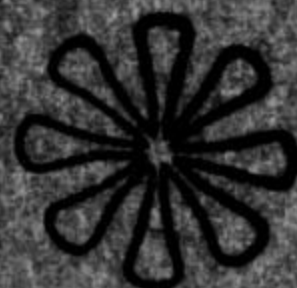


# INFORMA



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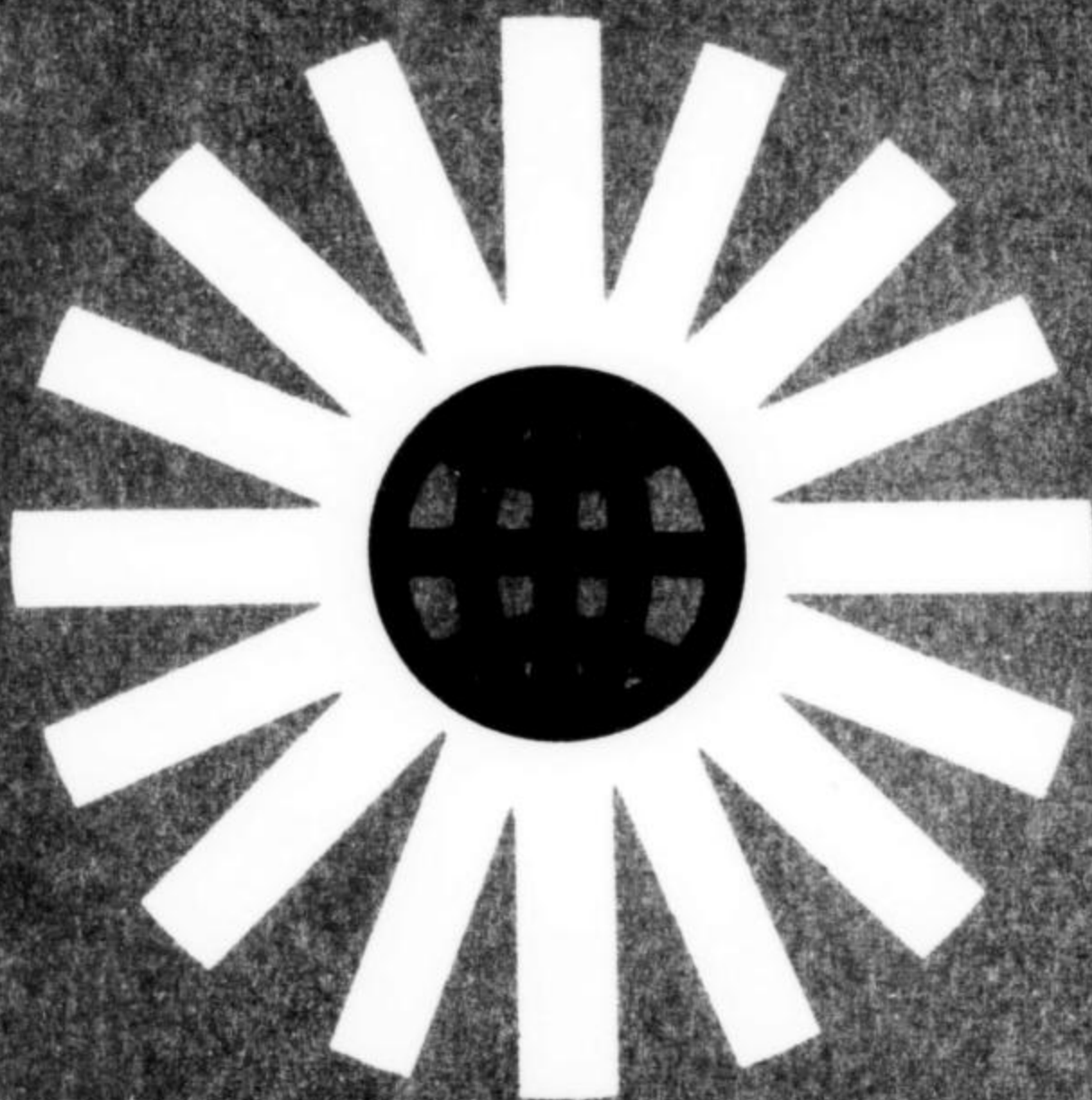
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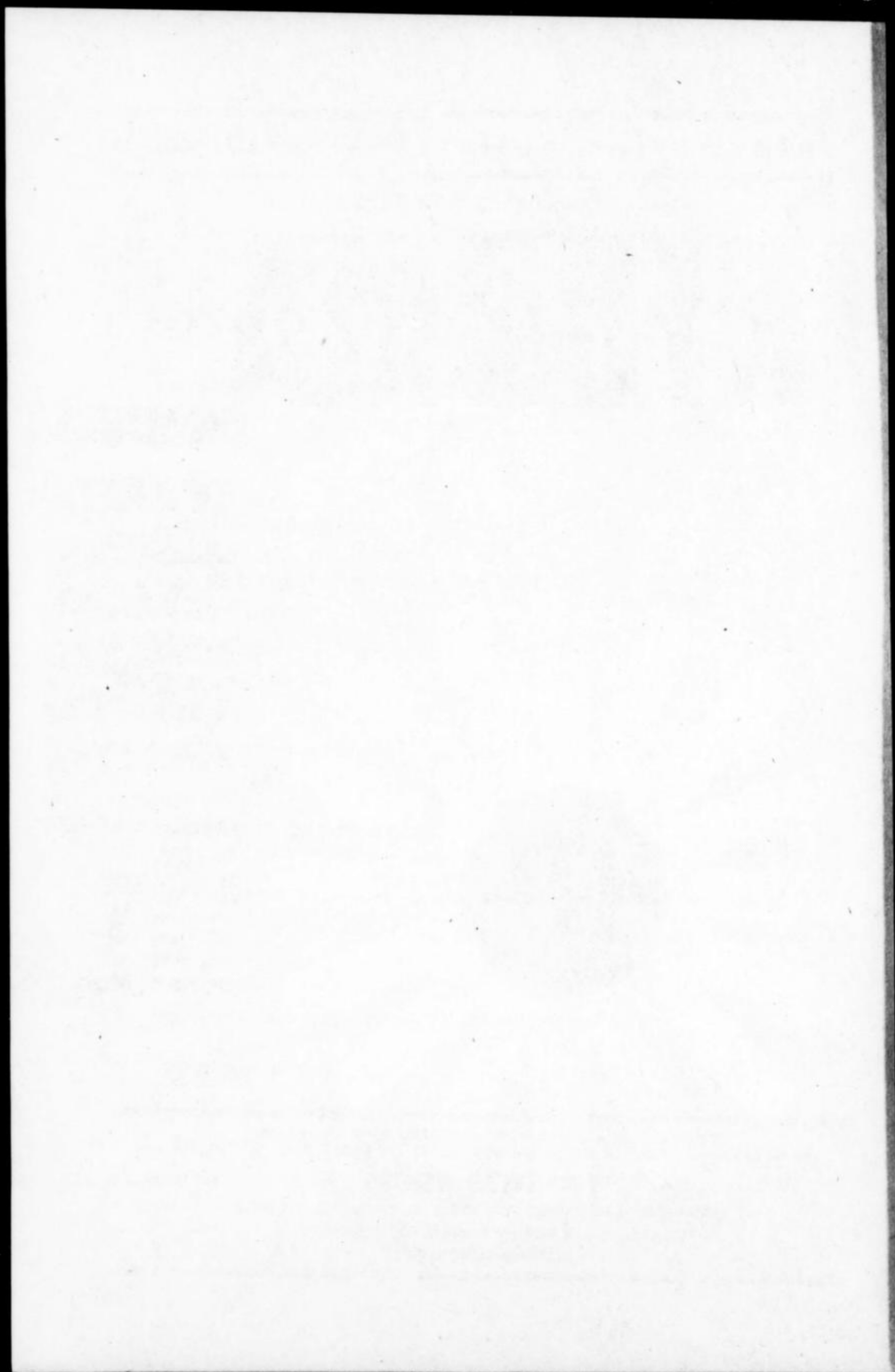
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## FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM\*

### THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow three years ago. This meeting greatly invigorated the anti-imperialist forces and strengthened the international positions of the Communist movement. The entire course of events in the period after the Meeting has confirmed the correctness of its analysis of the world situation, the vitality of the program of anti-imperialist struggle it proposed, and the timeliness of its conclusions aimed at reinforcing Communist unity, defending the peace and security of the peoples.

#### I

The 1969 Meeting was convened at an historically important juncture. The main revolutionary forces of our time—the socialist world system, the working-class and national-liberation movement—were on the threshold of a new phase of consolidation in the anti-imperialist struggle. New social strata and groups appeared on the political arena differing in social status, policy, views and convictions. The meeting was faced with the task of drafting a platform that would unite all the participants in the anti-imperialist movement and provide a clear perspective for the world's democratic and progressive forces.

The Meeting coped with this task successfully. The three years that have gone by have been filled with a consistent and purposeful struggle by the Communists to realize the platform drafted by the Meeting, and this struggle has borne fruit.

The CPSU actively helped to prepare and hold the Meeting. Addressing the Meeting, the head of the CPSU delegation L. I. Brezhnev analyzed the international situation, described CPSU efforts in the struggle for the common goals of the Communist movement and formulated conclusions which have been fully confirmed by the course of international developments.

The Resolution of the June 1969 CC CPSU Plenum "On the Results of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties" gave a high appraisal of its results, the documents it

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\**Pravda*, June 8, 1972.

adopted and outlined the tasks of the CPSU in carrying out the ideas and decisions of the Meeting. The political course charted by the Meeting was fully approved by the 24th CPSU Congress. The Congress resolution on the CC report says: "The CPSU regards the fulfilment of the program of anti-imperialist struggle put forward by the Meeting as an important basis for strengthening unity of action by the Communist and Workers' Parties, and for enhancing the role of the Communist movement in the present-day world development."

The platform of anti-imperialist struggle adopted by the Meeting is widely reflected in the CPSU's foreign policy tasks as formulated by the 24th Congress. The Peace Program advanced by the Congress has had far-reaching effect on the development of the entire international situation. And in implementing this Program, the CPSU is making a weighty contribution to the realization of the general line of the international Communist movement. Our Party views the foreign policy of the Soviet state as an integral part of the Soviet people's internationalist duty.

The Soviet Peace Program, responding to the aspirations of the peoples and their determination not to allow a world war to break out, strengthens international security and is aimed at supporting the liberation struggle. A reliable hand of friendship—the hand of the Soviet Union—is always extended to those defending the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the patriots in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The Soviet people's solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has always been and remains unshakable.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries support the just cause of the Arab peoples who are seeking to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression. Many other nations that are opposing imperialist and neo-colonialist encroachments also rely upon this support.

Overcoming the stubborn resistance of circles not interested in a relaxation of tensions in Europe, the socialist countries, other peaceful states, the Communist Parties and public forces advocating peace, are working to improve the political climate in Europe. And the preparation and holding of an all-European conference on security and cooperation is an important stage on this road.

In the difficult struggle against the forces opposed to relaxation of international tensions, the coming into force of the treaties between the FRG and the Soviet Union and Poland is a new and important step towards turning Europe into a continent of peace and cooperation. This clears the way to a solution of many other problems of vital importance to the peoples and countries of Europe.

The Brussels Assembly for European Security and Cooperation

that ended a few days ago showed clearly that public forces can play an active role in resolving European problems.

Very significant internationally are the recent talks between Soviet leaders and U.S. President Nixon and the documents signed in the course of the talks. These documents promote the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, the cause of peace and security of peoples.

Communists abroad voice their approval of the Soviet Union's principled, class, internationalist position at the Soviet-American negotiations. The leadership and press of fraternal parties stress the close, organic ties between the documents of the 1969 Meeting, the Peace Program of the 24th Congress and the practical measures of the CPSU on the international arena to achieve a stable peace, security and freedom of the peoples.

Principledness and flexibility are two inseparable aspects of Soviet foreign policy. Resolute opposition to imperialism's aggressive acts is combined with a constructive approach to the solution of pressing international problems, a readiness to develop and strengthen peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems. Depending on the concrete situation, the CPSU and the Soviet state employ various forms and methods of attaining the basic foreign policy goals, organically linking the solution of immediate tasks with the long-range tasks of the struggle for peace, freedom and the security of peoples, social progress and socialism.

## II

The course of international events confirms the conclusion of Communists that imperialism is powerless to regain its lost historical initiative and reverse the development of the modern world. During the past three years there have been numerous facts proving that the main road of mankind's progress is determined by the socialist world system, the international working class and all revolutionary forces.

The socialist commonwealth has become the most influential factor of political life in the world today.

It is precisely the socialist community that is resolving the progressive revolutionary task of our age—the building of a new society. Cooperation among the socialist countries is becoming ever broader and more diverse. The first steps have been made in realizing the Comprehensive Program for deepening and improving cooperation and furthering the socialist economic integration of CMEA countries. Close, fraternal cooperation among equal countries and peoples of the socialist community upsets the plans of those reactionary circles still harboring hopes of “softening up” so-

cialism. Marxism-Leninists are constantly concerned with strengthening the peoples' socialist gains, never forgetting the motto of the 1969 Meeting "the defense of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists."

Addressing the 24th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev said: "Today's world of socialism with its successes and prospects, with all its problems, is still a young, growing social organism in which not everything has had time to settle down, in which a great deal still displays the imprint of past historical epochs. The world of socialism is in constant motion, it is constantly improving." During these three years, the real socialism has gained new strength and this means that the head base of the world anti-imperialist struggle has broadened and become stronger.

