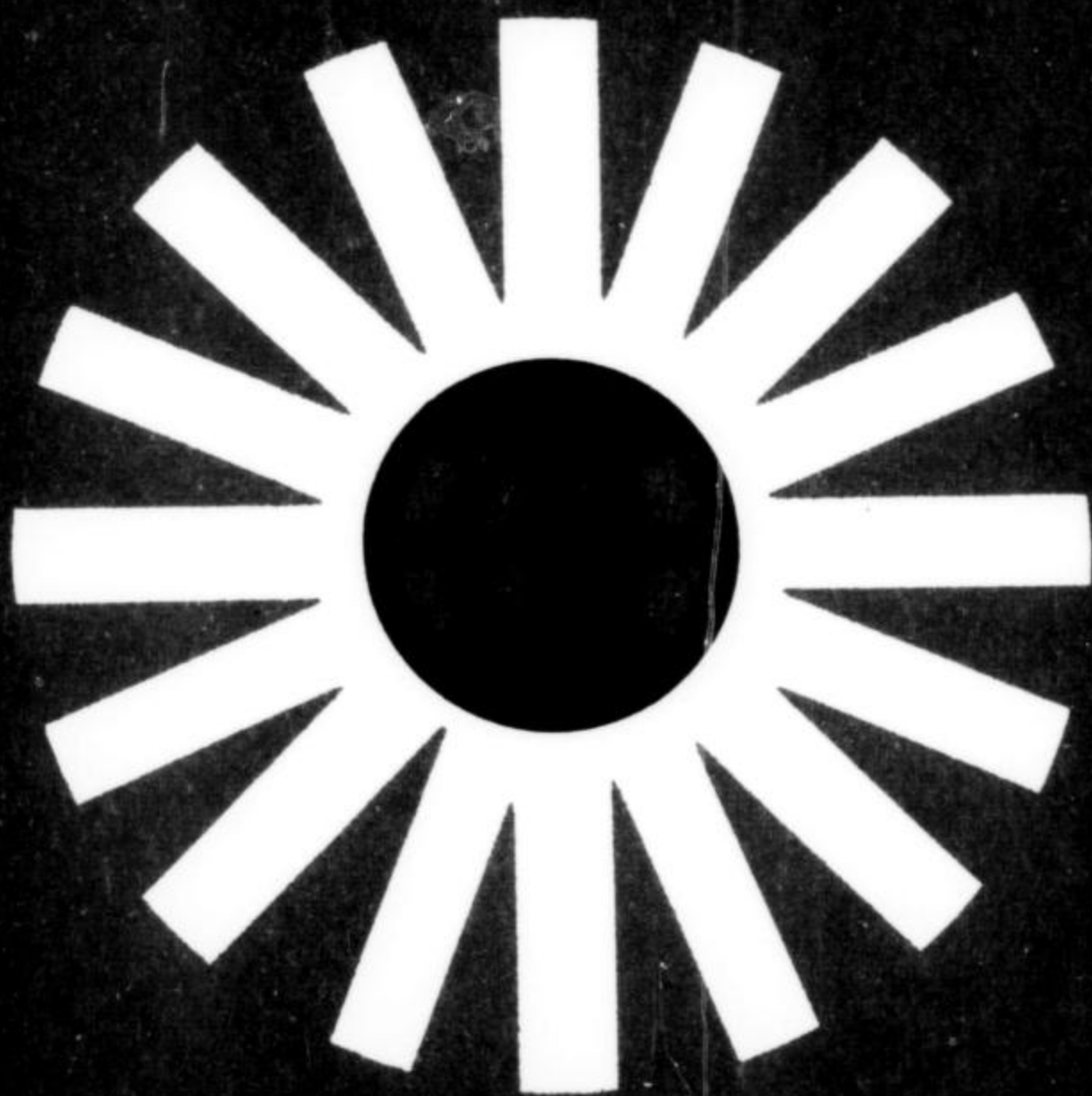
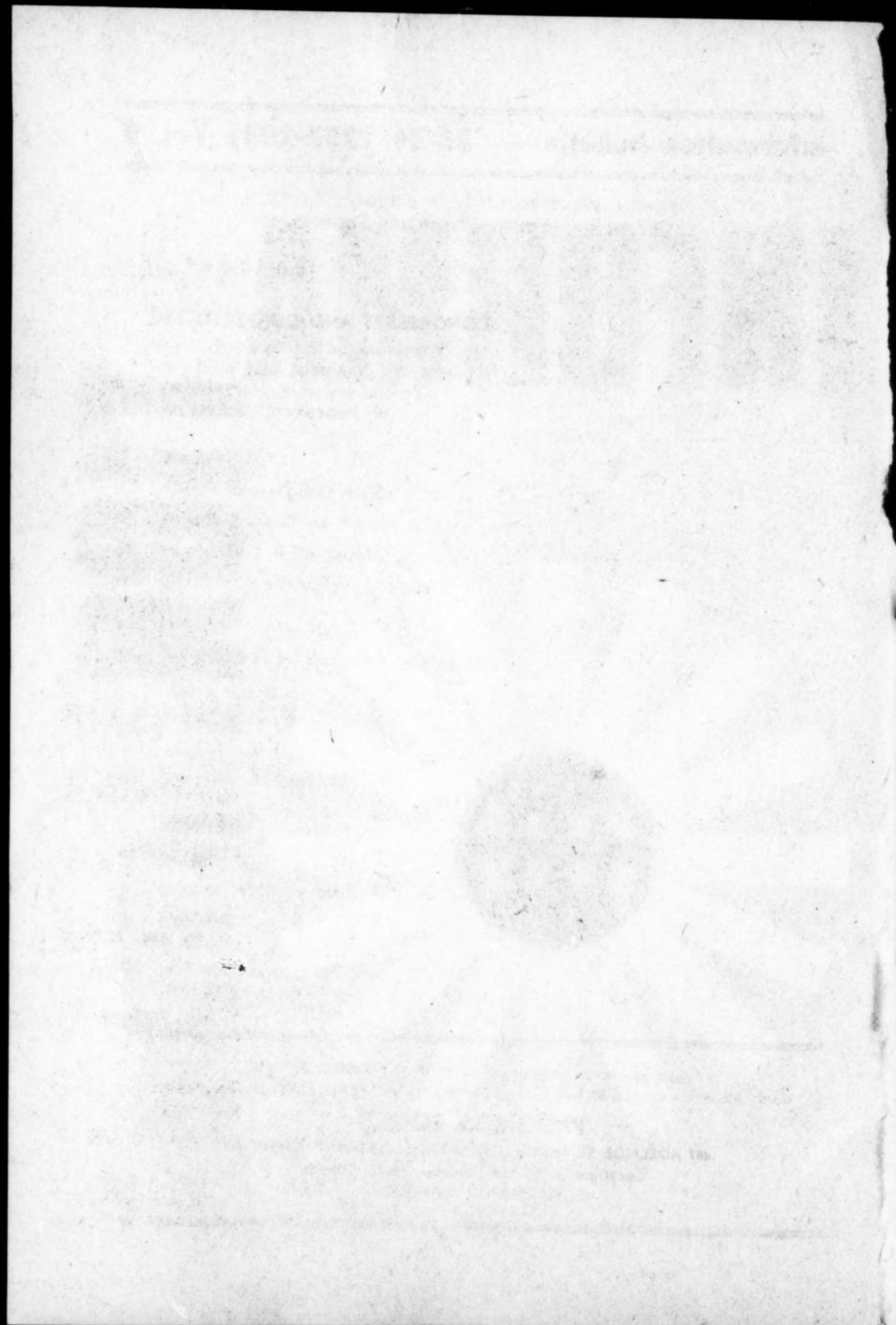






information bulletin — 23-24 (207-208) Vol. 9

*Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic,
French, German, Greek and Spanish*

contents

CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

Communique on conference of
rep's of Communist and Workers'
Parties on work of **Problems**
of Peace and Socialism 5

Poland

Sixth Congress of PUWP 7
Report by Edward Gierak 9
Speech by L. I. Brezhnev 31
Resolution on European security 39

FRG

Duesseldorf Congress of German CP 42

Great Britain

32nd Congress of CPGB 46

France

FCP National Conference 48

PLENARY MEETINGS

Brazil

CC BCP Sixth plenary meeting 54

Panama

Communique of PPP
Politbureau meeting 57

(cont'd next page)

Published as a Supplement to WORLD MARXIST REVIEW,
North American edition of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM by

PROGRESS BOOKS

487 ADELAIDE ST. WEST, TORONTO 2B, ONTARIO, CANADA

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Soviet Union

CC CPSU plenary meeting 60

Decision on international
activity of CC CPSU 61

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

B. Ponomaryov. Topical
theoretical problems of world
revolutionary process 65

CONTENTS FOR 1971 93

Dear Reader

The staff of the Information Bulletin and Peace and Socialism Publishers wish you a happy New Year, may it see continued progress in the effort for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

In 1972 as in previous years, the Information Bulletin will keep its readers abreast of the activities of fraternal parties, based on the decisions and spirit of the Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Your opinion and proposals on ways to improve the Bulletin, or any particular material, would be of great help. Our address:

**PRESS DISTRIBUTION AGENCY
THAKUROVA 3, PRAHA 6, CSSR**

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and help.

**PRINTED IN CANADA
DECEMBER 30, 1971**



COMMUNIQUE

ON THE CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES ON THE WORK OF PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

A regular Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties met in Prague on December 14-16, 1971, to review the work of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* in 1969-71. Delegations from the following 63 Communist and Workers' Parties took part: Communist Party of Austria, Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria, Communist Party of Argentina, Bulgarian Communist Party, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of Venezuela, Guadeloupe Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labor, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, German Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Communist Party of Honduras, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Denmark, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Israel, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of Indonesia, Jordanian Communist Party, Iraqi Communist Party, People's Party of Iran, Communist Party of Ireland, Communist Party of Spain, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Canada, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Colombia, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica, Lebanese Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), Mexican Communist Party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand, Communist Party of Norway, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, African Independence Party of Senegal, Syrian Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Sudanese Communist Party, Communist Party of the USA, Tunisian Communist Party, Communist Party of Turkey, Communist Party of the Philippines, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Communist Party of Ceylon, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Chile, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Communist Party of Ecuador, South African Communist Party, Communist Party of Japan.

Having discussed the Report of the Editorial Board and Editorial

number 23-24, 1971 5

Council, the Conference gave a positive appraisal of the Journal's work in 1969-71 and noted its contribution to collective Marxist-Leninist analysis of pressing problems of the international Communist movement and world revolutionary development, and to the exchange of experience of fraternal Parties.

The Conference defined the program for subsequent activity of the Journal. The main task of the Journal is actively to facilitate, in close cooperation with the fraternal Parties, continued development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the propaganda of the ideas of international conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties, assist unity of the world Communist and workers' movement and all anti-imperialist forces in the interests of the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

The Conference emphasized that constant assistance by all Communist and Workers' Parties is the earnest of the Journal's successful functioning. It appealed to all Parties to devote still more attention to their theoretical and information Journal.

The Conference was held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and fraternal cooperation.

SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

The Sixth PUWP Congress was held in Warsaw from December 6-11, 1971. The 1,815 delegates represented 2,270,000 members and candidate members of the Party; 308 delegates were from large Party organizations at industrial and transport enterprises and construction organizations. The rest represented provincial Party organizations. Eleven delegates could not attend the opening session for valid reasons.

In social composition, 1,072 delegates (59 per cent) were workers, 576 (about 32 per cent) were peasants and the rest were intellectuals. 757 delegates (42 per cent) were employed directly in the sphere of material production—industry, transport, construction. The delegates were experienced representatives of the Party, the working class and all the Polish people. Close to 70 per cent of the delegates were elected to Congress for the first time.

Delegations and representatives of 70 Communist, Workers' and socialist parties and the CPSU delegation headed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary CC CPSU, attended the Congress.

The Congress was opened by E. Gierek, First Secretary CC PUWP, who greeted the foreign guests on behalf of the delegates and the Party.

"For us," said E. Gierek, "the presence of so many fraternal parties is confirmation of the growing unity of the international Communist movement — mankind's vanguard in the struggle for its future — international unity which is one of the main sources of the might of every Party and the movement as a whole."

After the presidium and other Congress bodies were elected, the following agenda was adopted unanimously:

- report by the Central Committee on Party tasks in furthering socialist development in the Polish People's Republic;

- report by the Central Auditing Commission;

- the basic trends in socio-economic development in the PPR in 1971-1975. (Report by Piotr Jaroszewicz, member of the Politbureau, CC, PUWP, and Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers);

- elections to the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission.

The report by the CC PUWP covering the period between the

number 23-24, 1971 7

Fifth and Sixth congresses was distributed among the delegates and released to the press prior to the congress.

The Central Committee report "Party tasks in furthering socialist development in the PPR" was delivered on December 6 by E. Gierek.

On the first day of the Congress 19 commissions were established on various aspects of Party, state and economic building.

Besides the delegates the commission meetings on December 8 were attended by guests of the Congress — workers and peasants, well-known specialists and scientists, political and public figures, Party and non-Party members. 697 speakers addressed the commissions and 571 delegates submitted written speeches. The plenum sessions of the Congress and the commissions were addressed by 733 delegates and 633 delegates submitted their speeches to be included in the protocol. During the six days the Congress was in session there was a business-like, principled and creative discussion of vital problems of the Party and country, such as the future of socialist construction in Poland, the struggle for peace and progress on the international scene.

The Congress unanimously approved the resolutions: for the further socialist development of People's Poland, on the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Polish Workers' Party on problems of European security and cooperation.

On recommendation of the Party Rules Commission the Congress resolved to make certain changes and amendments in the PUWP Rules to raise the standards of Party membership, increase responsibility of Party members for putting into effect the Party line, to consolidate democratic centralism and the role of primary organizations.

The Congress elected a new CC PUWP comprising 115 members and 93 Alternate members of the Central Committee, the Central Auditing Commission with 36 members and a 54-member Central Party Control Commission.

The first Plenum of the CC unanimously elected as members of the Politbureau Edward Gierek, Edward Babiuch, Henryk Jablonski, Mieczyslaw Jagielski, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Wladyslaw Kruczek, Stefan Olszowski, Franciszek Szlachcic, Jan Szydlak, Jozef Tejchma; and as alternate members—Kazimierz Barcikowski, Zdzislaw Grudzien, Stanislaw Kania and Josef Kempa.

Edward Gierek was elected First Secretary CC PUWP, and Edward Babiuch, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Stanislaw Kania, Stanislaw Kowalczyk, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Franciszek Szlachcic, Jan Szydlak, Jozef Tejchma—Secretaries. Ryszard Frelek and Andrzej Werblan were elected members of the Secretariat.

The delegates unanimously approved the election results.

In his closing remarks, E. Gierek, First Secretary CC PUWP, said that the Sixth Congress had coped with the tasks it was entrusted with by the Party, the working class and the people of Poland. The Congress decisions were adopted in complete unanimity and the results of the Congress consolidate the Party's ideological strength, its irreconcilability to trends alien to socialism, its fidelity to the indestructible principles of Marxism-Leninism. The main result of the Sixth Congress is the program for the further building of socialism in Poland, the guideline of the work of the Party and state.

On behalf of the delegates and the newly elected CC PUWP, Edward Gierek expressed sincere thanks to the representatives of the fraternal parties for their participation and said that the PUWP would remain true to proletarian internationalism. "Long live the unity of Communists, mankind's vanguard in the struggle for socialism, freedom of the peoples and peace!"

SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

REPORT BY EDWARD GIEREK
FIRST SECRETARY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, PUWP

This day, the opening day of the Sixth Congress, is a momentous date in the history of our Party, Comrade Gierek said. We delegates, elected at provincial conferences and by Party organizations in the major enterprises, represent the supreme body of the Polish United Workers' Party.

In conformance with the general will of the members of our Party we have advanced the date of its convocation by one year. It is our duty to make a comprehensive assessment of the record of our Party and nation during the inter-Congress period. Our Party expects this to be a thorough assessment, reaching to the essence of social phenomena, an assessment which will transform into a lasting source of strength not only all the positive experiences dominant in the Party's activities, but also the critical analysis of its errors and shortcomings. The Party and nation expect us to frame a general line of policy, outline the strategic aims of this policy and select the ways and methods of action which will assure success of our nationwide efforts in socialist construction.

Program report of the CC Political Bureau, "The tasks of the Party in the Further Socialist Development of the Polish People's Republic," delivered December 6, 1971. Published here in abridged form.

number 23-24, 1971 9

Our present Congress was prepared by the whole Party, by all its organizations. A great contribution to this preparatory work was made by non-Party workers, peasants and the intelligentsia. Every stage of Congress preparations was accompanied by heightened social activity.

All this determined the conditions of the work of the Congress Commission which prepared the draft of the Guidelines for the Further Socialist Development of the Polish People's Republic, with the assistance and cooperation of Party organs, numerous specialized teams and experts. The Guidelines approved by the 11th Central Committee Plenum became the political basis of the final, decisive stage of the Congress preparations. The Guidelines provided a good starting point for a general, nationwide discussion of social and state affairs. Thanks to these discussions we have arrived at this Congress with a better insight than ever before into Poland's needs, the expectations of our nation and the possibilities of our Party and community.

A characteristic feature of the preparations for the Sixth Congress was that discussions were combined with action, thoughts with deeds. The mighty wave of working-class initiatives has been translated into a lasting material reality. During the difficult days through which we had lived together, a pledge was born among the working class, expressed by the words "We shall help." The working class has kept its word—it has helped.

We are coming to this Congress as a Party united by the awareness of the tasks before us, deeply convinced of the correctness of the course we are following. We are coming to the Sixth Congress with a justified feeling that we enjoy the support and trust of the Polish working class, of all the working people, of the whole nation. This is the trust which we must never betray and in which our Party shall not fail. We are coming to the Sixth Congress aware of the fact that only in close, everyday association with our class and nation can we successfully direct the socialist development of Poland. We are coming to the Sixth Congress with a profound feeling of fraternal unity with the CPSU, with all the fraternal countries of the socialist community and with the world Communist movement.

Preparing for the Sixth Congress and formulating its political platform, we had constantly in mind the bitter and painful experiences of the social conflict which shook our country a year ago. The Seventh and Eighth Plenums of the Central Committee of our Party correctly and exhaustively assessed the essence and causes of the December events.

Our Party drew the essential lessons and conclusions from the December events.

First, the problems of the working people must always be kept in the center of attention of a Marxist-Leninist Party which exercises power in a socialist state. Social effort in the construction of socialism should systematically result in a tangible improvement of the material and cultural condition of the life of the masses.

Secondly, our whole activity must always be guided by the principle that the working class is the main social force of socialism and that constant ties with it are a condition of the successful development of our system.

Thirdly, construction of socialism necessitates systematic enhancement of the leading role of the Party, consistent observance of the Leninist methods of Party work and constant contact with reality.

Fourthly, in the contemporary conditions of the class struggle and competition between socialism and capitalism, developments and conflicts which delay progress and open the door to the activities of opponents of socialism, must be prevented.

The common denominator of everything we have achieved during the last year, of everything which has created a good atmosphere in our country and released social activeness and initiative and which offers guarantees of correct development in the future is Leninism, the inexhaustible source of the strength of our ideology, the unfailing guiding light of our actions.

The road to socialism, its principal characteristics, are defined by general principles typical for the development of all socialist countries. These general principles take concrete form which corresponds to historical conditions and national characteristics. The experiences of our Party fully confirm this dialectic truth. Lack of appreciation and understanding of this truth have always caused serious difficulties in the construction of socialism. The errors of policy and distortions in the methods of leadership which we overcame through the decisions of the Seventh and the Eighth Plenums, resulted primarily from violation of the general Leninist principles of socialist construction. By restoring the Leninist principles at the Seventh Plenum, our Party overcame serious difficulties, performed a tremendous task and led the country back on to the correct road. We are deeply grateful to the fraternal parties, and in particular to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for showing understanding of the essence of the difficulties which we encountered on the road of our development.

Marxism-Leninism is the beacon of our Party. Our Party firmly opposes all trends and tendencies ideologically alien to Marxism-Leninism. In particular, our Party is conducting an uncompromising struggle against revisionism, which attacks the fundamental principles of our ideology and disputes the achievements of our policy.

We must ensure that the ideological standards of our Party work are high enough to enable all Party organs to expose and defeat opponents of socialism. We are also overcoming dogmatic inertia and subjectivism.

