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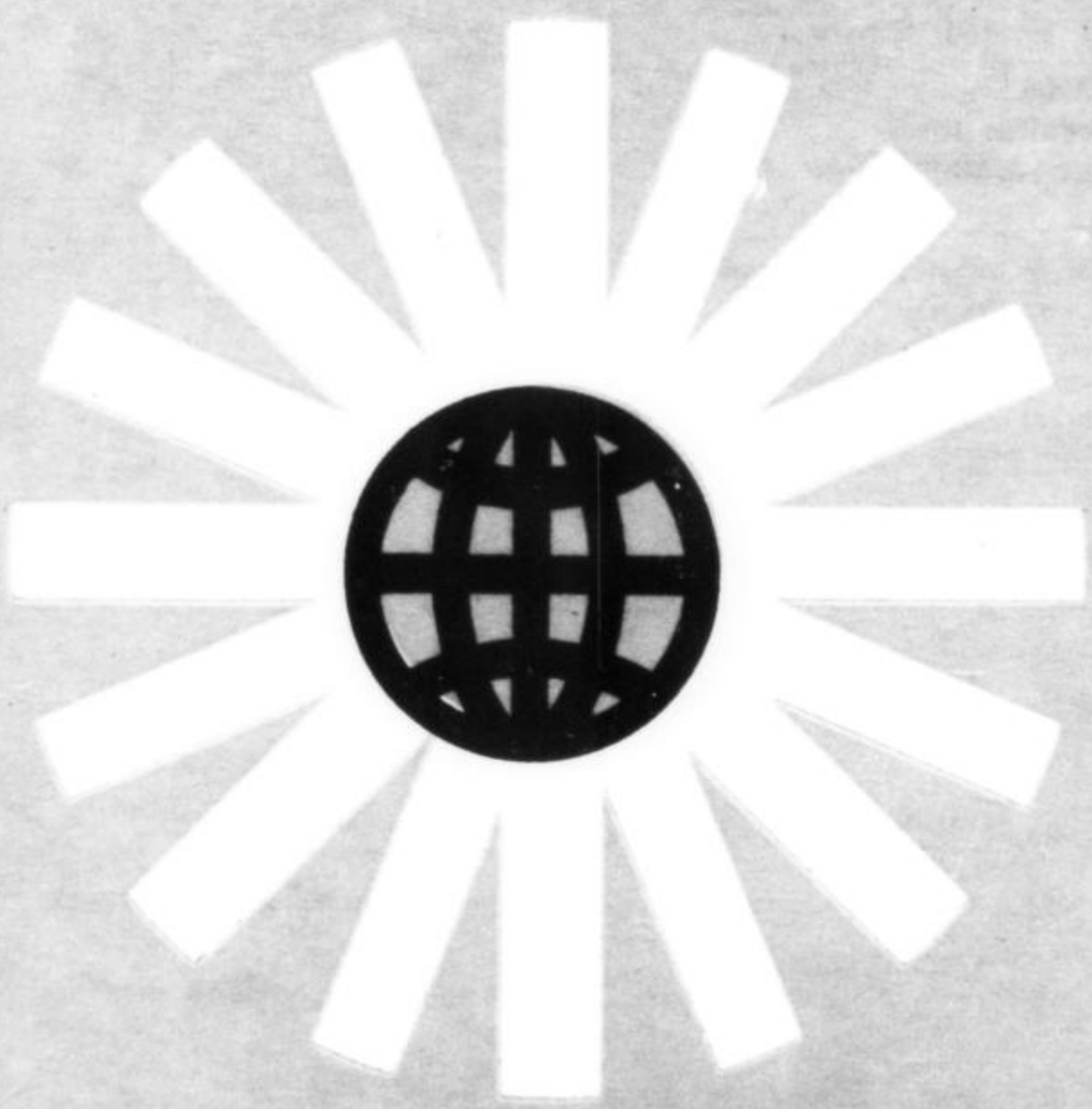

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contents

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THE GOAL IS FULLY TO BUILD SOCIALISM

THESES* OF THE CC HSWP FOR THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS

During the past four years the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has been promoting the full building of socialism in line with the decisions of the Ninth Congress. Its effort has been prompted by the desire to further the cause of the Hungarian working class and people, who are building socialism.

In putting Congress decisions into practice, the HSWP has been successfully applying the internationally valid theory of Marxism-Leninism in Hungarian conditions. With due regard to the interests of the working class and people, it devised methods of solving new problems as they arose in the course of building socialism. People's power has grown stronger, important economic and cultural achievements have been registered, the standard of life has gone up, the links between the Party and the masses have become closer and so has the unity of the Hungarian people.

The Congress being convened in the year of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary and the centenary of Lenin's birth can safely put on record that the Hungarian working class is fulfilling its historic mission. Under the leadership of the Party and in alliance with the peasants, intellectuals and other working people, the working class is successfully building socialism.

The Central Committee asks the Tenth Congress to approve the policy it has been following to date. It proposes that the social program of the Party and the people for the next four years should be to continue the complete building of socialism on a higher level.

The period since the Ninth Party Congress has been characterized, as in the past, by the struggle between the forces of progress and those of reaction, between socialism and imperialism. The world socialist system is the decisive force in the fight against imperialism.

The HSWP regarded it as its duty in a complicated and contradictory international situation, in the historic struggle between the forces of socialism and capitalism, to provide, through a principled internationalist policy, external conditions for creative socialist labor and at the same time to contribute to the growth of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. The central aspect of our international activity is to stimulate social progress and to help in removing the danger of a world war and in strengthening peace. The

*Pravda, August 25, 1970.

HSWP serves the particular national interests of the Hungarian People's Republic and the international interests of the world socialist system, of peace and progress.

Close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is the main principle of the foreign policy of the HPR.

Hungarian-Soviet friendship has made further progress during the past period. Political, economic and cultural relations with other socialist countries have expanded considerably. We seek unity and internationalist cooperation with all socialist countries, including those we differ with.

The Warsaw Treaty is a reliable instrument for safeguarding socialism and peace. Its power has become more effective due to improved cooperation between armies and better military organization. As a party to the Warsaw Treaty we take steps to build up our armed forces, which stand on guard for the country's independence, the people's freedom, peaceful constructive labor and socialist gains. We have contributed our share to the defense of the world socialist system, European security and world peace.

The Party will continue to see the main object of the foreign policy of the HPR in creating favorable international conditions for socialist creative labor and in safeguarding peace in close unity with its allies and the progressive forces of the world.

It is characteristic of the development of Hungarian society that the political and economic bonds linking the two laboring classes have become closer over the past period, with the result that the worker-peasant alliance has risen to a higher level and grown stronger.

The Party's policy on alliances builds up the nationwide unity of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, people with different world outlooks, Communists and non-Communists, believers and non-believers. It unites all who accept the general goal—building a socialist Hungary.

Now as in the past, social progress is largely due to the activity of the people's democratic state, embodiment of working-class power and effective instrument for building socialism. The state and the socialist democracy of the system afford ample guarantees of the exercise of their rights by the working people, of harmony between civil rights and civic duties. At present, one of the key tasks in fully building socialism is to foster the activity of the state and socialist democracy.

The economic policy objectives set by the Ninth Congress have been attained. The national income should increase by 39 or 40 per cent, or more than planned. Economic development has become more balanced and the growth rate in the decisive spheres of social production exceeds plan targets. Industrial production has gone up 34 per cent in five years, 55 per cent of the increase hav-

ing been rached through higher productivity. Agricultural production is up, despite the reduction of labor power, by 16 or 17 per cent, which means that it has been growing faster than in previous years.

The attainment of economic goals was substantially expedited by the economic management reform carried out by decision of the Ninth Congress. In accordance with the goals set, it raised the standard of socialist planned management, and its impact on economic activity as a whole is beneficial. We effectively use socialist commodity-money relations.

Active participation in the international division of labor and expanding foreign trade are important factors in the economic progress of the HPR. As well as rapidly increasing trade with CMEA countries, primarily with the Soviet Union, we must strive to bring out new possibilities for more extensive economic cooperation. In the period ahead the common interests of the CMEA countries, the national interest and more effective economic cooperation will best be served by the gradual promotion of socialist economic integration. Within the CMEA we want actively to promote the development and application of new and more effective forms of cooperation.

In the ideological and cultural field there is evidence, along with general progress, of a growing socialist consciousness and people's general and vocational competence, and of further advance of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

We do not regard Marxist-Leninist theory as a completed and closed system. The Party is obliged in equal measure to uphold the main principles of Marxism-Leninism and continuously to carry forward revolutionary theory. We vindicate our communist ideology and outlook in struggle against reactionary bourgeois views and their survivals. We must not allow the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, its main laws and views and its scientific method, which have all been tested in practice, to be called in question. We reject a pluralist Marxism—the view advocating the existence of trends in Marxism. At the same time we resist all attempts to treat Marxist-Leninist theory as dogma or to distort it on revisionist lines.

The working people's standard of living has continued to improve due to socialist creative labor. The real income of industrial, office and professional workers has increased by from 30 to 32 per cent on the average in five years. A 44-hour working week has been introduced in industry and building.

The Party's leading role has increased since the Ninth Congress. Principled political guidance has gradually gained prominence in its activity and the distinctive, independent tasks of Party, government, social and economic bodies have been delimited more clearly.

Ever since its Ninth Congress the HSWP has been carrying on its international activity according to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In celebrating the centenary of Lenin's birth, the world Communist movement and progressive mankind enhanced the power and impact of Lenin's ideas, which are growing all over the world, and strengthened the unity of the working-class movement and all progressive forces. There is no Communist or Workers' party whose history can be dissociated from Lenin's cause, from the formation of Leninism or the history of the CPSU. The supporters of socialism throughout the world give due credit to the CPSU and the Soviet people, who have made the greatest sacrifices and done more than anyone else to translate the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin into reality and foster progress.

The overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers' parties abide by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. On the other hand, various anti-Marxist trends have arisen in some contingents of the world Communist movement in late years. The Right-wing revisionist, opportunist, "Left"-wing sectarian and dogmatic deviations and the nationalist, anti-Soviet views and divisive trends that manifest themselves in some parties and even in some socialist countries are exploited by the international bourgeoisie.

Anti-Marxist, divisive tendencies make it difficult to unite the Communist and Workers' parties. They hamper the unity and struggle of the international working class and other anti-imperialist forces against imperialism. The supporters of socialism and progress will undoubtedly overcome difficulties and make fruitful efforts to strengthen the unity of the Communist and working-class movement and gain ground.

The HSWP seeks unity of action with all brother parties against the class enemy, imperialism, even despite possible political differences over principle.

The Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties was an event of historic significance. The HSWP fully subscribes to its decisions and works for their execution.

The Party advocates unity of the Communist movement and cooperation with brother parties on the basis of proletarian internationalism. It contributes to closer unity of anti-imperialist action with socialist and national democratic parties and national liberation movements.

In its every activity, the HSWP will continue to proceed from the fact that the interests of the Hungarian working class and people and the requirements of proletarian internationalism dovetail. It considers that it must fulfil its internationalist obligations primarily by upholding the ideological foundations of Marxism-Leninism and by applying the universally valid Marxist-Leninist

doctrine in Hungarian conditions. We teach Party members and the working people that only in unity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and with the international working class and progressive movements can we solve the domestic and international problems of today and tomorrow and fully build socialism.

SPEECH* BY FIDEL CASTRO

Today I am not going to make a commemorative speech proper. In other words, I am not going to list the gains and achievements of the Revolution. Today I will speak of our problems and difficulties and reverses rather than of our successes. I am going to present—in a nutshell if you will—the substance of our difficulties.

What we want above all is to inform the masses, so that they will understand and prepare for struggle. For our problems cannot be miraculously solved by anybody—whether individuals or teams. It is only the people who can work wonders in any field.

I will give you a few data by way of antecedents.

In 1958, eve of the triumph of the Revolution, Cuba had 6,547,000 inhabitants. This year the population is expected to come close to 8,256,000. In other words, our population has grown by 1,709,000. Of this extra number of inhabitants, 844,000 are children or teen-agers still below working age while 188,000 are, on the contrary, men and women past working age. As many as 1,032,000, or 60 per cent of the increase, have no share in production.

Discounting those who must be discounted because they study or are incapacitated physically or socially, the net increase in labor power in these twelve years has been 580,000 people. On the other hand, the labor requirements of the economy arising from new economic and social activities plus the replacement of people who have reached retirement age total 1,200,000 people.

By adding new labor power to the unemployed there were before the Revolution, we managed to meet in part—but only in part—this mounting demand for labor. Early in 1958 we had 686,000 unemployed. Many of them have jobs now while others are advanced in age and can no longer work.

This situation will not begin improving until the end of this decade, somewhere about 1980. It is estimated that between 1975 and 1980 the population will grow by 828,000, resulting in a net manpower increase of 535,000 people.

Let us see how some of the services have been growing due to this make-up of the population and to the elementary measures of justice that the Revolution had to take and that we thought indispensable.

There is, first of all, social security. A total of 379,842 people have been pensioned since the victory of the Revolution. In other words, their right to a pension was recognized and put into effect as the revolutionary process went on. Furthermore, pensions were raised to a

*Delivered on the 17th anniversary of the Moncada assault. Abridged from **Granma**, July 27, 1970.

monthly minimum of 60 pesos in the case of 198,260 people, many of whom had been getting less than 10 pesos per month. Public spending on social security had gone up from 114.7m. in 1958 to 320m. this year.

The health service in 1958 employed 8,209 people. In 1969 their number rose to 87,646. Public spending on health increased from 22.7m. pesos in 1958 to 236.1m. pesos in 1969.

In 1958 the nation's schools had 936,723 students. In 1969/70, they admitted 2,289,464 people, 1,560,193 of whom entered primary school. The number of scholarships has increased from 15,698 in 1958 to 277,505 now. Public spending on education was 77m. pesos in 1958 and 290.6m. pesos in 1969.

Public expenditures on social security, health and education have risen from 213.8m. pesos in 1958 to at least 850m. pesos this year. If we add defense expenditures to these, the total will approximate to 1,200m. pesos annually.

Under the Urban Reform Law, 268,089 families were granted free use of houses and rooms totalling 3,500m. pesos in value. In the same way, 100,000 peasant families who before the Revolution paid rent were granted a gratuitous title to the use of the lands held by them.

The increase in the number of pensions and the expansion of educational facilities, medical services and the services indispensable to the country's defense plus the saving on house and land rent raised to roughly 3,000m. pesos the cash and the sums in savings banks held by the population.

A price policy designed to make up for this imbalance—and this will help us, as well as those abroad who are interested in these matters, to understand the problems of rationing—would mean exacting enormous sacrifice from the lower income groups of the population. This would be the effect of a price policy designed to balance the total quantity of benefits and services not provided to the people gratuitously. Such a policy could be applied to luxury articles but never to the necessities. This is our opinion and I hope the people's as well.

Devaluation or a change of currency—a device used in the early years—is correct if applied to the bourgeoisie, but it would be impermissible if it were to affect the working people' savings. This is our opinion and we hope the people's as well. It is one of the complicated problems our economy has to solve.

Thus, for all these expenditures and efforts, there is still an immense need for more expenditures and efforts.

I don't think there is a single Cuban, a single revolutionary, who thinks this country should have faced, unarmed and inactive, the enormously powerful imperialist enemy we have 90 miles from our coast, an enemy who has not hesitated to use every means, all its arms, to destroy the Revolution. The vast majority of the people have learned to use arms because they realize that the standing force of men and officers would not be enough if it came to defending the

country against that enemy. This unavoidable task of the Revolution, too, necessitated the use of hundreds of thousands of men when the demand for manpower was at its highest on our fields, as at cane-cutting time. It is certain, however, that because our students in technological and secondary schools had to spend months cutting cane we will be so many months late in training the technologists we need so urgently. And because our servicemen had to lend a hand in cane-cutting for months on end we had to sacrifice their combat training against the emergency of war. Regrettably, we will have to do that again because of the level of our productive forces and our labor productivity.

