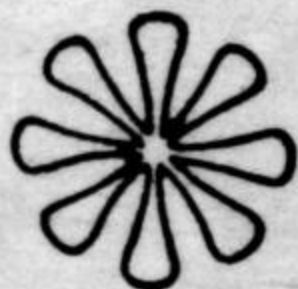


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SPEECH* BY GUSTAV HUSAK

A Party and government delegation of the USSR led by L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, stayed in Czechoslovakia from May 5 to 7, 1970 at the invitation of the CC CPC and the government of the CSSR.

On May 6 a new Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was signed in accordance with the agreement reached in October 1969.

The delegation took part in the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia from the fascist invaders, which became a vivid demonstration of the indestructible friendship of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples, of the peoples of the socialist community of nations.

On May 7 the CC CPC, CC of the National Front of the CSSR, Federal Assembly and government of the CSSR held a meeting in the Prague Hrad dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army.

Following are the speeches made by Gustav Husak and Leonid Brezhnev at the meeting.

The Editors

Dear Guests,
Esteemed Comrades,
Dear Friends,

We are assembled today on an anniversary of importance to the Czech and Slovak peoples, on a festive occasion for all the citizens of our dear country. Allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to greet our foreign guests of honour and all participants in this anniversary meeting. We greet on this occasion our workers, peasants, intellectuals and other representatives of our peoples. At the same time we convey heartfelt comradely greetings to the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to all the peoples building socialism, to the entire world revolutionary movement and all the friends of socialist Czechoslovakia.

A new period began in the life of our peoples twenty-five years ago. May 9, 1954—the day of victory over Hitler fascism—was the culmination of the heroic fight of the Czech and Slovak peoples which resulted in the re-establishment of Czechoslovak state sovereignty and provided conditions for the final victory of the national and democratic revolution and the gradual transition to socialism. We thank the tens of thousands of Czech and Slovak patriots who in the years of World War II helped at home and

*Rude Pravo, May 8, 1970.

abroad in carrying that decisive battle through to the end. We think with esteem and deep gratitude primarily of those who gave their lives for the freedom of our people, for social justice for our working people in the resistance movement at home and abroad, on the fronts of World War II or in prison camps.

Our country, like numerous other countries, was freed by the Soviet Army, by the heroic Soviet people led by the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We are happy therefore to be able to extend the most heartfelt greetings to the Party and government delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics led by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is with us here.

It is known that Comrade Brezhnev took a direct part as a general of the Soviet Army in the fighting for liberation on our soil, and so did along with him a number of other prominent guests we have with us today. All the more warmly do we greet them now among us.

The friendship of the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, whose roots reach into the distant past, was sealed by the blood shed by them in common battles. It was in those battles a slogan came into being to which our people has adhered and will continue to adhere: "With the Soviet Union for all time".

At the height of fighting in World War II, on December 12, 1943, we concluded, in accordance with the sentiments and aspirations of our people, a Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Postwar Cooperation with the Soviet Union. Now, on the 25th anniversary of our liberation, we have signed a new treaty. It is an expression of our unshakeable will to continue strengthening our friendship and alliance and to carry them deeper. The new treaty retains the objectives and principles of the 1943 Treaty. At the same time it carries them further in accordance with the experience and requirements of socialist development. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of our liberation we express our sincere gratitude to the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for our liberation and for the assistance they have been giving us in building socialism. We will never forget the immense sacrifices which the Soviet people made to save our peoples and their freedom. We will do everything to promote our friendship and carry forward socialism in our country and throughout the socialist commonwealth.

We also express our gratitude to the other fraternal peoples, to the Polish, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Yugoslav, German, Hungarian and numerous other anti-fascists who fought in common with the Soviet Army and our troop units and our partisans for the liberation of Czechoslovakia. We are glad to have representatives of fraternal

Communist and Workers' parties and friendly socialist countries attending our festivities. We assure you, dear comrades, and the peoples of your countries that Czechoslovakia is and will be a dependable component of the socialist community.

Comrades, one of the most significant turns in the history of our peoples came twenty-five years ago. The defeat of Hitler fascism led to revival of the independence of the Czechoslovak state. However, the bourgeoisie in the new republic could no longer shape the destiny of our peoples in sovereign fashion. The masses moved into the front line of the anti-fascist struggle under the political leadership of the Communist Party. Under the Party's influence a new, people's democratic state came into being in our country meeting the notions and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of our working people. The working class, which had played the decisive role in the struggle against fascism, became the main political force in the new state.

The radical political changes that occurred in the last months of the war and immediately after it were prompted by the experience which our peoples had gained in the previous period.

The modern history of the Czech and Slovak peoples is distinguished by struggle for national freedom and social justice. Our people stored experience in that struggle and built up popular, democratic, revolutionary traditions. The rise of the Czechoslovak state in 1918 and development in later years were accompanied by class struggle to realize democratic and revolutionary traditions and objectives and guarantee national and political freedom and social justice. The bourgeoisie, which had held power in the pre-Munich republic, had been unable to meet the fundamental social demands of the workers, small peasants and other working people. It could not lastingly safeguard national freedom nor the very existence of the Czechoslovak state.

The social injustice of prewar Czechoslovak society manifested itself in particularly drastic forms during economic crises. The pre-Munich republic was weakened, not only by tensions arising from social problems, but by the incomplete solution of the nationalities problem, another source of internal disputes. The Communist Party, however, strove from its very inception to win a proper standing for the working class, small peasants and other exploited strata and to guarantee the rights of all the peoples and nationalities of Czechoslovakia. When the independence of our state was threatened by fascism the Party strove to build up a powerful anti-fascist movement. The purpose of the movement was to uphold the country's national and political freedom and the democratic rights of the people and to win stronger influence for the millions of working people. Our Party's promising effort was frustrated by

betrayal on the part of Czechoslovakia's Western allies and of its own bourgeoisie, on the part of home and foreign reaction.

Munich was a grim instance of imperialist policy in Europe. Our people paid dearly for the experience. They saw that just as the home policy of our bourgeoisie was directed against the people, so its foreign policy, which looked to the Western powers for guidance, was anti-popular and was leading to catastrophe.

To our peoples, Munich and the ensuing liquidation of the Czechoslovak state in March 1939 are to this day a symbol of betrayal by the Western powers and the domestic big bourgeoisie, a symbol of surrender by the leaders of bourgeois and reformist parties. Experience has brought it home to our people that the Soviet Union was the only ally that remained loyal to Czechoslovakia in those trying days.

Munich and occupation showed that the policy of the bourgeoisie could not provide guarantees of the national freedom and security of the Czechoslovak state. In the hour of trial the bourgeoisie as a class assuming the right to a leading position in society gave its narrow class interests preference over the interests of the people and nation. The result of this experience was that during the anti-fascist resistance and struggle the national liberation fight was led primarily by the working class and other working people under the political guidance of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The Communists bore the brunt of the fight against Nazism. They made the greatest sacrifices and remained, for all the persecution and terror, the only politically organized force active in the fight. They became by rights the leading force of the anti-fascist resistance, its organizers, and carried the banner of the struggle for national liberation, for a just organization of our society.

In estimating the heroic struggle of the Czech and Slovak peoples against fascism, we also lay special emphasis on the glorious campaign of the Czechoslovak troop units in the Soviet Union. Led by Comrade Ludvik Svoboda, now President, they fought their way to victory alongside the Soviet Army, from Buzuluk to Prague. The Czech and Slovak anti-fascist movement on the home front derived strength for resistance and the coming armed rising from the victorious advance of the Soviet Army.

The anti-fascist movement in Slovakia, led primarily by the Communist Party, developed at the end of August 1944 into an open political and armed fight, the Slovak National Rising. That rising was one of Europe's most powerful anti-fascist movements. The Slovak anti-fascists rejected the clerical-fascist Slovak state granted by Hitler and declared explicitly for restoring the Czechoslovak state as a state of two brother nations. The area where the rising broke out was the first in Czechoslovakia to become free.

Changes came about here in the alignment of class and political forces.

In that rising the working class and other working people bore the brunt of the fight against Nazism. Led by the Communist Party, they carried out a series of revolutionary measures marking the beginning of the national and democratic revolution in Czechoslovakia. The fact that the Communist Party became the main political force in the Slovak National Rising exerted considerable influence on the formulation of a program for the future Czechoslovak state.

Part of the Czechoslovak resistance was influenced by the bourgeois government in London which tried to extend its power to the liberated Czechoslovak territory. However, the fact that the liberated areas of Slovakia, where all-Czechoslovakia organs of power were likewise to be set up, were led by the revolutionary forces of the working people and the Communist Party and that the territory of our state was being freed by the Soviet Army, decisively influenced the character of power in the liberated state. Conditions were thus created for the national-democratic revolution throughout the country.

The anti-fascist movement of the Czech people, which was operating in a different set of conditions, strove for the same objectives. Through their guerrilla operations and, lastly, the May rising in Prague and other Czech areas, the Communists and other anti-fascists contributed in important measure to the liberation of our state and to the democratic, popular character of our new system.

The Prague rising merged with the last great operation on the European front of World War II. During the Slovak National Rising the Soviet Army command remade its operation plans to help the embattled Slovak people by launching the powerful Carpathian-Dukla operation. In the same way, during the Prague rising, a swift operation by the Soviet Army freed our capital, saved it from destruction and brought the patriotic war to a victorious close.

Comrades, Czechoslovak society changed markedly and became stronger internally in the years of severe trial. The working class and other working people became the main political factor. The liberated republic began gradually to eliminate the old, bourgeois system and develop a new, people's democratic regime. Effort concentrated on carrying out the program of the new Czechoslovakia announced by the National Front government in Kosice on April 5, 1945.

The Kosice government program, whose nucleus consisted of the proposals of the Communist Party, became an instrument of far-reaching revolutionary changes. It proceeded from the people's experience in the anti-fascist struggle and expressed their goals.

The program defined the fundamental political and socio-economic changes to be effected in the near future as a necessary further step towards socialism. It was not long before the Kosice government program became the program of the people and of government, economic and public bodies. It expressed the vital needs of our country. It also provided a new solution for the relations between the Czech and Slovak peoples, one based on the principle of complete equality. The program explicitly oriented the foreign policy of the revived Czechoslovak state on solid alliance with the Soviet Union.

Spokesmen of all the Czech and Slovak political parties associated in the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks solemnly committed themselves to fulfil the Kosice government program. The Communists conceived the National Front primarily as a broad-based union of the workers, peasants, middle strata and working intellectuals, although they did not reject cooperation with that section of the bourgeoisie which had taken part in the anti-fascist struggle and accepted the common government program. In this sense the National Front represented the unity of anti-fascist forces necessary for the early consolidation and rehabilitation of the war-ravaged country.

However, reality brought more and more facts providing that the representatives of the other political parties wanted to resume the practice of the pre-war coalition policy of the bourgeoisie. As the forces of fascism had been defeated and the task now was consistently to effect democratic revolutionary changes, it came to differentiation in the National Front, with the non-Communist parties gradually deviating from the principles and program adopted. The policy of these parties made it difficult to carry out the Kosice government program. There began a period of inner political class struggles over completing the national democratic revolution and moving on to a socialist organization of our state. The Communists showed by deeds that they were the best spokesmen and guarantors of the requirements of the various sections of the working people. This earned their policy widespread support, as was evident, in particular, from the election in May 1946 from which the Communist Party emerged as the country's strongest political party.

In liberated Czechoslovakia the bourgeoisie, for its part, strove to rally its forces. It used its influence in the non-Communist parties, mass organizations, the state apparatus and the economy in an effort to reverse the course set. It took heart and became more confident in proportion as the anti-Communist forces rallied together for the offensive on a world scale, the international anti-fascist coalition fell apart and the cold war gathered momentum.

The political and class conflict sharpened gradually over the fundamental question whether our society should continue to ad-

vance to socialism in keeping with the interests and demands of the working class and other working people or should revert to pre-Munich conditions, which was what the bourgeoisie sought. This dilemma also projected itself into the foreign political orientation of Czechoslovakia.

During 1947 the Right-wing opposition within the National Front took the form of a markedly anti-socialist and anti-Communist bloc. At the turn of 1947 that bloc resolved to take open action and reverse the alignment of forces in the country before the forthcoming elections.

The Communist Party took the counter-offensive. It mobilized the working class and peasantry against the threat of a return to capitalism. In the decisive encounter in February 1948 it defeated the reactionary political forces of the bourgeoisie with the full support of the working people. The defeat of reaction was a loss, not only for our domestic bourgeoisie, but for the forces in the capitalist West that had backed and inspired it. February 1948 definitively confirmed the Czechoslovak people's resolve to go on along the socialist road.

Liberation by the Soviet Army in 1945 and the events of February 1948 were two of the most important milestones in our modern history. Development in our country in those years and the Party's purposive behavior in the fight against capitalism, for the restoration of our freedom and for the victory of socialism will always be inseparable from the name of Klement Gottwald, outstanding leader of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the international Communist movement.

Comrades, the victory of the working class and other working people in February 1948 paved the way for building socialism in our country. Never before had the Czechoslovak working class and other working people been faced with so complicated and important a task. The fundamental prerequisite of building socialism was to consolidate the power of the working people with the working class and Communist Party at their head, so that the new power would fulfil all the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This called for elimination of the residual power position of the bourgeoisie and for the formation of a new type of state, a socialist state, a new type of democracy, socialist democracy based on the power of the working class led by the Communist Party.

The Communist Party became the leading force of Czechoslovak society. It won its leading position by its revolutionary program and its loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to the great idea of socialism. That is why the working class and the majority of other working people fully supported it in decisive encounters. Thus the decisive condition for successful socialist construction was created.

The results achieved in the last 25 years show that our working people led by the Communist Party honorably acquitted themselves of the difficult revolutionary task of building socialism. Devoted and sustained effort by the working class, peasantry and working intelligentsia accomplished what is one of the most glorious historic achievements of our peoples and affords a starting point for the further ascent of our society.

The greatness of this achievement is in no way diminished by the fact that mistakes, errors and deformations occurred in the challenging conditions of development at home and abroad. The Communist Party openly pointed them out and has been dealing with them in good faith.