We are drawing conclusions from our experiences of the recent difficult years and from the experiences of the years from 1956 to 1959, which have not yet been analyzed with sufficient penetration. The Party's basic weakness in this period was that the necessary elimination of specific dogmatic and sectarian errors, as well as the restoration of respect for socialist law, was accompanied by compromises with revisionism and other trends alien to the ideology of our Party. The harmful effects of all this became apparent later, formed the ground for attacks on the fundamental principles of our socialist state. These attacks always met with the firm resistance of the working people, and above all of the working class.

The Polish people's revolutionary achievements scored under the guidance of our Party during the 27 years of People's Poland are of epoch-making proportions. The Party has had to overcome difficulties, correct errors and repair the damage caused by departures from the essentially correct line of socialist construction mapped out by its Congresses. However, the landmarks of our Party's historic progress are the achievements which have shaped Poland's present and future. These historic accomplishments are the foundation of our country's future. The Party will never allow them to be belittled.

Our country, People's Poland, is entering a new stage of socio-economic development. At the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee we stated: "The most important and most urgent task which we are now facing is to ensure development of production and growth of productivity, and, on this basis, to improve the living standards of the working people and the social situation."

It is with this draft policy program that we are coming to the Sixth Congress of the Party. In its essence it is a socio-economic program based on calculation of social possibilities and needs. The experience of the current year proves that a proper socio-economic policy and its active support by the working people make it possible to achieve simultaneously substantial progress in the development of production and an improvement in the standard of living.

The principal measure of socio-economic progress is growth of national income. In the current five-year period national income is to increase by 38-39 per cent, as compared with the 34 per cent attained in the past five-year period. To ensure a more rapid growth of national income an extensive investment program has been adopted for the current five-year period. The huge sum of over 1,400 billion zlotys has been allocated for investments in 1971-75. This amounts to about 24 per cent of the national income. Basic

changes have been effected in the structure of investments. They are to ensure above all a more rapid growth of consumer goods production. Substantial outlays are allocated for the development of agriculture and especially the food industry, i.e., for a major expansion of the production of foodstuffs which are still of decisive importance in family budgets. Production of consumer durables will also increase.

A change is being made in the proportions between group "A" and group "B" in favor of group "B," meaning production of consumer goods. In the current five-year period it is to increase by 42 per cent, against 36 per cent in the past five years. Output of the means of production will continue to rise at a faster rate and will amount to 52 per cent. This is determined by the requirements of reconstruction and modernization in our economy and the raising of its export capacity, and also by the necessity of completing several investment projects begun in previous years in order to prevent the freezing of huge resources and so make them available to the national economy.

Implementation of our tasks requires a fundamental improvement in capital construction. Already now it is necessary to take decisions which will ensure shortening of investment cycles and the timely commissioning of new production capacities. By radically improving the effectiveness of investments we can reduce capital-intensity of production and speed up the growth of national income and thus create good conditions for an improvement in the standard of living of the working people.

The tasks facing our industry in the current five-year period cannot be reduced to simple production growth. Equally important is industry's better adaptation to home market and export demands.

A faster development of the national economy and its modernization are closely connected with Poland's participation in a broadly conceived international division of labor. What matters in particular is to increase the volume of foreign trade and to change its commodity structure. Foreign trade should play a greater role in our economic life, and be of greater help in the solution of problems connected with our development. It is also necessary to improve input-output analysis in our economy and the calculation of the advantages to be derived from the international division of labor, and to make our economy flexible enough to react better and more effectively to the changes in progress there and to influence them more actively at the same time.

We wish to improve our employment policy, which should be more flexible and better adapted to the implementation of our tasks. In the conditions prevailing in our country, employment growth should become a motive force of economic development. A

rational policy of full employment means work for every citizen, but work well organized and well used in the production of material goods and in other fields of life. We must avail ourselves of the opportunities afforded by the influx of great numbers of well-trained young people who are now reaching working age.

The submitted program for socio-economic development of the country assigns a greater role to the services as a field of economy which satisfies numerous social needs.

Important tasks face our agriculture, which plays a great role in our national economy and in its progress. Its importance can be seen in the fact that food comprises nearly one half of an average Polish family budget. Marked progress has been made in agriculture. This applies not only to the growth of output or even the incomparably greater supply of industrial means of production. It is above all expressed in the new socio-economic position of agriculture in our system. Agriculture employs means of production manufactured in the socialized sector of our economy. Some 85 per cent of farm produce is marketed in the socialized organizations. Socialized forms of production and management are developing in the agricultural system. State farms are growing in size, output and economic performance, as well as cooperative farms which are based on sound economic foundations. The organization of agricultural circles has strengthened and is successfully developing. Forms of collective action and simple partnership are also being introduced in other cooperative organizations. However, the basic problems of the social and technical reconstruction of agriculture still remain unsolved. The Party intends to tackle and solve them gradually.

Following the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, the social and economic conditions have arisen for better utilization of reserves, bigger production in all sectors of agriculture and, consequently, for the improvement of the working and living conditions of peasants and farm workers. The improvement must not be reduced, however, merely to new economic incentives. Of ever greater importance at the present stage will be the organization of agricultural production on the level of villages and nationally. It is important, therefore, to develop new socialist forms of management, to invigorate all cooperative organizations and agricultural circles, to improve production services and marketing, all of which link peasant farming with the whole of the national economy. Intensification of agriculture will be assisted by the state's credit policy and a marked increase in the delivery of means of production of industrial origin.

The Party welcomes the fact that ever larger numbers of young people are taking up work in agriculture not out of necessity, as

before, but of their own free will, after obtaining good vocational training in farming schools. Another development to be noted is the growing ambition among rural youth to modernize the organization of agricultural production. This is an aspiration in the right direction. We attach great importance to the further strengthening of the self-government of agricultural workers, cooperative members and individual farmers, to their participation in improving the work of all organizations and institutions active in agriculture. The point is to make sure that every unit performs its functions properly, that the confidence of farmers in the policy of the state and its institutions is strengthened.

The social program with which the Party has come to the Sixth Congress was prepared with the utmost concern for both its dynamism and practicability. That is why we propose that particular social problems should be solved gradually, over a longer period of time, with priority given to the socially most urgent problems.

In the pre-Congress discussion the question was closely examined of how to achieve a rise in living standards in the current five-year period. The majority view was that the main task should be to accelerate the growth of real earnings, and that in wages policy we should consistently follow the principle: "To each according to his work."

Proceeding from these basic principles, we should provide resources for full, rational employment and just individual rewards for increases in labor productivity and general improvements in the results of production. Increases in the wages fund should also be linked with economic results—better run enterprises should be given greater opportunities of raising earnings. The basis of earnings should be the basic wage: extras should be limited as far as possible. Investing enterprises with the right to adjust earnings by increasing basic wages and at the same time to modify working norms and bonuses should help to increase labor productivity. Allowances for length of service should be awarded on a wider scale.

Of key importance for intensive development is labor productivity and its increase must be the main lever of the growth of production.

In giving priority to productivity and general economic performance, account must also be taken of wage differentials. We want to guarantee quicker wage increases to people employed in those sectors of the national economy where earnings are too low in relation to qualifications, productivity or the social significance of the work performed.

Thus, increases in real wages in the current five-year period will differ for various groups of employees, even within the same branches and occupations. They will depend above all on individual performance and the overall economic results of an enterprise. The

average per capita increase in real earnings in the national economy in the current five-year period, including the newly employed, will amount to 17-18 per cent. This is a very ambitious and difficult target. To reach this target we shall have to mobilize all manpower and material reserves.

The real incomes of the population will increase more quickly, of course, than real wages because of the high increase in employment and the extension of welfare benefits. The total individual consumption fund will increase in the current five-year period by 38 per cent as against 28 per cent in the previous five years. There will be a considerable increase in state expenditure on old age and other pensions, benefits, allowances and study grants, welfare services, public health and social security, education and culture, recreation and sport.

High among the fundamental social problems is a substantial improvement in the housing situation in Poland. This is a most important and urgent problem.

At present about one million families, many of whom live in very difficult conditions, are on the waiting list. The younger generation reaching working age want to start their own families, and the demand for housing will grow even faster than before.

A total of about 1,075,000 flats, (some 60.4 million square metres) will be built with state, cooperative and private funds in 1971-1975, i.e., 25 per cent more than in the previous five-year plan period. But this will not meet all the needs. That is why we must first of all remove the obstacles to our housing efforts. Large sums will be spent in the current five-year period on developing production of building materials, whose shortage is the most serious impediment. We encourage housing construction in all its forms, including family houses, for which we must create better conditions of development. In view of the great social importance of the housing question we suggest that one of the first plenary meetings of the newly elected Central Committee should discuss and adopt an integrated program for the solution of the housing problem by 1985.

A number of important social problems have been put forth in the Guidelines and the pre-Congress discussion. It has been found that what factory workers demand most frequently are the same welfare benefits as white-collar workers, particularly as regards sickness allowances. This question will be settled satisfactorily in the near future.

The participants in the pre-Congress discussion also came out in favor of a gradual shortening of working hours. An indispensable prerequisite of this reform is improvement in the organization of production. It is obvious that shorter working hours should not lower, but, on the contrary, speed up the rate of our development.

The switch to shorter working hours cannot be accomplished in the whole national economy at once. We should start with those industrial branches and trades in which work is the most onerous. Already some 20 per cent of all people employed in the socialized sector work shorter hours. We want to gradually bring about a situation in which all employees will have at least one free Saturday per month. The solution of this difficult problem depends on the workers themselves, on their production and disciplined labor.

Another problem raised by the working people is introduction of earlier retirement age. We consider that employees, particularly people with many years of work behind them, should be permitted an earlier, well-deserved retirement. But this can be done only by stages.

Naturally, earlier retirement must be left in all cases to the individual's decision.

Much has been done this year in social matters. We have made a start—and this is the main thing—on a new and active social policy, one of tackling all important problems and solving them as far as the available resources permit it. The Party will press forward with this policy. At present, it is especially important to make better use of the resources that have already been allocated by the state for this purpose. The resources in question are vast indeed, but they are still very often used inadequately. This must be rectified as soon as possible. And it is above all the trade unions that must deal with the problem.

We can advance successfully and solve current and future problems only if we have a clear perspective of development before us, a perspective visibly and tangibly brought nearer to us with every month and every year. And the 1971-75 plan is part of that perspective.

The scope of the economic effort awaiting us and the size of the economic potential that we will create are most eloquently, though only in general terms, shown by the output of certain industrial goods planned for 1975. Poland will be producing 167 million tons of coal, including 25 million tons of coking coal, 96,000 million kwh of electric power, 14.7 million tons of raw steel, 234,000 tons of zinc, nearly 180,000 tons of copper and almost 18 million tons of cement. The production of knitwear will double in terms of value, the production of synthetic fibers will amount to 126.5 thousand tons, growing by more than 250 per cent, over 50 per cent more furniture will be produced; nearly one million television sets will be manufactured yearly; output of refrigerators will reach 780,000, registering a more than 75 per cent growth; in the five-year period we will produce nearly 600,000 passenger cars, nearly three times more than during the last five-year period.

A proper socio-economic development strategy, i.e., the choice of the right social and economic objectives, has a basic significance for the achievement of good results in our economic policy. This strategy is being determined at our present Congress. Its effective and successful implementation will, to a large extent, depend on effective planning and management. Considering the importance of planning and management, the Political Bureau set up in March this year a Party and Government Commission to frame recommendations on this matter. The problems of planning and management were also the subject of numerous contributions made during the pre-Congress discussion. As a result we now have at our disposal a wealth of material which will enable the newly elected Central Committee to make decisions on the further development of the planning and management system of our national economy.

This is a matter of the utmost importance. It requires mature consideration and penetrating analysis of the experience of our country and that of fraternal countries. In modernizing our planning and management system we must strive to increase the effectiveness of central planning and economic management, whilst simultaneously expanding the independence and initiative of industrial amalgamations, multi-plant enterprises and factories in the realization of production tasks. It is necessary to develop long-term prognostications and programming as well as to elaborate long-range plans.

The five-year national socio-economic development plan should be the basic instrument of planning the country's development. Comprehensive programs for solving social and development problems of particular branches of industry should become an integral part of planning. Such programs are indispensable in housing construction, motorization, including associated services and road building, production and consumption of consumer durables, chemicalization of the national economy, growth of electronics, etc.

It is necessary to complete the government-supervised work of drafting a long-range plan for the country's regional development. This plan should ensure optimum utilization of local resources and facilities. Planned formation of territorial production links is connected with the need for a multi-purpose designing and implementation of new investment projects, going beyond district or provincial boundaries. This requires the development of effective methods of inter-regional coordination.

Also worthy of consideration is the proposal to reduce the number of product-range directives and gradually depart from present wages fund control in the implementation of economic tasks by industrial amalgamations, multi-plant and single factories. This would mean leaving to the enterprises the decision on the best use

to be made of the increase in the wages fund resulting from growth of production. All of this is only possible, however, if sufficiently strong safeguards are built into the economic system itself to prevent enterprises from increasing their wages funds through unwarranted price increases or socially disadvantageous changes of product-range.

Work on improving the planning and management system must be prosecuted with all energy on the basis of broad discussion. Once tested by means of partial experiments, new schemes must be put into practice. It is highly important, however, to take concrete steps now, without waiting for these final decisions, to make production more efficient and raise its quality, to increase productivity and improve execution of sub-contracting arrangements. These steps must be taken in every branch and ministry, both at the central level and within the smallest production unit.

Poland's advance requires our increased participation in the scientific-technical revolution. We now have a substantial scientific and technical potential at our disposal. Over 60,000 specialists with a higher education are now employed in research and development institutions and in higher education. The socialized sector employs over 240,000 engineers, agricultural experts and scientists as well as nearly 50,000 economists.

The scientific research program must be made an integral part of the strategy of our socio-economic development. Plans for scientific-technical development should form part of long-term socio-economic plans.

Research institutions and academic centers should undertake the basic research tasks stemming from our current and long-term development programs. Our state will provide all the necessary resources to achieve this end. We shall also eliminate bureaucratic deformations retarding the development of creative scientific initiative.

The needs of the country require that particular importance be attached to research on utilization of the country's natural resources, to material engineering and technology, to agricultural and food production, to labor organization and economics. We shall also support research in the direct service of the people, research on health protection, improved working conditions and recreational opportunities. We hope that the Congress of Polish Scientists, preparations for which are now under way, will bring nearer the preparation of a long-term scientific development program corresponding to our country's needs.

The basic criterion in assessing research should be its usefulness for the country. The system of appraising, qualifying and promoting scientists should be strictly related to the concrete results achieved

by them in their research work, tuition, and to their participation in solving the scientific and technical problems of the national economy.

Scientific-technical progress in our country depends in equal measure on the proper orientation and achievements of Polish science and on the initiative and active commitment of industrial employees. For technical progress is the result both of great innovations and thousands of seemingly insignificant improvements. Education constitutes the broadest basis for scientific and technical progress. We shall intensively develop it on the basis of the program that is being now worked out by the Committee of Experts.

The socio-economic objectives which we want to achieve are ambitious and the tasks which we are setting are difficult. There are objective possibilities for attaining these aims and carrying out these tasks. Of decisive importance for the realization of the tasks involved in the present stage of socialist construction are the following conditions:

- the enhancement of the guiding role of the Party, constant strengthening of its bonds with the working class, with all working people;

- fundamental improvement in organization, guidance and management, and improvement of the functioning of all organs and institutions of the socialist state;

- profound ideological commitment, sense of duty and obligation, discipline and unity of action by the Party and the whole population.

A specific feature of the present situation is the pressure of urgent current problems which must be solved, and also the growing magnitude of tasks of long-term significance. It is imperative and possible to safeguard the present and future interests of our society in Party activity.

The working class is the social foundation of our Party. The working class is deeply aware of national interests and identifies itself with them; the ideals and principles of socialism are closer to it than to anyone else. By the nature of things, workers in major industrial centers constitute the mainstay of the Party. They have inherited the best traditions of class struggle and represent the highest political and industrial culture. In the past the importance of large industrial working-class centers has not always been appreciated. Today we realize better that the leading plants of our socialist industry and traditional working-class centers must become the principal bastions of socialism, centers forging the economic strength of Poland and schools of Party and social cadres.

In the past few decades the ranks of the working class have

considerably increased. It has absorbed large numbers of young people from all social strata, particularly from rural areas. Even now every fifth workman in Poland combines employment in industry with tilling his farmland. Hence the important task facing the Party, that of strengthening the political consciousness of the working class, of raising its young and new contingents to the level of the leading, highly-skilled and ideologically tempered proletarian cadre.

The social and production tasks we are pursuing make it imperative to ensure steady consolidation of the Party in rural areas. We must set our rural organizations higher tasks in the struggle to promote production and social progress.

Our Party commands an extensive influence among the intelligentsia, and should continue consolidating it. An overwhelming part of the intelligentsia comprises people who were brought up and educated in People's Poland, most of them of working-class and peasant origin, bound to socialism by their whole experience. The social role of the intelligentsia is growing. We will create for the intelligentsia good conditions for work and social activity. We will support all modern trends and creative ambitions moving it.

The most numerous generation of young people in the nation's history is now entering working age. We say to this young generation: We are your Party, we are building Poland for you, together with you. We wish you to grow up to the responsibility for our native country and share this responsibility already now.

We want to guarantee our young people a modern education, instil in them profound ideals and habits of honest work and discipline. We wish to develop their independence and initiative, and their desire for innovation. Thousands of our dedicated teachers and educators are called upon to contribute ever more actively to the formation of such attitudes among young people and establishment of their role in society. Such an educational model should determine the substance of their work and should help to create a platform of united effort among our youth organizations: the Socialist Youth League, the Rural Youth League, the Polish Scouts Union, the Polish Students Association and the Military Youth Circles.

Our Party directs socialist construction in cooperation with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, which recognize the leading role of our Party. An important factor mobilizing our nation's forces is the National Unity Front. It constitutes a platform for the broadest segments of the citizens of People's Poland to participate in socialist construction and political life. It is in the nation's interest to constantly strengthen the bonds between Party members and non-Party people. It has been and will continue to be the principle of our policy to stimulate the social activity of non-

Party members, keeping them informed, taking their opinions into account and entrusting them with responsible tasks and positions. The chief criterion for evaluating every citizen should be his work and civic attitude.

Consultations on basic socio-economic measures with the working people have become a feature of the political practice of the past year. The Party and the state authorities are determined to continue to perfect the system of consultations with the working class and the social groups concerned.

The program guidelines of our Party are being put into reality through the intermediary of the people's state which, in our conditions, fulfills the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee we clearly outlined the road leading to the improvement of our socialist state. The Party creates conditions in which the government executes its constitutional duties and rights and at the same time bears responsibility for their proper fulfilment. Our aim is to extend independence of the state and economic administration and, at the same time, to create conditions to assure more effective control of its activities.

The present stage in the country's socio-economic progress requires simultaneous consolidation of the representative and executive organs of state authority, and hence increased participation of the working people in government and control of the state apparatus, and improvement of the efficiency of this apparatus.

Proposals were made during pre-Congress discussions to advance the date of elections to the Sejm. There are good reasons to agree with these proposals. The Program which we are going to adopt at the Sixth Congress will have nationwide significance. We intend it to become a platform for the National Unity Front and to win nationwide acceptance in a general vote. Earlier holding of the elections would also give the future Sejm social authorization for essential changes in the Constitution and in the law on the People's Councils. It would also permit to increase the proportion of worker activists in the nation's supreme representative organ.

Our Party attaches great importance to improvement of the legal system and observance of socialist rule of law. We shall consolidate respect for the people's laws and civic duties. The state authorities should always act efficiently and in accordance with the law, displaying trust in the citizens and relying on their sense of social discipline and desire for law and order. It is the right of every citizen to have all matters concerning him dealt with promptly, without delays and red tape. Administrative bodies should function in such a way that everybody can regard them as his own and at the same time feel duty bound to support them by active

action and commitment. We must popularize and foster among the people the best traditions of our democratic culture, a lofty sense of national dignity, humanist moral values, readiness to fight wrong and to give help to others.