These are realities imposed on us by the Revolution itself. However, I do not list them as an excuse or a pretext, or as the only cause of our problems. I simply present them as factors to be considered in evaluating the overall situation.

We have just fought a heroic battle. It may really be called a heroic battle and its heroes are present here. The hero was the people, who fought for 10 million tons by planting and harvesting. Practically 10 million tons of cane were cut, and it could have become a real 10 million tons given an adequate industry.

It was not only by fulfilling this task that the people showed heroism. They showed still greater heroism by committing themselves to cut all the cane to the last stem, even though they knew they could not reach the 10 million target.

Our sugar production increased notably. We produced over four million tons more than last year. This increase is a real record to beat as an increase—and this is not to say these quantities of sugar cannot be topped some day but that it's difficult to take leaps as big as that in sugar production. This is all the more so if account is taken, in speaking of population structure and labor requirements, of the fact that needs have grown both quantitatively and qualitatively. In fact, time was when hundreds of thousands of Cubans in our countryside had to work 15, 16 or 17 hours cutting and lifting cane by hand. They carted it away with oxen that had to be put in harness at daybreak. Only by working 15 or 16 hours a day could they cope with assignments.

We must not forget that at first we were merely a people in revolt. We were ardently revolutionary but as regards political and social problems we were really misled and indoctrinated by the imperialists' press and films and books and other information media.

We must not forget that and must say it, not in shame but in pride. For it shows what a people can do and reveals the potentialities of revolutions. We must say that early in 1959 the majority of our people were not even anti-imperialist and had no class consciousness. What they did have was a class instinct, which isn't the same.

It must be remembered that the early years were years of big poli-

tical and ideological battles between the capitalist and the socialist roads, between the bourgeois and the proletarian roads. And the very first task of the small revolutionary vanguard was to win over the masses.

There was no talk at the time about production—that was the capitalists' concern—or about figures or statistics or structures. We were thinking of the needs created by unemployment, exploitation and every manner of abuse and injustice.

We fought against the enemies of the Revolution in the field of facts and in the ideological field.

As I have said, both quantitative and qualitative changes have occurred in requirements. We must go on carrying out various tasks, such as cutting cane, doing it, moreover, by hand. For some time now, many of the old people who cut cane in past years have been on pension, and many other Cubans who had to work 15 to 16 hours have turned to other opportunities and switched to other activities. Nor could anybody have stopped them. No revolution could tell a man he was condemned to do this work all his life, without hope of ever learning to operate a machine, of taking some other job.

Today these tasks are not carried out by those who in the past had to carry them out so as not to starve. In the immense majority of cases, they are carried out by people engaged in industry and other fields, by students and servicemen.

In these new conditions tensions are building up, as we have said, and we are waging a heroic battle. But we proved unable to wage a parallel battle. This phrase, "parallel battle," was used very often before we planted cane to harvest 10 million tons. It meant making this necessary effort, not by way of a sport as we explained it at one time, but because it was an imperative economic need, because we required it for development, as a means of defeating our poverty and doing away with it.

We must not forget that in spite of everything we have during these years had great imbalances in our foreign trade, mainly with the Soviet Union. We have to import almost or a little over five million tons of fuel because we need it and because drilling for oil, discovering it and starting to work oil wells require serious and deep-going research that cannot be done overnight. Our country has no coal and hardly any hydraulic energy. Our rivers are small and the best use they can be put to in our climate and our conditions is irrigation.

Thus we import all the power we need.

We have yet to meet a citizen who would ask us: "What do we need so much light for? Why not use a little less light?" What citizens tell us is: "There's no electricity, we want more electricity. We need power stations, this, that and the other. We need machinery and transport. We haven't got this, we haven't got that."

Of course, the enemy made ample use of the argument that the ef-

fort to grow 10 million tons of cane would entail some of these problems. It was our duty to do all in our power to prevent that but we couldn't do it.

Our enemies say we are having difficulties and they are right in this respect. They say we have problems and indeed we do. They say there is discontent and they are right. They say there is resentment and they are right. As you see, we aren't afraid to admit it when our enemies are right.

Let us look at the problems by sectors.

As regards farming, I have spoken about cane, sugar output, and the records set.

The rice area was considerably expanded and we increased output. But we are still very far from feeling satisfied, as regards both quantity and quality, with the fulfilment of rice production plans.

Beef. Deliveries of cattle in live weight were like last year's. Average weight is still low.

Meat deliveries were 485,000 head in 1968 and 466,000 in 1969. This year's outlook is for 466,000 head again.

Deliveries of fresh milk between January and May made up 71.3 million litres, that is, fell 25 per cent short of deliveries in the same period of 1969, when 95.1 million litres was supplied.

Deliveries have decreased in the state and private sector alike. But the drop is relatively greater in the private sector. This decline is due to the limited scale of building and the fact that lost capacities were not restored.

The milk-producing potential is not fully used for lack of installed capacities.

This year's imports add up to 56,000 tons and their total worth is $12m. We plan to import a similar quantity in 1971. For the same reason, we have to import fresh butter.

Although the half-year's fishing plan was fulfilled 78 per cent, this is only about 8,000 tons more than in the same period of 1969.

In output of the fertilizer we mix in our country, we were some 32 per cent, or 130,000 tons, short of the target in June. This was mainly due to our limited capacity for transporting the finished product.

The plan for supplying agriculture with domestic equipment was fulfilled by a mere eight per cent as of May.

This year's plan provides for nickel exports worth 217.8m. pesos. As of June the Moa and Nicaro plants had fulfilled their six months' plan by 96 per cent. We may say, therefore, that in nickel production we have had no problems, speaking generally.

Nor have we had any difficulties with fuels and lubricants, that is, in oil refining. This industry has been fulfilling its plan.

Power generation as of May was roughly 11 per cent higher than

in the corresponding period of 1969. At the same time there was a big increase in demand, which reached a maximum of 17 per cent.

The critical situation in regard to labor power compelled us to reduce rayon production targets, which had a telling effect on tire output. We will soon start rehabilitating the plant so as to complete the job before the year is out. This plant, which is vastly important to the economy because it makes tires which, in turn, are important to so crucial a field as transport, is faced with a special problem — hydrogen sulphide contamination of the environment due to the chemicals used by the plant. Once the degree of contamination was greater than now but we have succeeded in reducing it by one-third.

The annual plan for leather footwear was adjusted from 15.6 to 13.9 million pairs. As of May, output fell short by roughly one million pairs due to the delay in starting production at the new Manzanillo factory, to absenteeism and mobilizations for agriculture. About 400,000 pairs of the million that was not manufactured were to have been work shoes. Besides, there is a decline in the quality of footwear, mainly in that of work shoes, due to changes in technology and in the time required for tanning.

The plastic shoe factory is already operating at almost full capacity. It will make at least 10 million pairs of shoes in the next twelve months, which will meet the demand for women's and children's footwear to a considerable extent.

Distribution increased as follows: the rice ration rose to six pounds per head of population as of April and for organizations as of January; the population has been getting more fresh fish since April and there were indirect increases in egg consumption.

However, there were noticeable cuts in the consumption of other items—boiled, fresh and canned vegetables and fruit—due to drops in supply. The supply of beef and poultry to some professions and trades enjoying priority was restricted, and besides, there were delays in supplying the population due to transport problems.

In foreign trade we failed to fulfil certain import and export quotas due to delays in signing contracts, difficulties in securing ships for our imports and exports, and a critical situation in loading and unloading in harbors.

As a result, we had problems with transporting plants shipped from Europe, delays in importing raw materials and food-stuffs, delays of ships in harbors. Difficulties over convertible currency persist, affecting purchases of wood pulp and the manufacture of containers.

We will have to pay special attention to the rebuilding, construction and acquisition of barges and tugs if we want to handle the shipments envisaged by the sugar and molasses export plan for 1971. To this we must add the rebuilding, dredging and construction of highly important harbor facilities.

In land transport, we had difficulties over both railways and road

haulage, partly because we gave priority to the transport of cane and by-products but due also to the shortage of spare parts, which reduced the use of equipment and hence created operation problems and strongly affected economic activities of the period.

From January to April the railways carried 26 per cent more goods than in the corresponding period of last year. Sixty locomotives, or 27 per cent of the fleet, were used for carrying cane. Road haulage was affected above all by a shortage of spares and the high degree of absenteeism, the worst in recent years.

I have listed the main difficulties in agricultural and industrial production. But of course the list isn't complete.

I would say that this statistical enumeration reveals only some of the causes. In addition to these reasons for the problems, we must also mention inefficiency, or the subjective factor.

To begin with, I wish to point in connection with all these problems to the responsibility of all of us, and mine in particular. I am far from denying that there are things for which I and the entire revolutionary leadership are to blame, too.

I believe we leaders of the Revolution have exacted too high a price in doing our apprenticeship. Unfortunately, our problem—not when it is a question of replacing the leaders of the Revolution, whom the people are free to replace when they wish, and right now if they wish (shouts of "No!" and scanning "Fidel!")—one of our most difficult problems is a heritage we are paying for now, meaning first of all the heritage of our ignorance.

When speaking of illiterates we certainly did not class ourselves among them nor among semi-literates. We could rate ourselves best by putting ourselves in the category of the ignorant. This we all were, almost without exception, nor was I the exception, needless to say. The problem is even worse than that. What I mean is that there are many illiterates and semi-literates even among people in responsible positions. And one of the biggest problems is precisely to find the right man for a job.

Some time ago, at a meeting in the Cespedes park of Santiago de Cuba, we began, after visiting numerous factories one by one, and after talking with thousands of inhabitants, to analyze all the various aspects of the diverse industries in specific terms.

In many industries we established such facts as a shortage of lathes, tools and measuring instruments.

Curiously enough, what our country needs badly at the moment is microinvestments. Investments in lathes to maintain factory shops, in tools that are in short supply in almost every industry, and in measuring instruments.

Now what did we discover as far as the mood of the workers of Santiago de Cuba is concerned, knowing their various needs as we did and realizing that the transport problem had affected distribution

worst of all in Oriente Province, and more particularly in Santiago? The workers were concerned about production above everything else. In the quarries and factories alike, the very first question these workers raised was about production. And they showed tremendous enthusiasm for their enterprise and its output. They didn't speak about other problems until after that. Indeed, it was in some instances we who spoke about their problems.

It is a living, a real confirmation of the fact that the industrial proletariat is the genuinely revolutionary class, potentially the most revolutionary class.

What an object lesson in Marxism-Leninism! We did not set out on the road of revolution from a factory, which we all needed badly, but began with the intellectual sphere, by studying theory and ideas. How greatly we all would have benefited if we had known the factories much better and had come from there, for it is there that you find the genuinely revolutionary spirit Marx and Lenin spoke about. That spirit is that of the immense majority.

We saw many of those problems quite a few of which could have been settled. And this means that we alone are to blame for quite a few of those problems, which we didn't settle for the simple reason that we lacked ability.

These tasks seem easy. More often than not we made the mistake of minimizing difficulties, the complexity of problems. This was often the case with experienced comrades, whose aspirations and iron will we know well. We saw them on this or that front as they entered on what was in effect an apprenticeship, and it was one, two and occasionally even three years before they began to show efficiency.

If only we could solve problems by merely replacing people! We must make changes. Some people had to pay for others because they seemed to have failed to resolve difficulties which they had in fact nothing to do with.

There is, for example, a tremendous shortage of housing in every town, but above all in Santiago de Cuba. This problem is often handled by people who cannot make decisions. On the other hand, some believe they can solve problems through miracles and that it's only a question of finding the right people.

We have replaced some ministers—we had to—and will have to replace some more. However, I sometimes tell myself a little sadly that there must be some confusion because the masses believe the problem is simply one of replacing people. And occasionally somebody says: "If only they would fire the man and put another in his place!" There is an enormous number of people who organize and disorganize government by making forecasts.

But surely politics are not a sport.

It is necessary to replace people because, after all, there are

comrades who are exhausted, who have no energy left and can no longer carry the burden they have shouldered. Yes, changes are necessary. What I wish to say, however, is that it would be misleading and demagogical, and would mean deceiving the people unforgivably, if we made believe that the problem in this case is one of people, if we tried to conceal the root of the matter rather than analyzing the problem and saying that it isn't a problem of either one man or a group or team. We think it is a problem of the whole people. It's our sincere belief that the problems we now have we can only solve together—all of us together!—from those on the highest rungs of the leadership of country, Party and state to those in the most modest industry, and that the leaders alone cannot solve them.

In discussing Party work, we said we must revive work in the mass organizations and extend its content to the utmost. But that isn't all. There are new tasks and we must carry our effort deeper. We do not think the problem of managing a factory should be limited to the problem of a manager. It would really be worthwhile to introduce certain criteria. There should be one person in charge, of course, because there must always be one person who will take charge of things and answer for them. But we also need a collective body in factory managements. Let one person preside over it but let it be representative of the foremost workers, Communist Youth, the Party, and women in the case of a factory where a women's front can be set up. The principle should be that in a factory we cannot make the Party secretary manager—this is one of the ideas we must be very clear about—any more than we can have the manager do the Party secretary's work for him. Dealing with production problems is a full-time job. And just as industry works on materials with machines, so the Party works on people with the aid of people. The Party's raw material is the working man and the manager's, real raw materials like iron. Every factory has its own laws and we must have somebody who will always concern himself with that. These tasks must not be mixed up, nor can the Party assume direct responsibility for the management of a factory. Its responsibility must be indirect. The Party must promptly inform the higher managerial body of every shortcoming, every drawback in management, but it cannot tell the manager what he has to do. We must clearly specify the functions of the secretary of the Party branch and the functions of the manager, or the management, to be exact.

Now why should a manager bear absolute responsibility for everything? Why not bring workers' representatives into the factory management? Why not trust them? Why not put faith in the powerful proletarian spirit of people who, working sometimes barefoot and in torn clothes, keep production going?

We will have to work hard if we want to solve the problem of efficiency in industry, which depends chiefly on labor productivity.

There are two types of industry: one in which it may seem that labor productivity is higher because technologies are better and more effective use is made of labor, and another one showing seemingly lower productivity per worker although the effort made is greater.

Why am I speaking of these problems to working people? Because there is a real thing which clearly doesn't come off. We must win the battle against inefficiency! We must win the battle against difficulties. The need is, as I have said, for a subjective effort by the whole people.

We have been happy these days to see people amuse themselves. They deserve it. We wouldn't like even the analysis I am now making here to stop any working man or woman from enjoying this rest—not at all. We know, however, that there can be no rest. Those of us who have major responsibilities cannot afford a rest.

We are deeply aware of our problems, of the need to solve them, and we know we are to blame for them. This is why we are really eager to make a fresh start.

We will have to take a number of decisions in the Party leadership so as to solve some structural problems beginning from above.

Social production can no longer be directed by only the Council of Ministers. There are numerous agencies. Why? Because social production today depends on how society manages its resources.

Formerly many industries, schools and even hospitals were managed by private owners. But times have changed. There was a time when the most a citizen could expect was that the state would set up a post or telegraph office. It never occurred to him that the state must take care of housing or other things. Today the citizen does expect the state to do that. And he is right. This is precisely a collectivist, a socialist mentality. Today the administrative apparatus, and above all the political apparatus representing it, is expected to take care of everything. People no longer rely on only their own strength and devices as in the past.

The fact that the people today expect everything from the state is very much in keeping with the socialist consciousness inculcated in them by the Revolution. Any instance of inefficiency in any sphere can affect thousands of people. And I don't mean problems that one person cannot solve but problems which he can solve and which drag instead of being solved.