Evaluation of the results attained in 25 years became one of the dividing lines of the political and ideological struggle in 1968. The Party's effort for a critical analysis of mistakes and for their elimination was exploited by anti-socialist and Right-wing forces for a frontal attack on the very principles of building socialism. Those forces idealized the bourgeois democracy of the pre-Munich republic, saying nothing about the poverty and unemployment, the social insecurity and want that were the lot of a large proportion of our people. They did not mention the backwardness of most of the regions of our country nor the profound crisis phenomena manifesting themselves in the economy of bourgeois society. On the other hand, they depicted the 25 years of our development as a continuous succession of errors and persistent decline, and represented mistakes made by individuals as typical of the entire system.

The progress made in the last 25 years is sufficient proof of the superiority of the socialist social system.

Socialist development reflected itself in profound changes in the socio-economic structure of our society. The capitalist classes disappeared from the scene, giving way to a socialist working class, cooperative peasantry and working intelligentsia. In the economic field, socialist relations of production prevailed fully. They became the starting point of all-round quantitative and qualitative economic progress. A crippling blow was delivered in our country to the system of exploitation of man by man. The working people, rid of exploiters, became the sovereign master of their country.

Revolutionary changes expressed themselves above all in the dynamic if not always even growth of industrial production, which increased more than six-fold against the prewar period and is now the decisive part of the national income. The value of fixed assets has more than doubled. The priority development of heavy industry—the fuel, power, metallurgy and, first of all, engineering—became a source of overall technical and economic progress strengthening the defenses of the country and promoting its independence of the capitalist market. We have developed modern industries and

produce items which only the most advanced countries can produce. We have built from scratch a new research and development base of our own.

We have accomplished one of the most difficult tasks, that of winning the peasantry for socialism. The agricultural cooperatives have become firmly established in our countryside and stood the political test of recent years. Reorganization by setting up cooperatives necessitated the reconstruction of agriculture on the basis of modern techniques. The result of this is that large-scale socialist agricultural production, with labor productivity three times as high as before the war, ensures a steady growth of output.

The national incomes has gone up by 250 per cent over the prewar period. Coupled with application of the principles of socialist distribution, this has resulted in eliminating the inequities of the capitalist past and, moreover, guaranteed a continuous and marked increase in individual and social consumption. Free medical care, social and cultural services are among the most advanced in the world as to scale and accessibility. While fully realizing that we cannot yet fully meet growing needs and demands, we can put on record that the standard of living in our country has attained a relatively high level. Furthermore, unlike consumption under capitalism with its sharp distinctions, consumption in our country shows a high average.

The period of building socialism is linked with deep-going successes in removing distinctions in economic development between the Czech regions and Slovakia. The industrialization of Slovakia led to a rapid growth of industrial production. Today Slovakia accounts for more industrial products than the whole of bourgeois Czechoslovakia did before the war. Once a backward agrarian region, Slovakia has become a modern country with a developed industry and large-scale cooperative farming.

The solution of the nationalities problem, primarily the problem of relations between the Czechs and Slovaks, was of extraordinary importance to the Czechoslovak state. The bourgeois principle of a so-called single Czechoslovak nation was defeated in the national liberation struggle. Relations between our peoples—the Czechs and Slovaks—were again shaped on the basis of equality in a common Czechoslovak state. This is how the problem is also presented in the Kosice government program and, to a certain extent, in the 1948 Constitution.

In subsequent years the nationalities question in our country was oversimplified, being seen as a chiefly economic problem, so that there were numerous deformations also in this important and delicate matter, which was approached from a nihilistic standpoint. That is why in this sphere as well tensions built up that were not removed until after the adoption of the law on federation. Lenin's

idea of a federal union of several nations in one state provided new conditions in our country as well for fraternal relations and the closest cooperation between the Czechs and Slovaks in a common Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

We are gaining experience as the federal system goes on functioning in our state. When amendments become necessary to improve activity and management, especially in the economy, we will introduce them. We must say, however, that the principle of federal organization has taken root and proved its worth in our country and we consider it correct. At the same time conditions have been created for the advancement and unhampered activity of our national minorities within the framework of our state.

The last twenty-five years also constitute an important stage in our culture, education, science and art. In regard to its educational standard Czechoslovakia today ranks among the most developed countries of the world. Secondary education involves more than three times, and higher education more than five times, as many young people as before the war.

Czech and Slovak culture in 25 years of building up our socialist country has assumed unprecedented dimensions. Numerous works of art created after 1945 played an important role when they appeared and have become lasting assets of Czech and Slovak culture. Systematic and generous care of science by the socialist state made it possible to raise research and the application of its results in many fields, to a high, often a world level. The state has fully assumed care of material facilities for scientific research and of the training of scientific personnel. Their number has increased more than six times over since 1937.

The results of the revolution and achievements in building socialism are fully guaranteed by the orientation of our foreign policy towards the alliance with the socialist countries, primarily with the Soviet Union. In the economy this alliance expresses itself in the activity of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. Defense of the sovereign Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is dependably guaranteed by the Warsaw Treaty, which forms the basis of the military alliance of European socialist countries and is an important factor of European security. We will commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the Treaty this month.

Our foreign policy and our relations with all nations are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism. We regard these principles as sacred and inviolable. Reality has repeatedly borne out Klement Gottwald's words to the effect that the attitude to the Soviet Union is the criterion of proletarian internationalism. We belong to ourselves and to the great family of socialist countries. Only as a component of the socialist community can we guarantee that the interests and aspirations of our people will be met.

In assessing socialist changes, we realize that our society has been able to make such important progress only because the Communist Party has been leading the working people. Next year we will celebrate the 50th anniversary of our Party. We are proud that the brightest chapters of our modern history are linked with the activity of the revolutionary vanguard of our working class.

This year, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great revolutionary and thinker, we recalled that we scored the greatest gains whenever the policy of our Communist Party consistently followed Lenin's teachings, whenever the Party creatively applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The great Lenin's ideas have been and remain a source of strength and prosperity for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Our working people, our working class and its leading force, the Communist Party, have good reason to be proud of their progress in building socialism. This progress is a result of the most devoted effort of hundreds of thousands and millions, of the great initiative released by our revolution.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, we thank from this rostrum the hundreds of thousands of heroes of labor, the workers, peasants, intellectuals and young people who stinted no effort in striving for socialism, for the prosperity of our socialist country.

Dear comrades, for all the difficulties and shortcomings, socialism in our country has shown that it can guarantee the working man a fuller, happier and richer life. The world socialist system, of which Czechoslovakia is an integral part, is in effect at the beginning of its development, at the early stage of its historic offensive. Only if we realize this fact can we properly appreciate the significance of our achievements and form a correct and sober opinion of our failures and shortcomings. While acknowledging our unquestionable gains in building socialism, we have no intention at all of idealizing our development over the last quarter of a century.

Nor do we intend to conceal the numerous problems that were not solved in time and formed the basis of the social and inner-political crisis which we went through in these past years and whose effects still tell and must be eliminated. Some of those shortcomings and mistakes were due to the objective character of social changes. The working class on the offensive had to acquire necessary knowledge and experience, had to learn to rule and manage. Some of the errors arose from an extraordinary accumulation of tasks and intricate conditions, while others were due to a subjectivist approach taking the place of objective analysis and sober examination. In our country, too, methods were used that are known by the collective term of "personality cult". The fact

that no conclusions were drawn in time and consistently for political and economic practice did serious harm.

In the late fifties and early sixties the Party and state leadership of the time overestimated the progress made in building socialism and idealized social development. It could not stop mounting difficulties due to non-utilization of the potentialities of the socialist system, nor did it draw proper conclusions from the need to go over from extensive economic development. It did not provide political and social conditions for the advance of the scientific and technological revolution, nor effect requisite changes in the management system and with a view to raising the efficiency of our national economy. This accounted for announcing unrealistic objectives of social development. This had fatal consequences, especially when the targets were set for the third five-year plan, whose disintegration led to economic stagnation.

The perspective of the gradual rapprochement of social classes and strata was not seen as a process of completing the class struggle but as one of creating a conflictless situation, as it were, in a state which, contrary to the development level achieved, was wrongly described as a state of the whole people.

The class approach to problems was abandoned, education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism was neglected, and even burning problems of the relations between our peoples were not dealt with. The result was an erroneous, essentially opportunist practice. True, some correct measures of a concrete if partial nature were taken, but no fundamental change was brought about owing to the inconsistency of the leadership of the time. The fact that the situation was long taken lightly and obvious shortcomings were covered up necessarily tended in the end to decrease confidence in the Party leadership and to add to doubts about its ability to do away with the causes of crisis phenomena.

Along with fair and sound criticism, a nihilistic attitude to the entire revolutionary past began to gain ground and gradually became dominant. Enemy and revisionist forces, for their part, went into action. They attacked socialism and its fundamental values and spread various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views.

The revolutionary nucleus of the Party was aware of the mounting social tension and the gathering danger. It tried to restore the Leninist principles of Party life and those of managing public affairs. Its efforts culminated in the plenary meeting of the CC CPC in January 1968. The main purpose of that meeting was to provide the prerequisites of removing obstacles to our further advance to socialism. It was a question of heightening the leading role of the Communist Party and of consolidating the socialist state.

After January 1968 it was expected that the Party leadership would take energetic steps to carry out the decisions of the 13th

Congress and January 1968 plenum. People expected that it would improve working methods and style and create without delay conditions for the working people fully to display their initiative in the interest of further socialist progress in our country.

Those hopes did not materialize, however. The Party leadership was politically heterogeneous and disunity in its went from bad to worse through the fault of its Right opportunist wing. The leadership did not lean on the working class for support and marked time. Thus the opportunity to solve the various problems provided by the January Plenum was never used and was finally missed. Right-wing forces took advantage of the weakness of the pro-January leadership and of its inability to show a clear way out and imposed their adventurist designs on Party and society. As a result of their activity, the role of the socialist state was seriously impaired, the Communist Party became a target of indiscriminate attacks and its leading role was paralyzed. In this way the very foundations of the socialist system were threatened. Instead of the promised scientific leadership and so-called progress there began a general disintegration of methods of the management structure, and planning gave way to market spontaneity. The renunciation of state regulation of wages and prices opened the door to inflationary trends, shook people's confidence in the stability of the currency and caused an almost complete disintegration of the home market.

While the fact that the Party was being deprived of one position after another, that fair-minded citizens became victims of terror and that the power machinery of the state was falling apart, was irresponsibly accepted, anti-socialist and anti-Communist forces gained scope for their activity under the slogan of democratization. Rightists and anti-socialists launched a campaign to discredit the fundamental values of socialism and smear even our friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the banner of internationalist brotherhood.

Czechoslovakia found itself in grave danger. What was particularly dangerous was that opportunists and anti-socialist elements succeeded in misleading and gradually demobilizing the internal forces that could have put up organized resistance to Right-wing reaction. This was fostered by the sustained disruptive activity of the mass media, in which hysteria, nationalism, chauvinism and anti-Sovietism finally gained the upper hand. The destiny of socialism in Czechoslovakia became uncertain — socialism found itself under a serious threat. The brother Communist parties which had made every effort for a political solution of the Czechoslovak crisis could not look passively on that tragedy nor allow the counter-revolution to complete what it was out to achieve.

The allied troops' entry into Czechoslovakia in August 1968 made

it impossible for the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces to carry out their plans. It was an action in defense of socialism in our country and of the entire socialist community, an act of internationalist aid to our Party and working class, to our people.

The period from August 1968 to April 1969 showed once again that with many political leaders it was not a question of naiveté or a search for a new model of socialism but of organized Right-wing and counter-revolutionary activity. An unprincipled approach to implementation of the Moscow Protocol and the November 1968 Resolution of the CC CPC made it impossible to consolidate the Party or society. Negative trends of the pre-August period persisted. Society was shaken by new and still worse crises.

It was only the April 1969 Plenum of the CC CPC that led to a decisive offensive of the sound forces to re-establish the Marxist-Leninist character of our Party and restore its unity, militancy and strength. The Party leadership took a series of vigorous measures to eliminate Right-wing influence, rid Party committees of opportunist elements and strengthen the organs of state power. A consolidation process began whose first prerequisite is to renew Party unity on the class principles of Marxism-Leninism and to strengthen and consolidate the Party, so that it will consistently perform its leading role in every walk of life. The Party must be in a position to concentrate all the fair-minded and creative forces of society on efforts for the further advancement of our country. Now as in the past, we want to follow the road of broad-based national unity and to create conditions for meeting the interests of the working people within the framework of the National Front.

We can now announce that the first year of consolidation has registered visible gains in every sphere of public life. The bloc of Right-wing and anti-socialist forces has been politically defeated. Once again we are in a position to promote the activity of the Party, mass organizations and government agencies on every level.

The January 1970 meeting of the CC CPC adopted a resolution to exchange Party cards. This is an important method of enhancing the militancy of the membership on Marxist-Leninist principles, of strengthening revolutionary Party unity and ridding the Party of all vacillating and self-seeking elements. We are convinced that this will make the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia stronger ideologically, politically and organizationally and that the Party will successfully lead our society out of its deep crisis and solve all the fundamental problems of our further social progress.

This past year has also been marked by the Party's effort to resume comradely and friendly relations with all socialist countries and their Communist parties. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has again become a firm component of the international Commun-

ist and working-class movement. It has resumed and is furthering fraternal relations with the countries in the socialist community.

An inseparable element of the Party's responsibility has been, and is, the duty to safeguard our country from without and prevent a recurrence of the tragic fate that the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie brought on our state in 1938 and 1939.

We have always seen the only guarantee of the security of our people in the solid bonds of alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Soviet Union was the only country which in the most trying hours for our peoples proved faithful to its commitments towards Czechoslovakia and has the undying merit of enabling the Czechoslovak people 25 years ago to assume the management of their affairs in their country. The Czechoslovak people owe it primarily to the Soviet Union's consistent policy of peace and to the solid alliance of socialist countries that the whole of Europe has enjoyed peace for a quarter of a century now.

The system of bilateral and multilateral treaties between socialist countries and the existence of the Warsaw Treaty are a barrier that during the last 25 years has stopped all attempts to endanger European security and revise the results of World War II. We consider it necessary to stress the importance of these fraternal bonds of alliance now that we and representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have signed a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

The talks we had with the Soviet delegation during the past few days confirmed complete unity of views and interests. We negotiated as real friends. During the talks we exchanged views on the situation in both countries and can state that political, economic, scientific and technological cooperation is making good progress, in accordance with the interests of both countries. We devoted special attention to problems of the unity of socialist countries and joint action in the fight against imperialism and to the issue of European security.