In the citadels of capitalism, the 1969 Meeting noted, the working class is the basic motivating and mobilizing force of the revolutionary struggle of the entire democratic anti-imperialist movement. The struggle of the proletariat against monopoly oppression and arbitrariness is rising to a higher level. In a number of capitalist countries the working class and toiling people are going over from the struggle against individual capitalist groups to a frontal attack against the entire system of state-monopoly capitalism. In many countries the strike struggles often develop into a nationwide clash with big capital. The formation of powerful revolutionary forces within the depths of capitalist society is being accelerated. The working class is extending its ranks and gaining greater political weight, its class consciousness and organization are growing. The proletariat is gaining ever new allies and the positions of Communist parties are growing stronger.

The spring of 1972 saw large-scale political clashes in France and Italy. During the referendum the position of the French Communist Party was supported by more than 5 million Frenchmen. In the May parliamentary elections the Italian Communist Party polled over 9 million votes.

Recent years have been marked by profound changes in Latin America. The great success of the Chilean revolution—the victory of the Popular Unity coalition—showed that revolutionary events are unfolding just as predicted by the 1969 Meeting. It is precisely the working class that was the main motive guiding force of the Chilean revolution, the organizer of a broad coalition of popular forces striving for a radical transformation of the social system.

Working-class unity is becoming an urgent problem in the capitalist countries. As the Communist-led revolutionary wing of the workers' movement becomes stronger, the crisis of reformist policy and conceptions deepens. Differentiation among the Social-Democrats, as pointed out at the Meeting, is deepening, and a wish for

workers' unity is growing among the masses influenced by the Social-Democrats. More and more Social-Democratic leaders are coming to understand that the existing situation, the interests and demands of the working people cannot be ignored. Communists are trying to use the new opportunities for making real advances in the fight for the unity of the workers' movement.

Step by step, overcoming difficulties, the peoples of the newly-formed states are consolidating their political independence, broadening their struggle for economic independence and opposing neo-colonialism and the international monopolies. In the oppressed countries the patriots continue striking blows at the colonialist and racist regimes.

An important achievement of the national-liberation forces was the formation of the Republic of Bangladesh. Attempts by American imperialism, acting in an actual bloc with the Maoists, to bar the road of the people of this country to national independence failed hopelessly.

In many Asian and African countries the struggle for national liberation is turning into a struggle against feudal and capitalist relations of exploitation. Although the national liberation movement is developing unevenly, one can clearly see its more important tendency, that of consolidation of progressive circles adhering to anti-capitalist positions.

In many Third World countries the idea of consolidation of progressive democratic forces is steadily gaining ground. The formation of the Progressive National Front in Syria was an important event of recent time. A National Progressive Front is being created in Iraq. Together with other patriotic parties the Syrian and Iraqi Communist Parties are taking an active part in this process.

The 1969 Meeting was a strong stimulus for the political convergence of the Communist and national liberation movements and development of their ideological contacts. The ties between the Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties initiated by the CPSU are becoming broader.

The steady growth of the modern revolutionary forces, the high intensity of the great battle for national and social liberation of all peoples make more insistent the Meeting's appeal: *"The present situation demands greater militant solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries, of all contingents of the international working-class movement and national liberation in the struggle against imperialism."*

It was stressed at the 1969 Meeting that Communists would work for mutual understanding between the many and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements with due consideration for their peculiarities and respect for their independence. Past years have

again shown in practice that Communists favor the most democratic methods of preparing and carrying out united action with all progressive, patriotic and peaceful forces in a national and regional framework and also on a world scale.

### III

The positions, authority, political and ideological unity of the world Communist movement have been greatly enhanced these past years.

The Communist movement is becoming more mature and experienced. These years many fraternal parties marked their 50th anniversary, and 43 Communist and Workers' Parties held congresses.

Just as the development of the Communist movement as a whole after the Meeting, the work of the congresses showed a steady growth of the political and ideological level of the movement, that the fraternal parties give increased attention to the problems of consolidating the international ranks of the Communists and are determined to strengthen still more the positions of proletarian internationalism.

The 1969 Meeting outlined a correct path for consolidating the Communist movement and overcoming the difficulties of the 1960's. The Meeting was an important milestone in the development of the international Communist and Workers' movement because it raised aloft the banner of unity of the Communists and all revolutionary forces.

The Meeting showed that the Leninist method of a democratic and principled discussion of problems, collective coordination of basic positions in the struggle against imperialism, for socialism, is serving the Communist movement well.

The varied forms of inter-party contacts and ties conforming to the present conditions are being broadly developed. Bilateral, regional and international meetings and conferences among parties have become a widespread practice. In recent years there have been several regional conferences of the Communist Parties of Europe, Central America and the Arab countries, and meetings between the Communist Parties of several Latin American countries, North Europe and others. They greatly facilitated the political consolidation of Communist ranks.

An important aspect of this process is the exchange of Party delegations and participation in the work of fraternal party congresses. This exchange is constantly growing and expanding. Here are a few characteristic figures concerning the CPSU. In the period following the 1969 Meeting the Soviet Union was visited by 255

delegations of Communist, revolutionary—democratic and Left-socialist parties, including 102 delegations that represented their parties at the 24th CPSU Congress. Simultaneously, the delegations of our Party visited over 80 non-socialist countries.

The 1969 Meeting created favorable prerequisites for intensifying the struggle for the ideological unity of the Communist movement. A great deal has been achieved in this sphere too. The consolidation of Communist unity called for by the Meeting is being carried out on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Lenin centenary celebrations were of exceptional importance in this sense. By honoring the memory of the immortal Lenin, the world army of Communists confirmed the fact that it considers Marxism-Leninism to be the only ideological basis of our movement.

A unified scientific ideology is the unshakable theoretical foundation of the international Communist movement. It is the most important source of its strength and a tremendous historical advantage over all other political movements. Directly linked with fidelity to Marxism-Leninism are the ability of the Communist parties and their readiness to live up to their historical responsibility and to act as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class and all toiling people. The political potential of Communist parties and their ability to transforming power are directly linked with this fidelity.

Ideological unity of Communists is especially important today because of the acute ideological struggle. At a time when the balance of world forces is steadily changing in favor of socialism, democracy and national independence, the imperialists and their accomplices are banking heavily on ideological means. They use them in the attempt to split the Communist movement and the socialist community. This is one of the main sectors on which imperialism is concentrating its efforts today.

World reaction places special hopes on inciting nationalism within the Communist movement.

Fraternal parties justly point out that nationalism is doubly dangerous when it acquires an anti-Soviet coloring. "Indeed, all liberation movements, all battles for social liberation, national independence and peace," says Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the French Communist Party, "find support in the socialist world system, first and foremost in the Soviet Union. Precisely because of this, anti-Sovietism, whatever its form or wherever it comes from, is a crime against the interests of the working class and the peoples."

The struggle against nationalism and against all forms of op-

portunism occupies a prominent place on the agenda of the Communist movement. Outlining CPSU policy on this problem, the 24th CPSU Congress stated: "Congress believes that the struggle against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and also against Right and 'Left' revisionism and nationalism remains an urgent and important task."

The period following the Meeting abounded in struggle against all forms of opportunism. Several fraternal parties expelled members who attempted to sway Communists towards Right and "Left" opportunism, class compromise, anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism.

While defending the purity of revolutionary theory, Marxists-Leninists simultaneously give their unflagging attention to its creative development in line with the changing situation and the requirements of the liberation struggle. As many fraternal parties hold, the level of their ideological work in the period after the 1969 Meeting has visibly risen. Collective elaboration by Communist parties of topical problems of today's class and national-liberation struggle has expanded. During the three years since the Meeting there have been 18 international theoretical conferences, scientific sessions and symposiums which discussed aspects of Marxist-Leninist theory in the context of present-day conditions. Several exchanges of views on these problems have been held under the auspices of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*.

\* \* \*

The political results of these past three years following the 1969 Meeting evoke a legitimate sense of satisfaction among Marxists-Leninists and all who are struggling against imperialism. But Communists proceed from their belief that the stronger and more influential the Marxist-Leninist parties are the greater will be the success of the world revolutionary process.

By strengthening their cohesion, stepping up the struggle against all ideological vacillations, resolutely upholding Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Communist and Workers' Parties, armed with the ideas of the 1969 Moscow Meeting are confidently heading the struggle of the working class and the masses for peace, democracy, national independence, social progress, for socialism and communism.

# NINETIETH ANNIVERSARY OF DIMITROV'S BIRTH A REVOLUTIONARY AND LEADER OF THE LENINIST TYPE

By Todor Zhivkov

FIRST SECRETARY, CC BCP, CHAIRMAN, STATE COUNCIL  
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

Georgi Dimitrov was one of the outstanding and most popular leaders of the international Communist and working-class movement. Even before the victory of the October Revolution he became known as a fiery champion of the proletariat's cause and an uncompromising opponent of opportunism, centrism and social chauvinism, which were typical of the parties of the Second International. The victory of the October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International afforded vast opportunities for his international activity. His meetings and talks with Lenin, study of Leninism as theory and practice, participation in Comintern congresses and activities, and contacts with noted Communists extended Dimitrov's ideological horizons and added to his political experience. He distinguished himself early as a leader of international stature and successively held the posts of secretary of the Balkan Communist Federation, member of the Comintern leadership and secretary of the West European Bureau of the Comintern.

When the Nazi leaders arrested Dimitrov and several other Communists on charges of setting fire to the Reichstag, he was prepared to fight the great battle of his life. The Hitlerite provocateurs thought they had brought a "shady Balkan character" to the courtroom, and would be able through him to condemn the entire world Communist movement. However, the captive Dimitrov not only exposed the lies and blackmail used against him but unmasked and denounced the fascist beast. In the court the Bulgarian people were described as "savages" and "barbarians." Dimitrov protested angrily. In Bulgaria, he said, it is the Bulgarian fascists who are savages and barbarians. And he struck a crippling blow that resounded all over the planet: "But I ask you, in what country does not fascism bear these qualities?"

Bulgaria's Tesnyak socialists and the world Communist movement had their heroes even before the Leipzig trial. These were people who, scorning death, faced the judges of the class enemy with heads raised high. But in Leipzig it was a Leninist type of Communist who fought. Bourgeois propaganda had slandered the

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\*Pravda, June 16, 1972.

Communists for years. During the Leipzig trial the slander was exploded and an amazed world found itself face to face with a remarkable Communist leader, strong, fearless and well-cultured, a brilliant speaker with an incisive mind and a devastating logic, who openly and proudly upheld the content and meaning of his life and turned his trial into a trial of fascism and an apotheosis of the Soviet Union, the first country of victorious socialist revolution.

The world was fascinated by the man and fighter. His name became a synonym for Communist, and a symbol and banner of struggle against advancing fascism and the approaching war.

Bulgaria's bourgeois government showed its cowardice and baseness by dissociating from a man who had made people utter the word "Bulgarian" with esteem and love. The Soviet Union received him as if he had been her own son and at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, delegates of the world Communist movement entrusted him with the high function of General Secretary of the ECCI.

Hard times were coming and it would not be long before the decisive battle for the destiny of the world began. The international Communist movement, for its part, was preparing for this battle. A consistent Leninist and vastly experienced revolutionary leader, Dimitrov made an important contribution to the Comintern's formulation of the Communists' internationalist line in view of the fascist advance and the threat of a new world war. In his report to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, "The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Fight for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism," Dimitrov offered an exhaustive definition of the class essence of fascism. He described German fascism as the "spearhead of international counter-revolution," the "chief instigator of imperialist war" and the "initiator of a crusade against the Soviet Union."

With due regard to the new situation, the report carried forward Lenin's ideas about the interconnection of the fight for democracy and the fight for socialism and about the ways and means of accomplishing the socialist revolution. It demonstrated the necessity for establishing united proletarian fronts and broad popular fronts. The theses about a new approach to Social-Democracy and bourgeois democracy, the direction of the Communist and working-class movements main blow at its chief enemy, the chief aggressor and warmonger, and the nature and platform of the popular front government were highly important guidelines.

Dimitrov held his responsible post until the Comintern was dissolved. His sustained and manifold activities in those tense years went a long way towards achieving anti-fascist unity of action of the revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces of the world

and towards uniting them with the peoples of the Soviet Union. Especial credit is due to him for educating and promoting leaders and functionaries of the world Communist and working-class movement and for strengthening the Communist parties, on whose effort the success of the struggle largely depended.

The Leninist line of building up proletarian and broad anti-fascist and anti-imperialist unity proved correct on the eve of World War II and, above all, during the war. The victory of people's democratic revolutions in the European and Asian countries which are now building socialist society marked the triumph of this policy line. This victory was due in substantial measure to Dimitrov's guidelines, recommendations and activities.

As leader of both the Bulgarian working class and people and the international Communist and working-class movement, Dimitrov invariably followed Marx's and Engels' watchword, "Workers of all countries, unite!"

Dimitrov's internationalism found consummate expression in his axiom about the attitude to the Soviet Union being a criterion of proletarian internationalism.

From the days of the October Revolution to his last hour, Dimitrov was a true friend of the Soviet Union who fought against its enemies with firmness and consistency. With the greatest enthusiasm he revealed the historic role of the first socialist state in the development of the Communist movement and in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world. It is fair to say that great credit is due to Dimitrov for training the cadres of the world Communist movement, Communists and working people of all countries in a spirit of love of the Soviet Union, of solidarity with and unfailing loyalty to it as the country inspiring the peoples subjugated by fascism to put up heroic resistance, which after Hitler Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union developed into a vast armed struggle.

