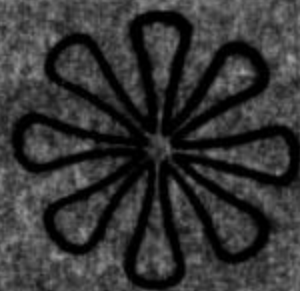


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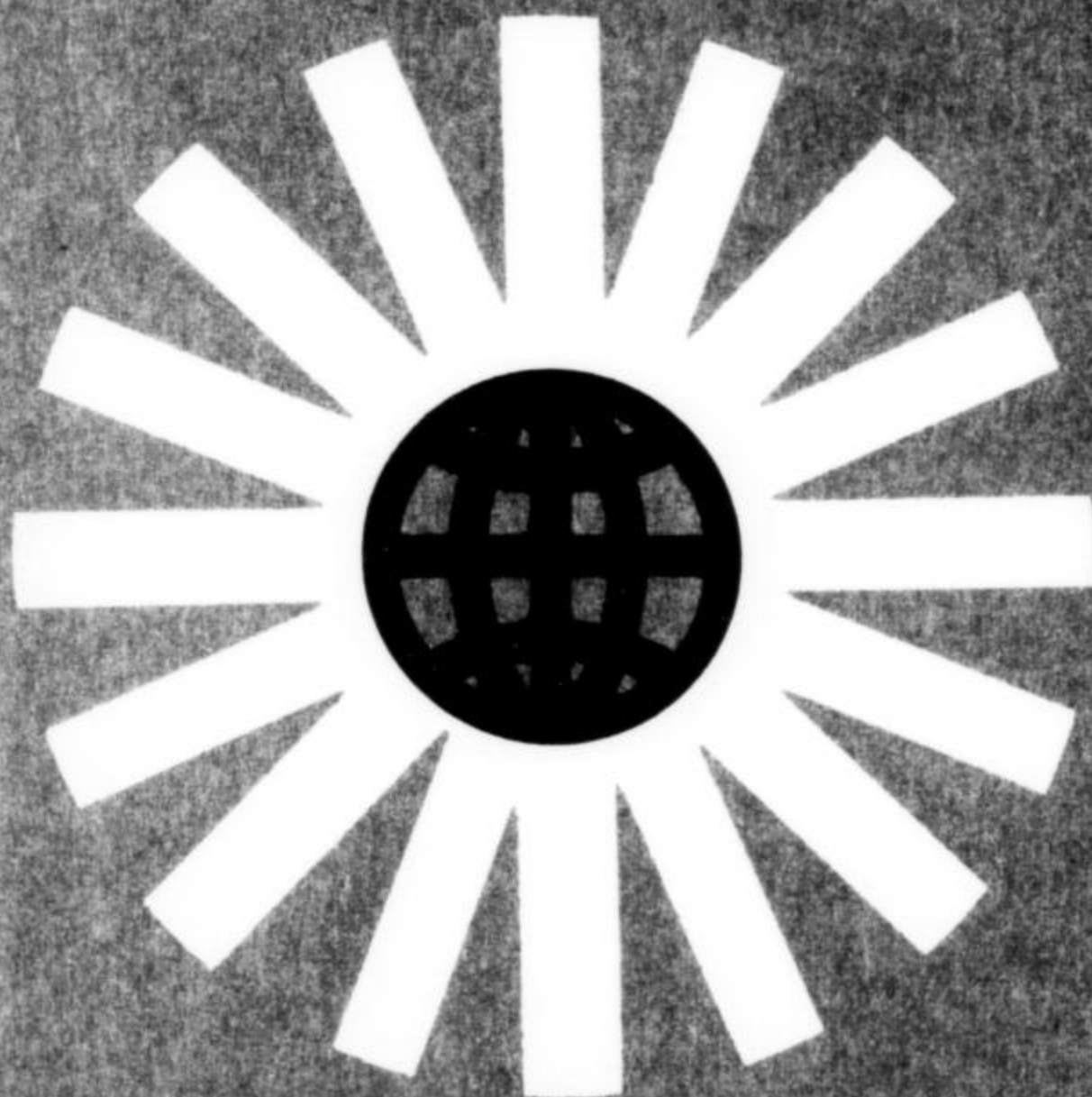
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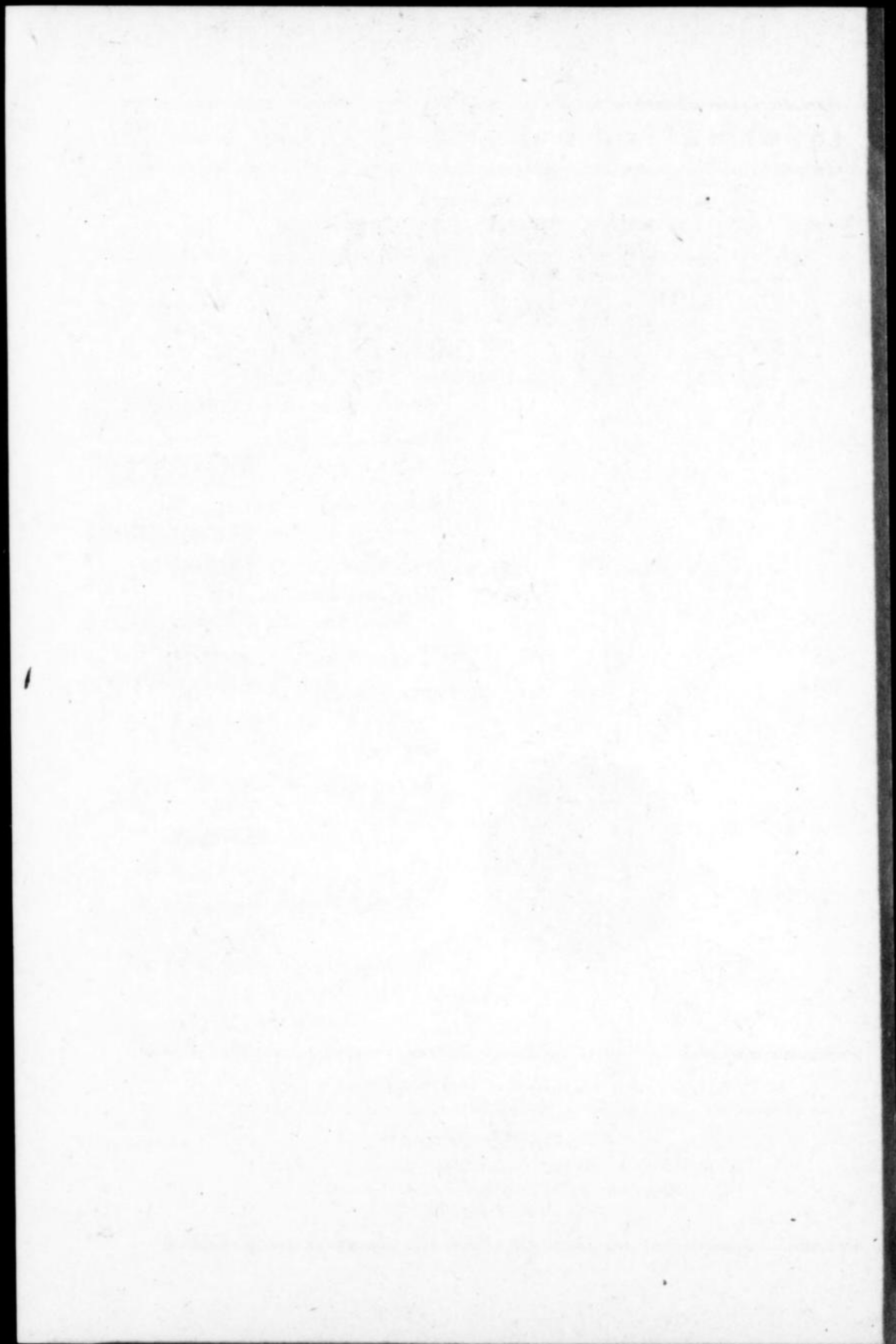
**MEETING OF
WARSAW TREATY
MEMBER-STATES**

•
**50th ANNIVERSARY
CP OF CHILE**

•
**YUGOSLAVIA—
ACTION PROGRAM**



3 (211) • 1972



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c o n t e n t s

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MEETING OF POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF WARSAW TREATY MEMBER-STATES

COMMUNIQUE*

A meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance took place in Prague on January 25-26, 1972.

Attending the Meeting were:

From the People's Republic of Bulgaria — Todor ZHIVKOV, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, head of the delegation; Stanko TODOROV, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Pyotor MLADENOV, Member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Konstantin TELLALOV, Member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party;

From the Hungarian People's Republic — Janos KADAR, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, head of the delegation; Jeno FOCK, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government; Janos PETER, Member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

From the German Democratic Republic — Erich HONECKER, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, head of the delegation; Hermann AXEN, Member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Wolfgang RAUCHFUSS, Member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic; Otto WINZER, Member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Minister of Foreign

*Pravda, January 27, 1972.

Affairs; Paul MARKOWSKI, Member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, head of the International Relations Department of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Oskar FISCHER, Member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; Werner EBERLEIN, Member of the Auditing Commission of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, assistant department head of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany;

From the Polish People's Republic — Edward GIEREK, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, head of the delegation; Piotr JAROSZEWICZ, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic; Stefan OLSZOWSKI, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Jozef TEJCHMA, Member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; Ryszard FRELEK, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; Stanislaw TREP-CZYNSKI, Member of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs;

From the Socialist Republic of Rumania—Nicolae CEAUSESCU, General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, head of the delegation; Ion Gheorghe MAUER, Member of the Executive Committee and Permanent Presidium of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Rumania; Paul NICULESCU-MIZIL, Member of the Executive Committee and Permanent Presidium of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party; Corneliu MANESCU, Member of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

From the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—L. I. BREZHNEV, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, head of the delegation; A. N. KOSYGIN, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; K. F. KATUSHEV, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; K. V. RUSAKOV, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union, head of the Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; V. V. KUZNETSOV, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR;

From the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic — Gustav HUSAK, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, head of the delegation; Ludvik SVOBODA, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Lubomir STROUGAL, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; Vasil BILAK, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Bohuslav CHNOUPEK, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee examined urgent problems of peace, security and cooperation in Europe, and questions of the preparation of an all-European conference. A Declaration on Peace, Security and Cooperation in Europe was adopted.

The participants in the Meeting denounced the new aggressive acts of the United States in Indochina, and adopted a corresponding statement on this question.

An exchange of opinion also took place at the Meeting on other international problems of common interest. The states represented at the Meeting unanimously confirmed their readiness to continue to spare no efforts for the strengthening of unity and cohesion of the socialist countries. They are fully resolved, in the solution of international problems, to uphold the line for the safeguarding and consolidation of peace and international cooperation, to rebuff imperialist aggression and reaction, and to support the struggle of the peoples for freedom, national independence, and social progress.

Marshal of the Soviet Union I. I. YAKUBOVSKY, Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, and N. P. FIRYUBIN, Secretary-General of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, took part in the work of the Meeting.

The Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and cooperation of its participants.

DECLARATION* ON PEACE, SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, represented at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states held in Prague on January 25-26, 1972, examined the course of events in Europe in the recent past. They analyzed these events in the light of their steadfast goal of working to turn the European continent into an area of permanent, lasting peace, into an area of fruitful cooperation between sovereign and equal states, into a factor of stability and mutual understanding throughout the world. The participants in the Meeting noted with satisfaction that further progress has been achieved in this direction.

The proposals of the socialist states for strengthening European security and convening an all-European conference for this purpose, the proposals contained in the Bucharest Declaration of 1966, the Budapest Address of 1969, and the Berlin Statement of 1970, play a most important role in rallying all forces that come out for peace and cooperation in Europe. These proposals of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty, as well as further actions and initiatives undertaken by them, constitute a broad peace program and promote the creation of a new political climate in Europe.

Other European states are also making an increasingly significant contribution to the common cause of peace in Europe. The policies of some of them definitely put first the interests of European peace, and that is having a favorable effect on the situation in Europe.

I

The participants in the Meeting point to the great positive significance of the contacts growing of late between European states belonging to different social systems, the development of political intercourse between them, particularly in the form of consultations on questions of mutual interest. This promotes mutual understanding between European states in regard to their common long-term interests in the sphere of peace and cooperation.

As a result of the efforts and the constructive contributions of the member-states to the present Meeting and also due to the efforts and constructive contribution of other states, the relations of peaceful coexistence between European states are asserting

*Pravda, January 27, 1972.

themselves ever more. In this connection the participants in the Meeting note the importance of the principles of cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and France which were adopted at the conclusion of the recent Soviet-French summit talks. Relaxation of tension on the European continent is also prompted by the expansion of economic, trade, scientific, technical, cultural and other relations between European states.

The relationships between European peoples are growing stronger and are acquiring a more diversified content. There is growing activity of the European public in the struggle for the further relaxation of tension, for peace and security in Europe.

The states represented at the Meeting express satisfaction over the fact that the results being achieved in the process of easing tension in Europe, are supported when necessary by appropriate documents, valid under international law.

The Political Consultative Committee positively assesses the beginning of the ratification of the Treaties between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Their ratification will correspond to the interests not only of their direct participants, but of all European states as well, will lead to the consolidation of the foundations of peace in Europe.

The states participating in the Meeting stressed the positive significance of the quadripartite agreement of September 3, 1971, on questions relating the West Berlin, and of the agreements between the Governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, and between the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Senate of West Berlin.

The widening international recognition of the German Democratic Republic is a major factor in strengthening peace. Further progress in this direction, including the establishment of relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany according to norms of international law, will be an important contribution to peace, security and cooperation.

The participants in the Meeting come out for deciding without further delay the question of admitting the GDR and the FRG to the United Nations Organization.

The participants in the Meeting point out with satisfaction that the Governments of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany are exchanging opinions on the unsolved questions in the relations between the two countries, above all, on the question of declaring the Munich agreement null and void from its inception. They express support for the just demands of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and believe that achievement of agreement will help improve the situation in Europe.

The implementation of these steps will promote the rapid and radical elimination of the consequences of the lengthy period of distrust and tension from the relations of the FRG with the socialist countries, will promote complete normalization of these relations, which would, in turn, promote relaxation on the European continent and the development of cooperation among all European states.

