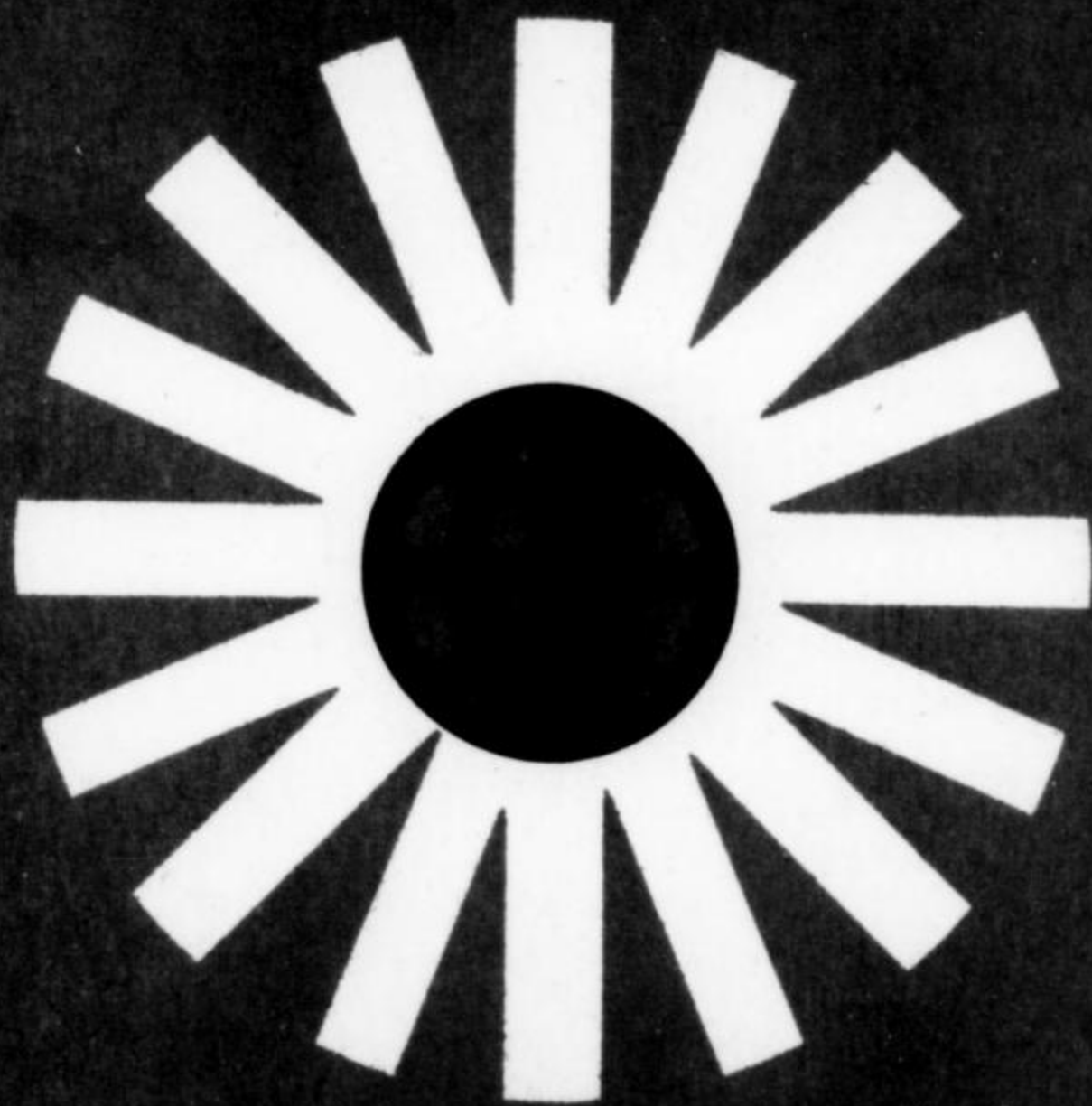




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24th CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

The 24th Congress of the CPSU was held in Moscow, March 30-April 9, 1971.

Out of the 4,963 delegates elected to the Congress, 3,691 or 74.4 per cent were elected for the first time. The delegates represented the 14,450,321 members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Fourteen delegates were absent for valid reasons.

A total of 102 delegations of Communist, national-democratic and Left Socialist parties from 91 countries participated in the work of the Congress.

The opening speech at the Congress was made by Comrade N. V. Podgorny, Member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU.

The Congress adopted the following agenda:

1. Report of the CC CPSU. Rapporteur: Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

2. Report of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU. Rapporteur: Comrade G. F. Sizov, Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission.

3. Directives of the 24th CPSU Congress on the five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1971-75. Rapporteur: Comrade A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

4. Elections to the central organs of the CPSU.

The delegates passed a Resolution on the Report of the CC CPSU, a Decision on partial amendments of the Rules of the CPSU, and a Decision approving the Directives of the 24th CPSU Congress on the five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1971-1975.

The delegates also adopted an Address of the 24th CPSU Congress, "Freedom and Peace for the Peoples of Indochina!", and a Statement, "For a Just and Lasting Peace in the Middle East!"

The Congress elected 240 Members of the Central Committee of the CPSU, 194 Alternate Members of the Central Committee and 82 Members of the Central Auditing Commission.

All Congress decisions were adopted unanimously.

The Central Committee of the CPSU elected by the 24th Congress held a Plenary Meeting on April 9, 1971.

The Plenary Meeting unanimously elected Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

The Plenary Meeting elected the following comrades to the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU: L. I. Brezhnev, G. I. Voronov, V. V. Grishin, A. P. Kirilenko, A. N. Kosygin, F. D. Kulakov, D. A. Kunayev, K. T. Maruzov, A. J. Pelshe, N. V. Podgorny, D. S.

Polyansky, M. A. Suslov, A. N. Shelepin, P. E. Shelest, V. V. Shcherbitsky.

Elected as Alternate Members of the Political Bureau were the following comrades: Y. V. Andropov, P. N. Demichev, P. M. Masherov, V. P. Mzhavanadze, Sh. R. Rashidov, D. F. Ustinov.

The following comrades were elected as Secretaries of the CC CPSU: L. I. Brezhnev, P. N. Demichev, I. V. Kapitonov, K. F. Katusev, A. P. Kirilenko, F. D. Kulakov, B. N. Ponomaryov, M. S. Solomentsev, M. A. Suslov, D. F. Ustinov.

The Plenary Meeting confirmed Comrade A. J. Pelshe as the Chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CC CPSU.

A meeting of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU elected Comrade G. F. Sizov as its Chairman.

The concluding remarks at the Congress were made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

* * *

The materials of the 24th Congress of the CPSU are published in a special issue of the "Information Bulletin" (Nos. 7-8, 1971).

FOLLOWING THE LENINIST PATH

Communist and Workers' Parties on the 24th Congress of the CPSU

The 24th Congress of the CPSU was an important event in the life of the international Communist and working-class movement. The fact that 102 delegations from 91 countries took part in its work is a testimonial to the international prestige enjoyed by the CPSU, of the expansion and strengthening of the great alliance of the revolutionaries throughout the world.

The work of the Congress and its decisions have evoked great interest in all countries. The heads and members of the Party delegations attending the Congress reported in their countries on the work, results and significance of the 24th Congress of Soviet Communists. Below we publish excerpts from reports by leaders of some fraternal parties and from Party decisions.

POLAND

Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party, made a detailed report on the work of the 24th CPSU Congress at the Ninth Plenum of the CC PUWP.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU, he said, is a major event in the life of the international Communist and workers' movement. Delegations of 102 parties took part in its work. They represented the vast majority of the Communist and Worker's parties of the world and numerous revolutionary-democratic parties. The position expressed by the fraternal parties at the Congress has vividly reaffirmed the might of the world Communist and revolutionary movement, its solidarity with the CPSU and determination to strengthen unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the decisions of the 1969 International Meeting. The socio-economic, ideological and political results of the 24th Congress are a valuable common asset of the entire Communist and working-class movement.

E. Gierek drew attention to the important conclusions that follow from the 24th Congress for PUWP activity. He pointed out that the Congress placed improvement of the working people's well-being at the top of socio-economic priorities. Setting the course for ensuring a considerable improvement of the people's material and cultural standards on the basis of high growth rates of socialist production, the CPSU proceeds above all from the principle that satisfaction of the requirements of working people is the most important goal of social production under socialism. The growth of well-being is becoming an ever more important prerequisite of economic growth. It means providing conditions that are conducive to the performance capacity of workers, peasants and intelligentsia, the main productive forces of society.

Setting as its main task the growth of the people's well-being, the 24th CPSU Congress emphasized at the same that this task could not be solved by itself, in isolation from continued economic development. E. Gierek dwelt at length on the high industrial growth rates in the USSR, noting that they would be maintained in future too, for extended socialist reproduction depends on heavy industry. Heavy industry predetermines the high level of the present-day defense potential, which is of fundamental importance for both the USSR and all socialist countries, E. Gierek stressed.

We should draw many concrete conclusions for our work and our policy from the Soviet experience and especially from the decisions of the 24th Congress. We shall formulate them in the course of the discussion of the plan directives for the next few years.

Touching on the problems of the development of Soviet society, E. Gierek noted that a process of mutual rapprochement of the working class, the peasantry and intelligentsia is under way as a result of the changes in society and culture.

The 24th Congress demonstrated the Leninist unity of all the

peoples of the land of Soviets. The delegates of different constituent Republics cited their great achievements, at the same time pointing to the process of mutual rapprochement and closer unity of the Soviet peoples and nationalities and to the leading role of the Russian people.

The CC PUWP First Secretary stressed that the leading role of the CPSU is the main condition for all economic and social progress in the Soviet Union and for the continued successful building of the new society. This role is further enhanced and the development of the Party itself assured in the process of communist construction.

The 24th CPSU Congress provided one more cogent proof of the Soviet Union's key role in consolidating the might and unity of the socialist community and its position in the world. The analysis of the international situation and its prospects given in the reports and speeches at the Congress is permeated with the conviction that the socialist world system is the main factor of the anti-imperialist struggle, contributing decisively to the solution of the task of preventing another world war, which is of crucial importance for all nations.

The development of cooperation within the Warsaw Treaty and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance is an important condition for strengthening the socialist community. The unanimous stand taken by the Warsaw Treaty countries has foiled the NATO plans to give the FRG militarists access to nuclear weapons. The peace pattern in Europe established as a result of the Second World War and post-war development has been consolidated. Actively working to build up the political prerequisites of security on our continent, the Warsaw Treaty countries have also strengthened their defense forces, the main guarantee of security. The Warsaw Treaty military organization has been further improved. The armed forces of our states have high standards of training and combat preparedness and dependably safeguard the peaceful work of the fraternal nations.

Political unity of fraternal parties, especially their solidarity with the CPSU, E. Gierek stressed, is fundamentally important for strengthening the socialist community.

In his report to the 24th Congress, Comrade Brezhnev touched on the relations with the Chinese People's Republic. The ideological and political platform advanced by the present Chinese leadership, he said, runs counter to the vital interests of the Communist movement and socialist community. As for the state relations between the USSR and the CPR, there are signs of their certain normalization. Comrade Brezhnev emphasized that the USSR was ready to take steps aimed at further normalizing these relations, at the same time rejecting as unfounded and harmful the attacks on the

CPSU that have recently been renewed by the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. The Congress expressed the conviction that improvement of relations between the USSR and the CPR would accord with the fundamental interests of the two countries, the interests of socialism and peace.

Our Party, the CC PUWP First Secretary stressed, fully shares the view of the CPSU on this question. Our Party's stand on all problems connected with the position in the system of the socialist states and in the world Communist movement follows from our loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism, from the conviction that the unity of the forces of socialism is an essential condition for success in our common struggle against imperialism. We shall consistently follow this line, strengthening first of all our solidarity and coordinated action with the CPSU. Our attitude to the CPSU, to the land of Soviets, is a convincing criterion of work for the unity of the socialist and anti-imperialist forces. The PUWP is consistently adhering to the common platform elaborated by the international Communist and working-class movement at its meetings, particularly to the line adopted at the 1969 Moscow Meeting.

