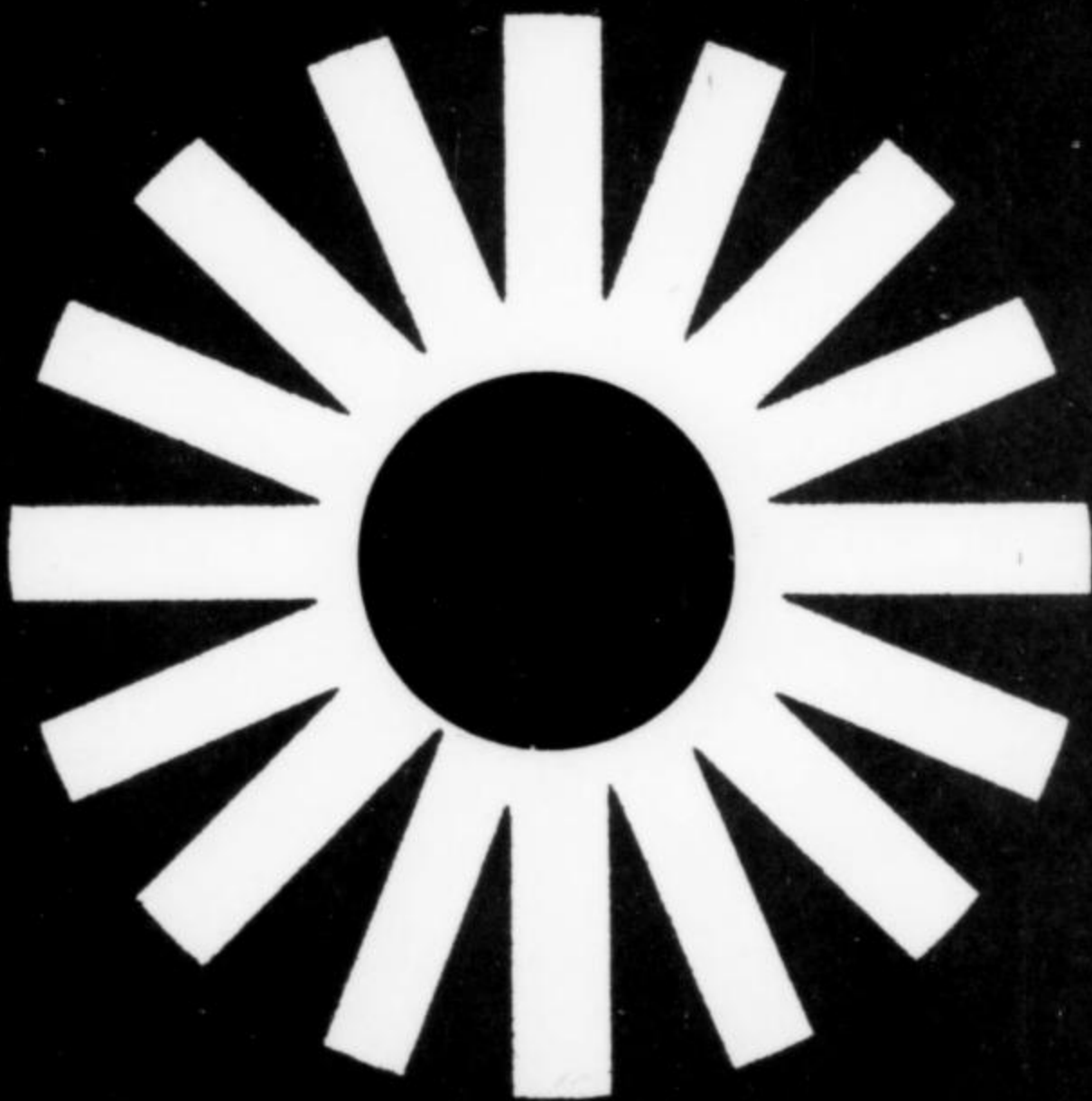




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PROGRAM THESES OF CP OF BOLIVIA

The Communist Party of Bolivia held its Third National Congress last June, as **Information Bulletin** reported earlier. Following are extracts from the Program Theses approved by the Congress.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRY

A CAPITALIST, DEPENDENT AND BACKWARD COUNTRY

Bolivia is a capitalist country dependent on imperialism, chiefly U.S. imperialism. It is also a backward country, which is due to the low development level of its productive forces. Dependence and backwardness are the salient characteristics of a predominantly capitalist socio-economic structure within which diverse interlacing forms of the precapitalist mode of production persist, especially in the countryside.

Bolivia's capitalist structure is the result of an uneven, slow and contradictory process that set in at the close of the last century and has been going on to this day. Its component foreign and domestic sectors are interlinked today, relatively speaking, even though they came into being in different periods of history.

The foreign capitalist sector was brought into existence as a result of increasing exploitation, first of silver deposits and then tin. This development was stimulated by Bolivian business, although it soon linked up with international finance capital to become something of a foreign enclave in the Bolivian economy. Originally this sector was dependent on British imperialism but about the 1930s British imperialism was supplanted by its U.S. counterpart, whose bankers had become the principal creditors of the Bolivian state.

Production for export, being dependent on the world capitalist market, deformed the national economy and created considerable difficulties for the country's development. Controlled by a handful of the oligarchy's representatives, the "tin barons" closely allied with foreign capitalists and domestic feudal landowners, this system of production promoted the plunder of Bolivia and the exploitation of its working people.

The domestic capitalist sector began to form in the 1930s and in the conditions created by World War II. The result was a series of minor reforms immaterial to the national economy. Most of

Unidad, No. 409, 1971 (supplement).

them were initiated by Bolivian capitalists, who were encouraged with credits on easy terms.

As this process went on, the Bolivian proletariat—miners, factory workers, railwaymen and others—entered the scene. It was small in numbers but showed itself from the first to be the most militant spokesman of the people's revolutionary aspirations. At the same time the middle strata of the urban population showed some numerical growth.

The April 1952 revolution modified the feudal and bourgeois nature of the country and brought relatively deep-going changes into its socio-economic structure.

The agrarian reform carried out after the revolution ended the system of feudal serfdom in the main, established property rights in favor of the colons and cleared the ground for the development of capitalist relations of production in agriculture. This is how capitalist farming came into existence in the country's eastern plains and in some of the inland valley areas. At the same time there appeared peasant property linked with small-commodity production. The two production forms, while qualitatively different, are now part of the domestic capitalist sector, which does not include the vast mass of agricultural producers operating within the framework of a subsistence economy. Among these are the sharecroppers, small tenants and peasants involved in other forms of semi-feudal relations of production.

There still exist, particularly in the north-west, brutal forms of exploitation like *métayage*, which must be combated until abolished.

The nationalization of mines in 1952 and oil in 1969 substantially extended the foundation of state capitalism. This is not to say, however, that the orientation or technological standard of either industry underwent any qualitative changes. Except for some headway in the tin industry, the development of the foreign production sector, both state-controlled and owned by foreign capitalists, is at virtually primitive level.

The state sector, which covers such strategic branches of the economy as mining, oil, metals and the Bolivian Development Corporation (through sugar production, industrialized production of milk and other dairy items, and so on), has a sizable share in the gross social product. However, neither quantitatively nor qualitatively does this sector show new features compared with the prevailing social system. And since the backward and dependent capitalist structure is unchanged, it retains all the characteristics of this structure. Nevertheless, it is bound to become a fairly important basis in the course of transition from capitalism to socialism.

A form of imperialist oppression of dependent countries and their peoples is unequal trade through which imperialism imposes low

prices for the raw materials of dependent countries and fixes ever higher prices for its own industrial products.

This unequal trade affects the Bolivian economy enormously, perhaps more than the economy of any other country of the continent. Indeed, while in 1968 Bolivia exported raw materials worth \$172m., it had to import products worth \$153m., including manufactured goods worth \$101.5m., or 66 per cent of our import total. The same ratio persisted in subsequent years, with slight variations.

Bolivia's lopsided and weak capitalist production is dependent on imperialism, primarily for exports and imports. Mineral raw materials still rank first in our exports, making up 80 per cent (tin, 53 per cent). Oil accounts for up to 16 per cent, agricultural and industrial products, for three and one percent respectively. Forty-seven per cent of our exports goes to Britain, 37 to the United States and 16 per cent to West Germany, Japan, countries of the Latin American Free Trade Association, and elsewhere.

SOCIAL CLASSES

The classes of Bolivian society today are the working class, or proletariat, the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Each of these classes, in turn, comprises diverse strata or sections and there are also intermediate social groups.

The working class numbers roughly 150,000, or about 10 per cent of the active population. But while it does not include the majority of working people in town and countryside, it is the main productive force because it provides a substantial part of the GNP. Lacking the means of production, the working class is compelled to sell its labor to capitalist employers for a livelihood. This fact and the high degree of the workers' class awareness determine the high revolutionary potential of the working class.

Due to certain peculiarities of the country's capitalist development, mining workers are the oldest contingent of the proletariat. Furthermore, they embody the heroic traditions of Bolivia's working class to a greater extent than its other contingents.

The proletariat is the most revolutionary class of our society. This is due to its role in social production and to the fact that it does not own the means of production and is the main exponent of Marxist-Leninist ideology. As Marxism-Leninism reaches the proletariat and is assimilated by it, the proletariat is becoming a class for itself, that is, the political vanguard of the revolution.

Generally speaking, the Bolivian bourgeois is strongly dependent on foreign capitalists. It has failed to become a vigorous and enterprising social class. Its social role and the political trends guiding it today correspond to the characteristics of capitalism and the development level reached by it in our country.

The bourgeoisie is made up of two principal strata, one of them being closely linked with foreign capital while the other is precariously and relatively independent of this capital. The former stratum is active in trade, banking, industry and finance. The latter stratum—the middle bourgeoisie—operates above all in the manufacturing industry and in mining.

The middle bourgeoisie consists of industrialists, merchants and small mine owners who retain a measure of business autonomy, that is, are not directly linked with foreign capital. Brought into existence by the process of replacement of imported by home-made goods, they own small and medium enterprises producing foodstuffs, beverages, furniture, textiles, footwear and other items, livestock and poultry farms, and enterprises processing mostly national products. Operating on the periphery of big business, they seek footholds in the narrow bounds of the home market.

There is an inexorable trend towards change in the old socio-agrarian structure. The agrarian reform has abolished monopoly on land, one-time privilege of Bolivia's latifundium holders. Some of these engage in profiteering by selling the lands they contrived to secure during the land distribution under the reform. Others tend to become medium producers employing labor to supply the market.

On the other hand, there is evidence of the rise of new social classes and strata among the peasantry. The development of a capitalist type of agriculture, while limited to definite geographical regions and certain economic fields, fosters this uneven and slow process of social differentiation.

There is a trend towards the formation of two new classes: a rural bourgeoisie and an agricultural proletariat. The former is composed of a small group of capitalists engaged in stock-breeding, sugar cane, cotton and rice growing, woodworking, dairy and poultry farming. On the national scale it constitutes the middle stratum of the bourgeoisie.

The nascent agricultural proletariat is virtually restricted to the sugar cane plantations and cotton fields of the east. Along with this rising class there are small farmers who sell their labor, especially at harvest time. They may be described as agricultural semi-proletarians.

However, the vast majority of the rural population (65 per cent of the country's total) is made up of individual producers by far most of whom are small holders.

The largest proportion of small holders live in the mountain areas and on the plateaus. Isolated from consumption centers, they live in the conditions of a subsistence economy and engage in barter trade on a very limited scale.

Lastly, a third stratum of small farmers is composed of tenants

and sharecroppers. Tenants pay rent in cash and sharecroppers, in kind. These typically semi-feudal forms of labor tend to gain ground in densely populated areas.

The bulk of the agricultural proletariat—landless peasants—and a huge number of small proprietors have a special stake in bringing about new and more far-reaching changes in agricultural production to end backwardness, poverty and ignorance in rural areas.

The petty urban bourgeoisie is a vast and heterogeneous stratum. Its place in social production is intermediate between those of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In view of the underdeveloped state of the national industry, the petty bourgeoisie includes numerous individual producers, handicraftsmen, small traders, members of the professions, scientists and technologists, university professors, artists, government clerks at national and local level and private employees. This "mass of non-proletarian working people" lives by its own labor.

Social instability and vacillation are the most marked traits of the urban petty bourgeoisie. Some of its members are closer to the middle bourgeoisie and many eventually merge with it. Others, however, are closer to salary earners proper.

For lack of jobs hundreds of Bolivian specialists seek employment abroad. The outflow of specialists is a direct product of the country's economic backwardness.

Various political trends manifest themselves among the urban petty bourgeoisie.

The country's enormous economic lag also accounts for the growing proportion of unemployed belonging to diverse social strata, as well as of part-time workers and people who are compelled to sell their labor on terms very close to those granted to a serf. The unemployed today make up 10 per cent of the active population. Tens of thousands of ruined peasants who have no land emigrate to neighboring countries, specifically Argentina, every year. The proportion of lumpen proletarians is on the rise in the big cities.

YOUTH

Almost half the population is young people below 20 years of age. This reality makes typically youth problems still more important.

Young people have special problems above all in the sphere of education, culture, sports and recreation, and promptly finding a properly paid job is another problem facing them. Landlessness is a distinctive and growing problem of young peasants.

Considerable numbers of children and teenagers of school age

do hard and low-paid work on building sites and in handicraftsmen's workshops.

Many young peasants and workers cannot read. Only a negligible number of them attend elementary school.

The vast majority of students are of petty-bourgeois origin and it is only natural that their activity should betray certain subjective tendencies characteristic of this social stratum. Taking this into account, imperialist propaganda does its utmost to encourage the formation of anarcho-individualistic trends among students.

However, more and more students reject these false ideas as they come to realize the true causes of the country's backwardness and gain a knowledge of the operation of the machinery of domination used by imperialism. They are increasingly drawn to the revolutionary position of the working class. For this reason as for others, it is of the greatest importance to disseminate Marxism-Leninism.

Our youth, in particular students, have a valuable tradition of struggle. They are tenacious and daring. Their activity in the front-line of the struggle of the exploited masses led by the working class furthers the revolutionary cause of the whole people.

WOMEN

Women constitute a little over half the population. Nevertheless, they are generally underprivileged in many public spheres. There is job and pay discrimination against them.

The maintenance of this state of affairs is made easier by deep-rooted and absurd prejudices alleging women's inferiority and assigning them a limited role in society.

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALITIES

Bolivia is a multinational state although official science refuses to recognize this reality. The main component of its variegated multinational structure is the Bolivian nation, which took shape at the end of the last century and consists of townspeople speaking Spanish (roughly 35 per cent of the population). Next come two large nationalities culturally subordinate to it—the Aymaras and Quechuas (30 and 32 per cent, respectively). The remaining 3 per cent is made up of Chiquitos, Mojos and Chiriguano plus 8 small nationalities and 21 tribes and minor ethnic groups.

All national governments, including the present, have pursued a policy of oppressing the Indian nationalities and groups, especially in the cultural field. Forced internal migrations and Hispanicization are the main aspects of the policy followed over the past decade and stubbornly resisted by the oppressed peoples.

The false policy of assimilation will never help to raise the social and cultural standards of the country's nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups, a goal which can only be achieved on the principle of complete national equality. This makes it highly important to do away with illiteracy among the Quechuas, Aymaras and other indigenous peoples, using their own language to this end.

POLITICAL SUPERSTRUCTURE

THE STATE

The armed forces, a component of the state apparatus, are the main instrument of suppression in the hands of the ruling class and occasionally a political party appendage entrusted with meeting the needs of the ruling class. In view of the struggle our people are carrying on, they are something more than an instrument serving the interests of the class controlling the state, for they are a necessary reflection of the concrete historical situation to which they belong, of the environment, epoch and specific circumstances in which they operate. Despite pressures, distortions and the penetration of imperialist ideological principles, the armed forces, like the entire superstructure, reflect the realities of the society in which they live—its contradictions, trends, limitations and possibilities.

The old army, which rose to defend the state of feudal lords and mine owners, was defeated by an armed people in the revolutionary days of April 1952. The new army, formed afterwards with advice and help from the U.S. military mission, had, in its turn, to defend the bourgeois state on November 4, 1964 and proceeded directly to exercise political power. The whole "restoration" period shows that the army did so to uphold the interests of the bourgeoisie allied with imperialism.

Since then the army has become a political force whose orientation the imperialists try to bring under decisive influence by indoctrinating officers in the Panama Canal Zone and other U.S. military centers, by training "rangers" specialized in fighting "subversion," through the so-called Civic Action Program, and so on. However, conflicting trends emerged in the armed forces even before September 26, 1969, when the army took charge of the government once again.

The rise of democratic, nationalist and even anti-imperialist trends in the Bolivian armed forces is a development of relatively recent date and is due to various factors. All army officers, with few exceptions, come from the urban middle strata. The bulk of the rank and file is of working-class or peasant origin. The armed forces cannot be immune to the impact of political struggle, let alone to

the impact of the social crisis. While the army is indoctrinated chiefly in training centers controlled by imperialism, it is also influenced by the ideas of progressive and revolutionary forces. Some patriotic servicemen are beginning to realize the causes of the country's socio-economic and cultural backwardness and are adopting an anti-imperialist position as they gain a deeper insight into national reality. Those servicemen who opposed the fascist coup on October 7, 1970, were prompted by this position although many of them vacillate and retreat under the pressure of the masses.

We Communists neither are nor can be dogmatic anti-militarists ignoring the class approach. Objectively this is confirmed by the practice of the entire socialist community, whose armed forces are better trained militarily and ideologically and are inseparable from their people. This is not to say that we accept a gorilla army of mass murderers in the service of U.S. imperialism, an enemy of its own people who betrays its country and is a tool of domestic and international reaction. Together with our people we will always oppose, as we always have, an army of this nature and will fight to eliminate it. By the same token, we will be at one with an army advocating national sovereignty and progress, respecting its people and their fight for national liberation and serving democracy and freedom.

We Communists adhere to a class position—we side with those who make common cause with working men and the people, and are against those who, taking a paternalist stand, oppress and kill them and help in exploiting them. This is a position of principle.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Such old, traditional political parties of the country as the Liberal Party and Republican Socialist Union Party have disappeared from the political scene. Other political organizations, whose ideology seems less conservative, have suppressed them as parties of the Right and of imperialism.

This role is performed by the Christian Popular Movement, the Social-Democratic Party, the Authentic Revolutionary Party and the Party of the Revolutionary Left, all of which were founded or revived in the restoration period. Lacking a social base, they operate as an instrument of the most reactionary conspiracy. Some of their leaders even participate in terroristic activity and are on the list of the "golden rabble" taking orders from the bourgeoisie linked with imperialism.

The Bolivian Socialist Falange is a petty-bourgeois component of the groups of Rightist parties. Although it is virtually split and a section of it holds left-nationalist views, the bulk of its membership are bourgeois nationalists and remain loyal to the anti-Com-

munist orientation which this party showed as it emerged on the political scene over 30 years ago. Being an essentially putschist party, it pins its hopes of coming to power on the support of imperialism and the more reactionary elements of the armed forces.

The Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, still the country's biggest "nationalist" party split into several factions, both before and after it found itself outside the government, is centrist in outlook. Its leaders belong to diverse sections of the bourgeoisie and many of them are frankly anti-Communist. This party led the April Revolution, which it tinged with bourgeois reformism despite powerful action by the people demanding and fighting for a radicalization of the revolutionary process. The "unification" announced by its leadership is intended to use the present alignment of political forces with a view to eventually seizing power. Imperialism, taking account of this fact and remembering its past links with these leaders, encourages their aspirations. However, the presence of young leaders who reject the anti-national policy of surrender followed by the party in the past may upset the "unification" spirit favored the U.S. strategists, as may the anti-imperialist consciousness of the party's worker members. Consequently, the activity of the party as an organization linked with the people will depend on the attitude of these anti-imperialist sections.

The Christian Democrats adhere politically to much the same centrist position as the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement. The breakaway of the young from this party cost it the social influence it had begun to win.

There are numerous Left-wing political parties and groups in Bolivia. The Communist Party bases its ideological and political work on Marxist-Leninist principles and is increasingly becoming the party of the working class. It seeks unity and stresses the need to fight for an anti-imperialist people's revolution that will pave the way for socialism.

The Communist Marxist-Leninist Party, which came into being due to the split in the world Communist movement fomented by the leaders of the Communist Party of China, has some following, mainly among students. Its sectarian posture and its effort to impose a "people's war" in any circumstances tend to isolate it from the masses, especially from the working class.