The Treaty we have signed takes full account of the changes that have occurred in the world during the last quarter of a century. It reflects the strengthened world positions of socialism and the heightened level of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations. The text of the Treaty is in line with the principles of proletarian internationalism, which create a new type of relations, such as has developed between socialist states. Every word in that document indicates that we are aware of the great responsibility for the outcome of our common effort in building socialism, in carrying it forward and defeating it. The Treaty proceeds from the spirit and letter of the Bratislava Declaration of August 3, 1968, which says that it is an internationalist duty of all socialist countries to support, strengthen

and defend socialist gains achieved through heroic effort and devoted labor by the people of each country.

We are firmly convinced that the Treaty we signed yesterday will go further towards strengthening the forces of socialism, progress and peace, and help to prevent a recurrence in Europe of the war disaster which plunged the nations of our continent in bloodshed, destruction, suffering and horrors over thirty years ago.

Comrades, not all the effects of the war have been eliminated by now, 25 years after the defeat of German fascism, nor have all European problems been solved. We regard it as a primary task of Czechoslovak foreign policy to work for removal of this heritage of World War II and for the solution of all outstanding problems. We are particularly concerned about the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany approaches the task of eliminating the effects of World War II hesitantly, reluctantly and inconsistently and that its attitude prevents an effective and lasting solution of all the European problems still open.

The socialist countries, with the Soviet Union at their head, have during the last 25 years put forward more than one proposal for a system of collective security in Europe based on respect for the results of World War II. The latest initiative of the socialist countries was the proposal for an all-Europe conference. We note with satisfaction that it was appreciated by many European governments. However, some governments are trying under various pretexts to shelve the idea and prevent the conference, which could be a decisive step towards establishing a reliable system of European security.

What we want first and foremost is a commitment by the West German government to respect the present state frontiers in Europe, including those between the two German states, and to recognize the state sovereignty and independence of the German Democratic Republic as a full-fledged subject of international law. We want an end to the illegitimate activity of the Federal Republic of Germany in West Berlin, which is an independent political entity.

We want an end to the activity of revanchist organizations, which put forward—with the tacit or open consent of the West German authorities—demands for a revision of the present frontiers and status quo in Europe. Above all else, we want the West German government to recognize that the Munich pact has been null and void from the outset.

The Munich pact was concluded under pressure and the extortionate threat of war. It was concluded without us and at our expense. It was an act of extreme injustice towards the Czechoslovak people. This is why, assessing the pact from the standpoint of international law, we regard it as unjust, void and non-existent from the first. Recognition of this attitude would be an indication

of justice and law to which Czechoslovakia, one of the early victims of Hitler's aggression, is fully entitled. The government of the Federal Republic of Germany should put an end to attempts at a half-hearted solution of this problem, stop dodging the issue and take a realistic stand in keeping with the facts and the need to assure lasting peace in Europe.

In this connection, the existence on German soil of a state of the German working people, the German Democratic Republic, is a particularly outstanding fact. We think highly of the excellent results achieved by our class brothers, the working people of the GDR, in two decades of statehood and set great store by the contribution of the GDR to European security and hence to the security of Czechoslovakia's frontiers.

After the war imperialism provoked a series of armed conflicts. It created, and continues to create, new crisis situations. It is with deep apprehension that we follow US acts of aggression in Vietnam. We note with profound indignation that instead of stopping their aggression as President Nixon promised in his election speeches and in taking office, the armed forces of the USA have resumed their bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and extended their aggression to Laos and Cambodia.

That move runs counter to the Geneva agreements on Indochina signed in 1954 and on Laos signed in 1962. It is a fresh confirmation of the US rulers' effort to continue on the same scale their barbarous suppression of the right of nations to free and independent development.

We sharply condemn the irresponsible and adventurist policy of US imperialism in Vietnam and throughout one-time Indochina. It shows again who is the greatest enemy of peace and the freedom of the nations of the world.

On this festive occasion we again voice our warm, fraternal sentiments for the heroic people of Vietnam and the embattled people of Laos and Cambodia and assure them of our sincere solidarity and full support.

We are deeply concerned about the dangerous growth of tension in the Middle East. Developments in that area show more and more convincingly that the rulers of Israel backed by imperialist countries, first of all by the USA, go on systematically blocking execution of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, violating it and stepping up their acts of military aggression against Arab neighbors. It is downright incredible that the very same people who suffered from fascist atrocities should now be using many of those methods against neighboring Arab countries. The utterly unjustifiable killing of civilians, including schoolchildren, is not only another dark stain on the policy of the rulers of Israel but seriously endangers world peace.

The present grave situation in the Middle East calls for urgent measures for the implementation and full execution of the Security Council resolution, which the CSSR, like the vast majority of countries and of world opinion, regards as the most suitable instrument of a political settlement of the crisis.

We join the other socialist countries in reaffirming our resolve to support the Arab countries in their just fight and sincerely identify ourselves with them.

Comrades, we recall the glorious road travelled by Czechoslovakia in 25 years. Analysis of the past is indispensable to us Communists, first of all because we want to learn from it so as to be able to make good progress. Looking ahead and approaching problems in a creative spirit are prime characteristics of a Communist party.

The results of the first year of political and economic consolidation are positive.

Nevertheless, it is evident that we cannot solve all problems this year. Consolidation will take longer and require greater effort by all of us, especially in the ideological and economic fields.

The resolution measures adopted by the April 1969 Plenum, the guidelines for implementation and the decisions of the CC CPC meeting last January became the starting point for organizing work on an immense scale. We succeeded in substantially increasing the leading role of the Party, strengthening state management of the economy and restoring the role of the state plan.

We adopted the national economic plan for 1970. It assures this year's program and objectives of consolidation. On its basis we achieved, particularly last March and April, a further increase in the dynamics of growth of industrial production, stopped inflationary trends, stabilized wages and prices, renewed the priority growth of labor productivity as against average earnings, stabilized the home market and regained confidence in our currency, the koruna. It is very important for the social security of the working people that prices have stopped rising. We have already set out to solve, as far as possible, some of the more pressing social problems by adjusting the lowest pensions. We can say that we are following a correct road and that we have every opportunity to fulfil the assignments of this year's plan.

We do not want to overrate the progress made. Many big problems are still unsolved.

Consistent implementation of the measures we have adopted to consolidate the economy will yet require stubborn effort. There is still much spontaneity, inefficiency and indiscipline in various fields. The depreciation of socialist values manifested itself, among other things, in such social phenomena as profiteering and corruption. We have yet to use the opportunities we have to speed economic

progress by improving the organization and rhythm of production, by reducing the number of uncompleted building projects, making better use of fixed assets and fully utilizing working time, considerably reduced through the adoption of a five-day week.

That is why the rule in every economic field and at every management level today should be to raise the quality of work, put higher demands to people, exercise stricter control, take an uncompromising stand on any lack of order and fully support honest effort and creative initiative. This is the way to make permanent the results achieved so far in consolidating the economy and to create the requisites of further progress.

While carrying out these tasks, we are at the same time evolving a long-range program of economic development that would enable us fully to restore the role of the plan and use the advantages of socialism. We have resumed work on the five-year plan, to which the Central Committee and the government attach special importance.

Our economy today is faced with the need to work out a conception proceeding from new requirements and the opportunities afforded above all by scientific and technological progress.

The decisive thing will be how well we succeed in gearing the economy to intensive development. We must strive for comprehensive rationalization of the reproduction process as a whole, of production, building, trade and consumption, of all managing and organizing activity.

At the same time we will gradually proceed, according to conditions and possibilities, to progressive changes in the inter- and intra-industrial structure of production, restrict the growth of ineffective branches of production and increase the share of industries and branches playing the main role in scientific and technological progress.

Economic integration and international socialist division of labor offer great opportunities. We see coordination of national economic plans, joint realization of development programs, specialization and cooperation in production as well as in research and development as one of the decisive factors for economic growth and for progress in science and technology.

We will devote continuous attention, as we have done before, to meeting the requirements of society, to raising the living standard, to improving the living and working environment. We will have to provide an economic basis for the rapid growth of consumption in recent years, which ran ahead of our economic possibilities, and bring about a steady rise in nominal and real incomes plus social security. We will strive to step up the pace of house-building, which plays an important part in improving the living standard.

Development in recent years has confronted us with the urgent necessity for setting up an effective socialist system of economic management and planning consistent with the decisive role of the state plan, social ownership by the state and state monopoly of foreign trade. We will have to learn the positive and negative lessons of the economic reform, rid it of its revisionist elements and develop and gradually implement, in line with the January decisions of the CC CPC, a system of management effectively guaranteeing implementation of the Party's economic policy.

Our society has a powerful economic potential. We must fully rely for support on the creative effort of the foremost working people, of all who have a vital interest in working honestly and efficiently and in living a satisfying life. We counter pessimism and scepticism with the clear perspective of strenuous but creative work and planned development that will lead to a new advance of our society and win our country an honorable place in the world-wide competition of today.

Our policy offers the younger generation the clear perspective of building up their socialist country and the opportunity to apply their élan and ability in carrying out this great task. We will foster in the younger generation a sense of responsibility for the progress of our society, for the future of this country. It is one of our most important political tasks to infuse young people with the noble sentiments of socialist patriotism and inspire them with respect for man's creative effort.

It is on these lines that we must consistently guide work in the educational and cultural field, in youth and other mass organizations. We want to provide wide scope for meeting the interests of young workers and peasants as well as students. Effort for the development and social progress of socialism is a continuous process of overcoming difficulties. The problems that will crop up will differ from those of today but they will be no less difficult. It will be impossible even in the future to do without revolutionaries, a pioneering spirit, courage, industry and a sense of purpose. We expect our young people to be among those who will be in the forefront of our struggle.

Our society has important tasks to fulfil in promoting socialist democracy and the institutions of the political superstructure. We will be able to cope with the new strenuous tasks only if we perfect the whole system of socialist administration and extend the people's participation in administration and management.

We have important tasks in extending and raising the quality of the work of National Committees on all levels as one of the most important components of the political system of socialism. A task we set ourselves for the immediate future is that government

administration in the socialist state must serve citizens better, must meet their demands more speedily and make effective use of the working people's suggestions for carrying forward socialist construction. In stressing these tasks, we say openly that ours is a class democracy. There is no room in it for the enemies of socialism, for those who cause disturbances and violate socialist laws. Socialist democracy has nothing to do with a situation, well familiar to us, in which everybody has a say in everything and nobody is responsible for anything. In our country the Communist Party, vanguard of the most progressive force of our society—the working class—has been, is and will be the leading and integrating force of socialist democracy.

Comrades, the last 25 years will forever be a great period of our history in which devoted labor by millions brought into being a new, socialist way of life that generations of pioneers of socialism longed and fought for.

In a country once devastated by war, an advanced and modern socialist society has developed which guarantees the prosperity and happy future of our peoples.

Our socialist society has been able to solve fundamental problems of the national, political and social existence of the Czech and Slovak peoples. It has demonstrated the all-round superiority of socialism over capitalism also in the conditions of our advanced country.

We thank all who have contributed to the victory and prosperity of socialist society.

After innumerable trials the Czech and Slovak peoples finally found a guarantee of their freedom against imperialist threats in the alliance with the Soviet Union. We satisfied ourselves again and again that we can always rely on the Soviet Union.

Sentiments of proletarian internationalism and solidarity in struggle for common goals link us with fraternal socialist countries, the international working class and the revolutionary movement. We are aware of our place and our obligations in the great historic fight for freedom, progress and socialism.

The policy of our Party shows the way out of the present situation and affords a clear perspective of subsequent development. Now as in the years of the national liberation fight, of the fight for peace and socialist development, we will do our utmost to win the support of all fair-minded people, of all who are not indifferent to the destiny and future of our country, for our policy and the just cause of socialism.

Our peoples and Communist Party went in the distant and recent past through severe tests and withstood them. We have reason to look to the future with confidence and certainty. We will carry the

cause of socialism in Czechoslovakia through to complete victory.

Long live the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and its heroic working people!

Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia!

Long live the Soviet Union and its glorious Army, the liberator of our peoples!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

May the unity and cooperation of the socialist countries go from strength to strength!

SPEECH* BY LEONID BREZHNEV

Dear Comrades, Friends,

The last salvoes of the war were fired a quarter of a century ago. The almost seven years, domination of the Hitlerites and their stooges in Czechoslovakia came to an end. Reborn for a new life, decorated with flags and flowers, Prague gave its soldier liberators a joyous welcome. The day of freedom dawned over the Czechs' and Slovaks' beautiful land.

We have gone through many experiences since then, and many things have changed around us. A new generation has come to which World War II is mere history. But recollections of those joyful May days, the days of Victory—our common victory, comrades—will never be effaced from the peoples' minds.

Like numerous other Soviet men, I first found myself in your country when, after heavy fighting in the Carpathians, Soviet troops began to expel the fascist invaders from Czechoslovak soil. I will own that those chapters of the glorious record of our people are particularly dear to me who took part in those battles. There is no forgetting the cordial hospitality shown to Soviet servicemen by the Czechs and Slovaks.

All of us members of the Soviet delegation are deeply moved by the fact that we are celebrating with you the twenty-fifth anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia from fascist rule. These days we again met comrades in arms, our wartime associates. Once again we realized the Czechoslovak working people's reverence for the undying exploit of the Soviet people, who broke the backbone of the fascist beast. Once again we felt the warmth of friendship, cordiality and comradeship.

I would like, first of all, to thank our hospitable hosts for inviting the Soviet Party and government delegation to these festivities. The CC CPSU and Soviet government are confident that the delegation's visit will contribute to stronger Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation and closer friendship between the two peoples, between the Soviet and Czechoslovak Communists.

Victory Day this year is being celebrated in a distinctive atmosphere. Our festivities may be said to link up with the Lenin centenary which a short time ago was widely commemorated in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and in other socialist countries and was observed by progressive world opinion. Communists and working people rendered account to the memory of their leader and to their revolutionary conscience for the progress of their effort and

*Rudo Pravo, May 8, 1970.

appraised their achievements and their plans for the future with reference to Lenin, in the light of his teachings and precepts. It is only proper to say in this connection that the defeat of fascism, in which Lenin's country played a decisive role, became the starting point for a new triumph of Lenin's ideas.