When the victories of the Soviet Army and the fight for the masses in Europe had resulted in the rise of new socialist states, and when international reaction engaged in all-out subversion designed to restore capitalism in those countries, Dimitrov argued forcefully that the only guarantee of the independence and socialist development of the people's democracies was their increasingly close unity with the Soviet Union. The difficulties experienced by countries which ignored the principles of socialist internationalism, and, by contrast, the rapid and continuous progress of the states of the fraternal socialist community of nations, are conclusive proof of the role of the Soviet Union as an example, base and bulwark of world socialism and the entire world revolutionary process.

Developments in China show only too clearly how very correct Georgi Dimitrov was in saying that the attitude to the Soviet Union is a criterion of genuine proletarian internationalism. The Chinese leadership, which has drifted to nationalism and anti-Sovietism, has not only isolated the CPC and CPR from, and opposed them to, the international Communist movement and socialist community, but also led up to actions which in practice link up with those of the sworn enemies of communism and progress generally.

Georgi Dimitrov's power as a theoretician and political leader lies in his unbounded loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. And because of this he has made such a tremendous contribution to the development and enrichment of our revolutionary theory.

In the postwar history of the international Communist and working-class movement there are many examples of creative application and advancement of Marxism-Leninism in the sphere of revolutionary theory, the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle. The documents of international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties are a model of creative Marxism-Leninism.

In the modern world, the main barrier to freedom and democracy for the peoples in capitalist countries are the monopolies and the capitalist state-monopoly system. Broad unification of Left, anti-monopoly and democratic forces and trends and the formation of democratic governments capable of curtailing monopoly's role in the economy, ending the power of big capital, carrying out fundamental political and economic changes and creating favorable conditions for the struggle for socialism—such is the present-day course which is a projection and elaboration of Lenin's ideas and Dimitrov's formulations on a united proletarian front and a broad popular front.

Thanks to the Leninist course of the international Communist movement and the powerful support by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for the national liberation movement, the broad anti-imperialist front which Lenin had in mind and for which Dimitrov worked is today a historical reality. The movement to create united popular and anti-imperialist alliances has made great headway in a number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The struggle against imperialism is inevitably linking up in these countries with rejection of the capitalist way of development, with profound social processes and with growing influence of the ideas and example of the socialist countries.

In the peoples' struggle for peace and social progress an exceptional role is played by the broad Peace Program set forth by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his report at the 24th CPSU Congress. This is a Leninist document in the fullest sense, equipping the socialist countries and the Communist movement ideologically. It represents a broad program for uniting the peace forces in various countries

and on an international scale. Just over a year has passed since the 24th CPSU Congress, but the energetic activity and peace offensive of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is already bearing rich fruit.

Today the destinies of the world are being determined to an ever greater degree by the socialist world system, the international Communist and working-class movement and the world wide national liberation movement.

Just as in the past, before the Second World War, so today too, world reaction is aiming its main blow against the Soviet Union. Today, as before, the response of the world revolutionary, democratic, anti-imperialist and peace forces can be one and only one: ever closer unity with the CPSU, the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. The great Soviet Union has become a mighty country and the world balance of the forces of peace and war has changed. This gives us grounds to believe that the peoples' struggle will be crowned with success.

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## **PLENARY MEETINGS**

The CC CP of Colombia met in Bogota on May 21 last. Following are extracts from the Party's CEC report, approved by the meeting and published in *Voz Proletaria* on June 1 and the full text of the Statement of the meeting, which appeared in the same paper on May 25.

### **THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE POPULAR OPPOSITION FRONT**

The latest election (April 16, 1972) was of special significance for a number of reasons. The bourgeoisie was out to win the majority against ANAPO (National Popular Alliance.—Ed.) so as to bar it from the Presidency. The election therefore had a direct bearing on the presidential election due in 1974. The oligarchy as a whole wanted to show already at this stage that it has a majority against ANAPO. Its parties—the Liberals and Conservatives—were intent on ascertaining which of them had the greatest backing among the electorate. The Liberal Party, in turn, wanted to know which of its two currents commanded a majority. All this was to have become a prerequisite of the battle of interests to be fought at the coming election, with the constitutional principle of alternation of presidents (between the two parties) no longer operative and with every group or party fully entitled to seek election for its own candidate.

The President himself, accused of having secured election by fraudulent means and of representing a minority, wanted to satisfy himself of his continued superiority over ANAPO. Hence his satisfaction over the support given him by the electorate.

In trying to win the majority, the Liberal and Conservative parties also wanted to regain control of the municipal assemblies and councils, lost as a result of the 1970 election. This would have enabled them to recapture the numerous cushy jobs in the Civil Service that had gone to ANAPO. Due to our political tradition and in view of chronic unemployment, in the conditions when the state is the main employer, government posts are a foundation for the political survival of Liberal and Conservative leaders.

### **THE PARTIES' ATTITUDE**

For the oligarchy, control of the municipal assemblies and councils by its parties, the Liberals and Conservatives, means not only

ousting the opposition from certain positions but, in some cases, re-establishing control over decentralized state enterprises. Appreciating the significance of the latest election, the oligarchy set its whole machinery in motion. Industrialists and bankers publicly offered the Liberals and Conservatives their full financial and political support. The President and his immediate associates resorted to the classical device of "inaugurating projects" to make believe that the government had accomplished something. At the eleventh hour an increase in minimum wages and salaries was decreed with demagogical intent—to secure the backing of millions of working people who receive only the pay established by official decree because they lack organization or strength.

The other opposition, non-Communist forces, underrated the significance of the contest. Specifically, ANAPO did not in its propaganda and its effort to mobilize the masses show the energy that had characterized its activity in earlier campaigns. Some of its leaders held that if ANAPO won a large proportion of votes the oligarchy might carry out a coup, which was hinted at among its top leaders as a possibility.

The result was that we had to join in the election campaign in an atmosphere of repression and of government, Liberal and Conservative demagoguery, with the opposition forces divided.

Contrary to our expectations, the opposition in the latest election lost votes and the majority in the municipal assemblies and councils won in 1970. The sharp decline in ANAPO influence, which underlay the opposition's retrogression, was due to various causes. To begin with, not all who backed ANAPO in the 1970 presidential election may be regarded as belonging to this current. Many of them cast their votes for ANAPO merely in protest, out of a desire to bring about a change in the state of affairs.

In this year's election, ANAPO found itself in an entirely different situation, particularly as regards its forms of activity. Many of those who had backed it in 1970 were subsequently disappointed at its attitude towards the shameless fraud used against them. They feared that ANAPO was incapable of leading them along any other path than that of purely electoral campaigning and would be unable to secure official recognition of its eventual victory at the polls.

With some exceptions, the ANAPO MPs' and municipal councillors' attitude to the masses was not clear. The struggles carried on by the masses in various departments of the country are alien to most ANAPO men holding administrative jobs. Some of them abet exploitation of the people.

The oligarchy engaged in an intensive ideological and propaganda drive against the ANAPO. The salient feature of the drive was that it presented ANAPO as a Right-wing, fascist organization given to

demagoguery and incapable of managing public affairs. ANAPO failed to answer properly the criticisms levelled at it.

The ANAPO leadership seemed to have forgotten all about its own program—it did not campaign for a number of popular and national demands included in the program.

ANAPO's posture on the national agrarian problem puts it on a par with the latifundium owners and antagonizes most of the peasants, especially those fighting for land.

Speaking generally, ANAPO lacks ideological unity and its position on various issues is not entirely clear. While some of its members try to induce the leadership to take a more progressive stand, others curb these attempts, which gives rise to vacillation and confusion if not Rightist trends.

The conversion of ANAPO into a new political party likewise resulted in a reduction of its electoral support. Those who had not been against Rojas Pinilla's leadership, such as the Liberals and Conservatives, refused to join the new political organization and fell back on voting for their former parties. This is why the votes polled by ANAPO as a new political party should be assessed as an important step towards undermining the traditional domination of the two-party system.

The series of splits which have occurred in ANAPO in various parts of the country told on its influence, especially because of its methods of solving problems. Lastly, ANAPO was hit hard enough by government repression, which prevented it from mobilizing the masses in a number of communities and robbed it elsewhere of some of its people, who were jailed or even killed.

### **NON-PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS AS A POLITICAL PHENOMENON**

In the 1970 election the proportion of non-voters was smaller than before. This year it was roughly as great as earlier.

At the last moment there was an increase in the number of those who stayed away from the polls because young Trotskyists, Camilists\* and "pure Maoists" took advantage of the teachers' legitimate strike to agitate against voting.

Part of the membership of the National Association of Peasants who lease land and are granted government credits likewise chose in various departments the negative policy of abstaining — after fruitless attempts to put forward purely peasant lists.

Many of those who had voted for ANAPO in 1970 withdrew their

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\*Followers of the priest Camil Torres, who advocated non-participation in elections.—Ed.

support this year, either because it was not a question of fighting for power through the nomination of presidential candidates, or because they were disappointed with ANAPO. As a result, non-participation in the election hit this political current hardest of all.

In view of the large proportion of non-voters there reappeared all sorts of ultra-Leftist theories interpreting the phenomenon as a sign of a revolutionary situation. Others believe that the refusal to vote "morally" defeated the entire system. This notion calls for an earnest effort to help the masses realize that it is impossible to achieve any gains for the people by staying away from the polls and that the oligarchy is ready to suffer any number of "moral" defeats of this kind provided it retains power. Indeed, non-participation in voting is evidence of indifference to the nation's political problems or is a most unfortunate way of expressing one's disagreement with the establishment.

### UNDER ITS OWN NAME

The outcome of the election bore out the view that our Party should operate under its own name. Coming out as Communists, we had an opportunity to work publicly in numerous communities, which helped us legalize our organization and make it the revolutionary core of the opposition.

The inclusion of Communists in voting lists in sixteen departments was a proof of success for the policy of building up the Party on a national scale.

Special mention should be made of the Party's publicity effort. The Party resumed the use of such half-forgotten methods as writing slogans on walls. Besides, in many localities where Communists were active colorful posters were put up with simple and clear slogans. The Party's five-point electoral platform, distributed far and wide, stated our position on important aspects of national life.

The circulation of *Voz Proletaria* reached almost 30,000 copies. The paper was widely used to popularize the Party's activity and candidates and to organize a protest movement against police brutalities.

A number of new ideas were put into practice. Visits to homes and person-to-person talks on behalf of the Party, which were used on a particularly large scale in Bogota and Bucaramanga, should be encouraged as an up-to-date, flexible and permanent working method. Experience shows that Party members must prepare more carefully if they are to explain our position in simple and straightforward language. We must devote more time to talks; choose the places to visit more judiciously; publish and distribute among the

persons we visit information giving briefly and in simple words our point of view; select beforehand meeting places to which we can invite all who want more detailed information; combine this activity with open-air meetings.

There was an upward trend in the Party and the Communist Youth organization. It enabled us to overcome passivity, bring members of both organizations into electoral work and raise their political militancy, which is still there and constitutes an important factor for carrying out new tasks.

During the election campaign Communist Youth used such interesting methods as concerts and plays. It is important to note that this time we did not have to speak of rectifying the policy line nor of whether it is right or wrong to vote.

The Party's national leadership worked as a team. It approved the practice of sending its members to areas believed to be threatened by retrogression.

### SUMMING UP

We cannot feel satisfied with the number of votes won. The Party did much on a national scale and its effort ought to have produced better results, above all in Bogota, where our propaganda was most vigorous in spite of daily repression.

In the main urban centres the votes cast for us were as few as before. The peasants voted for our candidates as in the past and in some places we registered notable gains precisely as Communists. The Party may be proud of the backing it enjoys among the peasants. But it must make an earnest effort to increase its influence in the cities.

On the other hand, Communists carry on constant work among the workers. They set up and foster the growth of Party cells in the enterprises, guide trade union activity, combat Right and extreme "Left" trends, and strive for unity of action, for the satisfaction of new demands or the preservation of those won before, for militant solidarity with the trade unions. This time-consuming work, which goes on within the context of our Party's class policy, does not yield immediate results. Besides, it still has shortcomings which stand out, in particular, when the workers have to be mobilized.

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There are unquestionable contradictions in our work which are an indirect cause of the workers' political ignorance. Repressive measures by the owners of most enterprises compel us to work illegally. However, there are excesses in the applications of this tactic—some Communists push secrecy in the enterprises as far as to conceal their revolutionary sentiments even from fellow-workers. This is why they do nothing to publicize Marxist ideas, bring out newspapers or leaflets on behalf of the Party or win new members. Steps were taken to remedy the situation, with the result that in the latest election some lists put forward by the Communists included trade union leaders. By leaning on these people for support and achieving a general improvement in the work of enterprise organizations, we can spread the proletariat's ideology wider, raise the workers' political awareness and form more Party organizations among them.

The task is to work patiently to free the workers from bourgeois influence, end their indifference to politics and prevail on them as members of their class to join the Communist Party, which is their own party. We must, of course, defeat every tendency to underrate the working class or slacken the work being carried on among them.

Consideration of the experience of the latest election campaign may help the Party strengthen its influence in urban centres. The broad-based committees set up in Barranquilla are not only a means of organizing the unaffiliated masses but serve to educate them and draw them into Party work and the Party. The opening of Party centers in neighborhoods, the granting of greater autonomy and powers to Party zones for work in neighborhoods, and education of the Party membership in a spirit of active participation in election campaigns all make links with the masses easier.

That is why we must make a point of drawing our members out of the shadows of excessive secrecy and ensure that the Party strikes a stronger root among the masses.

