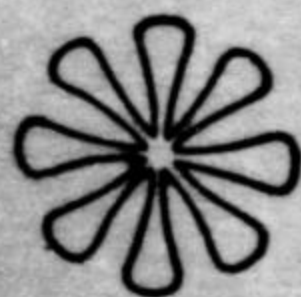


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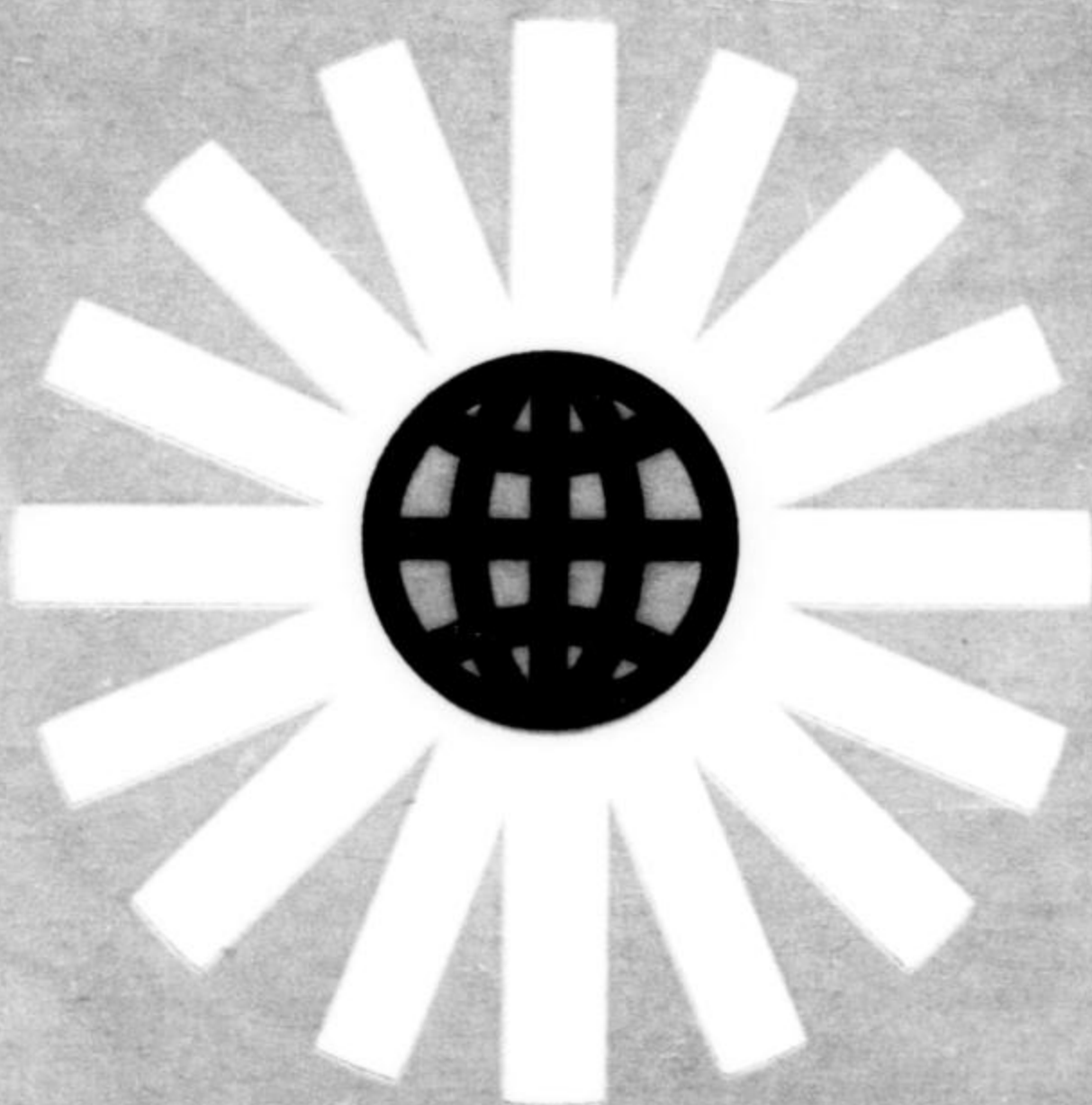
In this issue
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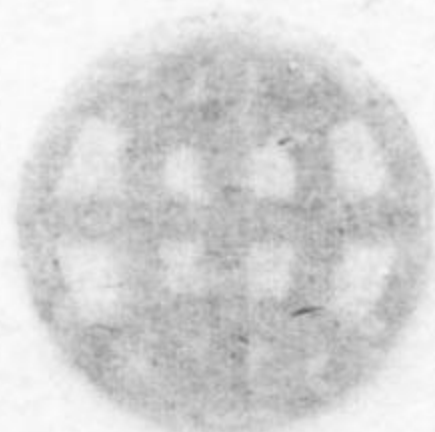
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CREATIVE APPROACH TO NEW TASKS OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

SPEECH BY L. I. BREZHNEV

Dear comrades!

I would like, with all my heart, to thank the working people of the Bauman and Sokolniki districts for nominating me candidate to the Supreme Soviet. I highly appreciate the honor bestowed on me and will spare no effort to justify your trust that commits me to quite a lot.

The election campaign and the elections proper are an important event. As they prepare for the elections the citizens of our country, so to speak, sum up the results of the work of the Soviets, generalize the best experience, and concentrate on the vital problems of communist construction.

Meeting with you, I, as other leaders of the Party and Government, consider it my duty first of all to inform you, and all voters in the country, how commitments are being fulfilled, commitments made on the eve of the previous elections to the Supreme Soviet.

I.

The last elections took place, as you know, in June 1966, shortly after the 23rd CPSU Congress. Actually the Congress decisions were the platform with which the Party came to the elections. Therefore, the attention of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government was focussed on the major problems of our society's life and development, on the problems raised by the Congress. The foremost among these were the problems of the development of the national economy. This is a most important area of social life, and I would like to begin with it.

The pre-election Address of the Party Central Committee to the Soviet people mentioned the major indicators of our growth in these four years. Though the Five-Year Plan is not yet over and very much will depend on how we work in the remaining six months, it is already clear that the Directives of the 23rd Party Congress are on the whole being fulfilled successfully. The produced national income of the country will increase from 193,500 million roubles in 1965, to almost 275,000 million roubles in 1970, i.e., by 42 per cent.

*Pravda, June 13, 1970.

The absolute expression of the growth this year, as compared to 1965, will amount to the immense sum of over 80,000 million roubles. And that is as much as the country's entire national income in 1954.

Industrial output in the five-year plan period will grow even more—by about 50 per cent. Gross industrial output in 1970 will reach 366,000 million roubles. And the increment will be almost as much as the entire industrial output of the country in the first two five-year plan periods put together.

Despite unfavorable weather and frequent natural disasters, we also managed to make certain headway in developing agriculture. On an average we have been producing annually 32 million tons more grain than in 1961-1965. As compared with the previous five-year plan period, we have put out more meat, milk, eggs and other products. There has been a greater yield of the basic agricultural crops.

The successes in economic development have had a favorable effect on the life and living standards of the Soviet people, and have helped to solve some serious social problems. Beginning with 1968, the minimum wage has increased to 60 roubles. There have been improvements in the provision of pensions. From now on agricultural workers get guaranteed cash pay. Wages have been raised for those working in the extreme north and in localities of the same status. On the whole, the real per capita incomes of the population will increase in the five-year plan period by 33 per cent. And that is more than was planned.

As a result of the growth of agricultural production and of an increase in real incomes, Soviet people eat better. The sales of butter to the population in the five-year plan period have increased by 27 per cent, sugar by 20 per cent. Per capita meat consumption has increased by 6 kg., as compared with 1965. At the same time bread consumption has fallen by 6 kg. This also is testimony of positive changes in the structure of nutrition. All these are important achievements.

Housing construction is continuing in good tempo: by the end of the five-year plan period we shall have commissioned over 500 million sq.m. of living space. That is a big figure—annually some 11 million Soviet people celebrate housewarming parties!

Much has been done in these years to develop the health services. The contingent of Soviet doctors responsible for the people's health has increased by 120,000, and the number of hospital beds by 448,000.

Public education has also been successfully developing. The number of school-goers in our country next school year will total 50 million. Secondary education has indeed become accessible to everyone. Parents in our country don't have to worry about

whether or not their children will get a chance to study and acquire a vocation necessary to society. Higher education in the USSR is also developing from year to year. In five years the number of students in the country will rise by 812,000.

I cannot but say a good word about the achievements of Soviet science, which today in many ways decides the successful development of our society and especially of our socialist economy. In the five-year plan period the number of researchers in the USSR will increase by 275,000, and allocations for science will grow 1.6-fold.

In a word, comrades, we have every reason positively to assess the results of the last four years and may well say that the Party's election platform for the last elections has been implemented.

The successes scored result from the work of Soviet people, their extensive, strenuous and often selfless work. Workers, engineers, office workers, collective farmers, scientists, millions upon millions of Soviet working people accepted the platform of the Party at the last elections as their vital cause. And it is this that enabled the country to take another large step towards communism. Glory to the Soviet working class, farmers and intellectuals! Their work turns plans into great feats, makes our country richer and more powerful!

I would like to mention the growing contribution which is being made to the cause of communist construction by our glorious Soviet youth. The latest Congress of the Leninist YCL has convincingly shown that we have reared some fine successors. One can say with confidence that our youth preserves with honor and augments the best traditions of the elder generations, that it is loyal to its people, the Party and the cause of communism.

A model of a conscious and truly enthusiastic attitude to their work is being offered by the working people of Moscow. They have initiated many wonderful things that have become extremely popular all over the country. Taking part in the socialist emulation movement for a worthy celebration of the Lenin jubilee, the collectives of many Moscow industrial enterprises had already by April fulfilled the five-year plan target on growth of labor productivity. Allow me to congratulate the Muscovites with this major success, this victory! The Moscow Party organization and all working people of the capital have done a good job and have worthily fulfilled the pledges they had made.

I take special pleasure in noting that the working people of the Bauman and Sokolniki districts were in these years a number of times among the best participants of the socialist emulation movement.

I wholeheartedly congratulate you, dear comrades, on these labor successes!

Speaking before Muscovites, I would like to say that in the
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future, too, due care will be shown to the further flourishing of our country's capital. Plans are being worked out for further improvements in the city, for building the Metro and developing other types of transport, the trading network, everything that is necessary for the work and leisure of the Muscovites. However, it lies with the Moscow Party and Soviet organizations, with all the working people of the city, with you, comrades, to see that the money allocated for these purposes is used economically and with maximum effect. I am sure that Muscovites will cope with the job.

Moscow is dear not only to Muscovites: it is the home city of all Soviet people. It is a city not only with a great historical past, it is a city with a great future. And it is essential for the capital of the Soviet Union, the first state of workers and peasants, to offer with its vigorous development, models of skillful solution of complicated town building problems of our times, so that it should be a model socialist city.

As we assess today everything that has been done in four years, we see that the road covered cannot be expressed merely in quantitative indicators. Apparently, equally important is that in these years we have ourselves learned a lot. What I mean is the work done by the Party in the field of the economic reform, and, taking a broader view, also in the field of improvement of all our economic policies and bringing them into conformity with the present stage of development of the Soviet national economy.

This has helped us to clearly define not only the main tasks—of improving the efficiency of the national economy, its intensification, substantial boosting of the growth of labor productivity—but also to find sound methods, ways and means that will help to solve these problems. All these issues have been in the focus of attention of the CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meetings; they were the subject of extensive debates also at the USSR Supreme Soviet sessions.

There is no need to mention the importance of scientific and technical progress in the current conditions. I would only like to stress that our country is fully able to attain the most advanced positions in all basic fields of the scientific and technological revolution now under way in the world. And we must make good these opportunities. The Party considers this to be one of the main sources of further economic development of our country.

There is an immense reserve of acceleration of economic development also in the improved planning, in better management of production and organization of labor. The December (1969) CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meeting made this a key task. On the fronts of development of the communist economy, comrades, the science of winning is actually the science of management!

Therefore, a study of the science of management and if need be of learning anew is the paramount duty of our cadres.

It is also clear from the aforesaid that the solution of numerous economic problems should now be sought at the juncture of scientific and technological progress and progress in management.

The Party has been devoting a good deal of attention in the years past to the development of agriculture. I have already mentioned that quite a few practical results have been registered in this area; never before did we produce so much grain and other agricultural produce, as we do now. Yet, for a more comprehensive and consequently a sounder evaluation of the state of affairs in agriculture, we need to proceed not only from the way it has developed as compared to the past, but mainly from the extent to which this agricultural growth helps to meet the present requirements of the population in foodstuffs, and industry's requirements in raw materials. We have a big population which will continue to grow and we should take care to provide it with everything necessary for a healthy and eventful life.

Viewed thus we have to admit that not everything by far has been done. And here too, comrades, there is no easy way. After we have solved some urgent problems connected with boosting the material incentive of farmers and improving the organization of production on collective farms and state farms, it has become even more obvious that a further sharp upsurge in agriculture depends on the establishment of a material-technical base that will conform to modern requirements. This is the core of the matter now.

And concretely this means sharply increasing supplies for agriculture of powerful, modern and conveniently operated tractors, combines, automobiles and other machines and mechanisms. It means consistently and firmly fulfilling the land reclamation program. It means a sharp increase in construction work in the countryside. It means, finally, transferring the production of fodder to a modern industrial foundation, and creating a powerful industry for processing agricultural produce.