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and government of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Communists and all Soviet people, to convey heartfelt good wishes to the participants in this festive meeting, to the Communists and all working people of Czechoslovakia, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of liberation from fascist domination.

Much has been said and written about World War II by politicians and men of letters, by historians and war veterans. But these days one thinks again and again of the events of the war, of its results and their political and social significance.

It was not merely a battle between armies but a contest between two social systems. It was a battle of nations against the most aggressive forces of the imperialist world. In fighting the fascist invaders, the Soviet troops—troops of the world's first socialist country—defended the cause and ideas of the Great October, their socialist country, the freedom and independence of other peoples and states.

Victory exacted a high price. But the war years taught people a great deal. They showed to everyone that the imperialists' aggressive schemes, unless nipped in the bud, can bring untold misfortune to mankind. They showed to the whole of mankind that socialism had become the peoples' mainstay against imperialist aggression, the main force capable of organizing resistance to aggressors. They showed that in our time the Communists are the staunchest and most consistent fighters for freedom and independence, for peace and democracy.

The collapse of fascism, which meant the defeat of the most reactionary contingent of the imperialist bourgeoisie, led to the weakening of the capitalist system as a whole. The working people of many liberated countries emphatically expressed their desire for a radical change in the social order. Spring 1945 became the spring of a new historic epoch for many European nations. The working people of a number of countries took power into their hands and set out to build socialism. Thus the community of socialist states came into being. It was a gigantic turn in European and world history.

In Czechoslovakia it was the Communist Party led by Klement Gottwald, outstanding figure in the Czechoslovak and international working-class movement, that steered the building of socialism.

The new social system in the socialist countries released the immense creative energy of millions upon millions of working

men and women. Ample and varied experience has been gained over the last 25 years in laying the foundation of socialism and in building a developed socialist society. In the coming years this will undoubtedly bring new major gains to the socialist countries.

All imperialist attempts in postwar years to sound out the solidity of socialism's position in this or that country fell through and boomeranged. The same will happen in the future. There is not, nor can there be, any force in the world that could defeat socialism, for socialism is the will of the peoples, their cause and happiness.

The power and influence of the socialist community today are greater than ever. Consistent support for national liberation and progressive movements and active maintenance of peace and international security earn the socialist community the sympathy of the working people of the globe. They extend and cement the anti-imperialist front. By rendering active assistance to the peoples under imperialist attack—in Cuba, Vietnam, the Middle East and elsewhere—fraternal countries furnish convincing evidence of the noble character and effectiveness of socialist foreign policy which proves that it meets the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

A few days ago yet another independent and sovereign state, Cambodia, became the victim of a brazen armed attack on the part of the United States. A number of communities in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were barbarously bombed again. As a result, virtually the whole of Indochina is today caught in the flames of war through the fault of imperialists. These piratical operations lay bare the real nature of US imperialism, which shamelessly tears up any international agreements and tramples the sovereignty of small countries underfoot in an effort to rob them of freedom and independence and prevent their social progress.

The extension of US aggression will no doubt be firmly resisted by the peoples of Indochina on whose side are all fighters against imperialism, the forces of peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world. And there can be no question whatever that the US aggressors' new crime will produce as ignominious and disgraceful results as the dirty war against the people of Vietnam.

We react to the dangers threatening the world from the declining social system by showing high vigilance, firmly resisting the aggressors' intrigues and building up the defensive might of the socialist world. This is something our class enemies must reckon with. It is not accidental that those who warn and advise against extending the seats of dangerous tension and call for a more realistic foreign policy are becoming increasingly vocal even among the rulers of a number of capitalist countries.

Comrades, the fascist aggressors' defeat was a great victory for the nations. It can and should be fittingly crowned with inviolable peace in Europe. We do not indulge in pacifist illusions but we

men and women. Ample and varied experience has been gained are well aware of the tremendous strength of the forces championing durable peace on this continent. A climate of genuine security for all can and should be created in Europe, half of whose population lives in socialist countries. The key to this is to recognize that the state frontiers existing in Europe are immutable and to renounce all territorial claims.

The socialist countries invariably advocate better and more extensive relations between all European countries. This is what prompted them in proposing that some unsolved problems of Europe be discussed at an all-Europe conference. Those who question the purpose of the socialist countries' proposal are wasting their time when they claim that it is only the socialist countries that want these problems to be examined and settled. These problems are equally important to all European countries and the rest of the world.

To transform Europe into a peace continent is the cause of all European countries. The German Democratic Republic plays an important part in accomplishing this historic task. Consolidating the socialist state of the German working people and enhancing its role in international affairs as serious factors for the security of European nations.

The Federal Republic of Germany, for its part, could make a substantial contribution to a more durable peace on the European continent. The socialist countries and other peace-loving nations of Europe insist with good reason on firm guarantees to the effect that no new aggression will threaten from German soil now or in the future. This is the meaning and spirit of the historic Potsdam decisions. It is our main line, specifically in the talks with the FRG now going on. We are convinced that this is the only basis on which the problems existing between the FRG and socialist countries can be solved.

In Europe as in other areas of the world, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—its friends and allies—will spare no effort to bring about an international settlement that will enable the peoples of our countries to continue their peaceful construction undisturbed, feeling certain that their future will be peaceful.

Comrades, the events of World War II set off with unprecedented force the importance of close cooperation between freedom-loving nations in defending their vital interests. It was during the war, in mortal combat with fascism, that the friendship of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples was forged. I take deep satisfaction in conveying from this rostrum warm greetings to our Czechoslovak comrades-in-arms, ex-servicemen of the Czechoslovak Corps who fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army at Kharkov and Kiev, at Dukla, Ostrava and Prague, to the heroes of the Slovak

Rising and the Prague rising, to the veterans of the underground, to the courageous partisans, to all who fought in the people's Resistance. Those people bore the burden of the fight against fascism and most of them became active builders of new, socialist Czechoslovakia.

Many veterans of the war and Resistance are in this hall today. We heartily greet you, dear comrades-in-arms and friends. We greet Comrade Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the CC CPC, one of the leaders of the Slovak National Rising. We greet General Ludvik Svoboda, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Lenin Peace Prize winner, one-time commander of the Czechoslovak Corps. We wish you all, dear comrades-in-arms, good health, energy, vigour and success in all your activities for the good of Socialist Czechoslovakia.

The victory of socialism in Czechoslovakia made it possible to establish really friendly, really fraternal relations between our states.

We Communists are far from taking a facile view of the shaping of friendship between socialist countries. We know that both the chauvinist prejudices and the national narrow-mindedness inculcated and cultivated for centuries by the exploiter classes persist for a long time in the minds of the peoples as a legacy of the past. Communists counter this bourgeois legacy by meaningfully and steadfastly educating all working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist solidarity. Communist ideology is inconceivable without internationalism. Without consistent internationalism no socialist revolution can be entirely victorious.

Comrades, we heard with keen attention Comrade Husak's vivid and informative speech deeply analyzing the main results of the development of Socialist Czechoslovakia and drawing conclusions of principle from the recent political crisis. We appreciate the Czechoslovak friends' high opinion of the internationalist assistance extended to Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

For my part, I wish to say that the Central Committee of the CPSU, our whole Party and all Soviet people fully appreciate the present policy of the CPC leadership. The tasks you have set to unite the Party ideologically and organizationally, increase the leading role of the CPC, consolidate the socialist system, perfect socialist democracy, carry the federal system forward and strengthen the common Czech and Slovak state on that basis, organize social labor more judiciously and raise the standard of living through more effective social production are all of vital importance whose proper fulfilment will undoubtedly go towards strengthening socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The friends of Socialist Czechoslovakia see well the dividing line

between the decisions of the January 1968 meeting of the CC CPC and the developments which tended to divert the Party and people from the line of the 13th Party Congress. The positive aspects of the January 1968 decisions were reaffirmed and specified by the Central Committee in 1969—at its April, May and September meetings—and in January 1970. Everyone is now clear about the activity of those who swore allegiance to socialist ideals while actually frustrating the fulfilment of pressing constructive tasks, drawing people away from socialism and linking up with foreign imperialist quarters, virtually doing their bidding. The entire “innovating” activity of the Right meant denying the achievements of the Czechoslovak people and indiscriminately criticizing the experience of building socialism in Czechoslovakia and, indeed, in other fraternal countries. It amounted to an attempt to separate and isolate Czechoslovakia from its friends and allies in the socialist world, reverse the gains of February 1948 and ultimately restore the bourgeois regime in the country.

This false “innovating” by the enemies of socialism was not long in breeding chaos and turmoil. It upset the rhythm of all economic and socio-political activity in the country. Small wonder that the Czechoslovak people dissociated themselves from the “heroes” of high-sounding talk. The workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals of Czechoslovakia rejected the road onto which the country was being dragged by those who had lost all sense of responsibility for the destiny of the Czechoslovak state, giving in to anti-Socialist, counter-revolutionary forces. The Marxist-Leninist core of the CPC and tens and hundreds of thousands of Communists and non-Communists played a decisive role in uniting the sound forces of the people by resolutely defending the gains of socialism. The people followed the Leninist Communists, the internationalists, the Party, which said firmly:

The counter-revolution shall not pass! Czechoslovakia has been, is and will be socialist!

Of course, the fight is not over yet, comrades. Imperialism and its helpers refuse to be reconciled to the miscarriage of their designs. But then we do not expect our class enemies to applaud the strengthening of world socialism. They have been, and will go on, casting about for an opportunity of some sort, for a chance to lead people astray, to weaken the socialist countries in one way or another, to loosen our alliance. But the enemies of socialism should know that their hopes are not fated to materialize, ever. We counter their plotting by redoubling our vigilance, by methodically and steadily solving our socialist, communist problems, by firmly repulsing revisionist elements, whatever the cloak they use.

The Sixth All-Russia Conference of the RSDLP, led by V. I. Lenin, deliberated here in Prague. Its decisions are to this day a vivid

instance of principled approach to the task of forming and steeling a Marxist-Leninist party. Having expelled the Mensheviks and rid the Party of opportunists, the Conference helped in building up the proletarian vanguard which assumed leadership of the world's first victorious socialist revolution.

However, Communists do not need unity only when preparing for revolution and leading the masses into battle against old society. Unity is no less necessary when building a new life. Experience shows that success in building socialism depends, in the first place, on unity of the Marxist-Leninist party, on its ability — put to a particularly severe test at sharp turns in history—to operate as a close-knit union of like-minded people. Allow me to wish the Communists of Czechoslovakia further gains in strengthening the Party on the only basis that is correct and acceptable to Communists—Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We have no doubt that the Czechoslovak Communists, having closed their ranks on this basis, will successfully cope with the difficult tasks facing them and achieve further progress in building socialism through the joint effort of the workers, cooperative peasants, intellectuals and youth.

Comrades, the visit of the Soviet Party and government delegation to Czechoslovakia is nearing its end. We had important and fruitful talks with Comrades Husak, Svoboda, Strougal and other leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. These conversations, held in an atmosphere of genuine, sincere friendship, comradeship, mutual respect and trust, showed again that there is complete unity of views and complete mutual understanding on all fundamental issues between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, between the governments of our two countries. We reached agreement on a series of measures that will enable us to extend relations between our parties, promote all-round economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation between our countries and coordinate our international actions more closely.

The talks were concluded by signing the new Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. We have a high opinion of the contents and significance of this document. Its every clause is inspired by internationalism, by the desire to help each other, to join together in defending the gains of socialism, maintaining peace and international security and scaling new heights of social progress. The message of this program document of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation is clear and explicit: friendship between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, between our parties and peoples, is strong and unshakable.

Dear comrades, your friends share in your joys. They are gratified like you by the Czechoslovak people's achievements over the last

quarter of a century and give due credit to the courage with which the Communists of Czechoslovakia are passing the difficult test of these past years.

The process of successful consolidation of Czechoslovak society and steadily growing friendship between Czechoslovakia and its socialist allies are a fitting reply to the enemies of socialism, to the ill-wishers of free, Socialist Czechoslovakia. The incincible force of communist ideas, the friendship and unity of will of fraternal socialist countries and the validity of the principles of socialist internationalism are being demonstrated here in the Prague Hrad and throughout the country.

Long live Socialist Czechoslovakia!

Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, inspirer and organizer of the Czechoslovak people's struggle for socialism!

Long live the indestructible friendship of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples!

Long live the powerful community of socialist countries and may it go from strength to strength!

LENIN CENTENARY SPEECH

BY FIDEL CASTRO, FIRST SECRETARY, CP OF CUBA

HAVANA, APRIL 22, 1970

Lenin's name is most familiar to all of us.

We are not going to eulogize Lenin. We would not venture a panegyric of Lenin because words cannot really express the admiration we feel.

I wish to point out the sentiments inspiring our people's attitude to Lenin. This homage and this interest, the numerous forms in which our people express their sympathy and admiration and gratitude and love for Lenin, are perfectly spontaneous. Our Party, the revolutionary leadership and official institutions are not the only ones to show interest, for spontaneous interest is shown by all our people.

These indications of affection for Lenin differ therefore from what usually characterizes many historic dates treated as something traditional or conventional. This time we are commemorating a historic date of extraordinary significance, the birthday of one of the most extraordinary men in history, a man who was unlike anyone else by virtue of not only his human and revolutionary qualities but mainly of the extraordinary impact his life and work have had, and will have, on the world. In other words, we are commemorating a date of vast significance, and this is the only way we really can do it: by expressing our heartfelt sentiments.

Lenin was a really exceptional man. One has only to read about his life and work and make an objective analysis of the evolution of his thought and activity throughout his life to see that all human beings must regard Lenin as a truly exceptional man.

Lenin had a teacher who had founded Marxism, or two teachers to be precise, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

No one was better equipped than Lenin to fathom the whole depth of Marxist theory, to grasp its substance and appreciate its value. No one was better equipped than Lenin to interpret this theory and carry it forward to its ultimate implications. Nor could anyone have elaborated and contributed to it as Lenin did.

Lenin founded what at first was known as the Russian Social Democracy and later became the Bolshevik Party and afterwards the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He virtually laid the cornerstone of the organization and movement.

Slightly abridged from Prensa Latina release.