We subscribe to the view of the CPSU and the majority of other fraternal parties concerning the need to fight both revisionism and dogmatism as tendencies contradicting Leninism. The main condition for an effective struggle against these two tendencies is the Leninist approach to the problems of socialist construction, that is, consistent defense of its basic principles, observances of its laws and, at the same time, creative development of socialist thought, solution of all important problems of social development. We underscored this viewpoint of our Party at the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee. We shall adhere to it, fostering in our Party loyalty to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and promoting on their basis a creative, constructive discussion of the problems of further socialist progress in Poland.

The 24th CPSU Congress made a profound analysis of the present-day international situation and confirmed the correctness of the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state in the struggle against imperialism, for socialism, freedom of the peoples and for peace. Determined rebuff to imperialist aggression is invariably linked with the constructive course of Soviet policy aimed at implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence and settling urgent international problems, at maintaining normal and, wherever possible, good relations with states that have a different social system.

The CPSU Congress was a manifestation of solidarity with the peoples fighting against imperialist aggression. The participants and delegates of other parties expressed their whole-hearted support for the embattled peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

The CPSU, like the majority of the delegations of other parties attending the Congress, reaffirmed its support for the Arab peoples in their struggle to end the occupation of Arab territories and restore peace in the Middle East.

The Congress decisions contain a broad program of struggle for peaceful development of the whole world. This also applies to the situation in Central Europe, a zone of special interest to us. Poland will actively cooperate with the Soviet Union and other member-states of the Warsaw Treaty in putting this program into practice. We share Comrade Brezhnev's view that new prospects are now opening up in Europe, due especially to the serious shift in the relations between the socialist countries and the FRG.

E. Gierek said that all Party members should closely study the materials of the 24th Congress, which should become the subject of Party education first of all. Cardinal problems of the Congress decisions will be popularized in the press, radio and television.

G D R

The keynote of the 24th Congress of the CPSU was the political, ideological and organizational unity and cohesion of the CPSU around its Leninist Central Committee, says the resolution of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, published on April 15.

The Congress provided answers to the pressing problems of communist construction, the development of the socialist world system and the worldwide revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle. It brilliantly reaffirmed the role of the CPSU as the most experienced and steeled contingent of the world Communist movement. The Congress was the most representative international forum of the revolutionary forces of the whole world. Having discussed and approved the report of the CC SUPG delegation on the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the Political Bureau conveys congratulations to the Party of Lenin and to the great Soviet people in connection with the historic results of the 24th Congress.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU has opened a new important stage in Soviet society's advance towards communism, the most just social system. The report of the CC CPSU made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Comrade A. N. Kosygin's report on the Ninth Five-Year Plan Directives and the documents approved by the Congress add up to a vast, scientifically grounded program of further developing the material and technical basis of communism and considerably raising the well-being of the Soviet people.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU has given the people of the whole world a broad program of peace and international security. It shows the way to ending imperialist aggression and conquest

in the Middle East and achieving a peaceful political settlement of all other outstanding issues and conflicts. At the same time it is a constructive plan for securing peace throughout the world, averting the threat of a thermonuclear war, ending the arms drive and achieving effective international disarmament, implementing the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU is an important milestone on the way to closer unity in action by all Communist and Workers' parties, all anti-imperialist forces.

Having theoretically generalized its rich experience of building communist society, the CPSU is rendering invaluable assistance to the Communist and Workers' parties of fraternal socialist countries in solving their tasks, the decision of the CC SUPG Political Bureau continues.

The Congress more precisely formulated the fundamental problems of the development of the socialist world system, the main aspects of the economic integration and all-round cooperation of fraternal parties and countries of the socialist community.

The work of the 24th CPSU Congress and its decisions promote the cohesion of the revolutionary forces of today. The Congress has enriched the theory of Marxism-Leninism with important propositions, thereby making a considerable contribution to strengthening the ideological unity of the world Communist movement.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A meeting of the Party activists of the Prague City Party organization and the regional Party organization of Central Czechia was held on April 14 to discuss the results of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The meeting was addressed by Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the CC CPC. He conveyed heartfelt fraternal greetings from the Soviet people, the delegates to the 24th CPSU Congress, the Party and state leaders of the Soviet Union, from the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

We are discussing the 24th CPSU Congress, he said, not only because the CPSU is the party of a friendly country, on which our security and further development depend. There is another aspect. The problems and plans discussed at the Congress are largely identical with our tasks and problems, which we are solving and must solve in the process of the further development of socialist society, the Communist Party, the economy, etc.

For us direct participants, the 24th Congress was a great school of solving problems, a great school of inner democracy and high discipline of the powerful 14-million strong army of Soviet Com-

munists. I am firmly convinced, G. Husak said, that all of us, our entire Party, will return again and again to the documents and decisions of the Congress and study the experience and plans of the great fraternal and friendly country.

Each CPSU Congress is of great importance, due to the position of this gigantic country in the world, the position of the CPSU in the international workers' and Communist movement. Today, after the Congress has concluded its work, all progressives and every objective-minded person must recognize the vast, far-reaching importance of the Congress of Soviet Communists for world peace, for the development of socialist society and for successful advance.

One of the characteristic features of the 24th Congress and the policy of the CPSU, the speaker said, is the fight of Soviet Communists, Soviet people and the Soviet state for peace throughout the world, for eliminating the seats of war, frustrating imperialist plans and assuring the peaceful development of all nations. This feature was prominent in the report of L. I. Brezhnev and the speeches of delegates.

Special emphasis was laid at the Congress on the fact that the Soviet Union, its people and its armed forces, its policy, have assured 25 years of peace. And we said that they have assured peace not only for the Soviet citizens, but also for us, for the whole of Europe. There are forces in Europe who would like to solve a number of problems by force. It is only the political, economic and military might of the Soviet Union that prevented, prevents and will continue to prevent the imperialists and revanchists from violating peaceful coexistence.

Another characteristic feature of the 24th Congress are the efforts of the CPSU to strengthen the world Communist and working-class movement, to unite it still more closely, enhance its fighting capacity and promote its ties with the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and other continents.

More than 100 delegations of Communist and Workers' parties, and democratic parties in the Third World, attended the Congress of Soviet Communists. All of them pointed out the positive role played by the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, the hopes it inspires in the workers', democratic and progressive movements, its support of the efforts of nations to liquidate colonialism and semi-colonial forms. They emphasized the significance for all of the world's first and strongest socialist state. The efforts to set up a united front against imperialism, against reactionary forces were a conspicuous feature of the 24th Congress.

Contrary to the lies and slander emanating from China and elsewhere, it was confirmed that the CPSU and the Soviet Union are the main force on which not only the socialist countries, Workers' and Communist parties, but also the world's democratic and pro-

gressive forces can rely for support. It was a demonstration of respect and support for the Soviet Union and also of the Soviet Union's support for all peaceful, progressive aspirations of workers and other working people all over the world. The Congress was a vivid demonstration of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The reports and speeches by delegates and representatives of fraternal parties stressed the need to strengthen the socialist camp and to enhance its unity, to utilize all common political, economic and social sources for its continued development. It was stated clearly that all and any plots by imperialists and different subversive forces to split this camp would be foiled, that the efforts to seek out cracks and fissures in it and to weaken its separate links are coming up against common rebuff by the socialist countries and Communist parties.

Czechoslovakia's development over the last few years shows, on the one hand, how it is possible to weaken socialist development, to follow the path of abolishing revolutionary gains of the working people and, on the other, how these plans can be thwarted. The CPC delegation, which spoke at the Congress, pointed to the internal and international causes of the crisis and described the aid of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries as internationalist assistance. Firmly convinced that we are speaking on behalf of the 1,200,000 Czechoslovak Communists and the vast majority of our people, we expressed gratitude to the Soviet people, the CPSU and the Soviet Government for the timely fraternal internationalist help, for the help rendered at a time when the sound Marxist revolutionary forces in our country were disunited and disorganized, for their help in preserving the revolutionary gains of our people and protecting our socialist system, for giving us a possibility to recover, to re-form our ranks and continue to develop socialist society.

We can say, G. Husak continued, that our consistent policy has enabled us to solve all problems in our international relations and to re-establish sincere, friendly relations not only with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, but also with the international working-class and Communist and progressive movements in the world.

Then G. Husak noted that the Soviet people, both Communists and non-Communists, were devoting much attention to the solution of economic problems, adding that their experience was very important for the Communists of Czechoslovakia.

The First Secretary of the CC CPC emphasized that the great achievements of the Soviet Union were the result of the colossal organizing and creative efforts of the millions of Soviet Communists and that the Congress charted a program whose fulfillment would

promote the successful continued development of the whole society and the growth of prosperity standards.

The speaker underscored that the Congress and the activities of the CC CPSU were characterized by tremendous efforts to raise the Soviet people's standard of living. The CPSU is guided by the idea that socialist society means concern for the working man, that everything is done for him.

G. Husak pointed out the respect and trust shown at the Congress by Soviet Communists and Soviet people generally for the CC CPSU, its Political Bureau and above all for the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. This, he said, is the result of the correct policy of the CPSU tested in practice.

G. Husak pointed to the Leninist settlement of relations between the Soviet peoples and nationalities as a noteworthy feature. Having noted that the Congress devoted much attention to problems of the ideological work, G. Husak then underlined that in ideology there can be no compromises with the bourgeois camp, stressing the need to educate a socialist man devoted to the cause of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist state.

G. Husak spoke highly of Soviet democracy, saying that it may serve as an example for Czechoslovak working people.

In conclusion he said:

My general impression as a man who followed the work of the Congress and met hundreds of people is the feeling of pride for the signal successes scored by the Soviet Union, the confidence of the Soviet people that they are following a correct path, that there is no better system than the socialist system, the optimism of Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people.

From what I have seen, we must promote in every way our friendly, allied, comradely relations with the CPSU, the Soviet people, Soviet public organizations. We know how our freedom was restored. I have already said that the security and sovereignty of our state are illusory and impossible without friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union. There are still people in our country who do not understand these questions, and even people with anti-Soviet views. Perhaps, I would be exaggerating somewhat, but I will say what I think: he who does not treat the Soviet Union well, does not treat well our socialist system and his own people. Therefore, fostering fraternal, comradely, allied relations in the minds of people, in all organs of our state and our society is in our national and state interests, in the interests of our socialist society. Our recent experience shows that it is unthinkable to build socialist society here, on the border of the imperialist camp, without these sincere and friendly relations. The development of our economy, our scientific and technical base, is inconceivable without close cooperation with the Soviet Union. The knowledge and ex-

perience drawn by us from the 24th Congress of the CPSU also tell us that we must do our best to expand and develop our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union.

G. Husak emphasized the vast importance of Czechoslovakia's membership in the socialist camp, in the international Communist and workers' movement, which gives it added strength. Our greatness, he said, also lies in the strength of our alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union. So let us continue to apply in everyday life and in practice the experience drawn from the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The meeting adopted a statement approving the report of the First Secretary of the CC CPC and stressing the tremendous international significance of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

FRANCE

A mass meeting was held on April 14 in one of the largest halls of the French capital, "Mutualite." The Communists of Paris and its working-class suburbs met with the members of the French Communist Party delegation, who took part in the work of the 24th CPSU Congress.

Opening the meeting, René Piquet, member of the Politbureau of the French Communist Party, emphasized that the Soviet Union has proved the historical superiority of socialism over capitalism in the economic, social and cultural spheres. Then he gave the floor to Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the Party.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU, G. Marchais said, was a historic congress, whose conclusions would undoubtedly exert a profound influence on both the economic and social development of the Soviet Union and the evolution of the international situation. For the Soviet people it announces new steps to be taken by a developed socialist society on the road towards communism. For the peoples of the world it confirms that socialism is the vehicle and champion of peace and the independence of peoples in face of aggression and imperialist bids for domination.