These are not new problems. And we cannot say that we have not been tackling them. And in principle they obviously will be solved. The question is when. The period of establishing a modern material-technical base of agriculture can be stretched to 25 years. It can also be substantially reduced. We are for the latter course. And proceeding from this we have already in the current five-year plan period allocated for agriculture far greater investments than before. Nevertheless, in the next five-year plan period the volume of investments in agriculture is planned to rise still more. We intend firmly to adhere to this course, comrades.

The establishment of a modern material-technical base for agriculture is an immense problem in both scope and importance. To

solve it we will need the efforts of all our Party organizations, all the Ministries and departments, not to mention those that are directly connected with agricultural production. Only in this way can this problem be resolved. And we shall certainly solve it.

Comrades, as it carefully analyzes the current economic activities, the Party endeavors to detect in good time the unsolved problems and to focus on them the attention of Communists, executives, all working people. Our society is developing at rapid rates. And we are tackling the scientific-technological and production problems with undeviating concern for the steady growth of the welfare of the people. This is what makes us basically different from capitalist society. Herein also lies the distinguishing feature of the problems which we are solving. Naturally, in our progress we often come up against complicated problems. This is a normal process, just as are our efforts to detect shortcomings and mistakes ourselves, to speak of them frankly in order to correct them. Criticism and self-criticism are a law of development of our society.

We know, of course, that the enemies of the Soviet Union, the enemies of the CPSU, are trying to use our self-criticism to slander the socialist system. Such was the case 50 years ago. The same is happening today when, for instance, the bourgeois press periodically splashes its pages with sensational headlines about some kind of economic "crisis" in the Soviet Union. There's nothing new in these statements. The ideologists and politicians of imperialism have many times invented all sorts of "crises" of the Soviet system. Yet, our country became stronger and stronger. And the fact that the enemies are trying to use our self-criticism for their own ends cannot weaken our determination to eliminate in our path everything that impedes our progress.

The Party remembers Lenin's instructions that it does not befit Communists to fear serious and businesslike criticism and self-criticism on the grounds that the enemy may take advantage of it. "Anyone who is afraid of this is no revolutionary," said Lenin. And we, comrades, were and remain revolutionaries.

The Party is aware of the achievements and shortcomings, of the potentialities and the things to be done. Objectively, taking into account all the pros and cons, it may be definitely said that the people, the Party and the state are on the correct, on Lenin's, road. The chief result of the country's development in the last four years has been that the general line of economic development worked out by the Party is successfully passing the practical test and is yielding positive results.

The 24th CPSU Congress will be held this year. The Congress will endorse the basic trends and indices of the new Five-Year Plan. Work on the Plan continues and it would be premature to speak of concrete figures and targets, but I can assure the electors that a

further important industrial growth is envisaged primarily of those branches that produce the means of production, ensure power generation for the economy, and determine scientific and technological progress. Much attention will be paid to improving planning and management of the national economy, and making fuller use of economic levers. I have already spoken about the basic targets for agriculture.

The main aim of all our plans is to further improve the life of the people, to develop socialist society in every way. We proceed from this premise in drawing up the new Five-Year Plan. Everything we achieve as a result of its fulfilment will be directed towards the advancement of our Motherland, so that Soviet people may eat and dress better, so as to improve their living conditions, the health services and public education. Measures are also being discussed to improve the living conditions of large families and to raise the earnings of some categories of workers.

Referring to the plan for the next five years I would like to stress, comrades, the utmost importance of the successful completion of the last year of the current Five-Year Plan. A great deal will depend upon how we work this year, that is, how we fulfil and overfulfil the production targets in quantity and quality and, first and foremost, in accumulating reserves for solving the tasks of next year, and to a certain extent the tasks of the new Five-Year Plan. The CPSU Central Committee and the Government attach very great significance to the fulfilment of the targets in the current year and hold that it is essential to exert the utmost effort for the pre-schedule fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan as a whole.

Solution of the tasks facing us will most certainly require strenuous effort, much work on the part of all Soviet people, the revealing of all potentialities and putting all reserves into play which, it must be said, are not always properly used as yet. Much will also depend upon the work of the production organizers and executives at all levels, from top to bottom. The present stage of economic development makes ever greater demands upon us.

At its December Plenary Meeting last year the CPSU Central Committee paid special attention to the style of work with cadres in the Party. We said that trust and a respectful attitude enable workers to acquire the essential feeling of confidence and open up vistas for initiative, a bold and creative approach to questions. Such a style of work helps us solve the most complex problems—this has now been proved in practice. And we do not intend to change it, to return to methods of administration that have been vigorously condemned by the Party.

At the same time Lenin's style of work is inseparable from great exactingness, business-like control and criticism of shortcomings. This criticism presupposes respect for the individual, the dignity of

the worker and his services, but on no account at the expense of lowering requirements. We would not want our style and attitude to cadres to be understood as a sort of indulgence to poor workers. And if an executive does not draw the proper conclusions from the criticism he has no right to expect that people will continue to respect him.

The December Plenary Meeting has equipped our economic bodies and cadres with a clear understanding of the tasks facing them, and mapped out ways for their accomplishment. Fulfilment of these decisions becomes the criterion by which the Party and the people will judge the activities of economic ministries and departments, ministers and heads of enterprises, all those directly entrusted with guiding various sections of the economy.

Every organization and department, every enterprise and institution must accurately fulfil its duties and be fully responsible for the tasks that have been entrusted to it and determined by the state targets and directives of the Party. Each organization within its competence is fully able and is duty bound to display initiative without trying to shift onto others what it should itself do. The Party organizations are called upon to exercise control and to help executives work in keeping with present demands.

Comrades, the development of socialist society is a complex process which encompasses not only the economy, but all spheres of social life. The task of the leadership of such a society apparently consists in revealing to the utmost the potentialities it possesses for harmonious and even development. Where is the key to the solution of this task? The key lies in the correct functioning of the political system of society, and, primarily, the many-sided scientifically substantiated activities of the Communist Party on its rich practical experience.

The Party regards the development of socialist democracy as an indispensable condition for the successful advancement to communism. It is precisely this principle that underlies the practical measures of the Party and the Government in perfecting the state machinery, and the entire system of organs of power and administration.

In this connection I shall deal with questions of law and order. We all are well aware how important is clearly drawn up legislation for the proper development of the social organism. In a generalized and concentrated form Soviet laws express the will of the people, the main trends of Party and state policy and ensure the advancement of society along the given course.

It should be stressed that in our country legislative work is permeated with profound democratism. Broad circles of specialists, scientists, as well as the Soviet public, take part in drafting laws. The most important laws are brought up for nationwide discussion.

All this guarantees that Soviet laws really express the requirements of society and serve the interests of the working people.

In years past the Supreme Soviet has drafted and adopted laws that regulate important aspects of social relations and actually affect the interests of all Soviet people. I wish to remind you that these are laws pertaining to health protection, consolidation of the family, land tenure, struggle against crime. Work on improving Soviet legislation must continue so that it does not lag behind life, that our laws, while remaining firm and stable, correctly reflect the processes taking place in society.

We know, however, that it is not enough to elaborate a good law, not enough to adopt it. A law exists and operates only when it is observed. It is obligatory for all, it must be observed by all without exception, irrespective of post and rank. Socialist legality and law and order are the basis of the normal life of society and its citizens. This would seem elementary. And if we have to speak of this, it is only because there are, unfortunately, some people who have not developed such an essential quality as conscientious and strict observance of Soviet laws, the rules of socialist society. The Party cannot and will not tolerate such a state of affairs.

It is generally known, comrades, how V. I. Lenin regarded the issue. Lenin considered that as long as a law was in action no one had the right to disregard it. Some people in our country lack this Leninist approach to the observance of laws. Soviet law protects socialist property, the interests of society and the state, and the rights of citizens. And any violation of laws, no matter for what reason, is very damaging to society, its citizens and our common cause.

That is why it is essential to greatly propagate Soviet laws, raise their authority, educate everybody in the spirit of respect for the law. That is why it is also essential that the Party and Government bodies pay great attention to the links of our apparatus called upon to directly control the observance of laws, to cut short infringements of the law. Every Soviet citizen must be fully confident that his life and health, his property, his rights, his dignity and peace are reliably protected by the state.

Thus, the strengthening of legality, of socialist law and order, is a task for the entire state, for the entire Party. And here the role of the deputies is especially important. The people's representatives in the organs of state power, Lenin stressed, "have to work, have to execute their own laws, have themselves to test the results achieved in reality and to account directly to their constituents."

That was how Lenin posed the problem. That is how it is being posed now by the Party.

The second point I would like to talk about today is the work of the Soviets. Implementing what has been outlined in the Pro-

gram of the CPSU and in the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress, we have succeeded in invigorating the Soviets both nationally and locally. Their role in the life of the country has been enhanced.

The solution of the tasks confronting us obliges all deputies, all Soviets, to pay special attention to improving the democratic principles of their activity, reporting back to the electorate, publicity, drawing the masses of working people into direct participation in running public affairs, criticism of shortcomings in the work of one or another department or official, and combating red tape. These tasks, naturally, stand not only for the Soviets, but also for the Party organizations, since everything connected with the Soviets, with Soviet power, has been and remains the concern of the entire Party.

The Soviet is the highest body of state authority in its territory, the master of the city or community and it has to be an efficient, thrifty master. Its duty is to think of and to take care of everything, to do everything in a way that enables people to live, work and rest better. And, if the Soviet displays the necessary initiative and businesslike enterprise, the constituents appreciate this. It is a question naturally of healthy, sensible initiative and not the kind where parochialism is manifested to the detriment of the interests of the entire state. This apology for "initiative" is something which we can do without.

In other words, it is important to achieve a state of affairs where all Soviets will utilize in full all the rights granted them, will act boldly, independently and with initiative and not wait for directives and instructions from "above."

While giving due to the work of the Soviets and worthily assessing it, it is also necessary for us to see the flaws in their work. Attention was justly drawn to these shortcomings by the constituents who spoke at the rallies of collectives of working people and at the election area conferences. It is important to carefully generalize and analyze all the critical remarks, bring them to the attention of the appropriate bodies, and demand that they adopt the necessary measures.

And, lastly, there is one other question about the deputies. A deputy is an authorized representative of the working people in the organs of state power. He is their trusted person. He should be reckoned with and his voice should be heeded. His interpellations should be answered by all officials and government departments.

Such are his constitutional powers. Two concepts—rights and duties—are linked in the word, powers. This, comrades, is both a great honor and a great responsibility. They are inseparably bound together. A deputy not only has the right, but is obliged to work for the implementation of the constituents' mandates, to be tactful and attentive towards the people, to tell them how matters are

progressing and what difficulties arise and how they are being surmounted.

No matter what post our Soviet deputy occupies he deems it his duty in all his activities to be guided by the policy of the Party, to work for the realization of its program and to firmly uphold its positions. He is well aware that this was primarily what the constituents expected of him when voting for his nomination. The policy of the Party expresses the fundamental and vital interests of the people, and for a deputy nothing is or can be higher than these interests.

The life and requirements of society prompt the need for an assessment of the work of the Soviets, like all other organizations, on the basis of much higher criteria, from the positions of today, and not of yesterday. The Party and its Central Committee will continue to show constant concern so that the role and significance of the Soviets are enhanced still more, for each deputy always to maintain the level of those great requirements imposed on him by our Soviet system, by our times.

II.

Comrades, in the last four years the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government have devoted great attention to international affairs. Twice in this period, questions of Soviet foreign policy were discussed at sessions of the Supreme Soviet.

And now, too, we are reporting to the electorate on the Soviet state's foreign policy course. By what indices is it possible to judge its results? What is decisive for us, Communists-Leninists, is the ability to stand up for the interests of our friends and allies, for the interests of socialism and peace. An important index of the success of foreign policy is the state's prestige and the degree of its impact on the course of international developments. This means trust in its word in world affairs. We have every right to declare that in all these indices the Communist Party and the Soviet Government have worthily represented their people on the world scene.

The 23rd CPSU Congress entrusted the Central Committee and the Soviet Government to continue securing favorable external conditions for the construction of communism in the USSR. For us this meant, above all, to prevent a world war and to work for stronger international security, to solidify the unity of the forces of socialism, democracy, national liberation and peace.

The fight for these aims proceeded in a complicated situation. Imperialism has repeatedly tried to go over to a counter-offensive. However, thanks to the might of our state, to its active and firm foreign policy, thanks to the soundness of our alliance with the

fraternal socialist countries, and the actions of the broadest democratic forces throughout the world, imperialism has been unable to turn the course of events in its favor. The forces of socialism and revolution, national independence and social progress have scored new successes in recent years.

The Soviet people are well informed of the international activities of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Permit me briefly to report to you what exactly was done in carrying out the line of the 23rd Congress in this field.

Together with the Parties and governments of the fraternal states, we consistently worked for unity and cohesion of the world socialist system. The overall result of these efforts is obvious to everyone.

The socialist community at present represents such an association of states, with which no other alliance, no other coalition either past or present, can compare in soundness. In this connection, I would like to note the great concern for the improvement of allied relations with the socialist states. New Treaties of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance have been concluded with the fraternal German Democratic Republic, Poland, Mongolia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. A Soviet Party and Government delegation will leave for Bucharest early in July for the signing of a corresponding treaty with Rumania. In conjunction with the Warsaw Treaty, which will continue to be strengthened and improved, these bilateral treaties constitute an extensive and whole system of mutual commitments of the socialist countries to one another and to the socialist community as a common asset. We would not advise anyone to test the resilience of these commitments, which are cemented with genuine friendship and internationalism.