The development of political and revolutionary thought was influenced by Lenin's creative activity to such an extent that Lenin must be recognized as the heart and soul of this revolutionary thought, this movement and this Party.

There are few processes, and perhaps no political ones at all, to which the thought and intellect of one man has contributed as much as Lenin's. Lenin was an indefatigable analyst and hard worker. It is fair to say that from the moment he became politically aware he never rested till the end of his life, never stopped analyzing, studying and working for the revolution.

No fighter has ever fought as many ideological battles as Lenin. It is amazing how many battles Lenin fought in the ideological field. Nor is his record in this sense comparable to that of anyone else who won personal credit by accomplishing extraordinary deeds.

Marx said that with the advent of a society without exploiters and exploited, a communist society, mankind would leave its pre-history behind. This may sound like a mere phrase but let us think and try to understand what Marx meant. Let us look at today's world. Let us recall recent incredible acts of barbarity, the time when fascism grabbed the whole of Europe. Look at the incredible facts of barbarity being committed today against the people of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, in Asia, Africa and elsewhere. The whole of modern technology has been turned against man, it is being used to destroy people and their work, their right to live, their right to a minimum of happiness.

Lenin upheld Marxist doctrine against all mystification, distortion and deformation. He upheld it and showed how very correct it was. Historical facts have shown how all those trends which Lenin combated led in various countries of Europe to a crisis in the revolutionary movement, to failure and betrayal of the movement.

There is hardly any chapter more admirable than Lenin's defense of revolutionary thought.

Lenin's thought greatly influenced the revolutionary process in Cuba. His ideas, which guided the October Revolution, spread far and wide in the world and found fertile ground in our country, found followers who took inspiration from Lenin's thought. Cuban revolutionaries were deeply influenced by Lenin's thought during the revolutionary struggles of 1930 and 1933.

Lenin's works were a guide and precept and manual to some of us without which we would have been deprived of knowledge absolutely essential in a revolutionary process.

We remember that in the months before July 26, 1953 the greater part of the small group of comrades engaged in revolutionary work always carried books by Marx and Lenin with them. Some of those books were seized by the police—because their author was Lenin—during the searches made after Moncada. At the Moncada trial

one of the servile judges made one of his gravest charges, asked us what we might call one of his most "puzzling" questions. He asked us whether those books of Lenin's were really ours.

Perhaps they were anxious to detect a link. They may have been because of the numerous prejudices and the great quantity of anti-communist poison they had injected into the people, and besides, because they wanted to ingratiate themselves with the imperialists and receive greater support from them. The charge of being a Communist was very common and in many cases it was one of the gravest politically in view of the atmosphere then prevailing.

I remember that on that occasion we could not restrain the anger we felt at that idiotic brandishing of Lenin's book. Deeply angered, I rose and said: "Yes, we read Lenin, and anyone who doesn't read Lenin is an ignoramus." You see, studying Lenin was virtually regarded as a crime.

We drew from Lenin's writings conclusions that proved decisive. Of course, when I speak of Leninism I mean Marxism, Marx's fundamental ideas carried forward by Lenin. Specifically, it was above all Lenin's *The State and Revolution* that elucidated so many concepts for us, that helped us see so clear when evolving our revolutionary strategy and fighting for revolutionary power.

When we look at the processes unfolding in various parts of the globe we always consider that to ignore Marxism and Leninism puts any revolutionary at an enormous disadvantage. It may seem paradoxical to describe non-Marxist-Leninists as revolutionaries. But there is no paradox here. We call a revolutionary a person who disagrees with the society he lives in, with injustice anywhere, and who wants change and has the instinct and gift of a fighter, the instinct and gift of a revolutionary.

There are those who want change and have many of the qualities and aspirations that make a revolutionary. Some of them understand such problems of today as poverty, under-development, technological backwardness. They see the problem of economic exploitation by imperialism. They are made of revolutionary fibre and do as revolutionaries should. Nevertheless, those who are unfamiliar with Marxism-Leninism are bound to experience immense difficulties, to be at an enormous disadvantage. For we can affirm—we are entitled to because we have had a unique experience and have been trying to learn a lesson from this experience of our country—that there is only one revolutionary and political science, Marxism-Leninism. There is no other political and revolutionary science, no other theory except, at best, superficialities, trifles, patchwork. Even the universal vocabulary of the bourgeoisie and imperialists today includes many Marxist terms. The division of society into classes is something nobody disputes. Every bourgeois politician and

paper and theoretician admits the existence of the problem of classes. Numerous other ideas and terms are admitted. Many of these terms and ideas are of Marxist-Leninist origin.

This means that Marxist-Leninist ideas are spreading in the world. I would not say that they are as widely applied as they are widespread. Nor would I say that they are used as much as they are cited. It is interesting to note that in any part of the world, among the students and progressive intellectuals, the terms and phrases and ideas generally used are Marxist. Today it is an almost universally recognized principle that without Marxism-Leninism there is no revolutionary or political theory nor science.

A whole series of negators of Lenin have emerged since the October Revolution. One of the weapons used by imperialism against Leninism is the attempt to minimize Lenin's role in the revolutionary process, to distort history. Hundreds of scribblers alleged to stand on the left—a device still used by reaction—have distorted the history of the Leninist revolutionary process.

As time passes it will, of course, not be our country only, nor the socialist countries alone, that will pay homage to Lenin. The day will come when Lenin will be paid homage by all peoples and countries, by the whole of mankind. We have not the least doubt about this.

Today there are, as we know, theoretical super-revolutionaries, super-Leftists, veritable "supermen" if you will, who can destroy imperialism in a jiffy with their tongues. There are many super-revolutionaries lacking all notion of reality about the problems and difficulties of a revolution. They are prompted by sentiments carefully fostered by imperialism and are full of fierce hatred. It is as if they refused to forgive the Soviet Union its existence, and this from "Left"-wing positions. They would like a Soviet Union shaped according to their strange model, according to their ridiculous ideals. Yet a country is primarily a reality, one made up of numerous other realities.

The exponents of these trends forget the incredible initial difficulties of the revolutionary process in the Soviet Union, the incredible problems arising from blockade, isolation and fascist aggression. They pretend not to know anything about all this and regard the existence of the Soviet Union as almost a crime, and this from "Left"-wing positions, which is an act of absolute dishonesty.

They forget the problems of Cuba, of Vietnam, of the Arab world. They forget that wherever imperialism is striking its blows it comes up against a country which sends the people the arms they need to defend themselves.

We recall Playa Giron these days. We well remember the anti-

aircraft artillery, the tanks and guns and mortars and other weapons that enabled us to smash the mercenaries.

This means that the existence of the Soviet state is objectively one of the most extraordinary privileges of the revolutionary movement.

The world of today is a very complicated one. It is a world in which nothing is easy, a very difficult world. There are no easy solutions for any problem. The problems are numerous and complicated. And, of course, this circumstance is exploited for intrigue and defamation.

There are those who refuse to forgive this country its attitude to the Czechoslovak question. I mean those "Left"-wing scribblers.

Many people also write about the Cuban Revolution except in Cuba. There is no telling how many analysts or theorists are concerned with it. Some of them do not even deserve a reply because they are manifest agents of US imperialism who still mislead and hoodwink many a fool. However we think it is on this issue, in situations such as this, that a revolutionary opinion is formed. This is a position we maintain and insist on.

We had no intention of proceeding from the logic of the bourgeoisie, from bourgeois concepts or policies. To us, what mattered was the counter-revolutionary process taking place there, the process of betraying Marxism.

I think it was one of those situations in which one should be able to assess events and react to them in a revolutionary fashion. Imperialism would have been the sole winner had it not been curbed, had it not been stopped.

There was a counter-revolutionary process going on there—in case some still do not understand—and we are not bourgeois liberals but Marxist-Leninists and anti-liberals.

To us, the entire bourgeois philosophy and all ideas of the bourgeoisie are something like an old superstition that has long been outmoded.

In speaking of the attitude of liberals and the attitude of our country, we say that above everything else are the objective facts, the truth, and that we will always take into account the objective importance and value of things. To us, the decisive thing was Soviet support.

Some do not like us to recognize that. Those disgusting liberals infesting the world, those charlatans who have never had to wrestle with a single problem, with the problems of a whole nation, to see and suffer from the poverty and misery of a whole nation!

We will always bear these facts in mind. These things, these

objective truths and objective facts, will always prevail in our relations with the Soviet Union.

It is unquestionable that the imperialists will not resign themselves to Cuba's attitude. Insolent declarations have appeared more than once saying that they would be willing to talk with Cuba if it broke off its links with the Soviet Union, its political and military links.

That is an idiotic policy. We are idiotically advised to break with our friends so as to become a friend of our enemies. We shall never accept that—not because this is an elementary matter of principle taking precedence over everything else, but out of deep revolutionary conviction. First, we will never accept any imperialist terms, never! Secondly, we will never break off our political links with the Soviet Union, nor what they call military links. On the contrary, we for our part will always be willing to have more military links with the Soviet Union. Who else should we have them with? Would it be with US imperialism?

Our political and military links with the Soviet Union will never be broken off. Our military ties will only be broken off when there is no imperialism.

Our counter-proposal in reply to the declarations of the U.S. State Department is: stop being an imperialist state and we will break off our military ties with the Soviet Union.

That, then, is the sort of declarations they make.

Now for another fact. There have been reports for months now about Cuba's return to the OAS being discussed in Latin American chancelleries. The curious thing is that there is no way to say and to explain that Cuba has never solicited its return nor will ever solicit it.

What is the difference between imperialist philosophy and the philosophy of the pseudo-revolutionaries who have discovered a new crime, which is that Cuba devotes itself to economic development? Yes, Cuba does and must devote itself to economic development. But it has not denied, nor will ever deny, support to the revolutionary movement.

Our attitude to the revolutionary movement is that as long as there is imperialism and fighters prepared to fight for the liberation of their peoples from imperialism, the Cuban revolution will support them. Let this be quite clear.

Speaking of support for the revolutionary movement, we must say that this support does not necessarily have to go solely to guerrilla movements but must extend to any government sincerely adopting a policy of economic and social progress and of liberating its country from the US imperialist yoke. Cuba will support that government whatever the manner in which it has come to power.

I say this because there are no two identical cases in world history and no two circumstances are exactly the same. Nor will there be two revolutions taking place in exactly the same way. There develop new possibilities and new forms.

The recent period in Latin America has seen growing unrest in the Church and the military establishment, traditionally the strongest pillars of reaction, oligarchic rule and imperialism. This unrest is due to awareness of the exploitation that is the lot of the people, to awareness of the yoke imposed by the imperialists and to the courageous revolutionary attitude of some clergymen, exemplified above all by Camilo Torres in Colombia. Antecedents of this revolutionary unrest were the Carupano and Puerto Cabello risings in Venezuela a few years ago. It was also strongly expressed by a group of gallant military men who under the leadership of Colonel Caamano launched the constitutionalist movement in the Dominican Republic. That movement was crushed through criminal imperialist intervention but not defeated. The unrest also manifests itself in other countries, such as Peru.

What the imperialists expected least of all was perhaps that a movement would develop among the armed forces which, realizing the country's underdeveloped state, would set out to promote a national development program. Now a development program, if consistently carried on, leads to revolution.

This is a new phenomenon, one worthy of note and of special interest. We follow the movement developing in Peru with keen interest, which is all the greater because the reactionary press, the oligarchy and imperialism have been carrying on, by every means at their disposal, a fierce campaign against the Peruvian government, a reactionary campaign inciting subversion. As we have had a similar experience, we know the intentions and methods of imperialism very well.

We must say in all frankness that we take a very positive view of the statement of the government of Trinidad and Tobago courageously condemning the economic blockade of Cuba.

We also take a positive view of the Chilean government's move authorizing the export of certain food products to our country traditionally purchased in that country and stopped for years through imperialist blockade. We say frankly that we take a positive view of the move regardless of the public controversies and differences we have had with the Chilean government. We also hold that the government of that country has dissociated itself from battered arguments and declared against the blockade in a form which is not indecorous towards our country.

Surely the enemies of Cuba ought to realize that anti-Cuban

campaigns and votes no longer pay, or have become less profitable. We are making progress and no one can affirm that imperialism will be able to hold its ground on this continent in the coming years.

We are the pioneers of the socialist revolution on this continent. It is a great honor for us to have been able to defend it in very difficult conditions. We will never renounce it.

We have resisted with dignity and resolve. We are emerging victorious. It has been proved that there is no crushing or strangling us. As we are now really getting off to a start, beginning to go up, our country's rate of development will become tremendous in the next few years due to the means and resources which we have and which are being supplied to our country.

Thus the future belongs entirely to us. Imperialism can only expect crisis and defeat. As for the oligarchy, it will be faced with the phenomenon of the revolution haunting the world, especially this continent, like a spectre. Imperialism can no longer be sure of maintaining its interests on this continent.

These are the facts, these are the realities. They are very clear. We have spoken clearly to the whole world. The imperialists, too, say clearly what they are going to do, what they are planning. But we wanted to speak even more clearly. And we believe no occasion is more suitable than this magnificent day, this extraordinary date, the centenary of Lenin's birth.

Let us cheer for our part. Let us, first of all, salute the immortal Lenin!

May friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Cuba last for ever!

Patria o muerte!

We will win!



UNITE THE PARTY AROUND A PROGRAM*

APPEAL TO THE BRANCH ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY AND TO THE YOUTH

The Central Committee notes that there are factors injuring Communist unity in Venezuela. They include mistakes made in the last nine years, the accumulation of a number of ideological and political problems not clarified through criticism, self-criticism and ideological struggle, the persistence of problems of leadership at all levels due to the fact that no Party congress has been held since 1961, and the effect of differences in the international Communist movement.

The CC calls on all comrades in the Party and in the Communist Youth to take account of this reality and work to strengthen and safeguard our unity.

To strive for unity means taking an explicit stand on matters of principle and refusing to make concessions on them; it means adhering to a Marxist-Leninist program defining the goals of the working-class party, and socialism, and to Leninist organizational principles stipulating maintenance of the internal structure and the functioning of the Party, guaranteeing the existence of one leadership represented by Congress, and by the Central Committee between congresses, a common discipline binding on all Communists, leading and led alike, a policy based on proletarian internationalism properly appreciating the primary importance of the revolutionary strength of the world socialist system and fostering close relations with fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, as well as with other revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces active in various countries.

