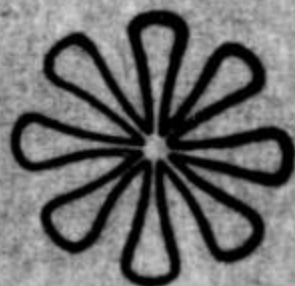


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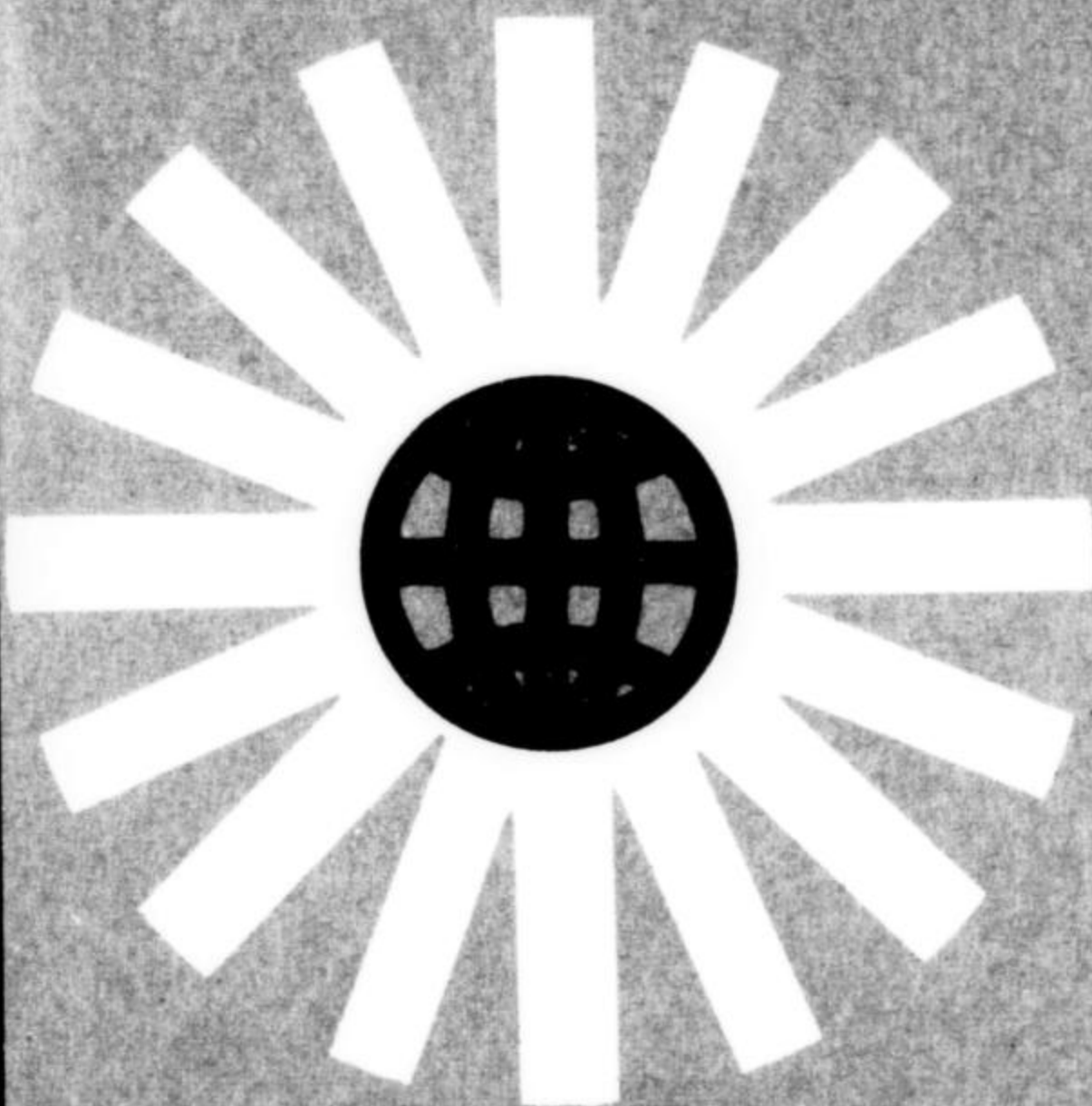
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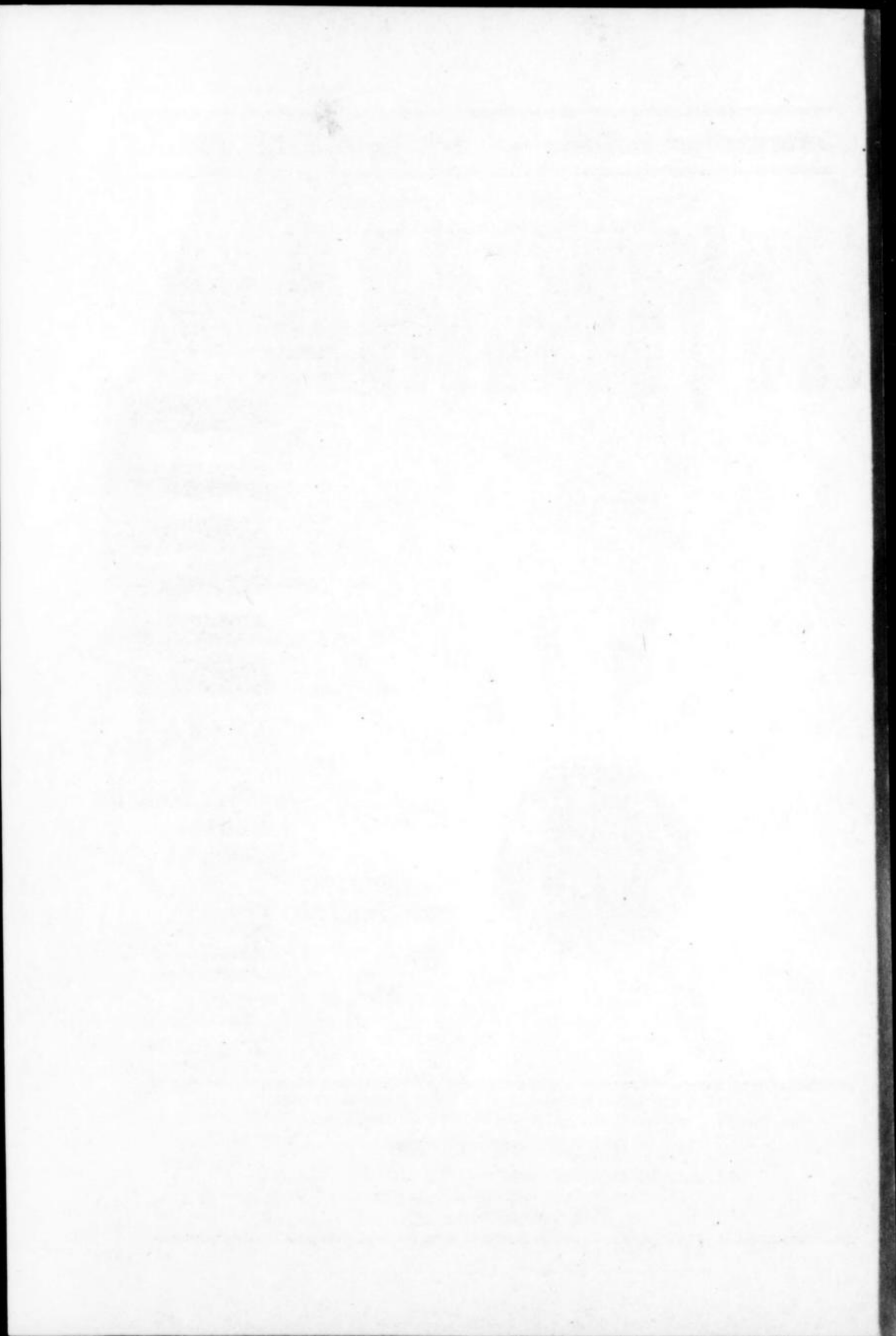
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**CP of FINLAND
16th CONGRESS**