In accomplishing this task, the Party must build up the prestige of its leaders and repulse the slander campaigns conducted against them from the right and the pseudo-Left. Mechanically safeguarding the Party against the personality cult, we went to the other extreme and have been doing little to enhance the prestige of Communist leaders in the eyes of the masses. This mistake occasionally results in depersonalizing the Party as it were or affords a basis for every manner of calumnies. We need hundreds of Communist leaders well known to and valued by the masses, as well as national leaders

enjoying prestige among the people. The Party can by collective effort keep the esteem they win within proper bounds.

### **"LEFT"-WING ANTI-COMMUNISM**

In the latest election, especially in the cities, we Communists had to fight against both the oligarchy and movements which used a "left" flag and pseudo-revolutionary language while doing the job of splitters in the service of the oligarchy. They fiercely attacked the opposition as if they had forgotten that power was in the hands of the oligarchy and U.S. imperialism.

They won few votes. Moreover, among those who voted for them there were hundreds of upright people who did so because they mistook them for genuinely revolutionary groups.

This outcome does not mean, however, that the groups have gone out of existence. They are an asset to the oligarchy by virtue of their anti-communism and their ability to divide, undermine and disorganize. We must therefore persist in the ideological fight against them so as to show them up to public opinion and win over those who honestly believed these groups to be made up of real revolutionaries.

There were omissions in our publicity and ideological work. Imagining the phenomenon of non-participation in elections to have been politically overcome, we did not take a stand against it by revealing its negative effects to the masses.

Nor did we come out in time against the theses or demagogical, "socialist"-like proposals of the Liberal progressive current, to say nothing of the open and continual attacks on socialism from Alvaro Gomez Hurtado, the Conservative candidate.

### **TASKS AND THE OUTLOOK**

The election resulted in about a hundred Communists becoming municipal councillors and seven, members of departmental government bodies. A large cross-section of public opinion takes a positive view of the Communist Party. The Party must steadfastly concern itself with the tasks facing it and combat passivity. It has therefore been resolved to mark the 42nd anniversary of the foundation of our Party in July through nation-wide public functions and celebrate the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union in November and December, linking up these events with action to promote Colombian-Soviet relations, which are threatened owing to an intensive anti-Communist campaign; conduct periodical campaigns throughout the country against the high cost of living, for the release of political prisoners, for land and the nationalization of oil; show solidarity with the students' legitimate struggle. Now that

U.S. imperialism is committing new acts of provocation and launching still more brutal aggression against the heroic people of Vietnam, we call on the working people to show active solidarity in struggle and insist on the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam.

To fulfil these tasks, we must mobilize and organize the masses and heighten their political consciousness. As we carry them out we Communists have ample opportunities to increase the Party membership, overcome difficulties and strengthen our influence.

The political outlook is clear—the country is headed for the 1974 presidential election. The campaign is off to a start. The previous election showed that the attempts to prolong the system of presidential alternation lack adequate public backing. It may well be that that oligarchy will nominate more than one candidate. This would cause a new rift within the oligarchy in the form of a duel for the Presidency between the Liberals and Conservatives in 1974. In the course of this duel the split of the Liberal Party may persist or even go deeper.

The country's policy betrays new contradictions. While they are developing we must see to it that discord inherited from the Liberals and Conservatives does not revive and that the class struggle is not thus overshadowed by the contest between Liberals and Conservatives hailing from the people.

Revolutionaries can use these new contradictions to carry on their work and isolate the more reactionary elements of Colombian society. These contradictions manifest themselves in government bodies, and a realignment of political forces is not unlikely.

As we consider the possibilities of taking advantage of these contradictions we must be on our guard against reformist demagoguery, which a section of the oligarchy may resort to. We can demonstrate in practice the untenability of reformist theses, the narrow-mindedness and limited character of the bourgeois agrarian reform and the impossibility of genuine economic progress in a country dependent on U.S. imperialism.

There is a specific method by which we can bring out the forces seeking progress. We propose to all progressives a nation-wide campaign against the state of emergency and, in very explicit terms, for the right to assembly and to hold demonstrations and meetings in the streets and squares, as well as for the right to strike. It would be a fight for democratic liberties, for the complete restoration of civil rights in our country and an end to police arbitrariness.

We have lately shown a desire for unity by seeking agreement with opposition forces. The new situation now taking shape makes it possible to set up a Democratic Opposition Front. The basis should be the fact that national opinion sees the Communist Party as a ser-

ious and authoritative force. In other political movements, especially in the lower, middle and higher echelons of ANAPO, the idea of unity with other proletarian currents, and with our Party, is gaining ground.

We have been working hard to eliminate mistakes made in the past on the political issue of alliances. We have made a special effort to defeat the trend towards alliances between comrades, for behind it was a desire to camouflage our Party. We must continue the fight against sectarianism, which expresses itself in efforts to isolate the Party in the belief that we must always act by ourselves and that every alliance is bad.

Experience has shown very clearly that the policy of alliance is inseparable from work to build up the Communist Party as a mass party. Our tactic should be to explain to all forces seeking changes in favor of democracy and the people the necessity for jointly selecting a presidential candidate who can unite the opposition on the basis of a minimum program that, incidentally, would not be a program of precisely our Party and might, indeed, be less advanced than our five-point electoral platform. However, this program should advance minimum demands, including the demand for full democratic rights and freedoms, an agrarian reform and the nationalization of oil.

There are serious obstacles to that. Our strength still prevents us from following a more effective policy towards other opposition groups.

We must remember that it may prove impossible to reach agreement, and must take appropriate steps in time if we do not want to have to decide again on tactics at the last moment as in 1970, when we decided to cast blank votes—a method which tells nothing to the masses, as experience has shown.

In line with our policy of combining diverse forms of struggle we Communists take part in election campaigns for the obvious reason that this enables us to win positions in government bodies which we can use for our revolutionary work, and because we realize that agitation, propaganda, mobilization and organization of the masses help us increase Party influence and heighten the people's revolutionary consciousness. However, our Party does not confine its activity to the electoral sphere.

And this means that we must not associate the problem of setting up a Democratic Opposition Front with elections only. In a broader sense, we must seek unity of the people and the opposition in the course of everyday work and in connection with mass struggles. New class battles—strikes, guerrilla operations and student action—show that the masses are fighting on and that the oligarchy cannot solve its problems in spite of its electoral victory. The crisis of the

establishment is bound to go deeper and our task is to form a class-conscious force which can resolve the crisis in favor of the people and of democracy regardless of the path that may have to be followed in the process. Hence we must continue our effort to make the Communist Party a mass party and set up a broader Democratic Front.

## **WAY OPEN FOR DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION FRONT**

### **STATEMENT OF THE CC, CP OF COLOMBIA**

A number of important changes came about in the political situation in Colombia as a result of the elections on April 16, 1972. The opposition lost some votes and its majority in the municipal assemblies and councils. The oligarchy, which took advantage, above all, of the repressive decrees issued under martial law and of mass abstention from voting, won a majority which enables it to deal partly with certain aspects of the crisis it is going through. However, this crisis will in the main continue and go deeper, for capitalism, which is dependent on U.S. imperialism, cannot solve the problems of the people and nation.

The Communist Party of Colombia, faced with official hostility, scored political gains during the election campaign. Its participation in the elections in its own right earned it the people's esteem and imparted greater legality to its activity. While the proportion of votes polled by the Party was at the 1970 level, it is important to note that these votes were cast for the Communist Party. Nevertheless, the outcome of the elections was unsatisfactory and out of keeping with the Party's collective effort.

Analysis of the inadequate number of votes won by the Party reveals shortcomings in our work in the cities. This is why the Party must redouble its efforts to recruit new members, overcome the political backwardness of a substantial part of the proletariat, raise the prestige of Party leaders and improve the means of communication with the masses, encouraging creative initiative and carrying on sustained work among the people.

The situation is favorable for a more intensive process of building a mass Communist Party and setting up a Democratic Opposition Front. Party work today is imbued with a new spirit. There is less passivity, the trend towards working in excessive secrecy has declined and the morale of the membership has risen. In these circumstances it is possible to set new tasks and mobilize the Party and Communist Youth for their fulfilment.

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\**Voz Proletaria*, May 25, 1972.

As we prepare for the Party's national conference on organizational matters (set for December 1972.—Ed.) We must systematically recruit and educate new members, calmly analyze shortcomings hampering our progress and sharply increase the circulation of *Voz Proletaria*, especially in the cities; we must go on combating anti-communism and prepare to intensify our ideological struggle, with emphasis on explaining the principles of scientific socialism to the masses to expose bourgeois reformism and pseudo-socialist demagoguery, which mislead people, as well as the anti-Leninist views of ultra-Leftist groups.

Progress in building the Party is linked with the policy of agreement with other opposition groups, particularly with the leaders, middle echelons and rank and file of ANAPO (National Popular Alliance—Ed.), who want their organization to adopt a consistently popular and unitary position.

The problem of establishing a Democratic Opposition Front is not restricted to election tasks. We must set it up mainly in the course of the struggle which the workers, salary earners, peasants and students carry on. In view of the prospect of a further increase in the cost of living and of major actions by the working class and other population groups against the government's economic policy, the popular and democratic forces have opportunities of reaching agreement.

New contradictions are developing among the oligarchy over the future Presidency (1974) and due to differences over the agrarian reform and other issues. On this basis the opposition forces government bodies can reach specific agreements to isolate the more reactionary elements of the ruling classes. These agreements should result in more vigorous struggle against police arbitrariness and the regime's repressive measures.

We consider it necessary, therefore, to launch an extensive nation-wide campaign against martial law, for the restoration of the right to demonstrate and to strike and for the release of political prisoners.

In view of the 1974 presidential elections, we are continuing our fight for a candidate who could unify the opposition on the basis of a popular and democratic program. Realizing the difficulty of this task, the Party must follow a far-sighted policy if it is not to find itself in isolation when candidates are nominated. The important thing is to do all in our power for the nomination of a single opposition candidate and make the Party a force fighting consistently and without any; sectarianism for the unity of the working class and the people.

## COMMUNIQUE OF THE CC, PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY

In May 1972 the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party met in session to discuss the political situation in the country and define the immediate tasks of the Party. It adopted the document "The Main Tasks Arising from the Present Political Situation" and the address "For a Broad Front of Struggle Against Fascist Policy."\* The Central Committee also reviewed problems of the defense of the Party, personnel policy and organizational work, as well as the composition of the Party's leading bodies, and adopted appropriate measures.

The Central Committee summed up the results of the celebration of the Party's fiftieth anniversary, stressing its importance for the ideological unity and activity of the Party.

It also adopted a message of greetings to Communist political prisoners and a message of solidarity to the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

### FOR A BROAD FRONT OF STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCIST POLICY

The Marcelo Caetano government has been unable to solve a single important national problem or extricate itself from the contradictions and difficulties besetting it, find a way out of the crisis it is going through.

*The broadly conceived "liberalization" ploy of 1968 has fully developed.* The present regime brings back to mind the worst times under dictator Salazar. Repressions are mounting. Scores of patriots and anti-fascists have been thrown into prisons. Economic difficulties are growing and so is the country's subjugation to imperialism. The masses are being impoverished, and the abyss of the colonial wars into which the fascists and colonialists had plunged the country more than ten years ago is deepening.

*The new upsurge of the mass struggle* was a reply to the offensive launched by the government in 1971. Despite the defeats, the masses are joining the struggle at the enterprises, in the trade unions, army barracks, schools, cooperatives, building up an ever broader resistance front. The battle is joined by new sections of the population and new forces. Popular anti-fascist unity is growing in struggle.

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\*The Address is published below. Extracts from the first document will appear in our next issue.—Ed.

## **AGAINST EXPLOITATION AND HIGH COST OF LIVING!**

The government has shifted the whole burden of its policy on the shoulders of the working class and working people.

However, the working people, the youth and the masses are fighting for *higher wages*, against poverty and high prices, as is evidenced by the numerous strikes and other actions of recent years. Especially noteworthy of these was the 40,000 strong demonstration in Oportu on April 15.

To develop and multiply these actions is the way the CC PCP indicates for the Communists, the working class and the popular masses.

## **AGAINST REPRESSIONS, FOR FREEDOM!**

Belying the false and demagogical promises of Marcelo Caetano to extend freedoms, repressions in the most diverse forms have again become the main instrument employed by the government in carrying on its anti-popular, colonial policy clashing with the will of the Portuguese people.

The democratic and anti-fascist movement is courageously fighting against repressions, for freedom, and this struggle is compelling the government to retreat in some very important sectors.

The CC PCP beleves that if the anti-fascist forces overcome their present weaknesses and achieve firm unity with the masses, they will be strong enough to succeed in the *struggle for fundamental freedoms*.

## **AGAINST THE COLONIAL WAR! FOR IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE FOR COLONIAL PEOPLES!**

The colonial war is bringing disgrace on Portugal in the eyes of the peoples of the world. The aim of the war is to drown in blood the just struggle of the peoples of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique. It is destroying and maiming thousands of young people. Their war is the direct cause of the horrible backwardness and poverty of the Portuguese people.

The youth and people of Portugal are against this disgraceful war, as can be clearly seen from numerous actions of young people against the military draft and war, from demonstrations of the masses against the colonialist and fascist policy of the government and actions directly aimed against the colonialist military apparatus, as well as from the ever more determined stand taken by diverse sections of the anti-fascist and democratic movement.

The CC PCP considers that it is necessary to *intensify the most diverse forms of struggle against the colonial war*.