However, it should be said that serious difficulties still lie in the way towards cohesion of the socialist countries. The past period has witnessed an aggravation of relations with China. The reason lies in the great-power, splitting course of the Chinese leadership. Our principled stand on the question of relations with the People's Republic of China is well known, and there is no need for repeating it. We took steps to relieve the tension on the border. On our initiative, negotiations began last autumn which were designed to help normalize relations between our states. It is not our fault that these talks are dragging on. At the same time, the Chinese leadership continue their ideological and political battle against the Soviet social system, against the Leninist line of our Party. We have resolutely rebuffed and will go on resolutely rebuffing any such attacks. We shall consistently and firmly uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. As regards inter-state relations, we, as before, stand for their earliest normalization on the broadest basis. This accords with the interests of

both the Soviet and Chinese peoples, the interests of the common struggle of all the revolutionary and democratic forces against imperialism.

Serious problems had to be solved by the Central Committee and the Soviet Government in connection with the stepped-up aggressive policy of imperialism in some parts of the world.

Precisely in that period the American imperialists tried, by means of "escalation of the war," to force the Vietnamese people to their knees. The result is known. The main country of imperialism received an "escalation of defeats" in reply. Herein lies the history-making service of the fraternal Vietnamese people, who, in their struggle, are leaning upon the solidarity of all progressive forces. And we, with satisfaction, can add that our aid and support, our internationalism, our principled policy also played a tremendous role in such a turn of events.

A month and a half ago the ruling circles of the United States launched a fresh venture in Southeast Asia, but it can be said in all confidence that by extending the war in that area, the Washington leaders are only extending the scale of their own future setbacks, both on the military and political fronts, in Indochina proper and beyond its confines, and also in their own country.

Our line in relation to the problems of Indochina is clear: we strongly condemn American aggression. We fully support the just principles and demands set forth by the patriotic forces of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, as the basis for a political settlement. We shall continue rendering all the required aid to those who are fighting for their freedom and independence.

As you know, three years ago a new seat of international tension sprang up in the Middle East.

The firm posture of the Soviet Union and other socialist states played a decisive part in that the aggression of Israel in June 1967 was halted. A good deal has been done in the course of joint effort to eliminate its aftermath. The defense capacity of the Arab states, which had been subjected to attack, has been restored. The ties between the Soviet Union and the Arab world have expanded substantially and have grown much stronger.

However, it should be said that the atmosphere still remains dangerous in the Middle East. Playing with the destiny of their own country, the Israeli aggressors seek to achieve their predatory aims by stepping up military operations and carrying out savage air raids on civilian targets and inhabited points of neighboring states. It is high time for the Tel Aviv rulers and those encouraging them to realize that these are no longer the times when it was possible to gain something with such actions. The road to a settlement in the Middle East has long been opened by the well-known UN Security Council resolution. And the decisive prerequisite for this settle-

ment, which accords with the interests of all the states of the given area, with the interests of universal peace, is freeing the seized Arab territories. Loyal to its internationalist duty, the Soviet Union will continue supporting the righteous cause of the Arab nations.

All these years we have consistently pursued the line of development of relations of alliance and fraternity with the national-liberation movement. The struggle for the anti-imperialist unity of the socialist states and the young national states is a new matter, but it has already yielded important results, and is of tremendous significance for the social progress of peoples, for the strengthening of the anti-imperialist movement as a whole. The development of cooperation and unity of action with the forces of the national-liberation movement will continue to be one of the cornerstones of our foreign policy.

Comrades, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government are consistently promoting a policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. This is our firm line. It was bequeathed to us by the founder of our state. But let nobody confuse our perseverance and consistency in this matter with pacifism, with "non-resistance to evil," to that evil which the imperialist aggressors inflict on the peoples.

International security cannot be gained at the expense of the freedom and independence of nations. The cause of peace cannot be consolidated if it is not made secure through vigorous actions of all the anti-imperialist forces. Genuine peaceableness in our time presupposes resolute opposition to the aggressive claims of imperialism. When the aggressor raises his sword against the principle of peaceful coexistence, a people subjected to aggression is entitled to take up arms in defense of its freedom, while other peoples are entitled to render it help by all necessary means. That is why peaceableness and a readiness to properly rebuff aggression are fused into one in our policy.

It is precisely from this angle that one should view our activity in world affairs, including our relations with the United States of America, the biggest power of the capitalist world.

The differences between the USSR and the USA are really deep. They reflect the struggle between opposing class systems on the world scene. But that does not rule out a settlement of international issues by peaceful means. Precisely for this reason, we believe it necessary to work for such a development of Soviet-American relations that would facilitate the cause of peace and international security. All the more so since in the United States, too, there are forces that uphold such a stand and advocate a realistic approach to international affairs.

As far as Washington's policy is concerned, the Soviet Government favorably received the U.S. President's statement of his

desire to pass over from "the era of confrontations to the era of negotiations." We know, however, that the only way to avoid mistakes in politics is to trust in deeds, not words. And we cannot fail to see that the peaceable statements of the new U.S. Administration are contrary to its aggressive actions, which aggravate the international situation.

I would like to stress once more in this connection that in our time only shortsighted politicians can harbor hopes that the Soviet Union can be frightened by any kind of demonstration of strength. Washington should have no doubt of our firmness, it should know that henceforth too the USSR will give a decisive rebuff to the intrigues of the aggressive circles and render the utmost support to the peoples subjected to an attack.

Is there any way of improving our relations with the USA?

There is, and we have stated that more than once. But such a turn requires that U.S. policy be based on sober consideration of the real state of affairs in the world, that Washington should fully take into consideration both the legitimate interests of our state—the Soviet Union, as also the interests of our allies, and the sovereignty and independence of all states in the world, big and small. In other words, the question here is that the USA should take the path of easing international tension, which leads to strengthening world peace. This would meet, we are deeply convinced, also the interests of the American people.

We stand for good relations with all countries in the world, big and small, without any exception, on the basis of equality and mutual interests. All who share this approach will always find a readiness on our part to seek mutually acceptable solutions, and to develop mutually advantageous ties and cooperation.

It can be stated with gratification that in recent years our relations with many states have improved, including such large states as France, Japan and Italy. Some hopeful perspectives have appeared lately also in our relations with the FRG. If the positive elements in the FRG's policy develop and are implemented in practice, and the revanchist forces bridled, this will have a favorable effect on the entire situation in Europe.

An exchange of opinion has taken place between the Soviet Union and the FRG on the possibility of reaching agreement on a number of important questions concerning our relations. We consider this exchange of opinion useful and, on our part, are ready to continue the negotiations and to bring them to a positive completion. In other words, we approach this seriously because strengthening European security is one of the most important tasks of our foreign policy, just as the policy of any other state that really works for peace in Europe.

The cardinal problem of ensuring peace on this continent is the

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question of the inviolability of frontiers that has evolved as a result of World War Two. This issue is the important watershed between the policies of different states. We would like those who have not matured as yet for such an understanding of the real state of affairs in Europe to cross at last this line and draw the necessary practical solutions.

We have been and remain proponents of setting up reliable security systems in different areas of the globe. Quite naturally, we devote greater attention to problems of European security. Together with our allies we are energetically working for a detente on the European continent, for cooperation that will be beneficial for all. Many of our political steps and the actions of our friends, and the joint proposals of the socialist countries of Europe, including that for convening an all-European conference, are directed towards this end.

The initiative of the socialist countries has aroused great interest and broad support. In the course of the discussion that has arisen around the convening of an all-European conference, there also appeared the range of problems that could be discussed: non-application of force in the relations between the states of Europe, and the ways and means of expanding mutually advantageous economic, scientific, technological and cultural ties between the European countries. The interested countries could also set up some kind of permanently operating mechanism for the practical development and implementation of coordinated measures. We are ready to make a study of any other proposals which would really ease the tensions on the continent.

Comrades! The Soviet Union is a mighty socialist power occupying a huge territory in Europe and Asia. This places a special responsibility on our foreign policy. And we do not shirk this responsibility. Our colossal possibilities—economic, political and military, our determination and our experience—all this is placed at the service of the cause of socialism and freedom of the peoples, all this is being used to prevent the unleashing of a new world war.

We believe that there is every prerequisite for achieving this great goal, and are doing everything in our power to this end: we are working for the practical solution of such vital international problems as containment of the arms drive, the banning of nuclear weapons and their proliferation, the settlement and prevention of international conflicts.

But in order to prevent war from breaking out, the greatest vigilance is required. That is why our Party and the Soviet Government attach such great importance to strengthening the defense potential of the Soviet Union, of the entire socialist community. The military might of the Soviet Union is a serious factor for strengthening peace, a factor that deters imperialist aggressors.

We intend henceforth, too, not to weaken our solicitude for the Armed Forces of our country.

Comrades, I haven't touched upon some very important problems that are bound up with the activities of our Party as a constituent part of the international communist movement. This is a special theme. Nonetheless, I would like to point out that here too much has been done lately. The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, in whose preparation and work the CPSU had taken an active part, became one of the most important international events. Today, a year after the Conference, we have every ground for asserting that life has fully confirmed its conclusions and assessments. The Conference has helped in the upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggle, the invigoration of the ideological and political activities of the fraternal Parties, has intensified their inclination towards the further consolidation of international ties, to unity of action. It has become an important stage in the struggle for the ideological solidarity of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We firmly follow Lenin's course in foreign affairs. Life is providing fresh proof that it is the only correct line. It meets the interests not only of the peoples of our country, the peoples of other socialist countries; it reflects the strivings and aspirations of the vast majority of mankind. Herein lies its invincible strength.

The Soviet Union's international position is firm. The frontiers of our country are reliably protected; our country, together with its friends and allies, is doing all that is necessary to make the world safe against the war menace, to stop imperialist intervention, to help the peoples in their just struggle. The Soviet people may look to the future calmly and confidently.

* * *

Comrades, the Communist Party's election platform which has been expounded in the Address to the Electorate is a program of labor and struggle for the sake of improving the life of every Soviet person, every Soviet family, for the sake of strengthening the might of our homeland, for the sake of the further victories of communism, for the sake of peace on Earth.

Just as previously, the Communist Party acts in these elections in a single bloc with the non-Party people. And it cannot be otherwise. For both Communists and non-Party people there is nothing higher and dearer than the interests of their homeland. They are united by a common cause and common responsibility for the fate of communism.

The voters have nominated for election authoritative representatives of all strata of our people. They are people you can rely

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on, who won't fail you, who don't play the hypocrite, and who will honestly and to the very end fulfil their high duty as deputies.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union calls on all voters in the Soviet Union to cast their ballots on election day for the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. We are confident that the voters will show them full confidence and we shall have once more a genuinely people's, widely representative and efficient Supreme Soviet of the country.

The current elections are especially significant. They are taking place in the year of Lenin's jubilee, a year marked with major political events. There can be no doubt that the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet will once again demonstrate the inviolable ideological, social and political unity of our society, the unity of the Party and the people.

In conclusion permit me, dear comrades, once again to express heartfelt gratitude to all organizations and collectives, to all the electors, who have once more nominated me candidate to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

I ask all the canvassers and the nomination agents working at the election precincts of the Bauman district and all comrades who have spoken at this meeting, to accept my sincere gratitude for the active part they took in the preparations for the elections.

I regard your trust, dear friends, as trust in the policy of our Party, as approval and support of its Leninist political course. Permit me to assure you that I shall do everything for the successful implementation of this course.

May Soviet socialist democracy—the genuine power of the people—strengthen and develop!

Long live the great Soviet people, the builder of communism!

Long live our Leninist Party, the tried and tested vanguard of the people!



POLITICAL SITUATION IN AUSTRIA AND THE PARTY'S TASKS

RESOLUTION* OF THE 21ST CONGRESS OF THE CPA

I.

Section I of the resolution analyzes the inner political situation, the role and activity of various parties, and the disastrous character and likely effects of the active penetration of foreign capital into the Austrian economy. It stresses that "the incorporation of Austria in the EEC, which is still sought by decisive circles of big capital and which, moreover, would be incompatible with the Austrian State Treaty and permanent neutrality," would range Austria among the "underdeveloped outlying areas."

II.

The fundamental line of our program directives adopted in 1958—"Austria's Road to Socialism"—and its further development by the 19th and 20th Party congresses are correct: orientation towards the possibility of achieving socialism without civil war, which, however, can only be wrested through mass struggles on a vast scale by the proletariat and other sections of the people; making use also of parliamentary opportunities if developments should take this course; fighting for specific objectives by stages; achieving socialism through an alliance of several parties striving for socialism, the Communists claiming no monopoly standing among these parties although their strength will be a decisive factor in the development and success of the process of social upheaval; the possibility of the continued existence even of parties not belonging to the government of the socialist state, provided they respect the laws of this state; unfolding socialist democracy as early as possible, and opening new fields for the free activity of the working people, which will only become possible if big capital is divested of power. The feasibility of this road, and the realization of this concept, depend in decisive measure on the development of the class struggle in the near future.