The states taking part in the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee welcome the prospects of further positive changes in Europe. At the same time, they take into account the fact that the forces interested in maintaining tensions, in opposing some European states to others, in preserving the opportunities for pushing the developments on the European continent to aggravation, continue operating in Europe. These forces, as seen from the facts, including the latest, do not conceive European policy without blocs, and strive to intensify the arms race in Europe. The Warsaw Treaty member-states cannot but draw from this appropriate conclusions for their security. They are however convinced that at present there has taken shape in Europe such a correlation of forces that the opposition of those who are against relaxation can be overcome, if the efforts to consolidate peace are made jointly, and consistently.

II

The participants in the Meeting express the conviction that it is particularly important and quite feasible at the present stage to achieve collective, joint action of European states towards consolidation of European security. In this connection, they declare for the speediest holding of an all-European conference on security and cooperation in which all the European states and also the United States and Canada should take part on an equal footing.

At the all-European conference, its participants could work out practical measures for further easing tension in Europe and lay the foundation for the construction of a European security system.

The participants in the Meeting are of the opinion that European security and cooperation require the establishment of a system of commitments, precluding any use or threat of using force in mutual relations among states in Europe, giving all states a guarantee that they are protected against acts of aggression, and promoting the well-being and prosperity of every nation.

The states taking part in the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee declare for general recognition and practical implementation, in the political life of the European continent, the following basic principles of European security and relations among European states:

Inviolability of borders. The borders now existing between European states, including those formed as a result of the Second World War are inviolable. Any attempt to violate these borders would threaten European peace. Therefore, the inviolability of the present borders, the territorial integrity of the European states, must continue to be observed unswervingly and there must be no territorial claims by some states to others.

Non-use of force. Force or threat of force must not be used in mutual relations among European states. All controversial questions must be solved only by peaceful political means, through talks, in accordance with the basic principles of international law, so that the legitimate interests, peace and security of the peoples are not jeopardized.

Peaceful coexistence. In Europe there are states of two social systems — socialist and capitalist — formed in the process of historical development. The differences in the systems should not be an insurmountable obstacle to all-round relations between them. Renouncing war as an instrument of policy, the European states of different social systems can and must build their relations on accord and cooperation in the interests of peace.

The foundations for good-neighborly relations and cooperation in the interests of peace. The good-neighborly relations among European states must develop on the basis of the principles of independence and national sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. This approach must become a permanent policy in the relations among European states, a permanent factor in the life of all the European peoples and must lead to the development of good-neighborly relations and mutual understanding among states in different parts of Europe. It is necessary to strive for such a transformation of relations among European states that will make it possible to overcome the splitting of the continent into military-political groupings.

Mutually advantageous relations among states. Diversified mutually advantageous relations among European states in economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields, in tourism and environmental control must be widely developed in the conditions of peace. The development of these relations, in turn, adding material content to the striving of the European peoples for peace, tranquility and efflorescence, will consolidate the stability of the system of security and cooperation forming in Europe.

Disarmament. In the interests of consolidating world peace, the European states must promote in every way the solution of the problem of universal and complete disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, and implementation of measures for limiting and ending the arms race.

Support for the United Nations. The goals of the European states in the international arena are in keeping with the articles of the United Nations Charter — to promote the maintenance of world peace and security, the development of friendly relations and cooperation among states. The European states declare their support for the United Nations, for its consolidation in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

By taking these lofty principles and goals as a basis for relations among the states of Europe, an all-European conference will adopt a decision of great historic scope. This will set the beginning for joint fruitful work, capable of turning Europe into a truly peaceful continent.

It would also be possible to agree at an all-European conference on concrete directions for the further development of reciprocally advantageous relations of European states in every sphere, for the elimination of any discrimination, inequality or artificial barriers. Their cooperation in the rational use of the raw materials and power resources of Europe, in raising the industrial potential and improving land fertility, in utilizing the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution will make it possible to multiply the opportunities for raising the well-being of the European peoples. Mutual enrichment in spiritual values, acquaintance with each other's culture and art will assume still greater scope.

It would be expedient to set up at the all-European conference a permanent body of all the participating states concerned that could, after the conference, continue joint work on further steps in this direction.

In the opinion of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, all these questions should form the main content of the agenda of the all-European conference.

The states represented at the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee believe that an all-European conference can be convened in 1972 and regard the statements by a number of West European states to the effect that they adhere to the same view as a factor in favor of this.

The participants in the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee regard with understanding the reasoning of many states, which favor the carrying out of necessary preparations for an all-European conference in order to promote its speediest convocation, and its success. They believe that the Finnish Government's proposal to conduct in Helsinki multilateral consultations with the participation of all interested states of Europe, as well as of the United States and Canada, should be realized. The states participating in the Meeting reiterate that they have decided to appoint representatives for taking part, together with the repre-

sentatives of other states, in multilateral consultations aimed at coordinating issues related to the preparations for and the organization of an all-European conference. They note that the proposal on multilateral consultations as a form of preparing for an all-European conference is now meeting with agreement of all the states concerned, and call for starting the multilateral consultations in a very short time.

III

The Warsaw Treaty member-states believe that agreement on reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe would also correspond to the interests of strengthening European security. They proceed from the fact that the question of reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe, both foreign and national, should be resolved in a way that would cause no damage to countries participating in such a reduction. An examination and determination of ways of solving this question should not be the prerogative of the existing military-political alliances in Europe. Appropriate agreement could be reached on ways of conducting talks on this question.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic believe that historical development has brought Europe to an important juncture. Apart from a new hope for lasting peace and security, the year 1972 may bring the European peoples a real advance towards translating that hope into life. The supreme duty of all states is to vigorously help in bringing this about.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Todor ZHIVKOV,
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Bulgarian Communist Party,
Chairman of the State Council
of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

Stanko TODOROV,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

For the Hungarian People's Republic

Janos KADAR,
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Jeno FOCK,
Chairman of the Hungarian Revolutionary
Workers' and Peasants' Government

For the German Democratic Republic

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

Wolfgang RAUCHFUSS,
Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the German Democratic Republic

For the Polish People's Republic

Edward GIEREK,
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Polish United Workers' Party

Piotr JAROSZEWICZ,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the Polish People's Republic

For the Socialist Republic of Rumania

Nicolae CEAUSESCU,
General Secretary of the Rumanian
Communist Party, Chairman of the State
Council of the Socialist Republic of Rumania

Ion Gheorghe MAURER,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the Socialist Republic of Rumania

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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

A. N. KOSYGIN,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Gustav HUSAK,
General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Ludvik SVOBODA,
President of the Czechoslovak
Socialist Republic

Lubomir STROUGAL,
Chairman of the Government of the
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Prague, January 26, 1972.

14 information bulletin

STATEMENT* IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONTINUING UNITED STATES AGGRESSION IN INDOCHINA

January 26, 1972

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian people's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, represented at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Prague, examined the situation as it evolves in the area of Indochina in connection with the stepping-up of U.S. aggressive actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and other countries of the Indochina Peninsula.

The whole world is witness to the fact that, far from abating, the flames of war in Vietnam have, on the contrary, now engulfed the entire Indochina Peninsula. The world public sternly condemns the continuing bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam carried out on orders from the White House, just as the other aggressive acts of the United States in Indochina are causing a dangerous exacerbation of the situation.

The actions of the United States in the area of the Indochina Peninsula convincingly demonstrate that Washington continues to stake not on a political, but on a military solution of the problems of this area. The course of American imperialism is in crying contradiction to Washington's numerous statements of its intentions to curtail its military involvement in the Indochina conflict, of a desire to work for a political settlement of the Vietnam problem through negotiations.

Compelled to reduce the strength of its troops in South Vietnam, the U.S. government seeks to "Vietnamize" the war, keeps in power in Saigon and supports the puppet administration of Nguyen Van Thieu as its instrument in pursuing this policy.

Facts irrefutably prove that the farther the imperialists and their puppets expand their aggressive actions, the stronger grows the resistance of the patriots of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia who rely on the aid and support of the socialist countries, of all the progressive forces of the world. The United States' policy in Indochina is doomed to inevitable failure!

The countries participating in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee firmly believe that the problems of Indochina can be solved only on the basis of recognizing the legitimate rights

**Pravda*, January 27, 1972.

of the peoples of this area to determine their destiny themselves. Not a step-up of aggressive actions, but prompt, complete and unconditional withdrawal of the troops of the United States and those of its allies from Indochina, cessation of the aggressive acts against a sovereign socialist state—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, of all military operations in Indochina, of interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia—such is the realistic path towards settling the Indochina conflict unleashed by the forces of imperialism.

Resolutely condemning the adventurist policy of the United States in Indochina, the course towards the “Vietnamization” of the aggressive war, the air raids and all other actions directed against the sovereignty and security of the DRV, the participants in the meeting state that they will in the future as well render necessary aid and support to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the patriotic forces of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia for repelling the aggressor’s encroachments.

The participants in the meeting appeal to all those who hold dear the interests of peace and universal security, to still more vigorously show their solidarity with the peoples of Indochina who are waging a just struggle for freedom and independence, against the American invaders! The heroic struggle of the peoples of Indochina against the forces of imperialism serves the common cause of all progressive humanity!

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CP OF CHILE

The Communist Party of Chile celebrated its 50th anniversary in Santiago on January 2, 1972. Thousands of Party activists were present in the Caupolican Theatre. In the presidium were the Party's leaders headed by Secretary Luis Corvalan, representatives of other Popular Unity parties and movements, and more than 30 delegations from Communist and Workers' parties, including a CPSU delegation headed by CC CPSU Politbureau member and Secretary of the CC CPSU, A. P. Kirilenko.

President Allende's message of greeting to the Party was applauded.

A report on the 50-year history of the CP Chile was delivered by Volodia Teitelboim, member of the CC Political Commission.

The following is a summary of the report, carried by **Siglo** on January 3.

THE ROOTS ARE DEEP AFTER HALF A CENTURY*

Comrades,

On behalf of the Communist Party, all Communists, the Youth League of Chile, I express warmest greetings and sincere gratitude to the delegation of the Soviet Union, the delegations of fraternal parties from other socialist countries and the countries of Western Europe, Asia and the three Americas who are attending our Party's 50th anniversary celebrations.

We also express our gratitude to all the parties as a whole—and there are almost a hundred—and to each one individually for their messages of solidarity and greetings on our anniversary.

We voice our fraternal gratitude to our comrades-in-arms, the parties in the Popular Unity and to all the people of Chile, working for structural reforms and for the progress of the revolution in our country.

Today, we address words of affection and acknowledgement to our working class, all working people, to all people of Chile for their boundless trust in our Party, their legitimate and loyal creation tempered in the half century of struggle.

We have just heard the text of an extremely important document, the letter addressed by Comrade Allende to our Party on its 50th

***Siglo**, January 3, 1972.

militant jubilee. Comrade Allende sends his "most fraternal greetings" to the Party and voices his "sincere gratitude" for its many years of struggle and achievements in the interests of the people of Chile.

"As President of the Republic and rank-and-file member of the Left forces," says the message, "I cannot refrain from publicly stating my faith in the patriotism of those whose motto over a period of years has been the consistent realization of their political ideas and loyalty to the cause of social consolidation of the popular forces in our country."

We also express our gratitude to a man who today is the embodiment of the historical responsibility of the Chilean people now in power.

We salute all who are present here today, and those who are not among us. We honor the memory of those who have given their lives in the long and difficult struggle, whose names have been inscribed in the annals of history, Recabarren and Lafertte, Richardo Fonseca and Galo Gonzalez, all who have died the death of the brave. We do not forget the scores of thousands of unassuming and nameless fighters, the unknown heroes who cleared the path for the great social transformations in the name of man. It was their devoted and often invisible labor and effort in these fifty years that have changed the history of Chile and opened the doors of revolution in our country. It is they who laid the new road being militantly followed by the people today. They forged and organized the movement towards socialism in Chile.

We say 'A Happy New Year' to all the comrades who left their families and travelled abroad in order personally to convey the collective messages of friendship and brotherhood.

We say 'A Happy New Year' to all our Party members and to all our people and wish new and greater success to the revolutionary movement and the popular government in Chile in 1972.

We say 'A Happy New Year' to all peoples and wish to see the triumph of the ideals of peace and socialism.

50 YEARS, OR 60?

The Communist Party of Chile was created exactly 50 years ago at the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party in Rancagua.

The Declaration of Principles, or the Party's Birth Certificate gave a clear outline of the Party's tasks. The Party believed that the class capitalist society, founded on the exploitation of man by man, must be destroyed and replaced by a new society which would lead to communism. For this it was necessary to organize the workers, create a progressive revolutionary organization with

clearly defined goals and guidelines. Only the Communist Party could be such an organization.

The Party, therefore, resolved to "form a Chilean section in the Comintern, adopting its theses and working for the triumph of its cause, i.e., the cause of the proletariat." The Party appealed to all the working people in the country to build up its ranks and help in its work "on the basis of full mutual understanding with the revolutionary trade union organization in order to create an indestructible alliance for an all-out struggle against capitalism."

We often compare the Communist Party of Chile to a woman who, not wishing to grow old, constantly cuts ten years off her age. In fact, there is close continuity between the Communist Party and the Workers' Socialist Party of Chile which was founded in 1912. Proof of this is the fact that both the leadership and members transferred from one Party to the other when, with no intermission, the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Socialist Party assumed the role of the First Constituent Congress of the CP of Chile as a result of a conscious, unanimous and voluntary decision, in contrast to many other Communist parties that were created after breaking away from old Socialist parties. Such a solution was possible only on the basis of a community of interests, identical social composition, proletarian consciousness, common ideological orientation and a mutual spirit of internationalism.

It was not, after all, a mere change in name. It was necessary to stress the end of the old and the beginning of a new period in the life of the Party and the revolutionary struggle.

In the new conditions resulting from the beginning of the end of capitalism and the start of socialist construction on one-sixth of the globe, it was imperative to squarely face the new tasks. It was necessary to assimilate the heroic traditions of the proletariat and the people while consciously maintaining positions of Marxist-Leninist ideology, eliminating alien trends that infiltrated from social-democratic type meetings in the Workers' Socialist Party and, for a time, in the Communist Party.