## **UNITED ACTION WITHIN A BROAD FRONT OF STRUGGLE**

The winning of democratic freedoms and ending the colonial war—these are the first big steps to open the way for Portugal to democracy, independence, social progress and socialism. Fascist policy must be rebuffed, organization and unity consolidated and a resolute struggle must be waged everywhere—at factories and on farmlands, at places of work, in schools, the army, mass organizations, in all spheres of national life.

The CC PCP calls on the popular masses and all anti-fascist forces to act jointly in the struggle.

- for higher wages and against high cost of living!
- against all and sundry repressions!
- for basic freedoms!
- against the colonial war, for an immediate end to it!
- against foreign imperialism and for genuine national independence!

*Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party.*  
May, 1972.

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## **DECISIONS AND STATEMENTS**

# **UNITE AND ORGANIZE THE WORKING CLASS TO ISOLATE AND DEFEAT THE DICTATORSHIP**

### **1. THE DICTATORSHIP'S ANTI-LABOR POLICY**

Last March the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party stated: "The government extols the results of the country's economic development, presenting them as being consonant with the interests of the entire nation and as a great gain of the 'revolution' of 1964. In fact, this development serves the interests of a negligible minority, mainly the interests of foreign and national monopolies and big landowners. The economic growth has been achieved through the intensified exploitation of the working class and masses."

The facts have borne out this appraisal. Some people have amassed fabulous fortunes and live in luxury, while the masses of people experience great difficulties, suffer from wage cuts, lack of employment and unemployment and oppression. Millions of people are starving. But one arrives at the most gloomy conclusions when comparing the economic "successes" and economic "miracle" of the dictatorship (so much lauded by Nixon) with the actual conditions of the people. Since 1964 real wages have dropped 45 per cent, 62 per cent of working people earn less than 200 cruzeiros a month, only 1.3 per cent of working people receive a wage exceeding 1,000 cruzeiros. The dictatorship's policy on wages has robbed the working people of 70.4 billion cruzeiros.

The dictatorship's financial and economic policy compromises progress attained in the country and falls into deeper dependence on foreign capital, U.S. capital in particular. The benefits and guarantees for foreign investments are a deadly blow to the middle and small national enterprises. Safeguarding the interests of estate-owners, the government has abandoned all plans of agrarian reform and confines itself to land settlement measures in the development areas.

Thus, the dictatorship is pursuing a policy in the interests of the big bourgeoisie, big landowners and foreign monopolies. It is directed against the working class, the peasants, the intelligentsia, the middle urban strata, the small and middle employers. This is

why the dictatorship is compelled to fall back on terror against the working class and people, which has no parallel in our history.

## **2. WORKING PEOPLE PUT UP RESISTANCE**

The working people do not agree with the policy of exploitation and oppression pursued by the dictatorship and give it rebuff. They come out against the financial-economic policy, especially on wages. In recent years there have been numerous strikes, with some sections of working people, e.g., the metallurgists, showing a tendency to go over to higher forms of struggle. Partial strikes over pay arrears were called by textile workers and other categories.

Actions were taken against the violation of the decree on stability,\* against interference in trade union affairs and harassing of worker activists. Different actions were taken in the countryside, especially by agricultural laborers and *posseiros*.\*\* The trade union movement is growing. The unitarian leadership of a number of trade unions adheres to a correct line of action. The number of trade union publications is increasing.

The resolutions passed by trade union congresses and meetings, in particular by the National Confederation of Industrial Workers in Brazilia and the National Confederation of Credit Office Employees in Porto-Alegre, constitute the starting point for workers' unity at a higher level in the struggle to defend the political and economic interests.

Sine 1968, despite the operation of the Constitutional Act No. 5, the number of trade union meetings is growing. These meetings and their decisions are of great political importance, because they call to struggle for democracy, against the actions of imperialism.

## **3. TACTICS OF THE PARTY IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT**

The Party's tactics in the trade union movement is elaborated in the resolution of the Sixth Congress, which is the guideline of Communist activity. Let us examine the most topical issues in the light of the recent lessons of the working-class struggle.

Our basic work in the trade union movement is to organize and develop united action at the places of work in the trade unions and other workers' organizations to defend the immediate political and economic interests of the working class and to fight for the defeat of the dictatorship. The main thing is to spare no efforts to achieve trade union unity from top to bottom, first of all at enter-

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\*It stipulates that persons who have worked at the given enterprise for ten years or more cannot be discharged.—Ed.

\*\*The peasants occupying "no man's" land and farming it.—Ed.

prises, and also in the trade unions and union leadership, for trade union organizations are the frontline of legal work among the masses. It is noteworthy that more and more workers are adopting positions of unity. There is growing realization among the more active workers that without unity it is impossible to win victory in the defense of the interests of the working class. This trend towards unity is expressed in the demands formulated at trade union congresses. It is our duty therefore to make use of the resolutions of the trade union congresses and meetings in our work and help working people in organizing the struggle to carry these demands into effect.

It is necessary to step up the fight of the unions of agricultural laborers and peasants. Many agricultural unions have been reorganized after 1964 and their representatives held a number of congresses. The National Confederation of Agricultural Workers drew up a Charter of Demands, which opens up the prospect of unity in the trade unions and at places of work. Our duty is to develop the trade union struggle in the countryside and the movement for worker-peasant unity. The labor movement must realize this and give every support to the present struggles.

More importance should be given to the trade union movement of salary earners from among the urban middle strata. The development of capitalism leads to the growth of those strata which are close to the proletariat and can join in common actions against the dictatorship, in defense of the common interests of our people.

It is important to achieve united action with other trends and groups of the trade union movement coming out in defense of the working people's interests. Prominent among them are the bishops, priests and lay Catholics taking the side of workers. The Communists must show initiative in reaching agreements on joint action with these trends and groups at enterprises and in the unions when forming commissions at places of work, electing trade union leaders and preparing and unfolding actions and demonstrations. We should never forget in the process that we have our own tactics of mass struggle and that our aim is to unite and organize the working class, not only those who are conducting political work among the working people.

The struggle against the governmental wage policy accords with the vital interests of the working class and all wage-earners and has great political importance, for it is directed against the foundations of the dictatorship's financial-economic policy. We must therefore concentrate on organizing and intensifying this struggle. At the same time, extensive work must be conducted in the midst of working people to explain the financial-economic policy of the dictatorship and show that it serves the interests of none but a

privileged few and the imperialist groups. On the other hand, in fighting the dictatorship, we must follow tactics that would lead the masses to the struggle to compel the ruling circles to honor their promises contained in the various ostentatious "wonder projects." The demands to fulfil these promises may assume the form of legal actions and subsequently grow into concrete exposures of the dictatorship.

Within the trade union movement we must develop the struggle in defence of freedoms and against the crimes of the dictatorship. We must constantly explain that there is a direct link between the intensification of exploitation and the lack of freedoms, demonstrating the need to develop the struggle for democratic freedoms.

As for the forms of struggle employed in the trade union movement, we must proceed from the guidelines set by the Sixth Congress, constantly studying the concrete conditions, the level of consciousness and combat ability of the masses, when choosing this or that form of struggle. In many cases we have to employ the simplest forms, but we should also bear in mind higher forms, i.e., the proletariat's great weapon, the strike. The dictatorship has created great obstacles for the development of the strike struggle. We must therefore patiently and perseveringly orient the working people on the preparation of strike actions, showing that they cannot be launched unless the masses are prepared for them and warning against the opposite mistake of waiting until spontaneous strike actions take place. International experience teaches us that strikes are possible even under a fascist dictatorship. The trade union movement must use all legal opportunities despite the restrictions imposed by the dictatorial regime and develop towards winning and consolidating the rights of the toiling masses.

#### **4. THE PARTY AND WORKING PEOPLE**

"The Directives on Implementing the Political Line" indicate the general direction of Communist work among workers and the masses, establishing the following main elements:

"a) Our work must be concentrated on enterprises (that is, conducted directly inside enterprises and directed at them from the outside) with the aim of strengthening the organization and unity of working people, intensifying their struggle, laying a firm foundation for the trade union movement and unfolding the anti-dictatorial struggle. Special efforts must be made to step up the work of creating unity by forming and strengthening trade union commissions at places of work.

"b) Work in the trade union movement is the main means of

activating the workers' movement. Today this work must be directed at organizing the struggle for the principal demands advanced at the trade union congresses and meetings. We must concentrate on organizing and intensifying the struggle against the wage policy of the dictatorship so as to mobilize broad masses and achieve joint action of working people at all levels: at the enterprises, in the municipal districts, the states and on a nation-wide scale."

The Directives emphasize that Communists must help develop the work of agitation and propaganda by mass organizations. Of our work in the countryside the Directives say:

"The Party must consolidate the existing rural unions and organize new ones where there are none by fighting for the application of labor legislations and social insurance laws and their extension to the countryside, as well as for other demands, notably a radical agrarian reform. We must help towards convening local and national trade union congresses."

Carrying out these directives of the Central Committee, we must realize that the Communists' task is to work at the enterprises and in the trade union organizations of working people, showing constant concern for a correct formulation of vital demands, organization of struggle to achieve them, for the choice of correct forms of struggle, always remembering that it would be wrong to give the trade union movement recipes, standing outside or above it. Work inside the trade union movement is the main means of activating the workers' movement. We can influence the strengthening and further development of the trade union movement only if we proceed from the concrete conditions of its developments, only if we live its life, share its problems and participate in the trade union struggle. In this way we shall open up the prospects of struggle for supreme goals and give the working people an understanding of their political aims, including the winning of power by the working class.

Examining Communist work among working people, we realize that it is not confined to the execution of trade union tasks. To carry forward the struggle of the working class, we must radically improve our work also in other sectors:

a) In the sphere of ideological struggle, we must systematically rebuff fallacious theses, e.g., the call for withdrawal from the unions, which impede the development of mass struggles. Along with this we must extend ideological struggle with bourgeois conceptions of the role of the proletariat, of capitalism, etc., in order to involve the workers in the struggle for socialism and win them over for proletarian internationalism. The Communists must conduct this work chiefly at places of work and residence (by organ-

izing discussions, courses, talks, in pamphlets, articles, etc.);

b) In the sphere of political struggle, we must extend our work to explain the essence of the existing regime on the basis of political exposures, directly linking them with the most pressing problems of the working people. Acting in line with the concrete conditions and the tasks on the order of the day, we must mobilize the working people for political actions, for demonstrations against the dictatorship;

c) In the sphere of Party building and consolidation of the Party, the achievement of the tasks of building up and consolidating Party branches at enterprises, primarily the big ones, is decisive for the further development of the struggle of the working class and people of Brazil. Thus, we must do everything to carry out the plan of setting up Party committees at enterprises.

March, 1972.

*Executive Commission of the  
Central Committee,  
Brazilian Communist Party.*

## STATEMENT OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY ON PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

Last October the leadership of the Arab Socialist Baath Party came forward with a draft Charter of National Action, which was positively appraised by our Party as "providing sound foundations for general national cooperation." Making this appraisal in the statement of the Politbureau on October 27, 1971, the Iraqi Communist Party proceeded from the view that the Charter has an anti-imperialist orientation: the document stresses the importance of continuing the course of strengthening cooperation with the socialist countries and proclaims full and resolute association of Iraq with the camp of peoples fighting against imperialism, advances a program of progressive socio-economic changes, rejects in principle the capitalist path of development and states that the statement of March 11, 1970 is a firm basis for securing the national rights and aspirations of the Kurdish people, including the right to autonomy. Besides, the draft of the Charter contains important elements confirming the importance of joint action and unity of different contingents of the revolutionary movement. This unity must be achieved through intensifying the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, enabling the masses to wage their struggle in conditions of revolutionary democracy and making it possible to eliminate manifestations of terror against the people, their political organizations, trade unions, cultural organi-

zations in general and patriotic political parties of the masses, in particular.

For its part, our Party called for a new stage of cooperation and positive relations, hoping to put a decisive end to terror both against the Communist Party itself and other patriotic forces and confirming those sections of the Charter which speak of the need to provide sufficient guarantees of democratic freedoms for the people, progressive patriotic forces, including the freedom of political parties and public organizations, professional and trade union organizations, freedom of the press and views, freedom of conscience and other fundamental freedoms, as well as formation of legislative bodies and drafting of a permanent constitution and the earliest termination of the transitional period. Our Party also proposed a direct dialogue between the patriotic political parties and organizations to reach accord on the problems under discussion.

The period concluding with the proclamation of the draft Charter witnessed a number of positive phenomena, which may be viewed as landmarks of a definite stable course:

—Measures have been taken to stop repressions against our Party, a positive dialogue is conducted between our Party and Baath, on the one hand, and the Baath and Democratic Party of Kurdistan, on the other. The aim of these talks is to work out the Charter in formulations that would be mutually acceptable and would at the same time reflect the differences of views of the national forces to which the appeal for cooperation is addressed.

—Our Party has already entered into relations of positive cooperation with the Arab Socialist Baath Party, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan and other patriotic forces in the trade union, professional and public organizations.

—The government of Iraq has shown initiative in easing tensions in the relations between Iraq and the Arab Republic of Egypt and also the Syrian Arab Republic; the Baath leadership is seeking meetings with representatives of a number of national forces in Iraq. These are acts aimed at strengthening the internal front in Iraq and the general Arab front directed against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, which will help to direct the energy of the Arab countries towards fighting the Israeli aggression and to undo the plans of imperialism, reaction and Zionism aimed at keeping the Arab countries disunited and maintaining tension in the relations between them.