*Abridged from *Volksstimme*, May 1970. Congress (May 28-30) discussed the political situation at home, the international situation and Austria's role as a neutral state. It devoted considerable attention to the problem of strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically as the prime condition for accomplishing the tasks set by Congress.

During this time, fighting for objectives by stages, we have evolved a number of positive concepts and, furthermore, concepts bearing on problems of vital importance to Austria's economic policy. Some of our concepts had to be taken up and even put into effect partially as a result of effective united action. They brought the working people real advantages and improvements.

Nevertheless, we were unable in 1962 to fight our way back into parliament and in 1966, despite the fact that we concentrated on one electoral district only and recommended supporting the SPA in the other districts, we neither won seats nor could prevent the APP from winning the absolute majority. Lastly, between 1966 and 1970, we suffered heavy losses in almost all regional elections and also in the general elections.

This was due to a number of objective causes: the fact that, due to the impact of the ideology of social partnership, many regard the SPA as a real alternative to the APP, a notion which has taken deep root among our adherents; the lack of major social conflicts in which the workers would have been confronted with the SPA policy of social partnership; the neck-and-neck situation of the two major parties, coupled with a suffrage that puts small parties at a great disadvantage; the effect of manipulation through the mass media, and massive anti-communism; negative phenomena and difficulties in socialist countries, which have a particularly strong effect in Austria. We must take account of these factors, which we by no means want to underrate, and must try to reduce their effect. But how far we will succeed in this depends to a decisive degree on the ideological condition and political and organizing efficiency of our Party. This necessitates a thorough investigation of the subjective causes of this development, which lie in our Party itself. Removing these causes can also reduce the effect of objective causes.

Among the subjective causes the crisis in our Party played a special part in the recent period. It became more acute after the 20th Congress, with the result that until shortly before the general election we were concerned mostly with inner-Party controversies while other parties were already engaged in an intensive election campaign. Moreover, open action by leading Party members against Party decisions caused us damage among the public. The false accusations they levelled in public at our Party and the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, made our opponents' entire anti-Communist smear campaign more effective with many of our former voters precisely because these accusations came from CP functionaries. With many comrades the crisis in the Party led to uncertainty and paralyzed their activity.

The deeper causes which subsequently accounted for the crisis in the Party go far back. Our Party was faced with new phenomena

of modern capitalism. In 1955-56 we set about evolving a new strategic orientation according to the new situation. This orientation, for its part, could not but clash with earlier notions that had taken deep root in the Party and gave rise even then to great debates in the Party. Added to this were new problems in the socialist countries and the effects on our Party of differences in the world Communist movement. Serious weaknesses in the political, ideological and theoretical work of our Party, the chief responsibility for which falls on the Party leadership, considerably heightened the effect of these factors. They made it possible to misinterpret the new conclusions we had drawn and caused ideological confusion over some important aspects of the estimation of latter-day capitalism, the present-day SPA and our perspective, as well as over the socialist countries and problems of the world Communist movement. With unity in the Party leadership gone, it came to an open crisis in the Party.

We did not make a sufficiently deep-going analysis of the manifestations of latter-day capitalism in the highly developed countries, of the forms of increasing authoritarian forms of government and its distinctions in Austria. The inadequacy of our ideological struggle in this field encouraged Right-wing opportunist and revisionist as well as "Left"-anarchist, sectarian views. However, this shortcoming above all caused uncertainty among comrades who remembered capitalism in the 1930s, with its economic crisis, widespread unemployment, poverty and despair, and to whom the Party failed to give an adequate answer to this basic question: Why is it that even in its present form capitalism is terribly outdated, why is it extremely dangerous, and why has it become a drag on man's development—a drag which needs to be removed? Our principled criticism of the SPA, as the mainstay of capitalism, will have its effect only to the extent that we answer these questions.

Among the more important problems of modern capitalism is the change in the social structure, particularly the changed standing of the intellectuals and, in connection with this, new phenomena among the students. The very growth of the productive forces accounts for this change in standing. As a result, the role of the intellectual community and the revolutionary potential of primarily the student youth is increasing. However, there is also a growing danger that this potential will be misled towards anarchist, pseudo-revolutionary phrases and will in the end fizzle out. Although this trend is only just setting in in Austria and is still feeble, the revolutionary working-class movement must not ignore it, nor must it forget, of course, that the working class remains, and will remain, the decisive force in the revolutionary transformation of society due

to the position it holds within the framework of capitalist relations of production.

The basis of our political and ideological struggle is the right attitude to the SPA. The decisions of the 19th and 20th congresses direct the Party towards struggle to establish unity of action and comradely contacts with the largest possible groups of Socialist working people while at the same time joining issue with the SPA leadership's policy of social partnership from the stand-point of principle. We have yet to have the whole Party clearly realize that these two tasks are not antitheses but are, in fact, closely linked, so that neither of them can be successfully accomplished without the other.

In this connection the decision to support the SPA in 24 out of 25 electoral districts during the 1966 election to the National Council is being widely discussed in the Party.

In principle, the Communists may in definite situations recommend supporting and casting their votes for some other party in an election. This may be necessary, first of all, when it makes it easier to head off a reactionary threat to the gains of the working people of our country and to the prevailing bourgeois democracy. Our election recommendation, which presented the distinction between the SPA and APP as being greater than that between our Party and all other parties adhering to the existing bourgeois social system, strengthened the illusion that the SPA is a genuine alternative to the class policy of the APP. For a long time now, due particularly to the undemocratic suffrage, all elections to the National Council have been seen by numerous voters as a mere alternative option between APP or SPA, and the decision taken at that time was bound to have its effect after 1966 as well.

In view of this decision, our Party in many fields relaxed principled criticism of the SPA policy of social partnership, and this continued to tell even when Kreisky came to head the SPA and the latter swung unmistakably to the right.

All this made our comrades uncertain, confused our voters and provided the SPA with ample opportunities to spread its influence among our voters and even our members. This real effect of our decision is more serious than the plan—which, however, did not materialize—to prevent an absolute APP majority.

That decision was worked out democratically and approved by a Party conference. Nevertheless, a thorough analysis of subsequent development suggests that the adverse effects of this step are greater.

We are right in not equating the SPA with the parties of big capital, the APP and AFP. But within the working class today the SPA is the main obstacle to the growth of class consciousness and the class struggle, due to the decisive impact of the ideology

of social partnership advocated by the SPA.

The right attitude to the SPA and to the perspective of our own Party is closely connected with the immense difficulty of our task: to attain by stages democratic goals that will open the road to socialism, and to achieve socialism without civil war, also by using parliamentary opportunities, in alliance with several parties. In reality, however, we are now the only party which really wants socialism and are, moreover, not even represented in parliament.

Some comrades believe that the working class itself could not be the decisive force in building socialism in Austria, that the orientation towards mass struggles by the Austrian working class and towards development without civil war is an illusion and that socialism must be brought first of all by external forces.

Other comrades mechanically apply to the present situation the concepts we have evolved for the long-range perspective of transition to socialism. The result is a dangerous over-simplification: in speaking of the road to socialism in alliance with several parties in the future, we took too little account in our reasoning of the circumstance that this presupposes a radical transformation of the existing parties which can only be brought about through great mass and class battles, the strengthening of our party being of decisive importance. While we spoke of using parliamentary opportunities as well (however, to regain seats in parliament for our Party today is exceedingly difficult now and, in any case, the SPA is represented in parliament very strongly), these comrades inferred that strengthening the present SPA is the only real alternative to the APP and, furthermore, is easier than strengthening our Party. Thus the priority task of strengthening the CPA as a prerequisite of any advance to socialism was underrated and in part even denied.

What made for confusion was also the fact that we did not show clearly enough that our concept of the "peaceful road" to socialism, which we strove for, differed fundamentally from what at the time of Austro-Marxism was extolled by the SPA as a "peaceful" or "parliamentary" road to socialism, that is, a road without struggle, with nothing but the ballot-paper, which in reality has never led to socialism anywhere nor can ever lead to it.

Our perspective in the struggle for socialism using, in particular, parliamentary opportunities involves the decisive task of bringing our Party back into parliament. Winning socialism in common with several parties does not mean reducing the role of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the least. The "Theses on Prospects" adopted by the 19th Congress rightly close with the following statement:

"The workers and people of Austria need a strong Communist Party in the struggle for national sovereignty, peace, democracy and socialism."

This fundamental idea should be a daily component of our entire

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political, ideological and theoretical work in much greater measure than before in view of the coming political developments, actions and movements.

All attempts to seek refuge in illusions about the present SPA or to substitute a "New Left" for the Communist Party, whose existence is a vital necessity to the working class (they often come forward in a direct alliance with each other) lead sooner or later to the SPA with its policy of social partnership or to "Left"-anarchist, Maoist groups, without any socio-political perspective.

It should be clear to all Communists that every perspective of socialism in Austria today depends on the Marxist-Leninist Party building up proper strength, which should also express itself in winning seats in parliament.

In each new election campaign the Party should do its utmost to the winning precisely of seats. Only when the whole Party is inspired by this objective and all its members, friends and sympathizers are prompted by the same objective can the latter—parliamentary representation—be won in connection with successes in struggles outside parliament. Without such a militant attitude our orientation towards using parliamentary opportunities as well in the fight for socialism will become perfectly pointless.

The 21st Congress agrees with the decisions of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, whose positive course was an important step in the struggle to establish a new unity in the Communist movement. Congress approves the position of the Central Committee and the Austrian delegation to the Moscow Meeting.

The resolution then reaffirms the well-known position of the CPA on developments in the CSSR in 1968-69 and stresses that Congress is against a new discussion in our Party on developments in the CSSR which would paralyze our Party and distract it from decisive inner-political tasks.

The Party will concentrate all its energy on solving its own problems and reject every attempt to divert us from fulfilling these tasks.

Realization of our concept about the Austrian road to socialism depends decisively on the restoration of unity of action in our Party itself. The evolution of the Party since the 20th Congress has shown that without unity on the key ideological issues unity of action likewise ceases in the long run. A few months after the 20th Congress the Party was openly and directly attacked in the spirit of a revision of the main issues dealt with by our 19th and 20th congresses. The attack was carried on primarily by some members of the CC, by a definite group around *Tagebuch* and some leading functionaries of the federal leadership of *FAY* (Free Austrian Youth.—Ed.)

The main points on which the Party's policy was assailed, mainly from Right-wing opportunist positions, were:

(a) The necessity and function of the CPA as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, which would be expected to give way to a loose "New Left";

(b) a revision of democratic centralism, which in fact led to a group action by CC members in public and, with some, to an open stand against the Party during the decisive phase of the election campaign;

(c) the adoption of anti-Soviet positions to the point of denying the socialist character of the Soviet state.

Ever since its July 1969 Meeting the Central Committee has had at numerous plenary meetings to go deep into these questions and to pass decisive resolutions. A number of members who attended these meetings drifted further and further away from the Party's positions and virtually abandoned them in the end. Thus the political evolution of the group of leading FAY functionaries who rejected the CC resolution about founding a Communist youth movement has already brought them to the position of a so-called New Left, although this has not enabled them to approach any new groups. This goes to show how very justified the Party was in critically warning the Party against such a development.

The 21st Congress approves the decisions of the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth plenums of the CC aimed at overcoming the crisis in the Party. It binds the entire Party to take these decisions as a basis in convincing all comrades if possible of the correctness of the Party's policy. We stand for a tolerant discussion of all new problems, but this discussion should be based on the Party, on its organization and leading committees, as well as on its publications. Abandoning this basis and coming out against the Party through bourgeois mass media—the press, radio, television—inevitably leads to the tendency to form groups and to factionalism.

It has been shown that what had begun as an ideological deviation of individual functionaries led to the formation of a group within the Party holding strong positions primarily in some Party echelons and in friendly organizations (the federal leadership of FAY, the editorial board of *Volksstimme* and others) and having international contacts as well. However, most district and branch organizations of the Party, Party activists and functionaries in the enterprises and residential areas firmly rejected the group's concepts. This was of considerable help in combating the group.

Unity can only be re-established on the ideological basis of the principles set out in the "Program Directives," the "Theses on the Outlook" of the 19th Congress and the resolution of the 20th Party Congress, as well as within the framework of democratic centralism formulated according to our conditions in the Rules adopted by the

20th Congress. A decisive ideological task we have yet to fulfil is to make this new program orientation the common patrimony of the whole Party because on this will hinge the Communists' force of conviction and influence. This calls for an open ideological fight against revisionist as well as dogmatic and sectarian concepts.

The responsibility of the Party leadership is particularly great. The starting point of the crisis in the Party was the leadership, the Political Bureau, the Central Committee. Hence it is necessary, in overcoming the crisis, to begin with the leadership.

The Party must by all means take this into account also in electing its leading committees. The composition of these committees should assure a firm Marxist-Leninist policy in keeping with fundamental Party decisions. Differences of opinion are no reason for not electing this or that comrade to a leading committee provided the differences are expressed within the framework of statutory provisions and provided the principle of united action is maintained. But those who stab the Party in the back during action, stand demonstratively aloof or even take an open stand against the Party cannot be members of any of its leading committees. No comrade in the Party should be seen as being above criticism. The problems of leadership are political problems and should also be discussed as such, openly and in a comradely spirit, at appropriate Party forums, without forming groups and without discrimination.

The 21st Congress call on all Communists to concentrate in this grave situation on the Party, on its struggle and activity in Austria.