The fight for unity requires firmness in matters of theory and flexibility in relations between comrades, an understanding in historical and political terms of the problems facing the revolutionary movement in general and our Party in particular, and awareness of the repercussions of the revolutionary movement in Venezuela. This flexibility should be prompted by a class approach and proletarian humanism ruling out all petty-bourgeois softness towards the cadre and the rank and file of the revolutionary movement, towards their opinions and behaviour. It is necessary to have adequate recourse to criticism and self-criticism and show ideological

*Documents of the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Venezuela, February 16 - March 5, 1970.

firmness so as to overcome collective and individual mistakes and shape a correct policy preventing ideological division and uniting the Party and Communist Youth for its successful implementation.

The CC calls for resistance to every attempt at factionalism. We must combat them now and after Congress, must weed out gossip and slander, reject attempts at discrediting leaders, and thwart enemy intrigues, whether overt or covert, direct or indirect.

To safeguard Communist unity in Venezuela is indispensable if we are to fulfil our revolutionary duties, contribute our share to working-class, democratic and anti-imperialist unity, carry forward the struggle against the Caldera government and prominent representatives of the big bourgeoisie in the service of US imperialism, as well as against the secret designs implicit in the Copei-Democratic Action alliance, help the working class and other popular forces in the fight for their economic and political demands, and uphold democratic liberties and constitutional rights.

The CC calls on all Party members to redouble their efforts so as to rise to the tasks facing us as we prepare for the Fourth Congress and to persevere to this end in the campaign to recruit new Party members, first of all among the working people of town and country.

The Central Committee considers that the cause of unity is in the hands of every Venezuelan Communist, of all who have joined the party of the working class, the party of national liberation and socialism.

Forward, to Party unity, to the Fourth Party Congress!

ON THE INTERNAL DISCUSSION

1. This is an ideological and political discussion, free and extensive devoid of personal attitudes, and intended to evaluate Venezuelan reality in the light of Marxism-Leninism, get to the roots of every aspect of our internal situation by making proper use of criticism and find solutions meeting the interests of the Party and the Venezuelan revolution.

2. In this discussion the whole Party, its every echelon, should employ genuinely Communist, fraternal, proletarian methods, such as are current among comrades-in-arms, methods ruling out subjectivism and whatever else tends to hamper the progress we urgently need if the CPV is to play its historic role in leading the struggles of the workers and people as the revolutionary process in our country goes on.

3. The discussion is not an end in itself. It is a means of uniting and strengthening the Party, of bringing about the triumph of our

ideology and defeating conceptions contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

4. The Central Committee believes that the convening of our Fourth Congress affords us the opportunity to formulate the Party's collective thought in an integral and creative manner. It therefore urges using the Congress preparations to this end so as to greet this important event with the best results we can achieve.

5. In view of the foregoing, we must reject every attempt at ideological coercion likely to restrict freedom of opinion within the framework of the principles of democratic centralism respecting the rights of every member of the Party.

6. It is obvious that we are faced with a grim battle of ideological and political opinions, and with emergent contradictions that, being normal, should not become antagonisms imperilling Party unity or principles.

7. This battle of opinions can be properly led only through an ample and healthy confrontation of ideas, with the collective opinion of the Fourth Congress determining the lines along which the Party must advance in the revolutionary process.

8. Hence the CC Plenum emphatically condemns rumors and gossip and the criticisms being voiced outside Party organizations or forums. We insist on the Leninist character of criticism and self-criticism as the best method of correcting our mistakes.

Plenum has made a critical and self-critical survey of all our activity. The CC urges the Party as a whole and each of its members to carry this process deeper as a tested method of clarifying the problems before us.

9. Plenum calls for adherence to the Rules, the internal law fully guaranteeing the exercise of their rights by Party members and safeguarding the Party's organizational structure. It calls for stricter adherence to discipline, which is equally binding on all and essential to removing some negative phenomena in Party life.

10. Plenum notes that the situation today differs from that in September 1969, when the Political Bureau published its document entitled "In Defense of Party Principles" to lead the discussion irrespective of the interpretations it might have called forth. It is evident that this document contains standards and procedures the Party must insist on because they determine the character of the Marxist-Leninist Party ours is. There may be objections to the document as regards the presentation of some problems, but its general objective was correct—it was to launch a more fruitful and effective discussion, one that would be more beneficial to our Party.

11. The Political Bureau used its statutory powers and did its duty, which must be conceded to it as a body that cannot be indifferent to developments in our organization. We also recognize

that it was lawful of some regional committees of the Party to express their opinions about it and about other problems of Party life, regardless of the objections that may be made to the manner of presenting some problems.

12. Plenum admits self-critically that one of the reasons for the distortion of the process of discussion was the lack of the draft Program and Rules, a summary of the recent past, the International Thesis and other basic materials.

Accordingly, these materials will be submitted to the Party at an early date as a product of the extensive and free discussion going on at this, the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee.

13. Plenum calls on the Party membership to realize that we are at a peculiar stage of our history. Owing to the present confrontation of ideas, failure to adhere strictly to correct Party methods, the prolongation of the interval between the Third and Fourth congresses and the complexity of the situation in the Venezuelan revolutionary movement, there exist inside the Party ideological divergences that may create situations endangering Party unity unless dealt with adequately.

In view of this, it is essential that all Party members should firmly uphold unity, adhering consistently to the Rules and methods of the Party.

14. We must understand that ours is a party using Leninist methods of leadership and discussion, which means that we must discuss within definite bounds and carry out the majority decision as expressing the collective wisdom of our organization.

15. Ours is the party of the Venezuelan revolution, which imposes on us specific obligations towards the national and international revolutionary forces. This commits us in the ideological field, in work among the masses and in organizing activity.

16. Ours is an internationalist party, which imposes on us great duties towards the revolutionary working-class movement of the world and implies solidarity with and defense of the world socialist system and struggle against common enemies.

ON TEODORO PETKOFF'S BOOK ABOUT CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND SOCIALISM

I

Comrade Teodoro Petkoff's book, *Checo-slovaquia, el Socialismo como problema* (Czechoslovakia: Socialism As a Problem.—Ed.), expresses only his personal opinion. The concepts put forward in the book run counter to fundamental postulates regarding the building of socialism, the role of the Communist parties, proletarian inter-

nationalism and the international policy approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela. Hence the CC CPV expresses its disagreement with the contents of the book.

II

Accordingly, the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee calls on the Party to discuss and unite around issues basic to our international policy.

1. The CPV endorses the proposition that imperialism is powerless to regain its lost historical initiative and reverse the course of world development. The main trend of the evolution of mankind today is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class and all other revolutionary forces.

2. The world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle. All liberation struggles rely on the irreplaceable support of this system, above all on that of the Soviet Union. The Great October Socialist Revolution, the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II, the victory of the revolution in China and other countries of Europe and Asia, the founding of the first socialist state in America—the Republic of Cuba—the rise and development of the world socialist system created the prerequisites of hastening historical progress and opened up new prospects for socialism to advance and triumph all over the planet.

Socialism has shown mankind the perspective of its liberation from imperialism. The new social system, based on social ownership of the means of production and on working people's power, is capable of assuring planned economic development free from crises, in the interest of the people, of guaranteeing the social and political rights of the working people, of providing conditions for genuine democracy, for the real participation of the mass of the people in the management of public affairs, for the all-round development of the individual, for the equality of nations and friendship among them. Reality has shown that only socialism can solve the cardinal problems of mankind. The world socialist system's contribution to the common cause of the anti-imperialist forces is due, first of all, to growing economic power. The rapid growth of the socialist economy, which is progressing at a higher rate than in the capitalist countries, the advance positions it has won in various fields of scientific and technological progress, and the pioneering of space exploration by the Soviet Union are all concrete fruits of the creative effort of the peoples of the socialist countries accounting in large measure for the superiority of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism.

3. The world socialist system has entered a period of development in which full use can be made of the vast potentialities of the new system.

This conclusion is borne out by efforts in every socialist country to correct mistakes in building socialism and introduce modifications into the economy, the functioning of the state and the exercise of socialist democracy making it possible to use to the utmost the potential which the socialist system has revealed in practice and which will grow—provided shortcomings are removed—at an even higher rate in every sphere of national and international life.

Experience shows that socialist change and the building of a new society constitute a complex and long process not free from contradictions.

To the Communist Party of Venezuela, the rise and development of the socialist world are a component of the world-wide class struggle. The Party realizes that the enemies of socialism will not desist from their efforts to undermine the foundations of the political power of socialism, nullify the socialist changes brought about in society and re-establish their domination. To repulse these efforts with determination is an indispensable function of the socialist state supported by the masses led by the working class and its Communist vanguard.

4. To defend socialism is an internationalist duty of the Communists. Proletarian internationalism is one of the great revolutionary forces of our time. In view of the powerful presence of the world socialist system with the Soviet Union at its head and the growing working-class and national liberation movement, the importance and force of proletarian internationalism have increased, so much so that any people, however weak economically, politically or militarily, can defeat its enemies, consolidate its power and rebuild society on new foundations given internal unity.

The CPV is a component of this vast national movement for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and communism.

The CPV educates its members in the spirit of solidarity and support for the peoples building a new society or fighting for people's power.

The CPV is aware that every gain of every people in the struggle against its enemies adds strength to our struggles at home, just as every setback or defeat indirectly affects our national movement. To fight against imperialist domination and for socialism in isolation is inconceivable today. All the contingents operating within national boundaries and all the struggles being waged in each of our countries are closely interlinked. They are directed against a common enemy, imperialism, especially US imperialism, and have one common objective—national liberation and socialism.

The CPV is engaged in a class struggle at home and at the same time takes part in the world-wide class struggle between socialism and imperialism. This interrelation of our struggles must not be forgotten for a moment.

5. The CPV wants to and does maintain friendly relations with all Communist and Workers' parties and revolutionary movements operating in the world. It does its best to maintain these relations irrespective of the opinion it may have about a particular aspect of the policy of this or that party. In short, its policy is one of internationalism, fraternal friendship and independence closely linking the national interests of our Party and our people with the general interests of all other Communist parties, revolutionary movements and peoples of the world.

The CPV follows a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of any party. It considers that every party is autonomous in shaping its policy, deciding on its strategy and tactics and choosing its road to the revolution and its forms of struggle. In working out our own policy in autonomous fashion, we appreciate and critically assimilate the experiences of the other fraternal parties.

6. The CPV rejects every form of anti-Sovietism, for it considers that to weaken the revolutionary and socialist positions of the Soviet Union to any extent means weakening the world revolutionary movement in general and the movement in Venezuela in particular. There is no room for anti-Sovietism in the ranks of the Communist Party of Venezuela. Anti-Sovietism is a weapon used by the enemy against the socialist community, against the revolutionary movement.

The CPV must educate our people in the spirit of solidarity with the entire socialist camp, reject all anti-Soviet slander and show the role of the Soviet Union as a staunch friend of all the peoples fighting for their freedom. It must popularize the tremendous solidarity shown by the Communists and people of the Soviet Union to all the peoples having won their freedom and all the revolutionary movements of the world. It must acknowledge the invaluable assistance given by the CPSU to the CPV in difficult situations, such as we have gone through in recent years.

The CPV must maintain and foster its fraternal relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with Lenin's Party, the contingent which was the first to attack the stronghold of imperialism and to begin building a new, socialist society, which has shown mankind the way over the last five decades.

The Soviet Union is the most important material base of the world revolutionary movement. This conclusion cannot be marred by the mistakes made in building socialism and communism in the Soviet Union, nor by the critical stand that may be taken on certain

positions of the Soviet state and Party. Whenever possible, differences of this kind should be dealt with between party and party or inside our Party.

Without idealizing the Soviet Union, we must say that to defend its patrimony today is an internationalist duty that can at no moment be disregarded or neglected.

7. The 15th Plenum of the Central Committee endorses the resolution of the 10th Plenum (August 1968) on the events in Czechoslovakia.

The CPV appreciated then, and appreciates now, the reasons for which Warsaw Pact troops had to move into Czechoslovakia. Developments since then have reconfirmed the correctness of the CC CPV decision.

The 10th Plenum of the CC stated that within the framework of proletarian internationalism it is perfectly justifiable for other socialist countries to extend military, political and economic aid to any socialist country threatened by an imperialist conspiracy. It welcomed the decision of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria not to allow the US warmongers and their allies—other capitalist countries—to sever any country from the socialist world.

III

The 15th Plenum of the CC calls for continued discussion of the most burning problems of the international Communist and working-class movement, the world-wide class struggle going on between socialism and imperialism and its repercussions in our country.

With this object in view, it endorses the decision of the 14th Plenum of the CC approving the resolutions of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (Moscow 1969) and submitting them to the whole Party for consideration.

The Central Committee urges Comrade Teodoro Petkoff to take a public stand against the provocative use being made of his book by prominent enemy agents and by anti-Communists and anti-Sovietists of every brand.



PANORAMA

ANNUAL MEETINGS IN BRANCH ORGANIZATIONS OF THE CPSU

General meetings play an increasingly important role in branch organizations of the CPSU.

Recently the CC CPSU adopted a decision on the experience of Party meetings in the Yaroslavl City Party organization. It stresses that "each meeting should constitute an important event in the life of the organization and benefit its work (*Partiinaya Zhizn*, No. 22, 1969, p. 5). The CC CPSU calls the Party's attention to the need to prepare carefully for Party meetings and see to it that they are held in organized fashion and in an atmosphere of free and earnest discussion and exchange of views, of a principled and mutually exciting approach to issues.

The branch organizations of the CPSU have already held their annual meetings, according to *Partiinaya Zhizn*, journal of the CC CPSU (March 1970). About 363,000 annual meetings and conferences were held. There were no annual meetings in 3,500 organizations because the powers of their elected bodies have not expired.

Over 12.2 million full and candidate members of the Party, or 89.2 per cent of the membership registered in the organizations concerned, attended the meetings and conferences held. Attendance in numerous Party organizations was 100 per cent and altogether 3.1 million people, or one in four participants, spoke in the debate.

