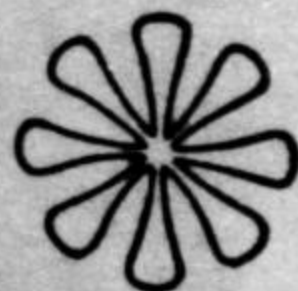


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In this Issue
**NINTH CONGRESS
THESES
CP of GREECE**

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**PSEUDO-
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UNMASKED**
(Pravda editorial)

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THESES* OF CC, CP OF GREECE, FOR THE NINTH PARTY CONGRESS

The task of Congress is to examine the Party's activities since the Eighth Congress and to draw conclusions for further activity. Congress must also analyze the political situation, define the Party's tasks and elect new leading bodies.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

In analyzing the international situation since the Eighth Congress on the strength of the estimations and conclusions of the Moscow Meeting of the parties (June 1969), in whose participation and holding the CPG delegation took part and all of whose documents it signed, the CC stresses the highly important role of the Soviet Union in the struggle against imperialism.

The move of the Warsaw Treaty countries in August 1968 was proof of internationalist assistance to the socialist CSSR which resulted in frustrating the plans of international reaction.

U.S. imperialism, aided by NATO and home reaction, established a fascist regime in Greece on April 21, 1967 and has been turning the country into a nuclear base and a bridgehead against the socialist and Arab countries. Greece must free itself from the domination of U.S. imperialism and NATO and from the military dictatorship of the junta, their tool.

Ever since its Eighth Congress the CP has adhered to the positions determined by international meetings in Moscow with regard to unity.

CHANGES AT HOME SINCE THE EIGHTH CONGRESS. ACTIVITY OF THE CP

The economic development of Greece since the Eighth Congress has led to a change in the amount and composition of the national income, which, in turn, is evidence of changes in the structure of the economy, of industrial and agricultural production.

The Eighth Congress contributed to and carried forward the strategic objective—anti-imperialist and democratic revolution—set by the Sixth and Seventh enlarged plenums of the CC, and formulated our program. The latter defines the Greek revolution as an “anti-imperialist and democratic” revolution in which “the working class will be the leading force of the National Democratic Change . . . As regards the Eighth Congress thesis on the ways of

*Abridged from *Neos Kosmos*, May 1970.

transition to this Change, emphasis should be laid on the difficulties of a peaceful transition and, above all, on the possibility of a non-peaceful transition."

The Eighth Congress was correct in defining the main objective as the struggle to overthrow the Karamanlis government. "In 1958 the CP and the Left scored a notable gain in the elections. This confirmed the correctness of the policy formulated by the Sixth Enlarged Plenum (March 1956) and showed that the working people had become aware of the dangerous implications of the policy of dependence, the majority deciding to make common cause with the CP and the Left. This victory offered the CP and Left-wing forces an opportunity to win new positions provided they engaged in activity outside parliament, among the masses, and provided headway was made in organizing the forces of the CP, which would make it easier to resist the legalistic parliamentary illusions that had developed."

In September 1961 the CC gave warning about the plan of the oligarchy and its party, ERE (National Radical Union.—Ed.), to carry out a coup by taking advantage of the elections, and called on the people to foil this plan. The CP sought cooperation in the election campaign but failed due to the stubborn refusal of the Center Union leadership to cooperate. Thereupon the Party gave its backing in the elections to the EDA-EAK alliance (EAK, National Agrarian Party.—Ed.) and the democratic leaders of the Center Union who cooperated with it. This setback and the disunity of the democratic forces were exploited by the reactionaries, who accomplished the planned coup in the 1961 election with help from foreign secret services.

The Second Plenum of the CC showed that the Political Bureau and CC had not combated legalistic illusions energetically enough nor strengthened the Party organizationally. Steadfastly combating the concept of the "impasse" allegedly resulting from the coup and of the "omnipotence of the USA", the CC took an optimistic view of the outlook and decided on the actual objectives of the fight for economic demands and the struggle to overthrow the elected government. The CP led this struggle in alliance with other Left-wing forces.

The contradictions that emerged in Greece after the coup, and the growing militancy of the democratic forces led by the working class (the funeral of Lambrakis was the culmination) resulted in "the fall of Karamanlis and caused an inner political crisis." The Political Bureau assessed these developments correctly and advanced the slogan "Come out into the streets to overthrow the Karamanlis government."

At that time the Bureau of the CC Section wrongly estimated the new situation and made serious Rightist mistakes. It revised the

Political Bureau's directive without authorization, excluded the call for the overthrow of Karamanlis from the PB document and tried to keep the popular demonstration within definite bounds. These moves checked the growth of the democratic movement, caused confusion and reduced the role of the CP and Left-wing forces in the struggle to overthrow Karamanlis, all of which played into the hands of the Center Union.

In view of all this, after the November 1961 and February 1964 elections and the formation of the Center Union government, the CC and Left-wing forces proposed to the Center Union a minimum program of joint action. We signified our willingness to support the Center Union in parliament on the basis of that program.

The CP proposal was turned down by the Center Union, which compromised with the oligarchy and the Palace on a number of social and national issues.

At that time mistakes were made which the PB and CC judged self-critically. While implementing this essentially correct policy of the Party, the Section Bureau made mistakes primarily of a Rightist nature that encouraged illusions about the legal way as the only one and produced wrong estimations of the Center Union. The PB and CC repeatedly criticized the Section Bureau. The recurrence of these mistakes is due to the fact that some members of the PB and CC and the majority of the Section Bureau at the time disagreed with the line and conclusions of the CP and in the end formulated a right opportunist platform. The PB and CC are responsible because they did not take steps to guarantee the proper execution of Party decisions.

Taking advantage of the Center Union's policy and the disunity of the democratic forces, the oligarchy and the Palace on July 15, 1965 carried out a coup to "strike at the growing democratic movement and to prevent democratization of the socio-political life of the nation, which the masses had been fighting for." The CC not only warned the masses against this threat, but "put forward a program for united action by the democratic forces to foil the plan of the Right to regain its positions." If the Center Union had been adopting democratic measures (ridding the state apparatus of fascist elements) and had raised no obstacles to the effort for democratization, "it would have been possible to put up more effective resistance to the Right-wing forces and to a coup by the Palace or anyone else." The responsibility for all this falls on the Center Union leadership as a whole.

The CP was in the forefront of the fight to stave off the fascist menace. It initiated democratic unity. In seventy days of struggle against the Palace coup, Party functionaries, members and sympathizers fought alongside supporters and functionaries of other parties in the front ranks of that mass movement. Nevertheless,

the movement could not rise to a higher plane due to its leadership's Rightist mistakes.

The Palace coup provided conditions for the next coup, effected on April 21, 1967.

A few months prior to the fascist coup (April 21, 1967) the Tenth CC Plenum stressed the danger of dictatorship. It must be stressed that the Political Bureau and Tenth Plenum did not see clearly enough that after the coup of July 15, 1965 the threat of further coups increased due to events in the Middle East. They did not take requisite steps to prepare the Party and masses in every way so as to defeat the military fascist coup. The final resolution of the Tenth Plenum, unlike the report, failed to emphasize the danger of a coup.

As a result, the CP proved to be unprepared ideologically, politically and organizationally and was taken unawares by April 21, 1967, which had dire consequences for both the Party and the entire democratic movement.

In estimating the Party's policy since the Eighth Congress in its entirety, the following points should be made:

(a) the CP evolved a strategy proved correct by reality, and has been directing the Party's activity;

(b) the CP adopted tactics that, speaking generally, were correct. Applying them, it played the main role in organizing, promoting and leading a vast mass movement which resulted, despite some mistakes and opportunist subversion, in the overthrow of the Right-wing government. The CP expressed the interests of the people, it organized and led the struggle for the people's demands, for democratization of the country. The working people and democrats owe the gains scored in those years chiefly to their own difficult mass struggle, with the CP and the democratic Left as its heart and soul;

(c) despite some mistakes, the CP consistently followed a policy of unifying popular forces and bringing about unity and cooperation with all democratic forces;

(d) the coup of April 21, 1967 was not inevitable. The way shown by the CP afforded the opportunity of frustrating the anti-democratic plans of home and foreign reaction and of embarking on democratic development. The policy of the Center Union leadership—a policy of retreat and compromise with the Right, the Palace and foreigners, a policy of rejecting democratic unity and of anti-communism—objectively made it easier for the reactionaries to put their plans into effect. In the end it led, not only to the 1965 coup, but to the military fascist dictatorship of 1967. The Center Union leadership is accountable to history for all this;

(e) the Political Bureau and CC repeatedly stressed the danger emanating from unconstitutional solutions, but they were not inno-

cent of illusions about the trend of development, especially after the 1965 coup. They did not prepare the Party and the masses to foil it. Had the CP been adequately prepared in ideological, political and organizational terms, it would have been possible, if not to reverse the fascist coup, then at least to save numerous fighters from arrest and to launch popular resistance from more advantageous positions. The responsibility for the situation in the Party at the time falls on the CC and its Political Bureau.

PARTY BUILDING

The Eighth Congress concerned itself with the issue of the Party on the basis of the decisions of the Eighth Plenum (1958). The Party organizations had in the main been dissolved at the time except for small groups unconnected with one another and isolated from the popular movement, some of them having been corrupted by hostile ideology. In view of this and the need to use the legal opportunities existing at the time, the Eighth Plenum resolved: (a) all Communists must belong to and operate inside EDA (an alliance of parties and leaders whose program coincided essentially with the minimum program of the CP—Ed.); (b) to set up in Greece as speedily as possible a small Party Center led by the CC Section, which would have an underground technical apparatus to exercise leadership. The function of the Center would be to evolve and carry out current policy, maintain contact with EDA leaders through a limited number of experienced Communists and give them ideological and political guidance.

This decision was correct as far as its first part is concerned—the presence of Communists in EDA enabled the CP the better to orientate EDA, restore links with the masses and launch a mass movement. But while it was correct to consider that work should begin with setting up the Party Center and bases in view of the fact that the Party organizations had in the main been dissolved, the second part of the decision was wrong insofar as it did not simultaneously set the long-range task of forming local Party organizations.

The Eighth Congress stressed the necessity for working “to build up the Party Center and set up Party bases in the key industries and regions,” the object being “to ensure in each industry or region that the Party’s policy is carried on correctly from the political and organizational point of view, as well as to constitute a special apparatus of the CP that can operate in any situation, however difficult.” Congress also stressed that “the Party must set up a strong and dependable underground technical apparatus.” This thesis is, to an extent, an elaboration of the problem in connection with the Eighth Plenum decision, but still it is incorrect because its orientation has not really changed.

The coup during the 1961 election and all subsequent events revealed the need for the Communists to set up their organizations, all the more since the expansion of the mass movement facilitated its solution.

The decision of the Eighth Plenum (1965) on Party building provided, among others, for "achieving active, organized and independent participation in political life by the CP . . . for winning early recognition of the existence and activity of CP organizations and the Party as a whole." This decision, while offering no direct and complete solution of the problem of forming Party organizations, amended the Thesis of the Eighth Plenum (1958) and gave the issue of Party building the right direction.

The revisionist group put forward its liquidationist platform at the Eighth Plenum and, in a more open and outspoken manner, at the Tenth Plenum. As the situation was aggravated it became necessary to strengthen the CP by forming Party organizations. But the group led by M. Partsalidis insisted on reconsidering the 1965 decision on Party building and did its utmost to prevent its execution, with the result that the decision remained a dead letter.

The Eighth and Tenth plenums rejected and condemned the liquidationists' views by a substantial majority but took no organizational steps to ensure execution of their own decisions. The revisionist Partsalidis-Drakopoulos-Brilakis faction did all it could to torpedo relevant decisions. The Section Bureau, most of whose members belonged to the factional group, did not inform other Section members and Party leaders about the decisions of plenums in time and correctly. The PB decisions to publish a theoretical journal of the CP and other publications in the country and to set up an illegal Party apparatus were ignored for a long time although the funds needed for this were available. The fact that Communists did not form their own organizations while at the same time belonging to EDA seriously affected their work and the broad democratic movement. It made it impossible to implement the Party line consistently and firmly, had an adverse effect on the education of the Party cadre and membership, made Party work in large enterprises and in the armed forces ineffective and prevented the setting up of a really solid underground apparatus, deep-going discussion of a wide range of issues inside the Party and collective elaboration of the Party's policies. With Communists working in their Party organizations, progress would have been made in solving one of the most important problems now increasingly claiming general attention, namely, the problem of renewing the CP, of promoting new cadre members and renewing and forming the CC itself.