Besides, a name must not be merely an empty sound. As Lenin pointed out, to be called a Communist Party means having a strong will, an unshakable determination not to stop half-way, continuing the struggle until the country, the people and every individual are delivered from capitalism, until through their own efforts they build socialism and enter a Communist society, passing from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom and, in this way, creating conditions for the comprehensive development of the individual.

We are convinced that the historical vitality of the Communist Party of Chile can be explained by the fact that it is not an

artificial creation, but a live organism originating from the depths of the working class, the people; and, like a tree growing on earth, it has struck deep roots on native soil during half a century. The Party has matured on soil fertilized by the humus of daily struggle and the saltpetre of tireless labor, rewarding the working people with such bountiful harvests that it is impossible to isolate the past 50-year history of Chile from the role and activity of the Communist Party.

INTERNAL UNITY

The secret of the Party's strength lies in its indestructible internal unity; factions and groupings are alien to it.

Party cohesion is undoubtedly the result of its unshakable loyalty to the ideological and organizational principles of Leninism and the fact that since its foundation it has, in its social composition and political line, been a truly proletarian party to which displays of ambition and factionalism are alien. The Party has never allowed itself to be misled by the rhetoric of accomodating reformists and factionalists who claim that a revolution can be carried out at a moment's notice.

However, it is not enough to be simply a class Party even though its roots reach deep among the people. If such a party is to grow and be able to influence the people, it must express their direct and indirect vital interests, follow a flexible line, constantly changing it to conform with existing conditions in the country and the people's needs. In implementing its political line, the Party strove for a dialectical combination of all the above-mentioned factors, always conferring with the primary organizations and the working people, thus protecting itself from sclerosis and bureaucratism, paternalism and isolation from the masses.

However, the Party does not attempt to hide its mistakes. On the contrary, it exposes them for all to see. When Communists correct mistakes in time, it is the Party that stands to gain while the error itself and the Party's enemies are the losers.

TARGET FOR THE ENEMY

The struggle for the Chilean revolution is an integral part of the world revolutionary struggle. The internationalist spirit combined with patriotic feelings has permeated the political struggle of the Chilean proletariat from the very beginning.

Marxist-Leninist theory has been assimilated over a long period of time in the struggle against trends alien to the revolutionary movement. A leading role in this struggle was played by Comrade Recabarren, in whose works, written at different times, one is able

to see the various trends that have influenced the workers' movement; they are evidence of the social and internal struggle for the ideological supremacy of scientific socialism.

The rich experience of the CP of Chile has its successes, failures and mistakes. This experience determines the path followed by the Party as it elaborates a clearcut line, educating and tempering thousands of Party workers.

Throughout these fifty years, from its very inception, the Party has been the target for daily attacks by the imperialists and internal enemies. Their aim to discredit the Party and present it as an organization that has lost its revolutionary orientation is self-revealing.

After all, it is illogical to launch such furious attacks against a force that presumably has lost its revolutionary qualities.

If the Party is reviled and denigrated, and well-paid agents plan vile campaigns against it, this is because they know that the Communist Party and Popular Unity are the grave-diggers of all forms of exploitation, plunder, injustice, and that the people are the embodiment of consciousness and organization.

For half a century the Party has devoted all its energy and knowledge to the education and consolidation of the people.

CHARACTER OF THE REVOLUTION IN CHILE

A correct evaluation of the character and goals of the Chilean revolution is of cardinal importance in defining our policy. From general discussions on the meaning of a social revolution we have passed to a more scientific concept of revolution, characterizing it as a process determined mainly by concrete conditions in Chile and which is an integral part of the worldwide fight for socialism and the peoples' struggle for liberation from imperialism and internal reaction.

The Party's clandestine 10th Congress in 1956 greatly enriched this concept by advancing a program developing the objective analysis of the situation in the country and proposing concrete and radical solutions for the problems facing the country.

This program advances as the most urgent task of the Chilean revolution the liquidation of imperialism, big land holdings and monopolies. In dealing with this task the working class is not alone, it acts in a common front with all social and economic elements in the world who suffer from these three main enemies, a front rallying around the working class, in its broadest sense, also middle strata, professionals and research workers. Politically, the people are united with the aid and participation of parties and movements representing these forces. The Popular Unity includes Marxists,

Christians and rationalists united by common tasks which they are solving jointly.

The policy of Communist unity with the people has long-standing traditions in Chile. It is a vital element of our conceptions and a powerful constant of the Party's line. Party congresses and plenums have always stressed the need for consolidation of all the people with no exception in order to strike the main blow, isolate and destroy imperialism and reaction.

We have made the attainment of unity between the Communists, Socialists and the people a permanent law of our policy. History, experience and the uppermost interests of the people paved the road to unity yesterday and are consolidating this unity today. This unity is imperative not only at the present stage, but in future too, in order to build socialism.

Less than a month after the formation of the popular government the General Secretary of our Party outlined our most urgent task in the following way: "The Communist Party believes that its main duty is to work jointly with the parties in the Popular Unity, with the President of the Republic, inside the government and outside it in the name of the common goal—realization of revolutionary transformations."

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF ONE YEAR

Historic achievements were registered in 1971. The nationalization of the copper mining industry, which gives the country 83 per cent of its foreign revenues, signified the final liquidation of North American monopoly control of our basic raw material wealth.

An end was put also to the domination of these monopolies in the saltpetre, iron ore and other main branches of the economy under their control.

A substantial nationalization of private banks already makes it possible for the state sector to control 85 per cent of deposits and credits in the interests of the middle and small producers and merchants, preventing the financial and monopoly oligarchy from plundering this part of the population and utilizing public funds to their own advantage.

Only a revolutionary government could sweep away the textile concerns of the multi-millionaires, these formidable fortresses the capitalists believed to be sacred and unconquerable. They were requisitioned together with the monopolies operating in the cement, fishing and other key industries in the country's economy.

The government and the Popular Unity are interested in clearly defining the borders of the three economic fields outlined in the program.

At present, only an insignificant number of monopoly enterprises that seriously infringe the country's interests are being nationalized to be turned into public property. The activities and rights of the great majority of employers, industrialists, middle and small merchants, are fully guaranteed.

In 1971, over 1,300 large estates were expropriated and the rest will follow suit in 1972. The land reform is being extended through the creation of communal, provincial and national Peasants' Councils.

In spite of the sabotage and systematic furious attempts by reaction to damage the national economy, the people have set themselves the aim to increase output. During the first year of the Popular government, the volume of industrial output rose by 12 per cent, which is 24 times as much as the growth during the last year of the Frei government.

The incomes of wage workers and employees have reached proportions never seen in the country's history, and the same is true of pensions. As a result buying power has reached an unheard-of level. The 1972 readjustments were met with satisfaction by the working people. The minimal wage is being raised 50 per cent, rectifying the injustices with regard to the low-paid categories.

The incomes of the middle strata have gone up noticeably. Merchants, for instance, have never sold as much as they did in 1971. And one more example: the Popular government finally introduced social insurance for merchants, small manufacturers, handicraftsmen, transport workers, employees and the self-employed. However, the enemy is at times still able to misrepresent the Popular government in the eyes of this segment of the population.

PARTICIPATION, MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF WORKING PEOPLE

The working class is represented both in and outside the government. It participates in the work of ministries and management of government and the public sector.

Displaying sharp opposition to all sorts of devices used by the owners, the workers participate in production committees and administrative councils, tempering these first weapons as a leading force in production and demonstrating in most cases its ability to assume the most difficult and complex responsibilities for the economic process.

At private enterprises the supervising committees play the leading role in the fight against sabotage and for production achievements. Doubtlessly, this is an important and far-reaching experiment testing the conscientiousness, patriotism and revolutionary sentiments of the working people, and it is destined to grow and develop

like a river, as a valuable and absolutely necessary creative initiative.

Much the same goes for the supply and prices juntas, the medicare hospital councils and the peasant councils in the agrarian reform centers. Together with the housing juntas, mother and child centers, etc., they will comprise a broad network of organizations which will generate, depending on the requirements and problems, the creative capacities of the people providing for their participation in the realization and direction of revolutionary transformations at all levels.

CHILE IS NOT ALONE

World public opinion has been able to see that in international relations Chile is guided by a policy promoting the country's dignity and independence, strictly adhering to the principles of self-determination.

One of the first measures instituted by the Allende government—the immediate re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba—meant a refusal to knuckle down to imperialist dictates.

Comrade Fidel Castro, Prime Minister and First Secretary of the CP of Cuba, recently visited our country. He was given a warm and sincere reception wherever he went. The people expressed their enthusiastic feelings for the first socialist country in America.

Today, at this meeting, together with the 50th anniversary of our Party we would like to honor the 13th anniversary of the glorious Cuban revolution that started a new era in the history of our continent.

President Allende's visit to some Latin American countries was a serious blow to the reactionary "ideological frontiers" doctrine.

North American imperialism is preparing a worldwide plot to overthrow the Chilean government. Its spokesmen even let slip such phrases as "its days are numbered." They are deeply mistaken. Chile will defend its national independence, its legitimate right to fulfil the freely and sovereignly expressed will of the people even if this does not please the American concerns and foreign and home reaction. Chile will do this courageously, whatever sacrifices this will entail.

Besides, Chile is not alone. We have the support of the world revolutionary movement, and the presence here of numerous representative delegations from fraternal parties is proof of its wholehearted solidarity. This is also proof of the growing unity of the workers' and Communist movement, of the might and solidarity of the world revolutionary movement.

At this new and difficult stage of transition in Chile's develop-

ment, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of Europe are an invaluable source of aid and support not only in economy and trade, but also in science and technology, which for our country is the basic factor of progress. "A friend in need is a friend indeed," is an appropriate saying here.

Some dogmatists censure the Chilean experiment, qualifying it as heretical and a transgression because it goes beyond the accustomed framework of an armed struggle. They forget that Marxism does not consider an armed struggle to be the only and obligatory way.

We are going through a transitional stage characterized by an acute class struggle, when the foundations of privilege are collapsing.

Any period of transition from one society to another entails extreme tension also because the displaced classes are trying to survive by all means, utilizing *all* levers, illegitimately still at their disposal.

The weight and capacity of the executive power in Chile is much greater than similar qualities of any other government.

The determining factor, however, capable of assuring the realization of the program and transition of the Chilean revolution to socialism, depends first of all on the organization, mobilization and struggle of the working class and all the people in the spirit of a decisive offensive.

The people deeply realize their responsibilities and are determined to defend the government and, if need be, to give their lives for their revolution. The people are prepared for everything. They have taken up their battle positions and will not allow the emergence of a fascist movement.

They are determined and strong enough to go over to the offensive. This speaks of their high level of consciousness and is expressed in the mobilization of their organizations and actions showing their resolve to block the road to fascism and reaction.

The minority that has been removed from power is attempting to unleash a civil war.

The reactionaries would like to split the country into two equal and irreconcilable blocs, creating favorable conditions for a civil war. We reject the false and fatalistic theory of its inevitability.

We must isolate fascism and reaction. We must not allow them to ensnare the democratic and political forces who, although they are in opposition, accept neither a government overthrow nor fascism.

Communists are guided by one feeling, the feeling of responsibility binding them to participate in the government together with the Popular Unity and to advance the revolution.

Accomplishment of the revolution is a great and, by far, not a

simple task. It demands wholehearted and complete devotion and, above all, inspired dedication of mind and experience. It urgently requires still further examination of the situation from a completely different angle, unusual for the parties and democratic forces who have waged a constant struggle in the difficult conditions of principled opposition.

We are facing a task which we have never before been called upon to solve, particularly in a country where the people have come to power not by force of arms, but through elections, thus crowning thousands upon thousands of the most varied battles.

We must solve new tasks, chart new, hitherto unexplored paths without outside aid, oftentimes with no example to follow. Because of this we must resort to political flexibility, make our own decisions that are far removed from previously established models. We must reach a precise equation of an analysis of reality and dynamism necessary in a revolution entailing deep and constant changes, every day we must find specific answers and advance undeviatingly and rapidly, carefully calculating every step.

The entire popular coalition is working for the realization of the revolution. All its parties that are closely united are joining forces to complete the revolution.

The working class, the working people and the peasants are contributing all their energy to the revolution.

Our Party, basically proletarian in origin, social composition and ideology is at the same time proud that it includes the best representatives of the literary, scientific and technological intelligentsia and also the art world, teachers and professors and student youth. It is rapidly gaining influence among the various social strata of the university deeply affected by the urgent necessity for changes in accordance with the present situation in Chile. Reaction is attempting to turn it into a bastion against the people and is ready to stoop to any means to rid it of undesirable elements.

In the Party cells, the local and regional committees, in the Central Committee and the Political Commission, women Communists, comprising 39 per cent of our membership, work with enthusiasm and a sense of responsibility among the masses, together with women from the Popular Unity in order to involve an ever greater number of women in the Chilean revolution.

Our wonderful Young Communist League, the heroic Ramona Parra brigades, are working for the revolution. They write slogans calling for victory on house walls, on the streets and on the dams.

At a time when decaying capitalism has nothing to offer the youth but narcotics, moral corruption, despair and war, in short, death, the Communist Party, the Popular movement and the Chilean

revolution open all horizons for the youth, bringing them lofty ideals of a new life.

Today, when the Communist Party is celebrating its 50th anniversary, together with the Popular Unity it appeals to all Chileans thirsting for a great, united, free and democratic homeland, to contribute all their strength for the success of this wonderful revolutionary experiment which is unfolding today in our country for all the world to see.

We are certain that together with the people we shall emerge victorious from the thousands of ordeals ahead.

Always with the people—yesterday, today and tomorrow, working, fighting, participating, directing and organizing the whole process from top to bottom and vice versa.

Together with the people, arousing the inexhaustible energy of the masses, we have sufficient strength to overcome all difficulties along the rugged road to our goal.

The party of Recabarren and Lafertte is certain that full mobilization of the people, constant struggle, an offensive spirit and creative endeavor will allow us to look to the future with optimism.