Pointing out that the Soviet Union is pursuing a policy aimed at ensuring genuine and dependable international security, G. Marchais stressed that the 24th Congress offered all nations and governments a genuine program of peace. L. I. Brezhnev, he added, formulated in his report a whole range of constructive proposals the aim of which is to eliminate the seats of war in Southeast Asia and the Middle East, guarantee collective security in Europe, remove the threat of a nuclear war and advance the cause of disarmament.

This program of peace, the speaker said, has evoked wide interest among world public opinion, because it conforms to the deep as-

pirations of men and women on all continents, who want peace, independence and security, and can be met only with support and approval by all progressive and peace-loving forces.

It is necessary, he said, to work for an alliance of French democratic organizations and, in particular, between the Communist and the Socialist parties, for joint action on a number of issues that are of vital importance for the country and its security and also for the cause of world peace.

Speaking about the Directives of the Congress for the five-year economic development plan for 1971-75, G. Marchais said that they testified to the dynamism of the socialist economy.

In the concluding section of his report G. Marchais dealt with the problems of the unity of the Communist movement, the unity of all the forces of democracy, progress, peace and socialism. One of the most important features of the 24th Congress, he said, was that it developed into a powerful demonstration of proletarian internationalism.

The liberation struggle of the peoples, the struggle for social liberation, national independence and peace, he said, is receiving vital support from the world socialist system and especially the Soviet Union. And he added: this is exactly why anti-Sovietism, as we declared from the Congress rostrum, whatever its form, is a crime against the interests of the working class and the people. We said this in Moscow and repeat it again here, in Paris: we have waged and will continue to wage a most resolute struggle against anti-Sovietism.

Relations of brotherhood, solidarity and cooperation have been established from the very outset between the French Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and no ordeals could or would ever undermine them. We are determined to continue strengthening in every way these relations between our two parties. At the same time we shall work, as energetically as ever, for cooperation between France and the Soviet Union in all spheres.

ITALY

On April 14, *Unita* published a communication of the Italian Communist Party Leadership about its meeting, held under the chairmanship of General Secretary Luigi Longo on April 13 to discuss E. Berlinguer's information about the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The meeting approved the activity of the ICP delegation at the Congress.

The ICP Leadership adopted a decision calling for extensive coverage in the Party press of the work and results of the CPSU Congress, showing their importance in the struggle for peace,

against imperialism and for socialism. It also envisages their discussion at mass meetings to be held on the initiative of the ICP.

FINLAND

The plenary meeting of the CC CPF held on April 22, adopted a decision on the report of Party Chairman Aarne Saarinen on the work of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The documents of the 24th CPSU Congress, the decision says, map out the main line of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, aimed at strengthening universal peace and security, and define the program of peace whose realization would lead to a detente and broader cooperation between states with different social systems on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

At the 24th Congress of the CPSU and in the greetings of fraternal parties, emphasis was laid on the decisive importance of the Communist and working-class movement and the need to strengthen its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, progress and socialism. This fully corresponds to the position of the CPF. Closer unity of the international Communist movement creates prerequisites for uniting all anti-imperialist forces into a common front of struggle against aggressive imperialist plans.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU demonstrated the brilliant practical implementation of the principles of scientific socialism, which is essential in the ideological struggle against bourgeois and reformist ideology and all departures from Marxism-Leninism.

The documents approved by the Congress set grandiose tasks for further economic development. The main task of the new five-year plan is considerably to raise the material and cultural well-being of Soviet people. The successes achieved by the Soviet Union to date and the realization of the new goals convincingly prove to the peoples of the world the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Finland and the USSR maintain friendly relations. It is necessary to oppose the Right forces striving to undermine these relations and to impede the development of cooperation between the two countries. The USSR is willing to extend economic cooperation with the capitalist countries, Finland included. The Central Committee holds that the government of our country should act in common with all progressive forces in the interests of expanding cooperation beneficial to our country. Many concrete economic decisions have been made of late for the realization of which our Party has worked systematically. The treaty on economic, technical and industrial cooperation that has just been signed between Finland and the USSR opens up new vast opportunities. It is very important

to utilize these opportunities which meet the interests of our country and people.

CANADA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada passed a resolution on the report of the Party delegation that attended the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The resolution greets the historic decisions of the 24th Congress, which signifies a new stage in the building of communism in the USSR and further strengthening of the positions of the socialist system of states and opens possibilities for more victories for the policy of peaceful coexistence.

To popularize the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress among the working class and people of Canada, the resolution says, is the internationalist duty of Canadian Communists.

LEBANON

The Politbureau of the Lebanese Communist Party met on April 24. The main item on its agenda, according to a communique, was the report of Politbureau member George Haoui on the work of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The Politbureau gave high appraisal of the work of the Congress, stressing its immense importance as an event that has further heightened the CPSU's prestige in the world Communist movement and affirmed the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The communique gives prominence to the statement of the 24th Congress, "For a Just and Lasting Peace in the Middle East," saying that it is highly important for the Lebanese Communists in their fight against imperialism, reaction and opportunism.

The Lebanese Communist Party, the communique continues, pays special attention to the study of the documents and decisions of the Congress in all Party organizations, with a view to popularizing them among Party members and all progressive sections of the population. The fulfilment of this task, stresses the Politbureau, will make for closer friendship between our peoples and will help expose the designs of the enemies of the Soviet Union to split the international Communist movement.

The Politbureau approved the activity of the Lebanese delegation at the 24th Congress of the CPSU and expressed gratitude to the CC CPSU for the reception accorded to it.

RESOLUTION OF 20th CONGRESS OF BELGIUM COMMUNIST PARTY

IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS:

The Congress resolves that:

—the struggle for world peace remains the prime aim of Party policy, founded on the premise that war is no longer an inevitability. This policy is designed to provide conditions for genuine peaceful coexistence. It is inseparable from the duty of Communists to support movements for national and social liberation which are growing and developing the world over and are an expression of the class struggle on a world scale. This policy requires a consistent and worldwide struggle against the plots of American imperialism and its allies, which are the main reason for the existing threat of a third world war.

This struggle which the Party is waging together with workers' and peace forces merges with the struggle of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, that decisive and indispensable support for the entire peaceful and anti-imperialist policy. It is also closely related to the struggle of all progressive forces in the world.

Acting on these fundamental guidelines it is imperative to defeat U.S. imperialist policy in Indochina, support the peoples of the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America who are struggling for genuine political and economic independence. In particular, it is necessary to secure normal relations between the Belgian government and the People's Republic of China, as well as the latter's admission to the UN with full powers in the Security Council. The Congress appeals to the Party to concentrate its efforts on the following tasks:

1. To secure action by the entire trade union movement compelling the government to dissociate itself publicly from the American policy on Indochina and insist on a stop to the bombings and on the withdrawal of U.S. troops. The 8th of May affords just such an opportunity.

2. Create "Vietnam" committees at enterprises and in communes in order to organize moral, material and medical aid to the Indochina peoples.

3. Organize acts of solidarity with progressive Americans, in particular on the days of struggle April 4 and May 5.

In Europe the anti-imperialist struggle demands first and fore-

most the establishment of a system of European collective security envisaging dissolution of military blocs, cessation of the arms race and emergency measures for controlled disarmament. In Belgium this struggle must find expression in the working people's determined opposition to NATO, in energetic action for recognition of the GDR and its admission to international organizations, a demand for a policy of active neutrality, guaranteeing the country's political independence and fulfilment of democratic strivings impeded by U.S. interference.

Within the peace movements that are developing in the organized workers' movement and in similar trends that inspire the younger generation, the Party should take initiative in the following directions:

1. Demand that the Belgian government voice its unconditional consent to the earliest possible convening of a conference of European states and participate actively in the preparations.

2. Create district committees of action and information on European security.

3. Oppose all increases in military spending, and obtain its reduction, stressing the point, especially in the trade unions, that success in this would stimulate economic and social progress.

4. Make sure that in May 8 actions accent is put on the idea of European security; work for the success of anti-NATO demonstrations to be organized this autumn by the Communist Youth League.

5. Develop cooperation between the workers' and democratic organizations in our country and the socialist countries by establishing lasting contacts between trade unions, and fraternal bonds between cities, enterprises, schools, etc.

The Congress reaffirms the profound solidarity uniting Belgian Communists with the Communists in the socialist countries and the entire international Communist and workers' movement.

This solidarity rests not only on common principles determining their activities but also on the necessity and common will to defeat imperialism and the desire to build socialism.

Indeed, the existence and strengthening of the socialist countries could have only an extremely beneficial influence on the major battles of the working class in our own country.

Today, just as yesterday, any split, any weakening of solidarity, would either bring us closer to the bourgeoisie or lead to our isolation in the face of the bourgeoisie.

We refuse to equate the objective limits and the deficiencies of the socialist system, on the one hand, and the fundamental inhumanity of capitalism, on the other. We also believe it is necessary and useful to analyze the problems, situations and phenomena confronting other parties and, if need be, to express points of view

based on this critical analysis in order to facilitate the exchange of information and viewpoints and bring positions into harmony.

The solidarity uniting Communists the world over places a collective responsibility on them for their principles and common positions, while the actions of one inevitably reflect upon the positions of others. The establishment and constant improvement of socialist democracy demands participation by each and all; it implies confrontation of ideas and real discussions.

This method found expression in the work and decisions of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and also in the many subsequent bilateral and multilateral meetings. We shall continue to apply this method, constantly improving it to the best of our ability, and this equally in our relations with the other Communist parties of European capitalist countries.

Belgian Communists attach great significance to the conference of Communist parties of European capitalist countries, held in London last January. The aim of the conference was to facilitate the common struggle of European workers, their trade unions and parties on the level of multi-national enterprises. It is the opinion of Belgian Communists that re-enforcement of joint action by the workers' movement in capitalist Europe against international trusts dominating the Common Market institutions requires an early transition to concrete forms of an exchange of experience and information between the interested Communist Parties, uniting Communists active in the trade unions at multi-national enterprises, facilitating cooperation between the trade unions in the six Common Market countries, irrespective of their international affiliation.

Parallel with this, Belgian Communists are working for stronger ties between worker and democratic organizations in our country and corresponding organizations in the socialist countries.

THE STRUGGLE IN BELGIUM

The present government is becoming a tool of the capitalist monopolies which are attempting to subordinate the workers' movement. Such a situation leads to insecurity in employment, income and living conditions, an under-developed social infra-structure and limitation of democratic rights.

The big bourgeoisie meeting with the people's mounting opposition is not capable of enforcing its own policy without the help of the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party of Belgium (SPB) and the Christian Democrats close to the government.

The Communist Party Congress holds that the struggle against big capital and its allies necessitates struggle by all working people against the integration policy of the Rightists in the SPB, against the restraining influence which it exercises on the masses.

The toiling population is capable of imposing its own program. The militancy of the working class and its allies—the small traders, farmers, the independents and the youth—is undeniable. The lawful demands of working women for wage equality, social benefits and a larger network of public service establishments are becoming more urgent.

What is lacking, however, is the determination of all opponents of big capital to unite on the basis of concrete actions and to draft a common program. Yet that is the road to follow if opposition to power is to be gradually built up in different fields.

The Congress of the Belgian Communist Party has resolved not to spare efforts for achieving united action by all progressive forces.

Together with the most militant working people, mainly those organized in the General Federation of Belgian Working People (GFBWP), the Communists must wage a struggle to win over the working people and their organizations. In this they attach great importance to the development of a joint trade union front, starting from below.

The Congress reasserts its determination to respect and make others respect the independence of the trade unions.

The Congress resolves to resist any attempts to weaken trade union organizations, i.e., attempts at integration by big business and its allies, the Right Social-Democrats; attempts to hem in the activity of the trade unions and force them to accept government policy, which curtail democratic procedures and hamper workers' action; attempts by irresponsible Leftist elements to divert the workers' movement onto the road of adventurism, creating additional excuses for interference by the forces of repression.

The Congress appeals to all Party members to be the most active defenders of internal democracy in their trade union organizations.