The Revolutionary Christian-Democratic Party has almost all young Christian Democrats in its ranks. Accordingly, its members belong to the urban petty bourgeoisie. A peculiarity of this political organization is that it adheres to Marxism-Leninism as an instrument of sociological analysis while maintaining its Christian ideological concepts in other respects. This is not accidental since the party questions our application of Marxist-Leninist principles

and persistently injects anti-communism into its presumptuous attitude. We must remember this reality in our work.

The National Liberation Army carries on its political activity on the theory of "hotbeds" and the continental character of the revolution. Most of its adherents, too, are recruited from the urban petty bourgeoisie.

The Revolutionary Workers' Party comprises several factions. They are all Trotskyist and ultra-revolutionary. At least one of them wields some influence among the miners.

The Socialist Party claims that it proposes a revolutionary alternative which, even without being Communist, is supposed to make socialism in Bolivia feasible. It is composed of radicalized sections of the bourgeoisie, Social-Democrats, whose party has gone out of existence as such, and progressive and patriotic movements of petty-bourgeois intellectuals who recognize Marxism-Leninism as a set of ideas and an interpretation method. This party may become a potential ally, a factor promoting the unity of the working class and the revolutionary movement.

The Revolutionary Left Movement is a heterogeneous force whose main base is the Christian Revolutionary Democrats and tends to call itself "Marxist-Leninist" without giving up its Christian ideas. The Movement includes such persistently anti-Communist groups as the National Liberation Army, Gonzales' Revolutionary Workers' Party and Spartacus.

As far as these groups are concerned we Communists must seek unity with them on specific issues while steadfastly combating their anti-Communist concepts and their propaganda camouflaged with recurrent radical demands almost all of which are within the framework of pre-Marxist, petty-bourgeois egalitarianism and abstract, declarative "Leftism."

CHARACTER AND CONTENT OF THE BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION

THE CAPITALIST ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT

Bolivia's development on capitalist lines has clearly shown that it is impossible by advancing on these lines to set up key industries on a modern level, let alone attain the stage of harmonious and self-supporting socio-economic growth.

The weak Bolivian bourgeoisie has revealed beyond all doubt its inability to lead a bourgeois-democratic process or accomplish the historic tasks whose fulfilment would promote the rise of an independent national state. During the April Revolution, in the absence of a solid working-class political vanguard, the middle bourgeoisie, whose spokesmen were in the ranks of the Nationalist Revolutionary

Movement, carried on an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle for the capitalist road of development. It linked its aspirations to the plans of the abortive Alliance for Progress and ended by becoming a tool of imperialism in Bolivia.

Capitalist development offers no alternative but advance within the bounds of dependence on imperialism. This is why its scope is very limited, why it fails to solve fundamental problems and makes for stronger penetration by foreign monopolies. It also tells on the people's standard of life, for it cannot meet the growing demand for jobs, end illiteracy, solve the problems of public health, housing, and so on.

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES NEEDED

The Bolivian people are not resigned to living on in these conditions. The classes and social strata involved in the working-class and popular movement. Left-wing political parties and groups insist ever more emphatically on the need to fight for far-reaching revolutionary changes.

In our time the transition to socialism can be effected in a reasonably short period. The socialist perspective is no longer a distant goal in Bolivia due to the character of internal and external contradictions and to the existence and growth of the world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union. Another favorable factor is the significance of the Cuban revolution, the impact of the struggle of the international working class, the gains of the popular movement and government in Chile, the independent and anti-imperialist policy of the military government of Peru, and lastly, the upsurge in the revolutionary struggle throughout Latin America and among the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa.

The Bolivian people's fight is part of the world revolutionary process in which the socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement converge. The principles of proletarian internationalism are a source of inspiration and strength to all the revolutionary contingents of the country.

PATHS OF THE REVOLUTION

The motive forces of the Bolivian revolution are active in the main production areas—the cities, miners' and oil workers' settlements and agricultural areas with a particularly high density of population. It is in these areas that the intense process of class struggle is unfolding with every day and that social and revolutionary consciousness takes shape and political contingents of the working class and other exploited segments of the population organize.

Any theory that ignores this reality is subjective and makes revolutionary activity barren. Working-class strategy neither can be nor is based on isolation from the masses, disregard of the unrelenting everyday struggle waged by the working people, or underestimation of the decisive role of political and trade union organizations in revolutionary battles.

The road to winning power for the people is not built on abstract projects devised without regard to general trends in the balance of forces and the various aspects of each particular situation. This road is a result of the experience of the masses, who in long years of struggle have come to realize the need to organize, to prepare for the use of every form of struggle to defeat the enemy on all fronts.

Anarcho-terroistic methods and activities by small groups, no matter how heroic, are entirely foreign to the Bolivian popular movement. The victories achieved by it in the past—whether on trade union, political or military issues—have always been a fruit of united action by the masses.

The road of the Bolivian revolution lies through mass struggle in every form, including armed struggle.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND UNITY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

ROLE OF THE WORKING-CLASS PARTY

The Communist Party of Bolivia is the political organization of the working class, exploited working people, advanced intellectuals and all patriots.

We Communists strive to unite all revolutionary forces, bring about the formation of a people's government and carry out the program of the anti-imperialist people's revolution, which would pave the way for a socialist system. Hence the reason for the existence and the supreme goal of the Party are the fight for socialism and communism in our country.

Socialist society is based on collective ownership of the means of production and on power of the working class and its allies. In Bolivia the socialist system will abolish the exploitation of man by man, social inequality and national discrimination. It will give all working people work, housing and culture.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST POPULAR FRONT

The number of allies of the working class grows as the social and political groups rejecting the domination of imperialist monopolies and striving to bring about deep-going changes in the socio-

economic life of the country gain ground. We Communists do not consider ourselves the only anti-imperialist force. We note it as a positive phenomenon that the revolutionary forces inspired by firm principles of unity are growing. At the same time we hold that anti-imperialism is incompatible in either theory or practice with anti-Communist, anti-socialist or anti-Soviet views.

We must look for and find allies to set up a popular anti-imperialist front in the various sectors of the struggle, above all in the People's Assembly, which could become the embryo of people's power.

We Communists are certain that the future of the Bolivian revolution lies in popular unity. We maintain that it is necessary to achieve this unity by rallying the working class, bringing about a worker-peasant alliance and setting up a broad-based front comprising all the social classes, all non-proletarian working people, students, progressive intellectuals and other sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie represented by their respective political or trade union organizations.

The popular anti-imperialist front is the organizational and political instrument of this alliance of exploited classes and those anti-imperialist parties and groups based on a popular and revolutionary program and seeking explicit and concrete objectives that express the interests of the working class and the people.

AGAINST AN UNACCEPTABLE SOLUTION

AKEL CALLS ON THE PEOPLE TO RESIST ESTABLISH A UNITED CYPRUS SALVATION FRONT UNDER PRESIDENT MAKARIOS

Following is the text of a resolution passed by the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of AKEL on July 31, 1971, after discussing a Political Bureau report on international political developments and the crisis over Cyprus.

The crisis over the Cyprus problem has assumed an acute character unprecedented since the proclamation of the Republic and fraught with the gravest danger to the country's future.

The crisis has been brought on by imperialism, which invariably seeks a settlement of the Cyprus question such as would further its own interests in the Mediterranean, specifically in the Middle East area.

A step intended to promote this imperialist goal is the plan for dealing with the Cyprus problem agreed at Lisbon between Palamas and Olcay under the aegis and with the backing of six ministers of the NATO Council.

Our Party is certain that to impose their plan, the imperialist enemies of Cyprus will not stop at even the most criminal acts of interference in the domestic affairs of Cyprus, that is, physically removing President Makarios and striking at the country's democratic forces, above all those of the Left.

It is the Turkish government that has undertaken to carry out this sinister anti-Cypriot plan. The exchange of messages between Erim and Papadopoulos, as well as the démarches made by the Greek Premier with President Makarios suggest that the Greek government, too, is unfortunately in favor of the plan.

AKEL condemns NATO's Lisbon plan and regards Papadopoulos' message as impossible. It identifies itself with President Makarios, who, expressing the sentiments of our people, has flatly rejected the plan, firmly resisted pressure in every form and called on the people to resist.

AKEL, for its part, urges the people of Cyprus to rally all their forces, close their ranks, put up determined resistance and foil every attempt to impose on them a solution at variance with their line and their struggle for an independent, sovereign, territorially integral and united country.

Charavgi, August 3, 1971.

AKEL also call on all parties and organizations, on all the patriotic forces of the country, to establish a Cyprus Salvation Front that would frustrate all the criminal schemes of the enemies of Cyprus.

The people of Cyprus are not alone in their arduous fight. They have strong and disinterested friends and defenders who have backed them in the past and do so now. These are the socialist countries headed by the mighty Soviet Union, and the non-aligned and anti-imperialist forces.

President Makarios' Moscow visit and the Soviet-Cypriot communiqué on the President's talk with the Soviet leadership show that the Soviet Union does not confine itself to declarations in upholding the independence of Cyprus. In fact, the Soviet Union warns every potential aggressor that it will oppose every intervention, every interference in the internal affairs of the island, every attempt to use force against Cyprus and every threat to that effect.

Solid and determined resistance by the people of Cyprus, the Soviet Union's announced support of Cyprus and the presence of the Soviet Navy in the Mediterranean are the best safeguard of Cyprus against all imperialist encroachments and give the people a sense of confidence.

AKEL is convinced that there is a way to solve the problem of Cyprus that has been proved correct by life. It is the way of intra-Cyprus talks under the auspices of the UN. AKEL considers that every possible effort must be made to continue these talks and bring them to a successful conclusion. In the event of the Turkish Cypriot leadership's intransigence torpedoing the talks, Cyprus should seek U Thant's good offices and apply to the UN Security Council.

In the course of the struggle over the national problem of Cyprus — a struggle claiming the special attention of all the political forces of the country, including AKEL, needless to say — our Party has not for one moment neglected the working people's fight for the solution of their socio-economic problems, since their solution also strengthens the people's resistance front.

Our Party does not forget, however, that to solve all the problems of the people it is imperative, first and foremost, to solve the paramount problem, that of Cyprus. Every one of us should realize that we stand to win or lose all. In the final analysis, everything will depend on the outcome of Cyprus' fight for freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

It is with due regard to the people's problems that we must foster relations of agreement and cooperation with our Turkish fellow-citizens and encourage mutual trust, which will help to

improve the political climate, a requisite for settling the Cyprus question.

The people of Cyprus are going through critical days. The main task facing them is to be constantly on the alert. We need vigilance if we are to detect, expose and condemn all suspicious moves in time.

The people must know of the real danger threatening our island and must be helped in every way in defending it against foreign aggressive forces as well as against all pitfalls, conspiracies and subversion at home.

AKEL is ready to do all in its power for unity on a broad basis behind President Makarios, for the mustering of all the patriotic forces of the people to foil the imperialist plan directed against Cyprus.

The situation is very trying indeed. The next few weeks may see the crisis gain in intensity and we may be faced with new trials. But we must never give in to despair. The people of Cyprus are no longer alone and are no easy prey for insatiable imperialism. They are supported by strong and sincere friends. For all the enormous difficulties and the gravity of the menace, we look ahead with optimism and confidence.

We are convinced that all the attacks of the enemies of Cyprus will be fittingly repelled and that the people will win in the end.

THIRD CONGRESS OF THE LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

COMMUNICATION ON PLENARY MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, LCP

The Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party convened a plenary meeting to discuss the Political Bureau report on the Third Party Congress. The Central Committee unanimously approved the report and proposals concerning the agenda of the coming congress. It will be recalled that the Party has come to the fourth year since the Second Congress—the year which according to the Party Rules should see the Third Congress.

Reaffirming the historical importance of the Second Congress and approving the exposition contained in the Political Bureau report of the main phases in the Party's struggle after the congress, the Central Committee attaches the utmost importance to convening the Third Congress. It will be held at a time when the struggle between the liberation movement in the Arab countries and its allies, on the one hand, and imperialism, Zionism and reaction, on the other, continues to grow more acute and more complicated.

The struggle reflects sharply on the internal situation in the Lebanon. U.S. imperialist pressure on the Lebanon is increasing to subject it still more to its political, financial and military influence. Arab reaction plays an active role in this pressure. All this is accompanied by greater activity on the part of local reaction, by feverish preparations for bloody provocations against the Palestine resistance movement, the people's movement and the progressive forces, and a mounting campaign against democracy and freedom.

Congress will take place against the background of a deteriorating economic and social crisis in the Lebanon, an aggravation of the class struggle, mounting concern and discontent among the working people over such problems as the rising cost of living, the difficulty of finding jobs, the question of wages, marketing of products, medical service, housing, education, and the like.

The country is on the threshold of general parliamentary elections to which more importance is attached than ever before. All Communists without exception must participate in the search for and introduction of methods best suited to consolidate the gains won in the struggle of the past three years, continue with redoubled

resolve the struggle to frustrate the plans of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, carry forward an independent foreign policy envisaging closer ties with the progressive Arab regimes and the socialist camp with the Soviet Union at its head, achieve new successes and gains in the fight of the working class and the masses for better living and social conditions, and consolidate freedoms and democracy. All this is also added evidence of the need for the Third Party Congress.

AGENDA OF THE CONGRESS

In the light of the aforesaid the Central Committee approved the proposal to convene the Congress and to launch preparations for it in all Party branches, taking into account that the agenda of the Congress will include the following items:

1. Central Committee report on activity in the period since the Second Congress.
2. Discussion of political theses related to the principal problems in the light of the Party's political program.
3. Organizational matters and amendments to the Party Rules.
4. The Party's agrarian program.
5. Elections to the Party's leading bodies.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONGRESS ON A BROADLY DEMOCRATIC BASIS

The Central Committee will seek to secure participation of the broadest possible contingents of rank and file Communists and Party activists in preparing the statutory reports and studying materials relating to the report on the Party's activity in different spheres. The CC LCP calls on all organizations and all members of the Party to participate actively in discussing the reports, voicing their opinion and suggesting necessary amendments. All expressed proposals and remarks are to be forwarded accurately and promptly to the Central Committee by the Party's various organizations.

The consolidation to a higher degree than ever of the ideological, political and organizational unity of the Party since the Second Congress is the result of broad participation on a democratic basis of all Party organizations and members in drawing up the Party's program and in defining the directions of its activity. The Second Congress was itself the result of the struggle of all rank and file members of the Party, the outcome of the ideological and practical activity of all Communists.

JOINT ACTION

This was the basis on which unanimous participation of Communists was secured in effectuating the decisions of the Congress and the decisions and recommendations of the Party's leading bodies, especially its Central Committee.

The Central Committee strives to apply correctly the principles of democratic centralism: broad participation of Communists in debates and discussions, joint action in carrying forward the adopted decisions, submission of the minority to the majority and of the lower Party bodies to the higher, and fulfilment by each Communist of the decisions of the Congress, the Party's supreme organ.

The Central Committee gives all those who had earlier for one reason or another left the Party, are in accord with its political program and Rules, and wish to return to its ranks in order to continue the struggle, an opportunity to apply for membership in accordance with the Rules. Their application will receive consideration and decisions will be taken on them.

The struggle is long and arduous. Many may falter, many may commit mistakes. A real fighter will not be afraid to admit his mistakes and hear the criticism of his comrades in the Party. For its part, the Party takes a positive view of sincere self-criticism.

PARTICIPATION OF BROAD SECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE IN PREPARING THE CONGRESS

The Central Committee calls not only on members of the Party but also on its friends and broad masses of people in town and country to participate in different forms in preparing the Congress and discussing its agenda.

The Central Committee will take the necessary steps to publish extensively the results of constructive and serious discussions of materials and theses of the coming congress.

These measures are being taken to fortify the bond between the Party and the mass of the people, enabling it to express to a greater extent the national and social aspirations and vital demands of the people.

Our Party is a party of the workers, farmers, progressive intellectual and other groups of people. That is why these sections of the people have a right to participate in drawing up the Party's policy and to express their standpoint on the Party program and its effectuation.

As one of its main tasks, the Party is working for the unity of the progressive forces in the Lebanon and for a common program. The Party is prepared to let the truly progressive forces participate in the debate of its political program and all its activity. This will only invigorate cooperation and add to the influence and weight of these forces in the life of the country.

Expressing firm faith in democracy and being desirous of developing and deepening it, the Party calls for broad debates on a democratic basis of issues concerning the struggle against imperialism, Israel and reaction, progress in the Lebanon and achievement of a better life for workers and other sections of the people.

THE DICTATORSHIP'S "POLITICAL PLAN" AND THE COMMUNIST POSITION

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina denounces before the working class and the people the reactionary Political Plan, especially the so-called Statutes of Political Parties, just announced by President Lanusse and Home Minister Mor Roig. The Plan is the main component of the dictatorship's vast maneuver designed to consolidate the pro-imperialist and pro-oligarchic policies that have been promoted ever since 1966.

It is a question of a change of mask and not of policy, a change of tactics and not of system, with the object of misleading the people and not of improving their living or working conditions, let alone of upholding the nation's interests.

1. *We said it in 1966*

As far back as 1966, in connection with the coup d'état, the Communist Party described the present dictatorship as corporative-fascist and subservient to U.S. imperialism, the landed proprietors, big capital and the reactionary forces.

We made clear at the time that the coup had been carried out to check the growing struggle of the workers and the people and nullify the democratic breakthrough brought about in the country by that struggle. Accordingly, the Party called from the first for a vigorous fight against the dictatorship to prevent it from entrenching itself and from going ahead with its plan directed against the people and nation.

The dictatorship's plan, denounced by us at the time, is known quite well today: the cost of living has soared to the point of reducing the meagre wage increases won at the beginning of the year to a mockery. Prices are rising unchecked day after day due to the dictatorship's policy of "free enterprise," inflation and continuous devaluation of the Argentine peso in relation to the dollar. This prompts the working people to demand a general and provisional pay increase of at least 20,000 pesos a month.

Unemployment is on the rise and the working day is becoming longer—it lasts 12, 14 or even 16 hours. Super-exploitation in the factories is being intensified. Housing and the health services are deteriorating and so is the state of hospitals and transport. The drama of the pensioners is gaining in gravity. The regional economy is declining in all provinces and jobs are becoming scarce. There are no compensatory prices for the farm produce of peasants, who become victims of the big land-owners and are

driven off the land. The enormous tax burden, affecting above all the people, is giving rise to a veritable rebellion on the part of taxpayers. The country's doors are wide open to imperialist, especially U.S. capital, which is taking possession of national enterprises, of banks and resources, on an unprecedented scale.

The dictatorship's cultural policy is characterized by destructive inroads into the universities, retrogression in all educational fields and the suppression of the people's culture, an object of discrimination and repressive measures.

The dictatorship has unconditionally made its foreign policy subservient to the Pentagon.

2. Repressive measures and the people's struggle

To be able to impose this plan against the people's will, the dictatorship has set up an uncommon regime of violence and repression whose record includes 25,000 prisoners and persecuted, kidnappings, assassinations, tortures, military courts and repressive operations by the armed forces.

The dictatorship has revived the entire repressive legislation approved by previous governments so as to use it against Communists, Peronists and anti-imperialists. It has enacted dozens of new repressive laws, such as Law 17,401 against communism, the law meting out the death penalty, the law establishing the new Federal Penal Chamber and applicable all over the country, and the recent Law 19,081, which sends strikers and anti-imperialist fighters to prison to be tried by military courts. It is the old imperialist tactic of using the nation's armed forces to defend the interests of foreign monopolies, setting them in this way against the people.

The working class fought against this policy of poverty, betrayal, backwardness and repression in the memorable days symbolized by the Cordoba events or the legendary El Chocon action. The fight spread to every corner of the country, to every province, town and village. The workers, who led it, were joined by peasants, students, intellectuals, small manufacturers and traders, women and youth, by the whole people. The various struggles and stoppages involved doctors, lawyers, teachers, judges and other judicial personnel, pensioners, policemen and other categories.

Due to its mass character, which has nothing to do with isolated acts of terrorism, as well as to its breadth and depth, no one could, nor can ever, stop that fight. This was the main reason for the fall of Ongania and then of Levingston and for the failure of their tactic of violence, terrorism and reaction all along the line, a tactic that has become the philosophy of the exploiter class, known as the "philosophy of the Argentine Revolution."

The responsibility for all this suffering of our people falls on Lanusse, a typical spokesman of the oligarchy enjoying the Pentagon's confidence, and on his military and civilian team, that is, on those who continue to rule disguised as "democrats."

3. *The dictatorship tries a change of mask*

Faced with the miscarriage of its policies, the dictatorship and its advisers and backers—the landed oligarchy, big capital, and particularly U.S. imperialism with its embassy in Buenos Aires—have resolved to modify their tactics.