Every Communist has the right to retain a dissenting opinion and even to express it again in his organization when there is an occasion for it. But doing this outside the Party and, moreover, resorting to bourgeois mass media should be regarded as incompatible with Party interests and hence with Party membership.

To restore the unity of our Party is decisive for a new upsurge in the Party and hence for the prospects of the entire working class of Austria.

III.

The main content of our activity at present is to launch and lead actions for lawful demands of the working people and for the concepts we have evolved. In these actions, the broadest possible unity, first of all with worker Socialists, must go hand in hand with discussion to make it clear to the participants that what they are fighting against is not a chance phenomenon but a consequence of the unjust capitalist system and what they demand in common with us Communists is not a chance demand on our part but is in accordance with our great orientation towards forcing back the power of big capital and overthrowing it in the end.

Every action can be a lasting success and every demand and every concept produce a lasting positive effect in the fight for a socialist perspective, only if they help to raise the class consciousness of the greatest possible number of participants. This combination of action and discussion is particularly important to the younger generation of workers. Hence public exposition of the political and class interconnections in every action is an inseparable component of the action itself.

A decisive expression of class consciousness increased in this way is the joining of our Party by new people, first of all young working men and women.

Such actions should center above all on the following spheres:

(a) The enterprises and trade unions.

A number of actions involving individual or several enterprises and unions have been taken in recent years in support of our demands and concepts. However, it is essential in the future to show the character of our Party more clearly, with Communists linking their initiative in the enterprises more closely with discussion of the fundamental socio-political background causes of the struggle. Communists active in the Trade Union Unity group have special opportunities in this respect. This imparts decisive importance to the Organization Bureau of our Party, to its activity and to its political and organizational support by the whole Party. The expectations of many who on March 1, 1970 gave the SPA their votes are closely linked with demands put forward by the trade unions long ago. Leading SPA functionaries in the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions stress the "independence" of the trade unions from the parties and the government again and again. In reality these submit to SPA policy on all decisive issues. Our task is to show to the union rank and file the contradiction between their notions and the policy the SPA has adopted in the government. This will be possible only if we succeed in launching joint actions for these demands with the masses organized in trade unions. This task can be accomplished and the class consciousness of participants raised only if full account is taken of the decision of the September 1969 Plenum of the CC about relations between the CPA and Trade Union Unity, about unity of action between the Party and the Trade Union Unity group, about the autonomy of the group while at the same time Party decisions are binding on the Communists active in the Trade Union Unity group.

(b) Communal policy.

Positions in the communes are of special importance if the working people's interests are to be effectively maintained. Their importance is enhanced by the loss of all our seats in legislative bodies. The progress of science and technology and their impact on people's living environment, the rightly increasing demands with regard to

housing, transport, leisure time, the service industry, and so on, make a number of communal issues ever more burning problems of the working people which we must use as points of departure for effective actions. At the same time the communes provide greater opportunities for Communist activity because interconnections there are more obvious.

(c) The younger generation.

Our socialist goal, the outcome of the general election and the age composition of the Party make it imperative for all Party organizations to concentrate on winning over young workers and other employees. It is of decisive importance to the perspective of our Party to make the younger generation of workers aware of its social situation and bring it into struggle for its justified demands. Our arguments should focus on Austria's lag behind the highly developed countries, the existence of educational privileges and the resulting scant opportunities for young people to develop and win promotion, the problem of the Federal Army, socially inequitable taxation and the material problems involved in founding a family.

During the election campaign CYA (Communist Youth of Austria) groups carried out useful work alongside the Party, developing various forms of public action. The 21st Congress hails the founding of the CYA brought about on May 9 and 10, 1970 on the initiative of young Communists and in accordance with the decision of the October Plenum of the CC. The founding of a revolutionary organization of young workers adhering to Marxism-Leninism and closely linked with the CPA meets an objective need. The CYA is the youth organization of the Communist Party and its task is to educate a generation of young Communists in common with the Party. This is why the Party will fully support the CYA politically and ideologically. Congress calls on all Communists still active in FAY and on all FAY members who feel linked with our Party to join the CYA on the basis of its political and ideological platform.

The entire organizing activity of the Party should be subordinated to the *main requirement*, which is to combine action and discussion on a clear political basis and to bring our ideas to bear among the public. With this aim in view, the structure and working style of the organizations and all leading committees of the Party, including the CC, must be thoroughly reappraised and changed wherever necessary. In nominating people for election to leading Party posts, the electing bodies must unfailingly take this necessity into account. Maximum use should be made of every opportunity and every form of social work, both up-to-date ones (insofar as they are available to us and prove effective) and those traditional in the Austrian working-class movement (insofar as they help us to talk with other people). This should not be done before elections only but should be an important part of our constant political work.

It is necessary considerably to intensify the training of Party functionaries and members and to conduct it on a clearcut and principled basis so as to enable the comrades to accomplish the task of combining action and discussion the more easily.

Our press and journalism acquire special importance *in the present situation*. At a time of growing manipulation of public opinion by the mass media of the bourgeoisie, the task of the Communist press is considerably more important than before. To this it must be added that, with the loss sustained by our Party and the reduction of its other possibilities of exerting influence our daily press is becoming the most effective weapon in our political struggle generally. Our journalism, which in late years had shown serious ideological weaknesses, could be improved first of all in the central newspaper and the theoretical journal of the Party. A decisive task now is further to improve the content of primarily our daily press and to promote it actively, win new readers and subscribers and give it financial support so as to preserve and improve this decisive weapon of the Party's struggle and make it still more effective.

There are *important opportunities for action* that could encompass large groups of working people in a number of mass organizations and in organizations friendly to us. These opportunities should be used more effectively and systematically than before with due regard to the distinctive character of each particular organization. A weakness that has come out in Communist activity in friendly organizations is that the role of the Communists and their policy were not evident enough even where action was taken. As a result, many actions failed to achieve precisely the decisive result: they did not lead to greater class consciousness of the participants nor contribute to the growth of our Party's political influence. The point is to show members and supporters of these organizations through the example of practical experience that the Communist Party stands for their goals and that strengthening it is therefore in their interest.

The 20th Congress rightly stated in its resolution:

"Our perspective, which envisages that the struggle for socialism will be carried on by several parties, changes nothing about the conclusion and experience which suggest that in no capitalist country is the road to socialism taken unless the Communist Party succeeds in winning over decisive sections of the working class and unless the working class then sets out to fulfil its historic role as the leading force of society . . .

"On the long and difficult road to this goal we now set ourselves the task of consolidating and strengthening the ranks of our Party. To this end we must constantly and systematically promote the Party and its press, first of all in the enterprises, but also in residential areas, stressing again and again that it is particularly impor-

tant to our idea and our Party to win over young people. All Party committees, from the CC downwards, are in duty bound to pay special attention to precisely this work, in connection with our entire political and economic struggle."

This task is still more imperative now. Today it is the most revolutionary task, which we must accomplish to create the prerequisite of realizing our perspective of a socialist Austria.

ON THE STRUGGLE FOR LAND TO AGRICULTURAL WORKERS, LANDLESS PEASANTS AND TRIBAL PEOPLE*

INDIA

The breathtaking developments that have taken place recently, have shaken the agrarian masses and enthused them—the agricultural workers, the peasants and the tribal people—into action throughout the country. The defeat of the combined Right reaction in the presidential election, the nationalization of banks, the split in the Congress, the radical agrarian legislation and measures of the United Front Governments of Kerala and West Bengal and the militant struggle of the toiling people have given confidence to the agrarian masses and they are on the move again. The question of abolition of landlordism and revolutionary changes in the agrarian setup of our country and giving land to the tillers of the soil has come up on the agenda once again.

Under these favorable conditions, last year, though it was begun late, the campaign for the occupation of Government cultivable wastelands was started by our Party, the Bharatiya Khet Mazdoor Union and the All-India Kisan Sabha jointly. The National Council adopted a resolution in its session of April 1969 and directed all its units to take up this campaign with earnestness, along with such other mass organizations as are prepared to cooperate with our Party. This campaign was conceived not as a symbolic campaign of satyagraha, but actual occupation of Government land and raising crops. In certain States this assumed the shape of a big state-wide movement and in certain other States, it was not taken up at all.

In West Bengal, because of the measures of the United Front Government dominated by the Left Parties, this campaign assumed the form of a mini-agrarian revolution. In spite of the utter partisan and sectarian use of its key position in the United Front Government for cornering all the gains to itself by the Communist Party (Marxist) leadership and organizing clashes and repression against the other constituents of the U.F. Government, in all over three lakhs of acres of Government land and benami land of the landlords was occupied by peasants and agricultural workers under the

*Resolution adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India at its meeting from May 8 to 13, 1970.

leadership of different parties of the Front. But for the disruptionist policy of self-aggrandizement of the leadership of the CP (Marxist) the movement would have taken even a bigger sweep than at present. In this big campaign, the share of our Party and the kisan and agricultural workers' organization led by our Party is 125,000 acres, which is quite an impressive gain.

In Kerala, the leadership of the CP (Marxist), which had all the key positions in the United Front, did practically nothing for full 31 months, despite the agitation and struggles carried on by our Party and certain other parties of the Front. At the very fag end of the U.F. Ministry under Namboodiripad's leadership, the Agrarian Reforms Amendment Bill was passed.

After the resignation of Namboodiripad, the U.F. Government under the leadership of Achutha Menon took over the reins of the Government and made very impressive advances in the matter of land distribution during the short period of three months, despite active opposition of the CP (Marxist) leadership in the State. The assent of the President was secured soon for the Land Reform Amendment Bill and it was given immediate effect to. Feudal landlordism was abolished with a stroke of the pen and the tenants were made the owners of their lands. It gave *pattas* (title deeds) to the landless people occupying Government fallow and forest lands. It evicted the landlords who are in illegal occupation of Government lands and distributed them to landless people. The poor people in the villages and towns are being given house-sites. Till now lakh families have received *pattas* for Government lands and house-sites. This distribution of Government land is taking place rapidly. Energetic steps to implement the provisions regarding land ceilings of the Amendment Act are already taken up. These impressive measures of the Kerala U.F. Government under the stewardship of Achutha Menon during such a short period of three months have greatly enthused the agricultural workers and poor peasants in other states also for mass action.

In Andhra Pradesh, the movement for occupation of Government lands gathered momentum, leading to the occupation of 107,000 acres by agricultural workers, poor peasants and tribal people. In Assam also it assumed a big sweep and about 40,000 acres of land were occupied by agricultural workers, poor peasants and tribal people. In Bihar, in a few districts, this became a big movement and about 30,000 acres were occupied. The reclamation of 15,000 acres of Bhunana lake lands in Purnea district through mobilization of thousands of landless people is a memorable example of reclamation of land through 'shramdan' (voluntary labor). In the same way, in Uttar Pradesh 10,000 acres and in Tamilnad 2,000 acres of Government land were occupied by agricultural workers

and poor peasants. In certain other States also some Government lands were occupied. In Punjab, the movement assumed the form of satyagraha and mass action against eviction of poor peasants and agricultural workers in occupation of river-bed lands of the Government and evacuee lands. In Maharashtra, in many places the adivasis, agricultural workers and other landless people occupied namesake forest lands and fallow lands of the Government and big demonstrations were held demanding pattas for them. In Rajasthan, a mass militant struggle of peasants and agricultural workers took place in Ganganagar under the leadership of the district CPI, the CP (Marxist) and other parties for distribution of Government land among the landless people and other peasant demands for the abolition of new taxes on land. This struggle, in which agricultural masses bravely faced violence of the police, ultimately succeeded in forcing the Government to accept the majority of the demands of the fighting masses, one of which is eviction of the big landholders from Government lands and distribution of these lands to the landless poor.

Apart from the Government lands which were occupied by the landless people last year, there are millions of acres of Government fallow and forest lands under the occupation of agricultural workers, adivasis and landless peasants in all the States in the last number of years. But the Congress and other reactionary Governments under the influence of the landlords not only have been refusing to give pattas to these lands but they have also been harassing them by levy of penalties for so-called unauthorized occupation and trying to forcibly evict them. And on the other hand, nothing has been done to evict the landlords and capitalists from Government lands under their illegal occupation. Some of them were even given pattas or long lease deeds.

The landless people who have occupied Government lands are not taking things lying down. They are resisting eviction tooth and nail and have been agitating for the grant of pattas. It is because of this that some of them have succeeded in securing pattas.

The movement against eviction of tenants by landlords and for extension of full occupancy rights to all types of tenants was conducted in a few states only. In Tamilnadu, big campaigns and struggles were conducted for the protection of the rights of inam ryots and for complete abolition of inams and against the eviction of tenants by landlords. In doing this, these ryots and tenants had to face severe repression.

In Bihar, our Party had resisted the eviction of tenants in some pockets where tenants are in large numbers. The very significant work done by our Party units in the State in regard to homestead

lands of agricultural workers resulted in their getting title deeds for over four lakh homesteads and lakhs of applications for title deeds are still pending. In West Bengal and Kerala, the rights of the tenants are protected because of legislative measures. Reports from other states regarding movement of tenants on their problems are not available.

Now, in view of the talk of impending amendments in the tenancy legislations, the eviction of tenants has started on a big scale throughout the country.

Realizing the militant mood of the agrarian masses and their hunger for land, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi addressed a letter to all the Chief Ministers, asking them to expeditiously distribute Government waste lands to the landless poor, to take effective steps to amend the tenancy laws and implement them and to implement the present bogus ceiling laws. The Congress led by the Prime Minister made high-sounding declarations about radical land legislation and distribution of land.