The Congress appeals to progressive-minded people to organize and improve unity of action in the lower organizations, at private and government enterprises, at their place of residence and in educational establishments, which would make it possible to set up permanent committees of joint action by the Left forces at different levels. In this respect the Congress notes with interest the proposal of the last GFBWP congress for a broad alliance of progressive forces. The Congress believes that all progressive forces must take part in drawing up a common program. The Congress appeals to all who are in favor of creating a front of progressive forces, to establish the basis for a broad political alliance capable of following a new policy against the neo-capitalist forces.

The Congress resolves to submit for discussion by the Left forces the following proposals with the purpose of drafting a common political program:

—guaranteed incomes, buying capacity and employment for the

working people through the passing of a law, obliging capitalist companies, aided in some way by the government, to respect measures that would be adopted to provide full employment and to prevent dismissals;

—to organize a struggle at enterprises and the public service network for workers' control of such problems as defense of incomes and employment; demand at the same time legal measures to extend workers' and democratic control to all political, economic and social life;

—to fight in the provinces for attaining real powers and democratization of all new institutions foreseen by the new Constitution and the law on economic decentralization in order to facilitate the introduction of democratic federalism; for legislation to this effect and greater powers for Parliament in all spheres which should remain in its competence;

—organize control in the communes over the deputies by securing respect for election promises and elaboration jointly with the population of neighborhood development programs;

—a struggle for social equality of immigrant workers and their right to participate in communal council elections;

—revise the taxation system by establishing a tax scale, increasing taxes on estates and large fortunes and cutting indirect taxes;

—re-orientation of the state budget, with greater allocations for the health services, social security, public housing and nature protection. The prime requirement of the health services is a correct policy in administrative bodies;

—adoption by Parliament of a general, five-year anti-monopoly plan for the country as a whole, the basic sectors of economic and social activities and for the country's three regions. This plan must provide for required cultural improvements for the two basic national communities in the country and also for the German-speaking community;

—a reform in education through an all-encompassing plan providing for the rationalization, democratization and improvement of the entire system of education;

—nationalization of the credit, insurance and power sectors;

—legislation providing for obligatory publicity of the affairs of public and private enterprises;

—anti-monopoly measures for protecting freedom of the press and a democratic reform of the status of radio and television.

THE PARTY

The Congress declares that the Party should demonstrate in practice its role as the vanguard of the workers' and democratic movement in Belgium.

In practical terms, this concept should take a firm hold in our

ranks. The Party undertakes political initiatives that it alone can undertake. It does not in any way oppose correct measures by other organizations and workers' parties.

The Party will never abandon its ideological and political principles.

The present task of the Party is to help the Left forces free themselves of all that hinders their advance, to give the mass actions and struggle against neo-capitalism new vigor and to isolate all trends and individuals in the movement who preach integration, class cooperation, anti-communism and who impair the freedoms.

In this way conditions will be created for true unification of all progressive forces without exception and reservations, affording the opportunity for creating a Left alternative in our country.

Together with all possible allies or, if necessary, initially utilizing our own forces, effective polemics should be waged with the Right trends, with wait-and-see trends, fearing action. It is in the true interest of unity that we cannot allow the differences between the positions of the Left and Right to be effaced.

It follows that the Party must respond to all arising problems quickly and lucidly, with its own standpoint and proposals in all sectors of the struggle.

Special concern should be shown for Communist ideology which serves the daily struggle. If the struggle on the ideological front is inadequate, the workers' movement falls prey to reformism and bourgeois ideology, with the risk that they could penetrate even our ranks.

The Congress instructs the Central Committee to take the necessary measures to step up the struggle in this area.

In its work the Party leans upon the organized working class at the enterprises. Party cells and sections at enterprises should not be looked upon exclusively as the motive force behind trade union work. They are also active in all spheres of the political struggle at the enterprises.

Their network should be extended and their work improved where they already exist.

The Congress instructs the Central Committee to pay special heed to carrying out this urgent and necessary task.

But the Party should also channel its efforts into other sectors of the struggle.

Administrative personnel, intellectuals, the gainfully employed population, cultural workers and the youth should be involved in Party activities. The Party must create conditions for a greater number of women to participate in the struggle. It must unfold work in the communes, educational establishments, and so on, wherever problems agitating the masses arise.

Without the Party, there can be no organized revolutionary movement.

It is necessary to improve organization throughout the Party, from the primary organizations up to the leading bodies. Under no circumstances can we be satisfied with the forces at our disposal at present. In particular, the Party must set up active viable cells, first of all at enterprises, in schools, and in residential areas on the basis of common interests and in line with the tasks set by the June 27-28 and November 7-8 1970 CC Plenums.

The 20th Congress points out that the 50 years' experience of the Belgian Communist Party has had tremendous significance for the Belgian working-class and democratic movement. Our truly Leninist Party has participated in many battles and events, past and present.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary the Congress expresses its extreme gratitude to the many Party members who have selflessly served the revolutionary cause all these years.

* * *

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Belgium, held in Charleroi March 19, 20 and 21, 1971, resolves:

- to raise to a new level the struggle against neo-capitalist ideology, opportunism and its various Leftist tendencies, against anti-Communism. The task is to retaliate blow for blow the enemy's plotting;

- in the organizational field to give priority to the work of building up Party cells and groups at enterprises and in residential areas;

- to exert efforts in order to extend Communist Youth activities. It is the responsibility of the entire Party to establish in every area such youth organizations as the Belgian Communist Youth, the National Union of Students-Communists, the Belgian Pioneers Union and our Youth Houses;

- to assure and build up the training of Party members and Party personnel;

- to improve information and propaganda work, especially through the sale of *Drapeau Rouge* and *Rode Vaan*;

- to wage a permanent campaign for Party membership in 1971, instructing each federation to increase its membership as compared to 1970;

- to strengthen the Party's monolithic unity and raise its fighting spirit and the discipline of Communists and their organizations in elaborating and implementing decisions.

The Congress calls on Party organizations to assure the success of the campaign for financial support of the Party's development.

RESOLUTION OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA, ON THE CZECHOSLOVAK QUESTION

The 21st Party Congress instructed the CC to "carefully analyze the development of events in Czechoslovakia, taking into consideration the position of this fraternal Party and to draw conclusions for the time being" and by so doing to end the discussions of the events in Czechoslovakia. In line with this decision the CC CPA accepted an invitation from the CC CPC and sent a delegation to Prague.

The CC CPA approves the delegation's report and the communique prepared by both parties, stressing the following points in the communique:

"The CPA delegation expressed its solidarity with the CPC's policy aimed at consolidating the socialist social system, attaining new successes in all spheres of public life and developing socialist democracy. Such development would also be in the interests of the struggle being waged by Austrian Communists and the progressive forces for peace, democracy and socialism.

"The CPA delegation views the restoration of the CPC's ability to act, the strengthening of the leading role of the working class and the combatting of anti-socialist forces as important steps in the defense and further successful development of socialist gains in the CSSR.

"The CPA delegation also expressed its satisfaction that the enhanced unity of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid signed by the USSR and the CSSR signify that all imperialist speculation and hope of a weakening of the socialist camp is doomed to failure.

"The CPA states its determination to counter attacks against the fraternal Czechoslovak Party and the CSSR, which are contrary to the desire for peaceful coexistence and a relaxation of tension in Europe."

The CPC has found a way out of the crisis and is resolutely advancing towards its solution. We welcome the economic and political consolidation in the CSSR and the CPC policy aimed at overcoming the deformations of the Novotny period and the dangers to socialism coming from Right opportunism while Dubcek was in office. Once again the CPC and the socialist state have been

Adopted on March 11. *Volksstimme*, March 13, 1971.

strengthened in the CSSR and are determining their policy independently on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The CPA will do its utmost in order to deepen the friendship between the CPC and the CPA and work for close relations between Czechoslovakia and Austria.

In its time the Czechoslovak crisis brought the crisis fermenting in our Party to a head. The revisionist and Right opportunist forces in our Party, collaborating closely with the revisionists in the CPC, launched an all-out offensive against our Party's Marxist-Leninist foundations. In particular, they wanted to utilize the perturbations in the CPA and the world Communist movement caused by the Czechoslovak events and the action of the other socialist countries, in order to force our Party onto revisionist positions. With the aid of the bourgeois mass information media, following the events of August 21, they were able to provoke serious confusion within the Party. They took advantage of the fact that there were many comrades in our Party and several fraternal parties who were critical of the August 21 events, while the majority of Party members understood that the action of the socialist countries in Czechoslovakia was necessary for the defense of socialism in the CSSR, the security of the socialist countries and world peace. The CC CPA resolution of August 22, 1968, was used by them as an instrument promoting their revisionist views. The facts known today show that certain key points in that resolution and later decisions were incorrect.

Referring to that resolution, the Right opportunist forces took a stand that contradicted the decisions of the CC and the 19th and 20th CPA Congresses (describing the action of the Warsaw Treaty countries as "aggression" and "occupation," and equating the Soviet Union with imperialism, etc.).

In the course of the stubborn struggle the great majority of parties successfully defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism, friendship with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries and the efforts for greater unity of the world Communist movement. The Right opportunists were forced to openly state their views on cardinal issues. They came up against the increasingly determined resistance of the majority of Party organizations. It became obvious to the great majority of Party members that the Right opportunists took a stand that was just as hostile towards the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the world Communist movement as the stand of the bourgeois mass information media and the Social-Democratic leaders.

Defending the Party from the revisionists who discredited, abused and slandered it, questioning its right to exist and its historical mission, all Communists closed their ranks irrespective of their views—critical or not—of the events that took place on August 21, 1968.

The CPA has evaluated the solution of the crisis in the CSSR by political means as the only correct way, and increasingly supported consolidation in the CSSR.

The 21st CPA Congress confirmed the corresponding conclusions in spite of strong resistance by the revisionists. As a result of the crisis the Party suffered serious losses and must now overcome numerous difficulties. But in the period following the 21st Congress important steps have been taken on the road to consolidation. Once again the struggle for the working people's interests and for strengthening the Party is in the center of our activities.

For the Right opportunists developments followed an entirely different course. Their plans to set up a so-called New Left to take the place of the Party have failed, it is becoming increasingly clear that they have no future and are cast in the role of helpers of the Austrian Socialist Party; their orientation on a split of the world Communist movement has collapsed. On the contrary, the unity of action of the world Communist movement has become stronger, as shown in particular by the positive results of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The thesis that our Party's program principles on Austria's road to socialism were proved illusory by the August 21 events has been refuted. We have reaffirmed and substantiated these principles at our 21st Congress.

A serious defeat was likewise suffered by the imperialist forces who intended using the crisis in Czechoslovakia not only to tear the CSSR away from the socialist community but also to start the cold war anew in Europe. The struggle for European security is in the forefront today. This is important not only for peace in Europe but also for Austria's neutrality and independence.

Austrian Communists recognize that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have rendered the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and socialist Czechoslovakia great help in coping with the crisis and in the struggle against the revisionist, anti-socialist forces. The great majority in our Party and the CC CPC express the conviction that the action of the five Warsaw Treaty countries on August 21, 1968 was a bitter necessity. It is in the interest of Party unity to acknowledge this fact and to show due respect to those comrades who, though they share the view that the action of the Warsaw Treaty countries was prompted by concern for the future of socialist Czechoslovakia, still have some critical reservations in that matter. What is important is the fact that the entire Party stands firmly united on the basis of the 21st Party Congress decisions. Following the road charted by the 21st Congress, our Party will concentrate all its forces on solving its tasks.

POLITICAL STATEMENT BY BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

1. Social and political forces dissatisfied with the situation in the country have become more active in recent months. Workers at many enterprises, and above all in Sao Paulo, are demonstrating and striking against delays in payment of wages and for better working conditions. Numerous trade unions and federations are sending memorandums to the government criticizing wage policy. They are also protesting against the arrests and assassinations of trade union leaders and express moral and material solidarity with political prisoners and individuals persecuted for political reasons. There is a trend towards unity in the trade union movement. Several regional meetings and national congresses have been held, notably the Industrial Workers' Congress called by the National Confederation of Industrial Workers. These meetings drafted a platform of demands calling for a change in the government's present wage policy. The platform also envisages action for the right to strike, for trade union freedoms and autonomy, democratic liberties, an agrarian reform and measures against foreign monopoly exploitation.