We are deeply convinced that the day is not far off when our people will achieve the final victory of the Chilean revolution in the name of which the Communist Party of Chile was founded 50 years ago.

On behalf of the parties of Popular Unity, the CP was greeted by Carlos Altamirano, General Secretary of the Socialist Party. "We are certain of the final triumph of our process," he said, "but in all sincerity we must say it will require unity of all parties in the Popular Unity, reliable unity of the Communist and Socialist parties, unity of the people."

Next to speak was the head of the CPSU delegation, A. P. Kirilenko.

SPEECH* BY A. P. KIRILENKO

Dear comrades and friends,

It is an honor for our delegation to represent the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the 50th anniversary celebrations of the glorious Communist Party of Chile.

We express deep appreciation to the Central Committee of your Party for the invitation and opportunity of being here among you as the Party is summing up its 50-year struggle under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

*Pravda, January 4, 1972.

Allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, on behalf of the 14.5 million Soviet Communists and all the working people of our country, to convey sincere congratulations and best wishes to the Communists of Chile on the 50th anniversary of their Party.

Through you we send friendly greetings to all Chilean working people, peasants, workers in the arts and sciences, the youth, working women, all for whom these celebrations are associated with your people's wish to follow the road of national independence, democracy and social progress and to instill true justice and freedom.

Sincerely, we greet the delegation here of the Socialist Party of Chile, with which Communists have worked in common for many years for the vital interests and advanced ideals of the working class, for the people's liberation from imperialist oppression, the oppression of the local monopolies and landed oligarchy, for passage to building a new society.

We warmly greet representatives of other parties in the Popular Unity coalition who are working together with Communists and Socialists for the lofty goals of the Chilean revolution.

The Communist Party of Chile can be proud of its past record. It is marking its 50th anniversary as a strong Party with a great deal of experience and with significant victories achieved, together with its allies. It is now an important political force in the country and an authoritative detachment of the world Communist movement. The presence here of delegations from many countries of America, Europe, Asia and Africa is evidence of the broad international recognition and respect enjoyed by the Communist Party of Chile.

The Party's unshakable fidelity to the cause of the working class and all working people, A. P. Kirilenko continued, and its dedicated work in the country's interests have earned it deep respect and affection among broad sections of the people. The Party has brought to the fore such internationalist revolutionary leaders as Luis Emilio Recabarren, Elias Lafertte, Ricardo Fonseca and Galo Gonzalez, who embody proletarian tenacity, energy and fortitude.

As your brothers in the common cause we are pleased that there is nationwide recognition in Chile of the significant contribution made by the Communist Party to the unfolding under working-class leadership of a powerful anti-imperialist and democratic movement. Together with other Left forces, the Communist Party has played an outstanding role in the formation of the Popular Unity coalition and in bringing to power a government headed by President Salvador Allende — an outstanding fighter for the country's

happiness and its development along the road of independence and social progress.

Stressing the importance of this event, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said at our Party's 24th Congress that in Chile "for the first time in the history of the continent, the people have secured, by constitutional means, the installation of a government they want and trust." The popular government has proclaimed socialist goals. The effectuation of revolutionary changes in Chile is a new chapter in the building of a socialist world. The peoples are following with great interest the changes you are making and wish you every success.

It is significant that the Party is marking its 50th anniversary as one of the parties in the ruling Popular Unity coalition. In the new conditions resulting from the victory of the nation's democratic and patriotic forces, the Party is devoting all its energy, knowledge and political experience to the country's transformation along truly revolutionary lines. With a feeling of deep responsibility the Chilean Communists are working for the complete realization of the Popular Unity program. They are mobilizing the working people to resolve the political and economic problems, heighten vigilance against imperialist and reactionary plotting and foil attempts at interfering in the nation's progress along the chosen path. We share your Party's conviction that the Popular Unity coalition headed by the working class will transform Chile into a new, progressive, flourishing state ruled by the people and for the people.

Chile's experience confirms the law common to all countries that in all stages of the revolutionary transformation of society the working class and all working people require politically mature and experienced leadership. This is borne out by the activity of the Popular Unity coalition. And it is no accident that the Communist and Socialist parties enjoy increasing prestige among the people of Chile, while constantly and violently attacked by the forces of reaction and its henchmen.

The activity of the Communist Party is a model of creatively applying the basic Marxist-Leninist tenets in the concrete conditions of Chile. The Party is enriching the international arsenal of forms and methods of dealing with socio-economic problems, the treasure-house of the Communist and Workers' parties' collective experience. Implementing the Marxist-Leninist line, the Party is repulsing bourgeois attacks and "Left" and Right opportunist intrigues.

Being true friends of the Communist Party of Chile, we hold that one of the main sources of its strength is that it has always been ardently patriotic and internationalist. Its activity is an indissoluble combination of national and international duties. The Com-

munists of Chile, as we are aware, have always taken and now maintain a clear class standpoint on the role and significance for the world revolutionary movement of the October Revolution, the first socialist state and the entire socialist community, consistently advocating friendship and cooperation with the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, exposing anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, wherever it may originate.

Though our two countries are on different continents and separated by oceans, the Soviet people and the working people of Chile are linked by class solidarity and a sense of brotherhood. The peoples of the Soviet Union will never forget that when their country was perfidiously attacked by fascist hordes, the Communists and working people of Chile gave us moral support. At that time the sentiment of the people of Chile resounded with revolutionary fervor in the emotional songs of that outstanding poet and Communist—Pablo Neruda.

You stood by us in the years of arduous struggle and those of great achievements in the name of man's future. And we are sincerely grateful to you, dear Chilean brothers, for your tireless and effective internationalism.

You may rest assured that Soviet Communists and all Soviet people will always show solidarity with the struggle of the people of Chile and equally of all other peoples. We hold this to be our duty as revolutionaries, as Marxist-Leninists.

We are deeply pleased with the course of the traditional relations of fraternal friendship between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Chile based on loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, coinciding views on all key problems of our time, and on solidarity in the struggle for common goals. Both our parties advocate united action of all anti-imperialist forces in line with the policy collectively drawn up by the 1969 International Meeting. The CPSU and the CP of Chile have always marched shoulder to shoulder in the common struggle against imperialism, for the radiant future of the peoples of our two countries. We are happy to note that this political line is consistently implemented by the leadership of the CP of Chile and our dear friend and comrade, Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of your Party.

A new stage is beginning in the relations between our peoples and countries, marked by a mutual desire to consolidate friendship and broaden cooperation in all fields. Soviet-Chilean economic relations are developing on a new basis, encompassing ever new branches and problems of national economic activity in the interest of both countries. Cultural and scientific ties, visits by specialists and contacts between trade union, women's, youth, student and other public organizations are becoming more prolific. This is being

promoted by the Chilean-Soviet Institute for Cultural Ties and the Soviet-Chilean Friendship Society.

I am sure that the friendly relations between our Parties and between the Soviet Union and Chile will continue to flourish to the common benefit of our nations.

Comrades, marking the 50-year jubilee of one of the glorious detachments of the world Communist movement, we are happy to note that our movement is on the upgrade, its unity is growing and it is exercising a mounting influence on the course of historic events. The countries of the socialist community have achieved new successes of late, their economic potential has grown and the living standard of their peoples has risen. The activities and plans of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties are evidence of the constantly increasing might of the socialist states and the broad creative possibilities and dynamism of the socialist system. The national liberation movement, too, is gaining scope.

The consolidation of your country's international position is a positive factor. The recent visit to Chile by a Cuban government delegation headed by Comrade Fidel Castro and the warm welcome he received is a demonstration not only of the militant solidarity between the peoples of Chile and Cuba, who have chosen the revolutionary path, but also shows that Cuba has broken the imperialist blockade which was intended to isolate it from Latin America. Cuba, the first free American territory, has millions of friends here in Chile and other Latin American countries. We should like to take this opportunity to convey our cordial congratulations to the fraternal delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba on the 13th anniversary of their revolution, marked yesterday.

A. P. Kirilenko also referred to the Soviet Union's foreign policy, the significance and success of the Peace Program advanced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

Soviet foreign policy, he said, is a Leninist policy of struggle against aggressive imperialist designs, advocating peace and international security, consolidation of friendship among nations and strengthening the positions of world socialism and of all progressive states.

Our socialist state, he continued, has always consistently opposed, and will continue opposing, the aggressive designs and actions of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. We have in the past and will continue in the future to support nations fighting for their freedom and independence and therefore consider it our internationalist duty to extend all-round aid to the heroic people of Vietnam, to the peoples of Laos and Cambodia.

The Soviet people support the just struggle of the Arab peoples

for the liberation of their territory occupied by the Israeli aggressor with the aid and encouragement of the United States.

The Soviet Union has shown by its deeds that socialism and international security, the basic interest of all humanity, are indivisible concepts.

Comrade A. P. Kirilenko then dwelt on the success of Soviet people in developing their economy, science and culture, in raising their living standards, and described the plans for the further building of communism. He stressed that the successful realization of these plans was in the interests not only of the Soviet people, but also of the basic revolutionary goals of the international workers', Communist and liberation movements.

In conclusion the speaker again warmly congratulated the fraternal Communist Party of Chile on its anniversary and sincerely wished the Chilean Communists new successes in carrying forward the changes proposed by the Popular Unity coalition in the interest of the working people, national independence and social progress.

Comrade Kirilenko's speech was listened to with close attention and was frequently interrupted by applause. There was stormy applause when Comrade Kirilenko presented to Comrade Luis Corvalan a message of greeting and a gift of the CC CPSU to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile.

Messages of greeting were also conveyed by the heads of Party delegations from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and from Cuba.

Speaking for the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, Nguyen Than Binh, head of the delegation, voiced the conviction that the peoples of Chile and Vietnam would be triumphant.

The head of the Cuban delegation, member of the CC CP of Cuba Jorge Risquet Valdes spoke of the need for greater solidarity of the peoples and unity of all revolutionary forces.

During the closing of the anniversary meeting the delegates and guests sang the Internationale.



SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Second Conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), attended by 367 delegates, met in Belgrade from January 25-27, 1972. Among its guests were members of the SFRY Presidium and representatives of the Federal Assembly, Federal Executive Council and non-governmental organizations.

Josip Broz Tito, Chairman of the LCY, made a brief opening speech. Commenting on the situation in the country and in the League, he said that various anti-Communist forces of the world were becoming more and more vocal in predicting a "big crisis" in Yugoslavia. Any crisis in the country is out of the question, he said. All we can speak of is certain shortcomings in the LCY, resulting chiefly from failure to execute decisions of the Ninth Congress, which failure had encouraged the enemy to rear his head. The League could not go to its 10th Congress without accomplishing the tasks set by its previous congress. This made it an important objective of the Second Conference to disclose and discuss all shortcomings. Tito stressed that the Conference was meeting at a time when there is growing awareness of the need for the LCY really and fully to participate in the solution of the country's problems.

The Conference heard and discussed reports by the LCY Presidium and the League's Rules and Auditing commissions on the work done since the First Conference (October 1970).

The items on the agenda "The Development of the LCY and Current Tasks" and "The Socio-Economic Situation and Tasks of the LCY" were presented by V. Vlahovic and K. Gligorov, members of the LCY Presidium's Executive Bureau.

Presidium documents dealing with these matters were published beforehand in *Borba* on December 30, 1971 and January 11, 1972 respectively. On January 17, the Presidium also published the "Draft Decision of the Second Conference of the LCY on the Political System of Yugoslavia."

On the opening day of the Conference the "Action Program," a draft document based on previous decisions of the LCY Presidium, was circulated to the delegates for discussion.

Over 90 delegates spoke in the debate and another 13 delegates submitted written statements.

Josip Broz Tito spoke in reply to the debate. The Conference showed, he said, that, for all its present shortcomings, there was

nothing like the kind of crisis Communists had occasionally thought the League of Communists was passing through. The League's basis is sound and its Conference proceeded in an atmosphere of unity.

Tito stressed the need to strengthen the LCY as the most politically conscious force of Yugoslavia's socialist society, a force which can overcome all obstacles. The League would watchfully maintain all that furthered society's progress.

Tito criticized the manifestations of nationalism revealed in Croatia and other republics. We cannot have several Party centers, he said, doing as they please and operating against the interests of the Communist organization, the LCY, as a whole.

It is necessary to win as many factory workers as possible for LCY membership, for this would considerably reinforce the League. Since the LCY is the vanguard of the working class, workers should be in this vanguard.

Speaking of the organizational structure of the LCY, Tito urged respect for the principle of democratic centralism, heightening Party discipline and a sense of responsibility on the part of the Communists. Those who had made mistakes in Party work must be punished to the point of expelling them from the LCY, and those who had conspired with external forces must be prosecuted.

Tito also dealt with the Marxist education of youth. Marxism must be the basis of the theoretical schooling of the younger generation, he said. He agreed that those who did not accept the policy of the LCY nor the Yugoslav social system should be barred from the universities.

Josip Broz Tito stressed the need to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to ensure more rapid and correct progress of socialist society and guarantee that the workers had a say in all affairs. The dictatorship of the proletariat, he said, is the backbone of Yugoslav society.

The Conference approved the reports of the LCY Presidium and the Rules and Auditing commissions and endorsed the new Presidium members elected at the League's republican and regional conferences, and adopted the "Action Program" of the LCY.

The newly elected members of the LCY Presidium are:

—from the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina, T. Kurtovic, M. Mesihovic and N. Mihalevic (in place of R. Dugonic, N. Dizdarevic and H. Pozderac);

—from the LC of Montenegro, T. Knjezevic and J. Vujadinovic (in place of V. Zarkovic and D. Culafic);

—from the LC of Croatia, J. Bilic, M. Baltic and I. Dezelin (in

place of J. Blazevic, relieved of the duties of LCY Presidium member at his own request, M. Tripalo and S. Bijelic);

—from the LC of Kosovo, D. Ristic (in place of J. Pecenovic);

—from the LC of Voivodina, M. Sefer and M. Canadanovic (in place of M. Kelemen and M. Tepavac).

The LC conference in the Yugoslav People's Army elected D. Sarac to the LCY Presidium in place of B. Borojevic.