They fear that the growing mass movement and the irresistible struggle of the working class and the people may lead to a real change of structure. They are terrified by the movement for unity, which is growing despite the dirty work of their agents, those advocates of division of the working class and the people and of anti-communism operating from Right-wing positions, with certain impatient ultra-Leftist groups playing into their hands. They are terrified by the growth and consolidation of the National Meeting of Argentines, which offers the hope of a new power in Argentina. The U.S. imperialists in particular are afraid of losing their operational base in the south of the continent, needed for provocation against Chile, Peru, Bolivia and other fraternal countries. Lastly, they fear that a new Chile may develop in our country on Argentine lines and in accordance with our national specifics.

4. *The dictatorship's real plan*

The documents in question, the speeches made by Lanusse and Mor Roig, and Sanchez Bustamante's "secret" document fully reveal the dictatorship's plan.

The maneuver is aimed at camouflaging the dictatorship as a "representative, republican and federal democracy" and at retracting in words all the calumnies and the mud they have been slinging at democracy, elections and the political parties ever since 1966. The gorilla wolf is donning sheep's clothing.

The maneuver is aimed at presenting a skillful and flexible Political Plan whose implementation will depend on deceiving the people and performing the proposed farce as planned.

The maneuver is aimed at achieving what is known as the Great National Collusion between the dictatorship and the Right-wing of political parties. The Rightist leaders of the People's House movement play a negative part by bolstering the fraud.

The maneuver is aimed at soliciting and securing Peron's co-operation, so that Peronism as a whole may accept the agreement, hush up the fraud and subvert the struggle of the workers and the people.

The maneuver is aimed at building on these lines a Machiavellian

election plan assuring the victory of the Presidential candidate imposed or "suggested" by the dictatorship, and of two or three parties involved, which would distribute the posts in such a way as to pursue in principle the same policy as was followed by Onganía, Levingston and Lanusse.

Onganía spoke of ten years of dictatorship. Five years have passed since and now fraudulent elections have been announced three or four years hence. The new man of the "democratized" dictatorship would rule for another four years, the total adding up to some 12 years, a period far exceeding the dictatorial dreams of the makers of the 1966 coup.

In short, either the continuity of the dictatorship's anti-national and anti-popular policies will be assured, or the government will refuse to step out, since "parallel power" will under all circumstances remain in the hands of the armed forces.

5. Fascist and police statutes

The so-called Statutes of Political Parties —the only document made known—begins by affirming that there will be no more proscriptions in our country, not even ideological ones.

The complete falsity of this affirmation comes out as one reads the Statutes: under Art. 25, the dictatorship may at any moment outlaw any party without exception. The country has never seen a ruling more proscriptive than this. It is actually proposed to legalize two or three parties that would follow a policy of agreement with the dictatorship.

The Statutes speak of a "democratic regime" whereas more than twenty fundamental repressive laws are in force forbidding anyone to speak and write about, hold or spread ideas freely, let alone fight for or demand changes in the present situation. If any one of these laws, particularly Law 17,401 or 19,081, were applied, millions of independent citizens and members of various political parties would be proscribed and barred from elections.

The very same day and hour when Home Minister Mor Roig went on the air to announce—with the lack of scruple typical of the dictatorship — the advent of "fair play" and free political activity and to urge the people to believe in his promises, the authorities were hounding strikers and students in La Plata and prosecuting dozens of Communists in Entre Rios, Santa Fe and other provinces for distributing leaflets, who were later handed over to military courts. Students and teachers in the engineering and other faculties of the university were brutally clubbed by police, and hundreds of political and trade union leaders were in jail. These are all symbols of the "fair play" and "democracy" promoted by the dictatorship.

The Statutes stipulate that parties shall submit to the election secretariat a membership list in two copies giving personal data—name and surname, address and place of employment. What party would obey this fascist regulation and take responsibility of delivering its members into the hands of the police and the dictatorship?

The Statutes demand that parties should inform the dictatorship of the number of people supporting them financially and declare their entire property, including their funds. What guarantees are offered us by this dictatorial regime at the beck and call of imperialism and the landowners, a regime which raids homes and seizes books and materials, and which in 1966 plundered our Party—as it did others—robbing us of our property, funds and premises, and even committing the unlawful act of seizing the property of others just because it suspected them of communism?

The Statutes demand that each party should have at least four members for every thousand voters. They provide for direct interference in the internal life of parties by agents of the dictatorship. These are expected to approve the parties' Rules, control their elections, endorse their candidates, impose the "free" admission of any undesirable elements, and so forth. Political parties "approved" in this way would be no more than a sorry creation of the dictatorial regime.

And this big farce has the support of some Right-wing political leaders, and the renegades and collaborationists who head the General Confederation of Labor!

6. The working class and the people will not be fooled

While Lanusse and the People's House movement are engaged in talks behind the people's backs the workers and the people are carrying on their great struggle.

The National Meeting of Argentines has expressed its guiding opinion on the fraud in the making. Numerous trade unions and labor leaders, high school and university students, the university federations of Argentina and Buenos Aires, various centers and associations have already taken a stand against the plot. Voices are raised in most of the political parties expressing protest and discontent.

A similar distrust is in evidence among the priests and progressive laymen, among Catholics and members of other churches. Even in the armed forces, patriotic officers loyal to San Martin's ideas and refusing to be used for a new deception of the people in the interest of imperialism are becoming vocal.

The Communist Party welcomes this growing discontent that is assuming a general character. It condemns and fully rejects the unconstitutional police and fascist Statutes. It calls on the progressive leaders of political parties, on their thousands of members,

on the workers, peasants, students and patriots opposed to imperialism, to rally together and reject the Statutes and the Plan as they carry on their general fight against the big election fraud being mounted by the dictatorship.

7. The only way is to fight

The Communist Party warns that, now as in the past, this year as in 1966, there is no other way but to wage a determined and frontal struggle. Struggle brought down Ongania and Levingston and it will sweep away the Lanusse team and regime.

Despite the dictatorship and the existence of certain collaborationist and defeatist elements in the Central Confederation of Labor, this struggle will go on unfolding in the factories, on peasant farms, in the colleges and universities, in residential neighborhoods, in various institutions and centers, among all social strata. It will be carried on for their most pressing demands — economic, social or cultural, big or small, direct or indirect — linking up closely with the demand for democratic liberties, for the repeal of all repressive legislation, the release of political and trade union leaders and the overthrow of the dictatorship to embark the country on a new course, that of genuine democracy and new power.

The Communist Party warns that to win it is essential to have a united working class, the decisive and most revolutionary force, in the fight against the division and anti-communism advocated by collaborationist leaders. The working class has been in the van of all struggles against the dictatorship. On this leading role, which it must increasingly play in the face of traitorous leaders, hinges the success of future battles against the dictatorship.

Also needed are worker-peasant unity and unity of the whole people in a vast anti-dictatorial front that would become a force capable of overthrowing the dictatorship in favor of a regime with a new social content.

8. For a new type of power and for revolutionary changes

The grim and instructive experience of recent decades has taught our working class and people that none of our country's problems will be solved unless a new type of power is established that will proceed to effect the revolutionary changes the people demand.

Hence the Communist Party calls on all patriotic and anti-imperialist forces, civilians and servicemen alike, to unite without discrimination in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship and set up a new provisional government based on a broad democratic coalition. The new government, representing all anti-dictatorial forces, will be able to put into practice a minimum program agreed

in common and to convene a genuine Constituent Assembly on the proportional principle, without police statutes or regulations.

Given such, genuinely democratic, elections, all political parties and social strata will be able to participate in them and win election to the Assembly according to their real strength. A Constituent Assembly elected and formed on this principle will be able to give the country the new power, new Constitution and new economic, social and political regime that our people demand and need and that will effect a deep-going agrarian reform, nationalization of the big imperialist enterprises and the main branches of our economy, a substantial improvement in the people's living and working conditions, the full exercise of democratic liberties, an independent foreign policy of peaceful coexistence and respect for the right of nations to self-determination.

The Communist Party calls therefore on all men, women and young people opposed to imperialism, especially on the finest sons and daughters of the working class, to join its ranks as the surest guarantee of translating these revolutionary changes into reality.

9. Unite to overthrow the dictatorship

It is precisely at this moment so challenging to the nation, when the dictatorship is in a deep crisis while our people are stepping up their struggle, that the Communist Party launches an earnest appeal to the Peronists, Radicals, Socialists, Christian Democrats, Progressive Democrats, members of other organizations and independents; to the workers, peasants, students, small manufacturers and traders, members of the professions, artists and intellectuals; to civilians and servicemen; to believers and non-believers; to patriotic and anti-imperialist men, women and young people.

It urges them to ignore the siren's song of Lanusse and Mor Roig and to entertain no illusions about the dictatorship's big fraud. It invites them to read, discuss and distribute this document of the Communist Party at meetings, talks and rallies along with Communists. It calls on them to study the document and give their opinion of it. And should they agree with the document, the Party invites them to unite in a broad front and fight against the Great National Fraud and its every manifestation.

Now is the hour to establish a new type of power deeply rooted among the workers and the people, a power our country has never seen, one capable of effecting the revolutionary changes that the working class and the people demand and of bringing us into step with other peoples of the world, particularly those of Latin America, who are building a new society with their own hands.

Central Committee of the Communist Party

Buenos Aires, July 14, 1971.

DOCUMENT OF THE CC SECRETARIAT WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY OF VIETNAM

On August 5 last the Vietnamese press carried a document of the Secretariat of the Working People's Party of Vietnam about the 26th anniversary of the August Revolution (August 19) and Independence Day, the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the national holiday of the DRV (September 2).

This year, the document says, we celebrate the anniversary of the August Revolution and our national holiday at a time when our revolution is winning great victories.

The Vietnamese people in both parts of the country, fighting shoulder to shoulder with their Laotian and Cambodian brothers, have achieved important strategic victories. They have largely frustrated the U.S. imperialist plan of "Vietnamizing" the war and have created a new situation by changing the balance of forces in the battlefield in our favor.

The big victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, as well as the growing struggle of the American people and the peoples of the world for an end to the U.S. war of aggression in Indochina, have put the U.S. imperialists in a still more critical situation. Nevertheless, the Nixon Administration, which represents the most reactionary forces, persists in carrying out its plan for "Vietnamizing" the war. It is trying to protract the war and win it militarily so as to be able to negotiate "from positions of strength" and turn South Vietnam into a new U.S. colony.

In these circumstances this year's celebration of the anniversary of the August Revolution and our national holiday should heighten the enthusiasm of the whole Party, the whole people and all armed forces, so that they may use in full the gains scored on the battlefield and in the production sphere and continue with determination and tenacity their patriotic fight against the U.S. aggressors.

Pravda, August 6, 1971.

STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

The failure of the "Opus Dei" government to paralyze the mass movement by intensified repressions and the further advancement of the broad unitarian process—those are the keynote developments in Spain in the past six months. The government is rushing preparations to impose Juan Carlos on the country as its future ruler. Doing so it brings to public view the most revolting features of its policy. The socio-economic situation is deteriorating, discontent and unrest are mounting among the working people, the whole nation, and public sentiment is becoming ever more political and radical. This is borne out by the success of the Workers' Commissions in the trade union elections, by the strike in SEAT (Spanish Society of Tourist Auto Transport) and by other social conflicts in mid-summer, and by the emergence in the arena of the struggle of medical workers, teaching staffs, lawyers and other groups.

The abyss between the official "Opus Dei" Spain, immersed in corruption, and the real Spain of the factories, laboratories, universities and farms, displaying growing militancy in its urge for freedom and democracy, is becoming ever deeper.

THE "OPUS DEI" QUAGMIRE

The main political objective of the "Opus Dei" group unlawfully ensconced in the key government posts is to saddle Spain with the Juan Carlos monarchy as a replacement for the physical decline and degradation of Franco's role.

By this maneuver the "holy Mafia" expects to perpetuate its monopoly hold on power. In this respect, the facts have confirmed the evaluation in our February Statement. Potentially, the Franco dictatorship is dead. But the danger of a neo-Francoist monarchy persists.

The political task of the moment is to demand freedom, to act against the succession operation, to see to it that whatever political regime replaces the present one, it should be determined and formed in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Spanish people.

"Opus Dei" is paraded as a "renovation" program of "liberalization" and "Europeanization." But the facts expose the hypocritical pronouncements of the program as a crude lie. Hated by the

This is an abridged translation of the original text, dated August 1971.

masses, discredited by graft and incompetence, which even the capitalist element, only yesterday impressed by the "opusdeists'" technocratic talents, has become aware of, the government has no political support among the masses and resorts to police repressions as the main method of government.

The most striking feature of the "opusdeists" is no longer immobility but regression as evidenced most tangibly by the suspension for six months of Article 18 of the Constitution, giving the criminal elements of the socio-political brigade a free hand; the reform of the Law for the protection of public order, accentuating its fascist characteristics; the stepped-up censorship and attempts at monopolizing the information media, and the inability to permit the minimum "association," even in the rigid framework of the movement.

After the victory of anti-dictatorial public opinion in the Burgos trial, the arrest of thousands of workers and active democrats enabled the government to hold back the growth and consolidation of the mass movement, which could have attained a still greater scale. The six months of emergency laws were used to prepare the ground for the succession maneuver and block a public eruption over new scandalous exposures of shady financial deals, and to hush up the Matesa case, which directly involves Franco, Carrero Blanco and other ministers.

The short-term successes of the government have, in effect, petered out. The state of emergency has frozen or slowed the solution of certain socio-economic problems, which are now resurfacing and revealing the strong democratic erosive action undermining "Opus Dei."

In the economy, mounting inflation and steeply rising prices, coupled with acute signs of depression, make unemployment a major problem in many parts of the country.

The economy is affected by the reluctance of a large section of apparatus—to broaden and dramatize the response to repressions. "Opus Dei" political schemes and the future of the economy.

In the political domain, contradictions among the ruling classes are growing sharper and creating fresh tensions. After the Burgos crisis the "ultra" trend was defeated and its influence waned, though "Opus Dei" resorts to various typically "ultra" methods in its repressive policy.

The government's loss of prestige, its refusal to allow the least sign of political action, is causing a reaction among groups such as the "Ya" (a Catholic publication), which insist on a measure of political "elbow-room."

The fact that these contradictions are growing more acute is aggravating the division and dislocation in the system of power. The opposition, meanwhile, is moving closer to what the majority

of the nation is aspiring to, and the mass movement is gaining strength.

In certain circumstances, given the absence of a chance for Spaniards to manifest their will, a general strike declared and organized jointly by the opposition forces may be the only possible kind of referendum against the dictatorship.

AGAINST REPRESSIONS

The people's reply to the repressions must be a firm one. Where daring men have come to the fore, the masses have formed anti-repressive commissions and found other ways of organizing themselves, with new opportunities appearing—even in the government apparatus—to broaden and dramatize the response to repressions.

In some cases the judges acted in opposition to the police. The police and some of the detachments of the Civil Guard in rural areas inhibited repressive actions, or performed them passively. For other acts of this kind, if only modest ones, to take place, it is important that the public order forces should hear the voice of workers' and democratic parties, who are calling on them not to commit themselves to the rapidly crumbling regime.

The Communist Party hails the political prisoners who give expression to the revolutionary determination of our people, our comrades, the prisoners from the Basque ETA party, the socialists, democrats and revolutionaries of different trends.

We protest against the criminal treatment of political prisoners, against the inhuman and unsanitary prison conditions that imperil their health and, all too often, their lives, against such methods of discrimination and lawlessness as the refusal to grant release on parole.

The government must be prevented from carrying out its intention of physically destroying the brave workers and revolutionary leaders who are now languishing behind prison walls. Let us demand the immediate release of the gravely ailing Horacio Fernandez Iguanzo, kept in the Madrid prison!

We call on all opposition forces, all decent and humane Spaniards, to act with vigor in defense of the political prisoners.

AGAINST THE JUAN CARLOS MONARCHY

The policy of the "opusdeists" is an indication of what may be expected of the Juan Carlos monarchy if it is imposed on Spain. The monarchy will be a continuation of the Franco dictatorship with all its vices, only accentuated by the degradation of the present-day system of power. It would affront the feeling of the people who thirst for freedom, and scorn the necessity of ending the 32-

year-old totalitarian dictatorship and setting up a genuinely democratic regime.

The monarchy would only fortify the dominance of Yankee imperialism over Spain, because the wretched king, lacking the authority that Franco won among the Spanish Rightists by his military victory in 1939, would be abjectly dependent on the support of the United States. Small wonder that Nixon and the CIA are taking steps to assure in advance that Juan Carlos should succeed to Franco's power.

The present political situation requires that all opposition forces should declare themselves in the most forceful manner against the projected succession maneuver. The peoples of Spain do not want to be treated like little children, as they have been heretofore. They are the sole holders of the sovereign right to decide what regime the country should have in future.

The Communist Party, a firm advocate of the Republic, will not go against a popular decision taken in freedom, but this does not mean that it will abandon its standpoint if that standpoint does not triumph.

But the main item on the agenda today is something else: we declare to the masses that "Opus Dei" is preparing a new reactionary coup d'état with the object of crowning Juan Carlos king of Spain. So we call on the people to rally and go into the streets to repulse the attempt of imposing Juan Carlos on their country.

THE DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE

In recent months important headway has been made in bringing together the workers and the democratic and anti-Franco forces. The impressive movement that emerged from the joint action against the monstrous sentences in Burgos and united broad sections of the people, has left its mark. Despite a certain recession, the still existing differences and the complications still to be anticipated, there has been an advance to a Freedom Pact, and the process is in itself a political factor that reflects on and influences the country's life.

Among the new factors in the opposition camp we should note the rupture between the Carlists and the regime. The program adopted in Montejurra with its distinctly democratic positions is tending to reduce the circle of followers of the regime, leading up to a crisis and creating more favorable conditions for the growth of the opposition.

The Communist Party notes with satisfaction the improvement of its relations with the Socialist Party in the country, despite the still remaining differences. Good relations between the two workers' parties is important these days for the struggle for democracy, and

it will be just as important tomorrow for defending the working class and for the advance to socialism.

The headway to unity made during the preparations for the Assembly of Catalonia, where the mass movement is fusing with the political forces already marshalled by the Coordinating Commission, is adding strength to the Catalonians' stand against the dictatorship. Besides, it is evidence of new forms of democracy.

There is a most insistent need for unity among the anti-Franco forces in the Basque country and Galicia, so that the nationalities living there may participate forcefully and effectively in working out the democratic alternative.

The working class and popular forces that have experienced the pressures of the emergency laws are keenly aware of the necessity for a democratic alternative to invigorate and politicize their actions against the dictatorship.

Conditions are coming to hand for unifying a broad spectrum of political forces on the basis of this alternative—from Carlists to Communists and including the Socialists, Demochristians of different trends, Liberals, the forces in Catalonia, the Basque country and Galicia, and representative sections of the Church and army.

The Communist Party herewith reiterates its position that the following Four Points are the main condition for a democratic accord:

- A broad provisional coalition government;
- Total amnesty of political prisoners and exiles;
- Political freedoms without any discrimination;
- Free elections to the Constituent Cortes which will decide on Spain's future political regime.

The Communist Party will suggest inscribing in the accord a recognition of the national rights of Catalonia, the Basque country and Galicia, and a point on a foreign policy of peace and neutrality.

We call on our Party members, followers and friends to unfold active political agitation across the country to marshal mass support for the Four Points of the democratic alternative.

Let us popularize these Four Points, which represent the essence of the political changes required in Spain and so much wanted by her people by means of actions by workers, farmers and university students at assemblies and meetings in factories and villages, and by means of posters and leaflets!

Drawing up the Freedom Pact and the prospect of the democratic alternative on a countrywide scale will radically alter the relation of strength. The alternative will be acknowledged even by sections of the government machinery and the liberal section of the army. This will give rise to a situation of diarchy, in which the movement of the masses will acquire powerful momentum. Apart from polarizing the popular forces, the democratic alternative will polarize other

sections and strata of the population that are still hesitant and uncertain today.

The present shift of Spanish society to the Left, towards democracy, is materializing rapidly and more tangibly.

It may be anticipated that the final stages on the way to the democratic alternative, which still lie ahead, will be particularly complicated and difficult, precisely because they are fraught with consequences of historical significance. That is why the movement of the masses, principally of the working class, plays the indispensable role of the motive force of the democratic advance.

We Communists are working for the democratic alternative with revolutionary enthusiasm and with no reservations. And we declare that as soon as democracy is won we shall defend it with all the forces at our disposal.

We shall place ourselves at the service of the struggle for socialism. We are convinced that conquest of political freedom in Spain will be the decisive step in the advance to socialism, a step that will widen and deepen democracy in the socio-economic and political domains.