In the present conditions of socialist construction, the role played by trade unions is growing significantly. Guided by the principle of unity and interdependence of the interests of production and conditions of working people, trade unions should show special concern for systematic improvement in the working conditions of industrial employees understood in the broadest sense, and for satisfaction of their welfare and cultural requirements. In this respect, steps must be taken to enhance the role of workers' self-government and the primary trade union organs, which instil among the workers awareness of the direct relationship between living standards and the country's economic potential. From this point of view, the experience gained in 1971 by the trade unions and workers' self-government in effecting control over the just distribution of the bonus funds at enterprises and fulfilment of social tasks acquires great significance.

The need to effect changes in the country's administrative division was raised in the course of pre-Congress discussion. This urgent task at present is to raise the status and prerogatives of rural local government. This matter is ripe for decision.

Raising the standard of organization and the efficiency of management is imperative in our present stage of development. Correct selection and intensive training of management personnel is a fundamental condition. It is necessary to eliminate subjectivism from personnel policy, which must be based on such criteria as ideological and political attitude, professional knowledge, ability to give leadership to workers and organize their work.

We should rely on the independence and trustworthiness of management, simultaneously effecting just and thorough control and consistently requiring execution of responsibilities vested in them. A decision framed collectively must also unequivocally define personal responsibility for its execution.

The tasks facing us demand proper selection and promotion of staff capable of executing them and at the same time resolute discharging of people who do not meet the requirements made on them. Bad work and, all the more so, intentional neglect of one's obligations must entail removal from the position occupied. Simultaneously, favorable conditions must be assured to honest and sincere people leaving positions of responsibility because they are no longer capable of coping with the new responsibilities.

Correct leadership given to organs of state power by Party organs is based on the establishment of conditions in which leading mem-

bers of the state and administrative bodies would carry out their responsibility for effectuating the Party line and would be obliged to render account of their activities.

At present, the Party numbers over two million members. This is a great army of fighters for socialism. It has stood the test in difficult political ordeals and repeatedly proved its worth in practice. But we must always remember that the Party is a living political organism. In order to retain its ability to give leadership to the masses and remain in the forefront, the Party must constantly strengthen its ranks by admitting the finest representatives of workers, peasants and intellectuals and freeing itself of people incapable of coping with the responsibilities and duties of a Party member. We must demand a great deal of people admitted to the Party. We believe that the act of admission into the Party should be made more significant and solemn, in accordance with its meaning in one's personal life and in the life of the Party organization. Experience also confirms the importance of hearing the opinions of non-Party members about candidates for the Party.

Concern for the state of the Party ranks signifies primarily consistent implementation of the Party Rules in everyday life. We shall always demand that every Party member match his words by deeds. He must be a person with broad political horizons, a capacity for critical and self-critical assessment, considerate attitude to the problems of the working people, courage and perseverance in fighting wrong and a high sense of responsibility for fulfilment of the tasks of socialist construction.

In Leninist parties, the most important units are the primary Party organizations. Let every Party organization in its daily work create a socialist atmosphere of cooperation, honest endeavor and consideration in mutual relations and ideological commitment and dedication in public affairs. Let the word "comrade" always be a symbol of the highest ideological and humanist qualities.

Party activists influence the shaping of Party policy, link Party bodies with the primary organizations and make a great contribution to the country's development. Making fuller use of their activists, Party bodies should constantly renew their ranks and ensure that selection of activists is based on their real and tested ideological attitude and social authority. Proper functioning of the Party and the Leninist principles of its work depend on respect for the statutory role of elective Party organs and their members. The whole Party should see to it that only tested comrades are elected to Party organs, activists with high moral qualities and a high sense of responsibility for the Party and country.

The unity of the Party has gained a strong foundation in the unity of views which have taken shape in the course of the discus-

sions. This experience has borne out the conclusion that in the long run internal democracy in the life of the Party creates the conditions for the consolidation of its unity, while Party unity renders its democratic functioning possible. Observance of Lenin's teachings in this field is the basic guarantee that socialist development will be continued correctly, without serious errors or disruption.

During the pre-Congress discussion, the proposal was made that Party congresses should be so scheduled as to enable congress to assess the results of the five-year period. This proposal is worth considering.

In our time ideological struggle has become the broadest sphere of class struggle between the two systems, the socialist and the capitalist, between antagonistic classes, between the new and the old. This struggle is being waged for men's minds and attitudes. There has never been, nor will there ever be any truce in this battle.

There is still much that has been neglected in ideological work. There were many calls in the past to mount a socialist ideological and educational offensive. In practice, however, the life and activity of Party organizations were strongly influenced by narrow economic pragmatism. The teaching of Marxism-Leninism in the school system was curtailed, several Party schools were closed, and ideological vacillation, revisionism and opportunism were tolerated.

The Leninist policy now conducted by the Party creates the basic preconditions for an ideological offensive which we lacked in the past. The reality, the facts of 1971, consolidated the bonds of millions of Poles with the Party. They strengthened the conviction that faster progress in socialist construction was possible, and there is a better understanding of their own role in the development of their Motherland. This has created good conditions for a keener awareness of our tasks and development prospects, making it possible to combat more effectively reactionary views, conservative opinions and alien tendencies. This is a crucial and particularly responsible task for the ideological front and for our entire Party.

We should accelerate the development of Marxist-Leninist social sciences: consistently conduct an active cultural policy conducive to the broad development of the arts and the enrichment of the socialist content of Polish culture; strengthen throughout our entire society patriotic pride in Poland's social development, in the economic and cultural achievements of our people in the building of socialism. We shall strengthen the emotional ties linking us with our compatriots abroad, with the patriotic Poles living in other countries.

The newly elected Central Committee will thus be faced with the task of framing a more comprehensive program of ideological and educational work.

The coming years will require of our Party and of our entire nation great ideological firmness and political wisdom. We have difficult experiences behind us, we have great obligations. We state openly that keeping up with progress in the second half of the 20th century, building a just and prosperous life for all, ensuring security and a peaceful future—such are the tasks requiring the mobilization of all the energies of the nation.

We must mould social opinions and attitudes, values and ideological motivations to match these tasks.

We must value honest work above all else. This is the supreme value and the principal source of progress. We must therefore prize public-mindedness, efficiency, improvement of qualifications, respect for work and cooperation with others in the realization of the Party program. These attributes and qualities of human attitudes, displayed in daily affairs, represent the highest value and the only rational measure of ideological commitment and patriotism. The moulding of such attitudes in society is the supreme task of the press, books, cinema and television.

We must wage a stubborn struggle for making the most of the unique opportunity that socialism has given to Poland, for elevating our country to a higher level of material development and simultaneously enriching the ideological and cultural values of our nation. This is a struggle for our dignity and our future. At the same time this is a patriotic and socialist mission of our scientists, scholars, artists, teachers, journalists, the entire Polish intelligentsia. It will require great creative quests and Marxist-Leninist principledness, bold tackling of the problems posed by social development.

Thanks to socialism our motherland has taken among other nations a place which guarantees her independence and security and provides all the conditions necessary for all-round development.

In our international policy the key role is played by the fraternal relations with the Soviet Union. They provided the historical chance of reconstructing the Polish state within just and advantageous frontiers and constitute lasting guarantees of independence and security for the Polish nation. We link Poland's future with the strengthening of friendship, alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The prospects of Poland's further development, the possibility of realizing the basic aspirations our people, particularly of the younger generation, can fully materialize only within the frame-

work of cooperation with the Soviet Union and thanks to this cooperation. This is the supreme principle of our national policy. We are implementing it in a climate of friendship and brotherhood between the Polish people and the Russian people, with all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Our Party has profited from the extremely rich creative achievements of the 24th Congress of the CPSU in drawing up a program for the further socialist development of Poland for the present Congress.

The socialist community is in a process of continuous development. In the international cooperation of the countries of the socialist community the strengthening of mutual economic ties, the highest form of which is socialist economic integration, is coming to the fore. A great step forward in this direction has been the Comprehensive Program for expanding scientific and technical cooperation, co-production, and further deepening of the international socialist division of labor adopted at the recent 25th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Poland will, for her part, do everything to implement this program in a consistent way. Our country attaches great importance to strengthening bilateral relations with the fraternal socialist countries.

A key problem is the strengthening of the unity of the socialist community. It can be furthered by the deepening of the ideological ties uniting our parties, by the development of cooperation in all domains. A very valuable form today are the more frequent meetings of leading representatives of the parties and governments of the fraternal countries. We highly appraise the results of several meetings and talks held this year with leaders of the Soviet Union, as well as the results of the meetings held not long ago with the Party and government leadership of the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—our neighbors to the west and south. We are developing and strengthening relations of friendship and cooperation with Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania. We are satisfied with the favorable development of friendly relations with socialist Yugoslavia. Our Party also attaches great importance to the strengthening of cooperation with socialist countries outside Europe. Our relations with the Mongolian People's Republic are being constantly deepened. Our Party and the whole nation have warm feelings of brotherhood and solidarity with the heroic fighting people of Vietnam. We are striving for a further development of relations of friendship with the Korean People's Democratic Republic. We welcome the friendly cooperation with socialist Cuba.

Committed unflinchingly to the defense of the unity of the forces of socialism, our Party opposes all divisive tendencies, and espe-

cially the particularly dangerous fomenting of anti-Soviet nationalism and chauvinism. Anti-Sovietism, irrespective of the verbiage with which it is masked, is irreconcilable with the genuine struggle against imperialism. The cause of socialism is harmed by the Chinese leadership's splitting course, which is basically contrary to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The vital interests of socialism demand the abandonment of this course, and discontinuing all actions aimed against the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

Referring to the tense situation on the India-Pakistan border, E. Gierek said: We entertain warm sympathies for the nations of both India and Pakistan, and are deeply disturbed by the armed conflict on the Indian sub-continent. On many occasions we have already expressed our concern over the situation which arose in East Pakistan after the elections of December 1970 and forced 10 million people to leave their homeland and seek refuge on the territory of India, imposing on this country a grave responsibility and economic burden. This was bound to lead to dangerous social and political tensions in this region. We remain convinced that only a political settlement in East Pakistan meeting the aspirations and good will of the population of this country, can put an end to the present tragic bloodshed and terminate the conflict which is aggravating international tension.

In accordance with the line of our Party the Polish People's Republic is seeking all-round cooperation with the young states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which, struggling against the legacy of colonial policy and opposing neo-colonialist pressures, are becoming an important factor in the extending anti-imperialist front.

Poland supports the nations of the Arab countries in their striving to restore peace in the Middle East on the basis of the UN Security Council resolution of November 1967. We maintain and will develop fraternal contacts with revolutionary and progressive social forces—with Communists, revolutionary democrats and other fighters for independence and progress. We hail the achievements of these forces, particularly the success of the Left in Chile.

Peace and security meet the deepest interests of the peoples. This is the most important problem, particularly today when the threat to world peace is a nuclear threat. The Polish nation, mindful of its historic and still very recent experience, attaches the utmost importance to the problem of security and peace. In the international sphere, the alliance, fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community and Poland's active participation in the defensive Warsaw Treaty are the pillar of our security. On the internal plane, we base the building up of defense forces on the dynamic develop-

ment of the country's economic and scientific-technical potential, on the constantly growing cohesion and moral and political unity of society, on the strength and fighting preparedness of the Polish Army as a specialized arm in the defense of the country and an important link in the socialist defense community. We note with particular satisfaction that, in keeping with our possibilities and defense needs, both on the national scale and within the alliance, we possess a modern, efficiency organized, well-equipped and well-trained army.

The creation by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of the necessary defense potential reducing to nought the chances of the imperialist "policy from strength" and the consistent peaceful policy of our community are yielding positive results in international relations. Real conditions are arising for creating lasting security and peace and for the development of peaceful cooperation between nations on the basis of equality. Peaceful coexistence is the only foundation for such development of international relations.

The consolidation of peaceful coexistence meets the most vital interests of all nations of Europe. The new alignment of forces and the consistent policy of the socialist countries deprive the revanchist and militarist forces still active in the Federal Republic of Germany of the chance of altering the territorial and political status quo, which is the foundation of security in Europe. This was the basis of the treaties concluded last year between the Soviet Union and the FRG and Poland and the FRG, which provided conditions for normalization of relations in a region so important to peace on our continent. To finalize the matter, speedy ratification of these treaties by the Federal Republic of Germany is essential, which will also make possible effective implementation of the important four-power agreement on West Berlin. Also essential is the recognition, in accordance with international law, of the two sovereign German states—the GDR and the FRG—and their admission to the United Nations. Equally necessary is the regulation by the FRG of its relations with other European socialist countries.

This very important process of normalization in Central Europe constitutes an integral part of the struggle for détente, for lasting peace and the development of cooperation in the whole of Europe. Of crucial importance at present to the whole complex of European problems is the preparation and the earliest possible convocation—already in 1972—of the conference on security and cooperation proposed by the socialist countries. It is bound to open a new page in the joint efforts—by all the interested countries of Europe—to build a system of collective security and broad peaceful cooperation.

This goal is also served by our favorably developing bilateral relations with France and the Scandinavian countries. Our economic relations with Italy, Great Britain, Austria and other Western countries are also shaping up well. We wish to develop these relations further on the basis of peaceful coexistence and constructive cooperation.

The time is ripe for the Baltic countries to tackle in common the comprehensive regulation of the problems of shipping, fisheries and conservation of the waters of the Baltic, and at the same time to do their utmost to ensure lasting peace in this region. Poland is also in favor of framing principles of general economic cooperation in Europe, of tackling and solving in common such problems as the creation of a European infra-structure, protection of the natural environment, etc. Our country extends its full support to the important initiatives of the Soviet Union concerning the checking of the arms race, disarmament and the strengthening of international security.

We regard the propagation of the most noble humanist ideal created by man—internationalist awareness—as a great achievement and lasting goal for our Party in the education of our society. Marxism has given this ideal a new and pre-eminent value, the class solidarity of the exploited. Victorious socialism has extended the principles of internationalism to the mutual relations between states building socialism, creating foundations for their fraternal unity.

In mapping out the directions of Poland's action in the international arena, our Party attaches particular importance to the strengthening of the unity of the Communist movement and the whole anti-imperialist front. We are consistently carrying out the common program drawn up at the 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The international Communist movement is now going through a period in which the struggle for the purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism is acquiring ever greater significance for the cause of unity and the successful solution of specific tasks in the confrontation with imperialism, in the struggle for the progress of socialism. The cohesion and unity of the world socialist system and the international Communist movement is now, as in the past, a guarantee of success in the pursuit of common goals.

In the draft program presented to the Congress we have sketched a picture of Poland in the seventies. The implementation of this program is the concern of our whole Party, of the working class and all working people, of the whole Polish nation. Our whole nation wants to live a better and more prosperous life, it aspires to a speedier progress and rightly believes that the common creative endeavor of the people's minds and hands will bring ever greater

social benefits. These hopes and expectations must not be disappointed.

SPEECH* BY COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV

Dear Delegates to the Congress,
Dear Comrades, Friends and Brothers,

The delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union highly appreciates the opportunity of being present these days among our Polish friends, and of feeling the festive and, at the same time, businesslike atmosphere of the Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. Participation of fraternal Parties in the work of congresses always furnishes fresh experience because a Party Congress is the concerted expression of the life and struggle of the Communists of the given country.

Allow me, Comrades, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, on behalf of the 14,500,000 Soviet Communists and of all the working people of the Land of Soviets, to convey to your Congress, to all the Communists and the people of Poland, cordial and friendly greetings and best wishes for success in your great and responsible work.

These wishes express the profound and sincere feelings which Soviet people entertain for fraternal Poland. And that is not only because our countries are close neighbors, not only because of the kinship of their language and culture. The truth of the matter is that our friendship was literally forged by the great suffering of the working people of both countries. They preserved, defended and developed this friendship in difficult historical conditions, when the exploiting classes and rulers did everything possible, by their selfish policy, to sow discord and strife.

Our friendship was steeled in the flames of the liberation battles which the best representatives of both nations waged against the oppressors, for national and social freedom. The community of their goals was very aptly expressed more than 100 years ago by Alexander Ivanovich Herzen, the outstanding Russian writer and revolutionary. At the time of the Polish uprising against tsarist oppression, he wrote: "We are with Poland, because we are for Russia . . . We want independence for Poland, because we want freedom for Russia."

The class solidarity of the working people of Poland and Russia was elevated to a new stage as a result of the revolutionary

*Delivered December 7, 1971. *Pravda*, December 8, 1971.

struggle waged by the Communists, the activities of the great Lenin and his comrades-in-arms, among whom Felix Dzerzhinsky, the legendary knight of the Revolution, occupied an outstanding place.

The historic merit of our Parties lies in the fact that by their activities they strengthened Soviet-Polish friendship, imparted a new meaning to it, and united the effort of the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union in the struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism. It may be said that the Communists of both countries, with the ardor of their hearts and revolutionary convictions, made the flame of our friendship blaze with an unusually bright light. Is it surprising then that we all hold Soviet-Polish friendship so close and dear?

The workers, peasants and all working people in the countries of socialism have placed great trust in Communists, assigning to them the political leadership of society. This trust imposes a tremendous responsibility upon our Parties.

We Communists are responsible for the destinies of our country, for the correct course of socialist development, for the conditions of life of the people, for the socialist education of people, and especially of the youth, and for the security of our Motherland. To understand in time the objective requirements of society at a given stage, to find the best solution of urgent problems in good time, and to discover ways of overcoming the difficulties, as well as ways and forms of the most rapid progress—all these tasks fall to the ruling Communist parties.

These tasks are naturally not simple ones, just as the very objective of constructing a fundamentally new society is not simple, but even very complex. And they can be solved only on the basis of the great Marxist-Leninist teaching, proceeding from the laws of socialism tested by experience, by creatively applying and developing revolutionary theory in the conditions prevailing in one's own country, by relying on the support of all working people, and by advancing in united ranks with the fraternal countries of socialism.

The experience of history shows that individual omissions and errors, sometimes even grave ones, cannot be ruled out in the great cause of socialist construction. But the important thing is that they in no way stem from the nature of socialism as a social system, and not from its goals and main principles, but, quite the contrary, they arise in cases where a deviation from these principles, or some violation of them, has taken place. Therefore, the ability to self-critically assess one's activities and to draw the necessary practical conclusion is also one of the important forms of the struggle waged by the Communists for socialism, for

communism. It is the style of work which V. I. Lenin bequeathed to us.

When reading the Report of the PUWP Central Committee and listening to the program speech of the First Secretary of the Central Committee, one realizes with special clarity the long, complex and glorious road covered by your Party. Allow me to tell you, dear Comrades, that the Soviet Communists realize the full significance of the impressive achievements of the Communists and all working people of Poland in the development of socialist relations, and of a socialist economy and culture.

We respect the principled and courageous approach of the PUWP in rectifying the negative phenomena. We see very well the great and sincere concern for the interests of the working people, and for the constant strengthening of the ties with the working masses which is displayed by your Party and its Central Committee, headed by Edward Gierek, a true son of the Polish working class and our friend and comrade.

Dear friends, it has already been said here at the Congress that quite a few complex problems still face the Party in the economy and in ideology, in country and town. But we firmly believe that by maintaining its unshakeable loyalty to Leninism and by pursuing a clear, consistently revolutionary and realistic policy expressing the vital interests of the masses of working people, your Party will successfully cope with its tasks, and will live up to the trust of the Polish people.

The Polish Communist Party is a truly internationalist one, a large militant detachment of the international Communist movement. The CPSU delegation would like, from this high rostrum, and with a special feeling of gratitude to stress the significance of the vigorous activities of the Polish United Workers' Party directed towards the strengthening of the socialist community and towards the development of all-round cooperation between the socialist states. That is our common concern, comrades, and the concern of all fraternal countries and parties.

The questions of the further consolidation of the world system of socialism, and of unity of action of the socialist countries were in the center of attention of the 24th CPSU Congress. They were discussed in detail at the recent congresses of the Hungarian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, German and Mongolian Communists. We see that the same problems are also raised at your Congress. And that is only natural. This provides evidence that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Polish United Workers' Party, and the other fraternal parties promptly react to the demands of the time and actively work to secure and further develop the main line of development of world socialism—the trend towards unity and cohesion.

This is manifested in everything — in the coordinated policy in the international arena, in the energetic headway made in economic integration, and in the coordination of our efforts in the ideological field. This is vividly manifested also in the broad, mass-scale contacts between the Communists and the working people of fraternal countries, in the constant exchange of knowledge and the comparison of each other's experience and practical activities.