It is impossible to direct and coordinate all this machinery today in the old way. We must set up a political structure that will coordinate the diverse spheres of social production. Here is an example: some comrades are already working on measures to coordinate the activity of the Ministry of Home Trade, National

Travel Institute, the light and food industry, branches that have a great bearing on consumption and the population. Other comrades, in the building industry, coordinate all its branches. A group of no more than seven to nine comrades, and not a larger one, is needed to coordinate each. The data and figures I have cited reveal the importance of coordinating the activities of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and those of the Interior, Labor and Education because these fields draw on the same source, young people. It is necessary carefully to harmonize the interests of the country through the activity of each of these agencies. We regard this as a decisive and fundamental immediate task facing our country.

It must also be said that nobody can solve a problem if he doesn't seek the cooperation of others. Parochialism is impermissible and absurd, it is a crime. In a society in which the means of production are owned collectively lack of coordination is a stupidity. Hence the need to coordinate various branches and set up coordination teams at the highest level for each sector.

We believe our Central Committee should have not only a Political Bureau but a Social Production Bureau, a political instrument of the Party for coordinating the activities of every branch of management, for attaining the greatest efficiency in coordination and planning.

How are we to resolve this contradiction between our pressing needs in view of what we hear about how the population and labor power are growing and what the demand for labor is like? How are we to deal with it between now and 1975 and then between 1975 and 1980? We have no choice but to solve the problem, and we must solve it. Will we solve it? Yes. I am absolutely convinced that when a people wants to solve a problem it solves it.

I am not suggesting that we will solve it overnight. The point is that every working man and woman in this country, everyone with any sense of responsibility, must become keenly aware of the situation. This is necessary if we are to rationalize our effort and use it most effectively. We must rack our brains over each general difficulty or problem as well as over each specific difficulty. We must rack our brains over how to use every machine, every bit of raw material, every minute of everyone's work to the best and greatest advantage

There is no question of overtime and more overtime applied mechanically. The task is, as I have already said, to make optimal use of the working day, allowing an exception only when imperative circumstances justify and call for it, and when it is clear that a target can only be reached through extra work. A mechanical approach to this matter is no good. We should learn once and for all that the mechanical method will get us nowhere.

The task is for the whole people to realize the situation, to see how we can make the best use of every single machine, every bit of raw material and every ounce of energy. Let us put our heads together to solve our problems. I would say that in speaking of 10 million tons we meant a task requiring hands but this time we have a problem requiring brains and intelligence.

The general level of people is not high as yet and the people of today don't know as much as will be known 20 to 30 years from now. Nevertheless, the people of today must use their wits, must concern themselves with problems and realize their responsibility. This is a matter of vital importance. It is a question of making the fullest use of the intelligence and sense of responsibility of every single working man and woman in this country.

The going will be hard—harder than it seemed at first Yes, imperialist gentlemen, building socialism is difficult. But Karl Marx himself visualized socialism as a natural product of a society highy developed technologically. In the world of today countries like ours, being faced with industrialized imperialist powers, have no alternative to socialism if they are to bridge their cultural and technological gap. And what is socialism? It is the possibility of making the best use of manpower and natural resources for the good of the people. It is the disappearance of the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the relations of production.

Industry, raw materials, natural resources, factories, machinery and plant of every type all belong to society today. They can and must be at the service of society. If we do not make the best use of this machinery and plant, of all these resources, it is not because we are held back by a capitalist, a proprietor who in the past had a factory and made money by putting out dairy products or poison, cheese or marijuana—anything. He didn't worry about anything, about how his output would be used. In our society, every product and every service is intended to meet man's needs, the needs of the people.

If we are not using things to the best advantage it is not because somebody will not let us but because we don't know how or don't want to or cannot. This is why we must learn to use everything, all our resources, as well as possible by drawing on the reserves of the will power, morality, intelligence and resolve of the people, who have shown that they possess them.

If there is anything absolutely beyond question it is the spirit of the people. It is seen in their massive participation in cane cutting, in the liberation of fishermen, in their entire courageous reaction to reverses, in the internationalist sentiment and spirit they showed by offering 104,000 blood donations in a mere ten days to help a brother people.

It is a people with a revolutionary spirit, an internationally minded people.

I bring no magic solutions here. I have listed problems, saying that they can only be solved by and with the people, provided the people realize them, provided they are informed and show determination and will power.

When, 17 years ago, we set out to take the stronghold of Moncada, we were not trying to win a war with a thousand men but to start a war and wage it with the people and win it with the people's support. When, a few years later, we returned with an expeditionary force we did not expect to win a war with a handful of men. We did not have the wonderful experience and knowledge the people have given us during the past years but we knew that we could only win that war with the people. We waged and won it with the people.

When the Revolution set out, 90 miles from a ferocious and powerful empire, to make this country free and sovereign it challenged that empire and prepared to weather all difficulties. It started on a truly revolutionary road—not a road of capitalists and imperialist monopolies but a people's road, a road of workers and peasants, a road of justice. Many said it was a perfectly hopeless attempt in view of cultural, political and ideological influence and all that. We, however, were certain the battle could be won with the people. We fought and won it with the people.

And we have lived to see this day. But now we must fight a more difficult battle. It was easier, a thousand times easier, to destroy the mercenaries at Playa Giron in a matter of hours than it is to really solve the problem of industry. It is easier to win twenty wars than to win the battle for development.

It was relatively easy. We didn't know much about war. It didn't take us long to learn and there came forward men who could lead a company or a platoon.

This is not the first time I've said this. We knew, as I have said before, that the task was a hard one and that we would have to learn. I said so in all sincerity—I say that learning to build the economy is much more difficult for revolutionaries than we imagined, and that the problems are much more complex and the learning much longer and more arduous than we thought it would be.

This is the battle we must now fight. It is not the only one. We will have to stay watchful, and prepared, mindful of the threat the enemy presents and will always present to us. This is clear. We are not carrying on an ideological battle as we did in the early days. The battle we must fight together with the people is in the economic field, and only with the people can we win it.

We really think the Revolution is confronted by an unprece-

dented challenge, by one of the most difficult tasks. Hence our impatience.

What can we all give to this cause? Our energy.

Seventeen years or slightly more have passed since Moncada. Once the need was for arduous organizing and preparatory work. We began this struggle 18 years ago, some of us put into it 18 years of our lives, a part of our youth. What can we do today? What do we require today? The energy we still have in us—we must put it into this task, to the last ounce. We must pay a debt we owe to so many enemies—both objective and subjective ones —to the imperialist enemies, who want the Revolution to fail, to poverty, to general ignorance, to our own ignorance.

What we are fighting against today is not people, unless it is ourselves. We are fighting against objective factors, against the past and its effects today, against limitations of every kind. It really is the greatest challenge we have ever been faced with in our lives, the greatest challenge the Revolution has ever been faced with.

The enemies are rejoicing, pinning hopes on our difficulties. I have said that they are right in this, that and the other. There is only one thing they are wrong about—they think the people have an alternative to the Revolution and the difficulties experienced by the Revolution may make them choose the road of counter-revolution. You are really wrong about that, imperialist gentlemen! Nobody will say there is a whit of truth in that.

They cannot appraise the people, cannot gauge the depth of the people's moral integrity and courage. Only a cowardly people would be frightened by difficulties. Only a cowardly people would be unable to see, hear and listen, and speak the truth outright. Only a cowardly people would shrink from speaking the truth before the people, as we have done today.

They are mistaken so often because they believe we have the same morality as they and are like them, at least remotely.

No lies shall ever be told to the people. Confidence in the people shall never be lost. Faith in the people shall never fail. This is precisely what our enemies overlook.

We seek no glory or distinction. We serve a cause worth all the glory on earth, which Marti said could be put in a grain of corn.

We will always serve this cause—ever more consciously, with ever greater dedication.

All I have to say now is to give many thanks to our people on behalf of our Party and our leadership, meaning also my gratitude for the people's reaction, attitude and trust.

Patria o muerte!

Venceremos!

SPEECH* BY NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

This meeting is taking place in unusual conditions, with the whole Party and people working hard to eliminate the effects of the recent months' disastrous floods that entailed so much loss for our country. The fact that the agenda is also concerned with the internal and international activity of the Party and the state is a further indication of the dialectical unity of national and internationalist tasks.

The first half-year's plan for gross industrial output was fulfilled by more than 101 per cent—1,500 million lei's worth of products was put out above plan. Gross industrial output went up 12.4 per cent over the first half of 1969, that is, exceeded the growth rate envisaged for 1970. The year's investment plan was fulfilled by 44.6 per cent, so that there are favorable conditions for fully executing the program. The first six months' export plan was exceeded. Compared with the first half of 1969, exports grew by roughly 23 per cent.

In agriculture, a considerable effort was made to obtain high yields.

Had it not been for the disastrous floods that affected about a million hectares of land, we would have had a bumper crop. For all the difficulties, however, the steps we took to re-sow the flooded areas with crops and the good care we have been taking of them entitle us to expect that the yield of summer grain crops will provide an adequate supply for the population.

It is fair to say, therefore, that in the first six months of this year we achieved notable economic results. We have all the requisites for fulfilling and exceeding the year's state plan, which will ensure fulfilment of the 1966/70 plan and lay solid foundations for the next five-year plan.

Speaking of shortcomings, it must be said that the economy still has substantial potentialities which are underused and that a greater effort must be made in the near future to produce much more than planned originally.

The losses caused by the floods exceed 10,000m. lei. Many enterprises are still operating below capacity. Large quantities of raw materials and other supplies were destroyed. There are about 300,000 hectares of farmland still under water. This contingency calls for further energetic measures. In the next six months we will have to use production capacities more intensively so as fully

*Delivered to the plenary meeting of the CC RCP, July 8-9, 1970. Condensed from Agerpress release.

to make up by the year's end for the losses in industry and put out roughly 5,000m. lei's worth of products above plan.

Much attention will have to be given to drawing up the 1971 plan. All enterprises and district committees are already familiar with the draft plan for next year, which means that they have enough time to work it out thoroughly.

The 1971 and 1971/75 plans will be discussed in the latter half of this year.

As the provisions of the five-year plan have been known for nearly two years now, we may say the requisites for beginning to carry out the new plan in favorable conditions are there.

The two draft laws submitted to this meeting for discussion are expected to help in improving economic management and are a component of the program adopted by the 1967 National Party Conference for improving the organization, planning and leadership of economic and public activity.

The measures for organizing agricultural production and labor are, in effect, complementary to the steps envisaged by the law enacted last spring on the system of organizing labor and maintaining discipline in industrial enterprises and other state-controlled organizations.

As for the bill on the use of materials and funds and on financial control, its purpose is to specify the role and responsibilities of the managements of socialist enterprises and organizations in making optimal use of the materials and funds put at their disposal by the socialist state.

The speaker rated highly the people's strenuous effort to reduce the losses inflicted by the floods. He pointed to the steps that will be taken against recurrent destruction. First of all a series of projects are to be carried out in addition to those planned originally to divert some rivers and build dams and dikes.

The organization and equipment of the Meteorological Institute must be improved and the information and early warning system put on a proper footing. It is also essential to improve cooperation with neighbor countries, mainly with those with which we share rivers, specifically in the sphere of information and early warning, so that eventual calamities of the same nature may be staved off by joint effort.

The 50th anniversary of the Party should become an occasion for summing up the Party's effort in the service of the working class and the people, its activity as the leading force of socialist society.

The jubilee should be celebrated under the watchword of intensifying the international activity of Party and state to promote the cooperation and unity of our country with socialist countries and with the Communist and Workers' parties, of increasing Ru-

mania's contribution to international coordination of production and cooperation with all countries irrespective of their social systems, and of establishing security and peace in Europe and the world.

We consider it indispensable for the socialist countries and ruling Communist parties to exchange views and information and study one another's experience in building socialism and communism. We also think it necessary to extend cooperation and mutual assistance with socialist countries, both those in the CMEA and those outside it, so as to help all socialist nations to develop and flourish and the socialist system as a whole to grow stronger.

The Party and government have lately been engaged in extensive international activity.

The RCP took part in the celebration of the Lenin centenary. In May a delegation of our Party visited the Soviet Union where it had talks with a delegation of the CPSU, with L. Brezhnev, N. Podgorny, M. Suslov and other leaders of the CPSU and Soviet state. During the conversations held in Moscow, the two Party delegations discussed the relations between our parties and countries and a wide range of international problems. The conversations proceeded in a businesslike atmosphere and as a result, the two sides agreed that they would work for the further promotion of relations between our parties and countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs. We also take a positive view of the negotiations held in Moscow subsequently between the Rumanian government delegation led by Ion Cheorghe Maurer and the Soviet government delegation led by A. Kosygin.

A few days ago a Party and government delegation of the Soviet Union led by A. Kosygin visited Rumania. During the visit the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Rumania and the Soviet Union was signed. The Soviet delegation's visit and the conversations that took place on that occasion proceeded in a warm atmosphere of comradely friendship. They enabled us to hold a fruitful exchange of views and helped us to know each other better and to reach better mutual understanding.

The new Rumanian-Soviet treaty signed in Bucharest a few days ago and regulating Rumanian-Soviet relations for the next two decades holds out new prospects of furthering cooperation, friendship and alliance between our parties and countries. It formalizes the principles of relations of a new type between socialist countries based on Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, equal rights, non-interference in domestic affairs, respect for national independence and sovereignty, mutual assistance and mutual benefit. The treaty will undoubtedly make a valuable contribution to the cooperation and unity of the socialist countries and to world pro-

gress and peace. Our Party and people will do all they can to promote relations with the CPSU and the peoples of the Soviet Union, for they consider that this meets the interests of our countries and parties and the common interests of socialism and peace.

Lately we have had meetings with leaders and delegations of a number of Communist and Workers' parties and national liberation movements.

There were, furthermore, numerous exchanges of delegations representing our Party, the Communist parties of socialist countries and those of some capitalist countries. On the occasion of congresses attended by delegations from our Party, talks were held with many parties.

In this connection I would like to mention Emil Bodnaras' visit to the KPDR and PRC as leader of a delegation of the Grand National Assembly and State Council. The important talks held during the visit produced positive results. We set special store by the outcome of the KPDR visit, particularly by the talks with Kim Il Sung. The visit and talks revealed a common desire to carry forward the relations between our parties and peoples and to foster world Communist unity.

We have a particularly high opinion of the visit of our Party and state delegation to the PRC, meaning above all the conversations with Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao, Chou En-lai, Kan Sheng and other leaders of the CPC and the Chinese state.

The occasion brought out a mutual desire to continue building up relations between our parties and countries, which meets the interests of our parties and countries and benefits the common cause of socialism and world peace.

Our entire activity is evidence of the Party's constant effort to help in overcoming difficuties in the Communist and working-class movement, in developing and strengthening the international solidarity of the working people, in achieving closer unity of the Communist and working-class movement and all anti-imperialist forces. We realize, of course, that the unity of the Communist and working-class movement can only be strengthened on a new basis fully guaranteeing the autonomy and independence of each Communist party and its right to shape its general policy according to conditions in the country concerned. We also realize that widespread and free discussion, scientific analysis and scientific interpretation of the changes coming about in the world, and creative development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on this basis, in keeping with new socio-economic conditions, are indispensable to the progress of the Communist movement and Communist ideas. This is what the RCP has done so far and what it proposes to go on doing.

The international activity of the RCP and our government fully

meets the interests of socialist development in Rumania and promotes relations between our country and state, on the one hand, and socialist countries and Communist and Worker's parties, on the other. It contributes to the cohesion of the socialist countries, the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement and the strength of the anti-imperialist forces.