FOR A POWERFUL LABOR MOVEMENT

The matter of developing and strengthening the working-class movement is acquiring the utmost importance as an immediate task. The ultimate outcome of the present situation depends increasingly on the working class and its leaders, on their ability to act as the main political and social force in the country.

In recent months the working-class movement achieved striking successes, but serious shortcomings have also come into evidence, and these must be remedied in the shortest possible time. This is necessary in order to raise the working-class movement to a new height, to make it stronger and more massive, so as to create the best possible conditions for it in anticipation of, and during the general political strike, and make it one of the determinative factors in the passage to a democratic situation.

The trade union elections have been a victory for the Workers' Commissions and confirmed as correct the policy of our Party. The mass of working people responded splendidly to the call to turn the union elections into a revolutionary class battle, to make them a step towards the dissolution of vertical trade unions.

The elections have set the stage for expanding, developing and consolidating the working-class movement, for cementing its unity.

Important today is skillful and effective use of the legal opportunities, taking advantage of them for a radical expansion of contacts with the masses, making the mass meetings broader and more universal, threshing out an action platform with the direct participation of the working people.

Picked in the elections were tens of thousands of representatives of a firm and militant mould, ready to discharge the authority given them by their mates. To organize their activity is now an important and urgent task. This applies to those who were candidates of the Workers' Commissions, those who were not in the list of candidates, those elected but recently, and some, about 50 per cent, of those whose mandates were not renewed. In the present situation, with the scope of the working-class movement growing steadily, the vast majority of trade union stewards and cells form a mass which can be rallied and drawn into future actions in defense of the economic and political rights of the working people.

To frame and advance demands relating to the most vital needs of wage-earners—at factory level and in towns and provinces—is one of the essential conditions for turning the working-class movement into a mass movement. It is essential that workers' meetings should discuss the demands and pass resolutions on the forms of struggle for them. It is also important that workers meetings should freely discuss the major political problems of today, problems that preoccupy the country, particularly the Freedom Pact and its programmatic implications.

In face of the growing unemployment it is important, too, to form Commissions of Unemployed Workers, which would organize their struggle and combine it with the struggle of the rest of the working class for effective unemployment grants and for jobs.

We Communists must improve our work in the working-class movement and not confuse the Workers' Commissions with the Party. The Communist Party is a political organization, the organized vanguard of the working class, the revolutionary movement, consisting of workers, farmers, students, intellectuals, etc., taking guidance in the Marxist-Leninist teaching. The Workers' Commissions, as they have defined themselves, are a socio-political movement of the masses embracing all workers, irrespective of their ideology.

WORKING-CLASS UNITY

Never has the need for unity been so great. It depends largely on unity whether or not the struggle of the working people will attain its full capacity, whether or not their organization will be broader and more enduring. It depends on unity whether the working class will be able to play the leading role in the entire revolutionary process of struggle for freedom, for the republican system, for the development of democracy and socialism.

Despite the diversity of political convictions, the masses are aspiring to unity, for they know that they must join efforts in defending their common interests. These unitarian leanings are par-

ticularly in evidence in the shops and factories, and that is where, particularly in the Workers' Commissions, workers' unity should be forged and fortified; this calls for the broadest and truest democracy and deep respect for the opinion of each and for the rights of the minority.

The problem of workers' unity is not a problem of unanimity; it is one of continuous search at each concrete point for a common platform, enabling the Communists to go with the workers even when we differ over specific matters.

The unity of the workers should be continuously cemented. We should also look for ways and means of forging it from "above," jointly with various workers' organizations, both the time-honored ones and those of more recent date, active among the working people, even if their influence is actually small. At this time it is possible that most of these groups will join the Workers' Commissions movement, which, however, does not mean that they will be absorbed by it and disappear.

FOR A GENERAL STRIKE

A general strike will be possible only if alongside illegal work we also conduct throughout the country extensive politico-educational and organizational work, rallying the masses through workers' representatives, assemblies and Workers' Commissions, making bold use of all legal, open, public forms, not short of the legal press. At meetings, conferences and through other forms of agitational work the masses must be told of the significance of the enormous political tasks facing the country, must be convinced that to satisfy their vital daily needs they have to do away with the dictatorship, win democratic freedoms and establish a republican system.

In carrying out this varied work of agitation, political education and organization, we should be constantly aware that the conditions for a general strike may ripen at any moment, resulting from some specific occurrence, such as, say, Franco's retirement and the appointment of Juan Carlos as king. And we must be able to use any such development, so that the immense weight of the working class should be thrown on the scales in resolving the big national problems.

Once the dictatorship begins to totter, the Workers' Commissions will be able to win legal status. This will create the most favorable conditions for uniting the workers' congresses in the cities and provinces, the various nationalities across Spain, in order to form a united and independent workers' union.

The gravity of the problems and the deep-going discontent in the villages are reason enough for anticipating important developments in the coming months.

The farmers face the critical question of going over to determined action for fair prices commensurate with their outlay of labor, for lower taxes, for compensation for lost harvests and in the event of natural calamities, for better terms on loans, and other rights.

These actions must be well prepared both in the agrarian corporative unions and outside them, with a sound and bold use of legal means. It must be brought home to the farmers that for victory they must go over to open and massive forms of struggle—assemblies, strikes and manifestations, disregarding the fact that the authorities will consider them illegal.

The more politically-conscious farmers, whatever their outlook, must be organized in Farmers' Commissions wherever this is not yet the case, so that they could also begin uniting, organizing and mobilizing.

The farmers' movement has taken very important steps to enhance its organization, which is flexible and highly diverse in form.

The establishment of the General Coordinating Commission of Farmers' Commissions is an enormous achievement, expressive of the degree of the farmers' political maturity in some parts of the country. The Coordinating Commission is trying to assume the leading place in the farmers' movement and help districts and provinces to draw up programs of demands and to organize Farmers' Commissions in villages and districts.

Combining legal and underground activity, the farmers' movement is fortifying and organizing Commissions in all parts of the country, and is thereby able to help in forging the victory of democracy.

Despite the endless exodus from villages, hundreds of thousands of wage laborers and poor peasants are still suffering from unemployment. Those without work and no unemployment relief, live in appalling conditions of poverty—the most eloquent evidence of the injustice and impotence of the present regime.

The rural proletariat, the political consciousness and militancy of which are daily displayed, must, while demanding jobs and real unemployment relief, go over to more decisive actions and demand vacant or poorly cultivated land and the implements to till it.

The reform law on landownership is a fresh attempt at fraudulently manipulating the agrarian reform, based on the principle, "Land to the tillers."

Struggle for agrarian reform, a firm demand for land—and where such is available, its occupation—is an urgent task.

The solidarity of the working class, all working people and cultural workers with the farmers is as necessary as ever. The farmers are the second motive force of the Spanish revolution. To win the mass of farmers for the struggle is necessary if we want to win freedom and the republican order. And the farmers will come to us

once they realize that their future depends on the struggle for democracy.

MOVEMENT OF CULTURAL WORKERS

Despite the hardships of the repressions, the cultural workers have redoubled their struggle on all fronts. Hundreds of students have been apprehended and the universities in Madrid and Barcelona are still occupied by the police. In the teeth of these hardships, the student movement continues to fight for freedom, for a democratic reconstruction of the Spanish university, combining its actions with those of cultural workers and taking an active part in the political struggle headed by the working class. The fact that many of the academics and instructors have taken part in the battle on the side of the students and have also fallen victims to repressions is an important feature of the present situation in the universities.

The democratic movement of engineers and technicians, who took part in the trade union elections and gained a visible success, is taking the form of an autonomous movement, though it merges with the working-class movement.

Middle-school teachers, hospital and neighborhood doctors held strikes on a national scale for the first time in the country's history. The latest strike involved the uppermost science centers and was conducted with admirable bravery, unity and organization. The prospect of a nationwide general strike looks doubly promising after these manifestations.

These actions resemble the working-class actions both in form and content. The professional demands of students, academics and instructors, physicians, etc., are oriented on a radical restructuring of the system of education and the health services, putting them truly into the service of society, principally the working people, who will benefit the most from these changes.

The working class regards it as vital for itself to end the abuses, backwardness and scandalous activities typical of the present-day system of public health and education. That is why the working class has a stake in backing the demands of the professions.

In this area there are two important tasks:

a) to draw up a concrete solution to the problems in the case of each profession, and to build up a mass movement, coordinating it at a national level, and b) to form flexible, multilateral and bilateral ties with each other and with the working class.

Many interesting steps have been taken in this context. The main thing is that the process of coordination should be massive. This interconnection of movements will give added scope to the struggle of each profession, intensify the struggle and advance it.

The facts bear out the Party's conceptions on the alliance of the forces of labor and culture. The alliance is, indeed, gradually materializing.

LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC TENDENCIES IN THE ARMED FORCES

In these six months of severe trial, far-reaching shifts have surfaced in the armed forces. One example, though not the only one, is the public rupture between the "ultra" generals and those who, though appointed by Franco, have adopted a liberal standpoint.

The court proceedings in Burgos revealed the tensions prevailing in the armed forces and confirmed our Party's prediction of the changes now under way. Trends have emerged in the army that deny its role as an agency of repression and demand that its organization and equipment should accord with the requirements of national defense. Protests against foreign bases on Spanish territory and against corruption in the government have erupted with added force. There are attitudes obviously directed against the succession plan which is being rushed through by the "Opus Dei" government, against a monarchy and Juan Carlos, for respect of the people's will. Some army figures have publicly stated the need for political parties, workers' trade unions, parliament and a government elected and controlled in democratic conditions. These liberal trends reflecting the changes in the Spain of today have precedents in our country's history.

The course of events shows that the rapprochement between army and people can be helped along, so that finally the army will respect the popular will. This would be their first step towards the patriotic mission that the armed forces will perform in the future democratic Spain.

PARTY BUILDING

The political situation and the expansion of the mass movement attach top priority to the necessity of a radical upswing in Party building, in increasing its membership.

For this we must work systematically and attract thousands upon thousands of our sympathizers and followers, those who are basically in agreement with our policy, into the Party.

Despite the headway already achieved in turning the Party into a highly sensitive body with roots set deep in the thick of the working class and people, we shall have to move still more vigorously in this direction. A wealth of experience has been accumulated, and wherever flexible methods have been employed the number and quality of new Party members have risen.

We should take due notice of our shortcomings and weaknesses.

There are still sectors in the Party where it is not the apathy and indifference of the masses to our policy, but the behavior of some of the comrades and Party branches that impedes the necessary and possible growth of our ranks by their pose of unapproachability and the barrier they raise to the admission of new members. Their inertia prevents them from seeing the mighty force of attraction which the Party's ideas exercise these days on the vast majority of the Spanish youth. We must give serious thought to this and other matters showing that there is still narrowness and sectarianism in our approach.

There are good objective opportunities for the attractive task of recruiting the Party's fervent supporters into its ranks, but to do so each Party committee, each Party branch, each Communist, must cast off the false sense of exclusiveness which they may still harbor, and must understand that, given the necessary guarantees of revolutionary vigilance, it is precisely in the Party that the gifts and revolutionary values that have come into evidence in the country, may finally merge.

To fulfil the role of the leader, the Party must first improve the political quality of all its activity. *We Communists must be the people's spokesmen at present, able to elucidate to the masses the political tasks, to participate with them in discussion, to heed their initiatives, in order to utilize them, to put them into practice, in the living process of creatively effectuating the Party's policy.*

The Party has proved itself able to cope with the new tasks posed by the situation. It has come out with flying colors from the ordeal. And not only has it withstood the trial, but has emerged from it stronger and numerically larger.

Its policy, deeply rooted in the masses, has unquestionably served it as the strongest armor against the repressions. The Communists received all kinds of aid from the working class, from their relatives and the rest of the population, which helped them in great measure to remain undiscovered, while continuing to perform their work.

In the main, the Party branches operated without a break, assuring the effectuation of the Party's active mass policy. Throughout these months many Party branches showed models of leadership, acting unerringly when retreat was unavoidable, and just as intrepidly when it was right to assume the offensive.

Communists acted with selfless courage and heroism in clashes with the police. Thousands of them have stood up unflinchingly to torture and brutal treatment, as well as to moral pressure. But we should not forget that some comrades displayed weakness during the interrogations.

It was again proved beyond doubt that the prisoner's self-defense depends first and foremost on his own behavior and, what is most important, on his firmness, faith in the masses and in the cause.

The successful decentralization and introduction of autonomy for Party branches and committees has shown that this orientation is correct. The lively critical spirit marking the political discussions within the Party and our discussions with the masses and other groups, helps forge a truly conscious unity, the result of the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas in their application to revolutionary practice.

The successful decentralization and introduction of autonomy for Party branches and committees has shown that this orientation is correct. The lively critical spirit marking the political discussions within the Party and our discussions with the masses and other groups, helps forge a truly conscious unity. We should continue with decentralization so as to clearly bring out such of our Party's features as political and ideological unity, the result of the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas in their application to revolutionary practice.

In its political and theoretical activity the Communist Party of Spain must generalize the rich and varied experience of socialist revolution in countries where it is winning. We declare our fervent solidarity with all countries where the working class has taken power into its own hands.

If we Communists are able to appreciate the militant actions of workers, farmers, women, youth and the scientific and technical intelligentsia, of whom hundreds of thousands have joined in the struggle, we shall soon have the large and massive Party needed by the Spanish revolution despite all the repressions.

We must waste no time in searching, discovering and sometimes guessing the variety of forms of work that will enable the Party in the present conditions, along with the traditional organizational methods, to draw hundreds of thousands of Spaniards into its ranks as active and politically conscious members.

STATEMENT OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The Communist Party of Ireland declares that the present political crisis in not only the North, but the whole of Ireland arises out of the situation imposed, 50 years ago, by British Imperialism. This crisis was developed when, four years ago, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association launched a campaign for democracy that was based on the broad unity of separate organizations and forces. Only a similar unity, now, can resolve that crisis.

The effects of the Civil Rights campaign created acute divisions in the ruling parties of the two Irish states, and, above all clearly exposed the main responsibility of the British Government for the problems that exist in Ireland.

The stubborn resistance of the Unionist Government, an attitude underwritten by the British Government, to the demands for normal democratic rights has brought about a situation of extreme violence in which many lives have been lost; thousands rendered homeless; people subjected in the streets and in their homes to batonings and C.S. Gas by the Unionist police and British Army; the detention of hundreds under the most brutal conditions; the intimidation of families in their homes and of workers in their jobs, and the creation of conditions that could lead to civil war.

At the root of all this suffering, which affects the working people most of all, is the historic and contemporary British political and military interference in Ireland. In the course of recent events the false mask of "peacekeeper" has been taken off to reveal the old familiar face of repression.

Continued repression by the British will fail, as in the past, to solve the "Irish Question." Likewise, blind acts of violence by "elitist" anti-Unionist groups will not win national self-determination for the Irish people. State terror cannot be defeated by isolated acts of counter-violence whose effects can only lead to the deepening of sectarianism, to the strengthening of that basis on which the Unionist Government — the handmaid of British rule in the North—has been able to rule for 50 years.

The working people of Northern Ireland must reject bigoted, hate-filled sectarian policies which have already resulted in violence and death. No section of the working class can enjoy privileges,

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real or imagined, at the expense of another section and remain themselves free—that is the lesson Protestant workers must learn. The path of Paisley, Craig and Co., is the road to more civilian deaths, loss of homes and higher unemployment. They must be as firmly rejected as the discredited Faulkner regime.

The weapons by which to advance the people's interests, by which to defeat the British and Unionist Governments are the ones based on people's unity and grass root involvement in a mass resistance movement. That is why the Communist Party of Ireland supports, unhesitatingly, the campaign for the non-payment of rents and rates. Involved in that campaign are not only the features of political protest but also the elements of social protest against a situation in which unemployment is steeply increasing and living standards are being lowered—caused not by the outcome of the protest movement in the North as alleged by Faulkner—but by a growing crisis of capitalism in general which equally affects industrial workers in the 26 Counties, the shipyard workers on the Upper Clyde, the car-workers in the U.S. and many workers in other countries. Therefore the no-rent and rates campaign must be extended to embrace the Protestant section of the working class. The campaign must be extended and strengthened by the democratic formation of street, area and district committees.

Unity must be the keynote of the present struggle. Therefore the emergence of so many "alternative" Assemblies and Dails must be opposed, because they split the anti-Unionist forces and in fact cancel each other out. The question can be seriously put—if those who suffer from discrimination can't unite, how is it expected that the necessary alliance of the Catholic and Protestant sections of the working people can be brought about? The Communist Party is not opposed in principle to the building of an Alternative Assembly provided it is based on, and is, representative of the working people.

The Civil Rights Association which began the present momentous struggle that in its initial stage brought together people of different religious and political affiliation, stands as the unifying and rallying center for all anti-Unionist forces at the present time. It should, and could, call together all the various political parties and people's organizations on a program that would demand:

- 1) The immediate release of all those detained under the Special Powers Act. A declaration by the British Government that they will not permit the Unionist Administration to operate powers of internment under any circumstances. The immediate stopping of arrests and detention without trial, under any section of the Special Powers Act.

- 2) A Public Inquiry under the auspices of the International Commission of Jurists into the allegations of brutality by the forces

of Authority against the detainees and against the people in areas subject to recent British Army action.

3) The withdrawal of the British Troops from these areas and an end to their role as an oppressive force for propping-up the Faulkner Administration.

4) The immediate recall of the British Parliament to legislate a Bill for N. Ireland which will contain the legislative basis for democracy, i.e., the proportional representation system of voting, democratically re-drawn electoral boundaries, and the removal of all forms of coercive legislation such as the Special Powers Act from the Statute Book.

5) The suspension of the present Stormont Administration which has proved itself both unwilling and incapable of carrying out the principles and program laid down in the Downing Street Agreement. Its replacement, pending a democratic election, by a Democratic Administration composed of representatives of the peoples organizations to administer the above proposals.

6) That immediate talks, conditional on the release of the detainees, should be held between the London and Dublin Governments plus representatives of the entire spectrum of political parties and peoples organizations in the North to ensure that all the demands outlined above are implemented.

On the basis of such an agreed program could be developed a united anti-Unionist movement which would fully, and actively, support the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in the carrying-out of the organization necessary to the success of the presently growing Civil Disobedience Campaign. Resulting from this Campaign democratic people's administrations should be elected in all areas, composed of representatives elected by the people living in these areas.

This would lay the basis for an Assembly which would set out to establish the closest contact with the organized British working class movement, and the development of such common causes of both the Catholic and Protestant sections of the people, as opposition to membership of the Common Market; the fight against growing unemployment; the provision of proper housing; the struggle against increased living costs and the multitude of other issues that affect each section in common.

In the present very serious situation tremendous responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Irish and British Labor Movements. The Irish Labor Movement, North and South, must recognize the emergence once again of the national question in all-Ireland politics, this time in conditions where British monopoly capitalism is extending its power over all spheres of the Irish economy by the merger of financial corporations, by industrial take-overs, large scale property

purchases, and by towing the two parts of Ireland into that European Monopoly Capitalist Institution—the Common Market.

In the Labor Movement in the South there must be an end to the divisive and diversionary attacks by prominent spokesmen on other sections who are opposed to British monopoly capitalism, and instead there should be vigorous concentration on the united ways and means of achieving a united people freed from the political and economic domination of Britain.

To this end the pressure of the Labor Movement should be applied, to effect not only changes in the 26-County Constitution that will make it a non-denominational one, but also against the Lynch Government that will force it to take a more resolute stand against British domination by:

a) Demanding that the British Government introduces the necessary democratic legislation in the North, and withdrawing its own repressive legislation in the 26 Counties.

b) Cancelling the present Anglo-Irish Free Trade Treaty not only to make a political protest, but also in order to protect the employment of thousands of Irish workers who are being affected by its provisions, and whose jobs would be safeguarded in a renegotiated trade agreement.

c) Indicting the British Government, internationally, at the United Nations Organization for its political and military conduct in the North, and at the Strasbourg Court of Human Rights for its illegal detentions and for the brutal treatment meted out to those detained.

British imperialism by its policies is creating terrible grief and suffering for thousands of our working people. This situation must end. The Irish Labor and Trade Union Movement must ensure that it ends speedily.

FASCIST DICTATORSHIP ON THE RAMPAGE

YOKUB DEMIR

With a fascist military dictatorship running the country, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Turkey appealed to fraternal parties and progressive organizations for solidarity and aid.

The dramatic report shows that the terror is directed not only against Communists. On July 20 the "Constitutional Court" outlawed the Turkish Labor Party, the only socialist party, which was represented in parliament by a woman senator and a deputy. The Party's chairman, the two general secretaries and more than half the members of the leadership, have been under arrest for more than three months.