The high organizational and ideological standard of the meetings and conferences was due in decisive measure to the fact that they were held on the eve of the Lenin centenary. The meetings helped further to rally the Communists and all working people to mark the Lenin centenary with new achievements in building communism. Their character and contents were greatly influenced by the December 1969 plenum of the CC CPSU. The organizing and political work of Party organizations and their leading committees were examined and estimated from the standpoint of how well they had been ensuring the fulfilment of economic and political tasks.

The Central Committees of the Communist parties of the Union republics and territorial and regional committees of the CPSU reported that the debate was generally meaningful, specific and business-like. Most of the reports and speeches in the debate were characterized by a principled approach, specific criticism, an un-

compromising stand on shortcomings and an exacting attitude to people.

Workers and collective farmers took a most active part in the debate. In some Party organizations they made up about two-thirds of the speakers. This added considerably to the fruitfulness of the meetings.

The meetings and conferences concentrated on problems of economic plans, pre-centenary socialist commitments and fulfilment of the eighth five-year plan. In examining the experience of Party guidance of economic activity, Communists showed a deep understanding of economic problems. They emphasized the need to raise the efficiency of social production, improve performance and management in the new conditions, make fuller use of resources and eliminate lags.

Communists active in industry, building and transport pointed out that stepping up scientific and technological progress was decisive to increasing the efficiency of social production. They spoke at length of progress in introducing the achievements of science and technology into production, in mastering progressive technologies, in manufacturing new machinery and up-to-date plant. They showed an exacting attitude to the manner in which these problems are dealt with by Party committees, managerial personnel and experts.

Much attention was given at the meetings and conferences to the search for ways of increasing output, improving quality and raising the growth rate of labor productivity.

The state of organizing and Party work was carefully examined. Attention focussed on the need to further inner-Party democracy, tighten discipline and put higher demands to Communists with regard to fulfilment of their statutory duties. Discussion proceeded in the spirit of the demands put forward in the CC CPSU decision on the experience of the Yaroslavl City Party organization.

In analyzing forms and methods of organizing work, Communists suggested improvements in the work of Party organizations and their elected bodies. They pointed out that more and more Party organizations were basing their work on long-range plans. In Uzbekistan 1,000 branch organizations worked according to long-range plans in 1968, and in 1969 their number rose to 5,500. Speakers voiced their approval of the method of hearing reports by Party members and candidates, on fulfilment of their statutory duties.

Work to improve the structure of Party organizations was carried forward in the period under review. As many as 7,709 branch organizations, 15,107 shop organizations and about 19,000 Party groups were formed during the past year. Speakers stressed the

need to insist on greater efficiency in the work of shop organizations and Party groups.

Considerable attention was devoted to ideological work. Rapporteurs and other speakers pointed out that wide discussion of the results of the June 1969 meeting of the CC CPSU and the Moscow Meeting of the parties, as well as study of the latter's documents had benefitted the ideological activity of Party organizations.

The election of secretaries of branch organizations, Party committees and bureaus proceeded in an organized manner everywhere. About 1.5 million Communists were elected to leading bodies, including about 236,000 workers and over 180,000 collective farmers. Compared with last year, the proportion of worker members of Party bureaus and committees went up by almost 26,000 and that of collective farmers, by 14,000.

The proportion of Party organization secretaries replaced as a result of elections did not exceed one-third. The educational standard of secretaries showed a considerable improvement: 87 per cent of them have received a higher or secondary education. Women secretaries make up 29.3 per cent.

Speakers at the meetings and conferences were highly exacting in evaluating the activity of Party bodies. In 241 Party organizations the work of Party committees, bureaus and secretaries was rated as unsatisfactory and 563 secretaries failed to win re-election.

ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTIES

INNER-PARTY LIFE

IRAQ

April 21. The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party sent a memorandum to the President of the Republic and members of the Pan-Arab and national leadership of the Baath Socialist Party, which reads in part:

You know the extent of the participation of our Party in the exposure of the imperialist and reactionary conspiracies and its numerous positions of support, on the internal and international front, to the Iraqi Government. Our principal objective in all this was the consolidation of the anti-imperialist policy followed by the government in the face of the imperialist pressure and the maneuvers of the reactionaries, the defense of the interests of our fatherland and people and, consequently, to allow the Iraqi Army to concentrate on its honorable and difficult task of consolidating the Eastern front against the Israeli aggression and the formation of the Arab liberation struggle against imperialism and zionism.

Following the announcement on the eve of 11th March 1970 of the peaceful settlement of the Kurdish problem, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party has promptly sent a telegram of support to the President of the Republic expressing the readiness of the Party to do its utmost and participate in the implementation of this settlement which has been reached between the Iraqi Government and the Kurdish Leadership, in spite of the fact that the government has ignored the role of our Party and other patriotic parties outside the government in achieving this success.

We are obliged to place before you with full responsibility and gravity a number of outstanding facts which cannot be overlooked and whose results and complexity harm the interests of our people and our national revolutionary movement. (The memorandum lists the following facts: dispersal of the ICP demonstration in Baghdad on March 21, and demonstrations in numerous towns of the Middle Euphrates region under Communist slogans on March 11; mass arrests of Communists and Communist Party functionaries; assassination of Mohammed Ahmed Al-Khirthry, an outstanding Communist patriot, member of the Baghdad regional Committee of the Communist Party; creation of a special organ under the name of

intelligence and security belonging to the Baath Party, which was set free to terrorize, kidnap and torture people without fear of punishment or the law.)

The creation of an atmosphere of disquiet and fear among the people could not serve the interests of the Baath Party nor the government it is leading. On the contrary, it harms it to a great extent and puts into disrepute its position among the people and world opinion.

The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, in the name of justice, right and the Bill of Human Rights, and in the name of the defense of the rights and liberties of the people and the cause of unity of the national forces, demands:

1. An immediate end to the acts of terror, torture, and assassination committed against the Communists and all patriots regardless of their political convictions, and the release of all detainees.

2. The carrying out of a just investigation, with the participation of representatives of patriotic parties and the Union of Lawyers and neutral and uncorrupt investigators, of the incidents of terror, torture, murder under torture in the "palace of the end," and assassinations, in order to reveal the criminals and murderers and put them before the courts in order to impose strict punishment.

3. The disbandment of the special organs of terror and the closure of the "palace of the end." The institution of the rule of law and the organs belonging to the legal authorities and adherence to it. The ending of persecution and unauthorized detention and the cleansing of the security and intelligence organs of former criminals who have participated in the torture of citizens and their murder.

4. The prevention of military intelligence from using police terror against the patriotic parties and the masses and the restriction of the armed military forces and their consolidation in order to guarantee their strong participation in the fight for the liberation of the Arab territories from the Zionist occupiers.

GREECE

Mid-April. The 14th Plenary Meeting of the CC CP of Greece discussed the following items:

CC theses for the Ninth Party Congress,* problems of the struggle against the dictatorship and CPG participation in Lenin centenary events.

Kostas Koliyannis, CC First Secretary, reported on the theses.

The meeting examined the Party's activity since the Eighth Con-

*For details, see *Information Bulletin*, No. 11, 1970. Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague.

gress in what had been a difficult period for the progressive democratic movement and the Party.

The reactionary oligarchy and its foreign patrons could not put down the popular movement through the royal coup on July 15, 1965, nor could it go on ruling by the old methods. The result was the military fascist coup on April 21, 1967 and the seizure of power by a military fascist junta set on crushing the democratic movement and preventing the democratization of social and political life in the country. However, the junta could neither subdue the people, break out of isolation, nor consolidate its regime. Popular opposition to its dictatorship is universal. The opposition of political groups, for its part, is almost completed and is developing into active resistance. The junta is finding itself in growing isolation from democratic world opinion.

The difficulties experienced by the movement, reaction to the enemy's ideological pressure, and objective weaknesses led Right-wing revisionist elements to mount the open attack on the CPG and its policy they had long been preparing for. These elements ended by forming a Right-opportunist group which has since been engaged in factional, divisive activity.

The Central Committee, leading Communists and the rank and file foiled the group's attempt to seize leadership of the Party and delivered it a crippling blow at the 12th plenum. Ever since the Eight Congress the CC, its Political Bureau and all Communists have been working in line with Congress decisions. There were shortcomings and mistakes in carrying out these decisions. The 14th Plenum made a critical and self-critical survey of the Party's activity. It pointed to the leadership's shortcomings and mistakes in political and organizing work and analyzed the reasons why the Party had found itself unprepared to resist the military fascist coup.

Plenum sent a message of greetings to the political prisoners held in Greek jails and concentration camps and to the resistance fighters against the junta. It also sent a message of friendship to the people of Cyprus.

BRITAIN

April 23. The Communist Party of Great Britain submitted to the Commission Constitution on the proposals for a democratic reform of government providing for greater political rights and better social and economic conditions for the people and curbs on the activity of national and international monopolies, which are encroaching more and more on the workers' vital rights. The interests of the British people make it necessary, the CPGB points out, to give the working people a greater say in government, raise their

living standard, provide adequate funds for social, economic and cultural purposes, curb monopoly activity and monopoly control of land and Wales, with the working people widely represented in the press, radio and television.

The CPGB stresses the need to set up local parliaments in Scotland. A program should be immediately enacted in Northern Ireland providing more jobs and homes, and improved educational and social services.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

April 25. A resolution of the Political Bureau, Working People's Party of Vietnam entitled "Movement to Raise the Standards of Party Members and Admit New Members under the Ho Chi Minh Enrolment" was published in the Hanoi press. It reads in part as follows:

"Acting on President Ho Chi Minh's testament and with a view to raising the Party's militancy, fostering solidarity and unity of views in the Party and strengthening the links between the Party and the masses so as to guarantee the invariable purity, staunchness and strength of the Party in leading our people in their successful resistance to U.S. aggression and in socialist construction, we must do all in our power to raise the standards of Communists and ensure that all Party functionaries and members meet established standards and are fit for their role of foremost fighters of the revolution in our country.

"The whole Party should realize that the problems of Party building are the main task, a task of decisive importance to the complete success of the revolution. To demonstrate our resolve to act on President Ho Chi Minh's testament and commemorate the 40th anniversary of our Party with deeds, the Political Bureau resolves to launch in the near future a movement to heighten the standards of Communists and set out to admit new members under the Ho Chi Minh Enrolment."

ARGENTINA

April 27. The Executive Committee of the CP of Argentina released a statement warning against the danger of coups and counter-coups to reshuffle the government and rescue its anti-national and anti-popular policy. The statement describes this danger as real in view of the manifestly unstable political situation in the country.

BULGARIA

Sofia, April 27-28. The CC BCP discussed problems of agricultural

concentration and progress on industrial lines. Todor Zhivkov, CC First Secretary, presented the main report.

The resolution passed by the meeting stresses the need of the early adoption of industrial methods in agriculture, which will help gradually to transform agricultural production into a variety of industrial production.

Setting up agrarian-industrial complexes uniting several farms on the branch principle was recommended as the most advisable form of agricultural concentration.

With regard to managing agriculture, the CC considered it necessary to introduce the principles of modelling, using several variants, forecasting, and specifying on a scientific basis growth rates, proportions and the links of agriculture with other economic branches and the world market.

Concentration and specialization of agriculture and the food industry should be used as a means of greatly raising labor productivity, cutting costs and increasing competitive capacity.

FRG

Duesseldorf, *April 29*. The German Communist Party was reported by the Party Presidium to have admitted 3,200 new members, mostly young workers and office employees, since October 1969.

The militancy of the Party and the growing support it enjoys also express themselves in the growing number of Party branches in industry and of factory newspapers published by the Party in various industrial centres.

SOVIET UNION

April 29. Delegations of the CPSU and CP of Spain met for discussion.

The CPSU was represented by Mikhail Suslov and Andrei Kirilenko, members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the CC CPSU, and Boris Ponomaryov, secretary of the CC CPSU.

The Communist Party of Spain was represented by Dolores Ibaruri, Party Chairman, Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary, I. Gallego, member of the Executive Committee and Secretariat of the CC, and J. Gomez, M. Perez and A. Lorenzo, members of the Executive Committee, who had attended the Lenin centenary festivities in Moscow.

The meeting was also attended by Vadim Zagladin, Deputy Head, International Department, CC CPSU.

The participants exchanged views on the international situation and world politics, the situation in the Communist and working-class movement and other matters of common interest.

The two delegations noted with deep satisfaction that the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, celebrated on a truly world scale, had demonstrated the great force and vitality of Leninism and had helped in mobilizing the working class and other working people and the democratic forces, in intensifying the ideological, political and organizing work of Marxist-Leninist parties among the masses, reinforcing their ranks and increasing their prestige and influence.

The CPS delegation identifies itself with the program for building Communist society being carried out in the Soviet Union. It appreciates the progress made by the CPSU and the Soviet people in this field and supports the Soviet Union's policy of peace and assistance to the peoples fighting for their liberation.

The delegates of the CPSU stated the Soviet Communists and all Soviet people identified themselves with the struggle of the Communist Party of Spain for the interests of the working class and other working people and with the effort to achieve unity of the progressive and democratic forces of Spain, needed for establishing a democratic system in the country that would make it possible to fight on for socialism.

The two delegations hold that the situation in the world as a whole is characterized by the further advance of the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation, a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and a sharpening of its contradictions.

The more aggressive imperialist circles do not give up attempts to change the alignment of world forces in their favor and to prevent the progress of the world revolutionary process in an effort to weaken the positions of socialism and the working-class, Communist and national liberation movement throughout the world. In these circumstances it is more important than ever to promote the cohesion and cooperation of the socialist countries, Communist and Workers' parties and other anti-imperialist forces, to defend and extend the positions of socialism.

The two parties reaffirmed their solidarity with the courageous fight of the Vietnamese people and their resolute advocacy of the United States and its allies stopping their aggression in Vietnam and immediately and unconditionally withdrawing their troops from that country and other countries of Indochina.

The two parties are seriously concerned about the situation in the Middle East, which has deteriorated due to the provocative moves of the Israeli rulers backed by the aggressive forces of imperialism. They identify themselves with the Arab peoples fighting against the Israeli aggression and declare for unqualified execution of the UN Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, and first of all for the withdrawal of the aggressor's troops from the

occupied Arab areas and for elimination of the effects of the Israeli aggression.