The lively and direct association of tens and hundreds of thousands of people, the builders of socialism and communism, has become a common practice for us. But this seemingly common practice has a very deep historic significance: this is how the foundation is laid for the future universal brotherhood of nations. We can say with a feeling of great satisfaction that by strengthening Soviet-Polish friendship, and assisting the further consolidation of cooperation between the countries of socialism, the Communists of Poland and the Soviet Union are making a considerable contribution of their own to this great cause.

Acting in close alliance with each other, the socialist countries exert a vigorous and ever growing influence on the course of world events. Engrossed in our everyday work, we sometimes even fail to realize how effective and broad this influence has become. It is great not merely because we are strong. Other important factors exist which compel people to heed our voice, whether they wish to or not. One of them is the principled nature and consistency of the foreign policy of the socialist community, which is close and understandable to the masses of people on all continents.

We need peace to build socialism and communism. All nations need peace. They do not want a repetition of the tragedy of a world war, which brought them innumerable sufferings and sacrifices. People do not want to perish, they do not want cities to be reduced to ruins, villages and hamlets to be burned. That is why the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union and Poland, and by all the fraternal countries of socialism, is a genuinely people's policy. We are for peace, for sparing the future generations the horrors of war. We employ our entire international prestige and our entire might for the achievement of this noble aim.

We have millions upon millions of allies in all countries in the struggle for peace. But we have no right to forget that there exist forces deeply inimical to the cause of peace. Therefore, the active peace-loving policy of our countries includes a resolute rebuff to the activities of the aggressive imperialist circles. We are convinced that the Polish people, just as the peoples of our country, understand very well that the socialist countries cannot pursue any other course.

The defensive alliance of the socialist countries was set up

here in Warsaw 16 years ago. We took this step with the sole aim of preventing a new war. It was a measure in response to the aggressive preparations of NATO, and to the attempt to talk to us in the language of force. All these years the Warsaw Treaty Organization has reliably served the peaceful interests of the fraternal countries, helping to turn the course of events in a direction more favorable for the nations. The combat fraternity of the Soviet Army, the Wojsko Polskie and the armed forces of other countries affiliated to the Warsaw Treaty is today also one of the more important factors which deter the aggressors, one of the factors which helps preserve peace.

The Communists of Poland, the USSR and other fraternal countries always remain true to their internationalist duty, whatever the trials. The mighty force of socialist internationalism is especially manifested during acute international crises, of which there were many in recent years.

Fulfilling our internationalist duty, we are rendering broad effective support to the courageous patriots of Vietnam in their struggle for freedom and independence, and against imperialist aggression. The Vietnamese people can always rely on the assistance of their friends on all fronts of this struggle — military, political and diplomatic. Carrying out their internationalist duty, the socialist countries do everything they can to frustrate the plans of the Israeli aggressors and their patrons, to help the Arab nations uphold their legitimate rights and to facilitate the establishment of a just peace in the Middle East.

No matter how hard bourgeois propaganda tries, and no matter who attempts to slander our policies, the nations of the world see more and more clearly and understand ever better that the combat solidarity of the socialist countries and their firm and irreconcilable position in respect to imperialist aggression and all forms of international banditry constitute one of the main bulwarks of the peace, security and freedom of the nations in our time.

Like all champions of the peace and freedom of nations, we learned with great sorrow about the military conflict which flared up a few days ago between the neighboring states in Asia, as well as about the events which generated this conflict — the bloody suppression of the fundamental rights and the clearly expressed will of the population of East Pakistan, the tragedy of 10,000,000 refugees. The Soviet Union is resolutely in favor of ending the bloodshed, and stands for the peaceful political settlement of the problems which have arisen there, taking into account the legitimate rights of peoples, without any interference by external forces, and for the creation of conditions conducive to a durable and just peace in that region.

Comrades, there have been no military conflicts in Europe for more than a quarter of a century. This in itself is a great achievement of the peace-loving states and a major gain of European nations. But this peace was not stable. Europe went through the fever of the "cold war." There were moments when the borderline between political struggle and a military clash became fragile and unstable. The security of nations demanded an end to the "cold war," and the elimination of its consequences. The socialist part of Europe worked precisely for that with all its energy.

We never thought, nor do we now, that a détente, cooperation and security in Europe could make headway without mutual efforts by both sides — East and West. The more realism the Western countries display in their policies, the broader will be our common opportunities to go on improving the situation in Europe, paving the way towards fundamental agreements for the benefit of European and international security. The development of the relations of the USSR, Poland and a number of other socialist countries with France offers an example of that. Another example is the turn in evidence in our relations with the FRG. One further illustration of that is the recent agreement on the problems of West Berlin.

The treaties of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic with the FRG, the four-power agreement on West Berlin; the elaboration of agreements by the GDR on the problems related to this with the FRG and the West Berlin Senate; the growing recognition of the necessity of the GDR and the FRG joining the United Nations, the settling of the problems existing between Czechoslovakia and the FRG, which, as we hope, will be achieved by the two sides — all this brings us to the close of the postwar period of European development. A beginning is now being made in Europe's transition to a new historical phase, which, we believe, will be highlighted by peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation. The all-European conference on questions of security and cooperation acquires special importance precisely at this turning-point.

This conference is called upon to secure the foundations of peaceful life on our continent. These foundations, in our opinion, are strict observance of the principles of the inviolability of the present borders, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, independence and the renunciation of the use of force or the threat of force. Quite recently the Soviet Union and France signed a document which expresses precisely this kind of approach to European affairs. In our opinion, all the states and nations of Europe would stand to gain if similar principles became the universally recog-

nized norm in international life throughout Europe. Surely, such a possibility deserves serious thought.

Incidentally, the next session of the Council of the North Atlantic bloc is to open in a few days in Brussels. The decisions taken by that session will make it possible to judge whether the NATO countries are really prepared to gear their practical actions to the will of all the European nations for peace, whether they are prepared to respond to our appeal for a lessening of international tensions and strengthening of mutual trust and European security. If they are willing to do so, then the best way to prove it would be, in conjunction with the other European states, to start practical preparations for an all-European conference, which, we think, could very well be convened already in 1972.

The positive changes which are taking place on the European continent naturally do not create any illusions among us Communists. We know very well that reactionary, militarist and revenge-seeking circles are still active in capitalist Europe. They would like by any means to occupy commanding positions in their countries and to try to throw Europe back to the times of the "cold war." All this makes it obligatory for us to exercise a high degree of vigilance and political activity. All this calls for the consistent carrying through of all those constructive undertakings and actions which promise to turn Europe into a continent of peace and good-neighborliness.

This, Comrades, is a matter of tremendous historic importance. It goes far beyond the framework of Europe proper in its influence on other regions and on the world situation as a whole. There is not the slightest doubt that a radical improvement of the political climate in Europe and the settlement of urgent European problems, including the reduction of armed forces and armaments, would be in the interests of entire mankind.

The fraternal Communist Parties give due credit to the efforts of the Polish United Workers' Party which throughout the postwar period has steadily and actively fought for the strengthening of European and international security, for the removal of the sources of the threat of war, for disarmament, and for the development of peaceful cooperation among nations. Resurrected Poland, socialist Poland, has taken a worthy place in world politics.

The times have forever passed when the Polish people had constantly to live in fear for their freedom and independence and for the integrity of their state. Today the inviolability of Polish borders is secured by the alliance of Poland with the USSR, the German Democratic Republic and other fraternal countries, and by the entire defense capacity of the Warsaw Treaty countries. Today, when the Polish people have irrevocably taken the road

of socialism and when they have joined the united family of the socialist countries, the freedom and independence of Poland are guaranteed completely and absolutely.

Dear Polish friends, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet people are now working to fulfil the decisions adopted by the 24th Congress of our Party. A few days ago we endorsed the current Five-Year Plan. Its main task lies in securing a considerable rise in the material and cultural standards of the people's life on the basis of high rates of development of socialist production, the raising of its effectiveness, scientific and technical progress, and the accelerated growth of labor productivity. Our economic development plan is orientated also towards the further expansion of the economic cooperation of the USSR with Poland and with all fraternal countries.

The successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan will call for much work, good organization and discipline. The working people of our country realize this very well. They ardently and completely support the course of their Leninist Party. We are convinced that we shall cope with the tasks set, and shall make a new considerable step forward on the road of Communist construction.

Dear comrades, the delegation of the CPSU has no doubt that the sixth PUWP Congress will become an important milestone in the socialist development of Poland, and will make its contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. We wish you great successes in the construction of socialist society, in the further development of industry, in the raising of the people's well-being, and in the fulfilment of your plans for socio-economic development. We wish happiness and prosperity to the entire Polish people.

We are convinced that the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia of Poland, led by their Marxist-Leninist vanguard, will assure the complete triumph of socialism in all fields!

Long live the Polish United Workers' Party, the inspirer and organizer of the construction of socialist society in your country!

May the fraternal friendship of the Communists of our countries and the firm alliance of the nations of Poland and the USSR gather strength and prosper!

Long live peace throughout the world!

Long live Communism!

FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

RESOLUTION* OF SIXTH CONGRESS OF PUWP

The Sixth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, expressing the will of the Polish people and their sense of responsibility for the further peaceful progress of our socialist country, reaffirms Poland's resolute effort towards building a Europe based on the security, cooperation and peaceful coexistence of nations. Poland's position and policy, which are inspired by this, have for years been known to world opinion and the governments of all countries. Our policy flows from the socialist principles of our social system, the historical experience of our people, who have shed much of their blood, and their vital interests and innermost aspirations.

To promote peace and cooperation in Europe now and in the future is a duty of the peoples and a responsibility of governments. We Communists have assumed this responsibility. We bear it in common with the Soviet Union, which plays, together with other fraternal countries of the socialist community, the decisive role in the fight for peaceful cooperation among nations.

We seek this goal together with the Communist parties of Europe, as was confirmed in the statement of the Karlovy Vary conference and in other collective documents. Furthermore, we cooperate with all peace-loving and realistic-minded forces of our continent.

The socialist countries' consistent policy and united action made it possible to preserve peace in Europe for over a quarter of a century, and opened the prospect of lasting peace and extensive cooperation on our continent. A factor for this is the activity of progressive and peace-loving forces, as well as the realistic policy of numerous European countries.

The cold war in Europe is giving way to a climate of détente and cooperation. An important process of normalizing relations has set in in Europe. It has been, and is, based on recognition of the invariability and inviolability of the post-war frontiers of our continent. Of fundamental importance in this respect are the treaties signed between the Soviet Union and FRG and between the Polish People's Republic and FRG in 1970. They made it possible to reach a four-power agreement on West Berlin, as well as agreements between the governments of the GDR and FRG and between the GDR government and West Berlin Senate.

Thus all prerequisites were created for moving on to a new stage in building a Europe of peace, security and cooperation.

*Trybuna Ludu, December 12, 1971.

It is essential that the FRG ratify the treaties signed by it with the Soviet Union and Poland at an early date and that the negotiations between Czechoslovakia and the FRG be brought to a successful close, which depends on the FRG recognizing the Munich agreement null and void from its inception. Also needed are international recognition of the two German states—the GDR and FRG—their admission to the UN and the establishment of relations between them accordingly to international law.

We consider the early convocation of a general European conference on security and cooperation in Europe vastly important. The idea of holding this conference enjoys universal support among the peoples of Europe and most of the governments concerned. Now is the time to proceed to active and multilateral preparations for the conference, with a view to convening it in 1972. The recent Warsaw Meeting of Foreign Ministers launched a relevant appeal to all the European countries concerned on behalf of the Warsaw Treaty states.

All conditions are there for the general European conference to become an event of importance to Europe and to closer relations based on security and cooperation. The conference can and should go a long way towards setting up a system binding the European countries to rule out the use, or the threat of using, force, a system assuring respect for the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and independence of all countries.

Our main object is to bring into a being a general European system of collective security making it possible to end the division of our continent into military and political alignments. The purpose of our foreign policy is to provide conditions for multilateral and friendly cooperation among the countries and peoples of Europe on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

We declare for evolving the principles of economic, scientific and technological cooperation on an equal footing, as well as cooperation in other fields without any discrimination whatever. We consider that an effort must be made on a European scale to protect the natural environment and to plan and develop the infrastructure on our continent. We support constructive ideas of bringing the peoples closer together, overcoming existing prejudices and creating a climate of cooperation and of responsibility for the future.

In terms of attaining these objectives, it would also be important to extend cooperation by concluding long-term bilateral agreements making it possible to foster mutual economic, scientific and technological relations, effect exchanges in the sphere of culture and tourism and maintain political contacts.

There is also a need to solve, on a regional scale and a multi-lateral basis, the problems arising from present-day development. It is high time for the Baltic countries to do all in their power to safeguard peace in the region and at the same time to make joint efforts toward settling problems of shipping, fishing, and protecting the waters of the Baltic Sea.

We will develop our relations with all countries. We will continue steadfastly to repel all the cold war, revenge-seeking and militarist forces that continue to put up resistance, lay new plans aimed at maintaining the division of Europe and poison the international climate. We will support all that serves peace and cooperation. We will continue to seek an end to the arms race and strive for the deliverance of the peoples from its burden, nor will we relax our efforts towards disarmament. This is the future that we hope will be Europe's in the seventies. We want to build such a Europe for the younger generation of the Polish people and other peoples of our continent.

Our Party, working in common with other Communist parties, and People's Poland, working in common with other socialist countries, primarily in a spirit of friendship, alliance and cooperation with the Land of Soviets, will do all in their power to make the idea of peaceful progress in Europe a reality. To achieve this goal, we will cooperate with all peace forces and all countries sharing our concern for the future of Europe and prepared jointly to establish lasting peace, security and cooperation on our continent.

DUSSELDORF CONGRESS OF GERMAN CP

REPORT OF GCP EXECUTIVE PRESENTED BY GCP CHAIRMAN KURT BACHMANN

The period under review, the speaker said, is characterized by the successful struggle for peace, democracy and socialism going on all over the world. The socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, have still further strengthened their might. The peoples have scored new major successes in their anti-imperialist struggle. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries is on the upsurge.

Our Congress, Kurt Bachmann said, has convened at a time when, as a result of changes in the world balance of forces, a possibility of a turn and new prospects of détente and security have arisen in Europe. Under the treaties signed in Moscow and Warsaw, the Federal Government has for the first time recognized the inviolability of frontiers, including the western border of Poland and the state border between the GDR and the FRG. Of vast importance, too, is the four-power agreement on West Berlin.

Our Party's consistent effort to achieve recognition of the political realities in Europe, against the nationalistic and anti-communist propaganda of the reactionary circles has in no small measure contributed to the creation of internal prerequisites that have made possible the signing of the treaties between the FRG and the USSR and Poland.

The recent developments have fully confirmed the fact that the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community are the most important factor of historical progress and the main force in the fight against imperialism. The program of peace adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU has left its imprint on the entire world politics. We are glad to see how this program is being implemented step by step. We welcome all these steps and express our gratitude to the Soviet Union, for its moves meet the interests of our people, too. Of great significance also is the constructive contribution made by the GDR in pursuance of the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The changing world balance of forces compels imperialism to adapt itself to the new conditions and reckon with the realities. But the more reactionary faction of monopoly capital, the nationalistic and revenge-seeking quarters in the FRG with the CDU-

CSU in the lead are frantically opposing the efforts to reduce tensions in Europe.

The GCP issues a proposal from this Congress to all democratic and peace forces of the country to launch a joint struggle for effectuation of further moves in the interest of peace. Ratification by the Bundestag of the FRG's treaties with the USSR and Poland without further delays and reservations is a most important and pressing problem. The need is for the FRG's constructive participation in the preparations for the all-European conference. The time is ripe for the FRG and GDR to become members of the UN. On the order of the day is the question of normal relations between the two German states on the basis of the generally recognized norms of international law.

The GCP is working for peace in Vietnam, for withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina, for a political settlement of the Middle East conflict.

Class contradictions in the country are growing more acute. Crisis phenomena are multiplying in the FRG economy. The GCP Chairman then set forth a comprehensive program of struggle in defense of the workers' vital interests. He emphasized that the Party is striving for a deep-going democratic reconstruction of the state and society and for an end to the domination of monopoly capital. The GCP is not only fighting for a democratic renovation of society and for socialism, but also shows a scientifically-grounded and realistic way to achieving this goal.

We are often asked about the GCP's attitude towards the Social-Democrat government. Our position which we have stated from the outset and to which we will adhere in the future is support for the positive measures of the government serving to promote a realistic foreign policy and opposing the designs of the nationalistic and reactionary quarters. But we shall come out against all steps by the government which run counter to the interests of the working people.

Comrade Bachmann resolutely censured the anti-communist campaign in the FRG, emphasizing that the lifting of the ban on the CPG, the basis for attacks on the democratic and socialist forces in the FRG, remains a pressing requirement.

Much space in the report was devoted to working-class unity. The GCP will continue to advocate joint action by Communists and Social-Democrats in the fight for the interests of working people and for peace. Comrade Bachmann dealt with the work of the GCP among the farmers, the intelligentsia and especially among the youth.

On the whole, he said, the Party is developing successfully. Since the last, Essen Congress, its membership has increased by

13,000, mainly due to the influx of young members. The GCP membership now is 33,400. Comrade Bachmann noted the need for raising the level of the Party's ideological and organizational work.

Since its formation, the GCP, guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, has been a firm and inalienable component of the world Communist movement.

At this Congress, we rearm the conclusion of the International 'Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: "The defense of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists." We resolutely condemn the great-power chauvinism and anti-Sovietism of the Chinese leadership, which are a serious obstacle for the further consolidation of the unity of the socialist states and the world Communist movement.

The GCP is linked by indissoluble bonds with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU is the strongest and most experienced Communist Party, a party which is consistently and creatively carrying on the cause of Lenin.

Close fraternal relations exist between the GCP and the SUPG, leading the first socialist state on German soil.

In conclusion Comrade Bachmann expressed confidence that the German Communist Party has all the prerequisites to solve successfully the task facing it in the fight for peace, progress and socialism.

A report on the results of the discussion of the draft GCP Congress theses, "The GCP Versus Big Capital. For Peace, Democratic Progress and Socialism," was presented by GCP Deputy Chairman Herbert Mies.

The discussion of the theses opened in June has confirmed anew that the GCP is a party of the working class. The theses were discussed at more than 3,000 Party meetings and conferences, at hundreds of public forums, at enterprises and universities.

The principled support given at these meetings and conferences for the political, ideological and organizational principles of the Party was an expression of the growing strength, unity and cohesion of the Party.

The Party's principled "Yes" to the theses means an emphatic "No" to all attempts of our adversaries to divert the Party from its clear-cut path based on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and determined by consistent internationalism. The GCP is closely linked with the world Communist movement and other anti-imperialist forces. The theses stress the importance of the peace program adopted at the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The discussion fully revealed the significance of the new posi-

tive developments in the world, in Europe and in the Federal Republic of Germany. They open up for the forces of peace and socialism, including the GCP, new opportunities and at once require a new approach to a number of problems. A more differentiated approach to the positive aspects of the foreign policy of the government headed by Social-Democrats, may help accentuate these aspects and provide the required starting point for the GCP to continue its constructive efforts in behalf of joint action by Communists and Social-Democrats. The GCP does not view the main parties of big capital — the CDU and CSU — as being a homogeneous whole, but holds that certain contradictions are intensifying in them. The GCP, therefore, does not propose to bar its road to the workers united in them.

H. Mies dealt at length with problems of the struggle for a democratic renovation of state and society. Basic to the GCP's class struggle is the desire to alter the balance of political forces in the country in favor of the working class, peace, democratic progress and socialism. We are well aware that, though some imposing results have been achieved, much still remains to be done.

The growth of the attractive power of socialist ideas has evoked a lively discussion of the problems of socialism in the FRG as well. New opportunities have appeared for socialist propaganda. But at the same time it is necessary to step up the ideological struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against the spread of all manner of pseudo-socialist theories of Right and "Left" variety. We must clearly dissociate ourselves from anti-Soviet "Socialism" peddled by the ultra-Left Maoist forces.

We shall work untiringly for joint action of the working class, for an alliance of all anti-monopoly, democratic movements.

The Congress elected a new Executive and other leading bodies. Comrade Kurt Bachmann was re-elected Chairman and Herbert Mies, Deputy Chairman of the GCP.

NEW COURSE

Seven main propositions* are the basis for a real new course for Britain, Mr. Gollan said. They are:

1. There can be no decisive change unless the domination of the economy by the great trusts is ended. Taking over these big firms acquires new urgency.