When the state of emergency was proclaimed on April 28, a candidly fascist militarist dictatorship set itself up to rule the country.

Resistance to U.S. imperialism and its specific forms of penetration and enslavement, to NATO and CENTO, is mounting everywhere, reaching out into broad sections of the people. The huge NATO-imposed arms expenditures had to be offset by additional taxes, falling as a heavy burden on the people and sparking a steep rise in prices. Inflation has become official state policy.

The situation spurred the growth of a mass movement against imperialism and its home agents. The driving force behind the movement is the working class and its political organizations and trade-unions (the Communist Party has been banned and working underground for over 48 years) standing guard over the people's democratic rights and searching for ways of expanding them. The anti-imperialist movement is rapidly spreading among the revolutionary youth, intelligentsia, officers and university professors. Its influence is beginning to reach out to the army.

To curb this development, the Demirel government organized fascist-style bandit raids on the revolutionary forces and drafted fascist bills. These were strongly opposed, however, and not passed by parliament.

In the circumstances, for want of anything better, the American and other Western imperialists availed themselves of the experience

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of the Greek fascist military dictatorship adapted to Turkish conditions. The state of emergency suspended the constitution. A terrorist dictatorship was enforced across the country. Prisons were crowded with revolutionary trade unionists, leaders of the Turkish Labor Party, hundreds of professors, writers and journalists. Thousands of army officers were arrested, banished to remote areas, or discharged from the armed forces. All democratic and progressive bodies, such as the socialist youth organization, socialist societies and the Socialist Union were banned. The leaders of the Labor Party and its chairman, former deputy Behice Boran, were arrested. Formerly, Behice Boran was chairman of the outlawed Turkish Society of Peace Champions and had spent many years in prison and was under police surveillance.

Among the arrested professors are well-known scientists and deans of faculties—Professor Cahit Talas, former minister and Dean of the Political Science Faculty of Ankara University, Prof. Aksoy, and Cetin Ozek, former director of the institute of journalism, a world known anti-fascist and criminologist.

Also arrested are the world-famous novelist, Yasar Kemal, the poet Daglarca, journalist Selcuk, and writer Celtin Altan, formerly a Labor Party deputy to parliament. Altan was subjected to savage torture and was unable to appear at his trial. All universities are occupied by armed forces. Close and distant relatives of political prisoners are being terrorized by the police. All anti-imperialist and progressive newspapers were forced to stop publishing. The printing, dissemination and reading of all publications of an anti-imperialist nature, are banned and violators severely punished.

Police raided state and private libraries and bookstores, confiscating progressive anti-imperialist and revolutionary literature, burned immediately outside in the streets. After the patriotic progressive deputies were ousted, parliament was turned into an obedient tool, helping to install fascism in the country.

Thousands of patriots are interned in citadels and camps.

The terror launched against the Kurds in Eastern Anatolia is still more brutal and bloody. Hundreds of Kurdish villages and towns were attacked by special forces units, who spread fire and carnage in the Kurdish regions.

The people of Turkey are being trampled underfoot by the fascist military dictatorship. We appeal to all fraternal parties, all progressive public and political organizations, to let the public know of the state of affairs and help the Turkish nation in the liberation fight against fascist dictatorship.

FIFTY FIGHTING YEARS

STATEMENT BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

July 30, 1921, the date of the foundation of our Party, is an important landmark for the people of our country, and indeed for the international working-class movement.

Here was a Party born and baptized in fierce struggle; for South Africa, the source of most of the gold in the capitalist world for the past century, is the arena of most acute imperialist, national and class contradictions and conflicts.

Here, within a single state frontier are to be found modern imperialism, monopoly capitalism, and colonialism of a special type, brutally exercised against the indigenous Africans.

Robbed of their ancestral lands, the majority of the population have been herded into "reserves" or "Bantu homelands," urban locations and "resettlement areas" and forced by starvation and organized terror into an army of proletarians to supply cheap labor to white-owned mines, farms and factories.

Rampant racialism, the theory and practice of "apartheid," subjects every "non-white" in South Africa to daily insults and hardships. Eighty-seven per cent of the land is in the hands of the white minority. A million people are jailed every year under the pass law. The right to vote, like all other citizenship rights, is denied to all who are not white. Skilled jobs and trade union rights are for whites alone. Education and social services are minimal.

With their Communist Party, their trade unions, their African National Congress and all democratic organizations subjected to suppression by the fascist regime, the people have understood that all their problems and grievances can only be solved by the revolutionary overthrow of white minority rule; that only through prolonged and bitter armed struggle can liberation be won.

Their organizations, centered around the African National Congress, are actively organizing for, arming and mobilizing the people for this struggle. Closely united with the people, inspiring and fighting with them, now as for the past fifty years of struggle and sacrifice, is the Party of the South African working class: the Communist Party.

Even at the time of its foundation, the leaders of the Party—W. H. Andrews, D. I. Jones, S. P. Bunting and others—were already

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veteran militants of the class struggle. From the outbreak of the first world war, they adopted a firm internationalist position, denounced the pro-imperialist section of the Labor Party and established the International Socialist League. The ISL made a sharp break from the opportunist and white chauvinist policy of the Labor Party and determinedly set about the industrial organization and Marxist education of the burgeoning African working class.

From its inception right up to the present day our Party has been closely and indissolubly linked with the bitter struggles of the working people of our country against class and national oppression.

These hard struggles, analyzed in the illuminating light of Marxist-Leninist science and with the fraternal assistance of the Communist International, transformed the nature of the Party and immeasurably deepened its understanding of its historic role in the complex conditions of South Africa. The Party overcame the heritage of its origins as the Left-wing of what was then a predominantly white-immigrant labor movement. Following its historic 1924 Conference, led by S. P. Bunting, the Party made a decisive turn towards the oppressed black masses, recruiting into its ranks outstanding African revolutionaries of the calibre of M. M. Kotane, J. B. Marks, A. Nzula, J. Nkosi, E. T. Mofutsanyana and others.

Following a period of internal struggle in the 30s, during which serious damage was done by a left-sectarian tendency temporarily dominating the leadership, a new Central Committee was elected in 1939 with M. M. Kotane as general secretary.

The following decade was one of the consistent raising of the membership and activity of the Party. It led the fight against fascism at home and abroad, and strove ceaselessly to unite the workers and oppressed people in defense of their rights. The Party strove persistently to strengthen and unite the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the revolutionary trade union movement and other organizations striving for democracy. Through the untiring efforts of Communist and non-Communist patriots within these movements a firm basis was laid for the emergence of the united national front of liberation of our country, the Congress Alliance, and its common program, the Freedom Charter.

Although, for the first thirty years of its existence, the Party had maintained a status of formal legality its members and leaders had always been subjected to persecution and intimidation by the imperialist rulers of the country. The unforgettable martyr of the African people, Comrade Johannes Nkosi, was brutally done to death by police at a mass demonstration in Durban on 16 December, 1930. Few if any members were unfamiliar with the police cells.

Even this period of precarious legality was brought to an end with the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act (1950) outlawing the Party and making the defense of Marxist-Leninist

ideas a "crime" subject to heavy penalties. This vicious law, the forerunner of many fascist measures by the Nationalist Party government which have transformed South Africa into a police state on the Hitlerite model, met with firm opposition from the oppressed masses. The Party's Central Committee at that time—influenced by legalistic and even liquidationist ideas which had penetrated the Party—was unprepared theoretically and practically for the new situation and decided to dissolve the Party. The great majority of the Communists of South Africa nevertheless threw themselves with dedication and courage into the taxing task of rebuilding, in conditions of illegality and mounting terror, the South African Communist Party, which upholds and continues the great Party tradition of half a century of unremitting struggle in the front ranks of the South African revolution for national liberation and democracy.

Throughout the fifties the Party and its members added new lustre to the glorious principles of Marxism-Leninism by their devotion and sacrifices in the common cause. Communist and non-Communist, revolutionaries of all national groups stood united against the bloodstained racist regime. In the words of Comrade Abram Fischer:

"... in the movement for freedom and equal human rights for all ... it was always members of the Communist Party who seemed prepared, regardless of cost, to sacrifice most, to give of their best, to face the greatest dangers in the struggle ..."

The Communists—Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, J. B. Marks and others—were among the first to volunteer and the foremost to lead in the great campaigns of Defiance of Unjust Laws, of national general strikes, of workers', rural peoples', women's and youth struggles which characterized the fifties. They participated in the epic movement for the mass Congress of the People, culminating in the adopting of the Freedom Charter, common program of the united liberation movement. Revolutionaries of different ideological tendencies participated in the moulding and building of that united movement and its program, in which an outstanding contribution was made by South Africa's Communists.

The unity of Communist and non-Communist revolutionaries and democrats was welded yet more firmly during the marathon Treason Trial of 1956-61 of 156 men and women of all national groups, charged for their participation in the movement and support for the Charter. Mass support at home and abroad resulted in the freeing of all those accused before the Courts.

The reaction of the fascist government was to discard legal procedures in favor of lawless police terrorism. The African National Congress was declared illegal and every known member or sup-

porter of the liberation movement subjected to systematic persecution.

The militant mass struggles of the fifties, although they stopped short of violence on the part of the people, shook the ruling classes and the colonialist apartheid structure of South Africa. Unable to continue their rule in the old way, they abandoned all pretences at bourgeois legality and took the road of naked terrorist dictatorship against the oppressed people.

It became clear to the masses and to all honest patriots that no other choice remained between submission to slavery and armed resistance and revolution.

Leaders of the African National Congress and the Communist Party set themselves to recruit and train fighting cadres which entered the field of action on 16 December, 1961, with the opening of a campaign of planned sabotage throughout the country. The process was begun of preparing for armed combat.

In 1962 the Party made a major contribution to the South African revolution in its Program, adopted after intensive discussion among all levels of the membership.

In its explanation of the situation, and above all in its Marxist-Leninist analysis of the problems of the country contained in the 1962 Program, *The Road to South African Freedom*, the Communist Party provided the revolutionary theory, the application of Marxism-Leninism to the history and structure of the country, essential for the victory of the revolutionary movement.

The Program definitively describes the special type of colonialism developed in South Africa. It sets forth as the immediate and foremost task of the Party the winning of a united front of national liberation, uniting all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution. This revolution to destroy white domination whose main content will be the national liberation of the African people, is seen as the essential condition and the key for the advance of a socialist South Africa, the supreme aim of the Communist Party.

The period of the sixties saw many severe blows struck at the Communist Party, the African National Congress and other organizations demanding democracy and liberation.

Following a raid on the underground Party headquarters at Rivonia a number of the most outstanding revolutionary leaders, both Communists and non-Communists, were arrested and tried on charges of planning to overthrow the state by armed revolutionary struggle. Despite worldwide protests, including a 106-1 vote at the United Nations General Assembly, eight of the accused were sentenced to life imprisonment: Mandela, Sisula, Mbeki, Mhlaba, Goldberg, Kathrada, Motsoaledi and Mlangeni.

Hundreds of Congressites and Communists were detained without

trial, subjected to prolonged torture and some even murdered in the police cells.

The great majority of those detained refused to testify against their comrades, even to the point of death. But a few were broken by the police, resulting in yet further trials, such as that of Mkwayi, Kitson and others, also resulting in life sentences, the execution of the trade unionists Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba in November 1964, and the rounding up of thousands of Party and Congress supporters, and trade unionists throughout the country.

A further heavy blow was sustained by the Party in 1965 with the arrest and sentence to life imprisonment of Comrade Abram Fischer who had been living in hiding and leading the underground work of the Party at that time.

These heavy blows sustained in these attacks by the powerfully-armed and heavily subsidized secret police machine inflicted grave setbacks on the cadres and organization of both the Party and the national liberation movement. But they did not, and could not, destroy the confidence and support of the masses of the people for their movements and their leaders and their will to carry on the struggle to victory and freedom.

The Party patiently and determinedly rebuilt its organization in the country, learning from past errors of over-confidence and under-estimation of the enemy, combining legal with illegal methods, and employing new tactics adapted to the present situation of terrorism.

The past few years have seen one campaign after another of well-executed illegal propaganda campaigns in which leaflets, recorded messages and other forms of propaganda have been broadcast to the masses from both the Party and the African National Congress.

At the same time, cadres sent abroad by the Party and the national liberation movement have sustained and intensified their activities. Cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe, with the fraternal aid of the African, socialist and other states and organizations have been welded into the well-trained and armed nucleus of a mass people's army, spearhead of the South African revolution. In alliance with the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union, units of Umkhonto we Sizwe have proved their mettle in armed combat with the joint South African and Rhodesian "security forces."

In the field of international solidarity the movement has tirelessly worked to bring home the ugly realities of South African racism and fascism on a world scale, to stimulate movements for the boycotting and isolation of the fascist regime in the military, commercial, cultural and all other fields, and to mobilize support for the South African freedom fighters. The movement has built strong ties of solidarity with the fighting patriots of neighboring countries and the Portuguese colonies. It has won powerful, worldwide sup-

port from fellow Africans in most of the newly independent states, from the governments of the socialist countries, and from working class and democratic forces in the imperialist countries.

The South African Communist Party has consistently upheld the cause of proletarian internationalism, of unity within the Communist movement and of common action by all anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. It has consistently upheld the banner raised by the founders of the Party: the banner of revolutionary working class unity, around the October Revolution and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Our Party has actively and positively contributed to the work of preparing for and participating in the historic conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties; it upholds and implements their decisions.

At the same time, especially through the Party journal *The African Communist*, we have done and will continue to do our share in spreading the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism throughout our continent. The Communist Party enters the period of the 1970s with profound confidence in the principles of our Party, tested and vindicated in 50 years of experience, and in the victory of the forces of freedom in our country, of socialism throughout the world.

The 1970 Augmented Central Committee meeting of our Party was an important milestone in its history.

The meeting realistically reviewed the policy and activities of the Central Committee over the period that had elapsed since the 1962 National Conference. Confirming the correctness of the Party's general line it, at the same time, established the broad political, strategic and organizational guidelines for the coming period in the development of the South African revolution.

The meeting pledged unqualified support for the liberation army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, in its aims to recruit and train guerilla fighters, to spread the area of guerilla warfare to the heart of the republic.

Expressing its firm belief that "the building of our Party as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class is a vitally important contribution to victory in the common struggle," the meeting instructed the Central Committee to direct its main efforts "to the reconstruction of the Party at home as an organization of professional revolutionaries," close to the working masses and able to carry on the Party's work in the face of police terror.

The Augmented Central Committee took steps to strengthen and renew the personnel of the Central Committee, while maintaining continuity and expressing its confidence by re-electing the senior officials, the General Secretary and Chairman of the Party, Comrades Moses M. Kotane and J. B. Marks.

A rousing "Call to the People of South Africa," issued by the meeting recalled the glorious record of our Party.

For fifty years our Party has never feared to fight in the front ranks against color bars and oppression, for better wages, land, a new life of freedom for the people. Hundreds of our best comrades, from Johannes Nkosi to Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and Bram Fischer have given their lives and liberty for the cause of the people.

This party can never be killed by the enemy.

Now, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of our fighting Party, and on behalf of all our members, we solemnly rededicate ourselves to our historic task. In the name of our pioneers who first raised the banner of Communism in Africa; of our comrades who died on the field of battle, on the scaffold and in the prison cells, and those who languish in South Africa's fascist jails, we pledge that we shall never lower our red banner but carry it forward to victory.

Long live the unity of Communists and non-Communists in the anti-imperialist freedom fight!

Long live the South African Communist Party!

Long live communism!

SLOGANS AND DEEDS OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP

The present epoch is characterized by gigantic revolutionary transformations cardinally changing the image of our planet. The forces of world socialism, the Communist and workers' movement and national liberation are developing their offensive against the positions of imperialism. This historic confrontation encompasses all aspects of social life—economy, politics, ideology and culture.

Life convincingly confirms the correctness of the conclusion drawn by the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 that "the world system of socialism is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle." It has become a powerful accelerator of historical progress that was started by the Great October Revolution, a mighty bulwark of peace and the security of the peoples.

The countries of socialism pursuing a Leninist course in domestic and foreign policy are viewed by the working people of the whole world as a reliable bulwark of peace, freedom and social progress. The stronger the fraternal alliance of socialist countries, the stronger become the positions of the forces of peace and progress in the whole world, the more resolute the rebuff given to any aggressive designs by imperialism. The support and aid given to heroic Vietnam, to the peoples of Laos and Cambodia by the USSR, the other socialist countries, and by all progressive forces are a vivid example of this.

At the same time, the members of the anti-imperialist front of struggle cannot but be alarmed by the anti-Leninist, great-power chauvinistic course of the present leadership of China directed at undermining the unity of revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces, a course inflicting serious damage to their common cause.

I

More than ten years have passed since the time when the Chinese leadership came forth openly for the first time with a special ideological-political platform on the main questions of our times, the development of world socialism and the Communist and workers' movement.

They revised the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist construction and foreign policy that were implemented in the first

Pravda, September 4, 1971.

10 years of the PRC's existence and were recorded in the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the CPC (1956). Some time later, contrary to the Marxist-Leninist line of the international Communist movement, jointly worked out by the Communist and Workers' parties, including the CPC, the Chinese leaders advanced their own "Left" theses that were purported to facilitate the speediest destruction of imperialism and an acceleration of the world revolution by all means, not short of a world thermonuclear war. They tried to impose this platform on the international Communist and workers' movement. In reality Maoism's "Leftism" only camouflaged the ambitious hegemonistic plans of the Maoists to which Peking's entire domestic and foreign policy is subordinated.

In the field of domestic policy, Mao Tse-tung and his entourage decided to use for their own aims the economic base, the foundations of socialism that were laid in the country during the first decade after the victory of the revolution.

Having discarded the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the CPC aimed at the plan-regulated building of socialism and raising the people's well-being, Mao Tse-tung and the group he led plunged China into the voluntarist adventure of the "great leap," of building the "people's communes," having proclaimed that they would achieve a transition to communism in 3-5 years and that "three years of hard work will bring ten thousand years of happiness." Apart from other things, the course of the "great leap" pursued the ambitious aim of taking a vanguard position among the socialist countries. This appealed to the Maoists' hegemonist desires.

The "great leap," built on an anti-scientific, subjectivist-voluntarist conception contradicting the objective laws of socialist construction, has turned for the Chinese people into a tragedy of vainly wasted efforts, has led to a serious economic crisis, to the already low living standards of the people dropping still lower.

In order to divert the discontent of the popular masses away from themselves, the Mao group blamed the failure of the "great leap" on Party and state cadres, who had allegedly "failed to fulfil Mao's instructions properly."

Then followed a sharp zigzag in the Chinese leadership's tactics, when it stated that it was impossible to build socialism in China in the lifetime of the present generation, that this would take many decades, if not centuries. It proclaimed poverty to be the "basis" of revolutionism, the desire to improve the life of the people—"revisionism" and "bourgeois economism." They galvanized the old Trotskyite anti-Leninist thesis that it was "impossible" successfully to build socialism before the triumph of the world revolution.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Maoists took a course towards sharpening international tension, pushing other countries and peoples towards military conflicts. They rejected any proposals aimed at a relaxation of international tension. Peking met with hostility the treaties on banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, and on the non-proliferation of such weapons, on banning the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the seabed and ocean floor, and rejected the idea put forth by the Soviet Union on creating a system of collective security in Asia and many other constructive proposals of the socialist countries.

This course was covered up by noisy "Leftist" slogans about the need to immediately destroy imperialism. Calls were issued for a "people's war" in all countries, on all continents. The thesis "the world can be changed only with the rifle" was proclaimed as a universal truth.

No matter what ultra-revolutionary phraseology was used to cover up this course, its essence remained unchanged: the striving for hegemony in a war-devastated world. In this connection even a nuclear-missile war in which, as estimated by Mao Tse-tung, a half of mankind could perish, was declared a sort of boon. Speaking with the American journalist Strong in 1965, Mao called on the peoples of the world not to fear nuclear war because "China will survive it." On the ruins left by this war the Maoists intended to build "a civilization a thousand times more wonderful"—naturally, according to their own recipes. Mao Tse-tung spoke in detail precisely about this in his conversation with Jawaharlal Nehru and in his speech at the 1957 Moscow Conference. These ideas were developed in a number of Chinese articles printed in April 1960 in connection with the 90th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and also in a later period, for instance, in an article in the May 14, 1969 issue of the *Chiehfangjihpao*.

But the Chinese leadership itself was not and is not eager at all to rush into battle against imperialism. It would like to use for the attainment of its plans the military and economic might of socialist countries, the force of the international working class, the possibilities of the national-liberation movement, trying to turn them into a tool of its great-power hegemonism. Although the Maoists declare that they are "prepared for the greatest national sacrifices," their deeds are proof to the contrary. They prefer the position of "sitting on the mountain and watching the tigers fight."