After the Conference of the LCY Presidium met in session, with Josip Broz Tito in the chair. It elected a new Executive Bureau of eight — one from each republic or autonomous region — instead of the former 14. The Bureau members are K. Avramovic, J. Bilic, S. Dolanc, S. Doronjski, F. Hoxha, K. Gligorov, T. Kurtovic and B. Soskic.

S. Dolanc was elected secretary of the Bureau for one year, till the next conference of the LCY.

ACTION PROGRAM OF LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

Summary of the Program adopted by the Second Conference of the LCY on January 27 and published in **Borba** of January 29. The Program outlines the basic trends and tasks facing the LCY.

In the introduction to the Action Program, the Second LCY Conference stated:

"The League of Communists faces the need to strengthen and to wage a more decisive struggle for the development of socialist relations on principles of self-government in which the working class would play a leading role in society. This is the essence of the struggle for a more radical continuation of the socialist revolution at the present stage of our social development. This struggle determines the development trends and the content of the more profound transformation of the League of Communists, consolidation of its leading ideological-political role, its unity and responsibility for revolutionary action."

It is pointed out that an ideological crisis has emerged in the LCY, manifested especially in opportunism, inconsistency and deviation from the guidelines of the Ninth Congress, in ideological disassociation and spontaneous processes, in the weakening of the struggle for self-government.

These conditions led to the emergence of chronic economic instability, inflation, non-liquidity and growing social differentiation in our society.

The growth of nationalism, the introduction continues, in the form of separatism and hegemonism, is an expression of more harsh and profound clashes between socialist self-government and the forces of étatist and technocratic bureaucracy. For this reason nationalism is becoming a common ideological and political platform of all the enemies of socialist self-government, the rallying center of all the reactionary, anti-socialist, anti-democratic and bureaucratic forces in Yugoslavia. In recent times the forces opposing self-government, usually from positions of separatist nationalism, have attempted, at times successfully, to create centers of organized counter-revolution.

The growing aggressiveness of the forces opposed to self-government and of the anti-socialist forces was made possible in large measure because the LCY underestimated the activity of the class enemy, while opportunist attitudes emerged in the LCY itself towards the sources, activity and propagators of nationalism.

The first section of the Program, headed "Strengthening of the Role of the Working Class in Socio-Economic Relations Built on the Basis of Self-Government," stresses the duty of LCY members to actively help create conditions for "the working people to build economic relations which would give them real opportunities to solve the problems of extended reproduction."

The Program outlines the ways of "further strengthening the material basis of self-government." These include raising labor productivity, liquidating state capital, improving the economy by lowering taxes, payment of debts by enterprises and organizations outside the sphere of production and instituting measures providing enterprises with greater independence.

It is the duty of Communists, wherever they live and work, the document continues, to support measures for the prevention of socially unwarranted social distinctions, enrichment, graft, corruption and other illegalities that afford an opportunity for the acquisition of material values at the expense of the working people and the entire socialist community. It is impermissible for Communists to remain indifferent to or tolerant of procedures that lead to dissatisfaction among the broad segments of workers and all other working people. Vigorously opposing socially unwarranted social inequality, the LCY is working to ensure corresponding remuneration for creative endeavor and labor. Wage-levelling is unacceptable because it conflicts with distribution according to labor, paralyzes creative endeavour and lowers economic effectiveness.

It is the policy of the LCY, the document says, that prices of goods and services should be determined in accordance with market conditions, under an appropriate system of control and

public adjustment of market prices.

The aim of the financial and foreign trade policy should be to provide for convertibility of the dinar, its realistic and stable exchange rate and, on this basis, liberalization of foreign trade turnover, while constantly building up economic relations with foreign countries. The document calls for energetic measures to stop unnecessary and irrational imports.

The Second LCY Conference sets before the LCY Presidium and its bodies, jointly with other competent public organizations, the task to continue and intensify the work of elaborating key development problems of the country's socio-economic system.

The second section, headed "Economic Stabilization and the Policy of Development," notes that during the period under discussion there has been a further increase of manufactured and agricultural production, services and exports, growth of employment and labor productivity, improvement of the working people's real living standards and consolidation of society's material basis. This is the result of devoted effort by the working people and their collectives in conditions of a fluctuating market and various economic difficulties.

The measures to stabilize the economy began to yield results only in the latter half of last year when signs appeared of positive changes in the economic process, especially in foreign trade.

In spite of significant achievements, the Conference states that the economic situation has been unfavorable for quite some time. This is obvious from the unstable relations in the economy and on the market, the high level of inflation, from the excess of consumption of all types over material possibilities, in non-liquidity and balance of payments deficit.

The social and political priority to stabilize the system based on self-government, assure the decisive role of the working class and united labor in social reproduction, continued development of the productive forces and, on this basis, a stable rise in the working people's living standards.

The document notes that without planning and conscious public guidance, it is impossible to reach the goals of economic and social development and a more stable development of the economy.

The third section, headed "Urgent Problems of the Development of the Political System and Direct Socialist Democracy," says that the recently adopted constitutional amendments are a significant step forward in the development of socialist relations based on self-government, equality of the peoples and nationalities, self-government in the republics and regions, and in raising their responsibility for their own development and the development of the Yugoslav association as a whole.

"The LCY believes," the document says, "that objective and subjective conditions have matured for taking a decisive step at the second stage of constitutional amendments towards predominance of the politico-representative character of our parliamentary system."

This section also defines the position and role of socio-political organizations in the country's social system and reviews the role of the Socialist Union of Yugoslav Working People and the trade unions.

In conclusion it is stressed that it is necessary to develop socialist democracy in a manner that would increase its ability to defend itself from the attacks and subversion of the class enemy. "In our society there can be no over-abundance of democracy for the working people, but there should be none for the enemies of democracy, the enemies of socialism."

The last section of the document, headed "Pressing Problems of the Development and Activities of the LCY," notes that if the general policy and activities of the LCY are to be defined by the struggle for the interests of the working class and its greater role in society, a radical change is needed in the social composition of the League of Communists to include a greater number of the direct producers, the workers.

The principles of democratic centralism, clearly defined in the LCY Rules, must be equally and consistently applied in the LCY, from the primary organizations to the LCY leadership.

It is essential to overcome the serious lag in ideological and theoretical work. This requires a more responsible approach, improvement of the ideological education of the LCY membership, concrete ideological solutions of urgent problems of the policy and work of the LCY, framing and improving the long-range policy of Marxist education of cadres for research, theoretical, journalistic, politico-propaganda and mass ideological work.

Proceeding from the decisions of the Ninth Congress on the role of the LCY Presidium and from a critical analysis of its work, the Second Conference believes that the LCY Presidium must fulfil its political functions more effectively and with greater unity, and improve organization of its work in order to become a powerful, dynamic and influential ideological-political center of the LCY.

The LCY Presidium has been instructed to define more closely the role and tasks of the Executive Bureau so that it can operate as a united, effective and initiating ideological-political and, within the framework of its rights, an independent collective body whose actions and proposals would create conditions for the maximum success of the Presidium's work and effective realization of its political decisions.

PLENUM OF THE CC, ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Aldo Tortorella, a Politbureau member of the Italian Communist Party, reported to a Central Committee Plenum in Rome on January 17-18, on tasks facing Communists in view of the present crisis. The report received unanimous approval and the Plenum passed a resolution, the full text of which is reprinted from **Unità** for January 19, 1972.

The Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, which met in plenum on January 17-18, approved the report delivered by Comrade Aldo Tortorella and appeals to the entire Party, the workers and toiling population, anti-fascists and the youth to mobilize forces and fight in a united front in order to effect a democratic solution of the grave political and social crisis in the country.

It is imperative that Italy emerge from its state of decay. It is high time to deal seriously with the problems of employment, job security and pensions. An urgent and positive solution is needed to abolish the serious symptoms of deterioration in education caused by government inertia and inactivity and conservative and reactionary pressure. The time has come to cancel the disgraceful, irrational and archaic agricultural contracts existing in the Italian rural areas, while using all means to aid the small-holders renting land. It is no longer possible to postpone a reform in the health system that would end the extreme chaos in hospitals, the mutual aid funds and the entire system of health protection.

A housing reform is badly needed, especially in order to deal with the crisis in housing construction. A new democratic political course requires that the regional self-government bodies be entrusted with the tasks foreseen by the Constitution which grants them corresponding rights.

We must not turn back. The social and political gains won by the workers and the democratic movement in recent years should not again be questioned. On the contrary, we must advance along the road of democratic development, reforms, economic programming within the framework of a foreign policy of peace and national independence, disarmament and European and world security. Such are the conditions necessary for a rapid and rational upsurge of production.

This calls for emphatic rejection of all discrimination against

the Left forces and for a government that would assume precise obligations of renovation and establish relations with broad segments of the people founded on confidence.

There is no avoiding a solution of the crisis with the help of mysterious documents, back-stage maneuvering and delays, as the Christian-Democratic leadership is attempting to do these days.

What we need is clarity. The problems which are awaiting solution are immense because they have accumulated and become more complicated during the many years of mismanagement and rule by the propertied and privileged segments: from the problem of the southern regions to agriculture, from the development and modernization of industry to scientific and technical research, from soil conservation measures to the more general problems of ecology.

Italy is in need of democratic security founded upon social justice, the republican constitution, on the values and ideals of anti-fascism. It is necessary to cut short all manifestations of squadrist violence. All government agencies must be run on constitutional principles. The anti-fascist unity, which is the basis of a democratic and republican regime, must be broadened and strengthened.

Italy has no use for artificial controversies, such as the divorce referendum. The democratic forces must end ambiguity, opportunism and silence on this problem too. Things must be called by their proper names: a referendum would play into the hands only of the most conservative and reactionary groups of Italian society; it would evoke a serious split among the people and the working classes, as was noted by the three trade union confederations; at any rate, it would hinder the solution of the most pressing social and political problems.

That is why everyone, first and foremost the Christian-Democratic Party, must undertake precise and unequivocal obligations of finding democratic forms and methods in order to avoid a referendum.

The Communists appeal to the workers and people in general to intervene and launch a decisive unitarian struggle to force a radical change in course (this is possible) in the interests of democracy and the Italian people.

Communists declare that in view of the absence of clear and precise obligations of renovation it would be extremely dangerous for Italy and Italian democracy to prolong the present situation of uncertainty and confusion; the working people and the democrats cannot tolerate this. In that case, the holding of early parliamentary elections would be not only obligatory, but would be a clear and indispensable fulfilment of democratic respon-

sibilities before the people. Here, too, Communists are prepared to participate most actively in the struggle to block any and all reactionary conservative attempts and to facilitate the success of the democratic and popular movement.

RESOLUTION OF THE CC PLENUM FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The Central Committee of the French Communist Party, meeting in Plenum on January 20-21 in Paris, heard a report by Deputy General Secretary Georges Marchais on the significance of the Popular Unity Democratic Government Program and political perspectives. The full text is reprinted from *Humanité* for January 22, 1972.

The Central Committee Plenum approved the Politbureau report delivered by Georges Marchais.

The popular unity democratic government program was adopted by the Central Committee three months ago.

The Program, responding to the urgent problems caused by the crisis in French society and opening up broad political horizons, is a new and important element in national politics. The nationwide discussions of the Program and its distribution are unprecedented.

At a time when the government of the big bourgeoisie is following, in France and on the international scene, a class policy conflicting with the interests of the country and the people, the people's determination to achieve a realistic change in policy is being expressed with ever greater energy.

In these conditions, the Central Committee, expressing its satisfaction with what has already been achieved, calls upon all organizations, activists and the Party press to work with greater energy than ever before to increase sales of the book "Alter the Course" and arrange discussions among the people to popularize the basic points of our Program and achieve the unity of working-class, democratic and national forces and national unity.

These measures also presuppose rapid organization of mass meetings by Party cells in order to present membership cards, recruit more Party members and create new cells.

In this way the Party's growing dynamism would stimulate measures aimed at achieving national unity, a change of policy, and growing support for democracy, peace and socialism.

Paris, January 21, 1972.

Central Committee of the FCP.

An Assembly of 1,100 Communist Mayors of France and Members of the Paris Municipal Council will be held in the Capital March 4-5.

Communist members of municipal councils, fulfilling their muni-

cial contracts concluded with voters in March 1971, have appraised the importance of the Popular Unity Democratic Government Program.

They would also like to contribute more energetically to its popularity and support by Mayors, members of local elective bodies and the population.

With this in mind the Central Committee has resolved to convene an Extraordinary Assembly in Paris March 4-5 of 1,100 Communist Mayors of France and members of the Paris Municipal Council.

Paris, January 21, 1972.

Central Committee, FCP.

NATIONAL LIBERATION OF BANGLADESH AND OUR TASKS

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India hails the historic victory of the liberation struggle of the 75 million people of Bangladesh. The emergence of the independent sovereign republic of Bangladesh, which has proclaimed the ideals of secularism and democracy, is the greatest event in the history of our subcontinent since the end of the British rule 25 years ago.

The vicious "two nation" theory which British imperialism had inspired to partition the country, and which has continued to feed communal hatred and create tensions and conflicts between the two neighboring states—India and Pakistan—has been shattered.

The new-born state of Bangladesh is a rising symbol of secularism, born of the unity of the Muslims and Hindus in a common struggle for democracy and freedom. It has given a powerful blow to the ideological foundations of the RSS and Jana Sangh.

The CEC recalls with pride that despite severe repression the Communists of the erstwhile East Pakistan were the most fearless initiators and organizers of the mass movements in the early years of Pakistan. These countless struggles together with other popular struggles organized by other progressive and democratic forces steadily developed into a mighty national upheaval and this was demonstrated in the general elections of 1970, when the Awami League literally swept the polls.

The liberation struggle in Bangladesh began to be viewed in its correct perspective as an integral part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism and for the right of the people to live in freedom. The Central Executive Committee of the CPI expresses its profound satisfaction at the glorious role our people have played in bringing about the liberation of Bangladesh.

The affection showered on our armed forces by the masses of Bangladesh stands as a tribute to the noble role they have played.