These and other shortcomings of an ideological or political character, listed above, resulted in the Party finding itself unprepared to counter the military fascist coup.

The CC and PB are responsible in very great measure for not informing Communists in time nor drawing on their support to expose the views of this factional group of revisionists.

The Twelfth Plenum decision to set up a CC Section Bureau in the country under the direct leadership of the Political Bureau and to form underground Party organizations was correct.

In appraising past experience and in analyzing at the same time its responsibility and culpability, the CC stresses that the struggle to abolish any reactionary regime and to effect a turn towards democratic development paving the way for the National Democratic Change and for socialism requires, now as in the past, maximum development of joint revolutionary struggle by the workers, peasants and middle strata, by all anti-imperialist, democratic and patriotic forces. It calls for resistance to Right and "Left" deviations and for consistent and precise implementation of a correct line. It necessitates strong Party organizations formed in strict accordance with the principles of the revolutionary party of a new type, well equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory and commanding a ramified network of organizations and groups in the key economic sectors. It necessitates organizations that can at any moment use any form of struggle, including the use of armed force.

ADVENT OF THE JUNTA, THE SITUATION AT HOME AND THE FIGHT AGAINST THE JUNTA

The regime established on April 21, 1967 is an open terrorist military fascist dictatorship of the most reactionary segment of the plutocratic oligarchy closely linked with the monopolies of the major imperialist countries. It owes its existence to brute force and the backing of the U.S. imperialists and of NATO.

THE JUNTA'S HOME POLICY

The junta established its dictatorship on the pretext of eliminating the "Communist danger." It used this smokescreen to conceal its real aims. Its first steps were to declare a state of emergency, abolish democratic institutions and trade union and cooperative liberties and disband the parties and popular organizations.

The fascist Constitution, which is designed to give the regime the semblance of a democratic parliamentary state, fully abolishes elementary civil rights and puts the elected parliament and local self-government bodies under the rigid control of the "Constitutional Court." It makes the brass hats the highest guiding force of society, confirms and extends the privileges of foreign monopolies and transfers the people's fundamental rights to the imperialists.

The regime's economic policy is subservient to the oligarchy and

foreign monopolies. Exploitation of the working people has been intensified and big capital has boosted its profits.

The regime's foreign policy does not serve the people's interests but those of foreigners. It fully depends on U.S. and NATO war plans in Southeast Europe and the Mediterranean. It threatens Greece with total catastrophe.

On the Cyprus issue the junta is pursuing a policy adapted to U.S. and NATO interests. It tries through its agents to overthrow the Makarios government, thereby taking part in the military intrigues of the United States and Israel in the Middle East.

To end the junta's anti-national foreign policy and overthrow the junta means deciding on the very existence of Greece.

The people began to resist the junta immediately after the coup. After the strong blow delivered to the CP and the popular movement there began a regrouping of forces and resistance to the fascist regime. The Communists again took the initiative, operating in the strictest secrecy. The Political Bureau immediately called on the people to fight. There began a popular resistance movement. By now anti-dictatorial sentiments have spread, with a few exceptions, to every social class and stratum. The people's anti-imperialist and anti-American mood is growing. Anti-dictatorial sentiment is on the rise in the armed forces.

EDA, PAM* AND OTHER ANTI-DICTATORIAL ORGANIZATIONS

All these actions, which are indicative of deep discontent among the people and all social strata, assume diverse forms. That is why there exist diverse anti-dictatorial class groups and organizations, as well as diverse programs and forms of struggle. The CP and its organizations are the heart and soul and the leader of the mass movement, the most consistent democratic and anti-dictatorial force. They are gaining strength and experience as they join efforts with the working class and other working people, and are playing an increasingly important role.

The CP uses as a powerful weapon against the dictatorship and as an instrument for organizing its forces its illegal press, the press of the Communist Youth, the Athens Party organization, PAM and EDA (Rizospastis, Odigitis, Aduloti Athina, Dimokratiki Allagi and other newspapers), leaflets and slogans. A special function is performed by radio Foni tis Alithias (Voice of the Truth.—Ed.) whose broadcasts help the people in struggle and guide the Party's daily organizing and political work, and by *Neos Kosmos*, our theoretical journal.

EDA, in which the CP is the main force, has formulated a correct program of struggle to overthrow the junta and to restore demo-

*Patriotic Anti-Dictatorial Front.—Ed.

cratic freedoms. A peculiar situation developed in EDA as soon as the junta had come to power: due to numerous arrests, its Directing Committee and Executive Committee stopped functioning. The well-known Drakopoulos-Brilakis-Karas trio seized on this, the illegality of EDA and the fact that EDA could not operate normally, to engage in divisive activity against the CP and EDA itself, having usurped the powers of the latter's Executive Committee. Its position is contrary to the character of EDA and its Rules approved by its congresses and confirmed by agreements between its two main parties—EDA and CPG—as well as with the Socialist Party. The bulk of the EDA cadre and supporters in the provinces, towns, concentration camps and prisons rejected, and rejects as incompatible with EDA principles and program, the attempts of those whose position and splitting activity are directed against the CP, EDA and PAM. This dooms them to isolation.

The struggle against the dictatorship is being promoted in growing measure by the reconstituted KNE (Communist Youth of Greece.—Ed.), which continues the traditions of the heroic OKNE and EPON (OKNE, Federation of Communist Youth Organizations of Greece; EPON, United All-Greece Youth Organization.—Ed.), Lambrakis Democratic Youth, and Rigas Fereos, a student organization.

The principal mass resistance organization is PAM, which comprises the Communists, EDA, EAK, Left-wingers, Democrats and, mostly, middle-echelon functionaries of other parties.

PAM is operating through the Workers' Patriotic Anti-Dictatorial Front among the working class and other sections of the population opposed to the junta. It forms committees, groups and circles everywhere. Following an attempt by the revisionist group to further its divisive objectives by taking advantage of the absence of a centralized leadership in PAM and to depart from the latter's fundamental program the leadership was reconstituted and a Central Committee of PAM came into being.

Trade Union leaders have founded an organized movement against the dictatorship (ESAK). This united movement, also represented abroad, comprises Left-wing trade unionists, members of the Socialist Democratic Union, some Center Union functionaries and other progressive independent trade union leaders.

Active in other countries are also anti-dictatorial committees formed by Greek emigrants and political exiles. These committees set up a central body at their congress. They are composed of leading and ordinary members of the CPG, EDA, EAK, Socialist Democratic Union and Center Union. In addition to the CP, the Left and the forces cooperating with them there is the Association of Democrats advocating united action by all anti-dictatorial forces. The anti-dictatorial opposition includes PAK (All-Greece Anti-Dicta-

torial Movement.—Ed.), Democratic Defense, Free Greeks and some other centrist and Right-wing organizations. Some of these organizations confine themselves to occasional fruitless actions isolated from the struggle of the masses.

It is important that the fight of the CP and other democratic forces against the colonels' junta enjoys international solidarity and support. Their "mainstay is the socialist community, first of all the Soviet Union." The progressive forces' movement of solidarity with the Greek people has assumed a large scale all over the world. An appreciable contribution to the fight and the solidarity movement is made by "the sons and daughters of the Greek people living abroad, Greek political exiles living in socialist countries and Greek workers in Western Europe, in Australia, Canada and the USA."

POLITICAL FERMENT AND CHANGE

The junta's anti-popular and anti-national policy, the steadily sharpening problems of the country and mass resistance intensify and hasten political changes among the people and the political forces and parties of Greece.

Typical of the situation is growing resistance to the junta by the people and various parties. This provides a basis for united or parallel action by the parties and other forces opposed to the dictatorship and adhering at least to a common minimum program. The progressing radicalization and Leftward trend of the masses are another feature of the situation. These changes express themselves in a political ferment and in the evolution of parties.

The Center Union no longer exists as a single organization. One of its wings, led by A. Papandreou, whose followers are closer to the Left, is opposed to the dictatorship and advocates more democratic principles than other sections of the Center Union. However, its activity is at variance with its declarations. Its program does not demand the repeal of emergency measures and laws adopted by earlier regimes or by the junta. This wing occasionally seeks foreign backing and occasionally stresses the need to seek popular assistance. It cultivates anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. While paying lipservice to united action, it actually rejects cooperation with the CP and prevents its leaders from cooperating with the CP in the trade unions and anti-dictatorial committees. Papandreou's policy and activity make it difficult for the masses adhering to a centrist position to join efforts with the Left, and the revisionist group of splitters is partly accountable for this.

The other wing of the Center Union, led by Mavros and expressing the interests of a section of the plutocracy and grouping the conservative elements of the Center Union, has reached agreement with Kanellopoulos, the ERE leader, and together they support a

program calling for a transitional centrist-Right wing government.

There are some other small Center Union groups and independent centrist leaders.

ERE is not an integral party, either. One of its wings, led by Kanellopoulos, expresses the interests of the conservative elements of the plutocracy. Its political position is reflected in the agreement it has signed with Mavros. Karamanlis, who speaks for the extreme Right-wing of ERE, is presumptuous enough to pose as a person above parties. His ambition is to take over from the junta provided the police regime is preserved. There are some other ERE groups.

The U.S. imperialists, who are virtually against the advocates of complete isolation of the junta, favor the most reactionary solution of the problem. They back the dictatorship and at the same time are busy laying anti-democratic government plans they may have to carry out in an emergency to safeguard their interests in this key region.

The CPG, the party of the working class, is fighting consistently and resolutely to overthrow the junta and bring about a renovated and extended democracy that will pave the way for the National Democratic Change and for socialism. Its vast experience, organization and consistent policy enable it to go on increasing its influence in the movement against the dictatorship. It will do so until its organizations consolidate and the difficulties created for them by the splitting activity of the revisionist group are overcome.

In addition to the CP there is EDA, and the National Agrarian Party whose program coincides with or is close to the Communist Party's minimum program.

The internal contradictions plaguing the junta's regime are growing, but it can be overthrown only if the anti-dictatorial forces are better organized and if they act in common.

CP PROGRAM AND TACTICS IN THE STRUGGLE TO OVERTHROW THE DICTATORSHIP

The CP has repeatedly stated that it is primarily for the Greek people themselves, who will enjoy valuable international aid and support, to overthrow the junta.

The junta can be overthrown and development embarked on a consistently democratic course:

(a) by the working class, the foremost and chief anti-dictatorial force massed in urban centers and primarily in the capital, where the central authorities and the main forces of the junta are. In the forefront of the struggle is the working class, steeled in battle over many years, equipped with valuable political and organizational experience and capable of waging a tenacious, consistent, determined struggle to the end against every form of tyranny, in defense of democracy, a class led by its party;

(b) by the working peasantry, the main ally of the working class in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship and in solving domestic problems on democratic lines;

(c) by the urban middle strata, industrialists, office workers, students, members of the professions, patriotic and progressive intellectuals, patriotic army officers and NCO's;

(d) by that section of the bourgeoisie whose interests clash with those of monopoly and the junta.

The people, except for a small but well organized minority—the plutocratic oligarchy backing the fascist regime—are against the junta.

It is in the best interest of these forces to overthrow the junta and to establish a *renovated and extended democratic system*. This is the immediate strategic task of the CP as formulated in the program adopted by the Twelfth Plenum in 1968. A renovated and extended democracy will, with the people's determined struggle continuing under the leadership of the working class, pave the way for an anti-imperialist democratic revolution that will free the country from dependence on imperialism and from oppression, strengthen national independence and democracy, promote a foreign policy of peace and blaze the trail to socialism.