—The government of Iraq and the leadership of the Baath Party are applying considerable efforts to consolidate relations with the socialist camp as a whole and the Soviet Union in particular. In this connection an Iraqi party and government delegation headed by Saddam Hussein visited the Soviet Union and a Soviet party and

government delegation led by Comrade Kosygin visited Iraq. An important considerable shift has been achieved in the relations between our countries and peoples through the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation on April 9, 1972.

—In North Rumeila the oilfields developed with the help of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic have been ceremoniously inaugurated and foundations laid for the second stage of oil development in North Rumeila.

—The leadership of the Arab Socialist Baath Party offered our Party to occupy two seats in the government; work is drawing to completion to draft the Charter whose formulations will make it possible to use this document as a basis for establishing a progressive national front.

The Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, having studied the proposals of the Baath Party, decided to adopt a positive decision on this question, considering that such a position will make it possible to achieve success in drafting the Charter in final formulations acceptable to all participating sides and establishing a progressive national front. Taking a positive stand on this question, our Party, apart from the above factors, took into consideration also the fact that there has been accord between the Baath Party and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan as from March 11, 1970. Our Party hopes that its participation in the government would have a positive effect on achieving national unity and consolidating national rights won by the Kurdish people and would accelerate the fulfilment of the other clauses of the March 11 statement related to Kurdistan's autonomy.

Our Party stated to the leadership of the Baath Party that to heighten the effectiveness and usefulness of its participation it proposes to form anew the Council of Ministers, which should be vested with sufficient powers to conduct the affairs of state, for which the clauses of the Constitution related to this question should be amended. Besides, we demanded the right for our Party to publish a daily political newspaper, freely expressing in it the views and position of our Party. The proposals of our Party have been accepted by the leadership of the aBath Party and carried into effect.

Taking a positive stand on this question, our Party realizes very well that our patriotic and revolutionary movement as a whole and all its progressive patriotic parties and organizations are faced with enormous tasks whose earliest solution for the benefit of the people requires great efforts. These tasks are, first of all:

To establish a broader democracy resting on constitutional institutions, to realize the still unfulfilled clauses of the March 11, 1970 statement, solve the pressing problems of the population, free the oil riches of our country from the domination of foreign monopolies,

establish a national developed industry, take a more active part in the Arab people's struggle against imperialism and Zionism to liberate the occupied Arab territories and frustrate the conspiracies of imperialism and reaction against our people and other peoples of the world, defend peace throughout the world.

Our Party holds that participation in the government is still another form of cooperation which it is already implementing in relation to other progressive parties for the purpose of finding positive solutions to the political, economic and social problems confronting our country, and in this new sphere, as always and everywhere, our Party is acting in the name of a better life for workers and peasants, all physical and mental workers.

The imperialists and reactionaries are doing their worst to frustrate the efforts for rapprochement and cooperation between the patriotic parties of our country. They pursue the same line towards other Arab and newly free countries. To evoke contradictions and bring about divisions among progressive parties and forces in these countries, is their main goal in blocking the progress of those countries.

The aim of our participation in the government is to contribute to foiling the imperialists' attempts to maintain divisions in the ranks of the national forces. We also want to strengthen the position of Iraq in the world democratic movement and to consolidate the ties with the forces acting in support of our people and their progress both in the Arab world and internationally.

There can be no doubt that the imperialists, Zionists and reactionaries will evince no special joy over this and will attempt to organize conspiracies against national cooperation. This requires of all national parties and organizations maximum vigilance and readiness to repel the designs of imperialism and foil its plans.

Our Iraqi Communist Party, which highly appreciates the importance of national cooperation among patriotic and progressive parties, solemnly calls on the popular masses, patriotic parties and the patriotic government to do all they can to strengthen national cooperation and develop it in its consummate form of a progressive national front to the establishment of which we all aspire.

Long live our great nation!

May the unity of progressive national forces grow stronger!

*Politbureau of the Iraqi Communist Party.  
Baghdad, May 15, 1972.*

## STATEMENT OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE IRAQ PETROLEUM COMPANY

The national government has announced the nationalization of the IPC undertakings, thereby expressing the will of the people to liberate the main natural wealth of our country, that has been in the hands of the international oil monopolies for more than 40 years.

Ever since they got their concessions in Iraq, the international oil monopolies did not confine themselves to plundering the vast oil riches of our country in the most barbarous way, but sought to degrade our people, doom it to unrelieved poverty and misfortune. The oil companies flouted the national sovereignty of our country and their stooges disposed of the national wealth at will.

And when our country threw off the domination of the stooges of imperialism and oil companies as a result of the glorious revolution of July 14, 1958, the imperialist oil monopolies tried to retard our independent national development and whittle down the true content of the political independence of our country. They refused to recognize our right to exercise full sovereignty over the entire territory of the country and all oil riches of Iraq. They even refused to grant us what other oil-producing countries of our region have already obtained.

For more than ten years now the imperialist oil monopolies have been questioning the legality of Decree No. 80 of 1961, which restitutes 99.5 per cent of the oil monopolies' concession territories to the Iraqi government. And now the day of our triumph has arrived when the law so important for our nation has been promulgated.

After the more than ten years of plotting, flouting of our rights and arbitrariness in the exploitation of our oil resources which ran counter to the interests of our country, the impossible and unjust demands put forward by the oil companies, their disregard for the rights of our people to their oil wealth, their flouting of our national sovereignty—all this left no other choice for our people but to nationalize the oil riches of our country. Our people have thus been forced to enter a struggle that is going on at present.

Our Iraqi Communist Party urges the masses to support the important move of the national government to nationalize the oil monopoly enterprises in Iraq. Our Party states its readiness to do all in its power on all fronts of the battle against the imperialist oil monopolies in order to assure the success of the historic decision taken by the revolutionary leadership council.

Our battle against the imperialist oil monopolies is going to be undoubtedly grim and difficult. The oil monopolies in Iraq and international oil monopolies will hardly allow Iraq to carry out national-

ization without a fight. The imperialists and reactionaries are using all their energy and possibilities for political and economic pressure on Iraq. They will also resort to all manner of conspiracies against our country to upset this historic move. And in the first place they will use their favorite device of disrupting the unity of the national ranks and provoking a conflict between national parties and forces. This requires of us further strengthening of the unity of national forces, cohesion of the parties of our people and their organizations, whether they are Arab, Kurdish or organizations of national minorities.

It is a general national struggle, the struggle of workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals, traders and industrialists, the struggle of all honest citizens who are fighting against imperialism, who love their country and want to see it free and independent.

It is not only the struggle of our Iraqi people, but also the struggle of all Arab peoples opposed to imperialism, Zionism and reaction, of all revolutionary forces of the world.

Our nation, a nation of fighters, who for more than 40 years have been suffering from oppression, tyranny and arbitrary practices of the oil companies, are prepared to wage this sacred fight relying on their national unity, the strength of their patriotic parties and organizations headed by the Arab Socialist Baath Party. The Iraqi Communist Party and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, relying on their revolutionary energy, on the sincere friends of our people abroad headed by the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp, relying on the support of the Arab peoples and their independent governments, on the support of all progressive forces of the world.

Addressing to the entire Iraqi people, to all who have long been fighting the oil monopolies, to those who have borne great sacrifices in this heroic struggle, to those who fought in Kurkuk, Basra and elsewhere, the Communist Party calls on all people to support the position of the national government in its struggle against the oil monopolies and do all in their power to win victory.

At the same time, the Iraqi Communist Party appeals to the national government, which has adopted this historic decision, to create favorable opportunities for all parties, national forces and progressive elements so that they could make their contribution and play a positive role in the struggle of our people against world imperialism and its monopolies and release the revolutionary creative energy of the masses that can work wonders.

Our people, free and united, is capable of defeating the oil monopolies and imperialism and achieve victory.

Long live our people, the hero people standing guard over its sovereignty!

Down with the imperialist oil monopolies!

Baghdad, June 1, 1972.

*Iraqi Communist Party.*

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## **MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL MEETINGS**

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### **COMMUNIQUE OF THE EIGHTH CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF CENTRAL AMERICA, MEXICO AND PANAMA**

#### **I.**

Mexico, the countries of Central America and Panama are going through a new stage of struggle and sharp clashes with the forces of Yankee imperialism and local oligarchy. The peoples of the region are mobilizing for important anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and democratic actions whose victorious outcome will pave the way for these peoples towards genuine progress, independence and democracy, the way of building socialism in our countries.

The actions of U.S. imperialist agents combining espionage and terror, the brutal repressions launched by governments personifying backwardness, dependence or alliance with U.S. monopoly capital, have failed to liquidate the movement of workers, peasants, students and revolutionary intellectuals in our countries.

Working underground or in semi-legality, in prisons or in areas where an armed struggle is waged in response to the attacks of political obscurantism, Marxists-Leninists have directed all their efforts towards achieving militant unity of democrats, anti-imperialists and those for whom socialism is their aspiration and goal.

In the present conditions of the movement and considering its prospects, the results of the work done so far can be summed up in the following way: 1) joint action by national political forces for democratic programs, against repression and for the isolation and defeat of despotic camarillas; 2) impulse stimulating mass participation and organization, especially of the working class, in the struggle to solve cardinal problems of economic and political development; 3) the determination to fight against various manoeuvres of the ruling classes and especially for the elaboration and application of class policy within the framework of the social forces opposed to reaction, against dependence and backwardness so as to facilitate their advance to the goal of revolutionary transformation of society.

Despite the difficult conditions in which the process is developing in our countries, we Communists of Central America, Mexico and

Panama, having exchanged information and views, are full of optimism and resolve as we fight for the prospects opening before us. The traditional political forces, representing landowners, usurer capital or agents of monopoly capital and bourgeois reformism, are incapable of solving the socio-economic crisis in our countries. They are part of the mechanism of imperialist exploitation and are involved in the worst types of oppression in our region.

Only the forces representing the working class, peasants, students and revolutionary intelligentsia can undertake to solve the great task of altering the crisis-hit, obsolete socio-economic relations hated by the people. They are joined by new forces—representatives of progressive clergy and Catholics with progressive views and, in places, by certain bourgeois groups that are coming out against imperialism and breaking with the oligarchy.

Among these forces which on the whole are denied the opportunity to express their political convictions and whose activity is persecuted, a place of growing prominence is occupied by the Communist and Workers' parties of the region, the organizations they lead and the circles they head. In the now emergent situation, the democratic spirit and consistency of the forces participating in the struggle are determined by their attitude towards a serious and responsible alliance with the Communists, by their gradually overcoming old prejudices begot by the propaganda of imperialism and the oligarchy.

## II.

Despite the obvious social crisis in our countries, there are numerous factors giving imperialism and the local oligarchies the opportunity to resist the advance of our peoples. They are the socio-economic backwardness, which is the result of the age-long oppression and 100 years' imperialist exploitation, with the monopolies maintaining primitive forms of labor and production; the habitual dispersal, spontaneity and corruption intrinsic to social and political life and introduced during the years of colonial domination and capitalist exploitation, and primarily, the irresponsible severity of military camarillas predominating in the leadership of the majority of governments.

A glaring example of this riot of repressions is provided today by Guatemala: two governments, one civic and the other military, in a short six years committed 10,000 murders: 4 murders a day! Brutal destruction of political and public leaders and revolutionaries is continuing. In Salvador, the predominant group of the military, in the face of obvious defeat at the polls, unleashed terror to stay in power.

Alongside the truly proletarian organizations expressing the

trend towards the unity of workers in the struggle for their economic and political demands, there appear organizations created by imperialism with the help of its agents and local rulers. Falsification of workers' organizations assumes its fullest and most consummate form in Mexico where the state interferes in the affairs of the trade unions and the bourgeoisie has established its control over them.

To contain the obvious upsurge of the democratic revolutionary movement, imperialism and the bourgeois-landowner oligarchies brutally suppress and persecute Communists in most of our countries and try to split the popular protest movements participating in the political struggle. Direct agents of the North American monopolies, linked with their repressive apparatus, such as Somoza, lead in this interference to check and distort progressive changes in Panama, which are in effect the result of the struggle of the masses over decades and which are today supported by them. They seek to disrupt such manifestations of national sovereignty as the establishment of diplomatic, trades and cultural relations between Costa Rica and the Soviet Union, to subvert any resistance to U.S. plans aimed at keeping Central America and the entire region as a Yankee preserve, as a base of aggression against revolutionary Cuba and to maintain the domination of the most reactionary oligarchies.

The cornerstone of these plans is the military-political integration of the Central American countries already under way; Nicaraguan military planes and officers took part in the barbarous hunting down of Guatemalan guerrillas; the gorilla regimes of Nicaragua and Salvador are uniting to break the resistance of the Costa Rican people against the integration plans; military command is being unified in the Central American Defence Council and the police apparatus in the Central American Security Council; joint plans are being laid for carrying out repressions and an offensive on the democratic, revolutionary forces.

There is not a single Communist Party operating legally in Central America. In these countries there are laws, constitutional provisions or unlawful regulations banning or penalizing the activity of Marxist-Leninist political organizations. Even when the Communists operate more freely, their parties are denied democratic rights. What we have here is a clearly expressed class position of the bourgeoisie, and this is an obstacle for broad mass actions by Marxist-Leninists. The demand of loyalty for the Communist and Workers' parties is an integral part of the struggle for the overthrow of the oligarchies, for democratic rights, for democracy and progress in our countries.

### III.

The inspiring prospects opened up by the struggle of our peoples impose greater responsibility on the Communist and Workers' parties of Central America, Mexico and Panama. It is incumbent on Party members taking part in working-class actions to search for new forms of organization that would enable the proletariat to score new successes and avoid repressions by the oligarchy.