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**ZIMBABWE
SAYS "NO"!**

8-9

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MAY THE NAME AND CAUSE OF LENIN LIVE FOREVER!

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING ON 102nd ANNIVERSARY OF LENIN'S BIRTH

The 22nd of April is a red-letter day in the revolutionary calendar. It is the day of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the man whose name and theory are associated with all victories of the Soviet people and the fraternal socialist countries, the growing solidarity of the international working class and the great changes in the world.

This year this momentous date was marked on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the USSR. And great credit goes to Lenin for its formation. Experience has confirmed the deep wisdom of the Leninist national policy, a policy of equality and friendship of peoples.

A commemorative meeting was held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow on April 21 to observe the 102nd anniversary of Lenin's birth.

The meeting was attended by 6,000 representatives of Party and other organizations, foreign diplomats and journalists. On the platform were CC CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev and other CPSU leaders, Party veterans, members of the Soviet Government.

V. V. Grishin, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and First Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, opened the meeting.

F. D. Kulakov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, delivered a report, "Leninism—Great Creative Force in Building Communism," which was followed with close interest and punctuated with applause.

LENINISM—GREAT CREATIVE FORCE IN BUILDING COMMUNISM*

Comrades,

The name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, his life, cause and teaching are inseparable from our revolutionary epoch. Under the Lenin banner the Soviet people are building communism, and under this banner magnificent transformations are carried out in the countries of the socialist community. Under the Lenin banner the interna-

**Pravda*, April 22, 1972.

tional Communist and working-class movement is gaining in scope and the liberation, anti-imperialist struggle is growing. Leninism illumines the path to the delivery of mankind from oppression and exploitation, the path of struggle for peace and social progress, for the victory of the communist ideals.

The Communists, all working people of our country, solemnly observe the 102nd anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin. This date is celebrated in all corners of the globe by millions upon millions of working people. The Lenin commemoration days are held in the setting of new victories for Marxism-Leninism, of the increasing influence of scientific socialism on the course of social development.