In the villages police reprisals and brutal killings by thugs in the pay of the latifundists could not stop the reorganization and creation of agrarian trade unions and a struggle for the observance of labor legislation. The peasants hit by the drought in the northeast, fled to the cities to escape starvation. The landowners protect their holdings sometimes by armed force. Criticism of the government's colonization plans is mounting, and demands resound for an agrarian reform and the abolition of the monopoly on land.

Student opposition to the maneuvers of the Minister of Education is growing and the movement is searching for ways to consolidate its ranks, step up the struggle against the dictatorship's terroristic legislation and to promote its specific demands.

Prominent intellectuals and art workers censure in different forms the suppression of the freedom of the press and the advance censorship of books and the press. They also oppose all fascist restrictions on cultural life.

Official documents of the Catholic church expose and condemn the torture of political prisoners. Catholic organizations, progressive church figures and groups are taking up positions against the dictatorial regime, demanding the restoration of human rights.

Abridged.

The recent elections of deputies and senators have demonstrated the force of the people's condemnation of the existing political regime. In spite of the far-flung restrictions during the recent elections, in spite of the nationwide police terror against voters and candidates alike, the opposition was victorious in the largest cities of Brazil.

All these facts show that national political life is in the process of change, to the disadvantage of the military clique that has usurped power in the country. The social and political opposition circles, resisting and fighting the present regime, are becoming increasingly more active. A process of gathering forces is taking place in the anti-dictatorial camp.

2. The results of the country's economic development are being extolled by the government, which parades them as a favorable factor in the nation's life and a great achievement of the 1964 "revolution." In reality, however, this economic development is being carried out in the interests of an insignificant minority, basically the foreign and national monopolies and big landowners. It is based on the growing exploitation of the working class and toiling masses and is accompanied by mounting unemployment, rapid concentration of capital and incomes, by the increasing impoverishment of our people and an accelerated de-nationalization of Brazil's economy. In view of this, the dictatorship's financial and economic policy is a permanent factor rousing dissatisfaction among workers, peasants, the urban middle strata, and the majority of local businessmen, especially small and middle businessmen.

This anti-labor and anti-popular policy is incompatible with a freedom-oriented regime. In 1964 the ruling military junta established a dictatorship and has been continuously accentuating its reactionary orientation. The spread of fascism in the country has reached such proportions that the people are gripped by feelings of insecurity and fear. Rule of law is non-existent. A repressive apparatus called the "Operational Center for Internal Defense," an equivalent of Hitler's Gestapo, was established and fortified in the armed forces. It resorts to the most brutal methods of terror and torture, arresting and killing with impunity and violating the most elementary civil rights, such as privacy of the home. This apparatus organizes what amounts to military operations against the population. It stands above the generals in the armed forces, imposing itself as a superior authority for the commanders of military units.

The military junta, adopting arbitrariness and terror as methods of government and holding the reins of power, is still able to oppress the people and implement its anti-national policy. But in spite of the temporary successes of such demagogic actions as the "Plan for the Social Integration of the Trans-Amazon Zone," it has

not been able to extend its social and political base. The opposite is happening—its economic policy and terroristic activities are multiplying the opposition forces. The more often the dictatorship resorts to violence, the less support it enjoys in its efforts for stabilization. Even those social groups that were taken in by the promises of "full democracy" today see for themselves that the Medici government is heading in the opposite direction and striving to perpetuate the dictatorship.

On the other hand, corruption among officials is gaining in scope, and the general public is learning about it. Contradictions within the dictatorship are deepening, finding expression in the economic policy and in the scandalous protection of the North American monopolies.

All this shows that in spite of the official propaganda efforts to create a semblance of stability, the dictatorship faces isolation and instability.

3. International developments, particularly in Latin America, are creating favorable conditions for our people's struggle. In the world of today it is the forces of democracy, social progress and socialism that are developing successfully.

North American imperialism is constantly losing ground on our continent. After the nationalist victories in Peru, Bolivia and Panama, the coming to power of the Popular Unity bloc in Chile was an event of tremendous political significance not only for the people of Chile, but for all peoples of Latin America.

The Brazilian government's reactionary policy is responsible for its increasing isolation in the international arena where our country, to its shame, is regarded as an example of backwardness and obscurantism. This isolation may be illustrated by the fact that the Brazilian UN delegate's stand in support of Portuguese colonialism received only 15 votes; the recent setback in the OAS when the delegate representing the Brazilian dictatorship was forced to leave an OAS meeting; the worldwide campaign against the torturing of political prisoners in Brazil.

4. The events of the past few months are indicative of an accelerated accumulation of forces in the anti-dictatorial camp. Possibly the regime will employ still greater violence against the people, but conditions exist for strengthening the movement of resistance, opposition and struggle against the regime of oppression.

Desperate and adventurist action in isolation from the masses cannot defeat the dictatorship, nor will its downfall come of itself.

The weakness of the mass movement continues to be the principal shortcoming of the anti-dictatorial camp. The trade union movement, for instance, has taken a big step forward in defining the aims of its struggle, but it must still organize the struggle to achieve

them. The anti-dictatorial forces, in spite of their growth, are still dispersed and not capable of defeating the dictatorship.

That is why we stress that the basic task is to overcome these drawbacks in order to radically change the political situation in Brazil.

In view of this it is imperative that systematic and persistent work be carried out among the population immediately in order to define their immediate economic demands and organize the struggle to win these demands. This means, for instance, organizing resistance to the regime's infringing on the working people's rights and interests. Today, more than ever before, sustained efforts are necessary to unite all the anti-dictatorial forces to win partial objectives and to fight against the government and the existing regime.

The struggle for democratic freedoms is growing in scope and significance in view of the political situation in the country. The demand is made today to abrogate the Institutional Act No. 5 (a reactionary, anti-democratic law—Ed.), restore civil rights and amnesty political prisoners. As the mass struggle spreads and united action by the democratic forces grows stronger, the political picture in Brazil will also change more and more in favor of the people. Then the people will be in a position to defeat the dictatorship and gain freedom from the oppression and poverty forced upon them, establish an anti-dictatorial government and devote themselves to building the future on the principles of freedom, prosperity and social progress.

March 1971

Central Committee, Brazilian
Communist Party

INTERVIEW WITH MEIR VILNER — GENERAL SECRETARY, CC CP OF ISRAEL

Where is Israel, where are the Israelis four years after the "six-day" war, the occupation of Arab territory and the refusal to negotiate?

The following is an interview with Meir Vilner, General Secretary CC CP of Israel who headed his Party's delegation to the 24th CPSU Congress in Moscow. Comrade Vilner was interviewed by a special correspondent of *Humanité*.

Q.—The Congress of the Labor Party, of which Golda Meir is one of the prominent figures, has again declared its intention of annexing large areas of Arab territory. What is the significance of this stubborn position of annexation by the Israeli rulers at a time when great efforts are being made, especially by Egypt, in order to reach a peaceful solution in the Middle East?

A.—Golda Meir's Labor Party Congress, the speeches at the Congress and last week's resolution show that the Israeli rulers have learned nothing from the past. They demand radical boundary changes. Golda Meir's speech shows that the extremist forces have the upper hand. This does not mean, however, that there do not exist more realistic tendencies in the country.

Q.—How can such a position be explained?

A.—A small country like Israel cannot afford to ignore international opinion and Security Council and UN resolutions. Such positions can be maintained only with help from the outside. In this case, support by North American imperialism.

The United States is hampering a political solution in the Middle East. With the aid of Israeli occupation it wants to force the Arab states to make political concessions and prove to them that the only way out is a rapprochement with the United States. That is why the United States continues supporting Israel's extremist positions in spite of certain tactical differences.

Q.—Is this realistic?

A.—We believe that the calculations of Washington and the Israeli government are not realistic. Their evaluation of the new balance of world forces is incorrect. In the Middle East they underestimate the fact that Egypt and Syria have created anti-imperialist regimes and established strong, friendly ties with the USSR and that the internal progressive reforms there are rooted deeply among the people.

Besides, these calculations do not take account of the change in the sentiments of Israeli society.

Q.—What is the nature of this change in sentiments in Israeli society?

A.—The population is gradually changing its appraisal of the situation. The people are no longer prepared to take part in a new war. There are several reasons for this:

1. Many have come to see that an annexationist policy with American support cannot lead anywhere. The events in Indochina have shown that the United States is not invulnerable.

2. The latest statement by the Egyptian government has made a big impression in our country. Egypt has officially declared its readiness to sign a peace treaty with the state of Israel, recognizing its sovereignty and guaranteeing freedom of navigation in the Suez canal and the Strait of Tiran.

People are coming to realize that there exists a realistic possibility of achieving a political solution and ending this hopeless war.

3. The war and the continued occupation of Arab territory are having an increasingly adverse effect on the country's economic and social life.

Q.—What is the cause of the growing social struggle in Israel?

A.—Prices and taxes keep climbing. In 1970 real wages for many working people, and in some cases the nominal wage, dropped. The compulsory defense loan is also a burden. Intellectuals and workers alike have to contend with the consequences of the government's expansionist policy.

In 1970 there were twice as many people out on strike as in 1969 and there is a powerful movement among dockers, power plant employees, ground crews in civil aviation and even among pilots. For seven weeks teachers in secondary schools were out on strike and hospital personnel, too, was involved in a prolonged struggle.

Taking into account the disaffection of public opinion, polls among the youth and even soldiers, the government is trying to find a remedy in anti-Sovietism. It has launched a campaign of unprecedented ferocity.

Q.—What is the purpose of this anti-Soviet campaign?

A.—The main reason is that the USSR advocates peace without annexation while the Israeli rulers prefer annexation without peace.

Those people who were saved by the Soviet Union during the Second World War finally get the impression that Jews were exterminated not by the Nazis but by Soviets. We are fighting against this immoral campaign.

Besides, anti-Sovietism helps build up American-type fascist groups. We have seen groups of students arriving here from the United States, wearing uniforms of the fascist Jewish Defense

League. The fascist Beitar organization recently attacked our Party premises in Tel-Aviv.

Q.—In these conditions, what is the policy of the Israeli CP?

A.—Our policy is aimed at establishing the widest possible front of groups and individuals advocating strict observance of the Security Council resolution, peace without annexation, irrespective of their political views and appraisal of the "six-day" war.

Our Party is no longer isolated as it was in 1967 when it was the sole political force opposing the war and occupation. Today groups and individuals cooperate with our Party, striving to reach the goals just mentioned. At a meeting on March 29 in the Journalists' House in Tel-Aviv, for instance, people of different backgrounds took the floor, including a rabbi, trade union functionaries and a journalist from the newspaper *Haaretz*.

This is a significant event, if we recall that there was a time when no one had any desire for discussions with the Communists.

We are struggling against anti-Sovietism, against any curtailment of freedom, especially freedom for Communists. Together with others we are fighting against any encroachments on democratic rights, against arrests, torture and destruction in the occupied areas.

In conclusion I should like to stress that the policy followed by the Israeli rulers rests only on the armed forces of American imperialism. This is very dangerous, especially for the state and the people of Israel.

There are people abroad and unfortunately also in France, possibly honest people, who want security for Israel, but at the same time back the policy of the Israeli government. As Israeli patriots, we say to them that their position is insolubly contradictory. Those who wish to see Israel existing in conditions of security and peace, supporting friendly relations with its Arab neighbors, must oppose the Israeli rulers' annexationist claims, come out against the refusal to recognize the rights of the people of Palestine and against subordination to American imperialism. This is the only way to defend the true interests of the Israeli people.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLES OF INDOCHINA

STATEMENT OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

American imperialism has suffered one more serious defeat in Indochina. In Laos the intervention by Saigon puppet troops and American forces has turned into a catastrophe for the aggressors, entailing huge losses in men and material and signifying a serious failure of the so-called policy of Vietnamization.