Fighting against any sectarianism that limits joint action by the anti-oligarchic, anti-imperialist and democratic forces, rebuffing all forms of opportunism that prevent the proletariat from stating its positions — these are the means of assuring the present development of the revolutionary movement.

Strengthening the bonds between all anti-capitalist, popular forces active on the political scene today, surmounting the obstacles to joint action and closer organizational cooperation — these are the tasks that are being solved by our parties today. This contributes to the radicalization of the movement, helping it to be consistent, avoid vacillation and overcome tendencies towards compromises with the ruling classes and imperialism.

At the same time, the Communist and Workers' parties of the region show concern for the advancement of this movement, for its development into an important forces enjoying political influence and strong organizationally. This calls for intensive work to assure internal formation, to enhance ideological education, define and elaborate a political line consonant with our reality and permeated with a revolutionary spirit. It is the direct duty of our parties in their mutual relations as inseparable components of the great social force fighting for socialism in our time, to search for the most effective forms of combining measures of solidarity and mutual assistance that are on the order of the day in the present struggle.

Knowledge of the general problems makes for a timely and correct manifestation of solidarity, helps to choose appropriate forms of general support for the actions of our revolutionary movements, and this strengthens and makes more perfect the activity of each Communist Party in its country. On the international scale, this solidarity helps thwart imperialist manoeuvres directed against our peoples and today it helps us in combating the plans for the military-political integration of Central America, which pose a serious threat for the peoples of Mexico and Panama whose frontiers are imperilled by the most reactionary, pro-imperialist forces.

The Mexican Communist Party, the Guatemalan Party of Labor, the Communist Party of Salvador, the Communist Party

of Honduras, the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica and the People's Party of Panama, taking part in the Eighth Conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Mexico, Central American and Panama, state that these meetings are very useful for their development and fulfilment by them of their political tasks. They declare their intention to continue to meet, striving each time to assure still better results. Central America.

May 1972.

## RESOLUTION OF THE EIGHTH CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF CENTRAL AMERICA, PANAMA AND MEXICO

The problems of Central American integration have always been the object of concern and study for the Communist and Workers' parties of Central America, Panama and Mexico.

From the very beginning, the Marxist-Leninist parties of all countries of this region exposed its reactionary essence, showing that it was a question of accelerated penetration of Yankee imperialism encouraged by new guarantees and bigger profits. The developments have fully confirmed all the conclusions and statements made by our Parties both individually and jointly, and above all the resolutions passed by the Fourth Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Central America, Panama and Mexico.

In recent years, within the framework of the common market imperialist penetration has been extremely accelerated and economic control has grown. The greatest benefits from imperialist penetration accrue to the USA, though of late this penetration involves not only the developed countries of Europe and Asia, but also the Mexican monopoly bourgeoisie closely linked with the Yankee imperialist interests.

The integration, which is essentially imperialist in content, and the limited common market of the capitalist type by no means could eliminate the unevenness in the development of the productive forces of different Central American countries. On the contrary, this unevenness of development has been only accentuated.

This has already revealed inter-state disagreements and brought about various conflicts flowing from the basic content of the Central American economic integration, as well as attempts to

achieve a military-political integration under the aegis of the bourgeois-landowner oligarchies and their military apparatus directed by the agents of Yankee imperialism.

The process of the Central American economic integration, which has resulted only in the establishment of a free trade zone and common tariffs on imports to countries outside the zone, far from promoting an independent economic development of our countries, has made still more critical the economic conditions of the Central American population: unemployment has grown, the cost of living has gone up substantially, the real wages are steadily declining, while the outlook for the future is still more gloomy.

The bourgeois economic integration of Central America has been limited by its objective framework. An attempt has been made to extend the common market through customs agreements, but this has in effect paralyzed the market and is at the root of the present crisis.

In the face of the imperialist economic integration which is effected under the influence and direction of North American imperialism and which benefits, not the working mass of town and country, but certain groups of the local bourgeoisie and imperialism, the Communist and Workers' parties once again state that it is neo-colonialist and exploitative in relation to our peoples and call on the masses to fight for an independent economic development of Central America, which necessitates unity of our peoples freed from subjection to U.S. imperialism and the bourgeois-landowner oligarchies.

The Communist and Workers' parties of Central America, Panama and Mexico have always advocated the just thesis that mutual understanding and fraternal solidarity of the peoples of Central America are historically imperative not only due to common geography, culture and language, but also due to the reasons bound up with the economic development of the region. But we oppose and fight against the association which is imposed on us and is based on imperialist penetration and exploitation, consolidation of the oligarchic domination, support for the anti-democratic, exploitive regimes, association on the pattern of the present Central American integration.

The general process of Central American integration has entered a new phase, when prominence is given to questions related to a military-political integration that accords with the interests and politico-strategic considerations of U.S. imperialism. The imperialists and local ruling circles seem to hope that the military-political integration will, in turn, become a decisive factor in overcoming the difficulties with which the Central American market was confronted

and which they have failed to resolve, despite the numerous attempts at "normalization."

In view of the new stage of imperialist machinations directed not only against the Central American peoples, but also against the peoples of the Caribbean, notably, the Cuban revolution, and aimed at turning Central America into a base for the realization of the sinister imperialist plans, the Communist and Workers' parties of Central America, Panama and Mexico call for redoubled efforts to achieve the following immediate objectives:

a) Elimination of the disadvantageous system of lifting financial impositions on the scale of Central America;

b) Liquidation of the San Jose Protocol, which increases the cost of living and pursues the only aim of granting still greater benefits to Yankee companies operating in Central America;

c) More effective coordination of the movement of working people, and popular organizations for their economic, social and political demands, mainly on wages and living and working conditions;

d) Extension of the struggle to foil the imperialist integration plans directed against our peoples and, specifically, the plans of military-political integration drawn up with the purpose of stifling the liberation movement and bolstering up economic and political domination on the Isthmus.

But a comprehensive alternative to the Central American economic integration of the capitalist type is a deep-going change of the existing economic structures, which is possible only through a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution that will open the way to socialism and establish a people's democratic power; only this power is capable of effecting: a) a radical agrarian reform; b) nationalization of the imperialist-controlled enterprises; c) genuine economic integration that would contribute to the independent development of our countries.

We Communists are working to build up the forces of the masses that would bring about this new power representing the working class, peasantry, revolutionary intelligentsia and other strata of the people, and call on all democratic, Left revolutionary forces to concentrate their efforts on accomplishing this great task of liberation.

## **SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM**

### **TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY OF VIETNAM. HANOI**

The Eighth Conference of the Communist Parties of Central America, Mexico and Panama decided to step up the protest and struggle of their peoples against the aggressive measures against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam announced by the Nixon administration as a revenge for the blows dealt to imperialism in the victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people. These measures are an open aggression against the socialist countries and the peoples fighting for national liberation and defending their sovereignty.

*Mexican Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labor,  
Communist Party of Salvador, Communist Party of Honduras,  
Nicaraguan Socialist Party, People's Vanguard Party of  
Costa Rica, People's Party of Panama.*

### **TO THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM**

The representatives of the Communist parties of Central America, Mexico and Panama, gathered at the Eighth Conference, declare their firm solidarity with you in face of the unprecedented aggressive acts of North American imperialism. We promise to develop actions by our peoples against the blockade, intensification of bombings and acts aimed against all socialist countries and the peoples battling for their liberation. We greet the big victories of the Vietnamese people and declare our firm resolve to support your just cause.

*Mexican Communist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labor,  
Communist Party of Salvador, Communist Party of Honduras,  
Nicaraguan Socialist Party, People's Vanguard Party of  
Costa Rica, People's Party of Panama.*

## **MEETING AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

On June 5, a meeting took place at the CPSU Central Committee with a Lebanese Communist Party delegation including General Secretary Nicolas Chaoui and CC LCP Politbureau members and CC Secretaries Nadim Abdel Samad and Khalil Debis.

From the Soviet side, the participants in the meeting included B. N. Ponomaryov, Alternate Member of the Politbureau of the

CPSU Central Committee and CC CPSU Secretary; G. F. Sizov, Chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, and R. A. Ulyanovsky, Deputy Head of the CC CPSU International Department.

During the warm and comradely talks the Soviet side described the Soviet people's selfless labor in realizing the program of communist up-building drawn up by the 24th CPSU Congress, and the Party's foreign policy activity in carrying out the Peace Program. The CPSU representatives stressed the Soviet Union's unchanging stand in support of the Indochinese peoples' struggle against aggression and the Arab peoples' struggle to do away with the consequences of the Israeli aggression and establish a just and stable peace in the Middle East.

The Lebanese comrades spoke highly of the achievements and successes of the CPSU and Soviet people in building communism and implementing the Leninist peaceful foreign policy. The Lebanese Communist Party, they said, hails the outcome of the recent Soviet-American talks, viewing them as an important achievement of the CPSU's foreign policy course, having great significance for improving the international situation, restraining imperialism's aggressive intentions and resolving still unsettled international problems, including the problem of the Middle East.

The LCP representatives spoke of the activities of Lebanese Communists who, fulfilling the decisions of the Party's III Congress and in close cooperation with the country's national progressive forces, are waging an unceasing struggle for the Lebanese people's democratic and social rights, to consolidate Lebanon's independence and sovereignty in the conditions of constant intrigues by imperialism and reaction and systematic Israeli provocations. The LCP representatives also described their Party's efforts for united action and consolidation of the progressive, anti-imperialist forces of the Arab peoples.

The Soviet comrades commended the patriotic activities of the fraternal Lebanese Communist Party as an important national force of the country, and noted the LCP's contribution to uniting Lebanon's national-democratic forces, to the Arab peoples' anti-imperialist struggle.

The representatives of the CPSU and LCP stressed that in the conditions of continuing Israeli aggression and intrigues against the Arab countries by imperialist circles, including the oil monopolies, united action of the anti-imperialist forces of the Arab peoples, including the Arab people of Palestine, and solidarity with the forces of world socialism and other progressive peace-

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\*Pravda, June 7, 1972.

loving forces of the world are becoming ever more important. The necessity was pointed out to continue the active struggle to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression through full realization of the Security Council resolution.

The CPSU and LCP representatives confirmed the invariable desire of their parties to promote further development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Lebanon and the peoples of both countries and to carry forward and strengthen fraternal friendship between the CPSU and the LCP.

## JOINT SOVIET-YUGOSLAV COMMUNIQUE

Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, stayed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on an official friendly visit from June 5 to 10, 1972, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Josip Broz Tito and the Yugoslav Government and Party leaders who arrived together with him, familiarized themselves with the life and work of the Soviet people, with their accomplishments in the upbuilding of communism. During their stay in the USSR, they visited the State Bearing Plant No. 1 in Moscow, where a heartfelt meeting took place with the personnel of the enterprise. Comrade Josip Broz Tito, together with the officials accompanying him, journeyed to Riga, the capital of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Yugoslav comrades were everywhere accorded a warm, friendly reception by the Soviet working people.

Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, was presented the Order of Lenin, which he was awarded by a Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Talks were held during the visit. Taking part in the talks were: on the Soviet side — L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; N. V. Podgorny, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; A. N. Kosygin, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; A. P. Kirilenko, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

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\**Pravda*, June 11, 1972.

the Soviet Union and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; N. K. Baibakov, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; V. N. Novikov, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; A. A. Gromyko, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; V. V. Kuznetsov, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; K. V. Rusakov, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Assistant to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; N. N. Rodionov, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and V. I. Stepanov, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Ambassador of the USSR to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

on the Yugoslav side—Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; Stane Dolanc, Secretary of the Executive Bureau of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; Veljko Vlahovic, Member of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and Member of the Council of the Federation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Dragi Stamenkovic, Member of the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Jakov Sirotkovic, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Mirko Tepavac, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; Milorad Pesic, Ambassador of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the USSR; Marko Vrhunec, Chief of the Cabinet of the President of the Republic; Milos Melovski, Adviser to the President of the Republic on Foreign Political Affairs, and Djuro Vukolic, Department Head of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

During the talks, which were held in a heartfelt, frank and friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual respect and equality, there was an all-round exchange of views on the results of the strengthening cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and

between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, on the further possibilities of its development, and also on urgent international problems.

The two sides exchanged information on the internal development of both countries.

The Soviet leaders described the progress made in implementing the decisions of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the successes of the Soviet people in the building of communism, and preparations for the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In their turn, the Yugoslav leaders spoke about the achievements in the building of socialism in Yugoslavia, urgent issues of the further economic development of the country, and the activities of the Yugoslav Communists in carrying out the decisions of the Ninth Congress and Second Conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Noting the vitality of the principles of the Belgrade Declaration and the Moscow Statement, the sides stressed the importance of the Joint Soviet-Yugoslav Statement,\* adopted in Belgrade on September 25, 1971, during the visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which advanced a broad program for the development of all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The sides stated with satisfaction that the realization of the ideas and propositions in this statement is already yielding marked positive results.

The relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have become still more friendly. The importance was underlined of the fruitful personal meetings of Party, government and public leaders of both countries, the expansion of cooperation between the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Federal Assembly of the SFRY, and the deepening of contacts and cooperation on various levels. The sides noted the need of the further development and enrichment of all forms of this cooperation on the basis of jointly-elaborated working plans, which, unquestionably, will facilitate a better mutual acquaintanceship with the development and achievements of both socialist states and further exchange of experience in socialist and communist construction.

The sides regard as mutually useful the exchange of views and consultations between the Governments of the two countries on international problems, which helps achieve a better understanding

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\*See Information Bulletin, No. 20, 1971.

of the views and positions of each other, and facilitates successful Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation on the international scene.