For all the diversity of the objectives and programs of the forces fighting the junta, there are points on which interests coincide. This can serve as a basis for agreement and united action. As the CP sees it, these points are: overthrowing the dictatorship; the formation of a government by all anti-dictatorial parties and organizations; restoring constitutional and democratic freedoms; repealing the fascist Constitution and all anti-popular laws enacted before or after the advent of the fascist regime, including laws banning the CP; the immediate release of all political prisoners opposed to the dictatorship; full political amnesty; freedom of activity for all parties; punishment of the overlords of the junta and ridding the armed forces, secret police, state apparatus and government agencies of fascist elements; taking steps to immediately ease the condition of the working people; restoring the sovereign rights of the nation; holding free elections to the Constituent Assembly in which the people would decide on the form of government.

The CP is prepared to discuss this program and any other proposals or programs with other anti-dictatorial parties or organizations and to reach agreement with them on unity of action. It is also prepared to discuss with them the possibility of concluding other specific agreements. Agreements of even this nature will help to further the common fight against the dictatorship and strengthen anti-dictatorial unity. The CP is striving to reach agreement with ELK, SDE (ELK, National Agrarian Party; SDE, Socialist Democratic Union.—Ed.), Center Union groups and those organizations

whose program is close to or coincides with the fundamental provisions of the CP program.

The Greek people, who for decades have been hard hit by numerous coups, fascist dictatorships, police regimes and foreign interference, ardently desire to establish, after the overthrow of the dictatorship, a system of government providing them with a minimum of guarantees that constitutional and democratic freedoms will be restored and the country will develop on democratic lines.

Unity of the working class, the foremost and leading force of this front, if achieved, would also hasten the rallying of other classes and strata rejecting the dictatorship behind the working class and make the anti-dictatorial front still more consistent and militant. Despite the difficulties created by the dictatorship, work among the workers and in the trade unions is, by and large, the main duty of Communists in the struggle for the unity of the working class itself and for national unity generally.

The bourgeois parties want to replace the junta by a regime that would not restore the people's rights. They take a negative stand on united action. Hence the main task of the CP and of all its organizations should be to attain unity of action *from below* without renouncing, however, the attempt to act from above so as to have the demands of the working people satisfied and overthrow the dictatorship.

The CP must strive to *expand the economic and political struggle, to establish a united front from above and from below, strengthen and extend resistance organizations, and ultimately reconstitute the Party organizations, which will be the heart and soul of the fight against the dictatorship.* The Party must be prepared to take advantage of the slightest change, the smallest rift in the front of the dictatorship, the slightest legal opportunity to strike at the junta and help still greater anti-dictatorial forces to rally together against the junta, for genuine democracy.

The CP adheres to the Leninist principle of mastering every form of struggle—peaceful and non-peaceful alike. Under a military fascist dictatorship backed by a strong machinery of coercion and enjoying, moreover, the open support of U.S. imperialism and NATO, armed struggle is the more likely way of overthrowing the dictatorship and of restoring democratic freedoms on the basis of the minimum program proposed by the Party. Naturally, the Party will not relax its effort to create opportunities for overthrowing the dictatorship through non-armed struggle as well. The more extensively the Party carries on effective work to form solid underground Party organizations, develop and extend anti-dictatorial organizations, to step up the mass struggle for elementary demands and for the solution of important problems of the people, and to organize joint struggle by the people and the armed forces, the more speedily will

it provide the pre-requisites for overthrowing the dictatorship by force or by peaceful means, if the latter is made possible by the situation.

THE PARTY

The CC took guidance in its activity from the line of the Eighth Congress, on whose basis it has been solving the Party's political, organizational and ideological problems.

However the CC and Political Bureau did not verify execution of the decisions of the Eighth Congress and Eighth Plenum (1965) on organizing work in time. They did not show proper energy nor take proper steps to ensure their execution. During a certain period the PB did not inform the CC fully and in time on underground work.

Owing to the factional activity of Partsalidis and Dimitriu, the CC Secretariat virtually stopped working in 1965. The PB, CC and Secretariat (the latter to the end of its existence) are entirely responsible for these shortcomings and mistakes of the period since the Eighth Congress. A shortcoming of the PB was not only centralism in its own work but centralism towards the CC. A serious shortcoming in the work of the CC and PB was, and still is, that they did not ensure, nor verify in proper measure, the execution of very important decisions, such as that on the Party.

The defects and shortcomings in the work of the CC and PB, as well as the situation created in the PB before the Twelfth Plenum, are closely linked with the composition of the latter body.

Besides, Congress did not take proper account of the social composition of the CC. The situation in the CC, ideological pressure by the enemy and the lack in most cases of CP organizations in the country all made it impossible consistently to carry on ideological education from top to bottom, to exercise control over and renew the cadre with due regard to its age and led to the rise of opportunist and liquidationist concepts among members of the Party and its CC.

At previous plenums the CC resisted and combated those opportunist views. But it was only its Twelfth Plenum that dealt a crushing blow at the revisionist group and upheld the Party's principles, its very existence and its policy against opportunist concepts. The Party cadre and membership continue to play the decisive role in this struggle.

The effort to found or restore underground organizations has encountered great difficulties since the fascist coup. They are due to the fact that the Party was delivered a heavy blow, that it was unprepared to counter the coup and go underground, and that the revisionist group was openly carrying on its activity in the Party.

Due to the correct line formulated by the Twelfth and Thirteenth plenums and to the devoted, heroic effort of Party functionaries and the rank and file, first of all the Athens organizations, and due to the blow dealt at the factional group in the field of ideology, politics and organization and at its liquidationist concepts, *the groundwork was laid under the direct leadership of the CC and PB for reconstituting illegal underground organizations of the CP.*

It was an achievement of the Party that it formed of CC members the CC Section in Greece, which is carrying on its leading activity in the face of difficulties. After the Thirteenth Plenum the CC and its Section helped to re-establish the Athens organization and to expand Party organizations and links with other proletarian centers and the provinces. It began extensive work to set up an underground Party and anti-dictatorial press. It has registered positive results in setting up an underground Party apparatus. The CC Section helped to found KNE.

The share of the Party and its underground organizations in the movement against the dictatorship is steadily growing.

Mobilizing the vast forces opposed to the dictatorship is a difficult matter. The CP must concentrate (a) on strengthening the leading role of the CC Section, on extending the central apparatus and decentralizing its work still further; (b) on strengthening and expanding existing underground Party organizations, first of all in large industrial centers, on reinforcing the illegal Party organizations that exist in other provincial centers and other towns or on founding new ones, with emphasis on big enterprises, transport and the state apparatus.

The CC calls the attention of the whole Party to certain shortcomings, weaknesses and drawbacks which are common in Party organizations and whose elimination would help in advancing Party work among the masses. An earnest effort must be made to gear the Party's activity to the needs of the working people. Despite the progress made by illegal Party organizations in the sphere of education and propaganda, they are still unable to overcome the difficulties of unfolding extensive work among the masses. Besides, little use is made of growing legal opportunities. The lag in and narrow-minded approach to the admission of new members must be eliminated and an earnest effort be made to recruit young people. The Party should seek new members primarily in major enterprises and also among young working people, students, peasants, scientists and artists. It should form new decentralized underground organizations in the enterprises, in various branches of the economy and in residential areas. The CC and other leading bodies should place their cadres in such a way as to help Party organizations lead the working people's struggle in industry and in residential areas.

The CC Section, regional and city committees and all organiza-

tions must steadily improve their newspapers to make them genuine guides in the fight against the dictatorship and to increase their circulation. They must intensify propaganda, decentralize and improve the entire underground technical apparatus concerned with publishing and distributing printed matter. They must use and extend the legal opportunities created by the mass struggle. Because the ideological training of the Party cadre and membership has long been inadequate due to the admission of new members, the promotion of Communists to leading posts and the difficulty of the struggle, the CC and its Section consider it necessary to use every available method to solve this problem more effectively. In line with the fundamental principles of democratic centralism, we must continuously promote the security of Party organizations, heighten vigilance and educate the Party membership and cadre accordingly.

The Communist Youth of Greece plays a noteworthy role in the fight against the junta.

One of the Party's important tasks is properly to select, promote and train leading people so as to bring its organizations nearer to the growing anti-dictatorial movement.

Having done away with a disastrous situation in the Party and with the effects of the personality cult, the CP helped Party workers in an atmosphere of inner-Party democracy to foster their abilities and promoted many of them to higher positions in the Party and the mass movement. However, the solution of this problem was affected by a number of objective and subjective factors. On many occasions the Section Bureau of the time did not adhere to Party criteria in endorsing the appointment of leading workers. Many experienced Party workers were assigned jobs of secondary importance on the plea that they lacked the requisite qualities. This practice was common for a long time due to the activity of the anti-Party faction. It also affected the promotion of people to the CC. The faction exploited this practice to set certain Party functionaries active in EDA against the Party line.

Drawing lessons from its mistakes, shortcomings and weaknesses, the CP should promote leading functionaries primarily from among the workers and other working people. It should educate them in the Party spirit, supervise their work and heighten their ideological awareness and theoretical standard.

Work abroad, among *exiles and students*, is very important from the point of view of helping the Greek people in their fight and of contributing to the international solidarity movement, as well as in terms of the Party's overall effort. Some headway has been made in this field. The Communist organizations of exiles and students helped in developing the movement of anti-dictatorial committees and intensified activity in communities and mass organizations. However, there still are considerable potentialities in this sphere.

Party organizations must help promote the movement of anti-dictatorial committees abroad, links between the movement and national committees abroad and the movement of solidarity with Greece. The Party organizations of exiles have scored gains in implementing Party policy. They should give more attention to the systematic education of exiles to help and support the Greek people in struggle.

DEFEATING THE REVISIONIST GROUP OF SPLITTERS

In implementing the Party line and carrying out Party decisions after the Eighth Congress, the CC and the Party as a whole came up against a serious danger, that of revisionism.

This danger arises from the fact that attempts were made by a certain group in the leadership and among the rank and file to revise the revolutionary character of the CP and transform our Marxist-Leninist Party into a petty-bourgeois party of a Social-Democratic nature that would be unable to accomplish its historic mission; to revise the Party line as regards the leading role of the working class in the anti-imperialist democratic revolution; to impose a policy putting the working class under the control of the liberal bourgeoisie; to divert the Party from its internationalist path and induce it to loosen its links with fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties; in general, to isolate the democratic movement of Greece from its most consistent allies and defenders, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

To impose their Right opportunist line, the advocates of the latter, led by Partsalidis, formed a group long before the Twelfth Plenum. They carried on sustained factional activity against the Party's policy and leadership. They did all they could, including a negative vote, to frustrate the execution of CC and PB decisions on forming underground groups, as well as of other decisions providing for the independent organization and activity of the CP. Four members of the former Bureau, who had made up a majority on it, raised obstacles—along with some other people who afterwards turned out to be active members of the factional group—to the implementation of CC and PB decisions. They resisted the setting up of an underground Party apparatus and the Party's work in the armed forces. All this was done against CC decisions and repeated PB directives.

The group, which came out openly at the Tenth Plenum, arrived at the Twelfth Plenum with a plan prepared beforehand and tried to seize leading positions in the CP so as to impose its line on the Party. It failed, however. The Twelfth Plenum dealt a decisive blow at the faction. Thereupon the faction engaged in open divisive activities. It seized radio FA and appropriated Party archives and funds. It set up a divisive body called the "Unifying CC," which

later was dissolved for "tactical" reasons and refashioned into the so-called "Inner Bureau." The Partsalidis-Drakopoulos-Brilakis group, persisting in its activity, carried the split into EDA, PAM and other mass organizations. In this way it objectively helped Greek and foreign reaction and continues to do so.

After the Twelfth Plenum the revisionist group fully revealed its nature and its Right opportunist line. Rejected by and isolated from the bulk of the Party cadre and membership, it drifted towards a split. It held a meeting described as the "extraordinary plenum of the CC" and proclaimed itself an independent CPG. It has been slipping more and more towards opportunism. Its decisions, and articles by its leaders, exalt shapelessness and lack of cohesion to the rank of the highest principle of the Party, while another section of the group speaks openly about dissolving the Party. The group's anti-internationalist trend and slander against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are gaining in intensity.

Today the group comprises the most double-dealing revisionist-opportunist Right- and "Left"-wingers united by the one desire to fight against the Party line and leadership. All this notwithstanding, the Political Bureau tried hard to dissuade the group from its factional activity. The group was invited to the 13th Plenum of the CC, the only competent Party body to state its views. But its members refused to recognize the CC as the Party's leading committee. They declined the invitation and continued openly in their splitting activity.