The French Communist Party hails the victories of the people of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, who are resolutely supported by the people and government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and who, closely rallied in a united front of struggle, enjoy the powerful and effective aid of the socialist countries and the support of all peace-loving forces the world over.

Although Nixon's administration has emerged weakened from this test, he has no intention of rejecting the goals of dominating that part of the world and is stubbornly continuing his policy of war and duplicity. Reporting a new withdrawal of a few thousand troops, he apparently wanted to create the impression that he was following the path of peace. At the same time, Nixon not only refuses to set a concrete date for the complete withdrawal of troops from Indochina, but is reinforcing the personnel and equipment of the air force and navy concentrated in that area and multiplying acts of war against the DRV.

On the other hand, at a time when bombing and chemical warfare are decimating the civilian population, Nixon is using his authority to cover up war crimes, freeing one of those directly responsible for the My Lai carnage.

In the struggle against these crimes and against the aggressive policy of American imperialism, unity of action of all the socialist countries, all Communist parties, of all forces struggling for national liberation and peace is extremely necessary.

The peace forces in France, united in a broad alliance, are coming out against all of Nixon's acts of escalating the war.

Forty French organizations widely representative of various democratic and peace forces have resolved to hold mass regional meetings on May 8 and 9 as part of a two-week action campaign,

Humanité, April 9, 1971.

April 24 to May 9. They will be held under the slogan of struggle for the earliest withdrawal of all U.S. forces, so that the peoples of Laos, Khmer and Vietnam may freely determine their own future. This action will coincide with demonstrations in the United States by American peace supporters whose movement is again on the upgrade.

All Communists and Party organizations will give their full support to these initiatives to ensure their success. This will serve also to strengthen the peace movement.

Striving to create conditions for these demonstrations and meetings to attain a scale fitting the present situation, the FCP, however, warns against slogans and forms of struggle that could possibly be advanced by adventuristic groups, because they are more interested in anti-communism than in effective support for the heroic peoples of Indochina.

The French peace forces will demonstrate their support for all those in the United States who are demanding that Nixon rapidly withdraw all aggressive American forces. They will express their complete solidarity with the people of Vietnam, Laos and Khmer fighting for their independence and world peace.

Paris, April 8, 1971.

SPEECH BY J. BROZ TITO

Yugoslav President J. Broz Tito, Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, addressed a political activ of the LCY in Pristina, Kosovo Autonomous Region. The following is a summary of his speech as released on April 15 by the *Tanjug* agency.

Yugoslavia, said J. Broz Tito, is faced with many problems today. Great hopes were pinned on the recent devaluation of the dinar. Unfortunately, he said, the situation in the country is not too good because the lag in solving economic problems is causing great difficulties. This particularly concerns imports, said J. Broz Tito, which in the first quarter of 1971 increased by 45 per cent compared with the same period last year, while exports are stagnating. In spite of the decision on freezing prices, they continue rising. The increase in personal incomes is double the growth of production, and it is not the lower categories of workers who are getting the increase, but those with a higher living standard. The banks, he said, have displayed lack of discipline lately and are manipulating with fictitious rather than existing funds, mainly in the field of financing capital investments. Many operations are carried out through the banks, said the speaker, that could be very costly for the country.

"I would like to ask," continued President Tito, "where are the Communists who manage the banks and all of our economy? How much longer can we tolerate this situation? What measures should be taken?"

"The Federal Executive Vece," said J. Broz Tito, "was vested with special powers but it cannot solve all problems by itself, without any aid. Therefore, the question arises: what should we do? Various ideas have been proposed, including administrative measures in order to prevent such development. I know there will be objections to undemocratic methods, etc. But, is any other action possible when it concerns such behavior by Communists? That is why we must energetically tackle these problems because the next few months will be crucial for our economy.

"Ours is a socialist society in which the League of Communists is the ideological and political vehicle of all our development," said President Tito. "However, the situation in the LCY is not good, and I am displeased. I must say that the situation grieves me. You know that for a long time I have been at the head of the Communist Party, i.e., the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and I believe that we have never had a situation like this in the League of Communists before. But, as long as I occupy this post and as

long as LCY members support me, I shall attempt to put things in order. We must be united. However, there are those who violate unity though they also speak of unity. We shall see who really is for unity, and who violates this unity, destroying our community.

"People have here asked today who is violating unity," said J. Broz Tito. "I shall tell you and you won't have long to wait. Why is it that we are deceiving ourselves? After all, this concerns our very existence, our socialist state and our community. This concerns our entire republic and our country's unity. Who else can be held responsible for this, if not the Communists? We must act appropriately and expel from the League of Communists all those who do not.

"So far, we have been too liberal. I have never supported such liberalism. You know that in my experience I have come up against factionalism and many other negative tendencies on many occasions. But these problems were always solved successfully because we invariably enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of Party members. We have never been indulgent and have taken resolute action against anyone who did not support Party policy and refused to abide by its decisions. We shall have to act in the same way now in spite of the broad democratization of society existing at present, because in democratic conditions there must exist some sort of factor regulating relations in society."

J. Broz Tito said that following the adoption of constitutional amendments many functions were being transferred from Federative organs to Republican organs, but some people are striving to take advantage of these amendments in order to shut themselves up within their own boundaries, limit the market, and work against a single market. This is very dangerous, the President stressed.

The Presidium and other bodies, said the speaker, must discuss problems of inner-Party relations to ensure that the League of Communists is capable of solving all problems. "That is why," he said, "I intend to call together in the near future the LCY Presidium members and other top republican and regional functionaries in order to discuss everything that I have mentioned here. And we shall not adjourn until we reach an agreement."

CONCERNING ONE OLD AND NEW PROVOCATIVE DOCTRINE. WHAT'S THE SITUATION CONCERNING SUPERPOWERS?

A new spectre is haunting the world, the spectre of "superpowers." This is the bogey of Peking propaganda. The modern age is no longer the age of transition from capitalism to socialism. The dividing line of revolutionary struggle has shifted, it is claimed, with the world divided into "superpowers" on one side and the small and middle nations headed by China, on the other. That, at least, is what Peking says. It should be added that American imperialism represents one superpower and the other is "social-imperialism" or the Soviet Union, as Chinese sources maintain directly or indirectly.

This is not just a phrase or invention by some particular observer writing in Peking newspapers. This is the official stand of the present leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

NOT A PEKING DOCTRINE

During a reception in Peking in November 1970, one of China's Deputy Premiers spoke about "the hegemony of superpowers employing a policy from positions of strength and dividing spheres of influence among themselves. . . ."

An editorial in the New Year issue of *Jenminjihpao* also spoke of "superpowers competing with each other and coming to terms among themselves." Later on, the writers of editorials in *Jenminjihpao* repeatedly returned to the question of "superpowers," "striving to divide the world," "acting as they please," etc.

A telegram sent from China to the conference of non-aligned countries in Lusaka in September 1970 also used the "superpowers" bogey, proclaiming a "struggle against world domination by superpowers," against which all "small and middle nations" must come out closely united.

"China will never act in the manner of superpowers," "China is the defender of small and middle nations," etc., etc. These statements are plentiful in Chinese official documents today.

That was how one more doctrine made its appearance, the doctrine of "superpowers." It did not, of course, originate in Peking. This non-Marxist speculative term first appeared in the bourgeois press, which sought to ascribe to the Soviet Union the sins characteristic of U.S. aggressive policy which is geared to achieving world domination, and to sow distrust for the Soviet Union among

By Zdenek Horeni in *Rude Pravo*, March 24, 1971.

progressive public opinion. And Peking, too, finally filled its pens from this ink-well of provocation.

"DO NOT MENTION CHINA"

In 1968-1969 the doctrine of "superpowers" was almost a daily refrain in certain commentaries on Czechoslovakia's position in the modern world. Ignoring any class approach to international relations, our small country was described as having been "sacrificed" to the interests of two "superpowers" who, they claimed, were resolving their strategic problems at the expense of other countries, etc.

The weekly *Svet Prace* apparently thought it extremely witty when it released a cartoon depicting two "superpowers" juggling with rockets with the typically petty-bourgeois caption: "Hey, you up there. We are getting sick of this . . ."

This is not surprising. It was in this spirit that the Right-wing spokesmen of the former Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership advised their spiritual friends. On August 17, 1968, for example, during a closed conference in Hrzansky Palace, members of the press were instructed by Cestmir Cisar "not to mention China and to make use of its sympathies" (!).

In this way the Right opportunists found a common language on the international arena with Peking's Left opportunists, often using the same anti-Soviet vocabulary. At some point extremes are bound to meet . . .

IN THE SAME BOAT WITH STRAUSS

For their part the present leaders of the Chinese Communist Party found a common language with the counter-revolutionary forces in our country, urging them to overthrow the new Czechoslovak leadership and to take up arms in the struggle against the Soviet Union. . . . They resorted to the same formula to fabricate their calls during the recent events in Poland.

The appeal for overthrowing governments in those socialist countries that have rejected Maoism's political doctrine and are labelled by the Chinese press as "modern revisionists," was even put on record by the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in the Party Rules, which state in so many words: "The Chinese Communist Party . . . is struggling to overthrow imperialism headed by the USA, to overthrow modern revisionism headed by the treacherous clique of Soviet revisionists. . . ."

At the same time China is obviously striving to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. For example, as reported in the magazine *New Times*, No. 7, 1971, one of the Chinese leaders said in a conversation with the French

journalist Debré who visited China in the summer of last year, that the aim of Chinese policy in relation to East European countries was to "weaken" the Soviet Union's positions!

Chinese circles reacted in the same spirit when a treaty was signed between the USSR and the FRG on August 12, 1970. *Jen-minjihpao* attacked the Soviet-West German negotiations, claiming that the only one to gain was the FRG, describing the treaty as a betrayal of the German people's interests and accusing the Soviet Union of "endangering European peace." In this way the "Left" extremists and Strauss's Rightist forces found themselves in the same boat.

Anti-Sovietism has become an integral part of the Chinese Communist Party's general line and the official state policy of the Chinese People's Republic.

QUOTING BERLINGUER

Certain sections in the Communist movement have attempted to take a "neutral" stand on this problem, to keep silent, to create illusions around certain new phenomena and simplify the split caused by China, reducing it to a mere "Soviet-Chinese dispute" that supposedly concerns only those two countries.

The Right opportunists in our information media, too, spread such sentiments among the public here.

At the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in June 1969, the majority of delegates rejected this over-simplified, erroneous and insidious approach. Enrico Berlinguer, Deputy General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, described the "Chinese question" as follows: "... the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China now oppose from hostile positions the Soviet Union, nearly all the socialist countries and nearly all the Communist parties, that is, the decisive majority of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement."

And Janos Kadar: "In the given case it is a matter not of a discussion between two Parties or of some secondary question but of the general line of the international communist movement, of our struggle."

Altogether, more than 60 of the 75 delegations attending the Moscow Meeting spoke unequivocally on this problem. They censured the splitting policy of the present leaders of the CCP, their undermining activities within the Communist movement, their gradual revision over the past ten years of the principled line of the Communist movement, their unfounded attacks against other fraternal parties and countries, the border provocations organized by them, etc.

It should be stressed that today the overwhelming majority of Communist parties agree that the activity of the present Chinese

Party leadership has assumed grave theoretical and organizational forms, becoming an obstacle to concerted anti-imperialist action, and that a consistent and principled struggle against the ideological platform of Maoism is of exceptional, of vital, importance for the entire movement.

A DEPARTURE FROM CLASS POSITIONS

The doctrine on "two superpowers" is an expression of a nationalistic policy and a fresh departure from class positions by the present CCP leadership.

Essentially, this doctrine denies the very existence of a class-divided world and the alignment of class forces in the world.

This class analysis of our age was formulated, for example, in the Declaration of Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries in 1957: "The main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution."

Three years later a statement adopted by the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stressed: "Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems."

Together with the other delegations, the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party signed these documents.