The sides highly appraised the results achieved in the field of cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Guided by the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin, and creatively applying it in conformity with the specifics of their respective countries, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will continue to work in a spirit of internationalist traditions, friendship, mutual respect and equality, for a fruitful and all-round exchange of views and experience, for better mutual understanding and further expansion of cooperation.

The sides note with satisfaction the essential expansion of economic trade relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia on the basis of mutual benefit and equality. It was stated that conditions exist for the further development of cooperation in individual sectors of the economy, expansion of specialization and cooperation of production in machine-building and other fields, joint construction of industrial and other projects, development of cooperation in the fuel and power industries, as well as in production and reciprocal deliveries of raw materials in the interests of meeting more fully the requirements of the two countries. The sides attach great importance to the realization of the agreement on additional goods deliveries in 1972-1975, and also to the agreement reached on the possibilities and need of long-term cooperation. The importance was pointed out of the deepening of scientific and technical cooperation and of the more effective use of the achievements of both countries in science and technology. Pointing to the intensified development of economic ties, the sides noted the enhanced significance of the work of the intergovernmental Soviet-Yugoslav committee for economic cooperation.

Confidence was expressed that the implementation of the drawn-up measures for long-term economic cooperation will help considerably expand the economic ties which are a sound and integral part of Soviet-Yugoslav relations as a whole.

In the interests of the utmost consolidation of Soviet-Yugoslav friendship, the sides agreed on the expansion of contacts between the leaders of the two Parties, states and governments. It was recognized as useful to effect further steps in strengthening cooperation between public, scientific and cultural organizations, and developing direct friendly and business ties between the Republics, cities and enterprises of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Interest was expressed in the further expansion of tourism and mutual trips of citizens of both countries. It was agreed that it would be expedient

to take further steps to strengthen the legal foundation of relations of both states embracing spheres of mutual interest.

The sides discussed both the problems of cooperation of Communist and Workers' Parties and progressive movements, and the pressing problems of international relations. They confirmed the significance and importance of the provisions on these problems, formulated in the Joint Soviet-Yugoslav Statement adopted in September 1971.

Both sides pointed to the fundamental significance of the positive changes taking place on the European continent, which open up real prospects for establishing durable peace and good-neighborly relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states. The tendency to a normalization of the situation in Europe, which found its expression in the deepening of mutual understanding among European countries concerning security on the continent, as well as in the expansions of economic, cultural and other relations among them on the basis of full observance of the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs, and of the renunciation of the threat of forces or its use in any form, has been further stimulated due to the coming into force of the treaties signed by the USSR with the FRG and by Poland with the FRG, treaties which are founded on the European realities and formalize the inviolability of the European frontiers. The improvement of the European political climate is substantially promoted by the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin and by the agreements signed by the GDR with the FRG and with the West Berlin Senate. The sides consider that the interests of consolidating these favorable tendencies demand the normalization of relations between the GDR and the FRG on the basis of generally recognized standards of international law, the simultaneous admission of the GDR and the FRG to the United Nations Organization, which would promote its further consolidation as a universal body, as well as the settlement of outstanding issues between Czechoslovakia and the FRG and, first and foremost, the recognition of the invalidity of the Munich Agreement from the very outset.

The sides agreed that today there are all the prerequisites essential for the immediate preparation on a multilateral basis and convocation in the near future of an all-European conference of states on security and cooperation, so as to examine and solve these problems in the interests of all nations in Europe, their free development, and the cause of peace and progress.

The sides expressed their support of the peace-loving and constructive efforts of European public opinion, which have found expression in particular in the conclusions and ideas of the

Brussels Assembly of Public Forces for European Security and Cooperation, directed at solving the pressing problems on the European continent.

Taking into consideration the aspirations and expectations of European nations the sides expressed their confidence that the reduction of armed forces and armaments, as well as other measures in this field, would be an important component of the process of building up European security.

The sides paid special attention to the necessity of continuing an active struggle for the consistent implementation in international relations of the principle of peaceful coexistence of states regardless of their social systems, the renunciation of the use of force or threat of force, and a peaceful and constructive settlement of controversial issues. In this connection the sides pointed to the important role of the recent Soviet-American talks which resulted in agreements of major international significance. Special stress was laid on the significance of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms as important and concrete steps toward disarmament which was and remains the constant goal of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

The sides, proceeding from the recommendations of the 26th session of the UN General Assembly, support the convocation of a world conference on disarmament with the participation of all states and express their readiness to make efforts for its convocation and successful work.

The USSR and the SFRY express their readiness and resolve to work jointly with all peace-loving countries for the signing of international agreements in the sphere of disarmament and, first and foremost, for the prohibition of all types of mass annihilation weapons.

Coming out for the consolidation of international security, the Soviet and Yugoslav sides stressed that peace is indivisible and that it depends to an ever greater extent on the most extensive activity, interaction and constructive efforts of all the peace-loving and progressive forces of the world.

The USSR and Yugoslavia declare their invariable support for the heroic Vietnamese people, the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, waging a just struggle against U.S. aggression, for their freedom and independence. Both sides stand for the complete and unconditional cessation of bombings, as well as of other military actions aimed against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They consider that the immediate and complete withdrawal of American troops from Indochina as well as respect for the inalienable right

of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to shape their future freely without any foreign interference are essential for ending the war.

Both sides stand firmly for the satisfaction of the just demands of the Arab states fighting for the liquidation of the consequences of Israeli aggression and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. They consider that a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, which must be implemented on the basis of the consistent fulfilment of the November 22, 1967 UN Security Council resolution, and the December 13, 1971 UN General Assembly resolution, would promote the establishment of peace in this zone. This would likewise create the conditions for implementing measures for a detente throughout the region and in particular for turning the Mediterranean into a sea of peace and friendly cooperation. The USSR and Yugoslavia support the efforts and aspirations of the Arab nations aimed at the settlement of the crisis by peaceful means as well as their resolve to strengthen and consolidate their economic and military potential for the defense of their lawful rights and national interests.

The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia will consistently pursue a course of developing friendly relations, mutual understanding and cooperation with the peoples of all continents, who have thrown off the fetters of colonial oppression and are fighting against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for the consolidation of political and economic independence, for equal international cooperation, for the progressive road of social development.

The Soviet side supports the anti-imperialist line of the policy of the nonaligned countries and, in this connection, positively assesses its role in consolidating peace and international cooperation, in the struggle of peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism for independence and social progress.

The participants in the talks express their conviction that the visit to the Soviet Union of Josip Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia and Chairman of the LCY, and other Yugoslav leaders, the friendly exchange of views on questions of Soviet-Yugoslav relations and the international situation, the agreement reached on a number of practical questions of mutual interest, will promote further all-round development of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia, the cause of peace, progress and socialism.

Josip Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia and Chairman of the LCY, invited L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, N. V. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and N. A. Kosygin, Chairman of the

USSR Council of Ministers, to come on an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia. This invitation was accepted with gratitude.

## ALGERIA-USSR

### VISIT OF CPSU DELEGATION TO ALGERIA

A CPSU delegation headed by S. R. Rashidov, alternate member of the CC CPSU Politbureau and First Secretary of the CC, Communist Party of Uzbekistan, visited the Algerian People's Democratic Republic June 5-13, 1972 at the invitation of the National Liberation Front Party (NLF).

A joint Soviet-Algerian communique adopted at the close of the visit says that the CPSU delegation learned with interest of the Algerian people's efforts since the revolutionary renewal on June 19, 1965 in various spheres under the guidance of the NLF.

The Soviet Party delegation had high praise for the achievements in building up an Algerian industry. It visited a large metallurgical complex in el Hajar where together with the Algerian delegation and the local authorities they noted with satisfaction the tangible results of the friendly and effective Algerian-Soviet cooperation.

The CPSU delegation was everywhere accorded a warm and friendly welcome.

The delegation was received by Houari Boumedienne, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Chairman of the Council of Ministers the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, to whom it conveyed sincere and friendly greetings from Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, N. V. Podgorny and A. N. Kosygin.

Talks were held between the CPSU delegation and the NLF delegation headed by Ahmed Qaid, member of the Revolutionary Council in charge of the NLF Party apparatus.

The Soviet delegation, the communique says, explained the basic principles of the work of the CPSU and outlined Party experiences in building socialism in the USSR in accordance with the principles of scientific socialism. It informed the Algerian side of the efforts of Soviet Communists and all Soviet people in realizing the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, of the steps to carry out the Congress Program of Peace and strengthening international security, of struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The Soviet representatives spoke of the cooperation between the CPSU and the revolutionary-democratic parties in the emerging nations.

The NLF delegation reaffirmed the basic principles of the Algerian revolution under the guidance of the NLF in the struggle to consoli-

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\*Pravda, June 14, 1972.

date national independence and build a socialist society. It acquainted the guests with the activities of the NLF Party, its mass organizations and the Algerian people in fulfilling the four-year plan for economic and social development and in carrying out the industrial, agrarian and cultural revolution.

The NLF delegation stressed that the support and solidarity of the Algerian revolution for all just struggles in the world for national and social liberation is an important contribution to the consolidation of united action of the revolutionary forces opposing imperialism, Zionism and colonialism.

The NLF delegation, the communique continues, expressed its high appraisal of the USSR's achievements in building communism and in the struggle for world peace and security. The CPSU delegation had high praise for the Algerian people's considerable successes in the struggle to consolidate national independence, for economic liberation and against foreign monopolies.

The joint communique states that the negotiating sides expressed satisfaction with the relations of friendship and all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and Algeria, which are based on trust, respect for the principles of independence, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

Special attention was paid to relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the National Liberation Front Party.

The two delegations agreed to establish effective cooperation and promote contacts between the two parties.

Both sides state their determination to work together with all progressive and peaceful forces against imperialism in all forms, Zionism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for the freedom and independence of the peoples, for a relaxation of international tensions and a reliable and just peace the world over.

In exchanging views on the international situation, the two sides put on record the identity of the viewpoints of the CPSU and NLF on the key questions of the present international development and the anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples.

The two sides exchanged views on the situation in Europe, stressing the special importance of security in this area of the world for the maintenance of world peace.

Having discussed the situation in the Middle East, the communique says, both sides state their support of the Arab peoples, fighting for the return of their territories and elimination of the consequences of the June 1967 aggression.

The delegations voice their effective support for the just struggle of the Palestinian Arabs to restore their lawful and inalienable national rights.

Discussing the situation in Southeast Asia, both sides saluted the

just liberation struggle of the Indochinese patriots for national independence. The restoration of peace in this part of the world, says the communique, is possible only provided the American aggressor and satellite troops are withdrawn immediately and unconditionally and the constructive proposals of the DRV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam are accepted.

Both sides again reaffirm their effective solidarity with the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The Algerian delegation highly appraised the Soviet aid to the Vietnamese people's struggle against imperialist aggression, and the aid to the just struggle of the Arab and other peoples for national liberation and restoration of their lawful rights.

The Soviet side expressed a high opinion of Algerian support for the liberation movements in Africa, the Middle East and Asia and their just struggle for their rights.

In conclusion the communique notes that the CPSU delegation expressed its gratitude to the NLF Party and the Algerian people for their warm and hospitable reception and conveyed an invitation for a delegation of the NLF Party of Algeria to visit the Soviet Union, which was accepted with appreciation.

## VISIT TO DEMOCRATIC VIETNAM

From June 15-18, 1972, a Soviet delegation led by N. V. Podgorny, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau, Chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet of the USSR, was on a friendly unofficial visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The delegation included K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CC CPSU, and N. P. Firyubin, Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR. It was given a fraternal, cordial welcome by the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the Permanent Committee of the National Assembly and the government of the DRV.

During the stay in Hanoi N. V. Podgorny paid a visit to Ton Duc Thang, President of the DRV.

Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC WPPV, Truong Tinh, member of the CC WPPV Political Bureau and Chairman of the Permanent Committee, National Assembly of the DRV, Nguyen Duy Trinh, member of the CC WPPV Political Bureau and Deputy Premier of the DRV, Xuan Thuy, Secretary of the CC WPPV, Minister of the DRV government, and other Vietnamese leaders received the Soviet delegation and had friendly discussions with it.

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\*Pravda, June 20, 1972.

The Soviet and Vietnamese sides discussed steps to strengthen and carry forward the relations of friendship, solidarity in struggle and fraternal cooperation between the Soviet Union and the DRV and dealt with the situation created in Vietnam by U.S. imperialism's continuing armed intervention against the Vietnamese people and by the intensification of U.S. acts of aggression against the DRV, a socialist state.

On behalf of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet government, the Soviet delegation expressed fraternal solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government and the whole Soviet people render the Vietnamese people requisite assistance and support in their just struggle against imperialist aggression, for the freedom and independence of their country, and will continue to do so.

N. V. Podgorny conveyed to the CC WPPV, the DRV government and the whole Vietnamese people sincere wishes for further gains in repulsing the armed aggression of U.S. imperialism and in building socialism.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that the liberation forces led by the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam are inflicting telling reverses on the troops of the puppet regime of Saigon and the U.S. aggressors.

Both sides emphatically condemn the U.S. acts of aggression against the DRV, a sovereign socialist state, and insist that the United States immediately and unconditionally stop the bombing, shelling and mining of DRV ports, renounce its policy of "Vietnamization" in South Vietnam and resume constructive talks in Paris. The well-known program for political settlement advanced by the government of the DRV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (including seven points and three clarifications to them) is a constructive basis for the early settlement of the Vietnamese question in accordance with the national aspirations of the people of the country.

The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of frankness, friendship and comradeship.



July-August 1972

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