The rise of revisionism in the CP is due to a number of objective and subjective causes. The main cause is the ideological and political pressure of the enemy, to which petty-bourgeois elements in the CP and in a section of its leadership gave in, as well as the difficult conditions of struggle. Delay in eliminating revisionist views resulted in their spreading more widely. Some unstable elements took advantage of the fight against dogmatism and the personality cult of Zachariadis to peddle revisionist views in the Party. Some of them formed a small group linked by family bonds, and partly succeeded in forcing aside tried and tested Party veterans released from prison and in bringing to the fore those who shared revisionist views. The revisionist danger is growing because revisionist views are being cultivated in the international movement.

Holding that opportunist views could have been overcome within the framework of the PB and CC and believing wrongly in part, that open discussion would injure legal achievements, the PB and CC are largely responsible for the fact that they did not begin in time an open ideological fight throughout the Party against revisionist views nor took resolute steps in time to eliminate them, that

they did not remove opportunists from the PB nor reinforce the Section Bureau with people who had faith in the Party line, and that, lastly, they did not convene the Ninth Party Congress. It was a mistake, furthermore, for the PB not to assume the leadership of the CC Section in time, that is, in 1963.

Our Party, whose majority has rallied behind its CC, has condemned and emphatically condemns every attempt to revise the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, alter its revolutionary character and minimize the role of the working class in the democratic movement against the dictatorship. It condemns all views and actions weakening the international links and unity of the Communist and working-class movement. The Partsalidis-Drakopoulos-Brilakis group of revisionist splitters is finding itself in increasing isolation from the Party cadre and membership. All its current attempts are bound to fail completely. We must not, however, underrate the danger it presents to the CP and the broad democratic movement.

We must intensify every aspect of our ideological work and our propaganda and carry on sustained organizing and political work to expand the mass movement against the dictatorship. This is the way to offset the negative influence of the group of splitters and factionalists. We must show particular flexibility, patience and tenacity in respect of those who are still under factionalist influence or are undecided. Remembering the past experience of these people's hostile activity in the CP and taking account of the harm the group of splitters is doing, we must persuade them of the correctness of the Party line.

The *ideological front* is an important factor in the fight against the junta and in the Party's overall activity.

Communists are obligated to fight without compromise against every variety and shading of bourgeois ideology and to be in the forefront of the ideological battle. They have an invincible weapon for this, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, which is omnipotent because it expresses the genuine interests of the working class and the people.

The difficult problems facing the international and Greek Communist movement today, the ideological pressure exerted by the class enemy, especially in view of the fact that the party of the working class does not properly repel it day after day, have a telling effect on certain elements in the Party who come from petty-bourgeois strata and lack an adequate knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. The result is that these elements express Right- and "Left"-opportunist views and misinterpret Marxism-Leninism as they try to revise it and adapt it to their own concepts. They often go as far as to deny proletarian internationalism, engage in anti-Sovietism and reject the Party itself. Specifically, the Right op-

portunist, liquidationist group of revisionists, which has assumed a Herostratean role by trying to split and liquidate the CP, rejects proletarian internationalism and advocates anti-Sovietism. Hence the CP must fight on two fronts to maintain the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to repulse the anti-Party faction. It must fight against the views of Right-wingers, who underestimate the role of the working class in the anti-dictatorial front, being influenced by bourgeois ideology, against the views of sectarians who underestimate work in the trade unions and other mass organizations, against a narrow-minded approach to the task of recruiting new Party members, and against petty-bourgeois impatience. Strengthening the ideological and political unity of the CP is a prerequisite of uniting the anti-dictatorial forces in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship.

The preparations for the regular Ninth Party Congress are taking place in 1970, the Lenin centenary year. Loyal to Lenin's teachings, the CP has gained strength by fighting for both everyday and key demands of the people and for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory, against Right- and "Left"-wing adventuristic deviations, against petty-bourgeois attempts to liquidate the Party or make it a party of petty-bourgeois democracy, an appendage of the liberal bourgeoisie.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism the CP is organizing and guiding the struggle of the working class and other working people of Greece to overthrow the military fascist dictatorship and to set the country on a democratic course, which is a prerequisite of the subsequent advance of Greece to the National Democratic Change and to socialism.

STATEMENT* OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE, CP USA

ADOPTED APRIL 9, 1970

In this country, heartland of world imperialism and home of the largest and most influential Jewish community in the world, the struggles assume exceptional importance.

It is necessary to work among the Jewish people in this country, and among the people of the U.S. generally, to achieve the following ends:

1. Reversal of present Israeli foreign policy; abandonment of annexationism; acceptance of the UN resolution in its entirety (which means agreement to withdraw from the occupied territories), thereby opening the doors to implementing the resolution.

2. Exposure of the poisonous ideology of Zionism in the eyes of the Jewish masses and destruction of its influence among them. An end to equation of the concept of the State of Israel with the racist Zionist concept of a Jewish state.

3. Development of an all-out fight against the slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

4. A struggle against the Zionist-rooted policy of soft-pedaling the fight against anti-Semitism in the United States and the launching of an all-out, militant campaign against anti-Semitism. Condemnation of the so-called Jewish Defense League and a fight to end its fascist-like hoodlum activities.

5. A campaign against the rise of racism and chauvinism among sections of the Jewish people.

In recent years we have had to fight for our position against powerful pressures of bourgeois nationalism. Some in our ranks, however, have been guilty of opportunist capitulation to such pressures, and have taken a line in direct opposition to that of the Party. The National Committee took note of this in its letter to the Party clubs of a year ago.

It is now necessary to place the matter much more sharply. The escalation of military action by the Israeli government with the encouragement of U.S. imperialism has brought matters to a critical stage.

It becomes increasingly urgent that the Party enter fully into the struggle, particularly in the ideological sphere. Under these circum-

*Daily World, April 25, 1970.

stances, looseness with regard to following Party policy can no longer be permitted. It is incumbent on every Party member to fight for the Party's policy in this area and to work to carry it out to the best of his or her ability. The Party can demand nothing less.

RESOLUTION* OF THE CC FRENCH CP

An exceptionally intensive anti-Communist campaign is going on, with Roger Garaudy as an active instrument of it.

This campaign is inseparable from the overall policy of the reactionary regime resented by all working people. Unity of action of the working-class and democratic forces has made progress of late. A democratic replacement of the present regime is a necessity felt by increasing sections of the people.

As this situation causes concern to the big capitalists, they use every means at their disposal to safeguard their privileges and intensify their class policy.

They try to divide the labor and democratic movement and to step up class cooperation. The small fascist-like groups manipulated by them are discrediting themselves more and more. The draft repressive law is unanimously condemned by democratic opinion. They are again launching, as they always do when in difficulty, a vast anti-Communist campaign to disguise their reactionary policy and block unification of the social forces hit by it.

Roger Garaudy, who resorts to lies and calumnies, is in the forefront of the anti-Communist crusade. He calls for a split in the Party and shows off his contempt of Communists. He has invented a group in the Party leadership and assails the honor and honesty of Party leaders. He is fighting against the Party's policy of unity. The big bourgeoisie puts all its important propaganda media — television, radio, newspapers, etc.—at his disposal more readily than it did in the case of any of his predecessors who reneged on the ideal of communism.

The French Communist Party is proud of its past and of its present activity, which is entirely in the service of the working class and the nation. Its policy is clear and its constant attitude loyal and consistent. The devotion and honesty of its members at all levels are matched only by their fidelity to the people's cause, to which they dedicate their lives. The democratic preparation, conduct and decisions of its 19th Congress and the unanimous election of the Central Committee were so many indications of the Party's deep-going unity.

The Central Committee, unanimous and closely united, reaffirms its unqualified confidence in Comrade Waldeck Rochet, the Party's General Secretary, Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary, Etienne Fajon, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat. It identifies itself, in particular, with the comrades at whom Garaudy levels his calumnies.

**Humanité*, May 21, 1970.

In view of the campaign of the reactionaries and their mouth-pieces, the Central Committee calls on the Communists to redouble their effort and initiative so as to bring the policy reaffirmed by the 19th Congress home to the masses. It calls on them to work steadfastly for the unity and action of all victims of monopoly policy and for progress of the alliance of the democratic forces, above all of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party.

It calls on all members to reinforce the Party by recruiting thousands of new members.

Closely united, the Communists will carry the banner of unity higher than ever. Acting as one man, they will pave the way for the democratic and socialist future of France.

*Central Committee
of the French Communist Party*

Drancy, May 20, 1970

THE EEC IN ANY FORM IS A THREAT TO OUR INDEPENDENCE

C. H. HERMANSSON,
CHAIRMAN OF THE LEFT PARTY—COMMUNISTS OF SWEDEN

Imperialism is the highest and last stage of capitalism. Capitalism is trying by various methods to strengthen its rule in the third world. Armed force is pitted on a growing scale against popular revolt. In many countries the imperialists are waging war against the liberation movement. The Nixon Administration is continuing and extending its war of aggression in Indochina. The so-called Paris talks are a make-believe as far as U.S. imperialism is concerned. "Vietnamization" of the war has turned out to involve an extension of the aggression to Laos and Cambodia.

We must warn against all underestimation of U.S. imperialism's war of aggression in Indochina and the notion that Nixon is out to end the war, for the opposite is the case. This is why we must emphatically dissociate ourselves from Prime Minister Palme's statement at the news conference in London that "we have had no reason over the past year explicitly to criticize the United States, for troops are pulled out and talks are under way." Nixon is continuing and extending the war in Indochina and we must take a stand on that.

What we have is an imperialist policy, of course. But putting this on record is not enough. We must *fight* imperialism.

The bourgeoisie refuses to really discuss these issues, for the Right and the People's Party actually side with U.S. imperialism. They seize on every opportunity to discredit the debate on Vietnam and to divert attention from the war of aggression the United States is waging. But the Swedish government does not seem really to know what this war of aggression implies nor what its attitude to the war should be. For example, the government has just authorized the Saigon junta to open an "information office" in Stockholm and Foreign Minister Torsten Nilsson has officially received representatives of the quisling regime which only continues in office with the backing of an occupation power. What would the reaction have been had the Swedish government officially recognized the Quisling regime in Norway during World War II? The people of Vietnam can only regard these moves as an affront and a gesture of support for those who are stepping up and prolonging the dirty war.

*Speech to the Riksdag, May 1970. *Ny Dag*, No. 35.

The U.S. imperialists managed after the overthrow of the government under Norodom Sihanouk to set up a puppet regime in Cambodia as well. Their purpose is to bring into being another Vietnam in Cambodia so as to spread their aggression to the rest of Indo-China. The puppet regime has launched gruesome massacres against the Vietnamese living in Cambodia. There are press reports about these atrocious deeds. The Swedish Riksdag should, for its part, take a stand against the massacres. It should demand that they be ended immediately and that the right of the Vietnamese population of Cambodia to live there be guaranteed.

NO TO THE EEC!

Imperialism and imperialist policy express themselves in many forms. One of their manifestations is various associations formed to plunder the peoples more intensively. It may be a question of multinational enterprises, international cartels and alignments of imperialist states. Most of the political parties in Sweden count, as we all know, on this kind of cooperation to solve the problems of Europe.

The efforts to join Sweden to the EEC in one form or another have become particularly strong in recent months. Significantly, a recent issue of the journal *Nordisk Kontakt*, commenting on events in Sweden, spoke of "closer links with the EEC." In view of this development, I must say in so many words that our Party's attitude to the EEC is the same as ever—it is positively against Sweden joining it in any form whatever. Relations between Sweden and the EEC should not go beyond normal trade relations. To join the EEC in any form as a member or associate member, would endanger Sweden's independence and policy of non-alignment.

The EEC, or West European economic market, is a political alliance. There is no doubt about that.

When the government and bourgeois parties say that all they want is to ascertain whether Sweden's membership of the EEC can be combined with the policy of non-alignment they give expression to what is at best a policy of illusions.