Even the Syndicate Congress has been forced to make a declaration for implementation of land reform laws.

The Chief Ministers of the States run by the Congress to which the Prime Minister belongs also are making pious declarations for distribution of Government fallow lands and protecting the rights of tenants. But they are keeping mum over the question of amending present bogus land ceiling laws and some even are saying openly that there is no question of amending the land ceiling laws. The Chief Ministers belonging to the Syndicate Congress are lukewarm on the question of the land reforms altogether. Same is the case with the Akali-Jana Sangh Ministry of Punjab. Though the DMK Ministry in Tamilnadu makes Left declarations, it also does very little in practice. The singular honor goes to the Swatantra Chief Minister of Orissa for his outspoken declaration that he is not going to brook any further changes in the land legislation and that his Government will suppress any movement for land distribution.

With all the Prime Minister's letter to the Chief Ministers and the pompous declarations of some Chief Ministers, nothing is going to come out of these declarations unless the mass militant struggles of agricultural workers, poor peasants and tribal people force their hands. Left to themselves, they are not going to bring radical amendments to the ceiling laws and tenancy laws. Even on the question of distribution of Government fallow lands, they will try to tinker with the problem. They are averse to evicting the landlords and rich peasants who are in occupation of vast tracts of these good lands. They will help the landlords to pit one section of people against another, using caste, communal and other wea-

pons to disrupt the unity of the masses and deprive them of these Government lands. They will not give even namesake forest lands where there are no forests worth the name, to the tribal people and other landless poor, but at the same time allow the landlords and black-marketeers to get hold of these forest lands. This is because the landlords dominate most of the State Governments and they have big pull on the present Central Government.

Hence a widespread militant movement of the agricultural workers, poor peasants and tribal people to force the hands of the Central and State Governments is needed to make them bring radical amendments to the existing legislation and to get the Government fallow lands and namesake forest lands distributed properly. Such a movement and struggles are quite possible in the present changed political situation in our country and the militant mood of the agrarian masses.

The Communist Party of India puts forward the following fighting demands for the movement for land:

1. All types of Government lands, cultivable fallow lands, namesake forest lands, cultivable lands under village panchayats excluding the lands set apart for common use of the village like burial grounds, should be given to agricultural workers, poor peasants and tribal people.

Government lands under the occupation of landlords, monopolists and other exploiters have to be taken away and given to the landless poor.

All harassment of the landless poor who are in occupation of Government lands should be stopped immediately and pattas given to them. All cultivable land in need of reclamation should be reclaimed through spending enough money and distributed among the poor.

2. All evictions of tenants from their lands should be declared illegal and penalties be imposed on the landlords who violate this provision. All such evictions which have taken place should be made null and void from a certain date, which has to be decided according to the conditions obtaining in each state, and such lands should be given back to the original tenants.

Amendments to the provisions of the tenancy legislation should be enacted, reducing the present exorbitant rents and fixing a fair rent. Feudal landlordism should be abolished forthwith and tenants should be made owners of their lands and be brought into direct contact with the State as in Kerala.

Care must be taken to exempt small landlords from this provision of making tenants the owners.

3. The present land ceiling laws should be radically amended so as to include the following points: removal of exemptions like

farms under sugar mills, mechanized farms, grass lands, orchards and temple lands; the application of ceilings to families, not to individuals as at present in some legislation and the definition of a family to consist of husband and wife, minors and daughters and other dependents; considerable reduction of the present ceilings on land owned by landlords and the ceiling limits in different states should be decided on the basis of land conditions and level of the movement obtaining in different States.

All benami transfers, division and sales by landlords should be made illegal and the radically amended ceiling laws should be applied and the surplus land be distributed among the landless poor.

4. The legislation banning non-tribals from grabbing the lands of tribal people should be implemented strictly and the lands grabbed by Mahajans (moneylenders) and landlords of plains, have to be taken back and given to the original owners.

The tribal people should be given forest land and be encouraged to give up shifting cultivation and adopt permanent cultivation by giving all financial and technical help.

5. All dwellers in the homestead lands of landlords should be made owners, without any cost, immediately. All the poor people in villages and towns who do not possess dwelling places, should be given house-sites free of cost.

6. The lands that are surplus after application of the radically amended ceiling laws and government fallow and forest lands should either be distributed or given to a cooperative of landless poor, according to the situation obtaining in each locality.

The Government should give subsidies and cheap credit to the landless people who get such lands.

7. Adequate representation to the organizations of agricultural workers, peasants and tribal people must be provided for in the various land committees set up for the proper distribution of land.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE POPULAR OPPOSITION

STATEMENT* OF THE CC, CP OF COLOMBIA

The April 19 general election created a new political situation. It was entirely conditioned by the contest for the Presidency which took place under an undemocratic system allowing the election of only a Conservative President in the "last round of alternation." Public opinion polarized between Pastrana Borrero, the official candidate, and Rojas Pinilla, the opposition candidate. The possibility of nominating other candidates was ruled out and this had a decisive effect on the outcome of the elections to the National Congress, departmental assemblies and municipal councils.

As a result, Pastrana Borrero was imposed by the class policy of the ruling oligarchy, which used every device of the official machinery, including fraud, and in the end declared a state of emergency and deployed the army and police as the supreme argument. Politically, the election was won by Rojas Pinilla, who polled a surprising number of votes in the main cities. The votes cast for him expressed the people's discontent with the system. Numerous electors voted for Rojas because, being faced with a dilemma, they desperately wanted a political change that would at least remove the hated oligarchic camarilla. Considerable segments of the people discarded their abstentionist passivity. They showed that it is not abstention but a heavy vote against the government that can carry the crisis of the system deeper.

The oligarchy ultimately imposed its candidate, Pastrana, by using every means at its disposal. But the anti-government forces won half the seats in parliament and the majority in numerous municipal councils and departmental assemblies, which created the requisites of building up a powerful opposition front.

The crisis of the "national front" system has sharpened to an uncommon degree because the masses have begun to dissociate from the traditional parties—Liberal and Conservative—and seek an immediate solution through Anapo (National Popular Alliance.—Ed.) as a demonstration against the farce of spurious "representative democracy" and the monopolistic tendencies of the ruling oligarchy.

The returns of the April election meant a miscarriage of the entire social and economic policy of the big bourgeoisie, which is

*Voz Proletaria, May 28, 1970.

linked with U.S. imperialism or reconciled to its domination in Colombia. It was a miscarriage of "development" schemes and the "technocracy" imported from and financed by the United States.

The Communist Party resolved to participate in the election primarily as an independent force, taking advantage of the so-called "gradual dismantling of the parity system," which made it possible to put forward Communist candidates, if only for election to departmental assemblies and municipal councils.

As regards the Presidential candidates, the CP this time could not take a positive stand because there was no popular candidate enjoying the support of any important group and with a program consistent with the aspirations of the workers and peasants and with the cause of delivering our country from the yoke of U.S. monopolies.

This is why our Party could do nothing but cast a blank vote for President. This stand was not appreciated by large sections of the people who had shown interest in the program statements of Communist candidates for election to the assemblies and councils.

The problem of Presidential candidates predetermined the overall results of the elections and prevented the CP from offering the people an alternative.

Some of our objectives were achieved through the election of Communist councillors and deputies and Left-wing members of parliament. The Party must use the positions won in departmental assemblies and municipal councils to reach larger sections of the people. The concrete results achieved by us were actually very modest and are no gauge of the Party's real influence, even though they certainly are useful for estimating the state of our organization and the degree of its isolation from the bulk of the people. All Party organizations should learn the lessons of the election campaign to do away with shortcomings and improve our work among the masses.

The outlook now is for the possibility of mounting vast popular actions for economic and political demands that will assume an immense scale provided there is a vanguard to orientate and lead them. Whether our Party will play an outstanding role as vanguard will depend entirely on how far we strengthen our organization so as to bring its policy home to the masses and on how thoroughly Communists identify themselves with the working people's aspirations, actions and struggles.

The oligarchic system will undoubtedly counter the people's struggles with every kind of maneuver, combining force with demagogic flattery, such as the new-fangled "social front," and trying to come to terms with parliamentary opposition groups. However, these maneuvers can be defeated if the pressure of the forces

expressing discontent and disagreement continues in the form of vast unitary actions.

There will be those among the ruling oligarchy who believe it possible to resolve its crisis and crush popular opposition through a reign of terror going as far as a military coup that would put the country under a gorilla dictatorship on the Brazilian or Argentine model. But this terrorist solution would be more difficult than earlier because the trend towards fighting the system is growing, because our guerrilla movements are still unvanquished and might sweep the whole country in such a contingency and because the non-conformist trends in the armed forces opposed to the behavior of a high command associated with a monopoly-minded oligarchy and taking orders from the U.S. military mission might rally together again.

The recent elections brought an unprecedented reverse to the Liberals and Conservatives, who lost many seats in Congress, the departmental assemblies and the more important municipal councils. This will hasten the process of division in these traditional parties.

That reverse may lead to the historically necessary crisis of these parties and of the nefarious bipartisan tradition of our country, the greatest political obstacle to the growth of the Colombian people's class consciousness and to their emancipation.

In present conditions, the most reactionary trends in the traditional parties are those clinging to the undemocratic system of parity and alternation and trying to give outdated institutions a new lease of life.

We Communists consider that national progress calls for the rise of new democratic and progressive parties that would abolish the oligarchic domination of the Liberals and Conservatives.

We Communists earnestly call on all revolutionary workers, peasants and intellectuals to reinforce the ranks of the vanguard contingent of the proletariat by joining it under the Lenin Enrolment, so as to promote the building up of a mass Communist Party, which is needed if the Colombian revolution is to triumph.

SOVIET UNION: POWERFUL BULWARK OF THE ARAB PEOPLES' FIGHT*

Anti-Soviet hysteria, stirred up by imperialism and Zionism and fomented by reaction in the Arab countries, has gained in intensity of late. Those behind it say they fear for the independence of the United Arab Republic.

The point is that the Soviet Union continues to extend every kind of assistance to the UAR so that it can repulse Israel's acts of aggression.

The U.S. imperialists tried to tip the balance in the Middle East in their favor. They offered to guarantee the enforcement of a cease-fire and put an embargo on arms deliveries to the region after they had met Israel's needs and ensured its military superiority. When this ploy failed there came barbarous raids on civilian objectives and children's institutions designed to make Egypt accept the U.S. cease-fire proposal.

The Soviet Union helped the UAR by supplying it with modern arms and sending advisers so that the UAR could beat off Israeli raids and strengthen its defenses.

It is manifest that this aid, greatly appreciated by the UAR leadership and people and by all Arab nations, is aimed at guaranteeing the maintenance of Egypt's independence and at freeing the areas held by the Israeli invaders, not at endangering the independence of Egypt, as imperialist and reactionary propaganda would have it. Egypt's independence and development have always been threatened by imperialism and by Zionism, which has occupied UAR territory and continuously attacks it with the approval and support of world imperialism, and first of all of U.S. imperialism.

Nevertheless, they are shedding crocodile tears over the "threat" to Egyptian independence, the real threat coming from none but themselves.

International imperialism and its Zionist and reactionary allies know how important unity between the Soviet Union and the national liberation movement is to a more active fight against imperialism. Hence, one of the key objects of their activity is to undermine this unity, call Soviet aims into question and discredit the proletarian assistance given by the Soviet Union. All this is done to isolate the national liberation movement in the Arab world and in other countries from their mainstay and true friend, to

**Al Jamahir* (Jordanian CP) editorial, May 1970.

weaken this movement and block resistance to imperialist conspiracies.

The plight in which Egypt would find itself if it had not been receiving aid from the Soviet Union will be readily seen.

The colonialists are concerned above all else about cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries because they realize that this close and steadily growing cooperation is an earnest of the independence of the UAR and other countries, an earnest of frustrating imperialist and reactionary conspiracies, and a guarantee that Zionist-imperialist aggression will be firmly resisted.

Our peoples have long known that the threat to the independence of their countries, to their gains and aspirations to progress, to democracy and socialism, emanates from imperialism and its agents. They have seen all the treacherous schemes of the imperialists—from the Suez war to the Aswan Dam project to the present-day fight against aggression—fail one after another in the face of solid Arab-Soviet friendship and disinterested cooperation.

This fight and its gains show that close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is the only way to maintain and promote the independence of Egypt and other countries.

The situation in Jordan today makes this only too evident.

The hostile policy towards the Soviet Union which the Jordanian authorities followed prior to the aggression, their doubts and fears, and their refusal to cooperate with the Soviet Union and to use the opportunities of obtaining arms and of advancing the economy did not help defend the independence of Jordan, free its occupied areas or safeguard the civilian population against attack from the aggressors. This policy led to a situation in which Jordan found itself unable to defend its territory exposed to imperialist infiltration of the country's government and economy.

Those who put about lies about Soviet domination and are hypocritically concerned about the independence and sovereignty of Egypt would like a similar lot to befall Egypt. It is only natural that Egypt and other Arab nations want no such thing.

TASKS OF THE WORKING-CLASS, DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR MOVEMENT IN THE NEW SITUATION

STATEMENT* BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

On June 8, 1970 the Junta of Commanders-in-Chief removed General Onganía and assumed full power. It promised to appoint a new *de facto* President in ten days at the latest and announced that it would publish a political program shortly. Thus a new coup *d'état* was carried out. The power struggle between the various camarillas that four years ago joined forces to seize power had a denouement that is not definitive.