This period has also seen a series of state-level meetings and visits. Among them mention should be made of the Turkish President's visit to Rumania, the visit I paid to France in June, the Rumanian visits of the President of Zambia and the Shahinshah of Iran, and Comrade Maurer's recent visit to the FRG. We consider that these visits and the talks we had again revealed the possibility of developing cooperation between countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Rumania consistently advocates greater cooperation with all countries regardless of social system and international relations based on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, complete equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit.

We believe it is of decisive importance to the progress of normal relations between countries to respect the right of every people to shape their fortunes without any foreign interference, just as it is decisive to abolish all methods of domination and diktat and all tendencies towards them, and to renounce force as a means of settling international disputes.

If Rumania's international activity meets with response in many countries, this is because our foreign policy is in accordance with the international situation, and because the principles upheld by our country on the world scene are winning ever greater recognition as the only principles likely to assure peaceable and fruitful cooperation among the nations of the world.

Reality shows again and again that international problems can only be solved through joint effort by all countries, big and small alike, and that small and medium countries can through a consistent policy of cooperation and peace make, along with the great powers, a useful contribution to the settlement of international problems. In the world of today, problems can no longer be solved if the interests of any nation are ignored. Events in Indochina show only too clearly that even a small people which is determined to maintain its national independence and sovereignty and resist imperialist domination can achieve its objective with the uanimous support of the peoples of the world.

We have been giving special attention to the problem of European security. The meetings and talks we have had with Party leaders and statesmen, with politicians and other public figures, have made us even more confident that the groundwork has been laid for a conference of European countries that would pave the

way to security and the gradual setlement of continental problems. The memorandum of the Foreign Ministers of the socialist countries who met in Budapest, brought a favorable reaction from all nations. It provides new prerequisites for going ahead with preparations for and the convocation of an all-Europe conference.

Our Party and people have expressed, and still express, concern about the persistence of seats of world tension. We have supported, and will go on supporting, the struggle of the Vietnamese people and other peoples of Indochina so as to help in ending the war on that peninsula. The U.S. troops must be pulled out and the peoples of the area enabled to solve their problems without foreign interference.

We stand for a settlement of the Middle East conflict in line with the Security Council resolution of November 1967, for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, the security and integrity of all countries, and peace in that region of the globe.

The Party and government of our country will abide by the guidelines of the Tenth Party Congress as they work for closer cooperation with all socialist countries, the unity of all anti-imperialist forces, closer relations with all countries and peoples, and peace and security throughout the world.

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

JOHN GOLLAN

GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

It was typical of the young Communist Party, formed in 1920 out of the unity of the various socialist movements and groups, that it should plunge forthwith into the deep end of the class struggle. The period of 1920 to 1923 was a stormy one. As James Klugmann, in his first volume of the History of the Communist Party of Great Britain, noted, its role in those years was not even. In the first part, the struggle to defend the young Soviet Republic, it was outstanding. In the period of working class retreat, it was courageous if not as effective. At the end of 1922 and throughout 1923, it emerged as a key part of the forces of the left.

It has been in the forefront of the battle ever since, for the history of the Communist Party and that of the British Labor movement are intertwined. In the General Strike, the fight against the depression, the anti-fascist struggle against Mosley, in the International Brigade in Spain, and against Hitlerism, the Party played a proud role. It always fought against imperialism.

In the great post-war battles, the cold war, Korea, Malaya and Vietnam, on the bomb, in the many big industrial struggles and in the big political struggles within the labor movement, the Communist Party maintained and added to that record. It continually pointed out the role of struggle in shaping events and history. The character of the demands it presented helped to direct and unite the various streams of struggle. While directing its main blows against monopoly capitalism, it exposed and fought right-wing social democracy and reformism. It put sharply the relation of the immediate battles to that of the struggle for political power and socialism. Whatever its weaknesses and mistakes, the Party stood by Communist principle: it never sold out the struggle. It was faithful in its service to the British working class and the people generally and in its fidelity to socialism. It was and always has been to the forefront of all the great causes of the last fifty years. It is a proud history. Today, in the new political circum-

*Labour Monthly, August, 1970.

stances of a Tory electoral victory, this leading mass role is more necessary than ever.

From all this it helped to shape the British Labor movement along three lines: in the trade union field it helped to speed trade union unification; it pioneered the organization of the unorganized; it developed the unique role of the shop stewards and workshop organization. And in the depression it organized the unemployed.

It is in this tradition that the Party and the *Morning Star* played a leading part in the defeat of the Castle anti-trade union legislation, and will do so again against the threatened Tory measure. It maintained and fought for its distinctive role as the socialist spearhead of the wider labor movement. At one period this took the specific form of the struggle for affiliation to the Labor Party. But always it pioneered left-progressive unity in the movement, which is bringing such valuable results today. Always it fought for socialist consciousness in the movement under both Tory and Labor Governments, and especially during the process of growing abandonment of socialist principles by the Labor leaders during the past years. A tremendous contribution to all this was the foundation of the *Daily Worker* in 1930, as the whole forty years' experience of the paper, to today's *Morning Star,* has shown.

Under the auspices of the Party a whole series of able and gifted mass political and industrial leaders and theoretical workers developed. Many of their names became household words in the movement. Many of them made outstanding contributions to the international Communist movement. It is from all this that the basis was laid for the Communist Party of today, with its local, district and national organization. A signal service was made by the Party in the popularization of Marxism-Leninism in the British labor movement. Over the years it has published the main classics. It developed a body of Marxist scholarship and research on British history, especially labor movement history. It developed work on economics, on imperialism, on the British state and monopoly capitalism, on philosophy, literary and cultural criticism, and in many other spheres. It has maintained Marxist journals, the *Communist Review* and later *Marxism Today* and *Comment,* with the *Labour Monthly* making its invaluable contribution in the wider movement. It helped to inspire and maintain journals like the *Left Review* in the 'thirties and the *Modern Quarterly* before and after the Second World War.

The development of the programmatic position of the Party, from the documents of the 'thirties and after the Second World War to *The British Road to Socialism,* owes much to this work as well as to the changing political situation. Today in the political searchings in the movement after the 1970 General Election, and when young people are looking for new ways in the political

situation, the revolutionary strategy outlined in *The British Road to Socialism* has even added significance.

Above all, over these fifty years the Communist Party has developed as a party with an international outlook. Fidelity to the interests of the British working class presupposed for the Party an internationalist position. It was expressed first of all in solidarity with the first socialist republic in Russia, and later with the socialist world as a whole. We were a Communist Party at the heart of British imperialism. In the struggle against imperialism and the Empire, the closest solidarity and comradeship was built up with the Indian, Burmese, Ceylonese, Arab, African, Caribbean, Latin American and other national liberation movements. Our close and even intimate connection with the Communist Parties in many of these countries is well known. So is our consistent fight against racialism and anti-Semitism, and today against Powell and Powellism. For twenty-three years our Party was a member of the Communist International until its dissolution. Since 1943 the international association of the Communist Parties, despite problems and temporary disagreements, has continued to develop, and in all this our Party has been to the fore. Today, in celebrating our half-century, we have every reason to be proud of our record.

This is a time to pay tribute to our founders. We think of those who played so great a role in founding the Party, like Tom Bell, Albert Inkpin, Arthur Macmanus, Willy Paul and Bob Stewart (who at ninety-three still lives and struggles for the Party). We think of all the others who all their lives gave and are still giving all their capacity, all their energy, all their efforts for the Communist Party and the working class movement, men like Harry Pollitt, Willie Gallacher, J. R. Campbell, R. Palme Dutt, Wal Hannington, Ben Bradey, Arthur Horner, Bill Rust—but names become invidious for there are so many hundreds, thousands that flood to the mind.

The best way to celebrate is for the Party to fulfil its present political responsibilities, which are many. To make 1970, the year of the Fiftieth Anniversary, the year of the Lenin Centenary, one in which we build the Party and win new readers for the *Morning Star*. At the January Executive Committee we asked that 1970 be the year of the *Morning Star*. It is now August, and we have much to do in this respect. We have also decided that in the month of October we will celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary by a big recruitment of new members to the Party. Let us do this, and make a worthy contribution to our Fiftieth Anniversary.

JOINT STATEMENT*

BY THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF COLOMBIA AID VENEZUELA

NOW AS IN THE PAST, OUR PEOPLES MUST MARCH TOGETHER

On July 24, 1970, anniversary of the birth of Simon Bolivar the Liberator, delegations of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Colombia and Venezuela held a fraternal meeting in Caracas. The purpose of the meeting was carefully to examine the real causes and likely implications of the tension that has been building up between the two countries as a result of the artificial and tendentious aggravation of border disputes.

The meeting made for stronger bonds of friendship and solidarity between our two parties and peoples. It also constituted a valuable contribution to the success of the fight both organizations have been carrying on against imperialism and the national oligarchies, which servilely aid international monopoly capital in shamelessly plundering our natural resources.

IMPERIALIST GREED IS THE REAL BACKGROUND

The exchange of information preceding the release of this Statement revealed that on either side of the frontier campaigns are going on which tend to fan chauvinism and create an atmosphere of hostility between the two countries that sooner or later may lead to explosions with unforeseeable consequences and eventually involve us in conflicts similar to the one that broke out recently between the brother peoples of Honduras and El Salvador, doing considerable damage to both nations. The pretexts adduced are the long-standing dispute over the shelf and territorial waters in the Gulf of Venezuela and the difficulties occasioned by the growing number of people without documents who illegally cross from Colombia into Venezuela in search of better living conditions. The real background of the conflict, however, is the mounting greed of imperialist companies disputing control of the Gulf oil deposits and the interest which the reactionary camarillas of both countries have in distracting public attention from acute internal conflicts and in making profit on the arms purchases and troop mobilization entailed by these situations. The publicity campaign conducted by

*Noticias de Colombia (bulletin of the CP of Colombia), August, 1970.

well-known quarters in Caracas and Bogota is of the same nature and has the same objective. Those who have always accepted and assisted the plunder of our countries by imperialist consortiums indulge on this occasion in strident declarations of "patriotism," trying in vain to cover up their shady designs

A CLASH WOULD ONLY BENEFIT THE MONOPOLIES

The peoples of Venezuela and Colombia, closely linked by historical, geographical, economic and various other bonds, stood together 150 years ago as they fought against Spanish colonialism under the leadership of our liberators. Today they are committed to a common fight, likewise for freedom, against U.S. imperialism. They must not allow themselves to fall out, and still less should they let themselves be dragged into an armed conflict that would bring ruin and sorrow to the population of both countries. This conflict would only benefit arms merchants and the oil companies, which have never shrunk from bloodshed, any more than they did during the Chaco war, in a bid for bigger profits. To give warning against the dangers involved in this situation and to unmask warmongers of every brand is a task of paramount importance and an unavoidable imperative for anyone who, like we Communists, represents and defends without compromise the legitimate interests of the working class and other working people.

THE RULERS FOSTER A WAR CLIMATE

The meaning of the present propaganda is seen in the factors we have indicated. Both countries are hit to a greater or lesser degree by a grave political, economic and social crisis. Representative democracy and the traditional two-party system have broken down, as the recent elections in Colombia and subsequent events dramatically revealed. In Venezuela, these phenomena give rise to conflicts which cannot be settled in the foreseeable future. All this prompts the rulers of both nations, especially the military commands linked with the Pentagon, to foster a climate of alarm leading to substantial increases in budget appropriations for the purchase of arms, aircraft, ships and other war supplies, with the commission this would earn the top military. Hence exposing these maneuvers and mobilizing the people to foil them are tasks brooking no delay.

On the other hand, Venezuelans and Colombians alike cannot but see that the border dispute is gaining in intensity now that the demand for oil is growing fast in the world and that, moreover, the masses in both countries are faced with a problem of immense importance to independent economic development—annulling in

1983-84 most of the oil concessions granted to foreign trusts by the Venezuelan government and voiding in 1981 the highly important Braco concession held by the same consortium in Colombia.

The problem of the strong influx of unauthorized immigrants, stimulated by the greater stability of Venezuelan currency and concomitant factors and infamously exploited by the Venezuelan landowners in the border area, who abuse the Colombian farm hands' desperate plight to impose inhuman working conditions and wages, adds inflammable material to an already critical situation.

SEEK SOLUTIONS FAVORABLE TO BOTH NATIONS

All this breeds sharp contradictions and serious difficulties on which the patriotic and progressive forces of our two countries cannot look indifferently. On the contrary, it is an urgent necessity to take an explicit stand rejecting a solution of the problems concerned by force of arms. What is needed is a search for solutions in keeping with the tradition of friendship and cooperation between the two nations, which must not be altered in any respect. It is through talks, however difficult, that we must arrive at a settlement of outstanding issues. These talks should be carried on between the two countries without the usual imperialist interference which scorns sovereignty and forces agreements into the framework of monopoly strategy. Without the tutelage of the trusts, satisfactory agreements can be reached on territorial waters and the shelf, as well as on joint exploitation of the oil deposits of the border area by the state enterprises of the two nations, the CVP and Ecopetrol.

The problem of unauthorized immigration should not become a source of discord but a factor promoting the well-being of both nations through planned economic and social cooperation. It is indispensable to settle the status of these working people. It is necessary and possible to adopt effective regulations ruling out the infamous exploitation to which the land owners subject farm hands and making possible the valuable impetus which the latter can give to production in the semi-desert regions where they have settled.

The same approach should be taken to other matters likely to aggravate the situation. The national interests of Venezuela and Colombia neither clash nor are mutually exclusive — they can and must be brought into harmony.

WE CALL FOR MOBILIZATION AGAINST WARMONGERING PLANS

Proceeding from this concept, the Communist Party of Colombia and the Communist Party of Venezuela, equally loyal to the prin-

ciples of proletarian internationalism and inspired for precisely this reason by the loftiest patriotic sentiments, reaffirm through this Statement their categorical rejection of the warmongering propaganda and ploys of the high military commands, the proposals for rearmament implying abundant draining of the treasury, the anti-national designs of imperialist consortiums anxious to secure, in the atmosphere of conflict, optimum conditions for the exploitation of the Gulf subsoil, and lastly, any forcible solution negating a past of fraternal friendship and fruitful cooperation between our two nations.

In this sense we earnestly call on the political organizations of our two countries capable of putting patriotic interests above chance affiliation and certain tactical conveniences, on the trade union, student and professional organizations, the intellectuals, progressives and all working people, to realize the gravity of the hour we are passing through and to mobilize by opposing the sinister war plans in the making. Today Colombia and Venezuela must advance united under the banner of liberation of our two countries from the U.S. yoke, just as they advanced earlier, inspired by Bolivar and Santander, Miranda and Narino, along the path of independent development and sovereign statehood, their invariable goals being to preserve peace and to establish socialism.

Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Colombia
Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Venezuela

Caracas, July 24, 1970.

FOR A NEW OFFENSIVE AGAINST FASCISM

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party met in May 1970 to analyze the political situation at home and the Party's tasks. It adopted the document* "For a New Offensive Against Fascism," published below, and a resolution on the 50th anniversary of the PCP.

The fascist dictatorship has been unable to overcome its difficulties, let alone its crisis. Its internal contradictions are increasing and its instability is making itself felt ever more strongly. It cannot silence the opposition nor suppress the people's struggle through either its "liberalizing" demagogy or its repressive measures.

The democratic movement is expanding against all fascist bans. Political activity is on the rise again. The struggle of the working class is spreading to more enterprises and regions and on May Day the workers took a stand against the repressive forces in the streets. The trade union movement is growing. The groundwork is being laid for a movement of working youth, a women's movement and a nationwide movement for an amnesty. The student movement is gathering momentum.

Despite intensified repression and the intricacy of the situation, it is becoming feasible to mount a new offensive against the fascist dictatorship, for the people's immediate basic demands, for freedom.

I.

The Marcelo Caetano government was formed on September 27, 1968. The fascist dictatorship has since sustained telling reverses while the people have scored appreciable gains.