The CEC of the Communist Party of India is proud of the role played by our Party in this critical period. Armed with a correct policy and properly assessing the situation, the CPI carried out a sustained campaign in support of the Bangladesh liberation struggle and for the recognition of the Bangladesh government. It took measures for providing political and material aid to the freedom

Resolution of the Central Executive Committee of the CP of India, adopted at its meeting which ended on January 4, 1972. *New Age*, January 9, 1972. Abridged.

fighters. It warned of the possibility of Pakistani aggression instigated by U.S. imperialism as well as of the perfidious colluding role of the Maoists.

It pointed out that the true friend of our people and of Bangladesh was the Soviet Union, and hailed the great significance of the Indo-Soviet treaty. It emphasized that the people of India have the friendliest of feelings for the people of Pakistan and sympathize with their democratic struggle against the military junta. The prestige of the CPI has justly been enhanced in this period.

New bonds of unity based on the equality and respect for sovereignty of both countries have been forged among more than 600 million people of India and Bangladesh, opening up new vistas of cooperation for their well-being and for upholding the cause of peace, freedom and progress. This cooperation is bound to become a most significant factor in shaping the future course of events. The CEC is confident that the world struggle for peace and freedom will derive great strength as well as lessons from the recent happenings in our sub-continent.

The CEC of the CPI shares the gratitude of the people of India and Bangladesh towards the great Soviet Union for its championship of and unstinting support to the cause of the liberation struggle of Bangladesh. This was in conformity with the glorious Leninist traditions of the CPSU of giving support to the struggles of all oppressed peoples. Soviet support not only inspired the liberation forces in Bangladesh but also enabled our own people and the Government of India to redeem in full measure the nation's pledge of solidarity and support to the liberation struggle.

The firm stand of the Soviet Union barred the open military intervention by U.S. imperialism and by the Maoist rulers on the side of Yahya Khan. The Indo-Soviet treaty which was signed in the midst of the Bangladesh crisis, became a powerful shield against such interventionist designs and for safeguarding the security of our country against the constant U.S.-inspired threats of a "total war" by Yahya Khan.

The CEC warmly congratulates the Soviet Union for its historic contribution to the cause of liberation of Bangladesh. The Committee also congratulates Poland, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria, Mongolia and Cuba which joined in demonstrating the solidarity of the community of socialist countries with the fighting people of Bangladesh.

It is, however, strange and regrettable that Rumania and Yugoslavia supported the U.S. sponsored resolution in the UN General Assembly which was designed to prevent the liberation of Bangladesh.

The world Communist movement once again acted according to its noble anti-imperialist traditions and enriched them. This manifestation of proletarian internationalism greatly helped our country and was highly appreciated by our people.

The liberation struggle of Bangladesh has exposed the vile collusion between Washington and Peking. The U.S. imperialists, who had built up the Pakistani military regime and armed it to the teeth, came out openly in support of the crimes of the military junta. Not only did the Nixon administration continue supply of military equipment to the West Pakistani rulers; it also instigated Islamabad to start a war against India.

The Nixon administration, the notorious gendarme of world reaction, has shown itself up as an inveterate enemy of our country, not to speak of the liberation struggle of Bangladesh. The despatch of the Seventh Fleet to the Bay of Bengal is a clear proof that the Nixon Administration had planned a military intervention to suppress the liberation struggle in Bangladesh and to threaten India's security. However, the fighting unity of the people of Bangladesh, the unity of the Indian people and the bold policy of the Indian government and, last but not the least, the Soviet stand and the Indo-Soviet treaty, thwarted Nixon's designs. Once again in the critical hour of crisis, the Soviet Union appeared as India's greatest and most reliable friend.

It is a matter of abounding disgrace that the Chinese government joined hands with the U.S. imperialists to support the Islamabad military junta against the just national liberation struggle of the people of Bangladesh and to instigate war against India. For the genocide, rape and other brutal crimes of the military rulers in Bangladesh as also for the Pakistani war against India, the Maoist leaders must own up to their share of blame along with the U.S. imperialists. The ideological and political degeneration of Maoism has reached such depths that the present Chinese government does not even hesitate to come out so blatantly against so noble and glorious a national liberation struggle as the one which has just triumphed in Bangladesh.

The advent of the new state of Bangladesh, wedded to peace, non-alignment, anti-imperialism, secularism and democracy, has been a devastating blow to U.S. imperialism and its global strategy as well as to the military alignments like SEATO and CENTO. This development together with the national liberation struggle of the brave Vietnamese people, who are on the threshold of their final victory, has greatly changed the balance of forces in this region against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The victorious struggle in Bangladesh has not only further radicalized the people there but has also given a tremendous fillip

to the Left and democratic forces within our own country. It has greatly improved the political climate within our country for carrying forward the radical trends among the masses and for conducting their struggle for the urgently-needed socio-economic changes. The prospects of a broad Left and democratic unity have been further brightened.

The victory of the liberation struggle in Bangladesh has not only shaken the very foundation of the pro-imperialist Pakistani regime but has also inspired the democratic and other healthy forces in West Pakistan.

The CEC strongly warns that no attempt by the capitalist and other vested interests of our country to exploit Bangladesh in any manner must be permitted. The CEC notes with concern that some of these elements are already trying to penetrate the economy of Bangladesh for their selfish ends.

The CEC is happy to note that Bangladesh is receiving generous offers of assistance and cooperation from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for rehabilitation and for the restoration of its economy. Such assistance is of crucial importance for the building of Bangladesh as a modern, progressive state.

The precondition for the rebuilding of Bangladesh is, however, the unity of all genuine, patriotic and democratic forces in Bangladesh. The CEC welcomes the continuance of the five-party cabinet consultative committee in Bangladesh and it hopes that this unity will be strengthened and carried to all levels. The reactionary and disruptive forces have no doubt been defeated but they are not going to give up easily, more especially when they are supported by the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese leaders. Many razakars and other agents of Islamabad are still at large with many arms in their possession. There is evidence of subversive activities from these quarters even after liberation.

The CEC is firmly of the view that the recognition of Bangladesh by the nations of the world is called for not only for the sake of its own people but also for the cause of the world-wide struggle for peace, freedom and democracy.

The CEC endorses the demand by the government and people of Bangladesh for the trial of the West Pakistani military leaders who were responsible for genocide and other crimes in Bangladesh. The CEC shares the stand of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in favor of the normalization of relations with Pakistan which is in the interest of both countries as it is essential for peace and tranquility in our subcontinent. It is hoped that the government of Pakistan will wake up to the changed reality and reciprocate the sentiments expressed by the Indian Prime Minister.

The international borders between India and Pakistan which had

been long acknowledged by both countries should remain. The CEC strongly opposes the annexationist demand of the Jana Sangh. So far as the problem of Kashmir is concerned it should be settled once and for all. The ceasefire line of 1948 in Jammu and Kashmir should be accepted by mutual agreement between India and Pakistan as the permanent international border with such adjustments as may be found necessary to make it viable. The CEC repudiates the demand of the Jana Sangh for taking back the Pak-occupied territory of Kashmir. Such a demand is intended to perpetuate tension and conflict between India and Pakistan and rouse communal passions within our country.

The CEC is however conscious that so long as the Pakistani regime remains a partner in the anti-India and anti-Soviet machinations of Washington and Peking it will not be possible to restore normal relations between India and Pakistan.

U.S. imperialism has always used the so-called "economic aid" as a lever for pressuring and blackmailing India and this is what they are doing even at the present moment. The first task, therefore, is to overcome the dependence on U.S. economic aid and to mobilize to the maximum possible extent the resources of our country. The Indo-Soviet treaty and the friendly relations and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have opened enormous possibilities for overcoming our dependence on imperialism and for making our economy self-reliant. The exploitation of U.S. monopolists in our country must be ended by taking over all their undertakings. A moratorium must be placed on all debt repayments to the USA. The CEC is of the opinion that India's foreign policy in relation to the USA must be radically reformulated to meet the challenge the Nixon administration has flung on our country.

There should be no more hesitations on India's part to establish full diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the PRG of the Republic of South Vietnam, the DPRK and the GDR.

The victory of the liberation struggle of the people of Bangladesh has greatly weakened the forces of Hindu communalism which is the greatest enemy of the Muslims. It has strengthened greatly the Left, democratic and secular forces who constitute the greatest guarantee for the protection of minorities in our country. Communal reaction and obscurantism no matter from which community has to be fought.

Taking note of the heightened possibilities for a move to the Left, the CEC appeals to the Left and democratic forces to further consolidate the gains and develop united mass initiatives and mass actions in defense of the vital interests of the working people and for the urgent structural changes in the economic and political

life of the country. This demands first and foremost that the struggle for achieving self-reliance be raised to the level of a mighty national movement particularly by concentrating fire against U.S. neo-colonialism. This will also be a powerful contribution to the struggle of the newly free people of Bangladesh for consolidating and safeguarding their freedom. It will aid the struggle of the progressive forces of Pakistan for democracy and social progress. The common struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism is the foundation on which the friendship and co-operation between India and Bangladesh is to be built. It is in the interests of the further progressive development of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan that cooperation, friendship and peaceful coexistence pervade their relations. Peace in this sub-continent and in Asia hinges largely upon the development of such relations.

The CEC of the CPI appeals to the people of our country, to all Left and democratic forces to unite and raise to a qualitatively new level their movements and struggles to achieve a shift to the Left which is the paramount need of the hour.

AUSTRALIAN CP STATEMENT ON INDO-PAK WAR AND CPI'S REPLY*

The CPA's National Executive issued a statement on the India-Pakistan war, carried in the **Tribune** of December 8, 1971. The statement as summarized in the **International Bulletin** of the CPA dated 4.1.72 is given below.

"The war between the states of India and Pakistan is extremely dangerous and should never have happened.

"The pretext for the war is the tension and border clashes arising in connection with the Yahya Khan Pakistan regime's brutal and genocidal suppression of the Bangladesh movement for self-determination. The moral right of this movement, backed by overwhelming electoral evidence, is unquestioned and has given rise to a powerful armed guerrilla movement there, heading the revolutionary people's struggle for self-determination.

"The Communist Party of Australia reaffirms its full support for that revolutionary struggle, and points out that, irrespective of Indian aid to the guerrillas, the struggle cannot be won under the leadership of the Indian, or any other, government, but only by the revolutionary forces of the Bangladesh people themselves. Their full self-determination can be achieved only in struggle, primarily against the Pakistan state regime, but also against the capitalist ruling circles of India.

"Ever since the division of the sub-continent into India and Pakistan under the settlement master-minded by Britain as the former imperialist ruling power there — there have been repeated situations of war and threats of war between India and Pakistan.

"The present war must also be seen as a continuation of that prolonged conflict between two groups of exploiters who have fanned the flames of religious differences. In India, some wealthy extreme nationalist and militarist forces, with considerable influence in the government, can be expected now to seek to use the present conflict to eliminate Pakistan altogether as a separate state, or at least as a military power, and also to stamp out powerful movements for social change inside India.

"Beyond the India-Pakistan conflict, most of the great powers of the world are involved in the threat of a spreading war. United States imperialism, which has a military pact with Pakistan (SEATO, which also involves Australia), has come down in

*New Age, January 23, 1972.

support of Yahya Khan, its ally. But a serious danger also lies in the fact that the Chinese People's Republic is deeply involved in military and material support of Pakistan's existence as a border buffer state that China sees as important in its prolonged dispute with India.

"This situation is, among other things, an expression of the serious dispute between the two biggest communist powers which the Communist Party of Australia has more than once stated to be damaging and dangerous to the cause of world-wide socialist change."

CPI's REPLY

January 15, 1972
New Delhi

The National Executive Committee,
Communist Party of Australia,
Sydney

Dear Comrades,

We are extremely surprised and pained to read in your *International Bulletin* of January 4, 1972 extracts of your National Executive Statement on the India-Pakistan war.

In that statement you have mentioned both the Pakistan military regime and the Indian State as the enemies of the Bangladesh people. You have also insinuated that "most of the great powers of the world" are involved, equating the roles of the Soviet Union and the United States imperialists. You have sought to justify the position of support to the Pakistan military junta by Maoist China by talking of Pakistan "as a border buffer state that China sees as important in its prolonged dispute with India." You go on to make the outrageous formulation that "this situation is, among other things, an expression of the serious dispute between the two biggest Communist powers," putting the stands of the Soviet Union and China on a par.

On behalf of the National Council of our Party, we strongly protest against this stand of yours which objectively helps U.S. imperialism and its Maoist colluders. It has harmed the struggle of the Bangladesh people for liberation and done disservice to the cause of the working class and toiling people and all democratic forces of our country.

Your statement has been made in flagrant disregard of the facts. It has also been made without your caring in the least to obtain the opinions of our Party and, so we have been informed, the Communist Party of Bangladesh. It constitutes, therefore, a serious violation of mutually agreed norms of relations between Communist Parties.

Since you have made a public statement, we are compelled to also publish this letter.

With fraternal greetings,

Sd. C. R. Rao
General Secretary,
National Council,
Communist Party of India.

BILATERAL MEETINGS

USSR-NORWAY

A delegation from the Communist Party of Norway visited the Soviet Union from January 4 to 14 on invitation of the CC CPSU. The delegation included Party Chairman Reidar T. Larsen, member of the Central Executive Secretariat Rolf Nettum, and members of the Central Executive Odd R. Christiansen, Magne Mortensen and Eivind Rasmussen.

The Norwegian guests were especially interested in the progress being made in fulfilment of the 24th CPSU Congress decisions and the development of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union. The delegation visited Lithuania where they were acquainted with the work of Party organizations, local Soviets and other institutions, and the achievements of the working people of the Republic in building communism.

On January 13, the Norwegian Communist Party delegation had a meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with M. A. Suslov, Politbureau member and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and V. V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, Deputy Chief of the CC CPSU International Department.

During the warm and comradely talks held in a spirit of mutual understanding, the representatives of the CPSU and CPN exchanged information concerning their Parties' activities and discussed topical problems of the international situation and the world Communist movement.

Representatives of the CPSU told the guests about the realization of the 24th CPSU Congress decisions, communist construction in the USSR and the Party's foreign-policy activities aimed at consolidating the forces of peace and socialism, relaxing international tensions, asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems.

The Norwegian delegation described their Party's efforts for

working-class unity and cooperation of the country's progressive forces, for better living standards of the working people, greater social and democratic rights, against Norway's involvement in the aggressive NATO bloc and the Common Market.