After making arrogant threats and decreeing new draconian laws imposing, in particular, the *death penalty*. Onganía, abandoned by even the small group of his adherents, had to relinquish power not so much in submission to the will of the commander-in-chief as due to the *continuous and courageous struggle which the workers, students, peasants, intellectuals, small and medium employers, in other words, the overwhelming majority of the population, had been waging against the dictatorship.*

It was this struggle that dealt the death-blow at the Onganía government. Just when the Junta of Commanders-in-Chief removed Onganía, there was a growing *trend towards unity of action* to fight for the freedom and independence of the country. It involved men and women of different convictions—Communists, Peronists, Radicals, Socialists, Christian Democrats or Social Christians, Democratic Progressives, genuine nationalists and others, believers and non-believers, civilians and servicemen worthy of the tradition of San Martín. And if the popular movement was unable to replace the Onganía regime by a provisional government based on a broad democratic coalition, it was only because this unity of action had not yet crystallized into a *coordinating center* of all democratic, progressive and patriotic forces. Let this lesson not be forgotten. Today it is as necessary as before, or even more so, to muster the greatest energy in the struggle for united action, for a *coordinating center* of all democratic and patriotic forces *guaranteeing that in the end no one and nothing will rob the people of the fruit of their struggle—a genuinely democratic, national, popular government.*

*Slightly abridged.

The so-called Argentine revolution is not a revolution but a coup. Nor is it Argentinian, because it handed the economic and financial levers to foreign, above all U.S., monopolies. It has been shaken by successive internal upheavals and palace revolutions ever since it came into existence. This time it was the turn of Onganía himself. *Nor is the process at an end.*

The grave crisis of today is a sign of something more than the bankruptcy of one man or one team. It marks the *bankruptcy of a policy* characterized by a sustained giving away of the national patrimony, protection of the interests of the big capitalists and landed proprietors, a high cost of living, low wages, unemployment, heavy taxes, and above all, draconian laws-by-decree, foul assassinations, despicable provocations and prisons filled to capacity.

Nothing will be changed in the country by replacing people or hatching plans *behind the backs of the people* or referring to "law" or the "act of the revolution." It is precisely this that has created the present situation. As our Party said on the occasion, the coup against the Illia government was not directed against the deformations or limitations of a nominal democracy ("of a nominal and barren legality," as the conspirators put it in 1966) but against democracy itself. The aim was to replace this by a corporative system under which the people would be granted "the right to agree instead of the right to elect."

There should not be a shadow of doubt that a mere change of team will lead to a deepening of the republic's economic, social, political and cultural crisis that will plunge it in chaos sooner or later.

The COMMUNIST PARTY was the first to denounce the reactionary nature of the 1966 coup while others took an attitude of "hopeful expectation." It held with dignity and courage a vanguard position in all working-class and popular struggles of the past four years and fought with might and main for a *coordinating center* of all anti-dictatorial forces to overthrow the de facto government under Onganía and replace it by a provisional government based on a broad democratic coalition. All this and the *new situation* entitle it to *earnestly call* on the working class and the people, on democrats and patriots, on those who seek civil liberties, social progress and economic and political independence for the nation, to put pressure on the new de facto rulers by upholding the people's demands and to unite in order to go on fighting in common for the following objectives:

—establishing the broadest democratic liberties—freedom of speech, assembly, association, press and strikes—liberties which citizens can and should enjoy in reality;

—an immediate amnesty for all political and social prisoners;

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—abolishing the death penalty and abrogating laws-by-decree 17,401 and 18,670 and all repressive legislation;

—free functioning of all political parties, without government interference;

—raising wages and salaries to bring them into line with the cost of living;

—reducing taxes on the peasants, rural intelligentsia and small and medium employers;

—taking effective steps against the high cost of living;

—restoring suppressed social gains;

—defending the nation's patrimony;

—stopping evictions in the countryside and paying fair prices for the produce of small and medium farmers and livestock-breeders;

—free functioning of the trade unions, without interference by either the state or the employers; putting an end to meddling and cancelling fraudulent elections; reinstating union leaders removed as a result of interference;

—re-establishing the principles of the university reform: tripartite autonomy and administration and the free functioning of all student centers, without government interference;

—defending public education and resuming the democratic functioning of the National Education Council;

—a foreign policy of independence and peace;

—re-establishing the full, unqualified sovereignty of the people.

It is ONLY by fighting in common for these objectives that the possibility can be created before long of setting up a coordinating center and of opening up the prospect of establishing truly democratic and anti-imperialist power supported by an organized people.

Executive Committee of the Communist Party

Buenos Aires, June 9, 1970.

SPEECH* BY WALTER ULBRICHT

FIRST SECRETARY, CC SUPG

The Erfurt and Kassel conversations, held on the initiative of the GDR, "offered the Brandt government an opportunity to dissociate itself in no uncertain terms from the policy of cold war and of claiming sole representation which the CDU/CSU has been pursuing in regard to the GDR for twenty years."

Unfortunately, Brandt did not use the opportunity he was afforded to make a real contribution to peace and security in Europe. "This may be due to his yielding to pressure from the CDU/CSU and other extremist, revanchist forces. However, there is more reason to see it as an effort to attain the same old political goals, except that he wants to do so by other and, in his view, more effective methods. In the process a deep contradiction develops again and again between words and deeds."

The initiative of the Warsaw Treaty countries, which at their Budapest meeting proposed a European security conference, is very important to European security. The Soviet initiative in favor of European countries concluding agreements renouncing the use of force, and of preparations for a European security conference won the support of European peoples. In those conditions Bonn expressed readiness to begin an exchange of views with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko on a treaty between the Soviet Union and the West German Federal Republic renouncing force.

W. Ulbricht dealt with the instructions adopted by Bonn on June 7 and saying that the government was willing to negotiate with the Soviet Union a treaty renouncing the use of force. However, Bonn reserved the right to insist on the "right to self-determination" for all Germans.

"If the Bonn government wanted to respect and exercise the right to self-determination for its own population within the boundaries of the Federal Republic, no one would object, of course. But Bonn has no voice outside the Federal Republic and cannot demand anything. This means that pronouncements or statements on its part whose significance goes beyond the boundaries of the Federal Republic have no legal force."

One should undoubtedly take a positive view of the fact that talks are taking place with the Soviet Union on these matters. "We

*Delivered to the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Condensed text released by ADN.

would like the coming negotiations between the Soviet Union and the FRG on a treaty renouncing the use of force to be crowned with success. This could also benefit relations between the GDR and FRG and would be in the interest of safeguarding European security."

Brandt professed acceptance of the GDR principle that no war shall ever again be started from German soil. "But words are not enough. What is lacking is, first of all, a basis for a genuine policy of peace. How is one to reconcile the allegedly unexampled desire of Bonn for peace and security with reckless arming and the building up, under the leadership of Nazi officers, of a Bundeswehr 470,000-strong plus 170,000 auxiliary personnel, or a total of 640,000? Are we to see it as an expression of a particular love of peace that the Brandt government backs the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam and Cambodia as well as Israel's aggression against Arab countries? Or that that government regards its own Eastern policy as an element of NATO policy and global strategy?"

The communique of the NATO Council meeting held in Rome late in May, with the participants conspiring to prevent an all-Europe security conference or at least delay it, suggests, furthermore, that Bonn policy on the GDR is coordinated with NATO policy.

"This is not to say at all that there is complete agreement on these issues among all NATO countries. Some of these countries tend to seek greater independence from the impact of U.S. global strategy and to develop a more autonomous policy towards West German imperialism."

International cooperation is particularly handicapped by Bonn's continuing policy of discrimination against the GDR in world affairs. This policy uses very shabby excuses. "Respect for the equality of the GDR under international law on the part of the FRG would allegedly perpetuate the division of Germany. As for that, one must say that there is nothing left to consolidate in the division of Germany, brought about and consolidated by imperialist powers with the assistance of various Bonn governments. This was done, and thoroughly at that, two decades ago. For more than two decades two subjects of international law, the FRG and GDR, have coexisted on an equal footing. Neither of the two states has a higher or lower status under international law in respect of the other. Whoever refuses to respect this equality under international law is himself violating international law. The fact that Bonn governments dispute the equal international status of the GDR and persist in their policy of discrimination against the GDR and its citizens also prevents the establishment of relations of equality free from all discrimination—relations based on international law,

of course—which the GDR and most of the citizens of the FRG want and which would provide a basis for everything else.

“The establishment and maintenance of normal diplomatic relations between the GDR and third states prevent, or so the Brandt government contends, the treaty settlement of ‘intra-German relations’ and should be regarded as an unfriendly act towards the FRG. As to that, I put on record that there cannot be any ‘intra-German relations,’ as Bonn sees them, between the FRG dominated by monopoly capital and the socialist GDR and never will be. That will never come even if this or that country dependent on West Germany or the United States cannot bring itself, or not yet, to establish normal diplomatic relations with the GDR.”

It would certainly be unrealistic to believe that all politicians have already seen through Bonn’s continuing abuse of international factors. “It is a fact, however, that neither relations between the GDR and FRG, nor European peace and security can benefit in any way from deliberate or unintentional support for Bonn’s policy of discrimination against the GDR.”

The Kassel meeting furnished the world with a new and most convincing proof that the two social systems, those of the GDR and FRG, are irreconcilable. It showed very clearly that any kind of special relations will be unthinkable in the future as well. Hence there is no point in the governments of third countries looking forward to an agreement between the two German states on intra-German relations before establishing normal diplomatic relations also with the GDR. Besides, this would merely make international cooperation more difficult.

UN membership of the GDR and FRG on an equal footing would mean, in Bonn’s view, giving perpetual legal force to the division of Germany. “Yet GDR membership of the UN as a full-fledged member would be in keeping with the spirit of the UN Charter. The UN was founded after World War II to prevent a third big war. The UN can accomplish this task only if all countries are its members on an equal footing. This applies particularly to the GDR and FRG.”

Some West Germans would like to build relations between the two German states on the example of the relations between the FRG and Austria. This is unrealistic because the Federal Republic is an imperialist state whose policy on Austria is one of economic penetration. No one should expect the GDR to tolerate a similar policy towards it on the part of Bonn.

The term “self-determination,” which the Bonn government has been using frequently of late, can only apply to self-determination within the Federal Republic. “Our view on this matter is that the population of the FRG can exercise its right to self-determination

to the extent that it wants and when it wants to do so, just as the people of the GDR have an indisputable right to self-determination." In other words, the issue of the West German population's right to self-determination should not be confused with that of the analogous right of the people of the GDR.

Speaking of the likely effects of the two German states joining the UN, W. Ulbricht said: "That move would unquestionably contribute to the universal character of the UN and increase its leverage in solving complicated international problems. Otherwise the simultaneous presence of a permanent delegate of the GDR and a permanent delegate of the FRG on an equal footing would in no way differ, as far as its significance in terms of international law is concerned, from the simultaneous presence of accredited ambassadors of the GDR and FRG on an equal footing in Moscow or Belgrade."

With regard to relations between the two German states, de facto recognition under international law is not enough. But in view of what emerged during the Erfurt and Kassel talks, this step would have a definite impact on some governments and make it easier for them to proceed to the requisite reappraisal of their stand on the issue of establishing identical relations with the GDR and FRG.

"The Right-wing group led by Strauss and backed by the neo-Nazi NPD, which, incidentally, revealed its political concept graphically enough at Kassel, is not identical—in terms of views and policy—with a section of the West German bourgeoisie, including part of the big bourgeoisie. The fact is that these quarters are not anxious to risk everything again by following a path leading to a third world war. It was partly under the influence of these quarters that Brandt expressed readiness for talks with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR . . .

"The Federal Chancellor of West Germany coupled his intention to persevere in the policy of discrimination against the GDR and its citizens with an attempt to appeal to the sentiments of people belonging to what is alleged to be still one German nation, although this unity was actually buried as far back as 1945. There may be good and bad feelings between relatives and they often have certain common traits. But the GDR and FRG, like their social systems, are no kin at all. The citizens of the Federal Republic in their totality constitute the people of a monopoly-capitalist state and are linked with imperialist powers by the Paris agreements. In the GDR, the people of a German socialist state have built their socialist homeland."

W. Ulbricht touched on Brandt's statement that there would be a turn in FRG policy. "We would like to construe that as meaning that he wants to draw the inevitable conclusions from the talks be-

tween Secretary of State Bahr and the Soviet representatives in Moscow and from the Erfurt and Kassel talks between Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, and Chancellor Brandt. As regards estimation of the SDP position, it is well known that the Godesberg Congress resolution said the SDP sided with state-monopoly capitalism and subscribed to the imperialist policy of NATO. We are of the opinion that even so the SDP membership wants no war. Contrary to Herr Schmidt's insane militarist policy, it wants a détente and agreement with the Soviet Union and with the GDR on the basis of equal and normal relations in conformity with international law."

The West German bourgeoisie would stand to gain if the FRG were not unilaterally linked with the U.S. "The fact is that the United States is, in the final analysis, the strongest competitor of West Germany. Indeed, should Bonn pursue a policy of military disaster, the Americans would be the first to benefit . . . From the standpoint of the interests of the West German bourgeoisie, it would doubtless be more reasonable . . . to normalize and improve relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union." Nor would West Germany gain unless its government explicitly dissociated from U.S. policy towards the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and from supporting Israel against the Arab peoples.