The Marxist-Leninist parties of the whole world resolutely rejected the ideology, policy, strategy and tactics of Maoism, subjecting them to a broad principled criticism as alien to Marxism-Leninism, objectively untenable and harmful from the point of view of the international and national tasks of the Communist, workers'

and national liberation movement. The Maoist apology for war evoked the indignation and protests of the broadest segments of the international public.

Together with the other fraternal parties, the CPSU consistently upheld the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, working for a strengthening of the positions and unity of world socialism, the cohesion of the world Communist movement, the national liberation, democratic and peace-loving forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war.

So the CPC leaders set out on the course of splitting the Communist movement, creating in other countries Maoist groups and trends opposing the fraternal parties, and of eroding the socialist community.

The Chinese leaders' struggle was spearheaded against our Motherland, against our Party and its consistent Leninist course.

The Maoists demanded of Soviet Communists that they renounce the decisions of the 20th Congress and the CPSU Program, unfolded an intensive anti-Soviet propaganda and, from the middle of 1960, began to systematically organize provocations on the Soviet-Chinese border, bringing them to the point of armed clashes in the spring and summer of 1969. In the atmosphere of anti-Soviet psychosis and militaristic frenzy whipped up in China at that time, the Ninth CPC Congress proclaimed the course hostile to the Soviet Union as an official doctrine.

Mao and his entourage are steadily scaling down economic and other ties with the USSR and other socialist countries, while simultaneously expending in every way the ties with leading imperialist powers, first of all the United States.

Suffice it to say that the share of socialist countries in the PRC's foreign trade dropped to 25 per cent in 1966, as against 68 per cent in 1959. The volume of Soviet-Chinese trade in 1969 was about one-sixth of that in 1966.

It is indicative that Peking develops its relations with imperialist countries on the basis of undisguised anti-Sovietism, to the detriment of the interests of world socialism, the revolutionary, national liberation movement.

But all the efforts of the Chinese leadership to split the international Communist movement, to create in Peking a center opposed to it, to advance in the realization of their great power-hegemonistic ambitions by asserting on the international scene a sort of exclusiveness of China, its role as leader of the "Third World," the "world village" against the "world town" and thereby to establish an anti-socialist, anti-Soviet front, proved futile. The strategy and tactics of the Maoists were proved untenable by the course of historical development, and their adventuristic aims turned out to be unattainable. The Maoist subversive groups and

factions in various countries, based actually on an anti-Communist, anti-Soviet platform, began to disintegrate. In pursuing their plans for securing leadership in the "Third World" on the basis of their extremist platform, the Chinese leaders encountered the resistance of peace-loving, developing states, especially the neighboring countries, to which they made territorial and other claims.

The dismal failures in domestic and foreign policy led to a socio-political crisis in China and to widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks of the CPC, among the working people. A split developed in the CPC leadership. The Maoists faced a real danger of having to bear grave responsibility to the Party and the country.

These were the causes that prompted Mao and his grouping to carry out what actually amounted to a political coup in the country, implemented in the form of a "cultural revolution," which, as admitted by the Chinese leaders themselves, was a "struggle for power." A military-bureaucratic system began to be implanted in the country.

Party, trade union and youth organizations and unions of creative workers were routed in the course of the "cultural revolution" and the constitutional bodies of people's power were paralyzed. Large masses of Communists, workers, peasants and especially intellectuals were subjected to repressions. Turning the entire people into "loyal soldiers" and "obedient buffalos of the great helmsman" was proclaimed the ideal of "democracy" in China.

The blow was dealt first of all at those Communists who saw the baleful consequences of the voluntaristic ideas of the "big leap" and the anti-popular foreign political course for the cause of socialism in China, at those who in the period of the escalation of the American aggression in Vietnam proposed to settle differences with the CPSU, to achieve unity of action of socialist countries in the struggle against imperialism's aggressive intrigues. At the same time the organizers of the "cultural revolution" continued the campaign of hatred and slander against the Soviet Union and other socialist states, trying to ascribe to them plans of creating a "circle" around China in collusion with imperialism. Under this pretext the Maoists started a militarization of the country calling on the people "to prepare for hunger, to prepare for war." It is monstrous, though it is a fact, that the Maoists began to call for a "cultural revolution" in other socialist countries, alleging that without such a revolution "capitalism will be restored." Peking went as far as to call for "unfurling the banner of Chairman Mao's ideas over the entire globe."

The Ninth Congress, held in 1969, was to legalize the military-bureaucratic system in China. Mao Tse-tung and his group actually started to build the Communist Party anew, throwing aside the political, ideological and organizational principles of the Marxist-

Leninist party. Mao's ideas were proclaimed at the congress "the Marxism-Leninism of the present epoch." On declaring "relentless struggle" against "modern revisionism," by which Peking means the leadership of most socialist countries and Communist parties, the Ninth CPC Congress thus signified a new stage in the evolution of the ideological and political theses of Maoism as anti-Leninist, petty bourgeois-chauvinistic ideology.

But neither the "cultural revolution" nor the "line of the Ninth Congress of the CPC" brought the Maoists the desired results. On the contrary, in the period from 1966 to 1969 they aggravated the state of crisis and the country's international isolation. Although the Chinese leadership, using methods of violence, terror and demagoguery, succeeded in suppressing open resistance to its course and imposing it on the country, it could not help seeing that it would not be able to overcome in this way either the domestic crisis or its international isolation.

The Chinese leaders could not but realize the full extent of their defeat and the collapse of their plans especially when the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow reaffirmed the unshakable loyalty of the world army of Communists to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and demonstrated the growing unity of Communist ranks on this principled basis. The Conference strengthened the positions of the international Communist, workers' movement as the most influential political movement of our time, the vanguard of anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for the triumph of the cause of peace, national liberation and socialism. The Conference highly assessed the role of the Soviet Union, the CPSU in the liberation struggle and the USSR's peace-loving foreign policy.

II

The development of the international situation today is characterized primarily by the growth of the forces of world socialism, consolidation of the unity of the ranks of the world Communist movement and the cohesion of the forces of the anti-imperialist front. The historic offensive by revolutionary forces against imperialism's positions, their growing activity in the struggle for peace and the security of peoples compel the Peking leaders to review their tactics, to use methods often opposite to those that they had only recently proclaimed.

The time has come when the Chinese leaders have to put in mothballs some ultra-"Leftist" slogans and even to remove from the stage-front the persons who had compromised themselves most by excessive zeal in promoting the "Mao line" during the "cultural revolution." The Maoists are making a new zigzag in their policy.

And once again Mao and his group are trying—for the umpteenth time—to blame the barbarity of the “cultural revolution” with its mass repressions and excesses on those whom they had themselves set on the CPC, and whom they had used to clear the way to the establishment of their domination. A “respectable” appearance is being hastily given to Peking’s policy and more refined methods are used to promote it.

The facts show, however, that if there have been any changes in Peking’s tactics they signify merely a renunciation of attempts at an accelerated implementation of the old line, but not a renunciation of its aims, and the use of subtler methods of maneuvering intended to deceive the Chinese people and also to confuse the international revolutionary, liberation forces.

Whereas previously the policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems consistently promoted by the USSR and other fraternal countries, was labelled in Peking as “betrayal” and “collusion with imperialism,” now the Chinese leadership even teaches others how to pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence. The Chinese government has officially proposed to make the “five principles of peaceful coexistence” the basis of relations between the PRC and the United States. At the same time it has invigorated contacts with many Western countries, establishing diplomatic relations with a number of them. Peking has toned down outright propaganda of the thesis of the inevitability of a world thermonuclear war and, what is more, is even making a show of love of peace.

The tone of Chinese propaganda statements in respect of the United Nations Organization has also changed. China has started to express its obvious desire to restore its rights in that organization, although only recently it was contended in Peking that they do not want to have anything to do with it. As is known, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have invariably come out and continue to come out for the restoration of the lawful rights of the PRC in the UN.

In the process of reviewing their foreign policy tactics, the Peking leaders have apparently arrived at the conclusion that the “red guards,” were damaging primarily China’s prestige, and not only in the socialist and developing countries, but also in the West. Outwardly the anti-Soviet campaign in official statements by Chinese leaders was somewhat altered. In 1969 the Chinese leaders agreed to the meeting of heads of government of the USSR and the PRC as proposed by the Soviet side and also to the holding of Soviet-Chinese talks on border and other questions of inter-governmental relations.

The people of goodwill, who strive for a lessening of interna-

tional tension, for consolidation of peace and the security of nations, would like to see behind the changes in the Chinese leadership's mode of action a manifestation of elements of realism in China's foreign policy that could serve the aims of strengthening the anti-imperialist front, the cause of peace and friendship among the peoples. The Soviet people, too, sincerely want this.

The question naturally arises: what in reality is the essence of the changes in the foreign policy of the Chinese leadership at the present stage, and in what measure do they accord with the aspirations of the peoples, including the people of China? In fact, this is a question that concerns the correlation and mutual connection of the Chinese leadership's strategy and tactics in the present conditions. Only the facts, their thorough and objective analysis, can produce an answer to it.

And the facts show that neither in its statements nor in its practical deeds, has the Chinese leadership renounced a single provision of its special ideological-political platform, incompatible with Leninism, on the main questions of international life and the world Communist movement. The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in the autumn of 1970 confirmed the "militant tasks of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China" and its emphasis on "intensification of preparations for war." The Chinese leadership comes out against the attainment of collective security in Europe and Asia, against the USSR's and Poland's treaties with the FRG. Peking spares no efforts to spread the military psychosis to Albania in the hope of sowing the seeds of tension in the Balkans by this and other methods. Using loud declarations as a cover, the Chinese leadership comes out as before against concrete steps directed at reaching agreements on questions of disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons. The Government of the People's Republic of China declined the Soviet proposal to convene a conference of the five nuclear powers, stating that "China's nuclear weapons are still in the testing stage . . ."

The Chinese leadership continues to engage in intensive hostile propaganda against our Party and country. In the Soviet Union, in the policy of the CPSU, in the successes of the working people of our country and the fraternal countries of socialism it sees the main obstacle to its hegemonistic ambitions on the international arena. The Maoists are trying to keep from the Chinese people the facts shedding light on the life of the Soviet people, showing the real course of the historic confrontation between forces of socialism and imperialism. It is intentionally stamping out of the minds of Chinese working people all the good things connected with the Soviet Union, which has supported the Chinese people's revolution-

ary struggle in the course of many decades and given it fraternal assistance in its advance along the road of socialism.

The Chinese leaders continue to declare that they will conduct an "implacable struggle" against the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist parties. At the close of 1970, speaking with his old acquaintance, the American journalist E. Snow, Mao Tse-tung said that the ideological differences between the CPSU and the CPC are "irreconcilable."

The Chinese leaders continue to conduct subversive activities against the world socialist community. They oppose the collective international organizations of socialist countries, the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA. At one time Peking went so far as to show solidarity with the anti-socialist forces in Czechoslovakia and with their imperialist patrons and to bemoan the failure of their counter-revolutionary plot. Vicious attacks on socialist Poland were made in Peking in unison with the anti-Communists.

The policy of the Chinese leadership towards socialist countries clearly betrays a desire coinciding with the machinations of imperialist reaction, to set the socialist states against each other, to play them off against each other and to prevent the implementation of the joint political line of fraternal countries in the international arena.

If formerly Peking waged a broad propaganda offensive against all socialist countries, at present it is trying to "narrow" the field of struggle, taking a "differentiated" approach to socialist countries in an effort to bring some of them into the orbit of its policy. In so doing it makes broad gestures and promises. For the time being, Peking does not ask much from the objects of its flirtation. The Chinese leaders would welcome any step which, in their opinion, is likely to cause a crack, if only a small one, in relations between socialist countries.

V. I. Lenin wrote: "Capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood is needed. We are opposed to national enmity and discord, to national exclusiveness. We are internationalists" (*Coll. Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 30, p. 293). Contrary to Leninism and to the Communist logic of the class struggle, Peking rejects the idea of united action by the socialist countries, by all the revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism. Thus the Chinese leadership assumes a grave responsibility for creating an opportunity for the imperialists to step up their actions and make attempts to mount a counter-offensive on a number of sectors against the world revolutionary movement, to suppress the liberation movement in Southeast Asia and support the Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

III

Persistent propaganda of the demagogic thesis on struggle against "two superpowers," a thesis absolutely alien to Marxism-Leninism, has become for the Chinese leadership a means of continuing its course hostile to the Soviet Union. The Chinese leadership tries to place U.S. imperialism, which strives to play the role of a guarantor and custodian of the international system of exploitation and oppression which brings destruction, death and suffering to many peoples of the world, side by side with the Soviet Union—the homeland of Leninism, the first socialist country, the bulwark of the anti-imperialist struggle of all the revolutionary forces.

The Peking leaders' "theory of superpowers" serves the same purpose as their old "theory of struggle of the world village against the world town." In both of these "theories" nationalistic, great-power motives take the place of a class approach. Having failed in their attempts to divide the world into the economically developed "town" and the developing "village," or the "village" fighting for its liberation, Peking leaders decided to narrow "the front of attack" and direct it, first of all, against the Soviet Union. Now they urge all countries—capitalist, developing, and socialist—to fight against the "two super-powers." More, the Chinese press emphasizes in every way that China will never be a "super-power," and during personal contacts between Chinese leaders and representatives of different countries it is stressed that China is the best defender of countries fighting against the "two super-powers."

The term "super-power" was borrowed by Chinese leaders from the imperialist ideologists of the USA. The latter invented it in order to defend capitalist principles, to mislead the American people and also the world public and to camouflage in one or another way the imperialist, aggressive nature of the U.S. foreign policy course. Characteristically, the expression "one or two super-powers" is used now and then in Peking, as the establishment of Sino-American contacts got under way. Apparently, in the expectation of Nixon's visit, it was decided to soften the tone of propaganda, saying as it were: "It is not you we have in mind."

Putting forward the utterly false thesis of "two super-powers," allegedly opposed to all the other states, is in fact an act of class betrayal. The Peking leaders are trying in this way to obscure the confrontation between the two world systems, socialism and capitalism, and to evade—and evading in practice—the real struggle against imperialism. They even go to the length of advising West European states and monopolies on how best to pool their efforts in order to oppose "one or two super-powers." In the meantime, the Chinese leaders have legalized their own political flirting with the U.S. ruling circles.

In an attempt to provide the theoretical "basis" for their rupture with world socialism and the actual betrayal of the class interests of the working people and to justify their line towards collusion with imperialism, Mao Tse-tung and his associates deliberately confuse the issue concerning the contradictions of the contemporary world, substituting the Peking-fabricated formula of "four big contradictions" for the true contradictions and the main one of them—the contradiction between imperialism and socialism. Divested of rhetoric, this formula is essentially designed, under the pretext of resolving these contradictions and fighting the "two super-powers," to unite the world in the interests of achieving Peking's hegemonistic goals. Not long ago, in an article in the *Hungchi* magazine, this formula, proclaimed at the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China, was directly adapted to the demagogic conception of "two super-powers." And following the usual ultra-revolutionary phraseology about "colossal upheavals" and "re-grouping" of forces taking place in the world, the above article substantiates China's tactics of forming blocs with any forces, including imperialist, for achieving Peking's foreign policy aims. It would be proper to recall that the thesis of the "re-grouping" of forces had been repeatedly used by Mao Tse-tung earlier for purposes of political intrigues.

The article openly justifies the tactics of political double-dealing, under the name of "revolutionary dual tactics." One of the latest instances of "revolutionary dual tactics" by Peking in regard to the Soviet Union is the recent interview by the Prime Minister of the PRC Chou En-lai given to *The New York Times* observer Reston. Chou En-lai noted the anti-Soviet essence of Peking's platform and of its steps aimed at a rapprochement with Washington. He palmed off to Reston, who was glad to seize upon it, the provocative thesis of a Soviet military threat to China. In another interview, with a correspondent of a Yugoslav newspaper, Chou En-lai again discoursed at length about "one or two super-powers," again spoke of the mythical threat to China from the North, from the USSR, not failing to stress some special, "liberating" mission of China in Asia.

As to the threat to China "from the North," it is well known that the Soviet Union has never laid and does not lay now any territorial claims to China and believes that the Soviet and Chinese peoples have no cause for conflicts.

The CPSU, the working people of the Soviet Union, just as the fraternal parties, the working people of the other socialist states, regarded and continue to regard the development of relations of friendship and cooperation with the Chinese people, with the Chinese Communists, as one of the important conditions of strength-

ening the positions of world socialism, of consolidating the unity of the international Communist movement, of the entire anti-imperialist front.

It is precisely this that determines the principled and consistent line of the CPSU and the Soviet state in regard to China, a line that has again been authoritatively confirmed in the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 24th Congress of the Party and in the Resolution of the Congress, in the decisions of the Plenary Sessions of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and the speeches of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

Our Party and people unanimously approve the reserve shown by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, their refusal to yield to provocations, and the fact that they have done and continue to do everything possible on the part of the USSR to normalize relations with the PRC, and restore and develop mutual friendship and cooperation of the Soviet and Chinese peoples on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The constructive line of the CPSU and the Soviet Government in regard to the PRC meets with understanding and approval of the fraternal socialist countries, of the Communist and Workers' parties, of all the progressive, peace-loving forces. It arouses the sympathy of all those who cherish the true national interests of China, unbreakably bound with the interests of world socialism, friendship of the PRC with the Soviet Union.

This line is an inalienable part of the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union, of the all-embracing program of activities of our Party and the Soviet state in the international arena—a program of struggle for the further consolidation and development of the forces of socialism, for a relaxation of international tension and for strengthening peace, for rallying the ranks of the world Communist and working-class movement, for the consolidation of all forces that come out against imperialism and colonialism, reaction and aggression. The peace program set forth by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which accords with the vital interests of the peoples of the entire planet, has already become a most important factor of contemporary international life.

The Soviet Union regards with due understanding the development of normal relations between states, and on this plane the normalization of relations between the PRC and the USA makes no exception. But Soviet people cannot help noting the fact that in its overtures to Washington, the Chinese leadership is again frankly stressing its hostility towards the Soviet Union.

In so doing, it certainly realizes that the ruling imperialist cir-

cles, first of all in the USA, draw appropriate conclusions from this kind of "respectable" maneuvers of the Chinese leaders, from their anti-Soviet orientation. And it is not accidental apparently that allusions to Peking's present "tractability" and the possibility of imperialism cashing in on it slip through onto the pages of the American bourgeois press.

Of course, while waging resolute ideological-political struggle against the great-power chauvinistic theses of Peking in its foreign policy course, we are doing everything to protect the interests of the Soviet people building communism, the interests of our friends and allies, against any encroachments.

Seeing the lack of principle, the nationalistic pragmatism of the Chinese leadership, the public in many countries wonder whether a deal against socialism is being hatched behind the scenes in Peking and Washington at the expense of the interests of the peoples fighting for national independence and freedom.

An examination of the Maoist slogans and the Maoist practice both at home and in the international arena gives weighty grounds for posing such a question.

The ideological-political essence of the platform of Maoism, its strategic aims, despite all the tactical maneuvers of the Chinese leadership, remain unchanged. The conceptions of the Chinese leadership and its actions have been and are based on the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist ideology of Maoism.

Maoism has exposed itself in deeds as a petty-bourgeois ideological-political movement basically alien to Marxism-Leninism, a parasite on the principles of scientific socialism, the striving of the popular masses of China for socialism. The goals and practice of Maoism are incompatible with the tasks of the world Communist, liberation movement. Here one should fully take into account that in its present struggle against the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the Communist movement and the socialist community, Maoism objectively converges with the most diverse political forces hostile to socialism—the imperialists and racists, Trotskyites and reformists, forming a kind of "united front" with them.

Experience shows that if some headway was made in some spheres of the Chinese economy in recent years, this was not due to Maoist concepts but despite them. None of the concepts of Maoism, none of its ideas, has stood the practical test of socialist construction in China and development of international life. Maoism lack any constructive content. All the more dangerous therefore is the striving of Peking leaders for hegemony in the world Communist movement, and for leadership in the Third World. The aims and practice of Maoism are causing tremendous damage to the international Communist and working-class movement, to the

national liberation and anti-imperialist struggle. The recipes of the Maoists are doing irreparable harm to those who give them credence (we all remember the tragic fate of the Communist Party of Indonesia and some other Communist parties whose leadership hearkened to advice from Peking).