But we need a new type of nationalization, with measures of workers' control, democratic direction, and a slashing of compensation.

2. Radical steps to overcome the social crisis. The right to work; a 35-hour week; an offensive wage strategy; no incomes policy, and equal pay.

Pensions, social benefits and social expenditure should be increased, along with crash programs on housing, education and health, and defeat of the Tory Rent Bill.

3. A three per cent wealth tax; an increased profits tax; halving the arms bill; reduction in bank rate and interest charges; increased public investment and reduction in investments abroad.

4. As a consequence of these and associated measures, a far-reaching program to guarantee work and achieve a high rate of economic growth.

5. A complete change in foreign policy. Instead of Common Market entry, an end to all blocs and an all-European Security Conference and all-European economic, technical and social co-operation; withdrawal of British troops abroad and a comprehensive program of disarmament; an end to support for the U.S. war in Vietnam; a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland and withdrawal of British troops.

6. An extension of democracy, repeal of the Carr Act and the Immigration Act; electoral reform including proportional representation; democratic reorganization of education; granting of women's rights and democratic access to TV and the mass media.

7. Improve the quality of life, and a bold policy on pollution, conservation and the environment.

*Morning Star, November 16, 1971.

EMERGENCY RESOLUTION*

The emergency resolution on Ireland said:

—As a first immediate step, withdraw the troops from the non-

*Morning Star, November 15, 1971.

Unionist areas, and repression of the democratic forces.

—End internment, release all political prisoners and detainees.

—Parliament to enact a Bill of Rights introducing democratic liberties, ending discrimination, the Special Powers Act and Stormont's ability to repress and intimidate.

—Disarm the Right Wing armed forces and rifle clubs, prohibit their re-establishment.

—Introduce proportional representation, and electoral discrimination and gerrymandering.

—Speedily withdraw British troops.

ANTI-SOVIETISM

This 32nd National Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain condemns the Tory Government's expulsion of 105 Soviet Embassy and trade officials. Coming within a few days of the Four Power Berlin Agreement this was clearly a calculated attempt to revive the cold war and sabotage the hopeful steps towards detente in Europe.

Never in all the sordid history of anti-Soviet scares, fabrications, and frame-ups, has there been one so disgraceful or so lacking in credibility.

Increasingly the Tory Government stands out as the major obstacle to the convening of a Conference on European Security, Trade and Co-operation.

The agreement on Berlin has opened the door to such a Conference. The spy-scare is the Tories answer. Its aim—to sabotage the European Security Conference and to hold up the ratification of the Berlin Agreement and the Moscow-Bonn and Warsaw-Bonn Treaties.

It is the Tory Government with its dangerous cold-war policy which is the real threat to the security of the British people.

This Congress demands an end to the government's anti-Soviet campaign and actions. It welcomes the important initiative of the Soviet Union for the relaxation of tension in Europe, for peace in the Middle East, and for world disarmament. It calls on the British labor movement to exert all its efforts to extend friendly relations between the British and Soviet people. Improved relations, increased trade and better understanding between our two peoples is in the interests of Britain and would be a contribution towards safeguarding world peace.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF FRENCH CP

(November 20-21, 1971)

REPORT* BY ANDRE VIEUGUET, POLITBUREAU MEMBER
AND SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, FCP

The results achieved since the last conference on Party activities at enterprises, held on November 18-19, 1961 in Gennevilliers, were highly appraised at seminars on February 22 and 23, 1969, held in Bagneux. There were 3,800 factory Party cells by the end of 1961, today there are 5,200. Party influence in the industrial centers has increased. The Party propaganda among the masses has improved, notably due to the numerous newspapers published at the large industrial enterprises. Factory cells have been more active in preparing and organizing economic and political struggles in the past years.

Today, the system of state-monopoly capitalism keeps the scientific-technical revolution within the limits set by the egoistic drive for maximum profits. The government and the big employers are attempting to distract attention from the real cause for the crisis, claiming that "... all Frenchmen are responsible because they want to live beyond their means."

In actual fact, however, this is a crisis of the entire society in which the economic, social, political, ideological and moral aspects are interconnected. We are in a situation in which an ever growing number of French people already understand or will soon understand that they will not obtain profound improvement in their destinies as long as money rules in national life. The desire is growing among the people to put an end to such a situation.

Hence, it is the task of the working class and all working people to effect deep-going democratic and anti-monopoly transformations opening the way to socialism. It is imperative that the course be changed.

To bring France to socialism, the only social system capable of providing for the growing material and spiritual needs of all members of society—such is the goal of the French Communist Party.

We believe that to build a socialist society it is necessary to abolish capitalist ownership and introduce collective ownership of the main means of production. It is necessary to assure political rule for the working class and its allies, to transfer to the working

*L'Humanité, November 22, 1971.

people, to all the people the management of their affairs at all levels.

We must work tirelessly to explain the meaning of socialism, because the falsifications circulated by the big bourgeoisie on this score, the theses of various "reformers" and illusions bred by reformist ideas, are rather widespread. The indispensable revolutionary transformation of society will be the result of a movement of the majority of working people.

Andre Vieuguet outlined the basic proposals contained in the FCP program for a Popular Unity Democratic Government, stressing its significance and pointing out that henceforth the program must become an essential instrument of Communist activities.

An analysis of the development of the large-scale capitalist enterprises in recent years inevitably shows a vast concentration of the financial power of a small group of capitalists heading the largest enterprises and an obvious broadening of their privileges.

The interdependence between the monopolies and the state is growing, uniting monopoly power and state power into a single mechanism. The growing number of multi-national companies accentuates the cosmopolitan nature of the power of the big bourgeoisie and weakens independence and national sovereignty. The political power of big capital, however, is not dispersed, but rather is concentrated, becoming more authoritarian and increasingly harmful to the interests of the people and the country.

The working class is growing. The role of the largest industrial enterprises in national life is expanding on a par with the role of large urban centers, leading to a stronger social and political role of the working class.

Numerous facts support the correctness of the idea contained in the draft resolution, which says: "Opportunities are increasing for an alliance between the working class and other sections of the working people." They do not increase spontaneously, although objective conditions for this are favorable. The monopoly bourgeoisie are doing all in the power to retard and prevent the formation of such an alliance.

We shall be more successful if we bring our government program to the knowledge of millions of working people and if we put it up for their discussion. They will surely appreciate its significance, the grand view opened up by it and the deep national feelings permeating all its proposals.

With all working people, the Communists are striving to organize the struggle for economic demands, with special attention to the needs of those categories whose living and working conditions are particularly hard.

Communists attach importance to trade union work at enter-

prises. Working actively in the General Confederation of Labor (GCL), a big class and mass trade-union organization, they respect its Rules and independence. Together with affiliated comrades holding differing views, they work to protect the interests of all categories of working people and strengthen their organization and unity. They are also active in other professional and democratic organizations, of which they are members.

The Party supports the trade union struggle in defense of economic and social demands, for the exercise and extension of trade union rights at enterprises. At the present time we support the joint action by the GCL and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor for the right to retire at 60, for higher pensions and improved living conditions for pensioners.

There are more pressing reasons today for the working people to act in unity, on a broad scale and resolutely not only to protect themselves from government arbitrariness, force it to retreat and grant immediate advantages and rights, but also to put an end to the present policy and the present regime in order to impose profound changes, which would accelerate the establishment of a truly new society, a socialist society.

It is significant that during the meetings between our Party and the GCL, the FDCL (the first official conference on this level) and the National Federation of Education Workers, the question of prospects for socialism in France was the subject of discussion. This is confirmation that the aspirations for socialism are spreading, that the changes necessary to open the way to socialism are henceforth on the order of the day.

That is why it is our duty to state that the French Communist Party will fulfil its responsibilities in today's political struggle to change the course of the government and the regime.

The ideologues of anti-Communism can no longer deny, as they did in the past, the tremendous economic and social achievements of the socialist countries. Now they have turned to the so-called "convergence" theory claiming that the development of the capitalist countries and the development of the socialist countries will gradually "converge." Everything is reduced to methods of management, independent of the social regime.

An objective observation of the facts shows, however, that unemployment is a chronic ailment of the capitalist system. It is one of the means used to multiply capitalist profits. In spite of the compensation won through battle or changes in employment, which are not guaranteed, it always entails a worsening of living conditions. Unemployment in France is one of the biggest problems causing concern for the morrow, and this is especially true of the youth.

In the USSR no one is forced to sit and wait for employment,

while a change in work caused by scientific-technical progress, thanks to the socialist system, is carried out in the interests of the working people and society as a whole, where the working people have become masters by abolishing capitalism.

Anti-communism is encouraged in our country in order to prevent the formation of an anti-monopoly front round the united working class.

The maneuvers of the "reformers" and their enticing appeals to the non-Communist Left forces are a reflection of the difficulties facing big capital, but they cannot lead to a policy which would, for example, show greater concern for the interests of the middle strata. There does not exist a "center" policy.

In order to put an end to the present regime, however, it is not sufficient to attack the ideology and policy of the big employers and the government. What is needed is consolidation of working-class unity, a stronger union of the working class and democratic forces, a popular union. For this union to be truly a union of all the people, it must be concluded with the participation of the people and in their interests. It will be effective only if it is based on a joint program of struggle and the program of the Popular Unity Democratic Government. It will be viable only if it strives to change the policy and system in favor of the people and France's socialist future.

For this reason the union must reject class collaboration with the big bourgeoisie or any compromise with those in its employ. It was with this conviction we addressed the Socialist Unity Congress last June with a proposal to continue our discussions on a common program, based on the results of our negotiations in 1970.

It is well known that we propose involving the trade unions in elaborating the common program on the condition that they concern themselves with problems which, in their view, are within their competence.

At a time when the problem of shaping the working people's awareness is becoming of decisive significance, our Party believes itself duty bound to invigorate the ideological and political struggle against all ideas and positions of class collaboration, for the progress of scientific revolutionary ideas.

French successes in the struggle for unity depend not only on the top level negotiations among the leadership, even if such negotiations are beneficial and necessary. They depend primarily on progress in consolidating unity of the people. Actually, as we have pointed out on numerous occasions, in order to elaborate a common program with a progressive social content it is imperative that this content become the demand of the broad masses. For our part, we shall support such a demand by widely popularizing the ideas and

proposals contained in the program of the Popular Unity Democratic Government.

Party efforts should be channeled in five directions:

1. To improve the work and stimulate the political activity of the 5,200 Party cells at enterprises and educational establishments;
2. To bring the political proposals to the workers at large industrial enterprises, areas with a high concentration of salary earners in the larger cities in order to establish one or several new Party cells;
3. To find new methods of preparing and rapidly promoting a greater number of workers and employees and salary earners at large enterprises to executive Party posts;
4. To maintain constant contacts with the working youth at factories, building sites, in offices and shops;
5. To prepare meetings in 1972 for issuing Party membership cards and to organize continuous recruitment of new members with the aim of realizing popular unity in line with the program and for its achievement.

Material conditions exist in the country today for building a socialist France. Through the program of the Popular Unity Democratic Government we can help millions of mental and manual workers and salary earners realize the necessity for profound democratic transformations which must be prepared and implemented in order to open the way to socialism.

Inspired by this prospect, our national conference can and must promptly and powerfully stimulate the political struggle at the enterprises, the struggle for our ideas, impart to it a more offensive spirit and accelerate the drive to win new and dynamic forces to our side.

SOLIDARITY WITH INDOCHINA*

President Nixon's recent speech reaffirms his policy in Indochina, i.e., to impose his conditions on the peoples of Indochina.

The White House has made it clear that a mass troop withdrawal will take place, but in 1972 there will still be 140,000 troops there, which is four times the 1965 figure. Besides, Nixon intends to continue the war, proclaiming that a "residual personnel" of 40,000 to 60,000 troops will be left in South Vietnam. Aid to the puppet regime in Saigon has been increased, and the machinery of reprisal has been strengthened. Bombings of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have been stepped up. Ignoring existing agreements, Nixon

*Resolution adopted by the French Communist Party Conference on November 21, 1971. *L'Humanité*, November 22.

threatens to increase bombing of the DRV at a time when the country is healing the wounds inflicted by the devastating summer floods. The American death machine is operating at full capacity. At the same time, Nixon blocks all serious Vietnam talks in Paris.

His speech, therefore, is a sign that the aggressive war will be continued intensively. The so-called Vietnamization of the conflict appears in its true light as a deceptive maneuver ill-disguising the true aims of American imperialism—to enforce a neo-colonialist regime, in particular in South Vietnam, mislead public opinion, divide and weaken the peace forces.

Nixon, however, is not able to hide the difficulties he is faced with. The large-scale military operations in Lower Laos, south of the DMZ and in Cambodia have failed. The patriotic forces have cut off Phnom Penh from the rest of the country, Thieu is isolated more than ever and the opposition movement is spreading throughout South Vietnam.

Nixon will not be able to continue rejecting the just proposals advanced by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and supported by the government of the DRV. These proposals stipulate:

A cease-fire. It could be effected promptly, the minute Nixon sets an early date for a troop withdrawal. This would be accompanied by liberation of POWs.

Formation of a Government of National Accord. It could be formed in South Vietnam if the United States stopped supporting the Nguen Van Thieu clique. This government could deal with the problem of the South Vietnamese Armed Forces and prepare for free and democratic elections. These problems can and should be solved by the Vietnamese themselves, with respect for the peoples' right to independence and national sovereignty.

The National Conference of the FCP appeals to all the people of France to continue tirelessly to broaden the movement in support of the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, to increase their material and political support.

In particular, the Conference appeals for support of the initiative of the French Peace Movement and to participate actively in carrying it out.

These diverse actions organized in broadest unity will decisively promote the success of the World Conference to be convened in February 1972.

Let us increase the struggle to force the Nixon administration:

—to effect an early and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. and allied troops from Indochina;

—to hold serious negotiations on the basis of the seven-point program advanced at the Paris talks by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

SIXTH PLENUM OF CC BRAZILIAN CP

The Central Committee of the CP Brazil recently met in plenum. This was the second meeting of the CC in 1971, showing that in spite of brutal reprisals Party organizations are functioning throughout the country.

The CC analyzed a number of problems having political significance for all Party members in their work and notably for broadening and consolidating the established mutual understanding and alliance with other political and social forces and trends opposing the military dictatorship, working for its overthrow and the establishment of a democratic regime in the country.

The discussions focused on the socio-political and economic situation in the country. The CC examined the state of the national economy, its development and motive forces, Brazil's growing dependence on the international monopolies and financial organizations, in particular American imperialism. First, the CC ascertained that the country's foreign debt, already exceeding \$5.7 billion, is growing from year to year. Second, the CC analyzed the position of working people in town and country, noting that their wages were below the purchasing capacity required to compensate for the constantly rising prices on prime necessities and to avoid poverty. The result is that the home market is shrinking daily, preventing the country's genuine development. Third, the CC analyzed the country's foreign policy, which follows the diktat of Yankee imperialists who are turning Brazil into the gendarme of Latin America. This was the case in Bolivia where the Brazilian gorillas acted as the U.S. imperialist puppets in the reactionary coup against the Juan Torres government.

The CC Plenum also examined the development of opposition to the military dictatorship. The struggle of the working people in town and country against repression and the government wage policy is broadening; the Catholic church is constantly protesting against torture and reprisal employed by the police and against the terror of special groups which physically liquidate all who oppose the regime; in spite of the threats, the Parliamentary opposition continues its work in the legislative bodies; protests by students and intellectuals against censorship and other forms of pressure are also mounting; there is growing solidarity with political prisoners and their families.

In line with the political resolution of the Sixth Congress stating that the "defeat of the military-dictatorial, reactionary and traitorous regime would be possible only through the struggle of the

masses brought together in a united front," the Plenum of the CC CPB again stated: "The struggle against the dictatorship is a conflict in which all the anti-dictatorial forces are interested. A broad anti-dictatorial front includes various social and political forces and consists mainly of workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie in towns. The working class is the main motive force of the united front." Proceeding from the resolution on struggle against the dictatorship, our main goal is to help the consolidation of a powerful opposition bloc. Our political line provides for the Party to work for unity of all trends opposing the dictatorship. This does not imply unity among the leaders entering into agreements with one another, it implies general unity and, particularly, united action by the masses generated in their midst. "United Front activity," says the resolution, "is activity by the entire Party, all its organizations and all Communists."

Such is Party orientation in mobilizing all Communists.

United action against the military dictatorship finds concrete expression in the working people's struggle for their rights and in defense of these rights, in the struggle against measures of reprisal, such as the 1968 government ordinance No. 5, which actually annuls all civil rights and guarantees. United action is also achieved through defending the rights and interests of working people in the villages, the students, intellectuals, etc.

An important aspect of mobilizing the masses in a united front is participation in the 1972 municipal elections. In spite of serious limitations, this election campaign could facilitate the consolidation of forces opposing the dictatorship, above all by drafting a common platform, winning over the voters, stepping up propaganda, etc. The Party should also step up its activities in support of direct election of governors and the President and for democratization of the 1974 parliamentary elections. Mass participation in the elections should be achieved under the banner of unitarian anti-dictatorial programs and struggle against the reactionary, traitorous policy of the dictatorship.

The CC Plenum also examined the organizational structure of the Party and noted an increase in Party membership and in the number of primary organizations. The Plenum resolution on this question says in part: "The successful realization of political directives calls for stronger Party organization, which can be achieved only if we are successful among the masses and participation in the struggle for their rights and urgent demands, including the most elementary." The Party must more promptly effect the plans for building up the Party organization, and this requires more energetic educational work among rank-and-file Party members and cadres.

The CC Plenum also adopted several decisions on a campaign to expose the regime's notorious "impact" plans, which are intended to mislead the people by playing up "great achievements" at a time when inflation is spreading and buying power is dropping. The resolution says: "To impose a policy of development favoring imperialism and the privileged minority ruling the country, the military dictatorship in Brazil, faced with the growing opposition of the people, is attempting to hoodwink them and win their support for the dictatorship with the aid of the so-called 'impact' plans."

The resolution outlines the measures to be taken to counter these plans. The Party is striving to make the most of the conditions already created by these plans and the possibilities that will arise in future. The Party calls on the masses "to demand fulfilment of some of the promises contained in the plans."

Lastly, the Plenum decided to step up the fund collecting campaign and broaden preparations for the Party's 50th anniversary in March 1972.

The meeting outlined tasks in improving the theoretical education of Party members, developing the Party and especially in drafting the theses for the Seventh Party congress.

Convening the plenum in conditions existing in Brazil shows the vitality of the Party and its ability to consolidate groups opposing the dictatorship, mainly the workers.

COMMUNIQUE OF EXTENDED MEETING OF POLITBUREAU OF PEOPLE'S PARTY OF PANAMA

The Politbureau of the People's Party of Panama held an extended meeting to discuss the political situation in the country, our relation to the world revolutionary process and norms governing them, and organizational measures in regrouping the leadership in line with instructions of the Fifth National Congress held in September, 1968.

Many other problems were also dealt with during the discussion and diverse assessments were made of the situation in Panama. The Marxist-Leninist analysis demonstrated complete unity of the Party on all basic questions and its cohesion round the Politbureau.

The central problems under discussion can be summed up as follows:

1. The situation in the country before, during and following the military coup of October 11, 1968, was correctly interpreted by the Party, which was guided by such Party documents as the resolutions of the Sixth Central Committee Plenum (1956), the Ninth Plenum (October 1962), the resolution on the election campaign (February 1968), report to the Fifth Congress and other material. This enabled the Party clearly to define the attitude to the changing situation in the country. This explains why the document passed by a special meeting of the CC in March 1969 is still valid.

2. The coming to power of a military government in 1968, its evolution into a nationalistic government and also the events that have taken place since, are all part of the inevitable and objective revolutionary process unfolding in Panama. They also represent a conditioning factor, which must be taken into account to be able to predict the future development of this process. The tasks proposed by the ruling political forces affect our country's economic structure to an extent causing a serious clash between these forces and the oligarchy and imperialism.

The depth of the changes, and the necessity for which emerges in the course of solving the tasks facing the country, depends on a favorable balance of forces. What is most important here is the active and decisive participation of the working class in alliance with the peasants and jointly with the middle strata, the patriotic and progressive military. Of decisive importance, too, are a strong anti-imperialist alliance, a favorable balance of forces on the inter-

national arena and the results of radicalization among the nationalist forces. The Politbureau meeting once again voiced its support for the process of radicalization of Panamanian nationalism to accomplish the tasks at the present stage, and underscored the necessity of carrying deeper the struggle against the oligarchy and imperialism.