The process of economic integration encompasses the whole world. It is a general trend towards expanding markets, a continuing division of labor among countries and an internationalization of the production process. This is not to say, however, that integration in any form is valuable and means progress. When monopoly enterprises of various countries join together to keep up prices and to plunder the consumer, this form of integration hardly deserves encouragement. Whoever speaks of integration and of Europe is not for real economic cooperation. In fact, certain forces want to split Europe. The establishment of a Common West European Market

with high tariff barriers against our continent and the rest of the world is the antithesis of universal economic integration.

What is the role of Nordek to be in this respect? Speaking of its provisions for agricultural policy, they are designed to set up an effective preferential system for the Northern countries ensuring that the import requirements of a Northern country will be met by the producers of the other Northern countries. Mutual trade is to be based, as the report of the relevant committee notes, on reasonable prices that would, however, be higher than those on the world market, where they are alleged to be artificially kept down in most cases. Even if sugar is excluded from this preferential system, there is the risk of negative consequences for the so-called developing countries' possibilities of increasing their sales to the Northern countries.

However, the main reason for the complications involved in taking a decision on Nordek is the policy of neutrality. I have repeatedly criticized in the Riksdag the lines suggested for Northern economic cooperation by stressing that the Nordek plan expects the four Northern countries to join in or cooperate with an extended European market. It should be beyond question that this refers to the EEC.

If the purpose is really and solely to promote Northern economic cooperation, the proposal should not have been worded in that way. Finland has declared in keeping with its policy of neutrality that it cannot at present sign the treaty. It cites as a decisive circumstance the fact that since the other Northern countries are preparing for talks about joining the EEC, the setting up of Nordek and the further application of the treaty in the light of the reservation made by Finland are uncertain. The communique of the Finnish government adds that in the present situation the treaty would not help to meet the requirements of stability hoped for.

In these circumstances, all indications are that an effort should be made to cooperate with the forces rejecting a packet solution in the form of Nordek but really willing to further Northern economic cooperation in various fields according to the interests of the nations concerned.

Sweden has a share in imperialist plunder. Swedish and foreign capital are fusing more and more. Swedish business has huge investments abroad. Capital export has sharply increased in recent years. Swedish capital owns numerous enterprises in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Even in markedly racist countries like South Africa, Swedish business adheres to the low wage rates established by reaction. Swedish imports from Greece have been growing since the military junta seized power. They amounted to 28m. crowns in 1966, 32m. in 1967, 57m. in 1968 and 64m. crowns in 1969. How

does this trend square with statements about solidarity with the Greek democracy trampled underfoot?

AGAINST IMPERIALISM

A genuine policy of international solidarity is only possible if capitalism and imperialism are combated. It should express itself in political action primarily in one's own country. Swedish policy on the third world should be thoroughly revised. This applies to both trade and the so-called policy of aid. Trade relations in the world today benefit the wealthy nations to the detriment of the poor ones. These relations should be so changed as to become beneficial to the poor nations. Here again, Sweden should unilaterally take important steps to set up a preferential system for the commodities produced in the third world. The policy of aid should consist in supporting national and social liberation movements and countries of the world that have progressive regimes.

SECURITY CONFERENCE

The government declaration begins with the remark that this year it will be 25 years since the UN was founded. In a few days it will also be 25 years since Hitler's armies were defeated and World War II came to an end. But the peace treaty has yet to be signed and the frontiers established after the war have not been recognized definitively. It is an absurd situation. A European security conference is becoming more and more imperative. The government is agreeable to its convocation but one wishes the Swedish side would do more for the conference really to meet.

Diplomatic recognition of the GDR by Sweden would be an important step towards easing tension in Europe. It is ironical that a state which has been in existence for over 20 years has not yet been accorded full recognition under international law by all states. It has shown itself to be a durable state meeting all conditions for recognition. If we favor increasing peaceful cooperation between the two German states we must strive for the recognition of the GDR, since trustful cooperation is only possible between states enjoying equal rights.

The government claims that Swedish recognition of the GDR might prejudice the weak contacts now developing and would make it difficult to relax tension between the two German states. I think the reverse is true. Recognition of the GDR would contribute to the effort for a détente in the FRG. Conversely, each new Swedish refusal to recognize the GDR is registered by the reactionary forces in West Germany as a gain.

In the 25 years since World War II armaments have reached proportions unprecedented in so-called peace time. Those who count on the balance of military terror as a peace factor are really building the future on uncertain ground. The threat of nuclear war and destruction should be countered by vigorously resisting war preparations and by championing peace. Upholding the national independence of all countries should be among the objects of this effort. Military blocs should be dissolved and all military bases and troop concentrations on foreign soil done away with. Peace cannot be safeguarded so long as peoples are oppressed.

PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARIES UNMASKED*

The birth centenary of V. I. Lenin became a holiday for working people the world over. It developed into a convincing demonstration of the triumph of Lenin's cause, of the viability of Lenin's ideas and behests. All the historical accomplishments of our age—the Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR, the establishment and consolidation of the world socialist system, the rise of the international working-class movement in the capitalist countries, the collapse of colonialism, and the emancipation of the oppressed nations—are linked with Lenin's name and victorious teachings.

The progressive public of the world widely observed the Lenin centenary. The celebration of the birth centenary of the leader of the world revolution served the Communist and Workers' parties, all the fighters against imperialism, as a powerful stimulus in their ideological and political activities. Fraternal parties stepped up their struggle for the unity of the Communist movement, for the cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces.

In the minds and hearts of the revolutionary fighters all over the world, Lenin is inseparable from those who consistently uphold his behests and directly continue his cause—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin, and the first socialist state, at whose cradle he stood. The keynote of the Lenin centenary celebrations in the majority of countries was recognition of the outstanding role of the CPSU in the world revolutionary process, expression of gratitude to the Leninist Party for its tireless heroic struggle, for its loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism, for its disinterested assistance to all revolutionary liberation movements.

Socialism has achieved fresh successes in the worldwide battle for the minds and hearts of people. It has shown mankind the prospect of deliverance from imperialism and reveals the advantages of its economic, social and political organization ever more fully. The community of socialist countries has become a force without and against which not a single cardinal problem of our day can be solved. The combined might of the socialist countries and their active policy in defense of peace fetter the aggressive aspirations of the imperialists and raise a decisive obstacle to a missile and nuclear world war.

The celebration of the Lenin centenary vividly reflects a growing

**Pravda*, May 18, 1970.

trend that manifested itself at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties—the trend towards united action of all the revolutionary and progressive forces of our planet — and raised their ideological level to a new plane. It gave a new, mighty impetus to the world revolutionary process that unites the three great forces of our day: the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

I.

It is not surprising that the masters of the outgoing world snatch at lies and slander in an effort to discredit or belittle the historic accomplishments of Lenin's homeland, of the fraternal socialist countries, the world Communist and working-class movement and the fighters for national liberation. Their attempts to slander socialism, the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state are not new.

The Soviet people and progressive mankind know the real reasons for the Lenin centenary a new phase of fomenting enmity and hatred them for more than half a century. It is striking, however, that while the peoples of the world were celebrating the Lenin anniversary the Peking leaders came out in unison with imperialism's malicious anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign. Peking timed for the Lenin centenary a new phase of formenting enmity and hatred towards the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community and the Communist and Workers' parties of the world.

Mao Tse-tung and those around him resent the successes of the USSR in socialist industry, agriculture, science and technology, the steady rise in the living and cultural standards of the masses, the growing defensive might of the Soviet Union, the tasks set by our Party to intensify socialist production so as to build the material and technical basis of communism and strengthen the positions of world socialism. Peking propaganda, intent on discrediting the inspiring example of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, resorts to incredible inventions and distortions, to abuse and slander.

Peking echoes imperialist propaganda by repeating lies about the "aggressiveness" of the USSR and the "crisis" of the Soviet economy. It galvanizes the Trotskyist allegation about the "bourgeois degeneration of Soviet power" and equates U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union, on which it puts the label of "social-imperialism." Peking stubbornly tries to discredit the principles of socialist internationalism that underlie the relations between socialist countries, declaring it "non-existent." Peking has gone so far as to take up Hitler's crazy talk about the need to "save" the nations from the "Slav danger." Like the leaders of the fascist Reich, it portrays the

Soviet Union as a "colossus on feet of clay," "a paper tiger," and threatens to "pierce it with one stroke."

This perfect nonsense was dished up in a series of articles published in *Jenminjihpao*, *Hungchi* and *Chiefangchunpao* in April, as well as in an article to mark May Day.

These publications show that it has become a common practice in Peking to resort to ever more reckless political and ideological provocations, which are so characteristic of imperialist propaganda.

Communists and all those who cherish the interests of peace and progress are deeply disturbed by the actions of the Chinese leaders in the international arena and concerned about the destiny of the Chinese revolution.

The June 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out that recent events in China and the nature of the resolutions adopted at the Ninth Congress of the CPC exerted a negative effect on the world situation and the conditions of the anti-imperialist struggle. The present CPC leadership is pursuing an anti-popular and anti-Leninist policy by carrying on subversive activities against socialist countries and striving to divide the anti-imperialist forces.

The Chinese leaders' behavior since the International Meeting, which Peking describes as a "black gathering," shows that Marxist-Leninist parties were right in drawing the conclusion that the Chinese leaders had actually opened a battle front against the world socialist system, the international Communist movement and revolutionary fighters all over the world.

All this calls for higher vigilance towards Peking's activities in the international arena and for watching closely where the Mao leadership is leading China.

II.

The entire home and foreign policy of the Peking leaders is prompted by great-power and hegemonistic aspirations. This is why China has been turned into a proving ground for adventurist experiments whose heavy burden has to be borne by the people.

The Chinese People's Republic is going through an acute crisis in all the spheres of political, economic and spiritual life. The Communist Party has been broken up. The constitutional bodies of people's power, the trade unions, YCL and other democratic organizations and creative unions of intellectuals have been disbanded. Retaining nothing but the name of Communist Party, Mao and his associates are now building up an altogether new political organization which is to be an instrument of the military-bureaucratic dictatorship being set up in the country.

State power bodies in China follow the militarist pattern inherited from Chang Kai-shek. All power is concentrated in the hands of the soldiery, Mao's creatures, who boss the so-called revolutionary committees. The commanders of military districts, armies and garrisons are uncontrolled masters in the provinces. They head the "revolutionary committees" and supervise the "restoration of order" in Party organizations. Troop units are quartered in enterprises, educational establishments and offices. At industrial plants, the shops and teams are classed as companies and squads. The same sort of militarist system is being introduced in government offices and educational institutions. The Army controls the economy and culture.

Commanding army officers issue orders, and workers, peasants, office employees and students must carry them out implicitly. This is how society is led in China today and how the idea that all Chinese must be "obedient buffaloes," "never-rusting screws" and "good soldiers of Mao" is translated into practice. Chinese people are being driven into barracks and deprived of access to knowledge and culture, since, according to Mao Tse-tung, "the more one reads, the more stupid one becomes." Not a single work of fiction has been published and no feature film has been released in the country in the past four years; the museums and libraries are closed. Meanwhile, Mao quotation books and his other "works" have appeared in 3,000 million copies.

More than 70 million children of school age have been denied normal studies in school these years. The country has fallen short of several million specialists because the academic process at institutions of higher learning has been broken off. This is the practical implementation of Mao's thesis: "Schools are little tombs which emit nothing but evil, and shallow ponds swarming with turtles." Developing this thesis, Mao said in 1964: "The course of study may be cut to a half. Confucius taught only six arts: ceremonies, music, archery, chariot-driving, sacred books, and arithmetic . . . If you read many books you will not become an emperor . . . The point today is that, first, there are many subjects and, secondly, there are many books."

And yet the Chinese leadership lays claim to a messianic role in the present-day world.

Barracks and ignorance, rightlessness and servility—such is the order being established in China today. Moreover, an effort is being made to thrust it upon other nations, to "hoist the banner of Mao Tse-tung's ideas over the globe."

The implementation of "Mao Tse-tung's ideas" has also had grave consequences in the economic sphere. Instead of developing the economy on a planned and proportional basis by using the objective

laws of socialism, Mao and his supporters discarded the Leninist principles of economic management in favor of voluntarism, and set the country upon the road of "big leaps" and militarization. This resulted in a deep and protracted dislocation of industry and agriculture.