The Communists face the task of enhancing in every way their political vigilance in face of the hostile ideology and subversive actions of Maoism, the task of further conclusively exposing the real essence of Maoist ideology and policy. The Communists are fighting resolutely and on a principled basis against the theory and practice of Maoism, against Maoists' machinations in the world Communist movement, in the ranks of the anti-imperialist front. They are waging consistent ideological and political struggle against the anti-socialist, anti-Leninist platform of Maoism so that the Chinese people may again take the path of alliance and fraternal cooperation with socialist countries, with all revolutionary, progressive forces of the time, forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

INTERVIEW WITH ALI AMER

On August 2 last *Humanité* carried an interview with Dr. Izz el-Din Ali Amer, a close associate of Khalek Mahgoub, member of the CC Political Bureau, Sudanese Communist Party, ex-leader of the Communist group in Sudan's National Assembly.

Ali Amer was arrested in November 1970, simultaneously with Mahgoub. While Mahgoub was held in a military prison, in a windowless cell without light and without books, Ali Amer was transferred to Shagara camp, where Mahgoub joined him a few months later, before his July escape.

It was in that camp that a week ago a sham trial took place resulting in the execution of the General Secretary of the SCP.

Ali Amer, affected with heart trouble, was sent to London for medical treatment.

Q. In what circumstances did Nimeiri regain power after being overthrown by a group of officers whose program evoked big demonstrations of support?

A. The reversal was only made possible by foreign intervention. The democratic program put forward by the coup leaders did win the approval of the population, which saw in it the end of a dictatorship. There were powerful demonstrations in Khartoum (half a million people led by Shafyeh el-Sheikh taking part), in Wad Medani, Atbara, Port Sudan and the southern provinces. Everything came about without bloodshed. Nimeiri was confined to the Presidential Palace.

All was quiet in the country until the intervention that was decided on at a conference in Tripoli. Along with Libyan leaders and General Sadek, the Egyptian Defense Minister, there was a particularly revealing person representing the Sudanese side.

He was Mohammed Abd el-Halim, the Finance Minister, who was Labor Minister under the dictatorship of Marshal Abbud. In this capacity he was entrusted, in particular, with repressive measures against the trade unions. Born in Egypt, where he was an army officer at one time, Halim is known as an agent of the Egyptian intelligence service. On his release from the Army he was appointed head of the Bank of Misr (Egypt) in Khartoum. On July 19 he was in London at the head of a delegation to negotiate a loan according to the earlier reactionary orientation of the economy which he had resumed.

It was with help from him, his brother Ahmed Abd el-Halim,

commander of an armored division, and General Abbas, Sudan's Defense Minister, that the operation was organized.

General Abbas used the radio waves of the Egyptian Army. Egyptian aircraft landed the Sudanese troops sent to the Suez Canal at Djebel Auliya base.

To return to the intervention which reinstated Nimeiri. I must stress that there was fighting in Khartoum for several days. Four hundred dead were reported, but their number must have been greater.

The reasons for the failure of the July 19 coup are of an external nature. This is bound to have far-reaching repercussions in the Arab world.

Q. What induced the Sudanese Communist Party, whose stand against military coups is well known, to support the coup on May 25, 1969 and then the one on July 19?

A. We have always been against military coups as a method.

The economic situation in the country was deteriorating fast. Nobody felt secure while the reactionary parties were contending for power.

It was in that atmosphere that an organization, Free Officers, began to take shape in the Army under the Abbud regime. The organization was led by Atta, El-Nur and Hamadallah, the three officers who attempted the July 19 coup.

The organization seized power on May 25, 1969. Well before this coup, the Party had made its attitude quite clear: we stressed that a social movement of this kind could change some things in Sudanese life but its transformation into a real social revolution would be very difficult unless it was accompanied by a popular rising.

The day after May 25, 1969 the Party published a statement unanimously approved by its Central Committee. The statement analyzed the coup in class terms. Power had been wrested from reactionary elements to be put in the hands of a petty-bourgeois group. The latter's nature would prevent it from going further unless the Communist Party and the social forces represented by it were enabled to join in the movement with all its implications.

The Revolutionary Council mistook the Communist position for an attack on the Council whereas it was nothing of the sort. It resolved to select by itself the Party members who were to become ministers. Our Party was never consulted on the formation of the new government. We protested against that abnormal situation.

Nevertheless, we gave the regime our full support and mobilized the population to hold big demonstrations. In Khartoum the demonstration was led by Shafyeh and leaders of youth and women's

organizations, now in prison. We wanted in that way to back the progressive measures planned by the new leaders.

And we reaffirmed our stand on coups again and again. A section of the resolution of our Fourth Congress deals with the issue.

Q. You were accused of wanting to monopolize power.

A. That's a calumny. We put the question: Who should be in power? Should it be only a group of the petty bourgeoisie? Or only the Communists?

We said neither position was correct. With the democratic revolution still to be carried through to the end, it would be a big mistake to leave either of these forces in power. This would not help to introduce the changes necessary at this stage of the national and democratic struggle. We are working for the formation of a front of democratic forces. This is our fundamental line.

Q. There were also differences over the projected federation of Egypt, Syria and Libya.

A. We have always seen Arab unity as one of our main objectives and said so in a Political Bureau statement in October 1970. "In view of past experience and attempts at reaching unity, such as the federation of Syria and Egypt in 1958," the Political Bureau stated, "we say that unity cannot be imposed on the people or, if imposed, will have no real force. Unity should be based first of all on unity of the democratic forces and progressive movements."

Q. What are the prospects of the Sudanese Communist Party today?

A. Those who allege that the Party has been destroyed are lying. The Party will continue to fight, as it has already begun to do. Leaflets were distributed as soon as Mahgoub was arrested. The day after his assassination a leaflet distributed in Khartoum and Omdurman called on the people to revenge him, to revenge Shafyeh and Joseph Garang. In spite of tragic losses and imprisonment—all the schools in the capital have been converted into jails—the Party will recover from its wounds and we will put an end to the dictatorship with the people's support.

Q. What is the role of international solidarity in Sudanese events?

A. The solidarity movement launched by the Communist parties and progressive movements of the world has had a certain impact on Sudan's leaders. Without it there would have been many more executions. We believe the Communist parties and socialist countries should go on playing their important role.

PANORAMA

A BIG STEP TOWARDS CONSOLIDATING PEACE (SIGNING OF THE FOUR-POWER AGREEMENT ON WEST BERLIN)

To the General Secretary, Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
Comrade L. I. BREZHNEV

Moscow

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany regards the four-power agreement on West Berlin as a big success for the Leninist peaceful foreign policy of the USSR, for the agreed line of the fraternal countries and parties. The agreement has a strong bearing on peace and detente in Europe. It conforms with the basic vital interests of the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin.

The Central Committee of the SUPG highly appreciates the fact that for the first time the three Western powers affirmed by the quadrilateral agreement the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic's relations with the other German state and West Berlin.

As a result of the four-power agreement, all who have a stake in consolidating world peace, who aspire to greater confidence and cooperation among states and to making Europe a zone of lasting peace, to resolving important problems on a realistic basis, have made a gain.

It is in the interests of all peoples that this important international agreement should enter into force as quickly as possible. We hope that its conclusion will bring about a positive solution of other unresolved and vital problems of European and world politics.

The Central Committee of the SUPG expresses sincere gratitude to the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government for their consistent support of the interests and sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic, and its profound satisfaction over the active and fruitful consultations held with us during these negotiations.

As concerns the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, we shall apply

Pravda, September 11, 1971.

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the maximum of effort to facilitate the successful conclusion of negotiations and the achievement of an agreement on matters flowing from the quadrilateral agreement.

The Central Committee of the SUPG is deeply convinced that active cooperation between our parties and countries in foreign affairs, as recorded in the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Eighth Congress of the SUPG, will continue to develop, thereby facilitating solutions consolidating world peace.

With socialist greetings,

E. HONECKER,
First Secretary, Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Berlin, September 8, 1971

To the First Secretary, Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
Comrade ERICH HONECKER

Dear Comrade Honecker,

Please accept the heartfelt gratitude of the Central Committee of the CPSU and that of myself for the high appreciation by the Central Committee of the SUPG of the Soviet Union's efforts relating to the conclusion of the quadrilateral agreement on West Berlin.

The agreement is an unquestionable success for the policy of peaceful coexistence and the socialist countries' course of consolidating European peace, security and cooperation, as reflected in the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Eighth Congress of the SUPG. It provides good preconditions for improving the situation in the heart of Europe, eliminating frictions and complications over West Berlin, which have time and again envenomed the political situation in that area in the past. The agreement is based on the territorial and political realities that have taken shape on the European continent and shows full consideration for the sovereign rights and interests of the German Democratic Republic. It promotes the international prestige of the socialist German state, its role and influence in international affairs.

We share your view that the quadrilateral agreement will have a beneficial effect on the solution of other burning problems in European and world politics. Together with other fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union will continue to work in this direction.

The Central Committee of the CPSU highly values the close cooperation between our parties and states, which was again graphically in evidence during the adjustment of one of the most complicated problems in postwar international relations. The Central Committee of the CPSU is deeply convinced that this cooperation will continue to go from strength to strength in the interests of consoli-

dating the socialist community and assuring peace and security for the peoples.

With communist greetings,

L. BREZHNEV,
General Secretary, Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Moscow, September 10, 1971

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany expressed its satisfaction in its statement on the draft agreement achieved during the quadrilateral negotiations on West Berlin.

The statement says that the agreement on West Berlin is a substantial advance in the fight for peace, detente and European security.

The draft agreement is a success for the purposeful common peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries.

The Presidium of the Executive of the German Communist Party, meeting in Duesseldorf, issued a statement through its press service, stressing that it welcomes the understanding reached by the ambassadors of the four powers in the negotiations on West Berlin. The endorsed draft facilitates détente in Europe and conforms with the interests of the population of West Berlin, the FRG and GDR, the statement says. The Soviet Union deserves words of gratitude for its persevering and meaningful efforts. Working in close cooperation with other socialist countries, the USSR is making an important contribution to European peace and security.

The treaties concluded by the FRG with the Soviet Union and Poland, the statement stresses, must be ratified. The government of the FRG must take concrete steps to speed the convocation of the all-European security conference, the statement continues, and adds that normal relations should be established on the basis of international law between the GDR and FRG, with both German states admitted to the United Nations Organization.

INTERVIEW WITH GERHARD DANELIUS

The four-power agreement is of the utmost importance, Gerhard Danelius said in an interview to *Die Wahrheit* on September 7. The interview with the Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin was published under the heading, "The Forces of Peace, Detente and Mutual Understanding Have Won a Battle." The West Berlin agreement, Danelius said, is a gain for all champions of peace and European security. But the West Berliners, who have in recent years acted more and more insistently for a peaceful settlement of

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the situation in the city, will gain most from it. The only losers are those who regarded West Berlin simply as a forward area in the cold war against socialism and hoped to use our city as a lever in altering the results of the Second World War and turning back the clock of history.

Asked about the policy of his party in promoting the quadrilateral agreement, Danelius said: It is impossible to review in this interview the battles fought over the years by our Party against the cold war policy and the use of West Berlin as a "frontier city," for a normalization of relations with the German Democratic Republic. Suffice it to recall that the SUP was the only party in the city which advocated this realistic policy. It was opposed by what was then still a united bloc, consisting of the CDU, FDP and SPD. I should also like to recall some recent facts—the important meetings of our Party's leadership with P. A. Abrasimov, the Soviet Ambassador in the GDR, and exchanges of opinion with Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, this February. Our efforts were centered on promoting economic, scientific-technical and cultural ties between West Berlin and all states, including the GDR and FRG, passenger and freight transit to West Berlin and visits by West Berliners to the German Democratic Republic. Now we can with satisfaction note the reality of this correct policy, which corresponds with the interests of the majority of the population and looks to the future.

It is still premature, of course, Danelius continued, to assume that the matter is settled, that all else will take care of itself. A scrutiny of the commentaries appearing in the press, over the radio and television, shows that there are still many people in the Schoeneberg town hall (site of the city parliament) and in the editorial offices of those mass media who are annoyed by each step made towards détente. The quadrilateral agreement will not be effective unless the FRG government and the West Berlin Senate show the same goodwill in the present negotiations (with the GDR government) as does the government of the GDR. The quadrilateral agreement, Danelius added, is an important step forward. But we are still far removed from the time when it will be possible to say that West Berlin is really a factor of peace and European security. That problem still has to be solved. And the only way to solve it is through action by the working class, the working youth, and all forces aspiring to peace, democracy and social progress.

Asked what had brought about the success in the four-power negotiations of ambassadors, Danelius said: "From what I know, it was the Soviet Union and the GDR and the entire socialist community of states that made a very big contribution to the success of the four-power negotiations. That is why I should like, first and foremost, to thank the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic,

and all those socialist countries which have contributed importantly to the four-power agreement by their consistent struggle for peace, detente and mutual understanding. It has always been an important part of the global socialist peace strategy of the countries of the socialist community to settle the issues relating to the situation in West Berlin.

COMMUNIQUE

ON THE 25th SESSION OF THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

The 25th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance took place in Bucharest on July 27-29, 1971.

Among those taking part in the work of the session were delegations from the CMEA member-countries headed by Comrade S. Todorov, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party, and Chairman of the PRB Council of Ministers; Comrade J. Fock, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government; Comrade W. Stoph, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Comrade S. Luvsan, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and Acting Chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers; Comrade P. Jaroszewicz, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party, and Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers; Comrade I. G. Maurer, Member of the Executive Committee and Permanent Presidium of the Central Committee, Rumanian Communist Party, and Chairman of the SRR Council of Ministers; Comrade A. N. Kosygin, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Comrade L. Strougal, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and Chairman of the CSSR Government.

The session was attended by the SFRY delegation led by Comrade A. Grlickov, First Vice-President of the SFRY Federal Executive Council.

N. V. Faddeyev, Secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, took part in the work of the session.

The session of the Council proceeded under the chairmanship of Comrade I. G. Maurer, head of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Rumania and Chairman of the SRR Council of Ministers.

Comrade G. Radulescu, Vice-Chairman of the SRR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the CMEA Executive Committee, made

Pravda, July 30, 1971.

a report on questions submitted for consideration of the session.

At the 23rd (Special) Session, held in Moscow in April 1969, the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and the heads of government of the CMEA member-countries determined the main targets and major directions in extending and perfecting cooperation and developing the socialist economic integration of the CMEA member-countries in compliance with the concrete historical conditions of the present-day stage of the construction of socialism and communism.

In accordance with these fundamental decisions, the 25th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance unanimously adopted an all-round program for the further growth in depth and perfection of cooperation and the development of the socialist economic integration of the CMEA member-countries. This program, drafted jointly by all member-countries of the Council, will be carried out by stages in the course of 15-20 years.

The new targets and the relevant methods and forms of socialist economic integration, which found concrete expression in the program, are based on the more than 20 years' experience of cooperation among the CMEA member-countries, on their experience in specialization and cooperation in production, and in coordination of the five-year plans of economic development.

Under the leadership of their Communist and Workers' parties, by combining their own efforts with the development of mutual cooperation, the CMEA member-countries have made important advances in all fields of social-political and economic activities in this period. Between 1950 and 1970 industrial production in the CMEA countries increased by almost 6.8 times, against a mere 2.8-fold growth in the developed capitalist states. As a result of mutual cooperation among the CMEA member-countries, many new sectors of industry have been created and hundreds of large economic projects have been built. Trade between the CMEA member-countries has registered a more than 7-fold increase in the past 20 years; good conditions have been created for its growth by nearly two-thirds in the current five-year period. Scientific and technological achievements and advanced production experience are exchanged on a broad scale.

The successes scored in the development of the CMEA countries and the experience of CMEA testify to the immense potentialities of the socialist social system and the international socialist division of labor; they prove the high effectiveness of the joint actions of the socialist states and their ability to collectively find the most rational solutions to complicated problems, promoting the consolidation of the entire socialist community.

These successes express the active role of the Council for Mutual

Economic Assistance as an organization of economic cooperation of a new type, an organization uniting the efforts of equal and sovereign socialist states. The entire work of CMEA rests on the principles of socialist internationalism, respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, non-interference in the internal affairs of countries, complete equality and voluntary association, mutual benefit and comradely reciprocal aid. Socialist integration is not accompanied by the establishment of supranational organs. These principles will continue to guide the activities of the CMEA countries in further elaborating and advancing cooperation and promoting socialist economic integration, as they carry out the all-round program adopted at the session.

The session participants proceed from the premise that the deepening and advancement of economic and scientific-technological cooperation and the development of socialist economic integration is a conscious and plan-guided process regulated by the Communist and Workers' parties and the governments of the CMEA member-states, a process of the international socialist division of labor, of the drawing together of their economies and formation of a modern, highly effective structure of national economies, of gradual rapprochement and levelling out of their economic development, a process of formation of deep and stable contacts in the basic branches of the economy, science and technology, of the extension and strengthening on this basis of the international market of these countries, and perfection of commodity-money relations.

The Communist and Workers' parties and the governments of the CMEA countries are carrying deeper and advancing cooperation and promoting socialist economic integration to ensure a more effective solution of the major social-economic problems of their countries, continued growth of the productive forces and the highest possible scientific and technological level, to boost the living standards of the people and strengthen the defense capacities of the CMEA member-states.

Having adopted the all-round program, the CMEA session considers its realization as the basis for the further planned perfecting of the system of international economic relations between CMEA member-countries. It defines the concrete ways and time-limits for carrying out measures of cooperation in solving the major economic problems, in particular those of the supply of fuel and raw materials and technically up-to-date plant, as well as meeting the requirements of the population in manufactured consumer goods and foodstuffs.

The session participants are confident that the realization of the program will facilitate the strengthening of the national economies

of the CMEA member-countries and their close interaction, and promote the growth of the economic might of the entire socialist community. This will still further consolidate the political unity and cohesion of the fraternal socialist countries, which is of special importance in the struggle against imperialism, against its policy of undermining the positions of world socialism, in the battle to affirm the superiority of the new system over capitalism in all spheres of social life, for enhancing the prestige and influence of socialism in the world, and for strengthening the entire anti-imperialist front.

The session participants unanimously confirmed the readiness of their countries to carry out all necessary organizational, economic and legal measures ensuring the effective realization of the program. They proceed from the fact that as the measures envisaged by the program are fulfilled, on the basis of accumulated experience and in line with the new requirements and opportunities for the further deepening and perfecting of cooperation and the development of the socialist economic integration of the CMEA member-countries, the program will be supplemented and specified in accordance with decisions of the Council's sessions and will also be concretised by the conclusion of corresponding agreements.

The session declares that any country which is not a CMEA member can fully or partially participate in carrying out the measures envisaged by the program. The CMEA member-countries will in the future as well develop economic and scientific and technological cooperation with the other socialist countries. They will continue to promote economic and scientific and technological ties with the developing countries and with the developed capitalist countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, mutual benefit and respect for sovereignty.

The participants in the session express the confidence that under the leadership of Communist and Workers' parties the CMEA member-countries will successfully realize the unanimously adopted all-round program of further deepening and perfecting cooperation and developing socialist economic integration, which will be an important factor in accelerating their progress along the path of socialist and communist construction, and in consolidating peace and international security.

The all-round program of further deepening and perfecting cooperation and developing socialist economic integration of the CMEA member-countries will be published in the press within the next few days.

The session also considered the report of the Executive Committee on the activity of the bodies of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance between the 24th and 25th CMEA sessions.

During this period great and fruitful work was done in the CMEA member-countries and in the Council's bodies in working out a draft of the program. In the process of this work the CMEA member-countries and the Council bodies started the practical implementation of many measures contained in the program.

The session approved the work of the CMEA Executive Committee in the period between the 24th and the 25th sessions of the Council.

With the aim of further deepening and perfecting cooperation in planning activity, and assuring effective participation in it of central planning organs, the session formed a Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance for Cooperation in Planning Activity.

For further deepening and perfecting cooperation in science and technology the session transformed the CMEA Permanent Commission for Coordination of Scientific and Technical Research into a Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance for Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

Taking into account the requirements of further multilateral cooperation among the CMEA member-countries in the field of communications, the session formed a CMEA Permanent Commission for Electrical and Postal Communications.

The work of the 25th Session of the Council passed in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely cooperation.

AT THE CC CPSU AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR

The Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR examined the report of the Soviet delegation to the 25th Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, held in Bucharest on July 27-29, 1971, on the results of the Session.

It was noted that the Session's unanimous approval of the Comprehensive Program for deepening and perfecting cooperation between the CMEA countries and for promoting their socialist economic integration is expressive of the firm resolve of the socialist countries to attain the long-range fundamental goals of their all-round fraternal cooperation as specified by the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and the heads of government of the CMEA countries at the 23rd (Special) Session in Moscow.

The Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR regard the Comprehensive Program as a document of

great political significance. Implementing the measures envisaged by the Program will enable the CMEA countries to make fuller use of the advantages of the socialist economic system and the international socialist division of labor for building up the economic and defense might of the CMEA countries and for raising the standard of life of their peoples. This will contribute to the unity and cohesion of the socialist commonwealth and strengthen the positions of socialism in the struggle for social progress, for peace and international cooperation.

The Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR entrust the appropriate Soviet agencies with completing in the near future the elaboration and implementation of organizational and other requisite measures assuring fulfilment of the Comprehensive Program.

The activity of the Soviet delegation to the 25th CMEA Session was approved.

Pravda, August 10, 1971

The results of the work of the 25th CMEA Session and the Comprehensive Program adopted by it were also discussed and approved by the leading Party and government bodies of the other CMEA countries.

August 12-13. The Communist parties of Britain, Denmark, Norway and Ireland—countries whose governments seek admission to the Common Market — conferred at the Central Committee of the CP of Denmark.

The meeting discussed problems arising from plans for taking the countries in question into the EEC. It approved a statement saying, in particular, that the parties are convinced the proposed extension of the Common Market is designed to strengthen monopoly domination in Western Europe, intensify exploitation of the working people, rob large sections of the population of the democratic and social rights won by them and provide new opportunities of expanding the activity of international monopolies.

Pravda, August 17, 1971.

July 31. L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and N. V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR, had a meeting with Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, on his arrival for a rest in the Soviet Union.

In the course of a warm, friendly interview L. I. Brezhnev, N. V. Podgorny and Janos Kadar informed each other of progress in the implementation of decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the 10th Congress of the HSWP, and of the results achieved by

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the working people of the Soviet Union and Hungary in building communism and socialism. During the interview the participants spoke highly of the successful development of comprehensive relations between the two parties and the two countries. They exchanged views on ways and means of extending Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in depth and breadth, and of strengthening fraternal friendship between the peoples of the two countries. A number of topical international issues were touched on.

The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and complete mutual understanding. It reaffirmed the unity of views of the CPSU and HSWP and the USSR and HPR on problems of communist and socialist building as well as on international political issues.

Pravda, August 1, 1971.

August 5. L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and N. V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR, had a meeting with Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, on holiday in the Soviet Union.

In the course of the interview, which proceeded in a cordial, comradely atmosphere, L. I. Brezhnev, N. V. Podgorny and Erich Honecker exchanged information on progress in carrying decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Eighth Congress of the SUPG into practice. They stated their considerations about ways and means of perfecting and deepening cooperation between the two parties and the two countries. Prime attention was also given to international problems, especially to the issue of safeguarding European security and the role which the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, a sovereign socialist state of Central Europe, play in this respect. L. I. Brezhnev, N. V. Podgorny and Erich Honecker voiced their satisfaction with the friendly meeting of fraternal party leaders in the Crimea, which had demonstrated the growing unity of the socialist countries.

During the interview the participants reaffirmed the complete unity of views of the two sides on all the issues under discussion.

Pravda, August 6, 1971.

September 7. L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary, CC CPSU, had a meeting with Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Italian CP, on holiday in the Soviet Union.

During the interview, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding characteristic of the relations

between the CPSU and ICP, the participants discussed topical issues and mutual interest.

V. V. Zagladin, member of the Central Auditing Commission and deputy head of the International Department, CC CPSU, took part in the interview.

Pravda, September 8, 1971.

A joint communique was published on the visit of a Party and government delegation led by Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, and Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, to the Polish People's Republic on September 18-20. The communique notes that the main purpose of the meeting was to exchange views on issues of interest to both sides, and particularly on problems of fostering all-round cooperation between the two parties and the two countries.

The two sides noted with satisfaction their fruitful cooperation in every field. The communique points out that the Comprehensive Program adopted by the 25th CMEA Session provides further and greater opportunities to develop all-round cooperation between Poland and the GDR, especially in the economic field.

The importance of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the international Communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism was stressed during the talks.

The communique says that the signing of a four-power agreement on West Berlin is an important step towards putting the policy of peaceful coexistence into effect.

The leaders of Poland and the GDR said they were satisfied with the results of the talks between L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and Willy Brandt, Federal Chancellor of the FRG. These talks, the communique states, will have a tangible effect by furthering the process of easing tensions, normalizing relations and consolidating European peace and security.

The communique points to the necessity for ratifying the treaties between the USSR and FRG and between the PPR and FRG at an early date.

The communique also states that favorable conditions have now been created for convening a general European conference on security and cooperation.

The representatives of the two states reaffirmed their solidarity with the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people and the peoples of Cambodia and Laos against imperialist aggression and voiced their support for the Arab people's struggle to do away with the effects of the Israeli aggression.

In conclusion the communique stresses that the talks revealed complete unity of views on all the issues under examination.

At the invitation of the CC CPSU, a delegation of the Communist Party of Japan led by K. Miyamoto, Chairman of the CC CPJ Presidium, paid a visit in the Soviet Union from September 19-26, 1971. It had talks with a delegation of the CPSU led by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

The CPSU delegation included M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC; P. N. Demichev, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC; B. N. Ponomarev, secretary of the CC; P. N. Fedoseyev, member of the CC; R. A. Ulyanovsky, deputy head, International Department of the CC, and I. I. Kovalenko, section head, International Department of the CC.

CPJ participants in the talks were T. Nishizawa, member of the Standing Bureau, CC Presidium; K. Ueda, member of the CC Presidium; M. Kaneko, member of the CC Presidium; E. Kobayashi, alternate member of the CC, and H. Kikunami, staff member, International Department of the CC.

During the talks which proceeded in a frank and comradely atmosphere, the two delegations exchanged information on the activities of their parties and discussed problems of the relations between the two parties and of the world Communist movement, as well as some problems of mutual interest.

The two sides reaffirmed that, given strict adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and to the universally accepted standards of relations between brother parties—autonomy, equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and international solidarity—the development of normal relations between brother parties and joint action by them against the forces of aggression and war, first of all against U.S. imperialism, are perfectly possible despite differences of opinion between particular parties on this or that issue. Gains in joint struggle will make for closer unity of the world Communist movement.

In the course of the exchange of views, the two delegations stressed the great importance of the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia against U.S. imperialist aggression, for the victory of the cause of national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism. They acknowledged that increasing support for the heroic fight of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia is a most important common task of all anti-imperialist forces. The two sides agreed on the need to intensify by every means the international solidarity movement with the object of rendering effec-

tive assistance and support to the embattled peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. To this end it is imperative in the present situation to establish a broad anti-imperialist front and to achieve international cohesion of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces with the participation of representatives of the people of Indochina.

Pravda, September 28, 1971.

In August and September a delegation of the Communist Party of Japan had talks with delegations of the Rumanian, Italian and Spanish Communist parties and the Working People's Party of Vietnam.

ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTIES

PORTUGAL

The CC of the Communist Party released a document exposing the Caetano government's policy of terror against the working people. It called on the people to mobilize in order to win democracy, freedom of speech, press and assembly and an amnesty for political prisoners, immediately to end colonial wars and secure independence for Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and the Cape Verde islands.

SOUTH AFRICA

The CP has begun publication of *Inkululeko* (Freedom) an underground newspaper. The paper carried the full text of a CC resolution on the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party which stresses that the Party will fight for an independent Republic of South Africa free from every form of exploitation. The Party must build up its organization despite police terror and apartheid and promote stronger unity of the liberation forces.

The paper declared its unqualified support for the revolutionary fighters of the movement seeking to extend armed struggle to the whole country.

COLOMBIA

August 3. The CC CPC concluded its plenary meeting. The meeting resolved to call the 11th Party Congress on December 6, 1971, and approved theses for the CC report on the political situation in the country and the situation in the world Communist movement. It also approved drafts of the new Program and amendments to the Rules.

COSTA RICA

August 5. The CC of the People's Vanguard Party completed its plenary meeting.

On discussing the situation at home, the meeting came to the conclusion that the CIA, backed by the country's reactionaries, was preparing for a coup to establish a dictatorship in Costa Rica that would sweep away democratic freedoms and set out to persecute the labor movement.

The meeting assessed the President's decision on establishing a Soviet embassy as a highly positive step. It resolved to mount an

offensive against reaction to defend constitutional order and normalize relations with the Soviet Union.

ARGENTINA

August 7-8. The CA CPA held a plenary meeting. The report submitted by General Secretary Jeronimo Arnedo Alvarez made a deep analysis of the domestic political situation. It pointed out the growing struggle of the working class and the people for freedom.

Speaking of the international situation, the General Secretary noted the heroic struggle of the peoples of Indochina and the Arab countries against imperialist aggression. He emphasized the tremendous value of Soviet aid to these peoples. The CC CPA called on all progressive forces to increase their solidarity with the peoples of Indochina and the Arab countries.

Rodolfo Ghioldi, member of the CC Executive Committee, spoke of the significance of the Salta Declaration signed by the presidents of Chile and Argentina on July 24 last. He said the Declaration had struck a blow at the policy of aggression pursued by the U.S. imperialists, who wanted to isolate Chile from the rest of Latin America. The Argentine-Chile agreements fostered peaceful co-existence of the two countries and stimulated the struggle of Latin America's peoples.

FRG

Progressive West German opinion takes deep interest in the draft theses of the German Communist Party "The GCP Against Big Capital, for Peace, Democratic Progress and Socialism." Communists are distributing the text of the draft in factories.

The draft will be submitted to the Party Congress, due to meet in Duesseldorf in November.

SUDAN

It was reported on August 12 that the CC of the Sudanese CP had met to discuss the situation at home and had decided on measures assuring the continuation of the Party's activity in the atmosphere of the anti-Communist campaign still going on.

The meeting unanimously elected Muhammed Ibrahim Nugud General Secretary of the CC.

The CC SCP issued an appeal urging the unity of all forces and mobilization of the masses for a campaign to lift Sudan out of the difficult situation in which its tyrannical rulers have put it.

CANADA

First half of August. The CC CPC met in plenary meeting in Toronto to discuss drafts of a political statement and the new Party

Program. Both documents will be submitted to the 21st Party Congress scheduled for November 27-29.

The meeting led off a pre-Congress discussion of the two drafts in the Party.

The Congress will be the highlight of celebrations of the Party's 50th anniversary. This jubilee is being widely commemorated by the country's Communist, working class, and progressive and democratic opinion.

BRITAIN

August 13. The CPGB published draft resolutions of its 32nd Congress, set for November 13-16. "The political situation in Britain," says the "Draft Resolution of Unity, the Communist Party and the Struggle for Socialism," "is marked by acute class conflict as the crisis of capitalism deepens on a world scale."

This draft resolution points to the need to increase Party membership and the circulation of the *Morning Star*. "We have to end," it says, "the serious position of the small but steady decline in membership over the last few years and decide what to do to resume growth."

INDIA

August 24. The National Council of the CP of India completed its meeting in New Delhi.

The meeting concentrated on draft documents for the coming Ninth Party Congress. It approved drafts of the political resolution, the report on the international situation, the world Communist movement and the tasks of the CPI, the political report and the report on organizational matters.

The meeting gave considerable attention to the Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed recently. It said in a special resolution that the Treaty is not only a milestone in the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries but a bulwark of peace and progress in Asia and an appreciable contribution to world peace. The signing of the Treaty showed again that the Soviet Union, which steadfastly follows the policy bequeathed by Lenin, is a loyal and reliable friend of all who stand for national freedom, peace and social progress.

USA

An enlarged plenary meeting of the CP USA National Committee unanimously resolved to nominate General Secretary Gus Hall for the U.S. Presidency in 1972 and Jarvis Tyner, National Chairman of the Young Workers' Liberation League, for the Vice-Presidency.

Second half of August. Speaking at a press conference, Gus Hall said in this connection that the United States was passing through a series of grave crises born of the general crisis of the capitalist system. He said America needs a new beginning, a new direction. "Communists, with our world outlook based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, can provide the new direction. The final solution to the problems of our people is socialism."

As far as foreign policy was concerned, the Communist Party would in its election campaign denounce the criminal war against the peoples of Indochina. This war, Gus Hall stressed, is immoral and unjust. The Communist Party demands a total elimination of racism.

"The moment calls," he said, "for a People's Coalition of the working class, the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian and oppressed minorities, women and youth, the professionals, intellectuals farmers, into a mighty political force that will break the stranglehold that monopoly corporations have on our land."

CEYLON

August 26. A plenary meeting of the CC CPC discussed the political and economic situation at home and adopted a relevant resolution. It demanded that the government should prepare a program of radical socio-economic reforms, effect a land reform, restrict the size of private land holdings, establish price control and ensure a fair distribution of consumer goods.

Among the political, social and economic measures proposed by the resolution is the drafting of an economic development plan with the cooperation of mass organizations.

The resolution stresses the need to strengthen the United Front of Left and Democratic Forces and extend the influence of the working class within the Front.

The resolution makes an appraisal of the April coup. It states that the coup was a reactionary and counter-revolutionary action and that many of those involved in it were petty-bourgeois nationalists or ultra-Leftists.

CUBA

The existence of the mighty socialist camp, whose strength has greatly increased in recent years, its solidarity and the solidarity of other peoples are a decisive factor for the development of the Cuban revolution, said Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC CPC, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, in a speech to an international youth meeting of solidarity with Cuba on August 27. The meeting was held by youth delegations from 30 countries which had arrived in Havana on their way to Chile, the venue of

an international meeting of solidarity with Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Fidel Castro's speech was published in *Granma* on August 30.

Fidel Castro stressed the great value of the economic, technological and military aid which Cuba receives from the socialist commonwealth, especially from the Soviet Union.

Speaking of the heroic struggle and gains of the Vietnamese people in the war against the U.S. aggressors, Fidel Castro noted the tremendous role of international solidarity and of the peace-loving peoples' moral and material support of the patriots of Vietnam.

With regard to the peoples' fight for freedom and independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Fidel Castro said that U.S. imperialism uses its favorite method of aggression and provocation everywhere. In pursuing its dirty objectives, specifically in the Dominican Republic and in Guatemala, it has always used, as it still does, subservient governments, organizations and puppet regimes. Among these in Latin America is the Organization of American States, sadly renowned as the "U.S. Colonial Ministry" and the governments of a number of countries committed to Washington's imperialist policy. It was with their direct participation that an economic blockade had been launched against Cuba.

Fidel Castro also spoke of events in Bolivia. He voiced Cuba's solidarity with the Bolivian people fighting for their independence.

DENMARK

August 28-29. The CC CP of Denmark held an enlarged plenary meeting to discuss the Party's tasks in the election campaign and to decide on the main line of Communist activity.

Party Chairman K. Jespersen addressed the meeting.

The meeting adopted an appeal stressing that the Communist Party advocates Denmark's withdrawal from NATO and the adoption of a policy of neutrality and disarmament. It also insists on the setting up of a European security system.

The Communist Party called for diplomatic relations with the GDR, DRV, Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The Communist Party urged the people to say No to Denmark's adherence to the EEC.

VENEZUELA

August 30. The women Communists of Venezuela held their First National Meeting, which brought 105 delegates from all over the country. The meeting approved reports on political organization of the masses and sent solidarity messages to Angela Davis, the Ame-

rican patriot, and the heroic people of Vietnam fighting against U.S. aggression. It expressed its support of the Puerto Ricans' fight for independence.

The meeting fully identified itself with the People's National Front, which comprises the People's Electoral Movement, Republican Democratic Union and Communist Party.

At the close of the meeting Jesus Faria, the Party's General Secretary, called on the delegates to step up their struggle for the independence of Venezuela from U.S. imperialism, for a broader anti-imperialist front and for loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

GREECE

August 30. Radio Voice of the Truth broadcast a statement of the Political Bureau of the CC, CP of Greece, about the recent reshuffle of the Greek junta's government. The statement says that nothing has actually changed.

During the days when the cabinet was being reshuffled a new wave of terror swept the country and new arrests were made among the dictatorship's opponents.

The Political Bureau of the CC CPG stresses that the government reshuffle "does not solve a single problem of the people and country, nor will it help the junta out of the impasse. The only solution that will benefit the people and country is to overthrow the foreign-backed junta and restore democracy. To achieve this objective, unity and united action of the anti-dictatorial forces are more necessary than ever."

BELGIUM

September 4. The CP of Belgium observed its 50th anniversary.

The anniversary meeting, which brought together several thousand Belgians, was opened by Jean Terfve, Party Vice-Chairman. Sitting in the front rows were Political Bureau members and veteran Communists who have devoted their lives to the Party's cause, to the interests of the working class and other working people.

Party Chairman Marc Drumaux, dealt in his speech with the Party's struggle in defense of the democratic rights of the workers and other working people. He gave special attention to the Party's current tasks.

POLAND

September 5. The CC PUWP held its 11th Plenum. The meeting passed a resolution approving the guidelines "For the Further Socialist Development of the Polish People's Republic" prepared by the Congress Commission, and resolved to submit it to the Party and the people for discussion prior to the Sixth Party Congress.

The meeting resolved to convene the Sixth Party Congress in Warsaw on December 6, 1971, with the following agenda:

(1) CC report and the Party's task in promoting the socialist progress of the PPR.

(2) Report of the Central Auditing Commission.

(3) Main provisions for the country's economic and social development in the 1971-1975 period.

(4) Election to the Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission.

CC Secretary Edward Gierek addressed the meeting.

CHILE

In view of the reactionary forces' increased attack on the Popular Unity government, *El Siglo* on September 11 published a statement of the Political Commission of the CC CPC exposing the "escalation of the subversive activity" of reactionary elements. The Communist Party called on the people to be vigilant against all subversion, smash the conspiratorial machinery of the people's enemies and firmly resist all reactionary intrigues.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

September 15-16. The CC CPC met in plenary session. Gustav Husak, CC General Secretary, presented the CC Presidium report on fulfilment of the decisions of the 14th Party Congress in the Party and society, the Party's tasks in preparing for the elections and on further tasks in building up Party ranks.

Gustav Husak said that thanks to the 14th Party Congress and the Party's policy, a considerable step has been taken towards promoting the unity of the Party and the working people. Since the turning point of the middle of 1969, the economy has been on the rise as a result of the Party's consistent and meaningful economic policy, the consolidation of socialist management and planning, the working people's increased initiative and progress in socialist emulation.

On behalf of the CC, Gustav Husak gave high praise to the labor and initiative of millions of people, which he described as a concrete expression of growing confidence in Party policy. He also spoke of the implementation of the social program approved by the 14th Congress to improve the standard of living.

The report stressed the importance of the Comprehensive Program, adopted by the 25th CMEA Session, for the further economic progress of the country.

Gustav Husak dealt with preparations for the elections to the country's representative bodies. The Party's election platform was worked out by the 14th Congress, he said.

Gustav Husak described proper work among people by the Party as an important political and organizational task on whose achievement depends the fulfilment of the decisions of the 14th Congress.

The report spoke of the need to adopt a plan of Party work covering the period to the 15th Party Congress, which would make Party work more methodical and purposeful.

The report pointed out that the friendly meeting of leaders of the brother parties in the Crimea is very important to the further development of the socialist countries' international political initiative.

The meeting passed a number of decisions, specifically on social maintenance, and directives for systematically improving the composition of Party membership. It set up five CC commissions.

URUGUAY

September 16. *El Popular*, the CP newspaper, reported that the Communist Party was joined by 6,718 new members during the eight months of the current year and that 4,600 young Uruguayans joined the Communist Youth League.

"These figures," it commented, "are indicative of a most important political trend in our country—the steady growth and increasing influence of our Party. They are a reflection of the indisputable fact that our Party today is the biggest party of the country's Left-wing forces."

Among the new Party members are people representing the working-class and democratic movement, as well as people prominent in the cultural field.

The influx of new Party members shows, the paper added, that the masses see the Party as the leader of their struggle, the organizer of the working-class and popular movement and a champion of success for the Broad Front at the coming November election, a task to which Uruguay's Communists are giving all their energies.

G D R

September 16-17. The CC SUPG held a plenary meeting. Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC, presented the Political Bureau report. Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC, reported on preparations for and the holding of elections to the People's Chamber and district government bodies.

After an extensive debate the meeting approved the Political Bureau report and the report on election preparations.

The meeting adopted a resolution on the four-power agreement on West Berlin.

FINLAND

September 18-19. The CC CPF met in plenary session to discuss the international situation and the country's home policy, as well as preparations for the 16th Party Congress.

It adopted the declaration "Safeguarding Peace and the Security of Nations" calling on the Finnish government to step up its activity with a view to bringing about talks at ambassadorial level in Helsinki on a general European conference.

The meeting resolved to convene the 16th CPF Congress from March 31 to April 2, 1972.

FULL TEXTS

***24th Congress of
Communist Party of
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(March-April, 1971)

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