized by the Greek military and actually planned by certain NATO circles.

The unsavory essence of the foreign policy guidelines of the 10th CPC Congress became especially apparant at the 28th session of the United Nations General Assembly. As before, the Chinese representative prevented the admission of Bangladesh to the UN. Significantly, that was just how the imperialist powers had acted when they tried to keep the People's Republic of China out of the United Nations. Only recently were the Maoists forced under pressure of world public opinion, the developing countries and Pakistan itself, to

lift its objections against giving UN membership to the new independent state.

The Chinese delegation does everything to hamstring the constructive initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the United Nations. Thus, at the 28th General Assembly there was widespread favorable response to the Soviet delegation's proposal to place on the agenda as an important and urgent issue the question of a 10 per cent reduction of the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council and the utilization of a portion of the funds thus released for help to the developing countries. The Chinese delegation, however, not only refused to support the Soviet proposal prompted by sincere concern for the good of all mankind but even opposed its discussion at the UN session. The head of the PRC delegation declared bluntly from the General Assembly rostrum: "Is it really possible to reduce military budgets? . . . We think it better to stop such empty talk and stop it as quickly as possible."

What conclusions can be drawn concerning the Maoist leadership's foreign policy since the 10th CPC Congress?

Already now it can be said that Peking's present international activities are contrary to the interests of peace, socialism and the liberation struggle. They are characterized by sabotage of the socialist community's efforts for détente, rabid anti-Sovietism, attempts to undermine the unity of the socialist countries, the world communist and national-liberation movements. The facts indicate that the Maoists are, for all practical purposes, acting as enemies of the communist and workers' movement and oppose international détente together with the most reactionary forces.

The Maoists' foreign policies are increasingly denounced and opposed by progressive forces on the international scene. And the implementation of those policies, which run contrary to the interest of the Chinese people themselves, are a source of ceaseless struggle within the PRC.

As for the CPSU, its principled, class, Marxist-Leninist line with regard to the Peking leadership's policies was defined by the 24th Party Congress, decisions of subsequent Central Committee plenums and in speeches by CC General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev and other Party and government leaders. Addressing constituents of Moscow's Bauman electoral district on June 14, 1974, Comrade Brezhnev said: "We shall, naturally, continue to rebuff anti-Soviet slanders and firmly uphold the interests of our state, our security. At the same time we remain in favor of normalizing relations with China, restoring

friendship with the great Chinese people on the reliable basis of proletarian internationalism."

Thus, the CPSU's policy with regard to the People's Republic of China is clear and consistent. It combines uncompromising struggle against Maoism and the Chinese leaders' policies hostile to the interests of world socialism, the international communist and workers' movement, national-liberation and anti-imperialist struggle, the interests of all peace-loving forces and the basic interests of the Chinese people themselves, with a readiness to fully normalize relations with the PRC and restore Soviet-Chinese friendship. Such a development would be in the best interests of both the Soviet and Chinese peoples, the interests of peace, socialism and world progress.

In their principled struggle in defense of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism and communism and the real achievements of the peoples of the socialist countries, and their exposure of the Maoists' ideological and political sabotage, the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist states are guided by feelings of deep esteem for the great Chinese people and uphold their basic interests. They are convinced that success in this struggle is the earnest of China's future as a prosperous socialist power.

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