The Chinese economy has twice in the last decade been hurled back below the level reached in 1957. It was only the first five-year plan that was carried out successfully, for the CPC guided the country's economic development in line with the objective laws of socialism, drawing on the experience and assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries and supported by them in various forms. At that time the CPR ranked among the first in the world for development rates. But the second five-year plan was torpedoed by the "big leap," and the third by the "cultural revolution." As a result, industrial production did not reach the targets set by the second and third five-year plans. It has been marking time on the 1959 level.

According to Chinese statistics, the People's Republic of China in 1950 produced 41,500 million kilowatt-hours of electricity, 348 million tons of coal, 3.7 million tons of oil, and 18.4 million tons of steel. Last year it produced 60,000-65,000 million kilowatt-hours of electricity, 210-225 million tons of coal, 12-13 million tons of oil, and 12-13 million tons of steel. Grain production remained at the 1957 level and amounted to 185-190 million tons. The cotton harvest does not exceed 1.6 million tons.

It should be taken into account that the Chinese population grows by about 10 million a year, according to Peking. This means that in the last ten years per capita production of many important industrial and agricultural items has not risen but decreased. Basic foods and manufactured goods are supplied to the population under a strict rationing system.

The military-barracks regime in China, which is pictured by her propagandists as a kind of kingdom of universal equality, is really a caricature of socialist relations of production. Peking has lately been trying to lead the national economy out of its log-jam. Emergency measures are taken to remedy the situation. Certain negative effects of the "cultural revolution" in the production sphere, especially manifestations of chaos and anarchy in economic management, are being removed. But the Peking leaders are endeavoring to solve this task primarily by military-administrative methods, by compulsion. Nor is the living standard of the working people improving. On the contrary, wages in the last four years have shrunk by at least 10-15 per cent, whereas working hours have lengthened.

The hardships of life in China are aggravated by the Peking authorities' concentration on militarization of the country. More

than 40 per cent of the national budget is set aside for military spending, primarily by stopping housing construction almost completely and by slashing appropriations for a modern agriculture, easier peasant labor, education, health and cultural advancement.

The Chinese economy is virtually divided into two parts. One of them is a narrow group of war industries enjoying overall priority. It has never been given the "cultural revolution" treatment. The other part comprises the civil production sectors, which are told to "draw on their own resources" and not to expect investments.

Thus the economy is being deformed on military lines, which makes the whole of China's economic and social development lopsided.

The Peking leaders have distorted the essence of socialist industrialization. Their announced plan to set up small enterprises amounts to a plan to perpetuate backwardness. The social consequences of this policy are also most negative, for it holds up the growth of the organized working class.

In these conditions, the Peking propagandists try to divert the attention of the population from the disastrous consequences of the economic policy imposed on the nation, to fool the people with the slanderous allegation that matters are worse in the USSR and other socialist countries than in China, and to neutralize legitimate discontent and criticism. The Chinese press comes out practically every day with articles about an economic "crisis" in the Soviet Union. The Peking propagandists put themselves out to belittle the achievements of the Soviet people, to conceal the truth about our country from the Chinese population.

The following facts are known to the Peking leaders, of course, but they are carefully hidden from the people. From 1960 to 1969, production of electricity went up from 292,000 million kilowatt-hours to 689,000 million; coal, from 510 million to 608 million tons; oil, from 148 million to 328 million tons; steel, from 65.3 million tons to 110 million, and grain, from 125.5 million tons to 160.5 million.

The Soviet Union today ranks first in the world in extraction of coal, iron and manganese ore, and first in Europe and second in the world in output of oil, steel, electricity, many key engineering items, chemicals and other industrial products.

Big successes have also been scored by the working people of other socialist countries. For instance, the CMEA countries increased industrial production 6.3 times in the period from 1950-1969, whereas in the same period the advanced capitalist states raised their industrial production only 2.7 times. Today the CMEA countries, whose population adds up to only one-tenth of the global

population, account for about one-third of world industrial output, and their share in world production is steadily rising.

Recent years have seen the socialist countries take important steps to raise the efficiency of social production through its intensification on the basis of scientific and technological progress. They are strengthening fraternal cooperation and working for further progress in socialist economic integration. The achievements of the socialist world not only serve the interests of the socialist countries but constitute a tremendous revolutionizing factor.

The swift economic development of the socialist countries, whose pace outstrips that of the capitalist states, the working people's improving standards of living and the emergence of socialism in the foremost positions in a number of lines of scientific and technological progress are all real results of the creative effort of the peoples of the socialist countries that decisively help to ensure the superiority of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism.

This is confirmation of the lasting significance of Lenin's dictum that we make our main impact on the international revolution with our economic policy.

It is appropriate to mention that the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China (1956) stressed: "The main purpose of the entire work of the Party is to satisfy to the utmost the material and cultural needs of the people. Therefore, it is necessary, by developing production, steadily to improve the life of the people, which, in its turn, is an essential condition for stepping up the production activity of the masses." Today Peking brands efforts to raise the living standard of the people as "black economism" and "bourgeois degeneration."

Thus, the demands of the basic economic law of socialism are trampled underfoot in the CPR. As a result, production is subordinated, not to the task of steadily improving the material and cultural standards of the working people, but to an objective alien to the interests of the working masses—that of building up a military potential to carry out expansionist designs in the world arena.

The Peking leaders have weakened the positions of the working class, undermined its alliance with the peasantry and destroyed the socialist superstructure of China, creating conflict relations between the main strata of society.

Today, four years after the launching of the "cultural revolution," the contradictions bedeviling Chinese society are as acute as ever although it would seem that all measures have been taken to suppress and destroy the genuinely revolutionary, internationalist forces in China against which the "cultural revolution" was actually directed. This is precisely why the Chinese press con-

tinues to appeal for the rooting out of the "handful of enemies," as all opponents of the anti-Leninist policy are called. Terror reigns in the country. Mock trials are continuously held in large cities which end with group executions in squares and stadiums, in the presence of many thousands of people.

The forcible assimilation of national minorities is an indication of the anti-popular nature of the regime being implanted in China. Annually millions of new settlers are sent from Peking, Shanghai and other cities to Sinkiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia and the Kwangsi-Chuang autonomous district. National minorities (45 million people!) are doomed to complete forcible absorption and disappearance as national, ethnic groups. In the course of the "cultural revolution" the already meagre local autonomy was turned into a fiction. Repressive measures were taken against the majority of national personnel and national intellectuals. The areas inhabited by national minorities have become the centers of "labor armies" and concentration camps. The age-old culture and distinctive features of the Uigurs, Mongolians, Tibetans, Chuangs, Kazakhs, Koreans and other non-Han peoples are being methodically destroyed. This brutal policy leads to unrest and uprisings among the national minorities of China.

More and more troops are being sent to break their resistance. Many units are being brought up to the borders of neighbor states.

The native population is being driven out of the areas bordering on the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic. And yet Peking propaganda sees fit to praise the order forced upon the national minorities of China and at the same time to slander the Leninist policy of equality, friendship and fraternity of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

In this case as in others, the poisoned weapon of slander is used to prevent the truth about the USSR reaching China.

The more than fifty years' experience of national construction in the Soviet Union has shown that the CPSU and the Soviet state, by implementing the Leninist principles of national policy, have achieved and strengthened the unshakable moral and political unity of all the peoples of the USSR, and have ensured the genuine flowering of their economy and culture. Suffice it to cite some data on the development of the Union republics, once backward outlying regions of tsarist Russia, to prove the point. During the years of Soviet power industrial production has increased in comparison with the 1913 volume as follows: in Uzbekistan 70 times, in Tajikistan 76 times, in Kazakhstan 124 times and in Kirghizia 152 times. These were areas of almost 100 per cent illiteracy. Today institutes, universities and academies of sciences are functioning

in these republics; a wide network of schools, libraries, theatres and medical establishments has been set up.

The solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union—and this is one of the most acute and difficult social problems—is a major achievement of our socialist system, an important step in the social advancement of mankind. The attempts of the Peking leaders to discredit the Soviet Union's national policy inevitably end in the exposure of their anti-socialist and great-Han policy.

The barrack "communism" they attempt to set up in China runs counter to the requirements of socialist society in developing the productive forces, in mastering the results of the scientific and technological revolution. It runs counter to the vital interest of the masses in raising material and cultural standards, in developing socialist democracy and ensuring the genuine equality of nations, to all the objective processes of social development that spell victory for scientific socialism.

III.

The anti-Leninist trend of China's present leadership is also reflected in foreign policy. The policy of preparing for war has been announced as a long-term political program for the entire nation. The Ninth Congress of the CPC "legalized" Mao's thesis which boils down to the assertion that war is inevitable and even desirable. "As for world war," Mao said, "there is only the alternative of either war provoking a revolution, or revolution preventing war." Explaining this formula, both Lin Piao at the Ninth Congress and later on the Chinese press linked up revolution with war, and still do. Thus, the paper *Chiehfang jihpao* said that revolution "must of necessity develop into war." According to this thesis, war is not only something inevitable but something to be sought. The paper deplores the fact that there has been no world war for a quarter century now.

One of the Chinese propaganda publications bluntly notes: "The theory that war can be avoided is a dangerous one . . . That there will be a war is certain. The question is only when, soon or not. It is impossible to avoid war . . . Views claiming that war can be avoided in the obtaining situation must be relentlessly combated."

By preaching war, the Maoists go against the interests of world socialism, the working people in all lands, and the world revolution. The Peking strategists proclaim that "a civilization hundreds of thousands of times better" will be built on the ruins of "crushed imperialism and social-imperialism."

At a conference of Party workers in Chengtu, Mao cynically declared: "If, for instance, the atom bomb blew us to bits, there

would really be nothing we could do except start building anew after the war, when we might achieve somewhat better results than now." The experience of the past ten years has shown that whenever international tension grows, the Peking leadership invariably strives to aggravate the situation and prod the world towards war.

Since the Ninth Congress of the CPC the position of the present Chinese leaders on the issue of war and peace has been expounded time and again in anti-Soviet statements, including recent articles. The Chinese leadership represents the Soviet Union as an enemy that is more dangerous than U.S. imperialism. Peking is waging its militarization campaign amid appeals for preparations to wage war against the USSR and other socialist countries, and for struggle to overthrow the socialist system in these countries.

The Chinese leaders are trying to tone down the deep-going social and political crisis that has gripped the country by whipping up a rabid campaign of chauvinism and enmity against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and also against some non-socialist neighbors. An attempt is made to place the responsibility for all the suffering and misery caused to the Chinese people by Mao's adventurist policy on "external enemies," among whom Peking puts first, not imperialism, but the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The scope imparted in China to false, provocative propaganda about the "threat of an attack on the PRC from the North" is common knowledge. Also common knowledge are the unfounded territorial claims that the leaders of the PRC have been putting over recent years to China's neighbors, including the Soviet Union. To further these claims and foment hatred for neighboring nations, the leaders of the PRC engineered a number of frontier conflicts. In the atmosphere of the war hysteria stirred up over this in China, they are pressing forward their policy of quelling popular discontent, speeding the country's militarization, and carrying on propaganda to the effect that there is no escaping war.

Peking is casting about for seemly pretexts to justify this policy. One such pretext was discovered in the reactionary rubbish of feudal notions about China's exclusiveness, its historically ordained role of leader of the world. This chauvinistic rubbish takes on the "ultra-revolutionary" form of a struggle to assert Mao's "thoughts" throughout the world.

Thus petty-bourgeois adventurism and feudal great-power concepts, "super-revolutionary" phrasemongering and an actually anti-revolutionary practice are woven into one fabric.

The Chinese leaders have displayed much dexterity and cunning in parading as revolutionary fighters, and in presenting Peking as the epicentre of the world revolution. If we for a moment were to believe the newspaper tirades and speechifying of the Peking lead-

ers, we might think they were working round the clock there to promote the cause of the world revolution.

Had the Chinese leaders remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the PRC could contribute substantially to the activity of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces, and imperialism would have a more restricted field for maneuvering and mounting counter-attacks against the revolutionary forces. However, Peking has made a different choice. China's present leaders will have to answer to the socialist countries and the international working-class and national liberation movement for having placed the PRC in opposition to the common front of anti-imperialist forces.