The events of the following years have fully confirmed the correctness of this Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the present epoch. They have confirmed the fact that the basic contradictions between imperialism and socialism are growing deeper. And the 1969 Meeting stressed: "Imperialism does not forego open armed struggle against socialism. It ceaselessly intensifies the arms race and tries to activate the military blocs organized for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It steps up its ideological fight against them and tries to hamper the economic development of the socialist countries."

The authors of the "two superpowers" doctrine have departed substantially from this class truth of our epoch. Without a trace of shame they resort even to falsification, and equate aggressive American imperialism, the main bastion of world reaction, and the first socialist country in the world which, by the very fact of its emergence and the many years' anti-imperialist struggle, has decisively influenced the course of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle. And, finally, weighty proof of this is the history of the Chinese revolution itself. The Soviet Union has dedicated the half century of its existence to the world revolutionary struggle, making heavy material and human sacrifices. Today, too, it continues bearing the main burden of this struggle.

INVALUABLE AID TO . . . THE BOURGEOISIE

The same non-class and non-Marxist positions determine the efforts of the present leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China to group around themselves the "small and middle states," irrespective of their social systems. Some of the slogans exploit as a uniting element the color of skin, geographical position in one of three continents (Asia, Africa or Latin America), to mention but a few.

This finally results in a contradiction: the practice of Chinese policy itself betrays the desire of the present Chinese leaders for hegemony, their desire to turn China into leader of one or another part of the world.

The Chinese Communist Party leaders intend to destroy, by means of their doctrine, the Soviet Union's authority among the world revolutionary forces, to malign, to sling mud at, to cast doubt upon, and to vilify the Soviet Union. They deliberately want to mislead the revolutionary forces, to weaken the anti-imperialist front through slander, intimating that the Soviet Union, supposedly, was "plotting with imperialism," "aiming to restore capitalism" and therefore, committing an act of "betrayal." All these claims were just as crudely renewed in an official Chinese editorial carried by all papers on March 18, formally dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the Paris Commune. These fresh attacks accuse the CPSU leadership of betraying the Paris Commune and even of "replacing the dictatorship of the proletariat by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establishing social-imperialism and social-fascism." This incredible lie can be compared only with the one-time anti-communist fabrication that "Bolsheviks devoured children."

Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, said some time ago that the bourgeoisie in his country "spared no effort to praise various Leftist groups, especially those calling themselves "Trotskyites or Maoists. Obviously, reactionary and imperialist groups believe that the Maoist line opposing scientific socialism, the French Communist Party and other Communist parties and also the Soviet Union, is invaluable support for them in their struggle against the world revolutionary movement."

Similar tendencies have been pointed out by other fraternal parties too.

"CHINESE LOBBIES" AT WORK

The policy followed by the present leadership of the Communist Party of China hampers the consolidation of the anti-imperialist forces and is objectively playing into the imperialists' hands.

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP USA, pointed out in view of this that the so-called "Chinese lobbies" in the United States — an influential reactionary group of American political

circles, the organizational and ideological center of America's aggressive policy in the Far East — are favoring "working contacts" between the United States and the People's Republic of China. The "Chinese lobbies" cannot be suspected of being interested in friendship between China and the United States. Their goal is to take advantage of the split in the socialist camp in order to open the doors of China for further political penetration of the Far Eastern countries, in the rear of the Soviet Union. China cannot be blamed for the acts of American imperialism, said Gus Hall. But it is also impossible to ignore the policy allowing imperialism to draw the conclusion that it can use China for its own purposes.

A long-time dream, indeed, to weaken and destroy the Soviet Union and strike it off the map.

Ever since the October Revolution imperialism has never ceased its anti-Soviet plotting. The first attempts were launched during the 14 countries' intervention, then came Hitler. . . The Soviet Union is a formidable force vis-a-vis imperialism, objectively its strongest political, economic and military opponent and the main barrier to its plans to liquidate the socialist community.

That is how the Pentagon and the White House see it. They evidently know perfectly well why it is the Soviet Union and not some other country that is the main block to their plans for world domination.

That is why the Soviet Union was and remains the main target for ideological (and not only ideological) attacks by American imperialism. Not because the Soviet Union is aiming for hegemony or to become a superpower, but because the enemy is forced to reckon with it as the main force. And this conclusion was not drawn up by some conference or congress, it evolves from the realities of life on our planet.

Whom, consequently, does the anti-Sovietism of China's policy serve? Whom does the rejection of united action in the common anti-imperialist struggle in, say, Indochina, serve? Could it be the revolutionary forces of South Vietnam, Cambodia or Laos?

Whom does the split in the world Communist and revolutionary movement serve?

Certainly not the forces of the anti-imperialist struggle.

NOT IN-BETWEEN, NOR ON THE SIDELINES

Our "small" Czechoslovakia has its firm place on the map of our planet, a place determined by our struggle, our convictions and our aspirations for the realization of which we have found allies.

Our place is not somewhere in the middle of the road, not in-between, on the sidelines, in the observation post. In this struggle we are neither neutral, nor uncommitted.

We are with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the same side of the barricades.

TALKS BETWEEN CPSU AND CP OF JAPAN

In line with an earlier agreement between the CC CPSU and the CC CPJ, the delegations of the two parties had talks in Moscow on March 15-19.

The CPSU delegation was headed by M. A. Suslov, Politbureau member and CC Secretary and included B. N. Ponomarev, CC Secretary; M. V. Zimyanin, CC member and Editor-in-Chief of *Pravda*; R. A. Ulianovsky, Deputy head of the CC CPSU International Department, I. I. Kovalenko, section head of the CC CPSU International Department.

The Japanese delegation was headed by T. Nishizawa—member of CC CPJ Presidium Permanent Bureau, K. Ueda, CC Presidium members, head of the CC Political Committee and Editor-in-Chief of *Akahata*; I. Sunama, CC Presidium member and head of the CC Committee on International Problems; S. Toyoda, CC member. The talks were held in a comradely and sincere atmosphere.

The two sides set forth the positions of their parties on relations between them and confirmed that their joint 1968 communiques, signed in Moscow and Tokyo, are a good basis for normalizing these relations.

The two delegations signified their readiness to resolve problems arising between their parties on the basis of independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and agreed on concrete measures to remove barriers to normalizing relations and to hold mutual consultations when necessary. Both delegations said they were prepared to promote friendly relations between the two parties.

The delegations expressed the conviction that the normalization and improvement of relations between the CPSU and CPJ and development of cooperation between them is in the interests of the joint struggle against imperialism and reaction, above all against U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina; in the interests of consolidating the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and in the interests of good-neighborly relations between the Soviet and Japanese peoples.

Both delegations noted that the present talks would promote the improvement of friendly relations between Soviet and Japanese public organizations.

Pravda, March 21, 1971.

TORIES AID ULSTER RIGHT, SAY COMMUNIST PARTIES

A meeting of representatives of the British Communist Party and those of the Communist Party of Ireland, from Dublin and Belfast, met in London on Sunday, April 13, 1971, to discuss the current situation in Northern Ireland.

At the conclusion of their talks they issued the following joint statement:

The continued mass deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland is signal proof that the present policy of the British government has failed to solve the crisis.

Since the British Tory government took over it has encouraged the Stormont Unionists to drag their feet over introducing and implementing the reforms initiated by the Labor government. British troops have used strong-arm methods particularly against Catholics and Republicans, and have conducted brutal house-to-house arms searches in working class areas where housing conditions are poor and male unemployment reaches fifty per cent.

ANTI-DEMOCRATIC

The Stormont government has made daily use of repressive legislation, and hundreds now lie in jail, including Mr. Frank McManus, MP. On the other hand, Right-wing extremists freely carry on their activity, and there are a reported 70,000 rifles at their disposal.

The anti-democratic nature of the Industrial Relations Bill and the new Immigration Bill now before Westminster has given the Unionist Right-wing hope that the Tory government will not insist on the full implementation of the reform program.

All this has encouraged the ultra-Right Unionists and Paisleyites to step up their demand for harsher repression, for rearming the Ulster Constabulary, establishing a force similar to the dissolved "B" Specials, and interning all known republicans. The ultra-Rights have found willing allies in this campaign amongst the racist Powellites and other Tory Right-wingers.

Events since the advent of Faulkner to the Premiership of Northern Ireland show that the situation is becoming more serious. The crisis within the Unionist Party, as shown by the downfall of

Chichester-Clark, is itself an expression of the failure of the British and Stormont governments.

TORY GOVERNMENT

Faulkner's emphasis is on law and order, but the real issue is democratic reform, and measures to tackle the high level of unemployment, the low living standards and the bad and inadequate housing.

The British Tory government must bear full responsibility for the present crisis. It has sufficient powers, if it wishes to use them, to insist on the necessary reforms being introduced and speedily implemented. It has adequate resources to help tackle the acute unemployment and housing difficulties.

Any recourse to Direct Rule by Westminster would itself be an admission of failure and a further violation of the sovereign rights of the Irish people. It would meet with widespread hostility in Northern Ireland and from the people in the Irish Republic, and would only delay the introduction of democratic changes necessary for future progress.

We therefore call for:

1. The passage at Westminster of a "Bill of Rights" designed to provide in Northern Ireland standards of democracy not less favorable than those obtaining in Great Britain.

Such legislation would forbid religious discrimination in employment and housing, introduce proportional representation in state and local government elections, and render all repressive and emergency legislation of the Northern Ireland government, including the Special Powers Act, null and void.

2. The provision of the necessary finances for a comprehensive program of industrial and housing development.

3. As a means of removing the threat to their security which has placed many of the Catholic population in a position where they have had to consider military measures for self-defense, the prohibition of the Unionist rifle clubs and a drastic reduction of the number of firearms licences.

The elimination of the threat of sectarian violence from armed Unionists, and not the rearming of the police in whatever manner, is the road to peace in Northern Ireland.

4. The immediate withdrawal of all armed helicopters. An end to the misuse of the British Army as a police force, and its confinement, during such period as it remains in Northern Ireland, to duties of protecting citizens from sectarian violence when no other means is available: the abolition of house-searching by the military and of the billeting of soldiers in working-class areas.

5. The immediate release of all prisoners charged or sentenced in connection with political events.

6. The British government, as representing the power which took the initiative in 1920 in carrying out the partition of Ireland which is the fundamental cause that has perpetuated economic backwardness and given rise to the political frustration in Northern Ireland, should now approach the government of the Republic of Ireland, with a view to discussions upon how to bring about a reunification of the country on the basis of full self-determination for the people of Ireland.

7. On the basis of the above program the role of British troops in Northern Ireland should be progressively reduced, and finally they should be withdrawn altogether.

RESPONSIBILITY

The responsibility for the serious position in Northern Ireland lies on those who, by their unilateral legislation, created a completely artificial statelet in which members of the majority of the Irish people are placed in a minority, and persecuted with a view to maintaining divisions among those whose interests are opposed to Tory Unionism.

The result has been the creation of unnecessary antagonisms, both within and among the people of Ireland, and between the people of Ireland and Great Britain.

Like the peoples of Great Britain, the people of Ireland wish a solution to the problems posed by the threat of war, the danger to their economic and political future presented by the Common Market, the evils of unemployment, insufficient housing and other social amenities.

They want a future in which their children will enjoy peace and security, which, our Parties have always held, can be fully and permanently achieved only by the establishment of Socialism in each country.

TASKS OF FRIENDS

The better Ireland which her people desire can only be won by the Irish people themselves. The task of her friends is to fight to give them the freedom to win it. The program outlined above is designed to create the necessary conditions for this process.

In view of the close traditional connections and sympathy between the British and Irish labor movements, expressing itself especially in the trade union field, we urge the British working class, the Irish workers in Britain, the working class of Ireland, both Catholic and Protestant, and all who wish to see a just conclusion to the conflict of centuries to support and work for the realization of these democratic demands.

ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTIES

ITALY

G. Amendola, Politbureau member of the Italian Communist Party, delivered a report "For a Democratic Solution of the Political Crisis" at a plenum of the CC ICP, which met on *March 15 and 16*. The speaker stressed the threat of direct imperialist interference in Italy's affairs. The Center-Left coalition, he said, is experiencing an acute crisis. In these conditions the CP is again proposing to form a new parliamentary majority, which, with the support of the working people and all Left forces, would carry out fundamental reforms to satisfy the pressing requirements of the masses.