The "liberalization" eyewash was exposed. The regime's internal difficulties and antagonisms, far from being overcome, increased. Taking advantage of the new situation created by the growing crisis of the regime, the working class, the democratic movement and students took the offensive. They abandoned their political inactivity and scored notable partial successes by taking extensive action.

Over 100,000 working people took part in strikes and other actions in the first half of 1969. The working class played a decisive part in the political struggle, an outstanding instance of

*Abridged.

which was the railwaymen's strike on October 20. The democratic movement was greatly stimulated by the setting up of broad-based committees, by the fact that it involved tens of thousands of active participants and by greater legal and illegal political activity, which culminated in the nomination of more than 100 opposition candidates and in a vigorous "election" campaign in October. There were major student actions. Positions were won in the trade unions, student associations and other mass organizations. Caetano's first year in office may be described as a period of growing popular struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

The popular movement has been firmly resisting the bans, restrictions and repressive measures taken by the fascist government in an effort to check it.

Wage increases and the satisfaction of other demands of the working people, the release of dozens of political prisoners, the holding and success of elections in mass organizations, the open action of the people's opposition and its continued activity after the election farce were all due, not to gracious concessions on the part of an allegedly liberal-minded government, but to stubborn, energetic and courageous struggle by the people.

The working class and its party have inavariably been in the van of the popular struggle Ever since the defeat sustained in legal struggles by the liberal and "social-democratic" bourgeoisie, which traditionally lays claim to leadership and priority representation, the democratic and popular opposition, which draws on the support and activity of the working class and the people, has shown itself to be a major factor in the country's political life and the indisputable representative of the people's aspirations.

The fascist regime was weakened in that period. The anti-fascist forces, gaining strength, found themselves in more favorable conditions for pressing forward the struggle to defeat fascist policies, overthrow the fascist dictatorship and win freedom.

One of the important political developments was that the colonial problem was brought to the fore in the open struggle of the democratic forces despite frantic attempts by the fascists to prevent it. The participants in the fight against the colonial war, for recognition of the right of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies to self-determination and independence, took courageous action against bans, threats and repression. Recognition of this right has become one of the Portuguese people's key political demands.

The fight against colonial policy and war—a fight considered taboo by the fascists—has taken an open form. The Portuguese Communists' active and unfailing solidarity with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, the refusal of thousands of rebellious Portuguese youths to fight against their African brothers, the

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diverse manifestations of popular discontent and protest, and the students' anti-colonialist position are supported by a broad movement of democratic opinion.

Increasingly large segments of the population are coming to realize the criminal nature of colonialism and colonial war. They are becoming aware that what the colonial troops in Africa are defending is not the interests of the Portuguese nation but those of the people's worst enemies, that the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique and the struggle of the Portuguese people constitute a common fight against a common enemy, and that the freedom, progress and independence of Portugal are closely linked with the freedom and independence of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

The facts have proved the Party's analysis of the political situation and the orientation and perspective offered by the Party to be correct.

II.

Caetano's tenure of office for almost two years has shown that the monopolies and big landed proprietors, who wield political power and put their thirst for profit and accumulation above the interests of the people and nation, cannot solve any big national problem. In fact, they are increasingly sacrificing the country, the people's life and the independence of the nation to their dirty class interests.

The problems facing the monopolies today are different from those that had to be dealt with thirty years ago. It is during this period that industrial and bank capital really merged. In the same period the financial oligarchy used the repressive machinery of the state to speed the process of accumulation and centralization and secured, in conjunction with international imperialism, real control of the national economy. The development of capitalism in Portugal is affected by both the general contradictions of capitalist development and contradictions that are typical only of Portugal and are aggravated by the evolution and uneven development of imperialism, which in Europe express themselves in integration processes. It is affected, furthermore, by the collapse of the colonial system.

Monopoly domination is the main obstacle to the growth of the productive forces and the solution of major national problems, including the problem of economic progress, the standard of life, national independence, and establishing democracy. The monopolies, which were in control under Salazar, are in control under Caetano. What the government represents is not a particular monopoly group but monopoly capital as a whole and the big

landowners subservient to it (as the PCP Program stresses). Growing contradictions between the ruling classes necessarily tell on the government's policies. But as far as the fundamental aspects of Caetano's policy are concerned, it continues the class policy of Salazarism.

Ever since September 1968 the PCP has insisted that the Caetano government is one of "compromise" between diverse fascist clans.

The difficulties experienced by the enemy camp should not be underrated. The PCP has pointed to them for a long time, describing them as a factor weakening the regime. For a long time it has pointed to the possibility of a "real political differentiation taking place between the ruling classes and a struggle for power developing between the partisans of a more frank and brutal reign of terror and those who advocate renunciation of the formulas of a new corporative state" (CC, August 1969).

However, such a situation has yet to set in. Differences in the fascist camp manifest themselves mainly over the quest for a real solution to the difficulties capitalism is encountering due to its contradictions as it develops.

Contrary to the assertions of some Leftist theorists prompted, in the final analysis, by Right-wing opportunist illusions, the danger threatening the democratic forces does not lie in Caetano's policy allegedly leading to a liberal state in which monopoly power will be consolidated. It lies in the prospect of this policy enabling the monopolies to pass a difficult stage of the regime's crisis and to strengthen the fascist dictatorship, which is their actual objective, unless the Portuguese people fight this policy with might and main.

The economic situation of the country goes on deteriorating almost two years after the Caetano government was formed and made statements about "renovation" and "reform."

The growth rate of the gross national product is declining. In 1969 it was less than 75 per cent of the rate envisaged by the development plan. Industry is stagnant, agriculture shows a downward trend. The national debt is going up at almost 3,000m. escudos per year. Last year the balance of trade deficit exceeded 11,000m. escudos, exports covering a smaller proportion of imports than in previous years. Half the budget appropriations are spent for military purposes and national "security," that is, mainly for the criminal colonial war. The growing amount of money in circulation is not offset by a comparable supply on the market and is the cause of an inflationary process whose main burden has to be borne by the working people. Wage increases lag behind growing prices, with the result that the working people's plight is deteriorating, and emigration persists. Casting about for extra revenues, the monopoly government imposes indirect taxes, which hit hard

the bulk of the population. Meanwhile monopoly groups are granted tax reductions.

The government would like to disclaim responsibility and it therefore denies what fascist propaganda asserted for twenty-five years. On the other hand, it confirms what the PCP has maintained throughout these years, namely, that Portugal is the most backward country in Europe and that its disgracefully low economic standard, far from coming closer to that of other European countries, is falling farther and farther behind.

The anti-national and anti-popular nature of the fascists' policy and the inability of the monopolies and their government (led by Salazar yesterday and by Caetano today) to solve any big national problems are seen in the country's present economic condition, which retains the main characteristics in evidence under Salazar.

The government tries to justify the exploitation of the working class on the plea that it is necessary to attract foreign investments and build up the competitive capacity of Portuguese enterprises on the home and foreign market. The universal introduction of overtime, which means lengthening the working day in the various industries to 10, 12 or more hours; "rationalization" processes and the "bonus" system, which generally boil down to the demand for working at a back-breaking pace; the imposition of collective agreements even when they are rejected by the national trade unions (NTUs) concerned because they entail a wage freeze; and infamous police methods of exerting direct pressure on the workers are among the more important forms now in use of intensifying the exploitation of the working class. The general increase in prices, especially food prices, higher rents, public transport fares and more costly electricity, as well as mounting inflation, have led to a drop in the purchasing power of money and in real wages, nullifying in a short time wage increases wrested through courageous struggles.

The policy of protecting the monopolies is highly detrimental to the peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals.

The monopolies are extending their direct control of the nation's entire life.

Subservience to international imperialism, which is gaining increasing control of the main resources and branches of the national economy, has become an explicit policy. The imperialists are granted facilities and concessions in every field of activity, and foreign monopolies purchase and absorb Portuguese enterprises. Seeking protection from big foreign monopolies for Portuguese monopolies, and greater NATO aid in preserving the fascist dictatorship and colonial rule, the government is making Portugal ever more dependent on and subservient to imperialism.

The criminal colonial war, doomed to inevitable failure, is being

expanded and acts of subversion, attempts at bribery and intrigues against independent African states are multiplying. The shameful alliance with the South African Republic and Rhodesia is becoming closer. More and more young Portuguese are losing their lives in defending the selfish interests of a handful of multimillionaires against their own African brothers, whose interests are identical with theirs. The government is out to perpetuate the system of colonial exploitation and to secure greater direct backing for its policy of war through increasing concessions to imperialism in both the Portuguese colonies (oil, diamonds, iron, power, etc.) and in Portugal itself.

Despite the failure of Caetano's attempts to gain more open and pronounced support for the dictatorship and for colonialism from Brazil and bourgeois democracies, the government, as well as strengthening the Iberian bloc, is trying to break out of its relative international isolation.

After the election farce the Caetano government increased repression without desisting, however, from its "liberalization" demagogy, as the PCP had predicted.

The intensification of repressive measures suggests that the regime is alarmed by the strength and scope of the labor and democratic movement. Fascism will retreat if the anti-fascist opposition mobilizes to resist repression, and if the democrats react by a broad protest movement to every arrest, every act of brutality or crime on the part of the repressive agencies, to every arbitrary move or repressive step.

It would be wrong, however, to infer from increased repression that "liberalization" demagogy has spent itself or has been discarded, as those who entertain particularly strong illusions about "liberalization" would have it. While exercising constant vigilance against the eventuality of an upsurge in repression or even the formation of an ultra government with or without Caetano, the democrats should not forget that the regime's crisis persists and so do the causes which induced the fascists and Caetano to engage in "liberalization" demagogy.

III.

After the election farce the government tried, as the PCP had warned it would, to silence the opposition, dissolve and ban the new democratic organizations and call a halt to their activity and policy.

The democratic movement remained active even after the spurious election, resisting the government and rejecting liquidationist ideas suggesting that the legal organization go underground or dissolve itself should the government refuse to authorize its activity.

New gains were scored after the election farce, in the struggle against repression and for an amnesty. The setting up of the National Committee for Aid to Political Prisoners, which includes dozens of well-known democrats of all trends, was an important step in making this front nationwide. The national petition of over 15,000 signatures demanding the release of political prisoners, the emphatic demand that PIDE be really disbanded, the campaign to rescue the lives of Pires Jorge and José Carlos, who are in fascist imprisonment, and the demand for the release of Octavio Pato and Blanqui Teixeira are evidence of the gains and real possibilities of the movement.

The May Day demonstrations (6,000 people in Barreiro and thousands more in Moscavide, Vila Franca, Lisbon and other cities) during which the working people took a courageous stand against fierce repression, the May 4 demonstrations and the strike of 2,000 workers in the Barreiro railway shops on May 8, called in protest against arrests, added up to a splendid campaign in which the working class showed once again that it is in the vanguard of the anti-fascist struggle.

The organization in a few months of a far-flung movement of Democratic Electoral Committees—an accomplishment in which the working class and young people played a decisive role—and the leading activity of broadly representative committees were an important gain, an event that had a far-reaching effect on the fight against fascism.

However, there are two concepts prejudicing the organized character of the movement.

One is the anarchistic concept alleging that the democratic movement can and should renounce national and even regional and local leading bodies. This concept tends to deprive the movement of bodies which could promptly take decisions and initiatives and are particularly necessary after the election farce, at the new stage of struggle when it is much more difficult to hold meetings and pass resolutions after exhaustive discussion.

The other concept, a sectarian one, insists on a rigid, centralizing organizational structure without appropriate representation of branch organizations in the highest bodies. This concept runs counter to the dynamics of the movement and the requirements of organizational flexibility. It is out of keeping with the political diversity of regions and ignores the distinctions in the standard of activity and organization of the various spheres.

The key organizational problem facing the democratic movement is to ensure broad democracy, the participation of thousands of people in the work of lower-level committees, and flexibility taking into account local distinctions in situation and the intricacy of the semi-legal conditions of activity, to set up stable and authoritative

coordinating bodies that could take the initiative and would be a product of the movement itself which the latter could entrust with definite tasks (under appropriate control) after giving them decision-making powers.

The democratic movement must overcome its organizational difficulties. Organizational forms are an instrument whose effectiveness is tested by the results achieved.

To expand the democratic movement and strengthen anti-fascist unity, it is essential to go on fighting against Right and "Left"-wing opportunist trends whose revival is a reflection of the illusions, vacillation and impatience of the petty bourgeoisie in view of the difficulties that have cropped up since the election farce.

The task in the political field is to combat illusions about the class character and meaning of "liberalization" demagogy; illusions about evolution towards democracy being the policy of an "ascendant" or "enterprising" capitalism; demagogy (Left-wing in words and Right-wing in substance) to the effect that the fight against fascism, for freedom and immediate demands has become "pointless" and is "outdated"; the tendency to indulge in interminable debates on grandiose "strategic" programs instead of specifying the objectives of the struggle.

The task in the organizational field is to combat passivity, lack of initiative and sluggishness, as well as the tendency to study problems at leisure in a narrow circle, a tendency shown by many prominent democrats and leading bodies and reflecting a lack of faith in the strength of the movement and the masses.

The task in the field of tactics and forms of action is to combat "electoralism," which induces some people to insist that the democratic movement must wait till the next election (which will be held in 1973 and is bound to be another farce) if it wants to launch a broad political offensive. Acceptance of this idea would lead to a complete loss of initiative, a lapse into routine, the retreat of thousands of active people, and the passive surrender to the fascists of positions won through struggle.

Right and "Left"-wing opportunism has brought elements of disarray and division into the democratic movement. It shackles the activity of the masses, which is the only solid basis for and the greatest force of the movement.

IV.

The working class goes on fighting for its immediate vital demands, resisting capitalist exploitation and the policy of the government.

Contrary to the allegations of pseudo-revolutionary phrasemon-

gers, the fight for working-class demands is still one of the key fronts of the fight against the fascist dictatorship.

The extension of the struggle to a growing number of enterprises and industries, its continuity, the unity of the bulk of the working people in the enterprises and industries and their participation in the struggle, the growing number of unity committees and the improving organization of struggles in the enterprises, considerably improved contacts and forms of coordinating the struggle in the enterprises and widespread actions by the NTUs have been the salient features of the struggle since the election farce. They indicate that the working class is pressing forward its offensive.

The struggle for demands in this period has not on the whole taken the sharp forms that were characteristic of it in the industrial centers of the Lisbon area in the first half of 1969. Nevertheless, it has been developing on a broader front and has already brought notable gains. Unquestionable organizational successes and the unity and firmness of the working people show that the working class is in a position effectively to continue its fight and that more violent clashes and new big strikes are inevitable.

The fact that most of the social struggles end in a complete or partial victory of the working people despite the resistance of the employers and the government and despite demagogy, threats and repression is a sign of the unity, staunchness and militancy of the working people. It shows that there still are particularly favorable conditions (due to the crisis of the regime) for successful struggles in support of various demands.

The struggle for demands by people active in other spheres links up with a similar struggle by the workers.

The significance of the fight for the working people's demands goes far beyond their immediate objectives. It is also of vast political importance. It is directed not only against the employers but against the fascist government and state. It exposes and refutes the Caetano government's "liberalization" demagogy. The demands that are put forward express, with due regard to the situation and urgent problems, important political goals of the democratic and national revolution, which combine more and more often with current demands. The struggle for demands is still one of the main components of the fight against the fascist dictatorship.

Proper organization is a decisive factor for the development and success of the fight for demands.

The unity committees in the enterprises remain the basic form of organization and are becoming widespread. It is necessary to set up these committees where they are still lacking, put them on a permanent footing, ensure the continuity of their activity, strive to establish close links between them and the masses and seek constant support for them from the masses—through petitions, public

meetings, strikes and other measures. The enterprise is the main field of the battle for the demands of the working class. It is the starting point for promoting working-class unity as an essential factor for success.