In an attempt to stay the world revolutionary process, the imperialists are joining efforts on an international scale. And the Chinese leaders are spearheading their foreign policy against the cohesion of the socialist community as they try to undermine the relations of alliance between the socialist states—members of the Warsaw Treaty—and to interfere with the implementation of plans to further socialist economic integration. Yet this is precisely what the imperialists would like to achieve.

In not a single grave international situation created by imperialist acts of aggression in these past years has the PRC come out jointly with the socialist community and the anti-imperialist forces to offer concerted resistance to the forces of reaction and aggression.

The leaders in Peking are responsible for imposing their adventurist tactics on some contingents of the Communist and national liberation movement in Asia and Africa and thereby dooming them to reverses and overall defeat. Tens of thousands of courageous fighters who had trusted the advice of Peking lost their lives, and in some countries the revolutionary movement suffered great losses and was set far back. Such is the bloody outcome of the adventurist intrigues and provocations of the Peking "ultra-revolutionaries."

The escalation of the U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina, Israel's persistent aggression against the Arab states and the military intervention of the imperialist powers in the domestic affairs of some states are all directed against the national liberation movement and the social progress of nations.

The Soviet Government's Statement of May 4 said that "the escalation of the U.S. aggression in Indochina makes it even more imperative to unite and consolidate the cohesion of all socialist, anti-imperialist and peaceful forces in the struggle against aggression."

Such is the stand of our Party and government, of the Soviet

people. It is also the stand of fraternal socialist countries and the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world.

The negative consequences of Peking's adventurist and splitting policies, aimed at undermining the bonds among the main contingents of the anti-imperialist front, are particularly obvious in these circumstances.

Thus, in Asia, the Chinese leadership has for years been following a policy of undermining progressive regimes, of provoking conflicts between states, of isolating the national liberation struggles of nations from their real allies—the socialist countries and the international Communist and working-class movement.

Moreover, this line of Peking is accompanied by attempts to slander the Soviet Union's internationalist policies. The "friends of the peoples" from Peking represent the political, economic and military support rendered by the CPSU and all Soviet people to fraternal socialist countries, to the peoples fighting against imperialist aggression and to developing countries as a "social-imperialist policy" and even have the nerve to spread monstrous lies about "Soviet neo-colonialism."

According to their logic, it would have been better for the nations who are fighting against imperialism to be severed from the main revolutionary forces of our time and left to deal single-handedly with a strong and treacherous enemy. Yet this is actually what the imperialists long for in planning their adventures.

By behaving in this manner, Peking is showing the imperialists that it does not intend to take joint actions with the USSR and other socialist countries against imperialist aggression. This stand certainly encourages the imperialists to go ahead with their anti-popular plans and designs, as recent events in Indochina have again revealed.

The Peking leaders make it quite clear by their moves that they are endeavoring to use the heroic struggle of the peoples for freedom to carry on their global intrigues, prompted by the great-Han dream of becoming the new emperors of a "great China" ruling at least Asia if not the world.

This policy is in basic contradiction to the interests of the world socialist system, the international Communist and working class movement and the national liberation struggle of the peoples. It is in contradiction to the real interests of the Chinese people. "Super-revolutionism" in word and betrayal of the class interests of the working people in deed—such is the actual essence of Maoism in international relations.

IV.

The present Chinese leadership is compelled to reckon with the tremendous force of attraction of Marxism-Leninism. Mao realizes, of course, that he cannot win the masses and keep them under his control by his name and his "ideas" alone. For a certain period he posed as a Marxist, and now he is even trying to pass himself off as the successor to Marx and Lenin.

There was a time when many of the theses constituting Mao Tse-tung's conception, if we may call it that, were regarded as mistakes and delusions due to the lack of experience and theoretical background. Mao himself admitted that he "maintained various non-Marxist views" and that he had only "some book knowledge of Marxism." He was often criticized in the CPC and the Comintern.

Developments in China disclosed the real nature of Maoism—a reactionary utopian petty-bourgeois concept which on the theoretical plane is an eclectic hotchpotch of the most diverse views, including elements of Confucianism, anarchism, Trotskyism and petty-bourgeois nationalism.

Mao borrowed from Confucianism the most conservative aspect of this philosophy, above all its advocacy of submissiveness, the glorification of authoritarian power, the cult of the supreme authority.

Mao inherited from petty-bourgeois doctrines the idea of the special revolutionary character of the peasants, underrating the vanguard role of the working class. He exalts reactionary utopian notions born of historical backwardness to the rank of a new theoretical discovery.

Mao borrowed from bourgeois nationalist trends great-power chauvinistic views and transformed them into the messianic theory of China's exclusiveness.

Mao owes to the Trotskyites the ideas about the pre-eminence of political principles over the objective laws of social development and about the "tightening of the screws" and the militarization of society, the theory that socialism cannot triumph anywhere before the victory of the world revolution and the theory of the export of revolution, oriented on a world war as the only way to the world revolution, and, lastly, the rabid anti-Sovietism of the Trotskyites and their methods of subversion in the ranks of the international Communist and working-class movement.

Maoism is an anti-Leninist political trend based on "Sinicized" social-chauvinism. Such is the "Sinicized Marxism" which was declared at the Ninth CPC Congress to be "an entirely new stage of Marxism-Leninism," with the claim that Mao stands "much higher

than Marx and Lenin." This is an open attempt to replace Marxism-Leninism by a set of Mao's "ideas" and political objectives which, by their class nature, are alien and hostile to the theory and practice of scientific communism.

But this attempt is doomed to failure. There is no concealing the anti-socialist character of Maoism nor its theoretical sterility. Spiritual poverty cannot be made up for by a kind of religion, the Mao cult.

For all his "ultra-revolutionary" talk, Mao's ideas boil down to aggressive great-Han chauvinism. This is, in fact, the hidden mainspring of the Peking leadership's home and foreign policy. And this is fraught with grave danger, primarily for the cause of socialism in China.

The new fit of anti-Soviet hysteria in Peking was caused by Mao himself, as was to be expected and is now confirmed by the Chinese press. The latest Chinese articles contain direct references to his pronouncements aimed at arousing hatred for the Soviet Union among the Chinese people. Characteristically, the articles also quote a statement he made in the middle of the fifties, when Mao protested friendship and respect for the Soviet Union.

It is now known that in 1956 Mao asserted at a CC CPC plenary meeting that "Leninism has in the main been discarded in the Soviet Union." And exactly a year later, speaking to a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow devoted to the 40th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, he said: "By creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist theory to the solution of practical problems, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ensured for the Soviet people continuous victories in the building of a new life. The program of building communism in the USSR put forward by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, is a great model."

And so, what we have is shameless treachery toward our Party and people.

Now that imperialism places a special stake on ideological subversion against socialism, the subversive activities of the Maoists which are aimed at dividing and weakening socialist countries, at splitting the Communist movement and mass progressive organizations, virtually pave the way for the class enemies of the working people. In this respect the Chinese leaders are linking up more and more with anti-communism. A kind of "shuttle communication" has been established between the Peking propagandists and the bellicose imperialist ideologists: they adopt on a growing scale each other's methods, terminology and "arguments," and jointly use the poisoned weaponry of anti-communism. No renegade or mercenary of the proletariat's class enemies has ever injured the world revo-

lutionary process as much as the Peking leaders are doing now.

The latest articles carried by the Peking press, and the Maoists' moves in the international arena testify to their increased subversion against the Marxist-Leninist parties. Forming pro-Peking groups of renegades in various countries to combat Communist and Workers' parties and to mount provocations within the working-class and the national liberation movement has become a key aspect of this tactic.

The interests of the world revolutionary movement call for a determined rebuff to the Maoists' subversive, splitting intrigues, for the closest unity against imperialism on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

* * *

There is only one way for China's socialist development. It was tested in practice by the Chinese people themselves in the years of their struggle for freedom, in the years of building a new society within the ranks of the socialist community. It is the Leninist way, to which the most seasoned and mature Communists and non-Communists, genuine internationalists, remain faithful, as developments in China show. And it is for this that fraternal Communist and Workers' parties have been appealing to the Chinese people.

The only perspective meeting the interests of the Chinese people is unity and solidarity with the forces of the world socialist community and the revolutionary liberation movement, rehabilitation and consolidation of the truly socialist basis of Chinese society.

The CPSU and the Soviet government have been steadfastly pursuing a policy of restoring and promoting friendly relations with China. It is through no fault of ours that these relations have been upset and brought to a point of great aggravation. The present state of relations between the PRC and the USSR and other socialist countries is a result of the chauvinist policies of the Chinese leadership, a result of its abandonment of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

While exposing the anti-Leninist, anti-popular nature of the political and ideological concepts of the present-day rulers of China and waging a struggle of principle against their divisive activities within the Communist movement and their great-power foreign policy, the CC CPSU and the Soviet government have been constantly striving to ensure that ideological differences are not carried into inter-state relations.

The Soviet Union takes a clear-cut and unambiguous stand at the Peking negotiations on the question of normalizing the situation along the Soviet-Chinese border. Our country considers it necessary to reach an agreement making it possible to turn this border into a

line of good-neighborliness. The CC CPSU and the Soviet government repeatedly emphasized that while refusing to retreat from our lawful and principled positions, and while defending the interests of our socialist country and the inviolability of its frontiers, we will continue doing everything in our power to normalize our interstate relations with the People's Republic of China.

We cannot, however, close our eyes to the fact that Peking persists in whipping up war hysteria, demanding that the people "prepare for famine, prepare for war." Even the launching of a satellite, carried out as a result of the devoted effort of Chinese scientists, engineers and workers, is used for fanning nationalist passions and for threats against our country.

If all this is being done to put pressure on the Soviet Union, one must say in advance that these are vain efforts. The Soviet people have strong nerves. Our people possess everything necessary to uphold the interests of their country.

We proceed from the fact that the fundamental and durable interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples do not clash and, indeed, coincide.

"The only direction of the future development of relations between China and the Soviet Union, and between China and other socialist countries," said L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, speaking to the Lenin centenary meeting in Moscow, "is precisely to follow together the road charted by Lenin, fight jointly against the sinister forces of imperialist reaction, for the triumph of the sacred cause of socialism and communism."

The Soviet people abide by their friendly attitude towards the Chinese people, proceeding precisely from this historical outlook. A genuinely socialist and internationalist policy is ultimately bound to triumph in China. Such is the objective logic of the march of history.

PANORAMA

A REAL MENACE

"Fascism, neo-fascism and neo-nazism" was the theme of an international seminar held by the World Peace Council in Frankfurt-on-Main last May. Timed to coincide with the 25th anniversary of the defeat of Hitler Germany and the termination of World War II, it was attended by about 100 spokesmen of progressive national and international organizations of 19 European countries.

Among the papers read and discussed were "Fascism and the Threat to Peace" (Silas Serqueira, Portugal), "The Socio-Economic Base of Fascism" (Alexander Galkin, Soviet Union) and "Problems of Neo-Nazism in Federal Germany" (Dr. Reinhard Kuehn, FRG).

Recent history and development trends in certain West German political spheres indicate that the seminar was highly relevant. This will be seen by anyone who has watched the political atmosphere in West Germany for at least a brief period. For example, a new revanchist get-together of ex-SS men took place in the small town of Hanau the day the seminar opened. There is also the fact that old bookshops in Frankfurt sell not only books and pamphlets by fascist brainwashers but all sorts of fascist badges. Their high price does not deter buyers because the merchandise is in demand.

The war ended only 25 years ago, yet numerous facts show that neo-fascism in West Germany is a reality. The threat it presents was pointed out at the seminar by representatives of diverse organizations.

Dr. Kuehn called attention to the increasingly strong positions of the National Democratic Party, the ideological successor of Nazism.

In spring 1968 the NDP polled almost 10 per cent of the votes in the Baden-Wuerttemberg elections. It holds 60 seats in ten provincial assemblies of the FRG. The Bundestag elections gave it over one million votes. The NDP wants to establish in West Germany a social and economic system patterned on the Third Reich, Dr. Kuehn said. It regards it as an important achievement that the class struggle was "eliminated" in the Reich and gave way to an "integral people's society." In line with monopoly interests, it declares for commandism and unquestioning obedience as a universal principle and advocates a social organization of the country reminiscent of Prussian barracks.