There was also an exchange of views on problems of European security. The two parties stressed the need for them and for all peace forces to step up their joint struggle against militarist and revanchist policy, against the enclaves of fascism in Spain, Portugal and Greece, for the inviolability of postwar frontiers in Europe and for recognition of the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign and equal state. It was recognized as an important aspect of European security to dismantle U.S. military bases in European countries, Spain included, establish a denuclearized zone in the Mediterranean area and end the division of Europe into military blocs.

The two delegations stressed the importance of the results of the 1969 Meeting of the parties. They are convinced that world Communist unity should be achieved on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which are at the basis of the documents of the Meeting, and on respect for the autonomy of the Communist and Workers' parties, by fighting without compromise against imperialist ideology and all manifestations of opportunism.

The delegations of the CPSU and CPS expressed the desire of the Central Committees of their parties to strengthen and further friendly relations and cooperation between them on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of frankness, mutual respect and comradeship.

FRG

Early May. Max Reimann, First Secretary of the CC, CP of Germany, called on the working class, youth and all progressives of West Germany to fight actively for an end to the ban on the CPG.

He demanded recognition of the GDR by the FRG under international law, saying that it was "the decisive prerequisite of safeguarding peace in Europe."

COLOMBIA

May 1. Gilberto Vieira, CC General Secretary, CP of Colombia, sent the President of Colombia a message insisting that he intervene and call a halt to arrests among Colombian citizens.

SYRIA

Damascus, May 5. The hunger strike of 10,000 Arab prisoners

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from the occupied Arab areas, called in protest against inhuman treatment by the Israeli authorities, entered its sixth day here. The Syrian Communist Party released a statement in which it identifies itself with the prisoners and emphatically condemns the Israeli authorities for their policy of destroying the Arab citizens of the occupied areas.

FRANCE

Courneuve, May 6. A meeting of the secretaries of department organizations of the FCP discussed problems of the French Communist press. Etienne Fajon, member of the Party's Political Bureau and Political Director of *Humanité* was the main speaker.

The meeting was in the nature of a seminar whose suggestions will be submitted to the Political Bureau and Central Committee.

CHILE

Santiago, May 7-9. The CC CP of Chile held a plenary meeting attended by Communist Senators and Deputies and by leaders of regional Party organizations.

The main report, dealing with the political situation at home and the Communists' tasks in connection with the presidential elections set for September 4, was presented by Luis Corvalan, CC General Secretary. Analyzing the progress of the election campaign, he said the Party was firmly convinced that their popular unity candidate could win. Only a government of Left-wing parties having a program for popular unity could end the nation's economic backwardness and free it from the influence of foreign capital. However, the parties of the Left forming the popular unity alignment entertained no illusions. They did not expect victory to be easy because the Right would push for power at all costs, to the point of carrying out a military coup. This made patriotic unity more indispensable than ever if reaction was to be countered and all attempts of the Right to prevent the masses from coming to power defeated.

ITALY

May 8. As of May 5, Party cards had been issued to 1,405,909 members of the Communist Party, of whom 84,137 have joined the Party for the first time and 1,700, now in temporary emigration, have reaffirmed their loyalty to the Party. (*Unita*)

POLAND

May 8. A meeting of provincial Party committees secretaries for economic matters chaired by Boleslaw Jasczuk, member of the

Political Bureau and secretary of the CC PUWP, discussed amendments to the system of material incentives in industry.

FRANCE

May 11. *Humanité* confirmed the expulsion of Roger Garaudy from the FCP with reference to a statement of the Party branch in which he had been registered.

DENMARK

May 11. The CC Executive Committee, CP of Denmark, published in *Land og Folk* a statement bearing on the new economic policy. In spite of growing production and the high level of employment, Denmark was experiencing serious economic difficulties. To overcome them, the Communist Party proposed a new policy, first of all regulating imports, controlling investments, modifying the tax system, ending hard currency expenditures for military purposes, revising the policy of foreign trade, discontinuing expensive building projects and guaranteeing employment.

FRANCE

May 12. The FCP was joined by 25,000 people from the beginning of the exchange of Party cards to mid-April. Five hundred new branch organizations were set up in April, including 273 in enterprises, 169 in residential neighborhoods and 58 in the countryside. (*Humanité*)

JAPAN

The 13th Plenum of the CC CPJ opened in Tokyo on May 12. It sat for several days and discussed preparations for the 11th Party Congress. S. Nosaka, CC Chairman, made the opening speech and K. Miyamoto, CC General Secretary, presented the report on the draft resolutions of Congress.

FINLAND

May 13. *Kansan Uutiset* published a statement by the Political Bureau of the CC, CPF, regarding the formation of a new government.

The Political Bureau declared for a government that would not "endanger achievements of national importance resulting from the country's policy of peace and the progress of Finnish-Soviet relations." A government of the Right "would be a blow to important interests of the working class and other working people."

The Political Bureau called on the mass organizations of the working people to join efforts in resisting attempts of the Right to reverse political life in the country.

Bilateral Meetings

ITALY

April 12-22. A delegation of the Korean Party of Labour led by Kim Don Gyu, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the CC, stayed in Italy at the invitation of the CC ICP. The joint communique says that "during its stay in Italy the KPL delegation met with Luigi Longo and Enrico Berlinguer and visited Sicily and Emilia-Romagna, where it met with local Party organizations. It had a warm and fraternal welcome everywhere . . . The KPL delegation had official meetings with the ICP delegation that proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. The KPL delegation spoke highly of the struggle of the Italian Communists and working class against the imperialist policy of aggression, for a policy of peace and support for the peoples fighting for their independence, against oppression and exploitation, for democracy and socialism."

April 23. Luigi Longo, ICP General Secretary, received a delegation of the CPSU led by A. Rumyantsev, member of the CC CPSU, visiting Italy on the occasion of the Lenin centenary.

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

April 25. A Party and government delegation of Cuba led by Raul Castro Ruz, member of the Political Bureau and second secretary of the CC, CP of Cuba, stayed in the MPR at the invitation of the CC MPRP and Council of Ministers of the MPR.

The delegation had official conversations with Party leaders and statesmen of the MPR.

HUNGARY

April 26-May 8. A delegation of the African National Union of Tanganyika led by J. Kaaya, member of the Executive Committee, was on visit to Hungary at the invitation of the CC HSWP.

The delegation was received by Zoltan Komocsin, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC HSWP, and Arpad Pullai, secretary of the CC. The two delegations had a friendly exchange of views on party activity, the experience of building socialism and the fight against imperialism.

SWITZERLAND

Lausanne, April 25-26. A delegation of the Swiss Party of Labour comprising the Party's leading committee and a FCP delegation led by Francois Billoux, member of the Political Bureau, met for discussion. The communique on the talks published in *Voie Ouvriere* says that views were exchanged on problems of home and foreign policy. The two parties stressed their desire to foster cooperation so as to achieve the fundamental objectives of the anti-imperialist struggle specified by the 1969 Meeting of the parties.

They declared for their countries attending the European conference on collective security and cooperation, and for support of any public initiative to bring it about. They sought ratification of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty by their countries, the simultaneous dissolution of military blocs, and insisted in the integrity of the frontiers existing in Europe and recognition of the GDR.

The two parties resolved to intensify their active cooperation and strengthen their fraternal bonds on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

SOVIET UNION

April 28. Boris Ponomarev, secretary of the CC CPSU, met with Dara Tawfiq, prominent leader of the Kurdish national democratic movement who had attended the Lenin centenary festivities.

April 29. Leonid Brezhnev met with O. Dorticos Torrado, member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the CC, CP of Cuba, President of the Republic of Cuba, who had taken part in the Lenin centenary celebrations.

The meeting was attended by Konstantin Katushev, secretary of the CC CPSU.

Comrade O. Dorticos told about important problems of Cuban home and foreign policy and the great efforts of the Communist Party, the Revolutionary Government and all Cubans towards carrying out economic development plans. He pointed out that in building socialism the Communists of Cuba attached primary importance to Marxist-Leninist theory, to Lenin's teachings.

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev told about social and economic progress in the Soviet Union, the tasks being carried out by foreign policy. He voiced satisfaction at the scale of the Lenin centenary festivities in Cuba and wished Cuban friends the best of success in fulfilling the country's tasks—building a new society and consolidating the gains of the Cuban Revolution.

Steps were discussed to extend and strengthen friendship and cooperation between the two parties and countries.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

May 5-7. A Soviet Party and government delegation visited Prague at the invitation of the CC CPC, the President of the Republic and the Czechoslovak government. It was led by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and its members were Alexei Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the USSR, Pyotr Shelest, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, First Secretary of the CC, CP of the Ukraine, Pyotr Masherov, alternate member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, First Secretary of the CC, CP of Belorussia, Konstantin Katushev, secretary of the CC CPSU, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, member of the CC CPSU, and Stepan Chervonenko, Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

Soviet-Czechoslovak negotiations resulted in signing the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

The Soviet delegation took part in the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army.

ITALY

Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary, Communist Party of Spain, who arrived in Italy on May 5, met with Luigi Longo. In Turin S. Carrillo took part in a meeting of representatives of the Italian Communist Party, Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, Socialist Party, General Confederation of Labour, National Association of Italian Partisans, Italian Confederation of Working People's Trade Unions and Christian Association of Italian Working People. He spoke in detail about the situation in Spain and the Spanish people's fight against the Franco dictatorship. (*Unita*)

BULGARIA

May 8. Boris Velchev, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC BCP, and Aziz Muhammed, First Secretary of the CC, Iraqi CP, met to discuss, in particular, problems of cooperation between the two brother parties.

KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

May 8. A delegation of the Korean Party of Labour stayed in Norway from April 28 to May 5 at the invitation of the CC CPN. The two parties had talks in which they informed each other of the situation in their respective countries and the activity of their parties. They exchanged views on steps to promote friendship and cooperation between the two parties and on other matters of common interest.

SOVIET UNION

May 8. Leonid Brezhnev and Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC, Working People's Party of Vietnam had a meeting.

During the meeting, which proceeded in a spirit of brotherhood and cordiality, views were exchanged on the problems arising from the intensifying aggression of U.S. imperialism against the peoples of Indochina. The participants also discussed measures to promote friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

K. Rusakov, head of department of the CC CPSU, took part in the conversations.

May 12. Leonid Brezhnev had a meeting with R. Castro-Ruz, member of the Political Bureau and Second Secretary of the CC, CP of Cuba, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba.

L. Brezhnev and R. Castro stated their considerations about furthering Soviet-Cuban relations, strengthening the bond of friendship between the CPSU and the CP of Cuba in the interests of both peoples and fostering the unity and cohesion of the socialist commonwealth and all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. They exchanged views on the international situation in the light of growing imperialist aggression in various parts of the globe.

May 15. Party and government delegates of the USSR and GDR held top-level talks in Moscow. The Soviet side was represented by Leonid Brezhnev, Nikolai Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, President of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Alexei Kosygin, member of the Political Bureau, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Konstantin Katushev, secretary of CC CPSU, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, member of the CC CPSU, and Soviet Ambassador to the GDR P. Abrasimov, member of the CC CPSU. The delegates of the GDR were Walter Ulbricht, Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau, CC SUPG, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Erich Honecker, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC SUPG, Foreign Minister Otto Winzer, member, CC SUPG, and H. Bittner, Ambassador of the GDR to the USSR.

There was an exchange of views on steps to extend all-round cooperation between the two states and on international problems, including that of European security.

The talks revealed complete unity of views and estimations on all the problems discussed. The participants expressed their resolve to go on working for close friendship and cooperation between the

two states and peoples, for greater cohesion of the socialist community on Marxist-Leninist principles and close interaction of the Soviet Union, GDR and other fraternal countries on the international scene to safeguard European and world peace.

International Meetings and Conferences

FINLAND

Helsinki, May 13-14. The Communist parties of Northern countries met to exchange information to the situation in their countries and the tasks of their parties. They also discussed international questions and the problem of economic integration in Europe.

The meeting was attended by Communist Party leaders of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland.

FRANCE

Paris, May 15. The Communist parties of European capitalist countries conferred here. Conference was attended by representatives of the Communist Party of Germany, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, the Communist parties of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, Finland, French Communist Party, Communist parties of Great Britain Greece, Ireland, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg Portuguese Communist Party, San Marino Communist Party, Left Party — Communists of Sweden and Swiss Party of Labor.

Conference found it urgent to take measures in view of the new and dangerous complication of the situation in Indochina and discussed the possibilities of coordinated action. It resolved:

- to increase political, moral and material support for the peoples of Indochina fighting courageously against U.S. imperialist aggression;

- to demand the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and the rest of Indochina;

- to increase mass pressure on the governments of the countries concerned to make them condemn U.S. aggression.

Conference adopted an appeal for vigilance to the peoples of the capitalist countries of Europe. U.S. imperialism, the appeal says, is extending its war of aggression in Cambodia and throughout Indochina, increasing the scale of destruction, killing and suffering, and dangerously complicating the international situation.

The appeal firmly condemns the moves of the U.S. government and its claim to the role of world policeman.

"In Cambodia as in Vietnam," the appeal states, "U.S. attempts to make up for losses sustained to date by extending the war are

doomed to failure. The winner will be the peoples united in common struggle and supported by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, by the working class and the forces of peace and liberation."

The war must be ended immediately. This could be done by implementing the proposals put forward by the peoples of Indochina.

"At a time," it says in the appeal, "when imperialist aggressiveness is growing, endangering the freedom of the peoples and world peace, the Communist parties of European capitalist countries will work for closer unity of action of the world Communist movement, for they are convinced that joint action by all Communist and nam, National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, Patriotic Front Workers' parties will make for the effective unification of all anti-imperialist forces."

Conference sent a letter to the Working People's Party of Viet-of Laos and National United Front of Cambodia. The letter says that the Communist parties of European capitalist countries, by fulfilling their internationalist duty, are making an effective contribution to the fight against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism, at the new stage.

Conference decided to hold public meetings in the capitals and other big cities of European capitalist countries under the slogans "Stop imperialist aggression," "Americans,, get out of Indochina," "Independence for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia," "Peace for the world."

The letter expresses solidarity with and confidence in the final victory of the peoples of Indochina fighting for independence.

The Conference communique points out that the brother parties of Cyprus and Norway were unable to send delegates but signified their support of the idea of the meeting. The German Communist Party fully subscribed to Conference and expressed regret over its inability to attend. The Communist Party of the Netherlands was represented by an observer.