3. The political situation centers on the problem of restitution of Panama's sovereign and legal rights to the Canal Zone. Its solution would mean culmination of the process of forming an independent national state, integration of the national market and the all-round development of our culture. One feature of this struggle is the fact that the big bourgeoisie in Panama, betraying the interests of our people, is incapable of playing a leading role. This role has passed to other forces adhering to anti-oligarchical, anti-imperialist positions and it is these forces that are influencing government decisions to an ever greater degree.

Taking into account the conditions existing in relations between Panama and Yankee imperialism, the Politbureau of the People's Party of Panama resolves:

a) to appeal to the workers, peasants and students of Panama to expose the maneuvers of the U.S. administration to block negotiations and to take an active part in these negotiations in order to achieve broad participation of the masses, to ensure radicalization of the process and a patriotic solution of the problem in the country's best interests;

b) to mobilize world public opinion, especially the international revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement for active support of the struggle of the people of Panama to abolish U.S. colonialism in the Panama Canal zone.

4. In view of the fact that the oligarchy, imperialism and the enemies of radicalization of the nationalist process have been able to maintain deportation measures against certain members of the Party's Politbureau, the extended meeting calls upon the democratic forces inside and outside the government to work for the repeal of these measures, which hamper the strengthening of those who have fought and will continue to fight for our people's fundamental interests and for complete national liberation. The meeting also appeals to world public opinion to support the People's Party of Panama in this question.

5. After analyzing our relations with the international Communist movement, the Politbureau decided to clarify the general guidelines regulating these relations, create the necessary organizational forms and establish a concrete system of relations in order that the international working class, which has matured in the successful struggle for socialism and communism and has had such great influence

on the course of history, should be in a position to aid our people in the process of transformation through which Panama is now going. Accordingly the Politbureau has decided to:

a) make note of the special place occupied by our friendship with the CPSU and of the tremendous influence of its 24th Congress on the development of world revolutionary theory and practice;

b) to strengthen solidarity with the peoples of Cuba, Chile and Peru in their struggle against North American imperialist aggression and to have closer relations with the Communist parties of Cuba and Chile;

c) take into consideration the necessity of coordinating actions of the revolutionary movement in the Latin American countries, while bearing in mind the peculiarities of the struggle in each country and its effect upon the movement; coordinated and effective action is also necessary to stop the offensive by North American imperialism. We lay special emphasis on possible actions in the Central American countries;

d) condemn the actions of the counter-revolution in Bolivia and Sudan and the persecution in Paraguay, Brazil, Haiti, Guatemala and Nicaragua;

e) state our special support for the fraternal peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia;

f) support the world struggle against imperialism and contribute to the unification of all victims of exploitation.

6. At the present time the revolutionary, popular and patriotic forces in Panama have the possibility of improving their organization and of becoming the decisive force in the solution of the basic tasks facing the country.

In view of the existing situation, the Politbureau has taken steps which will enable the People's Party of Panama to fulfil its historic revolutionary mission. In this respect ideological struggle against all trends striving to diminish the Party's role is the basic and fundamental question. This will help prevent any form of opportunism belittling the Party's significance and importance. In order to avoid this danger it is necessary to maintain strict revolutionary vigilance based on the defense of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Political Bureau of the People's Party of Panama.

September 1971.

PLENARY MEETING OF CC, CPSU

A regular Plenary Meeting* of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held on November 22-23, 1971.

The Plenary Meeting heard and discussed reports by N. Baibakov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the USSR, "On the State Five-Year Plan of Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1971-1975 and on the State Plan of Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1972," and by V. Garbuzov, Minister of Finance of the USSR, "On the State Budget of the USSR for 1972 and on the Execution of the State Budget of the USSR for 1970."

The discussion on this question, in which seven people took part, closed with a speech by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The Plenum of the CC CPSU passed an appropriate decision.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee heard the Report by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the International Activity of the CPSU Central Committee after the 24th Party Congress."

There were 12 speakers in the debate on the report.

The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee unanimously adopted a decision on the report by L. L. Brezhnev.

The Plenary Meeting elected M. Solomentsev an Alternate Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenary Meeting released M. Solomentsev from his duties of Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in connection with his transfer to another post.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee then ended its work.

Pravda, November 23 and 24, 1971.

DECISION OF PLENARY MEETING OF CC, CPSU, ADOPTED ON NOVEMBER 23, 1971

ON THE INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE CC, CPSU AFTER THE 24TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

After hearing and discussing the report on the international activity of the CPSU Central Committee after the 24th CPSU Congress delivered by comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the Plenary Meeting unanimously endorsed and fully supports the work done by the Politbureau of the Central Committee in carrying out the foreign policy program put forward by the Congress.

The Leninist foreign policy consistently pursued by the Party and the Soviet Government, which invariably combines a firm rebuff to imperialism and support for the revolutionary, liberation movement with a consistent course for the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems secured high prestige for the Soviet Union in world affairs, enhanced the international positions of socialism and of all progressive forces, and exercised a strong influence in changing the international situation in favor of peace and the security of nations.

The world socialist community, its unity and consistent peace policy is the most important factor that exercised an influence on international politics.

The Plenary Meeting fully approves the constructive stand taken by the Politbureau of the Central Committee and its practical steps aimed at facilitating the liquidation of the dangerous seats of imperialist aggression in Indochina and the Middle East, and the peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Indian subcontinent and directed at strengthening peace and security in Asia—that major area of the globe. The treaties concluded between the USSR and Egypt, and the USSR and India, are of great importance for strengthening peace and international security.

The Plenary Meeting approves the practical activities in implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence with states having different social systems.

The Plenary Meeting highly appraises the activity of the Central Committee Politbureau directed toward securing a détente in Europe — which is one of the central problems in present-day international affairs — and toward the further practical implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually profitable cooperation among European states.

^{*}*Pravda*, November 24, 1971.

The further development of Soviet-French relations, which have risen over the past period to a new, higher level in all spheres, and above all in the political field, makes a tangible contribution to the solution of this problem.

The new steps taken during this period with the objective of the speediest ratification of the USSR-FRG and the PPR-FRG Treaties, the normalization of relations among all states of the continent on the basis of the recognition of the inviolability of the borders which took shape as a result of World War II, including the border between the GDR and the FRG, and on the principles of equality, independence and non-interference in internal affairs, the repudiation of the use of force in settling international problems, were of essential importance for the creation in Europe of an atmosphere which would completely remove the danger of a war originating on this continent.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee considers it important that the proposal on the convocation in the near future of a conference on problems of security and cooperation in Europe, put forward by the socialist countries, is meeting with ever greater support. The convocation of an all-European conference with the participation of the USA and Canada, which is now favored by the governments of France, the FRG, Finland, Canada and other countries, is bound to play a major role in securing a durable peace on the European continent.

The Plenary Meeting states that in the period after the Congress our Party, acting jointly with the fraternal Parties, has done a lot to promote further cohesion of the socialist community, develop and deepen comprehensive and equal cooperation among the constituent countries, to promote socialist economic integration, coordinate the actions of the fraternal states in the international arena. Experience has again confirmed that the community of the socialist countries has been and remains the main force confronting world capitalism, and is a mighty bulwark of the liberation movements of our time. The CPSU regards it as its internationalist duty and one of the main tasks of its international policy to promote the all-round strengthening of the positions of world socialism and further consolidating of the socialist states, continuous development of friendship and cooperation with them.

The Plenary Meeting stresses the importance for implementing the 24th Congress foreign-policy program of the visits of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to France, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic, his meeting with the FRG Chancellor in the Crimea, the visits of Comrade N. V. Podgorny to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Arab Republic of Egypt, of Comrade A. N. Kosygin to Algeria, Canada and the Republic of

Cuba, the visits, meetings and other forms of contacts by Members and Alternate Members of the Politbureau, Secretaries of the Central Committee, delegations of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Soviet Government delegations with statesmen and members of Parliament, leaders and other representatives of Parties and public organizations of foreign countries.

The Plenary Meeting stresses that the Politbureau consistently implements the 24th Congress line in relations with the People's Republic of China and expresses complete agreement with the stand taken by the Politbureau when solving practical problems in this connection.

The Plenary Meeting instructs the Central Politbureau to continue to take consistent guidance in the 24th Congress foreign-policy program, whose fulfilment means improving the external conditions for communist construction in the USSR, and for socialist construction in other socialist countries, and creating reliable prerequisites for a durable peace all over the world.

The Plenary Meeting completely supports the proposals made in the Report of the Politbureau in respect to the further concrete tasks in the field of international politics.

The Plenary Meeting notes with satisfaction that the fraternal Communist Parties, broad circles of the democratic public welcome and support the international activity of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, stress its great importance in the struggle for peace and progress, for cooperation among nations and for the liquidation of the hotbeds of imperialist aggression.

The Plenary Meeting notes the major work done by the Party organs and state institutions in fulfilling the assignments connected with the international policy of the CPSU, and considers that the volume and the nature of the forthcoming tasks in this field demand a constant improvement in all their activities.

The Plenary Meeting stresses that the role of the ideological struggle on the international arena increases ever more in the course of the Party's continued struggle for the realization of the 24th Congress foreign-policy program. The Plenary Meeting draws the attention of the foreign-policy, ideological and propaganda organs to the necessity of raising the standards and effectiveness of their activity, and of vigorously upholding the interests of our country, the interests of socialism and of the entire Communist movement in the struggle against imperialist propaganda and the enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

The Plenary Meeting deems it necessary to continue as before to wage a resolute struggle against bourgeois ideology and to educate the Soviet people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The entire international activity of the Party rests on the steady growth of the economic, political and defense potential of the Soviet Union. The successful fulfilment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan in all indices is of paramount importance for the further strengthening of the international positions and prestige of the USSR, for coping with the tasks which face our country in the international arena, and for achieving new successes in the economic competition with capitalism.

The Plenary Meeting notes with satisfaction that the foreign-policy course of the CPSU Central Committee meets with complete understanding and unanimous support of all Communists, of the entire Soviet people. This constitutes the main strength of the whole international policy of the CPSU.

TOPICAL THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

B. PONOMARYOV
Secretary, CC CPSU

Major advances in the revolutionary theory of scientific communism, which always reflect mature requirements of social practice, are associated with cardinal stages in the development of society and with especially intensive political activity of its vanguard.

One such advance in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory was the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Its decisions generalize the immense experience of communist construction accumulated by our Party in recent years. The Congress made a big contribution to an understanding and elucidation of the international problems of our time. It developed and enriched the theoretical conclusions formulated by collective effort of the Communist and Workers' parties at their 1969 International Meeting.

It is now little more than two years since the Meeting and half a year since the 24th Congress. Measured in terms of history, these are but brief periods, but they have been replete with important events providing convincing proof of the strength and accuracy of the Marxist-Leninist analysis set out in the documents of the Communist movement and of our Party.

The 1969 Meeting and the Congress of our Party orient the Communists on maximum use of the new opportunities of the present stage. Social practice has fully confirmed the timeliness of that orientation.

The problems of the world revolutionary process hold a central place in the theoretical thought of the international Communist movement. Among these problems are the following:

- the distinctive features and forms of confrontation of the two world systems at the present stage;
- the growing instability of capitalism as a social system; the historical limitations of its attempts to adapt to the new conditions;
- the mounting revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement and the problems this poses for the Marxist-Leninist vanguard;

Abridged text of the author's report, "The 24th CPSU Congress and the Development of Marxist-Leninist Theory" at a research conference of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, Academy of Social Sciences, Higher Party School of the CC CPSU, and the Social Sciences department of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The full text appeared in *Kommunist* magazine, No. 15, 1971.

—certain questions pertaining to the revolutionary process in Latin America;

—problems relating to the non-capitalist development of emergent countries;

—the increased role of the Communist Parties in the revolutionary process, the need to intensify the struggle against all manifestations of revisionism and opportunism.

CONFRONTATION OF SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

The main direction of the world revolutionary process is, as we know, determined by the struggle of the two mutually-opposed social systems. Its increasing influence is being felt in every sphere of social life and in every area of the world. If we examine the achievements of the socialist world system in their broad international implications, it should be perfectly clear that the victories of the national liberation movement, the successes of the working class in capitalist countries and solution of mankind's most vital problem of preventing world war, are in decisive measure linked with these achievements of socialism.

The struggle of socialism and capitalism on the world scene is not a new problem. It was thoroughly analyzed in the documents of the three international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties and is examined in many of our Party documents. I would like to draw attention to some aspects of this cardinal problem that have surfaced with special force in the recent period and held a prominent place in the work of the 24th CPSU Congress.

First, note should be taken of the following. The influence of world socialism on public life in the non-socialist world has markedly increased. And that is only natural and logical, for socialism is a qualitatively higher level of social development. It can be said that socialism and capitalism represent the ascendent and descendent line of social development.

It is important to emphasize also that the two-system confrontation is not confined within a definite geographical framework or a definite "composition" of social forces. Inasmuch as it concerns two essentially irreconcilable lines of world development, all countries and classes, social strata and political trends are directly or indirectly, more or less actively, but in the final count inevitably, involved in the struggle.

In analyzing its course, timely assessment of qualitative changes is important. The socialist world is advancing with sure step, successfully overcoming the difficulties inevitable in the building of the new system and, above all, the negative consequences of the Chinese leaders' anti-Leninist course. No matter what damage their policy causes the socialist community and the cause of socialism,

the progress of history is irreversible. In this sense, the recent period merits special attention. The decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress and of the congresses of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and the recently adopted CMEA countries' Comprehensive Program of closer and more effective cooperation and development of socialist economic integration, reflect, in combination, a definite qualitative advance in the growth of the socialist system.

The Soviet Union's ninth five-year economic development plan plays an important part in powering this advance. The socialist countries have entered a period of a fresh, steep rise in economic and prosperity levels, and also a new stage in their all-round co-operation.

The recent qualitative changes in the capitalist world are of an entirely different kind. Present-day capitalism is trying to adapt to the situation of the two-system struggle and to the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution. The wider the offensive of the revolutionary forces, the more persistently the monopoly bourgeoisie seeks to hold on to its positions by using a wide range of state-monopoly measures.

The decisive fact, however, is that these attempts to adapt to the new conditions, notably the scientific and technological revolution, are of needs limited and do not affect the exploitive nature of capitalism's socio-economic system. They have not strengthened capitalism, but rather accentuated its intrinsic contradictions and antagonisms. A new sharpening of capitalism's general crisis became noticeable in the late 60s and early 70s.

Despite a certain heightening of economic growth rates in a number of capitalist countries, mainly in the early half of the 60s, the socialist world continues to retain its superiority in pace of economic growth. And whatever "economic miracles" might happen in one or another capitalist country, the fact remains that the CMEA community is the world's most dynamically developing industrial area. It now accounts for about one-third of world industrial output, compared with about one-quarter for the USA and slightly more than one-fifth for Western Europe. In other words, the CMEA community is today the world's most powerful industrial zone.

Many capitalist theorists maintained that state-monopoly regulation would alter the cyclical character of economic development. Since crises are less painful and less acute than 30-40 years ago, these Western "refuters" of Marxism proclaimed Marx's theory of crises invalid. The march of events has clearly shown how far such proclamations are from reality.

Capitalism has gone through several economic upheavals since the war, but what we see today overshadows, both in scale and in intensity, everything it experienced in the past quarter century.

There is now the deepest and most damaging monetary and financial crisis since 1931. Reflecting the serious economic maladies of capitalism as a whole and the sharp change in the alignment of forces within the imperialist camp, this crisis has brought the entire postwar imperialist system of monetary-financial relations to the brink of collapse.

There is a drastic aggravation of the contradictions of capitalist reproduction in the United States, the citadel of imperialism. It is closely linked with the aggressive policy of America's ruling circles. The present emergency is glaring evidence of that.

Economic deterioration is evident in many other imperialist countries too. It can be said that the capitalist economy is being eroded by inflation, which, with the monetary-financial crisis, has made for more instability of the state-monopoly economic mechanism.

The economic struggle between the imperialist countries has intensified.

The ruling class is making fresh attempts to shift the burden of economic difficulties onto the working people. Growing unemployment, soaring living costs, depression of real wages, onslaught on trade-union rights—all this greatly aggravates the class struggle.

The U.S. economic crisis and the collapse of the dollar are adversely affecting the entire capitalist world. And as is always the case in times of economic upheaval, each imperialist country is trying to extricate itself from its difficulties at the expense of its partners. America's "emergency measures" came as a telling blow to the interests of West European countries and Japan and made for more bitter rivalry on world markets.

The record of the past years makes it all too obvious that widespread international intertwining of capital, far from removing, only exacerbates inter-imperialist contradictions. This applies to uneven economic development of imperialist countries, to the greater differential in economic growth rates and to abrupt, leaplike changes in the relation of forces in individual countries and whole areas of the imperialist world. The main, central contradictions stand out with sufficient clarity—the conflict between the U.S. and the Common Market countries, and between the U.S. and Japan. In the past few years both Japan and the Common Market countries have stepped up their economic expansion and have been shouldering their American competitors out of world—and even U.S.—markets. On the other hand, U.S. monopoly capital has used its technical superiority for an unparalleled invasion of the West

European economy. Direct U.S. monopoly investments in Western Europe more than trebled from 1960 to 1969, increasing from \$6.7 billion to \$21.6 billion, and at the beginning of 1970 U.S. direct foreign investments reached a total of \$70.8 billion.

To boost the superprofits of the oligarchical cliques of New York and California, Chicago and Texas, American finance capital is openly encroaching on the interests of other countries.

Many American concerns have more investments abroad, and make more profit abroad than they do in the United States. The working class of Western Europe, Japan, Canada, Australia and other regions is increasingly being exploited not only by its own national bourgeoisie, but also by U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. is especially brazen in its robbery of Latin America. In 1968-69 U.S. monopolies drained out of this area \$2,098 million in *net profits*, or nearly three times more than new investments in the area. Net profits from Venezuela alone amount to more than \$1 million a day.

However, developments show that U.S. expansion is meeting with more resistance and its intensifying the popular struggle against American imperialism. And this struggle is dealing serious blows to imperialist aggressive policies and is becoming a major factor in undermining the U.S.-sponsored system of military-political blocs.

And we are justified in concluding that a serious qualitative change is taking place in the capitalist economy, a change towards more crisis processes, clearer exposure of capitalism's evils and cancerous growths and fiercer economic struggle between imperialist countries.

Politically, the present stage is characterized by the socialist community's continuously growing role and authority in world politics, further deepening of the contradictions of imperialism's foreign and home policy, sharp socio-political crises in the leading capitalist countries, notably in the U.S.

I would emphasize the vast impact on the international situation of the important initiatives of our Party based on the foreign policy program formulated in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report to the 24th CPSU Congress.

Our Party's international measures are not isolated actions. In combination, they can justifiably be described as an all-out offensive for international peace and security. All this helps enhance the international authority of the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community is a tremendous anti-imperialist force. Our foreign policy measures are increasingly curbing the aggressive imperialist forces and hamstringing their actions against other peoples and states. This helps to create a more favorable interna-

tional situation for the worldwide struggle of the revolutionary forces.

Of course, imperialism remains a very serious and dangerous foe. It persists in its aggression in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, and is keeping alive centers of international tension. It is also increasingly employing flexible, differentiated methods in relations with the socialist countries and is making maximum use of the negative consequences of the Chinese leaders' divisive policy.

And so, it is important to see this process of foreign policy change in all its complexity. The socialist community is demonstrating its ability to impose on imperialism solutions that are in the interests of peace and peaceful coexistence. But imperialism has not abandoned its aims. It employs the "bridge-building" tactic to undermine the socialist world system in combination with the tactic of blocking our policy of international detente. The most recent example is the revival by the British Tory government of cold-war methods in relations with the USSR.

But reality has made it all too clear that in world politics as in economics, imperialism's area of maneuver is steadily contracting. The crisis of imperialist policy is sharpest of all in the United States, that anti-revolutionary and anti-Communist bastion of imperialism. That is evidenced by the fact that capitalism's leading country has become the scene of unparalleled political upheavals associated with the mass protest against the war in Indochina and the reactionary home and foreign policy.