S. Meyer, Chairman of the GCP regional committee in Hessen, attributed growing neo-fascist and neo-nazi activity in West Ger-

many to the fact that fascism there was not rooted after the war. He believes that the NDP should under no circumstances be regarded as the sole vehicle of neo-fascist and neo-nazi ideas. For one thing, it should be borne in mind that the political demands and formulations of the CSU do not differ greatly from what the NDP calls for, as its recent Munich Congress revealed. West German democrats often voice the opinion that the NDP will never come to power. Reality, however, speaks of the reverse. Cooperation between the CDU and NDP in Lower Saxony led to the failure of the Social-Democratic government of that province and to the dissolution of the legislative assembly. At the Munich Congress of the CSU Strauss declared for cooperation with the NDP and the latter is making political capital out of that.

Many speakers insisted that neo-nazism and neo-fascism in West Germany should not be seen as an absurd recurrence of the past. These are outgrowths of the social system thriving in the hothouse of West German monopoly and militarism, in an anti-communist and revanchist atmosphere. All forms of fascism, including the latest, are a product of imperialism.

The development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism results in the gradual curtailment of what is already a limited bourgeois democracy. On the other hand, the processes engendered by the scientific and technological revolution are intensifying the painful process of social differentiation and increasing the discontent of traditionally conservative groups and strata some of whose members incline to support the democratic and revolutionary forces and the working-class movement. However, the mounting discontent in the capitalist countries with their political machinery also expresses itself in a continuous reproduction of forces likely to serve as the social and political base of neo-fascism. Besides, there is a growing desire on the part of the ruling classes to have a political instrument which they could use in a critical situation to maintain the system of exploitation. After all, fascism played this role, and still does, in Spain and Portugal.

Certain general ideological and political characteristics entitle us to regard the existence of fascist and neo-fascist organizations in various countries as a common socio-political phenomenon. One distinctive feature of the neo-fascist groups is that, to further the interests of a definite section of the ruling classes—chiefly the state-monopoly bourgeoisie—they seek support among the middle strata of town and country and actually win over backward, mostly petty-bourgeois, segments of the population by taking advantage of their deep-rooted discontent with the capitalist system.

Some participants in the seminar concerned themselves with the fascist regimes in Spain and Portugal and the neo-fascist menace in

Italy. The opinion was expressed that there is a direct link between the military and political cooperation of Madrid and Lisbon with Washington and the existence of U.S. military bases in Spain and Portugal, on the one hand, and the survival of fascist regimes in Spain and Portugal. The maneuvers of these regimes, which are trying to prolong their rule, are assisted by international forces trying to step up the cold war and fanning anti-Communist hysteria.

Luigi Cavalieri, member of the Italian Peace Committee, said that in Italy there is a considerable number of old fascists among the military, in the police and in certain echelons of the state apparatus and that neo-fascist groups are engaged in propaganda, particularly among youth. These groups are backed by the extreme Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) and other Right-wing parties, including the monarchists. Neo-fascist activity is greatly influenced by Italy's membership in NATO.

The participants in the seminar hold that it elaborated many problems of the fight against fascism, neo-fascism and neo-nazism and provided a new stimulus to the struggle for democracy, peace and international security.

Our Own Correspondent

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

INNER-PARTY LIFE

INDIA

The National Council of the CP of India sat in Delhi from May 8-13. It passed a resolution on the political situation at home.

The NC CPI, the resolution says, examined political developments since the division of the Indian National Congress six months ago. It is now clearer than ever that the threat of the Right-wing forces seizing power in the country could be eliminated and the movement of the Left-wing and democratic forces led towards decisive victories through broad-based unity of these forces, first of all through nationwide united action by the masses for radical socio-economic changes.

In view of the tremendous opportunities afforded by the present situation, on the one hand, and of the growing counter-offensive of the Right, on the other, the main political task is to strengthen Left-wing and democratic unity and organize militant mass actions throughout the country.

This is the way to end the government's policy of letting things drift and to turn the government to the Left. In this way the state governments could be made to alter their policy in favor of the people.

The National Council called on the Left-wing and Democratic forces to unite so that a stable central government representing their broad-based unity might be constituted. Such a Left-wing and democratic government would evidently include the progressive and democratic forces now in the ruling Congress.

Our Party must vigorously pose international problems as well if it is to mobilize the masses against U.S. imperialism, specifically against its undisguised war in Indochina, in solidarity with the courageous Vietnamese, Khmer and Laotian peoples.

Another two important tasks are to carry on a campaign in support of the Arab peoples' fight against the Israeli aggressor and U.S. imperialism and to maintain Indian-Soviet friendship and economic cooperation.

BULGARIA

May. Sofia Press Publishers brought out a collection of articles and speeches on the Lenin centenary by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary, CC BCP.

The collection includes the speech at the joint anniversary meeting of the CC CPSU, Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, Moscow, April 21, 1970; the article published in *World Marxist Review*, No. 4, 1970, under the title "Lenin Principle of Unity of National and International Tasks," the article "Leninism and the Problems of Building Socialism in Bulgaria," published in *Pravda*, March 21, 1970, and "Lenin and the Worker-Peasant Alliance in the Struggle for Socialism," an article which appeared in *Kommunist*, No. 6, 1970.

The collection is available in Russian, Spanish, English, French and German editions.

U. S. A.

May 19. An extraordinary meeting of the NC CPUSA, held in connection with the new U.S. act of aggression in Indochina and the killing of anti-war students and Negroes, called for a broad popular alliance against the U.S. government's foreign policy of aggression and growing home reaction.

POLAND

May 19-20. A CC PUWP meeting chaired by Wladyslaw Gomulka discussed key problems and lines of improving the system of material incentives in the public sector of the economy. B. Jaszczuk, secretary, CC PUWP, presented the main report. The meeting was attended by scientists and economic executives. Twenty speakers took the floor in the debate.

W. Gomulka made the concluding speech.

The meeting unanimously resolved to improve the system of material incentives.

FRANCE

May 20-21. The CC FCP discussed and passed a resolution on Jacques Duclos's report "Communist Work in the Municipalities" and Paul Laurent's report "Party Work Among Youth." It unanimously approved the report of the Central Political Control Commission on Roger Garaudy and endorsed the decision of the Party organization expelling him from the FCP.

PERU

May 22. The Peruvian CP published a statement describing the recent law on state control over currency transactions in Peru as a progressive step meeting the national interest. The law puts an end to profiteering and counter-revolutionary plotting by an oligarchy intent on thwarting economic progress and bringing about another devaluation.

WEST BERLIN

The Second Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin sat here from May 22-24.

Gerhard Danelius, the Party's Chairman, reported on the activity of the CC. Congress discussed the CC report and the "Action Program of the SUP WB for Peace, Democracy and Social Progress" (see next issue of *Information Bulletin* for the abridged text of the latter.—Ed.). It elected the leading bodies of the Party. Gerhard Danelius was re-elected Chairman of the Party and Erich Ziegler won election as his deputy.

DENMARK

May 23. The CC CPD, meeting in plenary session, made a statement about the political situation in the country and the need to combat the policies of the bourgeois government. The Communists propose, the statement said, following a democratic policy based on planned control of imports and careful control over foreign exchange and capital investments, revising taxes and the policy on foreign trade, refusing to join the EEC, and cooperating with the whole of Europe.

CYPRUS

May 24. A statement released by AKEL said the people of Cyprus were in mortal danger. The terror unleashed by the enemies of Cyprus was directed against their cause, against the people . . .

"Fascist-minded elements have openly challenged the country. This is why the people of Cyprus insist that the government take the most drastic steps to end lawlessness, arrest and try criminals, and confiscate all arms kept without permission. The people are prepared to help the government in any form in its effort to normalize the situation in the country and eliminate crime."

BELGIUM

May 24. The CP of Belgium held a national conference on preparations for the municipal and communal elections. Marc Drumaux presented the main report.

COLOMBIA

May 25. The CC CPC concluded its plenary meeting.

The meeting adopted resolutions condemning the criminal U.S. aggression in Cambodia and Israel's policy of conquest against the peoples of the Middle East.

The meeting discussed the situation at home and the results of the general election (April 19).

AUSTRIA

May 28-31. The CPA held its 21st Congress, attended by 327 delegates (see *Information Bulletin*, No. 12, for details—Ed.).

BILATERAL MEETINGS

KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Pyongyang, May 12-20. A delegation of the CP of Chile, led by Orlando Millas, member of the PB CP CPC, was on a friendly visit here. It had talks with a delegation of the Korean Party of Labor. The two parties discussed matters of reciprocal interest.

FINLAND

May 15. A joint communique was published on the Finnish visit of a KPL delegation. It said that the KPL delegation had discussed with a delegation of the host Party led by A. Saarinen, Chairman of the Party, a number of problems of reciprocal interest. The discussions proceeded in a friendly and comradely atmosphere.

SOVIET UNION

Moscow, May 17-19. G. Aczél, secretary, CC HSWP, and M. Ovari, member of the CC and head of department, CC HSWP, visited here as guests of the CC CPSU.

RUMANIA

May 18. A delegation of the Iraqi CP led by A. Muhammed, First Secretary of the CC, arrived in Bucharest at the invitation of the CC RCP. It met with N. Ceausescu on May 22.

SOVIET UNION

Moscow, May 18-19. Delegations of the CPSU and RCP met for discussions.

The participants were:

for the Soviet side, L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU; N. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, President of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR; M. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary, CC CPSU; K. Katusev, secretary, CC CPSU; A. Gromyko, member, CC CPSU, Soviet Foreign Minister; K. Rusakov, member, Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, head of department at the CC CPSU; A. Basov, member, CC CPSU, Soviet Ambassador to the SRR.

for the Rumanian side, N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, Chairman, State Council of the SRR; E. Bodnaras, member, Executive Committee and Standing Presidium, CC RCP, Vice-Chairman, State Council of the SRR; P. Niculescu-Mizil, member of the EC and SP and secretary of the CC RCP; M. Manescu, member, Executive Committee and secretary of the CC RCP, Vice-Chairman, State Council of the SRR, Chairman, Economic Council; M. Ghere, alternate member of the EC and secretary, CC RCP; T. Marinescu, member, CC RCP, Rumanian Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

In the course of the discussions, which took place in a frank, comradely atmosphere, the participants exchanged views on problems of reciprocal interest bearing on the international situation and the world Communist and working-class movement. The two delegations exchanged information on the progress of socialist and communist construction in their countries. They examined various aspects of the bilateral relations between the two parties and the two countries and reaffirmed their desire to strengthen and extend friendly Soviet-Rumanian relations.

FRANCE

Paris, May 19. Georges Marchais and Enrico Berlinguer (Italian CP) had a meeting on matters of interest to both Parties. (*Humanité*)

SOVIET UNION

May 20. L. Brezhnev received O Din U, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the CC KPL, Chief of the General Staff, Korean People's Army, who took part in the celebration of the 25th anniversary of Victory in the Soviet Union. K. Katushev, secretary of the CC CPSU, took part in the interview.

YUGOSLAVIA

May 21. An ICP delegation led by E. Berlinguer concluded its visit here.

The final communiqué condemns the escalation of the war and the extension of aggression to Cambodian territory by the armed forces of the United States and other pro-U.S. troops. The two Parties reaffirmed their profound solidarity with the heroic fight the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have been carrying on for a long time against imperialist aggression, for freedom and independence. They declared once again that lasting peace in Southeast Asia could only be achieved by respecting the legitimate right of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos to shape their own fortunes. Unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. and allied troops from these countries is an important pre-requisite of solving the problem by peaceful means.

The two parties would continue to support the Arab and Palestinian peoples who are fighting for their legitimate rights and to work actively for the convocation of an all-European security conference.

G D R

May 25. Delegations of the CC SUPG and the EC of the German CP met in Berlin to exchange views on further action against the revanchist policy of West German imperialism and for relations on an equal footing between the GDR and FRG.

SOVIET UNION

May 25. B. Ponomaryov had a meeting with a delegation of the CP of Argentina led by Arnedo Alvarez, General Secretary, who had attended the Lenin centenary celebrations.

There was an exchange of views on a number of problems of the world Communist and working-class movement, the international situation and other matters of interest to both parties.

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