BELGIUM

The 20th Congress of the Belgian CP was held on *March 19-21*, attended by 220 delegates. It heard a report of the Central Committee delivered by Party Chairman Marc Drumaux and elected Party organs. The delegates unanimously approved the political resolution (published in this issue). Marc Drumaux was re-elected Chairman of the BCP.

The Congress was also attended by 20 delegates from Communist and Workers' parties, including the CPSU.

INDIA

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India met in Delhi on *March 19-23*. It adopted a special resolution stating that the results of the parliamentary elections, held ahead of time, signified a turning point in the country's development. The people of India dealt a crushing defeat to the Right-wing pre-election alliance.

The present situation, says the resolution, is most favorable for the country's advance, provided the Left and democratic forces and democratic elements in the Congress Party unite and jointly mobilize the people to solve the acute economic and political problems facing the country.

As the most important tasks now, the ICP Executive Committee advanced the demand for constitutional changes to remove the obstacles to radical social and economic legislation, drastic revision of the existing legislation on the size of private land holdings and nationalization of monopoly concerns.

The Executive Committee called for a policy of peace and non-alignment based on active anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, and for friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

ECUADOR

A communique on a meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee published on *March 21* says that the people are confronted with the task of establishing a democratic, people's government.

The Party leadership holds, the communique says, that to achieve the tasks before them, the Communists of Ecuador must work for unity of all democratic, patriotic and progressive forces in the country and step up their activity.

USA

A plenum of the National Committee CPUSA ended on *March 22*. It discussed actions for peace, the trade union movement and the campaign to free Angela Davis.

PARAGUAY

The 3rd Congress of the Paraguayan CP was held underground in the *beginning of April*. It heard and approved a CC report, adopted the Program and Rules and political theses. New executive bodies were elected. Congress decisions stress the necessity of waging a determined and consistent struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism, against Right and Left opportunism in any form and for more active work among the working people of Paraguay.

The delegates applauded a message of greetings from the CC CPSU to the 3rd Congress CP Paraguay.

CHILE

A statement released on *April 6* by the CC Political Commission says that the Chilean Communist Party leadership takes a positive view of the results of the recent municipal elections. "We welcome the significant victory of the Socialist Party and highly appreciate the contribution made to the common victory by the United Popular Action Movement and the Independent Popular Action Movement."

The document lists the results by the Communists, noting as a positive factor the increase of CP votes by over 100,000. The Communists contested the elections, the statement notes, in extremely difficult conditions, in an atmosphere of slander and lies spread by bourgeois propaganda against the Party. Reactionary forces, however, did not achieve their aim. The Communists not only retained their positions but were able to win new votes.

The election victory, the document says in conclusion, was made possible solely by the joint action of all Popular Unity parties. Unity will continue to be the main weapon of the Left parties.

JORDAN

A statement by the Jordanian CP in the *April 7* issue of the newspaper *An-Nida* points out that in spite of the Cairo and

Amman agreements and numerous statements by the Jordanian government it would honor them, bloody clashes between the army and guerrillas continue, taking a toll among the population.

Pointing out that these events only help the enemy, the CP calls for an immediate stop to the bloodshed and fulfilment of the agreements. The statement also demands the formation of a national unity government in Jordan which would provide freedom for the people and unite all forces in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism and Zionism.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CONGO

An extraordinary plenum of the CC of the Congolese Party of Labor ended work in Brazzaville on April 9. It reviewed the political, economic and social situation in the country and adopted decisions on the problems under discussion. The meeting censured the activities of certain individuals aimed at disrupting national unity and inciting inter-tribal conflicts.

JAPAN

On April 13 Akahata carried a statement by the Presidium of the CPJ Central Committee on the elections to the local self-government bodies. During the elections for prefecture governors the united progressive forces have won a historic victory in the struggle against the Liberal-Democratic Party and its followers. This is the result of the fact that, forming a strong united front, Japan's progressive forces, together with the Japanese Communist and Socialist parties, responded to voters' demands for a progressive policy.

POLAND

On April 16 the ninth plenum of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party, discussed a report by the Party delegation on the 24th CPSU Congress (delivered by the First Secretary of the CC PUWP, E. Gierek), a report on the work of the Politbureau and CC PUWP Secretariat (delivered by Politbureau member and CC Secretary Babiuch), information on the Polish government's work in fulfilling the decisions of the seventh and eighth CC plenums (reported by Politbureau member and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, P. Jaroszewicz).

The meeting unanimously approved the resolution on the report of the Party delegation to the 24th Congress of the CPSU and passed decisions on the other reports. The meeting noted that the activity of the Politbureau and CC PUWP Secretariat over the period under review conformed with the decisions of the seventh and eighth plenums of the CC PUWP and helped consolidate the Party and strengthen its ties with the workers and society as a whole.

The plenum resolved to convene the sixth PUWP Congress at the end of 1971 or early in 1972. A 94-man commission was formed to prepare the Congress. Stanislaw Kaniu, until then head of the Central Committee's Administrative Department, was elected Secretary of the Central Committee.

ITALY

Meeting on April 14 and 15, the Central Committee of the Communist Party approved the appraisal of the 19th Congress of the Italian Communist Youth Federation given in a report by Di Giulio, member of the ICP Leadership.

In its decision the meeting called on all Party organizations to help achieve the main aim—to make the Communist Youth Federation still stronger with a view to creating a broader social and political unity of the Italian youth. The CC Plenum addressed an appeal to the entire Party to support a campaign launched by the Federation to recruit 50,000 new members in 1971 and to establish Communist youth cells throughout the country.

RUMANIA

On April 15 an extended Executive Committee meeting of the CC RCP adopted a draft five-year economic development plan for 1971-1975. The Executive Committee decided to submit the draft for discussion by the Central Committee and the Grand National Assembly.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Regional and City conferences of the Czechoslovak CP ended on April 19, concluding an important stage of preparations in the Party organizations for the coming 14th Party Congress. The conferences elected regional and city Party committees and delegates to the Congress.

Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the CC CPC, expressed high appraisal of the work of the conferences, pointing out as a positive factor their complete and unanimous support for the home and foreign policy of the CC CPC.

CUBA

Fidel Castro, Prime Minister and First Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a speech on the 10th anniversary of the defeat of the U.S.-engineered Bay of Pigs invasion. He stressed the historical significance of this victory for the people of Cuba and for strengthening the positions of socialism on the American continent.

G D R

A meeting was held on April 21 in Berlin to mark the 25th anniversary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The report was

delivered by Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the CC SUPG and Chairman of the GDR State Council. He outlined the history of the SUPG and noted the historic achievements of the Party which inspired all the victories scored by the working people of the GDR, its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and its indestructible fraternal unity with the Leninist CPSU.

W. Ulbricht stressed the active preparations by SUPG members and all working people of the GDR for the eighth SUPG Congress, pointing out the inviolable unity of the Party and the people.

USSR

On April 22 a meeting was held in Moscow to mark the 101st anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth. A report, "CPSU Policy is Leninism in Action," was delivered by CC CPSU Secretary K. F. Katushev.

FRANCE

The Central Committee of the FCP held a meeting on April 20-22. Gaston Plissonier, Politbureau member and CC FCP Secretary, delivered a report on "Lessons of the Municipal Elections and the Party's Tasks." The Party won important gains. Communist Mayors were elected in 1,111 municipalities, as against 996 prior to the election. If in 1965 there were 19,535 municipal Councillors who were either CP members or sympathizers, at present there are 23,242.

The speaker dwelt on the Party's policy of unity of the left forces. This unity has benefited all political parties that adhered to this principle.

The plenum was also addressed by Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the FCP. The plenum approved the Politbureau report on the municipal elections. A special resolution passed by the plenum approved the activity of the FCP delegation to the 24th CPSU Congress.

It was decided to convene a national conference of the FCP in November 1971.

FINLAND

Communist Party Chairman Aarne Saarinen reported on the work of the 24th CPSU Congress and General Secretary A. Aalto, on the political situation in Finland, at a CC plenum on April 22. The plenum adopted a decision on A. Saarinen's report.

The plenum also passed a resolution saying that recognition of the status quo in Europe by all states would greatly facilitate the preparation of a European security conference. In this connection the resolution stressed the need for universal recognition of the GDR. The Communist Party of Finland urged the immediate establishment of diplomatic relations between Finland and the GDR.

Another decision, "Factors Threatening Inner-Party Development," says in part:

"The Central Committee draws attention to the developments that during the past few months have endangered the integrity and political unity of the Party and the popular-democratic movement. The Central Committee instructs the Politbureau to discuss the events connected with inner-Party development and to take immediate steps to prevent a deepening of the split and to strengthen Party unity.

"The Central Committee stresses the importance of fulfilling the policy and decisions of the Extraordinary Party Congress. It emphasizes again the Congress instruction that decisions passed by vote are as obligatory as unanimously adopted decisions."

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

The 5th Conference of the Hanoi organization of the Working People's Party of Vietnam opened on April 23. The 460 delegates represented over 100,000 Party members in the capital.

Nguyen Van Tran, First Secretary of the Hanoi City Committee of the Party, spoke on some of the problems facing the city in 1971-73. He said that the gross output of industry and the handicrafts would grow by 15 per cent annually, and agriculture by 10 per cent. Capital investments in construction would double compared with the 1968-70 period and production relations would be strengthened and improved. Under all circumstances, he said, Hanoi must rapidly develop the building of socialism and be prepared to foil any ventures of American imperialism.

KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

On April 24 the newspaper *Nodon Shinmun* reported on the extended meeting of the second plenum of the Korean Party of Labor on April 19-23, chaired by Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the CC KPL.

The plenum discussed the international situation and measures to accelerate the country's independent unification. Urgent economic questions and steps to improve Party guidance in the national health service were also discussed. Concluding remarks were made by Kim Il Sung. Unanimous decisions were adopted on the questions under discussion.

BULGARIA

The 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party was held April 20-25, with more than 1,500 delegates attending. Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, delivered a report of the Central Committee. The Congress also heard and discussed the report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, the draft of a new Party program, changes and amendments in the Party Rules and the directives for the social and economic development plan for 1971-1975. Party Central organs were elected.

Resolutions were passed on the problems debated and there was unanimous approval of statements on the situation in Indochina and in the Middle East.

The Congress was attended by 89 delegations of Communist, national-democratic and Left Socialist parties.

The Congress was addressed by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, who headed the Soviet Party delegation, and the heads of many other delegations.

NORWAY

The 13th Congress of the Norwegian CP was held in Oslo April 23-25. The delegates debated reports by the Central Committee, the Auditing Commission, proposals for changes in and amendments to the Party program and elected leading Party organs.

Greetings to the Congress were sent by many fraternal parties.

The Congress voted on several documents. A resolution, "For a United Socialist Front," stresses the need for the government to withdraw its request for admission to the EEC and resign from Nato. The problems of European security, continues the resolution, must be resolved by an all-European conference.

In connection with the coming communal elections the CPN states its readiness to establish a united front together with Left tendencies and groups in the workers' movement.

Reidar Larsen was re-elected Chairman of the Party.

ISRAEL

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel met in plenum on April 25 to discuss a report by Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CPI, who headed the Party delegation to the 24th CPSU Congress.

A Plenum resolution expresses high praise for the Congress statement, "For a Just and Lasting Peace in the Middle East."

The CC CPI stressed the danger of the extremist policy followed by the Meir government and appealed to all peace-seeking forces in Israel to participate in the struggle against Tel-Aviv's ruinous policy and to demand that the ruling circles give a positive reply to the constructive proposals advanced by the UAR on establishing peace in the Middle East.

CYPRUS

A country-wide conference of AKEL activists was held on April 26. Its resolution notes that AKEL would continue working for Cypriot unity, and would seek a just solution of the Cyprus problem in the interests of all Cypriots.

The resolution condemns imperialist attempts to spread enmity between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus.