Coordinating the activity of unity committees (on a regional or local level, as well as by forms of activity) is an important task at this stage of the struggle for demands. It is necessary to carry forward what has been initiated, to see that meetings of enterprise delegates are held and to transform these meetings into genuine co-ordinating bodies with a view to eventually setting up standing coordinating committees of delegates of unity committees.

In the political field the working class and other working people, as well as campaigning for trade union freedom, are fighting to overthrow fascism. They also show resolve to do away with fascist syndicalism, considering that their immediate objectives in present conditions are to expose the abuses and arbitrary practices current in the NTUs, to expel from the NTUs leaders who dance attendance on the employers and the fascist regime, to replace them by people enjoying the working people's confidence and gradually to transform the NTUs into an instrument defending their class interests.

The growing struggle in the NTUs, large-scale actions in support of various demands and the substantial gains scored as a result show that a vast trade union movement is developing and that it is breaking free from the employers' control.

The activity of the working people in the NTUs is stubbornly resisted by the fascists, particularly in the case of industrial unions, for the fascists know and dread the revolutionary power of the proletariat.

Widespread participation of the masses in trade union struggles and the results achieved prove the PCP orientation correct. They fully reveal the political infantilism of pseudo-revolutionary gas-bags and their complete ignorance of the working-class movement. These people call work in the NTUs "opportunism," claiming that the workers are turning away from the NTUs, and make fruitless calls for the formation of clandestine trade unions.

Stepping up the trade union struggle is vastly important to the working people and the anti-fascist struggle generally. It improves the organization of the working people, which they need as a means of protecting their class interests. It is a factor for unity and an instrument for mobilizing the masses. It has direct political significance because it affects and weakens the corporative system, an important component of the fascist state. It is an element of the fight for trade union and democratic freedoms.

V.

The younger generation finds itself in the frontline whenever a

difficult task has to be accomplished and the struggle calls for energy, dynamism, courage and devotion.

During the past year young people have played an active and important role in both workers' struggles and political actions by the masses in industrial centers which have given the movement particular force and militancy and vast scope.

After the "election" campaign, during which working youth participated widely and with great enthusiasm in all mass actions and took a number of valuable initiatives, they continued to play an important part in the fight for economic and political demands.

The activity of the youth movement was not systematic due to the lack of a clear-cut orientation and experienced people, the delay in deciding on the formation of a nationwide legal movement, young people's excessive addiction to meetings of an internal nature, misleading, divisive and paralyzing statements by pseudo-revolutionary students, and the underestimation of the importance of creating a youth movement shown in various segments of the movement.

The nationwide movement of working youth should clearly specify the objectives of its policy and activity in line with the fundamental problems and aspirations of youth in general and working youth in particular.

A movement of working youth cannot be brought into being through pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering, let alone under the paternalistic and presumptuous influence of young members of the petty bourgeoisie who think it is the petty bourgeoisie that must lead the working people's movement.

A movement of the working youth can only be created by fighting for the vital demands and aspirations of working youth and by forming flexible organizations meeting the exigencies of this struggle.

The socio-economic demands of youth, cultural and educational activity, struggle for the fundamental democratic liberties, against the colonial war, propaganda for important objectives and initiatives of the younger generation should be young working people's main lines of activity.

Young people must take the leadership of their movement into their own hands and show initiative if the movement is to grow.

Mistakes and setbacks are inevitable. However, initiative and daring are requisites of the success of the movement, of the training of youth leaders, of mass activity.

The student movement is developing with great consistency in all three universities and is beginning to spread to secondary schools. It often assumes a mass character, with young people showing deep discontent and displaying great militancy as they openly uphold the right of the organized movement to a say in solving the nation's problems.

Manifold and courageous student actions for a democratic reform of education and the university, coupled with gains of the democratic movement, forced the government to replace the minister and retreat farther than it had originally intended to.

VI.

The latest events showed clearly that the object of the policy of so-called "liberalization" is not to abolish the fascist state but to consolidate it.

Opportunist illusions to the effect that the evolutionary process could lead to democracy through the "liberalization" being carried out by Caetano have been largely dispelled.

For years the democratic forces insisted on using constitutional and legal opportunities to change the political situation in the country. They did so in 1969 as well. The fascists describe the legal activity of the opposition as "clandestine" and refuse to respect their own constitution and their laws, which they believe do not adequately protect the interests of the monopolies and the ruling camarilla.

In combating fascist demagogy and opportunist illusions, it is necessary constantly to keep the masses aware that fascism cannot be abolished by those who want to save it. The Party membership and the masses must realize that overthrowing the fascist dictatorship will require arduous revolutionary struggle and a popular rising.

This perspective confronts the anti-fascist forces with complex tasks going far beyond the framework of legal and semi-legal organization and activity. Legal and semi-legal forms of organization and activity cannot, for all their importance, meet all the requirements of the revolutionary process.

Under fascism it is indispensable to combine legal with illegal activity. In the absence of underground work by the PCP the scope of the legal and semi-legal struggle of the working class, youth and the democratic forces would be much smaller.

The entire anti-fascist movement is greatly handicapped by the fact that virtually no opposition group, bar the PCP, is carrying on underground work. The exceptional character of legal and semi-legal forms of organization and activity restricts the growth of the popular struggle. This struggle cannot lead to a victorious rising unless it uses genuinely illegal forms and commands strong underground revolutionary organizations.

One of the major weaknesses of the Portuguese anti-fascist movement has been its inability to switch from one form of struggle to another when conditions changed or political developments neces-

sitated it. A resolute effort must be made to eliminate this weakness.

The CC PCP declares once again that it is prepared to discuss the objectives of the struggle, working methods and the forms of co-operation and unity, both legal and illegal, with any political opposition group and all democrats who wish it.

The armed forces are the mainstay of the dictatorship and an instrument of the colonial war in which the country is involved. It is necessary to win positions in the military establishment so as to carry the regime's crisis deeper, develop the fight against the colonial war and create later on subjective conditions favorable to an armed rising of the whole people, which "presupposes the participation and neutralization of a considerable proportion of the armed forces in view of the militarist nature of the state," as the PCP Program stresses.

The wide range of anti-fascist sentiment, the hostile attitude to the colonial war and numerous actions by men and officers of the armed forces show that it is possible to mobilize revolutionary forces and carry on revolutionary activity in the armed forces.

To imagine that fascism can be overthrown through only legal and semi-legal struggles for immediate demands is as absurd as to think that fascism can be overthrown without this kind of struggle.

The struggle of the masses, that motor of the revolution, is developing not around abstract slogans but around specific objectives. These obejctives at present are:

1. Freedom of association, speech, demonstration, strikes and trade union activity.

2. Abolishing censorship and granting the right to information to all citizens.

3. Recognizing the legality of the democratic opposition, its organizations and propaganda media.

4. Releasing of all political prisoners, returning exiles, repealing "security measures," ending the torturing of prisoners, investigating the crimes and abuses of power committed by the fascists.

5. Really dissolving PIDE (disguised as the General Security Department) and the Portuguese Legion.

6. Transferring the direction of mass organizations, in particular the NTUs and student associations, to members of these organizations.

7. Meeting the immediate economic demands of the working class and other working people.

8. Ending the colonial war immediately. It is necessary to insist on establishing contacts and initiating negotiations with the legitimate representatives of the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique.

9. Revising the foreign policy to establish peaceful relations with all countries.

Despite the difficulties occasioned by intensified repression there still are opportunities of creating or developing nationwide movements:

—the trade union movement, which in recent months has made visible headway;

—a movement of working youth, which has the basic requisites of development within the framework of regional groups already in existence;

—the movement against repression and for an amnesty, which, having begun with the actions and campaigns now taking place, can develop into a vast, nationwide movement;

—a women's movement for women's particular demands, through the development of women's committees.

To advance on a wide front towards diverse objectives does not mean scattering forces, provided the struggle for each objective involves the masses, brings in new fighters and mobilizes the people's will and energy.

The task now is to strengthen the movement organizationally, reassume the initiative and extend the struggle of the masses.

VII.

The Portuguese Communist Party is the only revolutionary party existing in Portugal, the party of the working class which owes its strength, militancy and organizing capacity to the class it leads. It is unquestionably the most important force of the anti-fascist opposition.

An expanding popular struggle, victory over fascism, the establishment of a democratic system, genuine national independence and the building of socialism are impossible without the Communist Party, let alone against it. The success of the fight against fascism depends in decisive measure on the activity of the Communist Party.

The vanguard role played by the Party in the entire anti-fascist movement and the Party's exceptional vitality have been confirmed since the Caetano government was formed. So has the imperative need to strengthen every aspect of the Party's activity so that the working class, the younger generation and the democratic movement may fully use the favorable objective conditions to step up the popular struggle as they look forward to the revolution.

To strengthen the Party organizationally, intensify Party propaganda, improve its leading work, educate and train Party cadres are for the Communists tasks whose accomplishment is of decisive importance, not only to the working people, but to the progress of the entire democratic movement and the revolutionary process.

The Party has scored considerable gains during the past two years.

Its political activity has been the decisive factor for the upsurge in the popular struggle and for gains in the fight against fascism.

The facts have fully confirmed the correctness of the main aspects of the political analysis, the orientation and the perspective offered by the Party. The rise in the workers' struggle, specifically the strikes in the first half of 1969, the extensive political activity of the democratic opposition, especially during the "election" campaign, the successful struggle for partial demands, the winning of important positions, progress in uniting the working class organizationally and the anti-fascist youth movement are largely results of persistent effort by the Party. In this period the Party has shown political initiative, activated the popular struggle and strengthened its links with the masses.

Organizational gains have been registered due to the numerical growth of the Party, improvements in its structure, greater initiative in the middle and lower echelons, increased efficiency of the leading bodies and the central underground apparatus and closer links between the leadership and branch organizations and between the latter, on the one hand, and the class and masses, on the other.

Propaganda has come to react more promptly to events, and the circulation of the underground press shows a substantial increase.

Defense of the Party was assured in the main at a particularly difficult period, when the repressive efforts of the enemy were aimed at routing Party organizations and cadres and at eliminating the material base and leadership of the Party.

It will take earnest efforts to carry forward the results achieved. We must react to events more promptly and resolutely, strengthen the Party organizationally in the industrial centers and the countryside by bringing the best sons and daughters of the working class and the people into its ranks, train and promote people more speedily, help Party members politically so as to achieve unity of thought and action throughout the Party, improve the Party press and extend its circulation, greatly intensify the ideological struggle and protect the Party more effectively, for it is constantly threatened with repression as it fights in the frontline against fascism.

The whole Party and each Communist must exert much effort if these tasks are to be carried out.

The celebration of the 50th anniversary of the PCP in March 1971 should express itself in popularizing Party history, in carrying on a broad political campaign to acquaint people with the Program, objectives and orientation of the Party, in extending the Party's influence and building up its membership. The object of the Jubilee Enrolment is to draw into the Party sympathizers who have demonstrated their devotion, as well as other advanced fighters of the working class and people of our country.

"Proud of their Party and its record, the Communists will observe the 50th anniversary of its founding by working hard to strengthen the Party and to promote the Communists' unity of thought and action with a view to preserving the Party and developing it organizationally, strengthening its links with the masses and accomplishing the tasks facing the Party at this stage of struggle. Drawing on the experience and lessons of the Party's activity over 50 years and on the inspiring examples of courage and faith in which its history abounds, the Communists look to the future. They foresee progress of the revolutionary movement of the masses, a popular rising, the overthrow of fascism, the winning of freedom and, in the more distant future, a socialist and Communist Portugal."

ON THE LIBERALS OF CONVENIENCE

By GUS HALL

GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY USA

Many liberals are liberal ony when it is convenient. For many this present moment is not convenient.

The country is facing a serious crisis. McCarthyism has moved into the White House — lock, stock, Agnew and barrel. Nixon tramples on the Constitution. He escalates and expands the illegal war in Indochina. The ultra-Right under cover of "hard hats" beats the drums for war, racism and repression. Nixon sends out a Presidential letter of thanks to each of the thugs. The Nixon administration is rolling back the civil rights gains of the past. Anti-labor injunctions are at full tide. Legislative hoppers are overflowing with anti-labor bills. Students have been shot in cold blood. The Vice-President of the country has become the leading barker, organizing and arousing every possible reactionary anti-democratic racist scum. There is an atmosphere of racism, repression and militarism.

This is the reality. This is the source of danger to the country. This is what the American people, and the liberals included, should be concerned about, but too many of the liberals are not.

In fact, many liberals have picked this moment to launch a concentrated attack on the "Left". From Senator Margaret Chase Smith to Nathan Pusey of Harvard, they are on the stump against the "danger from the left."

Many of these liberals falsely claim they have credentials to speak out against the Left because they spoke against McCarthyism. Even if their claims were true it does not give such rights to anyone. But the truth is that most of them spoke against McCarthyism when it became convenient. They placed themselves on record when the American people had rejected McCarthyism. Most liberals either joined the wolfpack of reaction or remained silent when reaction was imprisoning and terrorizing people who expressed an opposition.

The ugly historic truth which must be recalled now is that most of our liberals were factors in creating McCarthyism. They helped create McCarthyism in the exact manner they are now helping to create a new-reactionary offensive. Then they were on the red-baiting stump. Now the "spectre" is the whole Left. They

Daily World, July 18, 1970.

were largely instrumental in creating the hysteria then, as they are again today. They created the liberal umbrella for the ultra-Right, then. They are doing it again today.

Liberals of convenience in fact are not liberals. When they run interference for reaction they are out in their true colors. Today they run interference for reaction by attacking the Left—or again remaining silent.

They do this by distorting the position of the Left. They know better but they use the few acts of violence committed by police and FBI agents within the ranks of the people's organizations and, in some cases, by some misled anarchistic individuals as a cover for their attacks on the Left. While doing so, they ignore the real violence. They ignore the racist violence against black Americans. They ignore the growing repression against the Constitutional rights of every American.

There are times when Liberals add to the struggle for democracy. But they are never a very reliable ally. Capitalism is basically anti-democratic. Supporters of capitalism, even the liberal ones, cannot be consistent supporters of democratic or progressive causes.

When liberals support the cause of progress, that should be welcome. But when they waver and when they become the liberal cover for reaction, when they become allies of the anti-democratic forces, they must be exposed. Liberalism as a convenient cloak for reaction must be rejected and condemned by liberals who are seriously in the struggle against repression and war.

MEANING OF UNITED FRONT VICTORY IN CEYLON

New Age special representative Sadhan Mukherjee during his reporting tour of Ceylon interviewed Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ceylon and Minister of Housing and Construction in the united front government of Ceylon.

Q. What, in your opinion, is the main significance of the landslide victory of the united front in the general election on May 27, 1970?

A. First and foremost, the general election was a massive vote of confidence by the people in the united front and in the program that the UF set out in its election manifesto. The UF has won 116 out of the 151 elected seats in Ceylon's Parliament and now controls 122 out of the 157 seats.

The landslide victory has created new possibilities for the further advance of the anti-imperialist and socalist forces of Ceylon. In fact, the very size of the victory is such that it can be said that the people have given the UF an even wider mandate than asked for—a virtual blank cheque, to go ahead with the job of carrying through the social transformations that the people consider necessary.

The overwhelming majority that the UF government has in Parliament does not oblige it, like the earlier governments, to depend on political deals in order to retain a majority. Nor need it be inhibited by the two-thirds majority rule in the existing Constitution from carrying through major structural and social changes.

Second, the people have inflicted a major political defeat on the former reactionary United National Party (UNP) government and its anti-national policies. Eleven cabinet ministers and nine deputy ministers of the former government were routed at the polls and the UNP was reduced from 66 seats to 17. With one exception, the members of all other parties that in 1965 had joined the UNP to enable Dudley Senanayake to form a government were also wiped out.