The wave of public protest and political ferment is not something exclusive to the U.S. Strikes, demonstrations and other forms of social protest are assuming ever bigger dimensions in other imperialist countries too.

The rulers of the capitalist world are resorting to outright and savage repression against the working-class, democratic and anti-war movements, persecution of progressives, arrests and executions. All this testifies to mounting social tension, aggravation of class contradictions and class struggles in the capitalist world.

But it is also significant that the present sharpening of the class struggle is taking place not against a background of increasing international strain, as has been the case in the past, but amidst a clearly growing trend towards international detente. The effective foreign policy of the USSR and other socialist countries, on the one hand, and the mounting struggle of the working class and all democratic forces against imperialist foreign policy, on the other, are increasingly hamstringing the "war parties" of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The unfolding mass struggle against the arms drive, excessive military spending and aggressive actions, for international detente, security in Europe and other areas, is helping re-

solve fundamental international issues in the interests of the peoples, and, at the same time, is further undermining the social "hinterland" of imperialist domination. Imperialism stands less and less chance of finding a way out of its internal contradictions through military gambles abroad.

The steadily intensifying struggle of ideologies is a significant feature of our time. As capitalism's capacity of combating the real socialism by military means decreases, the greater becomes the tensivity of ideological struggle.

Imperialism is using its ramified propaganda machine and the expertise of special research centers to mould public opinion to suit the monopoly bourgeoisie. In their incessant ideological subversion against the socialist countries, the working-class and national-liberation movements, our class enemies are making the most of all manner of reactionary nationalist trends and are directly or indirectly encouraging the revisionists and opportunists of the Right and "Left" variety.

But imperialism's efforts to take the offensive on the ideological front have been unsuccessful. For in this worldwide battle capitalism does not possess the spiritual resources needed to win people's minds and hearts. Even many spokesmen for capitalism admit that it is rich in material goods but poor in goods spiritual. It is not the bourgeois, but our socialist ideology that is on the offensive.

The worldwide political campaign conducted by the fraternal parties on the occasion of the Lenin centenary was a valuable contribution to the ideological struggle against imperialism and to dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism.

The achievements of socialism and of the world revolutionary movement, and the deepening crisis of the capitalist system, provide prerequisites for a still wider ideological offensive against imperialism. The self-exposure of the capitalist system, now being discredited in the eyes of the masses, has assumed unprecedented scope. Only a short time ago millions of men and women, conditioned by capitalist propaganda, were led to believe that the rulers of the Western world had found a miraculous solution that would rejuvenate capitalism and enable it to regain its dynamic growth. Now these illusions of a "neo-capitalism" are being dispelled. And the realization is growing among the masses that the Communists are right, that the ills of bourgeois society are incurable.

Imperialist myths are being demolished also in the domain of social relations. Bourgeois ideologists took credit for the slight rise in living standards won by the working class in a number of capitalist countries by dint of persevering class struggle and in the setting of the two-system confrontation. The fact that more people own automobiles, refrigerators and washing machines was

held up as evidence of the advent of the "consumer society," in which the workers' basic requirements would be satisfied and there would be no grounds for social conflicts and class struggle.

By combining partial reforms and social maneuvering with an outright policy of repression, the monopoly bourgeoisie hoped to stabilize social relations in capitalist society and suppress the workers' will to fight. Bourgeois strategists reckoned that an unquenched hankering for goods, for personal prosperity and comfort at the expense of physical and nervous over-exertion would convert the workers into philistines incapable of actively sharing in politics and wholly engrossed in consumer interests. Monopoly capital sought to make a virtue of a necessity, transmute concessions it was forced to make into "golden chains" tying the working people to the system of capitalist exploitation.

For their part, the Leftist theorists denounce any rise in the workers' material standards as "embourgeoisement." And their nihilistic, hostile attitude to the fight of the workers in capitalist countries for higher living standards goes hand in hand with pronouncements that grossly misrepresent the very essence of the process of rising prosperity standards in the socialist countries. That process, too, is denounced as "embourgeoisement." Their idea of revolutionariness is universal poverty. Petty-bourgeois egalitarianism is held up as all but the greatest blessing of the revolution. The battle against bourgeois and Leftist conceptions of a "consumer" society now acquires more importance, and in this battle the real socialism is our reliable weapon.

The impressive picture of socialist progress plays an immense role in the mounting mass movement against monopoly domination, for democracy and freedom. More and more people are coming to see that socialism, not capitalism, sets the tone in creating the "quality aspects" of life. And socialism gives life a rich spiritual content, makes for the all-round development of man's creative abilities. Realization of the 24th Congress's economic and social development program and of the programs adopted at the congresses of other fraternal parties of the socialist countries, will increase still more the attractive power of the achievements of the new social system and the impact of communist ideas on social processes throughout the world.

Bringing to the knowledge of the exploited masses the achievements of socialism and convincingly showing its humanism, is an important means of exerting revolutionary influence on social processes in capitalist countries. Socialism means not only uninterrupted and stable growth of the material well-being of all working people, but harmoniously combines this with their cultural development, their active part in public life and administration of the state.

The confrontation of the two systems constantly changes the balance of forces in favor of socialism and thus accelerates the maturing of internal preconditions for sweeping revolutionary change in the capitalist world. There is mounting evidence that in a number of countries of developed capitalism things are heading towards decisive class battles which will squarely pose the question of fundamental transformation of the social system. The revolutionary vanguard in these countries now has new opportunities and new directions for action as leader of the working-class and mass democratic movement.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MOVEMENT

Political developments in the zone of developed capitalism are attended by an upsurge of mass action by the working people. In intensity, militancy and scope, strike struggles go far beyond the traditional framework. At times they grow into nationwide clashes with monopoly capital.

The 24th CPSU Congress emphasized that, in a number of capitalist countries, the working-class struggle is more and more directed not against individual employers or one or another capitalist evil, but against the entire system of state-monopoly rule. The axis of political life in this zone is perceptively shifting to the left, and this deeply affects the social structure of capitalist society.

Marxist researchers should make a penetrating and comprehensive analysis of the political situation in the capitalist countries. There is a large accumulated fund of data for new theoretical generalizations and conclusions about the socio-political prerequisites of revolution in present-day conditions. The political situation taking shape in developed capitalist countries is characterized by continuous and increasing aggravation of social contradictions. At any rate, radicalization of the mass anti-monopoly movement, of which the working class is a leading force, and crisis phenomena throughout the system of monopoly rule, are an indication that a large amount of "inflammable material" has built up in the depths of capitalist society. Any sharp internal or international political crisis, any sharp class conflict, can prove the last drop and create a revolutionary situation. And situations at this degree of tension offer new possibilities for the working class. But there is also the reverse side—the extreme reactionary forces will attempt to exploit political instability in their own interests and try to stamp out the rising revolutionary movement.

In a number of capitalist countries there are increasing symptoms of a situation in which the ruling class can no longer fully control

the march of events, while the working class and its allies are not yet adequately united and organized and lack the necessary consciousness and direction for decisive joint action. That being so, a rapidly unfolding government crisis that is not attended by equally rapid mobilization of the democratic forces, creates a political vacuum the Rightists immediately try to fill, using the army, police and security forces. We know from history that in periods preceding revolutionary upsurges, the reactionaries, sensing the oncoming storm, often precipitate a showdown.

We all remember how the "black colonels" took advantage of political instability to crack down on the democratic forces of Greece and place the country under a semi-fascist regime. The ultra-Rightists are working to mobilize their forces in other European countries too.

Needless to say, these latter-day ultras are not identical with "classical" fascism. They have their own distinctive features and not infrequently dissociate themselves from their defeated predecessors. But while not minimizing the peculiarities of neo-fascism, we should not gloss over its intrinsic kinship with the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini. Fascism gains ground at times when the capitalist system is experiencing special difficulties, when big capital can no longer maintain its domination within the framework of bourgeois legality and turns to terrorist dictatorship. At such times fascism is a much sought-after commodity and judging by all the signs, this is especially so today in many citadels of capitalism. The extreme Right is anxious to utilize the discontent with the existing system to promote its own demagoguery and increase its influence. In its offensive against the monopolies, the working-class movement in capitalist countries is more often faced with the need to administer a resolute rebuff to reactionary plots and neo-fascist counter-offensives.

In this context, it is important to emphasize that the revolutionary forces are in a much better position than in the 30s to bar the road to the pro-fascists and take advantage of acute political situations for powerful blows at the class enemy and for marshalling the mass political army of socialist revolution.

To be sure, the shift left is not by itself a guarantee of success. Everything depends on whether or not the advanced working-class forces, primarily the Communist Parties, succeed in building up an anti-monopoly front, making the new positions secure, defeating the different strains of revisionism and raising their political, organizational and ideologico-educational work to match the present revolutionary opportunities. Objectively, the Communist movement has all it needs to fulfil its tasks. But apart from the objective conditions, there is the subjective factor—the ability of the working-

class parties to rally the revolutionary energy of the masses, to direct it in actions crushing the resistance of reaction, to consolidate the power of the working people and bring about socialist revolution. Summing up historical experience, Marxist-Leninist science is able to pinpoint the main criteria of the maturity of the workers' revolutionary vanguard.

What are these main criteria?

—ability consistently to take guidance in the theory of scientific communism, which sums up the world-historical experience of the working-class struggle and defines the main objective laws of transition from capitalism to socialism;

—ability consistently to follow a policy aimed at the revolutionary abolition of the capitalist system, taking into account the specific conditions of every given stage in the country concerned;

—command of the tactical art, of all forms and means of class struggle, and readiness rapidly to change forms and means, to regroup forces as changes occur in the situation;

—ability to teach the masses politics by their own experience, persuade them in practice that revolutionary transformations are necessary, and find ways and means of leading them into decisive action against the class enemy;

—ability to rally the masses in struggles for concrete political and economic demands, to formulate timely slogans, rallying all sections of the working class and other working people;

—ability to carry forward a policy bringing together the different streams of the working-class anti-monopoly, democratic and anti-war movements, and to secure working-class unity;

—a consistently internationalist approach to the country's home and international problems, to education of the masses, to coordination of action with other revolutionary detachments.

The Communist movement's historical experience shows that a Party's preparedness for revolution depends on its organizational and ideologico-political solidity, on its ability to extend its work among the masses, in non-Party organizations, trade unions, the youth, and the army. Being an organization of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist party works for the strongest possible political position in its country, making the most of the opportunities presented by bourgeois-democratic society. However, while working for such a position in the elective bodies and making the fullest possible use of legal opportunities to defend the interests of working people and influence the policy of bourgeois or Social-Democratic governments, the Communists, unlike the reformists, are always a party of socialist revolution, a party irreconcilably opposed to the capitalist order and always ready to assume leadership in the battle for full working-class political power, for the

establishment of one or another form of proletarian dictatorship.

Continuous contact and work with the masses, bringing home the necessity of using all forms of struggle—this is the only way of forming the political army of socialist revolution.

The only way to achieve this objective is to connect it closely with the struggle for the people's daily needs. That is what Lenin always taught Communists. Marxist-Leninists reject the ultra-Left anarchist notion of "all or nothing."

From their years of experience the Communist parties have learned to pose the questions of the daily mass struggle sharply and competently, to advance the right slogans reflecting the vital needs of millions upon millions of people. The gigantic scale of this struggle in recent years is traceable largely to the Communists' hard work. The struggle yields not only important immediate results, protecting the people from extreme forms of economic hardship, but also more far-reaching effects, furthering the political enlightenment of the masses, helping them understand that the interests of the working people are irreconcilable with capitalism as a social system.

The working-class struggle for democracy, for real use of democratic rights wrested from the bourgeoisie in the interest of the people, is mounting steadily. All this adds to the opportunities of converting broad sections of the working class to the revolutionary standpoint.

To use these opportunities we must defeat opportunist trends in the working-class movement; this requires consistent defense of the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Of late, the battle against Right and "Left" opportunism has become more active. A strong blow has been delivered to revisionist theories and their bearers. But the fight against revisionism should not be reduced to separate campaigns. For Marxist-Leninist parties, for the world Communist movement, it is an important objective law of development.

If one is to describe briefly the essence of present-day opportunism, one may say that the danger of *Right* opportunism stems from its attempts:

- to denigrate the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, to declare it outdated and to replace it with a reformist ideology denying class struggle, socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship;

- to gloss over the principal contradictions of bourgeois society, peddling the idea that state-monopoly capitalism can be transformed into socialism without a revolution;

- to deny the role of the working class as the main revolutionary force;

- to make an absolute of parliamentary methods and scorn mass extra-parliamentary struggle;

—to malign the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries;

—to ignore the connection between the revolutionary struggle at home and the class struggle on the international arena, and the role of the socialist system in this struggle.

The danger of "Left" opportunism stems from its:

—denying the necessity of a broad general democratic program of anti-imperialist struggle, the necessity of combining the general democratic and proletarian class objectives and interests;

—creating for Communists the danger of isolation from broad sections of the people, dooming them to passive waiting or to reckless ultra-Left actions, which hinders the growth of a political army of socialist revolution and working-class victory;

—opposing the merging into one stream of the main revolutionary forces of our time, impeding timely and correct assessments of the changing situation and of new experience and the use of all opportunities in the interest of the victory of the working class and all democratic forces over imperialism, reaction and the war danger;

—making an absolute of the armed forms of the struggle for power;

—denying or distorting the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states of opposite systems.

As a rule, "Left" opportunism blends with dogmatism and leads inevitably to sectarian stagnation.

Despite their disparate approaches, Right opportunism and "Left" opportunism often interweave, brought together by a common anti-revolutionary orientation. Today, they are the main bearers of anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist ideological and political influences in the working-class and the Communist movement. Whether Right or "Left," opportunism pursues aims that are essentially directed against revolution. Both Right and "Left" opportunists seek to disrupt the unity of the world Communist movement, and to loosen the internationalist ties of the fraternal parties with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Whether Right or "Left," opportunism impairs the combat capacity of Communist parties, undermines the revolutionary positions of the working class, of all anti-imperialist forces, and retards the growth of the world revolutionary process.

The propositions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU on how to combat revisionism are of fundamental importance. It is not enough simply to brand revisionists as enemies of the working class. It is important to expose the anti-Leninist substance of their posture. It is important to show, from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, the

real meaning of the problems exploited by revisionist ideologues.

In present conditions, special importance attaches to combating nationalism. Practice has shown the close inter-connection between revisionist distortion and nationalist vacillation. Wherever revisionist departures from Marxist-Leninist theory are tolerated, the doors are opened, for the infiltration of petty-bourgeois nationalist ideology into the revolutionary movement. Conversely, every departure from proletarian internationalism to nationalist stances offers room for Right and "Left" revisionist activity.

Nationalism is harmful for the revolution. Nationalist deviations prevent the use of favorable international situations created by the successes of world socialism, the weakening of imperialism and reaction, for the struggle of the working class of the country concerned.

Nationalism is a dangerous enemy for the entire revolutionary anti-imperialist movement. It is no accident that of late the monopoly bourgeoisie has been pinning its main hopes on nationalism. Bourgeois ideologists maintain that the age of proletarian revolutions is receding into the past and is being replaced by an age of militant nationalism which, they allege, is "taking the upper hand" over socialism.

While supporting the general democratic and anti-imperialist content of the nationalism of oppressed nations and developing countries, the Communists are awake to the fact that it may also be a vehicle for the ideology of the reactionary exploiting element endeavoring to hitch the young states to the imperialist chariot.

The line between the progressive anti-imperialist side of nationalism and its reactionary side is historically mobile. Nationalist slogans can often change their socio-political orientation and turn from a weapon for national liberation into a weapon against the unity of the anti-imperialist forces or, even—as Maoism has shown—into a vehicle of hegemonic chauvinist policy against the main forces of the world revolutionary movement.

Nationalism is doubly dangerous when it is of an anti-Soviet complexion. This the imperialist bourgeoisie exploits to the hilt in its battle against socialism and the Communist movement. After the 24th Congress of the CPSU the fraternal parties stepped up the struggle against all types of anti-Sovietism, including that which is veiled in "Leftist" or "revolutionary" rhetoric. In their documents the fraternal parties expose the designs of the anti-Soviet element. Subversion of the prestige of the CPSU and the Soviet Union—the main revolutionary force, the pioneer and standard-bearer of the new socialist era—injures the entire world revolutionary process.

We should be aware of the full extent of the danger of national-

ism to the revolutionary movement, and should see, too, the greater opportunities now at hand to combat this malady.

The internationalization of the revolutionary struggle is the result of the growing might of world socialism and the spread across the world of the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism, which have repeatedly proved and now daily show their immense importance for the success of the peoples' struggle for freedom, independence and social progress. The policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries that follow Lenin's way, and the internationalist activity of the fraternal Communist parties and the advanced forces in the revolutionary-democratic parties, are a formidable power countervailing the tendency of nationalist dispersion.

For Marxist-Leninists defense of the principle of proletarian internationalism is not simply one of several topical and important objectives. It is not too much to say that it is a vital necessity, because it is the foundation for the very existence of the Communist movement as a world-wide force expressive of the basic interests of the working class, the working people.

There is evidence that in some parties the matter of cementing world Communist unity is seen from one angle only. The stress is solely on the need for strictly observing the independence, the sovereignty of each Party, of respecting its right to work out its political strategy and tactics by itself, abstaining from interference, and the like. This, *per se*, is unquestionably correct. The CPSU formulated the idea first, and accepts it completely. As pointed out in the joint statement of the CPSU and FCP delegations at negotiations held in Moscow in July 1971, everyone of these principles, "together with solidarity and mutual aid, enters organically into the content of proletarian internationalism." They cannot be opposed to each other. Still less can a weakening be tolerated of the internationalist approach to topical problems. The one-sided accent on "autonomy" and "independence," therefore, has the makings of concealed polemics against those fraternal parties which actively and consistently pursue the principles of proletarian internationalism. It injures our common cause, especially because Chinese and imperialist propaganda exploits statements of this sort for their subversive, divisive aims.

Nor is unity served by references to a "crisis" in the Communist movement appearing now and then in the press of some parties. One need not deny the gravity of the difficulties. But this approach suggests deliberately or otherwise that it is impossible to restore unity by the tested methods of consistent proletarian internationalism. Thanks to the efforts of Marxist-Leninist parties, the internationalist unity of the Communist movement has been preserved. It is not therefore a matter of substituting for it something "new"

number 23-24, 1971 79

and not altogether comprehensible, but to use all available resources to extend and cement this unity on the basis of the tried and true principles of Marxist-Leninist internationalism.

The Soviet Communists are proud that our Leninist Party is in the van of the active struggle for Communist unity. That the 24th Congress of the CPSU became a forum for the consolidation of unity we owe to the position of principle held by our Party, to its immense work in the Communist movement.

The CPSU was in the front rank of those who worked for the 1969 Meeting, which became the turning point in the restoration of Communist unity. Our Party fights consistently and perseveringly for united action against imperialism. It is building up bilateral and multilateral ties with other fraternal Parties and is also patiently working for contacts with those in our movement who have so far held a particular position. In its resolution on the Central Committee Report, the 24th CPSU Congress called for combining political cohesion with efforts to cement ideological unity. No matter what the complicated problem may be, the CPSU never confines itself to merely stating the difficulties. It never fails to take determined measures to overcome them.

Marxist-Leninists have everything they need to secure the triumph of internationalist ideas and frustrate the imperialists' designs of exploiting nationalism for their ends. It stands to reason, however, that nationalist deviations and divisive tendencies will not vanish automatically. It takes persevering and hard work to defeat them.

An important problem of the present revolutionary process is that of working-class unity, which pivots on the relationship between Communists and Social-Democrats.

For several decades, Communists have repeatedly raised the question of labor unity, of cooperation with Social-Democrats in defending working-class interests. And their standpoint has proved correct over and over again. If the Social-Democratic leadership had accepted the Communist parties' appeals for cooperation in the early thirties, fascism would have doubtless been blocked.

Looking back at the Social-Democratic attitude of the post-war quarter century, one will see that it drew none of the due conclusions from the consequences of its prewar policy. After the war the Social-Democratic parties were again able to become ruling parties. And by virtue of the experience of joint struggle against fascism, Communists offered them cooperation. But the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders renewed their policy of alignments with bourgeois parties, rejected cooperation with Communists, and even helped remove them from governments.