The representatives of the CPSU and CPN state that the interests of peace require an immediate stop to American aggression in Vietnam and other countries in Indochina. The Soviet and Norwegian Communists condemn the brutal U.S. bombings of the DRV and reaffirm their Parties' solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam for freedom and independence.

The CPSU and CPN representatives again declare their support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples and stress the urgency of a political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of the November 22, 1967 UN Security Council resolution.

The CPSU and CPN believes that normalization of the situation and stable peace on the Indian sub-continent can be achieved only on the basis of respect for the rights of the peoples of the region. In particular, the people of East Bengal must be afforded the opportunity of resolving their own affairs.

The problem of European security was discussed at length. The Norwegian delegation stressed the significance of the 24th CPSU Congress proposals to ease European and world tension. Representatives of both parties underlined the importance of realizing measures for general disarmament, which would release tremendous resources for the peaceful development of nations.

Both delegations take the view that it is imperative to continue building up the prerequisites for the establishment of a reliable security system and development of all-round cooperation on the continent. Fully supporting the idea of an early European conference on these problems, the CPSU and the CPN believe it is important for broad sections of the public in both countries to take an active part in the preparations for and convening of the Assembly of social forces for European security and cooperation.

The delegation of the CP of Norway stressed that further extension of mutual advantageous economic and cultural cooperation between Norway and the USSR would be in the best interests of the people of Norway. The CPSU representatives stated that for its part the USSR was striving for development of such cooperation in the interests of both countries and consolidation of peace in Northern Europe.

The representatives of the CPN and CPSU noted the great significance of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and stated that both Parties would actively facilitate the strengthening of political and ideological unity of the international Communist movement and cohesion of all anti-imper-

ialist forces in the struggle for world peace and democratic and social progress of the peoples. It was stressed that the struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism, against all forms of anti-communism is an important prerequisite for the success of these efforts.

Both sides reaffirmed their adherence to the collectively evolved norms of mutual relations between fraternal Parties, which are based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, solidarity, mutual support, respect for independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Representatives of the CPN and CPSU approved of further development of comradely ties and cooperation between both parties on the basis of these principles in the interests of the working people of both countries.

USSR-DENMARK*

On January 26 a meeting took place in the CC CPSU between delegations of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Denmark. The Soviet delegation included M. A. Suslov, member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU; P. N. Demichev, alternate member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU; V. S. Shaposhnikov, Deputy Head of the CC CPSU International Department. The delegation of the CP of Denmark included Party Chairman Knud Jespersen and members of the Party Executive Committee Ingmar Wagner, Jorgen Jensen, Ib Norlund and Poul Emanuel.

The talks were held in a friendly, warm atmosphere and full mutual understanding.

The CPSU representatives spoke of the efforts in the country and on the world arena to fulfil the decisions of the 24th Party Congress.

The Danish delegation pointed out that the successes of the Soviet people in building communism, the Soviet Union's active foreign policy of strengthening international security, serve to promote the people's struggle for peace, national independence, social progress and socialism.

The Danish comrades described their Party's efforts towards united action of the working class and all progressive forces in the country in the struggle for the working people's basic interests, against monopoly domination, for Denmark's withdrawal from NATO and against its involvement in the Common Market. The CPSU delegation expressed solidarity with the activities of the

**Pravda*, January 28, 1972.

fraternal Communist Party of Denmark and wished the Danish Communists success in solving the problems facing them.

Opinions were exchanged on pressing international problems and the world Communist movement. The Communists of the Soviet Union and Denmark reaffirmed their solidarity with the heroic struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia for their freedom and national independence and resolutely condemn the brutal U.S. bombings of the DRV and other countries of Indochina demanding an immediate stop to the American aggression and withdrawal of all U.S. and allied troops from Indochina.

Both Party delegations strongly condemn the expansionist policy of the Israeli ruling circles and the U.S. imperialists backing them. They voice the conviction that a just and stable peace in the Middle East is possible only on the basis of a withdrawal of the aggressor troops from all Arab territory occupied in 1967, respect for the lawful rights of states and peoples in the area and full implementation of all provisions of the November 22, 1967 UN Security Council resolution.

Both delegations noted with satisfaction that the efforts of the peace-loving forces and the active role of the Soviet Union made it possible to extinguish the hotbed of serious tension on the Indian sub-continent and create favorable conditions for normalization in that part of the world.

Both delegations pointed out that one of the most urgent tasks of the day is the strengthening of security and peaceful cooperation on the European continent. An effective system of European security would open broad opportunities for all-round economic, scientific and cultural cooperation, while the existence of exclusive political-economic groupings was a hindrance to such cooperation. Supporting the idea of an early convening of an all-European state conference, the CPSU and the CP of Denmark believe that in order to establish new relations based on a true relaxation of tensions and mutual trust in Europe, it is important to broaden contacts between various public forces in all the countries of the continent and their common efforts in the interests of ensuring a stable European and world peace.

The representatives of both parties stated that an effective system of European security requires the establishment of equal relations between the GDR and the FRG based on generally accepted norms of international law, and the admission of both states into the UN.

The Danish delegation stressed that the policy of involving the country in the Common Market, an exclusive economic-political grouping of West European countries under the aegis of the monopolies, runs counter to the national interests of Denmark and all-

European cooperation and stated that the CP of Denmark favored broader cooperation among the northern countries on a basis that would provide for their independence and the opportunity to develop equal and mutually advantageous relations with all states, especially the socialist countries.

The Danish comrades noted the importance of the broadening trade and economic ties and scientific-technological cooperation between Denmark and the Soviet Union. The CPSU representatives stated that for its part the SU was striving for broader cooperation in the interests of both countries.

The two delegations emphasized that both Parties would direct all their effort at strengthening the political and ideological consolidation of the international Communist movement on the basis of the appraisals and conclusions reached at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Both Parties proceed from the fact that a consistent struggle against all varieties of Right and "Left" revisionism, against anti-Sovietism and anti-communism is an absolute condition for such consolidation. They noted that the great-power chauvinistic policy of the Chinese leadership and the ideology of Maoism have fully shown their opposition to Marxism-Leninism, their hostility to the interests of the peoples' revolutionary and national liberation movement.

The representatives of the CPD and CPSU reaffirmed the intention of their parties to continue developing fraternal relations and cooperation between them in the interests of the working people of both countries, peace and social progress.

ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTIES

CUBA

January 2. Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC CPC, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, addressed the Fourth Congress of the National Association of Small-Holders (ANAP). He spoke highly of the Cuban farmers' contribution to the republic's economic and social progress. He told his audience about the measures being taken by the Party and the government to raise the efficiency of agriculture and stressed the big role of the worker-peasant alliance.

LEBANON

Beirut, January 7-9. The Lebanese Communist Party held its Third Congress, the first since the Party became legal.

The Congress was attended by more than 20 Communist and Workers' party delegations, including a delegation of the CPSU.

The Central Committee report was presented by Nicolas Chaoui, General Secretary of the CC LCP. The Congress also discussed and approved reports on the Party's political theses and agrarian program, the organizational situation in the Party and amendments to the Rules.

The Congress adopted a number of political documents. Its resolution on the CC report stresses the Soviet Union's decisive role in the world revolutionary movement. Expressing the Lebanese Communists' attitude to the Maoists' divisive activity, the Congress stated that the Chinese leaders' policy, which is hostile to the socialist community and the world revolutionary movement, including the national liberation movement, is very helpful to world imperialism and brings grist to the mill of reaction.

The Congress resolution on Indochina denounces the barbarous U.S. bombings of DRV territory and reaffirms the Lebanese Communists' solidarity with the patriots of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The Congress passed a resolution on the Palestine problem and approved the statement of the 24 Communist, Socialist and patriotic parties and organizations of Arab countries attending the Congress on the convocation of an inter-Arab meeting of all progressive parties and forces to promote solidarity and unity of action against the continuing offensive of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. A committee of representatives of the 24 parties and organizations was entrusted with preparations for the meeting.

The Congress elected the new CC LCP of 24. The CC in plenary session elected the members of the Party's Political Bureau and Secretariat. Nicolas Chaoui was re-elected General Secretary.

FINLAND

January 9. *Kansan Uutiset* published the draft political document of the 16th Congress of the CPF circulated by the Central Committee for discussion in the Party's branch organizations.

The draft is composed of five main sections. The first section examines the character and development prospects of the present epoch, the foreign policy of Finland and the Finnish Communists' international tasks. Further sections are "Finland in the Vise of a State-Monopoly Capitalist Crisis," "Priorities of Today," and "For Democratic Cooperation, Against Rightist Aspirations."

The last section, "The Communist Party of Finland and the International Communist Movement," notes that the CPF will continue to regard closer friendship between the peoples of Finland and the Soviet Union as its most important internationalist duty.

The document stresses that Finland's Communists will always be in the forefront of the fight for peace and democracy, against imperialism, for a revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism.

January 21-22. The CC CPF in plenary session discussed the Party's current tasks and some problems of the Party Congress to be held in late March and early April.

A. Saarinen, Chairman of the CPF, and E. Kivimaki, member of the Political Bureau, addressed the meeting.

A resolution passed by the meeting says that the CC CPF approves the activity of the Party's representatives in the talks to form a government and empowers them to continue the talks so as to evolve a government program in line with the working people's interests. The Central Committee called on the Party organizations and the working people to discuss the problem of forming a government.

MALTA

January 6. *Morning Star* carried an appeal of the Communist Party of Malta for worldwide support against British Government intimidation.

"The Communist Party of Malta," the CPM declares, "appeals to all peace-loving people throughout the world to strongly raise their voices in protest at the British Government's illegal occupation of the island, to demand the immediate withdrawal of British

troops as demanded by the Maltese Government and people."

January 13. Britain's CP released a statement saying that "the dispute between Britain and Malta should be solved by the speedy withdrawal of British forces, who are not there to defend the Maltese people, but only to serve imperialist interests."

BRITAIN

January 7. The CPGB Executive elected at the Party's 32nd Congress examined organizational matters and the pressing tasks of the working-class movement.

The following were elected to various posts in the Party leadership: Chairman, Irene Swan, a trade union leader, of Edinburgh; General Secretary, John Gollan; Assistant Secretary, Reuben Falber; Head of the International Department, Jack Woddis.

The CP Executive elected a Political Committee of 15.

The Executive resolved to launch "the biggest possible publicity campaign . . . to build a stronger Party and YCL and to extend the circulation of the *Morning Star*." It heard and approved a report by Bert Ramelson, who outlined proposals for combating mass unemployment.

It called on the British fully to back the miners' strike, described as the whole movement's fight.

PUERTO RICO

January 7. The *Daily World* published a statement of the Puerto Rican Communist Party (PCP) on the reorganization of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) into the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico.

The PCP fraternally welcomed the founding of the Socialist Party and hoped that the two parties would maintain the good relations that had existed between the MPI and PCP for 12 years.

The unity of all progressive and anti-imperialist forces had always been the main purpose of the PCP. The PCP would not stop fighting until the country was free from colonial slavery and until the proletariat had shaken off economic bondage.

ISRAEL

January 8. The CC CPI heard a report by M. Vilner, General Secretary of the CC CPI, who led a CPI delegation to the Soviet Union and France in December 1971 at the invitation of the CC CPSU and CC FCP.

The meeting unanimously approved the delegation's activity. It spoke highly of the exchange of views that had taken place in both countries and had revealed a complete unity of views.

The meeting expressed protest at the Israeli authorities' discriminatory measures against a number of CC CPI members representing the Arab population of Israel.

DENMARK

January 8-9. The CC CPD in plenary session adopted resolutions calling on the population to oppose Denmark's membership in the Common Market and stressing the need for the working people to take action against the declining standard of living and growing unemployment.

The meeting resolved to convene the next Party congress in Copenhagen, November 3-5, 1972.

CYPRUS

January 11. The CC AKEL emphatically protested against Britain's decision to transfer RAF and other British units from Malta to Cyprus.

Voicing a demand of the whole people, AKEL stressed that the military bases in Cyprus must be dismantled and Cyprus demilitarized.

January 23. Referring to authentic sources, Charavgi reported that the leadership of terroristic organizations active in Cyprus had drawn up a list of well-known Cypriot politicians backing Makarios' policy, who "are to be forcibly removed from their posts or destroyed if necessary." The action is part of a plan to overthrow the government. Its authors want to create an atmosphere of anarchy and terror on the island that would furnish NATO with a pretext to intervene.

This authentic information, the paper wrote in conclusion, impels the Cypriot people to keep a watchful eye on the enemies of Cyprus so as to foil their plans against the republic.

USA

January 12. In a statement published in the *Daily World*, CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall called on America's Communists to step up the campaign for the release of Angela Davis.

January 21. Gus Hall sharply criticized the foreign and home policy program of the U.S. government presented by President Nixon in his "State of the Union" speech. That message, he said, was "an outline for a generation of wars and aggression."

Gus Hall urged all Americans to make "new efforts to put an end to the war of aggression in Vietnam, an end to all U.S. war bases around the world . . . an end to racism, hunger, unemployment."

January 26. Gus Hall made a statement on the so-called "peace plan" for Indochina announced by the President in his message on January 25. He described the plan as an attempt to justify war escalation, a disguise for further aggression, and election demagoguery on Nixon's part.

Hall said that to accept the plan would mean accepting U.S. military and political control all over Indochina. Nixon's claim that the United States had sought peace through negotiations—whereas everyone knows that just then bomb raids on North Vietnam were renewed and stepped up—is an affront to people's intelligence. Hall demanded an end to U.S. bombing and aggression in Indochina.

January. Branch organizations of the CPUSA continued to discuss the Draft Theses for the Party's 20th National Convention. The Introduction and the six sections of the Theses—I. The World Scene: The Sharpening Crisis of U.S. Imperialism; II. The U.S. Scene; III. The Mass Movements; IV. The 1972 Elections; V. The Ideological Struggle; VI. The Party—provide a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the pressing foreign and domestic problems of the U.S. and define the American Communists' immediate and future tasks.