Dudley Senanayake's government had in every way subordinated Ceylon's vital national interests to Anglo-American imperialism and its financial agencies like the so-called "World Bank." The dependence of Ceylon on imperialism had been deepened and the financial "aid" that the UNP secured for this service was used to fatten its supporters and to promote the development of capitalism in all fields.

All this brought the former government into direct conflict with the widest strata of the Ceylonese people whose living standards declined as a result of repeated devaluations of the rupee, cuts in the rice

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New Age, August 9, 1970.

ration and the social services, the skyrocketing prices of essential commodities, the doubling of unemployment—especially among educated youth, etc. The fact that the UF existed to organize and mobilize these forces was a decisive factor in our victory.

DEFEAT FOR ANTI-COMMUNISM

Third, the election victory represents a major defeat for anti-communism and the forces of communalism.

As in earlier ones, anti-communism was the main slogan of the reactionary forces in this general election. They searched the whole world for arguments to bolster their propaganda positions and made great use of various extremist petit-bourgeois groups that have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. Some of the activities of the CPI (Marxist) and similar forces in India also became a stock-in-trade of the propaganda of the reactionary forces.

But all this was of no avail. Two-thirds of the candidates of the Communist Party were elected with majorities ranging from 5,000 to 18,000 and we increased our total vote by nearly 60,000. The reactionaries also failed in their attempt to exclude the Communist Party from the united front government.

A special feature of our victory was the fact that most of 900,000 new 18-year-old voters, who voted for the first time, voted for the UF.

Q. Could you tell us something about your Party's experience in regard to the creation and development of the united front?

A. Our Party's fight for the united front has a long history.

Although this conception appears in the program of our inaugural congress in 1943, it was first concretized by our fourth congress in 1950.

In the two decades since then our Party has campaigned unceasingly, and with both failure and success, for an anti-imperialist united front and for a united front of the working class and left forces as its core.

OUR PAST EXPERIENCE

At first these proposals were accepted by our Party alone. Our enemies denounced our proposals from two contradictory positions. In one breath, they said that we wanted a united front only because we were too weak to stand on our own feet. In the next breath, they denounced our proposal as a sinister attempt to swallow up the other parties.

In regard to the united front of the working class and left forces, we had a limited success in June 1951 when we concluded a programmatic agreement with one of the other left parties of the time and sought to extend it and make it comprehensive by drawing the third left party—the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP)—into this front.

We were not able to succeed at that time, however, even though

large sections of the middle class and rank-and-file members of the LSSP supported our campaign and eventually came over to our Party.

On that occasion, as on so many others, anti-Sovietism and anti-communism were the main slogans used by those who stood opposed to the united front.

Our Party continued with its campaign and in August 1963 we were able to conclude a comprehensive united front agreement of all the left parties on a clear-cut program. These efforts were opposed not only by reactionary and right-wing forces but also by a small group of splitters within our own Party who claimed that they were guided by the Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung.

The formation of the United Left Front (ULF) transformed the political situation. It posed in a concrete way the need for the further step of bringing about unity between the forces of the united Left and the Shri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) led by Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

The campaigns of the ULF not only led to Sirimavo Bandaranaike's SLFP government taking several radical measures, such as the nationalization of the foreign oil companies, but also to proposals for a coalition government.

The reactionary forces and the right-wing within the SLFP were not able to stop this trend. But they were able to see that the Communist Party was kept out of the coalition government formed between the SLFP and the LSSP in 1964.

VARIOUS FORMS

The absence of the Communist Party made the coalition government of 1964 incomplete and was a source of weakness that the reactionary forces used to topple the government within a few months.

In the campaign against the reactionary conspiracies and in the general election that followed our Party was able to re-establish relations with the SLFP and the LSSP.

The united front between the SLFP and the left parties has developed through various forms. There were common campaigns and "no contest" arrangements during elections. Later, and especially during and immediately after the 1964 general election, they took the form of "no contest" arrangements with mutual support at election and planned common campaigns.

This, in turn, led to the establishment of machinery for joint consultation and the working out of an agreed strategy and tactics for the advance of the progressive movement.

The next step was the formal adoption of a Common Program and the agreement to fight for a SLFP-LSSP-CP united front government which was signed in June 1968. The Common Program and Agreement put the united front on a formal and regularized footing.

The campaigns and struggles conducted by the united front between 1966 and 1970 helped to clarify issues and to widen the areas of agreement. This found expression in the adoption of the Joint Election Manifesto of the UF which became the basis of the general election of May 27, 1970 and the formation of the UF government.

Of course, I have only narrated in the most brief and bald fashion the principal events in our Party's fight for the united front. The practical experience that the masses and the members of the other parties gained in the course of their struggles against the common enemy was a major factor in convincing the whole progresive movement of the correctness of the Communist Party's united front proposals.

Q. What about the period ahead? Do you see any danger to the positions of the United Front?

A. Of course, there are such dangers—both external and internal.

The main source of these dangers lies in the fact that although the pro-imperialist reactionary forces were defeated *politically* on May 27, their political, economic and social power is still intact and has to be broken.

We had the experience in 1962, during the time of Sirimavo Bandaranaike's first government, of these reactionary forces even seeking to organize a coup d'etat to seize power.

We have therefore to push ahead with the implementation of the proposals of the UF aimed at ending the power of the foreign and local vested interests in the economy, the state machine and in society in general.

At the moment, the reactionaries are in disarray and seek time to regroup their forces. Thus they publicly offer "cooperation" to the UF government while preparing to launch new offensives against it.

They also seek to use the economic and financial crisis created by the policies of the past government to"advise" us to postpone or abandon the radical measures that we have announced.

In a situation like this, it is possible that capitulatory tendencies can develop within the progressive forces. It is also possible that the extent of the victory of the progressive forces can be overestimated to advance proposals for whose realization the objective situation has not yet properly matured. Both such developments can impede the progress of the UF.

The increase of the influence and positions of the working masses within the united front is an important task in strengthening the front and ensuring the fulfilment of the aims for which the people voted. This is especially so, as the realization of the program of the UF is likely to lead to sharp political and economic struggles with the reactionary forces, the entrenched vested interests and those influenced by them.

STATEMENT OF CC CP OF PUERTO RICO

The Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Communist Party has made the following statement to the press.

Comrade Juan Santos Rivera has left the ranks of the Puerto Rican Communist Party in order to join the Movement for Independence (MI). Santos Rivera was General Secretary of the PRCP.

At a Central Committee meeting Santos Rivera put forward the idea that the Party should be dissolved and that its members join the ranks of the Movement for Independence. He said, among other things, that the MI was developing along the path towards Marxism-Leninism and that in time it would become a "Bolshevik Marxist-Leninist Party."

Without minimizing the role of the MI or the links which we have invariably maintained with it in the fight against the imperialists and for national liberation, the members of the Central Committee resolutely opposed "integration" of the PRCP into the MI for purely ideological considerations.

The question was widely discussed at three CC PRCP meetings. At the last meeting it was put to the vote and Santos Rivera alone voted for integration. Finally the question was taken up at a general meeting of the PRCP on July 19, with all participants, excepting Santos Rivera and one abstention, voting against "integration." Now Santos Rivera has decided to leave the ranks of the Party and join the Movement for Independence in order, as he says, to give maximum economic, moral and political assistance to the MI.

In view of this situation, a general meeting of Party members elected Felix Ojeda General Secretary of the PRCP; he has already taken up his duties.

PANORAMA

TREATY BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE FRG

MEETING OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY STATES

On August 20, 1970 the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries met in Moscow.

The meeting was attended by T. Zhivkov (Bulgaria), J. Kadar and J. Fock (Hungary), W. Ulbricht and W. Stoph (GDR), W. Gomulka and J. Cyrankiewicz (Poland), N. Ceausescu and I. G. Maurer (Rumania), L. Brezhnev, N. Kosygin and N. Podgorny (Soviet Union), G. Husak and L. Strougal (Czechoslovakia) and other Party leaders and statesmen of the countries concerned.

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss international problems according to the established practice of relations between the socialist countries of the Warsaw Treaty organization.

Attention focussed on the situation in Europe, which is universally recognized as having an important effect on the world situation.

The meeting noted that the talks and the signing of the treaty between the USSR and FRG on August 12, 1970 were an important advance towards easing tension and normalizing the situation in Europe and that they meet the interests of all nations and will foster active state-level relations between all European countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence. It expressed its resolve to take further steps to build up European security, and specifically to adopt, together with other countries, active measures for the early convocation of the proposed European conference, whose idea is gaining increasing support.

Views were also exchanged on some other international problems.

The meeting again voiced the conviction that promoting fraternal links and all-round cooperation between socialist countries is an earnest of safeguarding peace and European security.

The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of complete agreement, friendship and cooperation.

* * *

On August 27 last the Soviet press reported that the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Council of Ministers of the USSR had heard the report of the Soviet delegation on the

outcome of the meeting of the PCC of the Warsaw Treaty countries held in Moscow on August 20, 1970.

The exchange of views on topical foreign policy problems conducted at the PCC meeting furnished new evidence of the fraternal unity and close cooperation of the Warsaw Treaty countries in consolidating the positions of socialism and in strengthening peace and international security.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Council of Ministers of the USSR expressed satisfaction at the high opinion the delegations of allied states had of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG, which they considered a factor for lessening tension and normalizing the situation in Europe.

The PB CC CPSU and Council of Ministers of the USSR are convinced that the coming into force of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG and the resolve of the Warsaw Treaty countries to take new steps for European security, and specifically towards laying the groundwork for and convening the all-Europe conference will be of importance to the progress of inter-state relations in Europe on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

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On August 25 last the Presidium of the CC CPC and the government of the CSSR discussed a report by G. Husak and L. Strougal on the course and results of the Moscow meeting of the PCC of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Both the Presidium and the Czechoslovak government welcomed the outcome of the August meeting of the Warsaw Treaty countries and approved of the treaty recently signed between the Soviet Union and the FRG. They regard this treaty as an important step which provides favorable conditions for the settlement of outstanding issues in Europe, including that of declaring the Munich pact to be null and void from the first, as well as for easing tension on the European continent.

The Presidium of the CC CPC and government of the CSSR are convinced that normalization of the situation in Europe will make for a further extension of important inter-state contacts on the principle of peaceful coexistence, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all European states within existing frontiers and respect for the interests of European security and cooperation.

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The Political Bureau of the CC BCP and Council of Ministers of Bulgaria discussed a report on the August 20 meeting of the PCC of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

The PB and Council of Ministers reaffirm their high opinion of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG, which confirms the situation created in Europe as a result of World War II. They are convinced that the coming into force could initiate the development of new favorable conditions in relations between all European countries. The Treaty confirms the correctness of the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist countries and its fundamental principle, peaceful coexistence.

Bulgaria will continue to contribute actively to the unity of the socialist countries, a healthier political climate in the Balkans and in Europe, the creation of more favorable conditions for the convening of the European security conference and comprehensive cooperation between European countries.

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The Political Bureau, CC SUPG, and Council of Ministers of the GDR note with satisfaction that the detailed exchange of views on topical international issues and complete unanimity reaffirm the indestructible unity of the socialist commonwealth. The Political Bureau and Council of Ministers agree with the meeting's opinion that the talks and the signing of the treaty between the Soviet Union and the FRG are an important step towards relaxing tension and normalizing the situation in Europe. This is in line with the interests of all nations and contributes to active relations at the state level between all European countries on the principle of peaceful coexistence.

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The Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic fully approved of the conclusion of the PCC of the Warsaw Treaty countries that the talks and the signing of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG are an important step towards lessening tensions and normalizing the situation in Europe and will make for more active interstate relations between all European countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence. It also approved of other conclusions of the PCC regarding European security.

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Implementation of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG should become the concern of all who want peace and mutual understanding, according to the statement of a joint meeting of the GCP Presidium and Party activists.

Appealing to the Social Democrats, trade unionists and all peace-

loving citizens of the FRG, the German Communist Party points to the need to hold an all-Europe security conference, establish diplomatic relations with the GDR and have both German states admitted to the UN.

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Twenty-five years after the Second World War the West German government recognizes in legal terms the inviolability of the frontiers existing in Europe, including the Oder-Neisse frontier and the frontier between the Federal Republic of Germany and the other sovereign German state, the German Democratic Republic, says the statement of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party of August 13.

It declares that it renounces the use or threat of force in international relations.

Thus it fixes the bankruptcy of the policy pursued for twenty-five years by the West German ruling quarters who wanted to revise the territorial and political results of Hitler Germany's defeat, with the support of their American, British and French allies.

Due to the consistent policy of the Soviet Union which has come out in defense of European security, and to the all-round consolidation of the socialist community, especially the GDR, and also due to the actions of the international working class and other forces of peace, including those of the FRG, the imperialist powers' aggressive policy has suffered a serious defeat, while the struggle for peaceful coexistence has scored major successes.

The French Communist Party, which has never stopped fighting against the revanchist ambitions of the West German militarists and their allies, holds that the treaty concluded between the Soviet Union and the FRG may bring about a new situation on our continent favorable for the struggle for a Europe where peace and cooperation would reign supreme.

What is needed for this are resolute efforts to do away with all the consequences of the harmful policy pursued so far by the Western powers and especially the leaders of our country.

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The Belgian Communist Party Political Bureau published a statement on August 18, stressing the exceptional importance of the treaty signed recently in Moscow between the USSR and the FRG.

Recognition by West Germany of the frontiers established in 1945 and of the existence of the two German states, the statement says, signifies a turn in the political life in Europe.

The treaty is a success for the many years' efforts by the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe and the labor and demo-

cratic forces devoted to the cause of peace, efforts aimed at promoting international detente and ensuring security in Europe.

* * *

The Finnish Communist Party Political Bureau, meeting on August 20, expressed the hope that the treaty concluded between the USSR and the FRG would contribute not only to the solution of the problems of European security but also to the settlement of other international issues.

In this connection, full recognition of the GDR by Finland becomes still more urgent.

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

SPAIN

In its statement of *August 7* on the signing of the agreement which provides for the continued operation of the U.S. military bases in the country, the Executive Committee of the CP of Spain says in part:

"In great haste and without the knowledge of the people and even its own Cortes, the Government has once again capitulated before U.S. imperialism, having agreed to prolong the U.S. lease of the military bases in Spain.

"The Communist Party regards this agreement as anti-national and will fight for its abrogation.

"To this end, we propose to all who oppose the prolongation of the lease to launch a broad campaign to get the government to consult the people on the question of the new agreement which imperils not only the country's sovereignty, but the very existence of Spain. Should the government fail to do this, it will be done by the forces opposed to the agreement by collecting hundreds of thousands of signatures."

"We demand," the statement goes on, "removal of Lopez Bravo and resignation of a government which is selling out Spain for a dollar handout."

"We insist on a policy of active neutrality outside the framework of military blocs."

SOVIET UNION

A two-volume collection of speeches and articles by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has recently been published. Titled *On Lenin's Course*, and covering the period 1964-70, it contains the Central Committee report to the 23rd Party Congress, speeches at Central Committee plenums, Party conferences, fraternal Communist Party congresses, reports on the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 20th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory over Nazi Germany, the Lenin centenary, speeches at congresses of the Young Communists, schoolteachers, collective farmers, at the June 1969 International Meeting of Communist and and Workers' Parties in Moscow, two articles in *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, "Towards New Victories for Communism" and "Fresh Upsurge of the Communist Movement," and also other items.

ARGENTINA

The first issue of a fortnightly *Latin American Information Bulletin* was published in Buenos Aires on *August 19*.