This, they held, would deal the deathblow to the Communist movement. But they were wrong. Our movement continued to

grow, to gain strength and, moreover, in a few countries, such as France and Italy, the Marxist-Leninist parties became stronger than the Social-Democratic. Yet despite the hostility of the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, the Communists, who acted on the supreme interests of the people, did not abandon the policy of united action. And the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, too, worked hard for contacts and cooperation with Social-Democratic parties in international affairs. Delegations of some visited the Soviet Union, and many Social-Democratic leaders could see for themselves the progress of Communist construction in our country.

The unitarian course has yielded undeniable results. The anti-communism of the cold war period has suffered serious setbacks in the Social-Democratic movement, though many Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders still cling to anti-communist postures.

A process of differentiation is under way in the Social-Democratic movement, including its leadership. At one pole are the extreme Right-wing leaders, and at the other are the Left elements, who are on the upgrade. A number of Socialist parties holds class, anti-imperialist positions. With these the CPSU has good, friendly relations. This applies to the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity, the Socialist Party of Chile, and the Socialist Party of Japan. Important, too, is the strengthening of the Left trend in the Labor Party in Britain, the Social-Democratic Party in Germany and the Swedish Social-Democratic Party.

Weighing the situation in the international Social-Democratic movement, the 24th CPSU Congress reaffirmed our position of principle on this issue. In line with the course set by the 1969 International Meeting, conceding none of our revolutionary principles, our Party is prepared to expand cooperation with Socialists, with Social-Democrats, in the struggle for socialism as well as for peace and democracy. This is expressed forcefully in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's Report to the 24th Congress and his well-known Tbilisi speech of May 1971. The ideas he expressed elicited a broad response in the international Social-Democratic movement.

Combating the ideology and policy of social-democratism is still an important task for the CPSU, for the entire Communist movement. This the Communists have always done and will continue to do in the name of labor unity, but certainly not in order to deepen the split. Giving top priority to united action, the Communists have come forward with new proposals for cooperation. The Right-wing Social-Democrats cannot but reckon with the fact that the question of labor unity is more urgent than ever. Besides, our unitarian policy has tended to overcome prejudice and mistrust in the middle and lower echelons of the Social-Democratic movement. So Communists will continue to follow Lenin's unitarian policy.

SPECIFIC FEATURES OF REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN LATIN AMERICA

Events of great historical impact have been under way of late on the Latin American continent. The 24th Congress of the CPSU, which devoted much time to analyzing the revolutionary movement in Latin America, calls for close and thorough study of these events.

All of us know the immense role played by Cuba in the development of the Latin American revolutionary process. Much has been written and said about its importance and experience. Now Marxist scholars are turning their attention increasingly to the latest developments.

The victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile, the progressive changes in Peru, the headway made in the revolutionary struggle in Uruguay and in several other countries, give cause to say that the revolutionary process is developing there at a faster rate than in other parts of the non-socialist world. Latin America is truly a "seething continent."

What makes us think that the revolutionary process in Latin America will not stop, that it will continue to build up? There is a number of obvious reasons for the accumulation of a vast revolutionary potential on the continent.

Firstly, the region is the focal point of deep-going contradictions. Feudal and semi-feudal relations are stoking up sharp contradictions in the countryside. The relatively high level of capitalist development sharpens the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The U.S. imperialists are continuing their brazen and shameless plunder of Latin America. For this they support the most reactionary regimes, and nothing, not even direct armed interference, is too low for them. The supremacy of U.S. imperialism whets the contradictions between national interests and foreign imperialist oppression. All these contradictions are interlaced, stimulating a powerful mass movement, which is objectively, to a greater or lesser extent, assuming an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist orientation.

Secondly, a fairly numerous working class with considerable experience of revolutionary struggle has long since taken shape in the Latin American countries. All countries have Communist parties, of which some are massive and influential. It should be noted, moreover, that social-democratism has neither deep roots nor great influence in the labor movement.

Thirdly, the traditions of revolutionary liberation, going back to the struggle against Spanish and Portuguese rule, are very strong. One of these is the solidarity of the peoples of the continent,

strikingly manifested in the broad movement in support of revolutionary Cuba and now seen in the general support of the Chilean revolution.

All this gives us cause to conclude that despite some setbacks and retreats, the revolutionary movement on the continent is still far from having reached its peak and will in the historical perspective continue to ascend.

At the same time, the experience already gained is of immense general theoretical value, because it confirms the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution and offers rich material for its creative development.

Take the example of Chile. A valuable analysis of the Chilean experience has been made by the Communist Party of Chile. Important generalizations have also been made by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Proceeding from these propositions, we can single out a number of basic lessons.

The first is that Chile confirmed the role of the working class defined in the teaching of Marx and Lenin as the main motive and leading force of revolution. The facts have refuted the opportunist contentions that this role is now being taken over by the intelligentsia, urban middle strata, students or other social groups. It was the working class that organized the victory of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile. The working class was the recognized leader of the broad coalition of social forces opposing imperialism and interested in a radical change of the social system.

The second conclusion concerns the problem of working-class unity. The victory of the Popular Unity bloc was made possible by the fact that the working class acted as a united force. Agreement was reached between the two main parties of the labor movement—the Communist and Socialist. The importance of this lesson transcends the framework of Chile, and even of the continent. Practice has shown that the unity of the labor movement offers the working class a broad perspective of revolutionary gains.

The third main conclusion to be drawn from the Chilean experience is that a consistently democratic government can come to power by non-violent means. But the victory of the Popular Unity bloc has also shown that this has nothing in common with the reformist illusion. In their documents Communist and Workers' parties have repeatedly stressed that the struggle to consolidate and extend positions in parliaments should combine with extra-parliamentary mass struggle. That is exactly how events developed in Chile, and precisely this paved the way to success. The Chilean experience has shown graphically that no matter what path the revolution may follow, it is always a path of acute class struggle, inevitable differentiation of forces working for and against revolu-

tionary transformation, a path of tension-filled clashes with the counter-revolution.

Fourthly, the Chilean experience underscored the importance of carrying out the constructive tasks of the revolution. The events in Chile are a fresh reminder for all revolutionaries that the success and endurance of the new power depends on how it resolves the economic problems and those of state development in the interest of the people. Practice has again shown how insistently during the revolution the working class requires a clear, well-considered, scientifically-grounded program of positive socio-economic reconstruction.

And yet one more fundamental conclusion from the experience of the Chilean revolution: like any other revolution, it is first and foremost the result of the activity of the working class, the working masses of the country. However, at the same time—and the comrades in Chile say so quite conclusively—the victory is due in many respects to the solidarity of the working class of the Latin American countries and to the moral support of the socialist countries, of all progressive forces. It is no exaggeration to say that this, from the beginning, to a substantial extent, inhibited an imperialist aggression and prevented the United States from interfering directly in the affairs of the people of Chile. It was a case of internationalism acting as the immediate ally of a victorious revolution. And today, faced by the intrigues of foreign and home reaction, faced by U.S. attempts to organize an international conspiracy against Chile, her people require internationalist solidarity more than ever. And as ever, the CPSU is rendering practical support to the revolutionary struggle of the people of Chile.

The sixth lesson of the revolutionary struggle in Chile confirms the Marxist-Leninist conclusion from the history of the labor movement: the revolution must be able to defend itself. Home reaction and U.S. imperialism refuse to part with the economic benefits and the profit they derived by exploiting Chile. Nor do they want to lose the political positions forcibly captured by them in the past. Despite the fact that the new regime was established constitutionally, the domestic and foreign counter-revolution is unfolding a fierce struggle against it. The reactionaries are regrouping to form a bloc. In effecting important socio-economic and political changes, the Popular Unity government is compelled to beat off recurrent enemy counter-attacks. The last National Conference of the Communist Party of Chile noted that "the alternative is becoming ever more obvious: either the process of transformation in Chile will go deeper and the government will successfully accomplish its tasks, or, on the contrary, the counter-revolution will gain the upper hand." The Communists, Socialists and other progressives of the

country are working hard to mobilize the masses under the slogan "We will allow no repetition of Bolivian events in Chile."

The Chilean comrades have already done a good deal. All indications are, however, that great trials are in store for them. Imperialist quarters and home reaction make no secret of their intention to stop the revolution. Provocations against the popular government continue. Chile's Communists stress that to repulse counter-revolutionary moves, it is necessary to carry forward the revolution in line with the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state. To set up a popular government does not yet mean transferring all power to the working class. The conservative and reactionary forces retain numerous important positions in the state machinery, particularly in the economy. They use these positions to hold up implementation of the government program. As the revolution goes deeper, it is becoming more evident that the positions held by conservatives in government agencies are out of keeping with the actual alignment of forces in the country. The abuses committed by conservatives makes it imperative to carry out serious reforms in the government system itself in accordance with the interests of the masses. Since revolutionary developments in Chile are taking place within constitutional bounds, the orientation of Chile's Marxists is on the more or less gradual change in the class content of government bodies, on their staged reorganization.

To the peoples of Latin America, Chile is an example of courageous advance towards liberation from the tyranny of U.S. imperialism, and towards the solution of acute problems in the working people's interest. Following Cuba, Chile kindled one more torch of freedom in Latin America. This means that the revolutionary movement on the continent has entered a new phase.

Another noteworthy aspect of the revolutionary process in Latin America is that the revolutionary events in countries like Peru were admittedly a result of the activity of the patriotic army officers who came to power. In other words, revolutionary development revealed the possibility of the emergence of new forms of government, with the armed forces taking part in progressive development. This is a new phenomenon and Marxist-Leninist scholars should thoroughly investigate its social nature and cause. This is all the more important because the form in which revolutions develop largely depends, as historical experience suggests, on the attitude of the army. This conclusion was proved correct by Chile, where the army's neutrality constituted an important factor for the victory of the Popular Unity bloc. Incidentally, progressive-minded army officers in Asian countries, and above all in the Arab East, played a very big role in anti-imperialist revolutions.

Conversely, counter-revolution becomes strong enough to win

when the army is following a reactionary leadership. This was the case a few years ago in Brazil, where reactionary generals overthrew a democratic regime. The same thing happened in Bolivia, where the government under President Torres was defeated, primarily because reaction, backed by foreign imperialists, succeeded in winning over the majority of the army. A very great deal depends on the attitude of the army. The rise and growth of revolutionary democratic sentiments in the army, including its officer corps, may speed revolutionary progress.

On the whole, the upsurge in the revolutionary movement on the Latin American continent is of tremendous significance to the world revolutionary process. What until recently seemed to be a dependable hinterland of U.S. imperialism is becoming a vast area of anti-imperialist revolution. A revolutionary movement of immense force is unfolding next door to the United States, the main stronghold of imperialism. These changes play, and will undoubtedly continue to play, a big part in the realignment of world forces in favor of the international working class and of socialism.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

A priority task today is to consolidate the victory of national liberation revolution and the power of anti-imperialist forces and safeguard progressive regimes against continuous encroachments on the part of imperialists and neo-colonialists operating in alliance with domestic reaction. The main content of the national liberation revolution is still to strengthen national independence in every respect and by every means and spearhead the struggle against imperialism. At the same time, the 24th Congress of the CPSU pointed out, "the fight for national liberation in numerous countries has actually begun to develop into a fight against both feudal and capitalist relations based on exploitation."

National liberation revolutions have two aspects. First of all, they win national independence and abolish the feudal system, that is, accomplish tasks similar to those that were fulfilled by bourgeois revolutions in Europe and America. However, they tend to go beyond the tasks of a bourgeois revolution, that is, they show a revolutionary democratic, anti-capitalist trend. Diverse combinations of these trends produce a multitude of distinctive, transitional forms many of which are uncommon and hence do not fit into ordinary patterns.

However, there are two key questions behind the diversity of events in the national liberation zone: first, will the anti-imperialist regimes grow strong enough to prevent foreign imperialist forces from carrying out a counter-revolutionary coup, and second, will the countries that have freed themselves from colonial tyranny be-

come areas of capitalist development, components of world capitalism, as the imperialists want them to be, or new links that have dropped out of the imperialist chain, areas of non-capitalist development leading to socialism? This problem is at the very root of many sharp internal and international conflicts in that part of the globe.

Marxist-Leninists are convinced that only by strengthening national independence, fighting against imperialism and promoting social progress can the fundamental interests of the peoples of these countries be met. But this path can be followed firmly and irresistibly only if it is a logical result of the activity of the peoples themselves and has been consciously chosen by their revolutionary vanguards.

Operating in favor of this choice are objective, deep-going factors produced by the requirements of the newly free countries' economic and social progress. They necessitate a socialist orientation more and more explicitly as objective conditions mature.

It is a question, *first*, of real economic liberation from imperialism. The neo-colonialists expect that the domestic bourgeoisie will extend and strengthen its links with imperialism in an effort to continue and step up exploitation of the working people.

However, the capitalist road in present conditions is bound to lead to new forms of colonial subjection and to block solution of the problems of economic liberation. And this objectively prompts all patriotic forces to follow a different road, that of anti-capitalist development.

Second, a socialist choice is prompted by factors linked with the need to end economic backwardness. To accomplish this task, it is imperative to use the most progressive forms of economic development—forms which capitalism cannot offer.

History has shown beyond a doubt that in our time the capitalist road in backward countries leads into an impasse, for the capitalist world economy as a system makes poor countries poorer still and not only perpetuates but aggravates their backwardness. It is perfectly understandable that the social forces championing rapid scientific, technological, cultural and economic progress declare for the non-capitalist road.

Third, the choice in favor of socialism is prompted by factors linked with the problem of social emancipation and of achieving a higher standard of life for the working people.

It is a fact that the abolition of colonial oppression has brought little change into the condition of the overwhelming majority of the population of one-time colonies. Inequality in income is enormous, unemployment assumes disastrous proportions and hundreds of millions starve.

If gains in the political liberation of peoples are to be backed up with corresponding socio-economic advances leading to a higher standard of life, radical steps must be taken against the selfish interests of the propertied classes and against their parasitic mode of consumption. It is indispensable to step up the social activity of the masses and put all national resources in the service of economic and cultural advancement. Needless to say, capitalism can adopt no such measures.

In addition to internal objective factors, there are powerful international factors in favor of the non-capitalist road. Foremost among these is the impact of existing socialism, the force of its example and its assistance to newly free countries.

The peoples of new states have won national sovereignty at a time when the growing might of the socialist community increasingly reduces imperialism's possibilities for pressure and aggression. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are now linked with the peoples of new states by innumerable living bonds and this influences these peoples' choice of road and affords them unprecedented opportunities.

In this connection, it must be stressed that the gains of the national liberation movement would have been impossible if the Soviet Union had not existed, or if it had not given immense and unique political, moral and material support to the peoples fighting against imperialism. Special mention should be made of the role of Soviet aid in the peoples' armed struggle against the colonialists.

Summing up, we may say that operating all along the line are objective factors which induce the masses and their foremost spokesmen in former colonies to strive for non-capitalist development and that this trend is making headway.

Even in those countries that have already travelled some distance along the capitalist road, the social forces rejecting this road are gaining ground. Evidence of this era, in particular, certain aspects of the events taking place in India, Ceylon, Nigeria and other countries.

As for the emergence in Asia and Africa of a group of states which have already opted for the non-capitalist road and proclaimed socialism to be their goal, it shows that the anti-capitalist trends of the national liberation movement have become living practice for millions. The countries that have taken the non-capitalist road are inhabited by roughly 100 million people and occupy an area of about 10 million square kilometers. It is safe to speak of the rise of a non-capitalist development zone. What makes the experience of these countries significant is that, after some republics of the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic, they set an example of non-capitalist development. Thus social practice has demonstrated the validity of Lenin's forecast about the possibility

of backward countries skipping the capitalist stage provided the working class has achieved victory in a number of advanced countries and helps them in every way.

The issue of the *political forces* which gain ascendancy in a number of countries when the national liberation revolution moves on to a higher plane is worthy of special and detailed examination. The question is of revolutionary democracy, which speaks essentially for the peasant masses, petty bourgeois and radical intelligentsia.

Today, when states of a socialist orientation have come into existence, Communists and revolutionary democrats are objectively in one and the same camp, with greater reason than ever. Their cooperation is vitally important to socialist-oriented states since the Communists possess the theoretical training and practical experience needed to promote the ideas of scientific socialism, study the experience gained by existing socialism in effecting social changes and impart this experience to the masses.

The appearance of revolutionary democracy on the historical scene reflects a definite stage of the revolutionary process. It is therefore essential, from the standpoint of the concrete historical approach to the revolutionary democrats, to see not only the progressive aspects of their activity but certain weak points due to the social duality of the trends they represent. There are now far more favorable conditions for the growing acceptance of scientific socialism by revolutionary democrats than ever before.

To be sure, the imperialists and Right Social-Democrats try, each group in its own way, to prevent the revolutionary democrats' further swing to the left. Agents of the CPC leadership are active for their part. The result is that, in a number of cases, the positive evolution of revolutionary democratic regimes is broken off and their leading groups set out, for one reason or another, to take repressive measures against the Communists and other progressives. Does this, however, warrant the conclusion that cooperation with the revolutionary democrats is indefensible? To infer this would be wrong, of course. It would mean overlooking decisive trends which make the revolutionary democrats our ally in the fight against imperialism, a political factor that can play an important part in the social progress of the liberated countries.

It should be borne in mind that revolutionary democratic parties differ according to the place they hold in the social life of their countries and to their ideological and political attitude. However, their programs and the main lines of their activity have a number of common characteristics entitling one to regard them as a political force which can proceed to accomplish the tasks of the anti-capitalist stage of the national liberation revolution.

—By spearheading their blows against foreign monopolies, revolutionary democrats undermine one of the main pillars of capitalist development in one-time colonies.

—By laying the emphasis on the growth of the state sector, carrying out progressive agrarian changes and rallying the masses to do away with antiquated social relations, revolutionary democrats gradually provide the *internal prerequisites* for advancing towards socialism.

—By fostering friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, revolutionary democrats build up the *external prerequisites* for non-capitalist development. Furthermore, there gradually develop conditions for the inclusion of a number of new national states in the system of the international socialist division of labor, which guarantees their deliverance from the shackles of the capitalist world market.

In searching for ways and means of solving the pressing problems of their countries at an early date, revolutionary democratic parties turn to the experience of world socialism, above all to Soviet experience. The achievements of existing socialism and its contest with imperialism, the sworn enemy of the peoples, enhance the appeal of socialist ideas to an unprecedented extent. In many liberated countries, these ideas are openly expressed in documents of the ruling parties, which proclaim that socialism is their goal. The notions of the leaders of these parties about socialism are in many ways vague or even wrong and socialist ideas strangely intermingle in their minds with religious dogma and nationalist prejudice. Nevertheless, socialist ideas are steadily making their way into the minds and lives of newly free people.

The CPSU is certain, and its 24th Congress said so again, that cooperation between revolutionary democratic and Communist parties fully meets the interests of the anti-imperialist movement, national independence and social progress. By the same token, struggle between the Communists and revolutionary democrats in any country is fraught with dire consequences to that country's progress, for it splits and weakens the revolutionary forces. The communique on the July 1971 talks between the CPSU and the CC of the Arab Socialist Union of Egypt stated that "the two sides expressed the conviction that anti-communism injures the peoples' aspiration for freedom and their national interests and that there must be no room for it. It serves none but the interests of international imperialist and reactionary quarters."

As a general rule, anti-Communist measures are inseparably bound up with anti-Sovietism and with departure from friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which the imperialists seize on at once.

By upholding the idea of alliance between the Communist and revolutionary democratic forces of the national liberation movement, the CPSU fosters, and will go on fostering, fraternal relations with the Communist parties of Asian and African countries. The Communist parties have been, and will remain, an indispensable factor for the revolutionary development of the national liberation zone. Their heroic fight against colonialists and their puppets, in which they have made immense sacrifices, has earned them great prestige among the people and an inalienable right to participate in building a new society on a par with other progressives. The Communist parties are a reliable support in the socialist transformation of these countries. They know the laws of social development and can equip the national liberation movement with the theory of scientific socialism, which shows the only way to a radiant future. However, it is a way requiring hard struggle.

The newly free countries objectively have ample opportunities to consolidate their national independence and anti-imperialist positions and achieve social progress. Of key importance today is the ability of the progressive forces in one-time colonies, and of the world revolutionary movement as a whole, to use the favorable conditions the so-called Third World has for taking this path. But advance along this path is possible only if the revolutionary forces throughout the world and in the newly free countries promote their unity and fraternal cooperation and if they master the ideas of scientific socialism.