IRELAND

January 12. The Communist Party of Ireland called on the working people to rally together in a common fight for radical changes in national life. The working people in the North and South, Catholics and Protestants alike, are faced with identical problems: combating poverty, unemployment and homelessness and winning radical democratic reforms.

The CPI condemned the policy of interning political prisoners in Northern Ireland and the British Army's attempts to suppress the protest movement there by brute force.

The CPI advanced a program for mass struggle to reject the country's entry into the Common Market and to abolish the Anglo-Irish treaty on the "free trade zone," distribute the big landed estates among landless and small farmers and establish government control over the exploitation of natural resources.

ITALY

January 13. *Unita* carried an interview with ICP General Secretary Luigi Longo analyzing the position of the various parties on the Center-Left crisis. Speaking of the ICP, Longo said: "We represent the interests of the majority of the working people. This is why our right to participate in the country's leadership cannot be denied. According to the Italian Constitution, it is only the fascists

who have no right to be in the government or even to form a party. Every discrimination against the Left is an attempt to prevent all development of the political situation and subject us to the blackmail of out-and-out Rightists . . . Of course, we are not going to play a subordinate role in governments whose policy we disapprove of."

Preparations for the 13th ICP Congress, set for March 1972, are being discussed at Party conferences and branch meetings. Conferences have already been held in numerous cities. The conference of the Communists of the Fiat plant in Turin was addressed by P. Ingrao, member of the Political Bureau.

The annual card exchanging campaign is under way. On January 17, *Unita* reported that new cards (1972 model) have already been issued to 1,082,000 Communists.

SYRIA

Damascus, *mid-January*. The CC SCP met in plenary session.

According to *Nidal al-Shaab*, the meeting heard reports by Yusef Feisal and Zahir Abdel Samad, CC secretaries and Political Bureau members, on the coming elections to local councils, as well as on key international and inter-Arab political problems. Among the speakers was CC General Secretary Khaled Bagdash.

The meeting unanimously endorsed the recommendations of the enlarged plenum of the CC SCP held in November 1971 and passed a resolution on the reports.

FRG

January 15. In connection with the Bundesrat debate on the draft laws ratifying the FRG's treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland, the German Communist Party re-emphasized the pressing need to ratify the two treaties and put them consistently into effect in the interest of European détente and security.

H. Mies, Deputy Chairman of the Party, stressed in a statement published in Duesseldorf the need for all partisans of security, first of all the Communists and Social-Democrats, "firmly to resist all opponents of the treaties" through vigorous joint action.

GREECE

January 15. Radio Voice of the Truth broadcast a statement of the Political Bureau of the CC CPG on the movement for the release of political prisoners and for a general amnesty that is developing in Greece.

The Political Bureau salutes all politicians, public leaders, cultural leaders and churchmen who are taking part in the move-

ment. It declares that it will do all in its power to promote the movement and achieve closer coordination of the actions of all anti-dictatorial forces.

Women political prisoners of Greece submitted to international new agencies and broadcasting companies a message protesting against the inhuman conditions of their detention and calling on world opinion to join its voice to the demand for their release.

January 31. In view of the talks between Greece and the U.S. on the use of Greek ports as permanent bases of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, the CC CPG called on all Greek patriots and all progressive organizations to bring about the abolition of all U.S. and NATO military bases in Greece.

KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

January 17. *Nodom Shinmun* carried an interview with Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the CC, Korean Party of Labor, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the KPDR, by *Yomiuri*.

Speaking of the problem of Korea's unification, Kim Il Sung said that it must be solved by the Koreans themselves, without foreign interference, by peaceful and not military means.

"To end tension in Korea," he said, "it is necessary to replace the agreement on armistice in Korea with a peace treaty. We insist on concluding a peace treaty between the South and the North and on substantially reducing the armed forces of North and South Korea afterwards, provided the U.S. troops of aggression are pulled out of South Korea."

It was pointed out during the interview that many problems must be solved to unify Korea and that the only way to solve them is through political negotiations between South and North.

ECUADOR

January 17. Pedro Saad, General Secretary of the CC CPE, and Elias Gallegos, Chairman of the Democratic People's Union, were nominated by the National Council of this coalition for the Presidency of the Republic (elections will take place in June).

Speaking to the National Council, Saad called on the country's democratic and revolutionary forces to use the election campaign for exposing the subversive activity of imperialism and home reaction and to unite in a more active struggle for national and social liberation.

MEXICO

January 18. The CC MCP Presidium emphatically condemned the slanderous reports carried by the Mexican press in the recent

period. These reports alleged that the MCP had a share in the formation of urban guerrilla groups and that its members took part in bank raids and in kidnappings of politicians.

The Presidium noted that the smear campaign was being conducted on instructions from the government, which intended to use it as a pretext for persecution of the Communists. In this connection the Presidium explained the Party's policy in its statement.

It declared that it is necessary to effect far-reaching political and economic changes in the country.

It proclaimed as its method political struggle by the masses, primarily the liberation of the workers and peasants from bourgeois ideological influence.

The MCP considers that the methods used by some organizations—guerrilla warfare in the cities, bank raids, and so on—cause a waste of revolutionary energy leaving the regime intact. No one has a right to confuse these methods with those used by the MCP.

In conclusion the MCP protested against applying in Mexico the law under which people may be shot "while trying to escape," and against using the army as a police force.

JAPAN

Tokyo, *January 18-20*. CPJ activists held their Eighth National Conference. The Conference was greeted by S. Nosaka, Chairman of the CC CPJ. T. Fuwa, Chairman of the CC CPJ Secretariat, presented a report on behalf of the CC Presidium.

The report analyzed the domestic and international situation, spelled out the Communists' tasks in building up a strong mass vanguard party, stressed the importance of improving the work of Party organizations and cells, increasing membership and winning more readers for *Akahata* in preparation for the 50th anniversary of the CPJ.

Party organizations, Fuwa told the Conference, plan to increase CPJ membership by 35.5 per cent and the number of subscribers to the daily edition of *Akahata*, 42.7 per cent.

Developments set before the democratic and progressive forces the inevitable problem of establishing a united front against the Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty, for neutrality. The CPJ insists on creating such a front, he said.

Fuwa said that the course of events had proved the CPJ position correct in maintaining that the Indochina problem is a "decisive world area of conflict between imperialism and the anti-imperialist forces." In this connection he told about the World

Assembly for Peace and the Independence of Indochina to be held in Paris, and wished the Assembly success.

On January 19, delegates discussed in 11 subcommittees the tasks set in the main report. CC Chairman S. Nosaka, O. Hakamada and M. Oka, deputy chairmen of the CC Presidium, and T. Fuwa took part in the subcommittee's work.

On its closing day the Conference met in a plenary session at which the delegates voiced their resolve to carry out their tasks in building up a strong mass vanguard party. Replying to the debate, Fuwa expressed the opinion that the Conference had achieved noteworthy results.

DRV

January 20. The Secretariat of the CC, Working People's Party of Vietnam, published a document on the Third Congress of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Vietnam. Noting the importance of the Congress, the CC WPPV stressed that the purpose of the Congress is to mobilize the working people in fulfilling the state plan for 1972 and help in educating them in the spirit of love of their country and of socialism.

January 24. Classes organized by the CC WPPV Secretariat for district leaders completed their course of study. The purpose of the classes was to raise the standard of economic, Party and administrative work in the district. Among the lecturers were Le Thanh Nghi, member of the Political Bureau, and CC secretaries. In conclusion the students were addressed by Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC WPPV. He stressed that the main task of the districts at the moment was to advance agriculture.

January 29. In an editorial under the heading "A Voice That Gives Us New Strength," *Nhan Dan* wrote:

"The Statement of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries is an expression of the resolve of countries possessing invincible material and moral strength. The Statement solemnly reaffirms the indestructible solidarity of the people of Vietnam and the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries."

Like the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, the editorial noted in conclusion, the Vietnamese people are deeply moved by the powerful support they get from fraternal socialist countries, members of the Warsaw Treaty organization. The Vietnamese people, who derive strength from the substantial and valuable assistance of the entire socialist camp and from the approval and support of the whole of progressive mankind, are more determined than ever to defeat the plan for "Vietnamizing" the war and the "Nixon doctrine," win complete independence and national freedom and

contribute in this way to the defense of the socialist camp and world peace.

January 29. *Nhan Dan* carried a commentary exposing the deceitful and treacherous character of the "peace plan" announced by President Nixon on January 25.

The proposals made by Nixon merely repeat U.S. proposals rejected before. One is struck by the fact that despite the demand of American public opinion, Nixon refuses to set the exact date of troop withdrawal and continues to link this to various conditions.

The people of Vietnam want peace but it should be a peace in conditions of independence and freedom and not in a neo-colonialist framework, which is what the U.S. President envisages. So long as the United States persists in the war, the Vietnamese people would fight the aggressors and their lackeys.

INDIA

January 23. The weekly *New Age* reported that in two districts of the country 1,024 members of the "Marxist" Communist Party had withdrawn from that party in protest against its leadership's pro-Maoist policy and joined the Communist Party of India.

January 30. The CP of India published as a supplement to the weekly *New Age* the Party's manifesto for the coming elections to state assemblies. The Manifesto stresses that "India's problems cannot be solved without advancing on the non-capitalist path, winning national democracy and making the transition to socialism."

To achieve these objectives, the CPJ advances a minimum program. In the foreign policy sphere, it insists, in particular, on consolidating and carrying forward relations with the Soviet Union and other peace-loving, socialist countries, on consolidating and promoting relations in every field between India and the Republic of Bangladesh on the principles of equality, mutual respect, independence and cooperation, and on achieving a political settlement and normal relations with Pakistan.

URUGUAY

January 24. Summing up the results of the Communist Party's ideological work in 1971, *El Popular* reported that over 11,000 people had joined the Party and another 8,000, the Communist Youth League. The growth of membership is evidence of the popularity of the Party's ideas among the people and its increasingly close links with them.

SOVIET UNION

January. The CC CPSU adopted a number of decisions on the work of the Party organizations, managements and staffs of some factories and on steps to expand capital construction and trade. The decisions note the working people's growing activity and initiative in fulfilling the plan for 1971-75 and the extensive participation of the workers and other employees in economic management and socialist emulation.

Analyzing and generalizing the experience gained to date, the CC CPSU indicated ways and means of perfecting the Party's organizational, ideological and educational work to ensure fulfillment of the decisions of the 24th Party Congress.

January 25. The press carried the CC CPSU decision "On Literary and Art Criticism." The decision notes that Party committees, cultural institutions, unions of creative workers and the press actively concern themselves with improving the standard of criticism but criticism as a whole does not yet meet the increased requirements in the sphere of art.

The duty of critics is deeply to analyze the trends and objective laws of the contemporary process in art, promote the Leninist principles of partisanship and fidelity to the people, strive for a high ideological and aesthetic standard in Soviet art and combat bourgeois ideology.

The CC CPSU decision outlines specific ways and means of eliminating shortcomings, fostering the tradition of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and establishing closer links between criticism and the practice of building communism.

ARGENTINA

January 24. The CC CP of Argentina adopted the document "Platform of the Communist Party Against the High Cost of Living" (published in *Nuestra Palabra* on February 1). The document states that unless the working class and the people as a whole fight to prevent the dictatorship from carrying on a policy which safeguards the interests of the landed oligarchy, big capitalists and foreign monopolies, mostly U.S. monopolies, and puts the burden of the crisis on the working people, the country is bound to head for national catastrophe.

The "Platform" sets out a 19-point program of measures that must be taken without delay to improve the working people's condition and stabilize the economy.

Argentina has tried all bourgeois "recipes," the document points out. None of these "recipes" have produced satisfactory results and they would continue to fail. The need is for a "program of change" providing for the transfer of the main economic levers to the Argentines and putting an end to dependence and the

latifundium system. A powerful social force is needed to bring about radical changes. This force could only be a *national democratic front*, with a united working class as its mainstay. The National Meeting of Argentines is an instrument that could effect such changes by virtue of its program and its resolve to win power and extend the anti-imperialist front.

AUSTRIA

January 25. *Volksstimme* published a decision of the 10th Plenum of the CC CPA.

The decision analyzes the political situation in the country since the assumption of power by a Socialist government and the CPA gains in the 1971 general election, and defines the Party's objectives and tasks for the coming period.

The decision points to the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the declining role and prestige of the United States, the marked sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions and the working people's growing struggle against capital.

The plenum set high store by the positive results of the Soviet Union's "peace offensive" and by the socialist countries' advances in promoting the economy and democracy and raising the people's standard of living. The decision states that the opportunities of calling a European conference on security and ending the Vietnam war have improved.

The admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, the decision says, is an important positive development which, however, will become effective only if the Chinese leadership renounces anti-Sovietism and realizes its responsibility for the unity of all anti-imperialist forces.

SWEDEN

The 23rd Congress of the Left Party — Communists of Sweden will meet in Stockholm from October 26 to 29. A decision on this was adopted by the LPC Executive on *January 30*.

The Party sets the following key tasks for the Congress year: fighting against unemployment, for better working conditions, against Sweden's entry into the Common Market, and stepping up the national campaign under the slogan "U.S. get out of Indochina."

CHILE

January 30-31. The National Commission for Agriculture under the CC CPC held a meeting.

The main resolution of the meeting stresses that an urgent task

in the Chilean countryside is to unite the peasant masses and isolate the landowners. It is necessary to make a careful study of the exceedingly complicated situation in the rural areas and combat the ideological influence which extreme Right-wing and ultra-Leftist elements exert on the peasants.

The meeting called on the Communists active in agriculture to intensify their efforts for higher output. It stressed the need to strengthen Ranquil, the national confederation of peasants and Indians.

CEYLON

January 31. Atta carried the text of a speech made by C. P. de Silva, Deputy General Secretary of the CC CPC, at a meeting in Colombo.

The speaker noted that the country's capitalist class was rather successful in urging the government to take the capitalist road and that U.S. imperialism, which devotes greater attention to Ceylon since the rise of the state of Bangladesh and new developments in the area of the Indian Ocean, such as the signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty, was trying to unite Ceylon's capitalists.

To safeguard the country and the government against the threat of capitalist development and neo-colonialism, it is indispensable to organize the country's working class and progressive forces, which must be on the alert and must fight with determination.

MARCH 24, 1972

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