The editorial says that the Bulletin aims at providing the Communist parties and the working people of the continent with extensive information on the activities of fraternal parties and anti-imperialist, labor and people's organizations, and at helping to work out a common political line and exchange experience. It will also deal with revolutionary developments in the Latin American countries.

LEBANON

An-Nida, organ of the Communist Party, reported in *mid-August* that the Communist Party had resumed its legal activity after 23 years of underground work and struggle for the interests of the working people of the Lebanon.

USA

The Communist Party today filed with the New York State secretary of state 20,960 signatures on petitions nominating Rasheed Storey for Governor, Grace Mora Newman for Lieutenant Governor and Arnold Johnson for U.S. Senator in the New York 1970 election in November. Also today the Party filed 7,200 signatures at the New York City board of elections office in Manhattan nominating Jose Stevens as candidate for Congress from the 18th Congressional district (Harlem). This is the first time the Communist Party has filed for statewide candidates since 1946. (*Daily World* of *August 22*)

FRANCE

On the occasion of the 26th anniversary of the liberation of Paris, the French Communist Party published a statement on *August 24*, pointing out the leading role of the French working class and Communists in the Resistance movement. The uprising in Paris, the statement says, crowned the heroic fight of the French people, united by the common desire for freedom, democracy and peace.

These aims of peace and democracy are still relevant. The FCP worked out a program of advanced democracy for a socialist France which accords with the demands of the times. French Communists are for a collective security system in Europe in place of the military blocs, for universal disarmament and peace. They fight for a new system in France, capable of assuring the development of effective democracy and genuine economic and social progress.

CANADA

Speaking at a mass rally in Toronto on *August 26,* William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, stressed that the struggle for peace in all countries, including Canada, has entered a new stage. One of the key tasks facing the Communists of Canada, he said, is active participation in the campaign for signatures under the petition calling for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam and for an end to the U.S. imperialist aggression against the peoples of Indochina.

Kashtan called on the working people of Canada to combine economic with political struggle and stressed the need for united action in the fight for economic and political rights.

USA

The National Women's Commission of the CPUSA issued a statement on *August 26,* which says that exploitation of women is a built-in feature of capitalism and that the rate of exploitation depends on their class position. Women can win equality only if working women join the movement and exercise a leading role.

The Communist Party, which has been long conducting the struggle for women's rights, holds that the main aspects of the struggle for the full equality of women should be the problems of war, racism and the emancipation of women, particularly women workers, from exploitation in production and drudgery in the family.

The statement concludes that women's equality can be assured only through the abolition of capitalism which continues in existence by reason of its ability to exploit vast masses of workers.

DENMARK

On *August 27 Land og Folk* published a statement of the Communist Party Central Committee, saying that Denmark's entry into the Common Market will mean greater opportunities for foreign firms, above all U.S. and West German, to buy up production facilities and land and pocket still larger profits.

The statement sharply criticizes the government's efforts to get admission into the EEC at a time when there are favorable conditions for extending economic cooperaiton among all European countries.

VENEZUELA

The 16th Plenary meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee drew to a close on *August 27.* It approved the theses on the trade union movement and the agrarian question and discussed the present international situation. The theses will be submitted to the Fourth Party Congress to be held in December.

The theses on the trade union emphasize that the working class led by the Communist Party is the most revolutionary and militant class with a stake in the abolition of the system of exploitation. The need is stressed for an open and flexible policy of alliances with all who want to champion the workers' interests and to make their organization an instrument of class struggle.

The theses on the agrarian question point out that the agricultural structure is characterized by the existence of various forms of capitalism, peasant farms, latifundism and small subsistence farms with a very low level of production and consumption.

The theses call for an alliance between the working class and peasantry and for higher standards of revolutionary consciousness.

SOVIET UNION

On *August 28* the Central Committee of the CP of Kazakhstan, Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh Republic and representatives of Party, state and public organizations and the Soviet Army, held a meeting in AlmaAta to mark the 50th anniversary of the Kazakh Republic and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

The meeting was addressed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, who had arrived in Alma-Ata on August 26. (Comrade Brezhnev's speech will be published in our next issue.)

The celebrations in Alma-Ata developed into a vivid demonstration of the solid unity of the Kazakh working people around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee, a demonstration of the unbreakable friendship of the Soviet peoples marching towards their radiant future, communism.

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Between *August 31* and *September 9* General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, visited also the Turkmenian, Tajik, Kirghiz and Uzbek Republics. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev had meetings with the leaders of Republican Party and state organizations, visited many institutions, enterprises and collective farms and had talks with workers and collective farmers. Meetings of Party activists were held in the Republican capitals, at which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spoke.

ARGENTINA

On *August 28 Nuestra palabra*, organ of the Communist Party, reported brutal repressions in Paraguay. Prof. Antonio Maidana, Alfredo Alcorta and Julio Rojas, all members of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan CP, have been in prison for 12 years now.

The newspaper called on world public opinion to defend the

Paraguayan political prisoners and to demand their immediate release.

FRANCE

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party met in Paris on *August 28*. It discussed the economic and social situation in the country, noting the deteriorating living conditions and growing discontent among different social strata.

It also discussed the international situation. Members of the Political Bureau noted that the campaign in support of the struggle of the peoples of Indochina against U.S. aggressors was growing in scope.

The Political Bureau approved the activity of the Gironde Federation and its candidate at the Bordeaux elections in exposing the government's policy and the maneuvers of Servan-Schreiber.

ITALY

On *August 28 Unita* published a statement of the CP Political Bureau, resolutely denouncing the economic measures of the Colombo government affecting the working people. The ICP leadership called for a more intensive struggle by the working people in defense of their social and economic gains.

BOLIVIA

Unidad of *August 28* published as a supplement a resolution of the Eighth National Conference of the Bolivian CP, entitled "For an Independent Class Organization of the Workers' Movement." The main tasks set by the Conference are to unite, organize and educate the working class, step up the struggle for democratic rights and freedoms and better living standards.

The Conference made a deep analysis of the political situation in the country, the growing contradictions within the ruling clique and the heightened activity of the Right-wing elements in the armed forces, and confirmed the demands advanced by the November 1969 meeting of the CPB Central Committee: not one centavo in compensation for the nationalized Gulf Oil, protection of the national resources, expulsion of U.S. agents from the country, stabilization of prices and wage increases.

Noting the important role that has been played of late by the Army, students and Catholic circles in the social life of Bolivia, the Conference stressed the historic responsibility of the working class at the present time and pointed to the need for the Communist Party to work among the masses, to be able to choose allies in definite conditions among "the closest Party and political circles" and achieve united action as the basis for "a popular anti-

imperialist front." To mobilize the masses, the document says, it is necessary to advance clear, concrete and consistent aims modified in accordance with the level of organization and possibilities of struggle, aims that would win support of the urban and rural proletariat, as well as other strata. . . ."

The resolution of the Eighth National Conference will be submitted for discussion and approval by the forthcoming Third Party Congress.

FINLAND

The Helsinki Regional Committee of the Communist Party met on *August 30* to mark the 52nd anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Finland. It was addressed by A. Aaito, General Secretary of the CPF.

Noting that the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties proclaimed 1970 the Lenin Year, Comrade Aalto said that all over the world Communists and the progressive public had done a great deal to disseminate and popularize Lenin's ideas. The speaker noted that the Communist Party of Finland based all its activities on Lenin's theoretical heritage which has great significance for the world Communist movement and all mankind.

He recalled the historical conditions in which the CPF was founded in 1918 and said that Lenin's teachings had become the weapon of Finnish Communists in their struggle against ideological enemies. Today too, he said, it is a great aid in strengthening Party Unity, in struggling for the working people's interests and rights, in making society fully democratic, in destroying the power of big capital, in the struggle for peace and socialism.

"We Communists," continued A. Aalto, "hold in esteem the traditions that have been established between our Party and Lenin's Party. Now, as in the past, we see our most important goal in strengthening friendship and cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union." The speaker said that the prolongation of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between the Soviet Union and Finland was a significant event in Finland's political life.

PERU

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru, meeting on *August 30* and *31*, analyzed the internal political situation and adopted several decisions.

The plenum noted that progressive and reactionary forces in the country were re-grouping and that contradictions between labor and capital, between the land-owing oligarchy and the peasants were becoming sharper.

The plenum censured the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda spread in the country by the reactionary circles and called for a decisive struggle against the latter.

The plenum appealed to the people to support the government's progressive measures.

CYPRUS

Addressing a meeting of Party functionaries AKEL General Secretary E. Papaioannou said that imperialism was plotting the murder of President Makarios and other political leaders in the country and preparing to liquidate Cyprus as a state and to divide and turn it into a NATO military springboard.

Analyzing the political situation on the island, E. Papaioannou said that the people of Cyprus were capable of preventing imperialism from carrying out these criminal plans against Cyprus and that the problem of Cyprus could be resolved peacefully within the framework of inter-Cypriot negotiations, (*Nei Keri* reported on *August 31*).

DRV

A big meeting was held in Hanoi on *August 31* to mark the 25th anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. A report was delivered by Pham Van Dong, Politbureau member of the CC of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and Prime Minister of the DRV. (A summary of the report will appear in the next issue of the bulletin.)

SOVIET UNION

On *September 1*, the Soviet Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* reported that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers discussed measures to improve the work of Soviet courts and the Prosecutor's office. The resolution notes that the Prosecutor's office and the courts are doing a great deal to protect the interests of the state and citizen's rights, improve justice and fight crime, educate Soviet people in a spirit of strict observance of the laws and norms of socialist society.

The resolution points out the need to eliminate drawbacks in various legal bodies.

The Prosecutor's office and the courts must work more efficiently, foster greater responsibility and responsiveness to proposals and complaints made by the working people. They must do away with the bureaucratic approach and procrastination in dealing with letters, improve the procedure of receiving the public, and legal aid to the population, organizations, comrades' courts and public order volunteers. They should also constantly popularize Soviet laws and

provide legal instruction to the population, especially the younger generation.

The resolution notes that the work of the Prosecutor's office and the courts must be based on the strictest observance of socialist legality, sense of responsibility and irreproachable fulfiullment of duty.

RUMANIA

A meeting of the CC of the Rumanian Communist Party was held from *September 3-4* with the participation of top Party and industrial officials and leaders of mass and public organizations.

Among the problems discussed were the fulfilment of the state industrial plan for 1970, utilization of capital investments, results in agriculture for the first six months of the year and preparations for the autumn farming season.

N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, reported on Rumania's economic goals. He noted the necessity for greater efforts in order to reach planned targets and to improve the quality of products. He said that all conditions were on hand for industry and agriculture to successfully fulfill the 1970 plan.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The editorial of the *Rude Pravo* for *September 5* describes the new stage in Party life following the exchange of membership cards. The editorial says that the exchange of Party membership cards has helped to crush the centers of the Right-wing groups, liquidate their positions in government and other organizations and that many careerists and those whose moral qualities were incompatible with membership in the CPC, have been expelled from the Party.

SOVIET UNION

At the *beginning of September* the Political Literature Publishing House released the third volume of documents: "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums" (eighth, supplemented, edition).

The volume, prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CC CPSU, includes important Party documents dating from January 1924 to November 1927. They reflect the Party's struggle to carry out Lenin's plan for the building of socialism in the USSR and show that Lenin's ideas were at the basis of all Party activity.

NORWAY

The CC of the Norwegian Communist Party, meeting from *Sep-*

tember 5-6, appealed to the Socialist People's Party to cooperate during the 1971 communal election campaign. It noted that the establishment of a united socialist front and nomination of joint candidates would be an important step in the election campaign.

The Central Committee called upon Party members to redouble their efforts to help keep Norway out of the Common Market.

It says in its statement that the constant rise in prices is a direct result of the existing economic system. It is the task of the trade unions to extend the fight for better living and working conditons.

GUYANA

The People's Progressive Party of Guyana (PPP) held its 14th Congress from *September 5-8*. Delegates approved of the government decision to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR and called for trade and diplomatic relations with all socialist countries.

The Congress elected a 32-man General Council, which will elect the General Secretary and secretaries of the Party.

The Party leader Cheddi Jagan reported to the Congress on behalf of the PPP's General Council. He noted the changes that had taken place in the Party over the past few years. He said that the 14th Congress demonstrated the Party's confident advance in consolidating its ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The Congress condemned the U.S. criminal war in Vietnam and demanded the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. "Vietnam's future must be decided by the Vietnamese themselves," says a Congress resolution.

AUSTRIA

On *September 5* a conference of heads and secretaries of regional organizations of the Austrian Communist Party was addressed by the Chairman of the ACP, Franz Muhri, who said that the treaty concluded between the FRG and the USSR signified positive changes in the situation in Europe. "In contrast to its conservative predecessors," Franz Muhri pointed out, "the present FRG government has made a definite turn and has begun to reckon with the political realities."

Franz Muhri warned against believing that West German militarism was a non-existent danger. "The opposition by militarist forces to the agreement," he said, "shows that they have not laid down their arms."

ITALY

Unita festivities were held in Italian cities and towns at the *beginning of September*, during which workers, peasants and pro-

gressive intellectuals collected funds for the Communist press, took part in meetings and demonstrations and distributed Party literature. A mass meeting in Milan held on September 6 was addressed by G. Pajetta, member of the ICP Political Bureau.

CANADA

On Labor Day in Canada, *September 7*, the Executive Committee of the Canadian CP appealed to workers to fight harder for their rights, social and economic justice and world peace. Its statement points out that the class struggle in Canada is becoming more tense, the number of strikes is increasing and the working people's class and political awareness is growing. In these conditions, more than ever before, the trade unions must step up their activity in defense of the interests of the working class, against mass unemployment and poverty.

The statement also notes the imperative need for Canada's economic independence from U.S. monopolies and for the Canadian government to stop supporting the aggressive policy of the U.S. government.

URUGUAY

September. Mass meetings are being held in Uruguay dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

Addressing teachers in the Sudamerica Palace in the capital, the First Secretary of the CPU, Rodney Arismendi, told about the history of the Uruguayan Communist Party, laying special stress on the struggle for the unity of the working people and all progressive forces. "We are marking the 50th anniversary," he said, "as a date witnessing qualitative changes in the Party." The speaker noted "the active role played by Uruguayan Communists in the development of the new historical process initiated by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution."

CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

The Sinhua agency reports that the CC of the Chinese Communist Party held a plenum from *August 23 to September 6*. The plenum communique says that the delegates participated in debates on the plenum agenda but does not specify its items.

The plenum instructed the Standing Committee of the All-Chinese Assembly of People's Representatives, "to carry out the necessary preparatory work to convene, at an appropriate date, the 4th ACAPR."

The plenum communique contains the usual anti-Soviet attacks.

POLAND

On *September 6* the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Wladyslaw Gomulka, addressed 50 thousand farm workers at a Warsaw stadium. He spoke of the goals of the five-year plan, and said that the next five years would see the implementation of a wide program of economic and social progress in the rural areas.

Due to the consistent peaceful policy followed by the socialist countries, Wladyslaw Gomulka said, the situation in Europe is developing more successfully. There is a greater desire to strengthen peace and security by stabilizing existing borders and rejecting the use of force in relations between states. This is expressed in the treaty signed recently between the USSR and the FRG which is based on respect for the territorial integrity of all states within their present borders, making it possible to establish normal relations and economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the interests of peaceful development in Europe.

W. Gomulka said that similar negotiations were being carried on between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Normalization of relations between Warsaw Treaty countries and the FRG, he noted, aimed at liquidating the main source of tension in Europe and initiating a period of constructive and beneficial cooperation between all countries on the continent on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

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On *September 7* the CC PUWP held a conference of regional Party secretaries to discuss economic problems, mainly fulfilment of plans for this year. The participants also evaluated the work of factory commissions that were established by the fifth plenum of the CC PUWP. The conference was chaired by Politbureau member and CC secretary B. Jaszczuk.

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