"A treaty settlement of relations between the two German states in the spirit of peaceful coexistence can only be brought about through unqualified mutual recognition under international law and by establishing relations in line with international law, on the principle of equality and non-discrimination. We hold that establishing relations of peaceful coexistence on the basis of diplomatic relations between the GDR and FRG would be an important advance meeting the interests of the security and peace of all European states and peoples in every respect. All European nations, including those in NATO, will agree with this. Nor should the Brandt government cherish the illusion that the peoples of the NATO countries will put up till the end of time with Bonn's rejection of peaceful coexistence with the GDR.

"Since they are asking in West Germany what will happen now, we hope West Germany will use the pause to reflect, to curb the fascist forces that interfered with contact at Kassel and push aside the Rightist groups opposing peace. We hope the third round of talks between the heads of government of the GDR and FRG will lead to specific negotiations to establish diplomatic relations between the two states."

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

INDIA

Delhi, *June 10-12.* The Central Secretariat of the CP of India examined political developments since the latest National Council session. (See the CPI document published in this issue of *IB.*—Ed.)

ITALY

June 13. The ICP Leadership published a statement summing up the regional, provincial and municipal elections of June 7 and 8. "The attempt to bring about a swing to the right in the political situation at home failed," the statement reads. "The Party's effort to prevent a grave political crisis from culminating in a reactionary solution, which conservative and adventurist forces had banked on since autumn 1969, was crowned with obvious success."

The ICP Leadership noted that the rabid anti-Communist campaign carried on by so large a segment of the government and right-wing bloc using propaganda media on so massive a scale had failed ignominiously without attaining its electoral and political objectives. In these elections the ICP fully consolidated the high returns of the 1968 general election, made headway in the "Red areas" and scored tangible gains in other regions and communities of the North, Center and even the South. Compared with the outcome of the previous provincial and municipal elections, the positions of the ICP plainly improved everywhere, a development providing new opportunities to fight for the renewal of local self-government bodies.

The statement stresses that the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, an ally of the ICP, likewise strengthened its position.

FRG

June 15. Kurt Bachmann, Chairman of the German CP, stated that the June elections to the legislative assemblies of a number of West German provinces had strengthened the positions of conservatives and right-wingers in the FRG.

The CDU should and could have been defeated in the provincial elections following the 1969 general election. The government had maneuvered instead of properly mobilizing the masses in the election campaign and of taking a stand against the Right. "Anyone who, like the SDP leadership, fails to come out with determination

against nationalism, revanchism and neo-nazism," Bachmann added, "is playing into the hands of these forces."

AUSTRIA

Vienna, *June 16*. The CC CPA met in plenary session. It elected, in particular, the leading bodies of the Central Committee. Franz Muhri was re-elected Chairman of the CPA. E. Scharf and W. Wachs were elected secretaries of the CC.

The CC Political Bureau comprises F. Fuernberg, F. Hager, L. Horak, H. Kalt, F. Karger, F. Leitner, F. Muhri, A. Peter, E. Scharf and W. Wachs.

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

First half of June. Regional committees of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party held plenary meetings to discuss measures for raising the efficiency of social production and introducing scientific achievements and valuable experience into industry and agriculture, as well as other important problems of Party guidance of the economy. The main reports were presented by the first secretaries of the regional committees.

POLAND

June 16. The CC PUWP called a meeting of leaders of provincial Party propaganda centers and heads of evening universities of Marxism-Leninism. The meeting, attended by J. Szydlak, alternate member of the PB and secretary of the CC, discussed preparations for the new school year in the Party network in the light of the guidelines of the Ideological Committee of the CC PUWP.

FINLAND

June 16-17. The CC CPF examined the political situation and the economic policy tasks. Olavi Haenninen, member of the Political Bureau, presented the report.

Aarne Saarinen, the Party Chairman, reported on the results of the general election and the Party's political tasks.

G D R

Berlin, *June 18*. An international scientific theoretical forum on the theme "Growing Role of the Communist Parties in the Revolutionary Process of Building Socialism and Communism" came to a close in the capital of the GDR. It was sponsored by the CC SUPG. For three days delegates from 34 Communist and Workers' parties of Europe, Asia, America and Africa discussed at length various aspects of this highly important political problem.

The forum was addressed by Party functionaries of the GDR who spoke about the experience of Party guidance in various economic and ideological fields.

Participants devoted much attention to exposing theories and views foreign and hostile to Marxism-Leninism. The theory of convergence and the "theoretical" writings of Fischer, Garaudy and other revisionists were profoundly criticized.

FRANCE

Over 30,000 people joined the French CP during the 1970 Party card exchange campaign, *Humanité* reported on June 18. Some 600 new branch organizations of the Party had come into being.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Working People's Party of Vietnam, passed a resolution on raising the standards of the Party membership and on launching the Ho Chi Minh Movement for the admission of new members.

The guiding principle of the Movement is: to lean on the masses for support in building the Party, exercise control over the work and quality of all Party organizations and the Party cadre and membership, create favorable opportunities for the people to criticize Party functionaries and members and recommend people for admission into the Party.

The Movement is expected to last two years, 1970 and 1971.

Provincial Party committees have sent hundreds of experienced cadre members into various rural organizations and cells to foster the Movement. (Vietnam Information Agency, June 19.)

BRITAIN

June 19. Commenting on the general election returns, the Political Committee of the CPGB declared that the Tories' victory presented the working class and progressive movement with the greatest economic and political challenge yet. An onslaught on the trade unions, wages and democratic freedom, and a reactionary line in foreign affairs is Heath's aim. The CP called for an immediate and vast mass campaign against the Conservatives, for a movement to unite all left-wing forces, trade unions and democrats for the coming grim political and economic battles.

ITALY

June 23-25. The CC ICP met to discuss a report by A. Novella, member of the PB ICP, on the political situation after the June 7

elections and the role of the regions in promoting democracy and in the fight for reforms.

The resolution passed by the meeting notes that the elections made for the unity of the working people, fostered democracy and contributed to the fight against reactionary and conservative forces.

Communists and their Party organizations are faced with new tasks: stepping up organizing activity to consolidate the positions gained, winning for the Party working people who had made common cause with the ICP in the elections and defending the Communist press.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

G. Husak, First Secretary of the CC CPC, reported to the CC plenum which met on *June 25 and 26* on execution of the decisions of the May 1969 Plenum and on the Party's tasks. Twenty-four speakers took the floor in the debate.

The meeting resolution says that "the consolidation of Party and society has made considerable progress. A solid core has formed in the Party and is striving steadfastly to rid Party organizations of right-wing opportunist and revisionist elements, re-establish Party unity on Marxist-Leninist principles and restore the Party's revolutionary efficiency."

The meeting approved the activity of the CC Presidium since the January 1970 plenum. It also endorsed the conclusions drawn in G. Husak's report as a guideline for the Party's activity till the end of 1970.

The meeting approved the motion to expel A. Dubcek from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, recall him from the post of Deputy to the People's Chamber and relieve him of the functions of Ambassador of the CSSR to Turkey.

In his concluding remarks Gustav Husak spoke highly of the work done by the meeting. He stressed that the meeting had revealed the unity of the Party and unity of views on the Party's present policy.

JAPAN

June 25. Akahata published a statement by the CC CPJ Presidium of June 20 entitled "For the Choice of a New Road to Peace and Neutrality by the People in View of the Approaching Expiry of the Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty."

On June 22, 1970, the statement says, the ten-year term of the Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty will expire and a new historic epoch will begin in regard to the Security Treaty. However, the Sato government was going, the day this humiliating decade came to an end, to reject the choice in favor of peace and independence and

announce the extension of the Japanese-U.S. military alliance for a long period. This was an impermissible challenge to the Japanese people, exposing the policy of following the United States and of reviving militarism that the government of the Liberal Democratic Party was committed to.

The Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty is a treaty of an aggressive military alliance against all the peoples of Asia, a treaty of dangerously following the United States. Japanese militarism is again beginning to present a real threat to peace in Asia and the independence of nations as a junior partner of U.S. imperialism.

The joint Japanese-U.S. declaration of 1969 virtually accentuated the aggressive character of the Security Treaty and made the treaty even more dangerous. Plans are being laid to turn the Japanese-U.S. military alliance into a nuclear alliance in exchange for the promise to restore Japan's "administrative title to Okinawa." Japan is becoming the pivot of a multilateral anti-communist military alliance in Asia, and the sphere of joint Japanese-U.S. military operations has been extended to vast areas of the western Pacific.

The statement stresses that expelling U.S. imperialism from Japan and Asia by doing away with the Japanese-U.S. military alliance, far from creating a danger, would permit eliminating a seat of tension in Asia. Furthermore, it is precisely by putting the law on neutrality in force, achieving an international guarantee of neutrality and pursuing a firm policy for peace and friendship with all countries irrespective of distinctions in social systems that the security of Japan and peace in Asia could be safeguarded most effectively.

Japan's situation today faces the people with a grim choice: prolongation of the aggressive Japanese-U.S. military alliance and a revival of militarism, with Japan following the United States, or peace and neutrality for Japan by abolishing the Japanese-U.S. military alliance.

According to public opinion polls held during the past two or three years, 60 to 70 per cent of the polled declared for a peaceful and neutral Japan. At present a considerable majority of Japanese stand for a peaceful and neutral Japan.

In the light of the foregoing, the central slogan of the powerful united action set for June 23 should be to bring into being a democratic government that would oppose automatic prolongation of the Security Treaty, abrogate it and announce the expiry of the treaty term.

POLAND

Speaking on June 26, R. Strzelecki, secretary of the CC PUWP,

said the Party had about 2.3 million full and candidate members. Over 150,000 people joined it during the past year alone.

Almost 60 per cent of the PUWP membership are below 40 years of age and one-fourth, below 29.

Tel-Aviv, *June 26-27*. The CC CPI held its 12th Plenum here. It protested against the stepped-up persecution of Communists, democrats and other citizens opposed to the present Israeli government's policy of aggression.

The CC CPI called on the democratic forces of the country to fight against mounting political terror. The Communist Party demanded that all political prisoners be released, and protested against the new wave of arrests in Israel.

FRANCE

June 27. *Humanité* published a PB FCP communiqué saying that the Political Bureau had discussed problems of Party propaganda and taken steps to improve it. A meeting of federal secretaries in charge of propaganda was scheduled to be held in October 1970.

BELGIUM

June 27-28. The CC CPB discussed a report by Joseph Turf, Vice-Chairman of the Party, entitled "The Communist Party and Social Battles." It also heard communications on international problems by Marc Drumaux, Chairman, and Jean Terfve, Vice-Chairman of the Party.

SWITZERLAND

Lausanne, *June 27-28*. The CC SPL met in session here.

The meeting discussed inner political problems of the country, *Voix Ouvrière* reported. Specifically, it laid bare the class character of government measures encouraging capital concentration and injuring the rights of labor.

SOVIET UNION

July 2-3. The CC CPSU, meeting in a regular plenary session, heard and discussed a report by L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, on the Party's current tasks in agriculture. It unanimously adopted a relevant decision.

WEST BERLIN

July 4. A plenary meeting of the SUPWB Executive discussed the tasks of the Party arising from the elections to the City Assembly of Deputies to be held on March 14, 1971.

BILATERAL MEETING

KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

June 2-17. A delegation of the CP of Denmark led by Ib Norlund, member of the PB CC, visited the KPDR at the invitation of the CC KPL. On June 15 the delegation had an interview with Kim Il Sung.

RUMANIA

June 18. N. Ceausescu met with FCP leaders G. Marchais, R. Guyot and G. Plissonnier, according to Rumanian press reports. There was a discussion of relations between the two parties and problems of the world Communist and working-class movement. The meeting proceeded in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

SOVIET UNION

June 22-23. Jan Szydlak, alternate member of the PB and secretary of the CC PUWP, was on a visit to Moscow as a guest of the CC CPSU.

June 23. At the CC CPSU, B. Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC CPSU, met D. Urbany, Chairman of the CP of Luxembourg.

There was an exchange of views on matters of mutual interest.

The meeting took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere and revealed unity of views on all the questions discussed.

ITALY

Rome, *June 25-26.* Meetings took place here between an ICP delegation led by E. Berlinguer, Deputy General Secretary of the Party, and a FCP delegation led by G. Marchais, deputy secretary of the FCP. The first meeting was attended by ICP General Secretary L. Longo.

The FCP and ICP, the communiqué on the meetings states, are resolved to continue, together with all who are fighting for peace and the independence of the peoples, the struggle against the U.S. aggression in Indochina. They would step up their solidarity and support and work for the victory of the heroic people of Vietnam and other peoples of Indochina, for the early and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. and allied troops, for the independence of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The two delegations reaffirmed their solidarity with the Arab peoples and declared for a political settlement of the Mideast conflict on the basis of the UN Security Council resolution.

The two parties condemned attempts to protract the dangerous

presence of U.S. imperialism in Europe and pointed once again to the need for France and Italy to withdraw from NATO.

The FCP and ICP proposed to fight for security and cooperation in Europe together with all the peace forces of Europe and with the socialist countries. They sought an active participation of their countries in preparations for an all-Europe conference and in the conference itself and insisted on recognizing present frontiers and the German Democratic Republic. They declared for a policy of renouncing military blocs, which should be replaced by a collective security system open to all European states.

The two parties stressed the importance of the cohesion and solidarity of the world Communist movement.

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