The 24th CPSU Congress, the decisions of which have become a militant program for the Soviet people's creative activity, was a vivid demonstration of the triumph of Lenin's teaching, an expression of our Party's fidelity to Leninism. Embodied in the Congress documents are the rich experience of the CPSU, the collective wisdom of the Party, the ability to creatively apply the Marxist-Leninist teaching under the new conditions of historical development. The Congress decisions are permeated with the Leninist concern of the Party for the well-being of the people, for the continued advance of our socialist Homeland.

A little more than a year has passed since the 24th CPSU Congress. And today we can say that urban and rural workers, Party, government and economic bodies, trade unions, YCL and other public organizations have accomplished great and fruitful work.

It was a year of persevering efforts aimed at fulfilling the main task of the Ninth Five-Year Plan—to raise considerably the living standards and cultural level of the people on the basis of rapid development of socialist production and enhancement of its efficiency, scientific and technological progress and accelerated growth of labor productivity.

It was a year of fresh successes for the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union, of the energetic implementation of the program mapped out by the 24th CPSU Congress, a program of struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of peoples.

At present the working class, the collective farm peasantry and working intellectuals of our country are preparing with enthusiasm to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Preparations for this glorious jubilee are strongly influenced by the ideas and decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. On the threshold of their great jubilee the peoples of the USSR are marching closely rallied behind the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee.

I. IMPLEMENTATION OF DECISIONS OF 24th CPSU CONGRESS IS THE CAUSE OF ALL PEOPLE

Comrades, V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that socialism could be built only through the conscious effort of millions, that the new society was created in the interest of the people and by the people themselves. This has been fully corroborated by the practice of history.

A developed socialist society has been built in the USSR through the heroic efforts of the millions of working people led by the Leninist Party. It has the firm material basis of a highly developed socialist economy—powerful industry and large-scale mechanized agriculture. The political prestige and the defense might of our great Homeland are steadily growing.

In the struggle for the common goal—the building of socialism and communism—the alliance of the working class and collective farm peasantry has become consolidated still further, and the socio-political and ideological unity of the entire Soviet society has been strengthened. Socialism has brought new, collectivist relations between people, relations of comradeship, fraternal friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation between all nations and nationalities, all working people of our country. This is a vivid expression of the general Soviet and internationalist traits of the new man.

The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was one of the greatest revolutionary gains. The great Lenin developed the principles of building a socialist multinational state, laid its foundations and guided its formation.

In its political significance and socio-economic implications the formation of the USSR holds a prominent place in the history of our state. Lenin regarded federation of nations "as a transition to a conscious and closer unity of the working people, when they have learned voluntarily to rise above national dissension" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 155). The peoples of our country have successfully accomplished this transition. As Lenin foresaw, the forces of the working people multiplied enormously with the formation of the Soviet Union. As Lenin foresaw, internationalist fraternity became an inexhaustible source of the creative energy of the builders of the new society.

The Leninist national policy of the CPSU has ensured the rise and evening out of the economic levels of all Union Republics, led to the building up of a mighty socialist economy developing according to a single state plan. The deepening community of the country's economic life is a law-governed process expressing the objective

requirements of building the material and technical basis of communism.

Lenin's idea of national equality found concentrated expression in the joint free and active work of all the nations and nationalities of the country in creating their socialist Motherland. The Soviet Union is today a monolithic indestructible community of the nations and nationalities of 15 Union Republics, 20 Autonomous Republics, 8 Autonomous Regions and 10 National Areas. The Soviet multinational state develops on the basis of democratic centralism, socialist federalism and Soviet socialist democracy. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has proved to the whole world that it is the most viable form of a voluntary union of peoples.

Mighty detachments of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the working intelligentsia have grown in the Republics. Socialism has assured all the peoples of the USSR conditions for rapid cultural growth. At present all Soviet socialist nations and nationalities have 100 per cent literacy. Over 40 peoples which had no written language of their own, now in Soviet conditions have developed literary languages. Unprecedented progress has been made by culture, socialist in content and national in form. An objective process of the cultural rapprochement and mutual enrichment of socialist nations and nationalities is under way. A new historical community of people, the Soviet nation, has taken shape in our country in the years of socialist transformations.

The work, energy and intelligence of the Soviet people are bringing to reality the Marx-Engels-Lenin teaching of communism as a society of social justice, and implementing the boldest dreams of generations of revolutionaries, the cherished aspirations of the people.

The monolithic unity of the multinational Soviet people and the high labor and political activity of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are powerful factors of the progress of Soviet society in all fields.

Proceeding from the resolutions of the 24th CPSU Congress, the Party and the state are effecting a more decisive turn of the economy towards the solution of diversified problems connected with raising substantially the well-being of the working people. This is the general orientation of national economic development not only for the current five years but also for a long-range period. This requires stepped-up scientific and technical progress, more effective management and planning and more efficient work of all the links of the national economy. For these purposes, the structure of social production is being improved and the industries directly connected with the satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements are being developed at priority rates.

Implementing the Party's economic policy, the working people of our country made notable advances in the opening year of the five-year plan. Planned targets for the production and sales of most major industrial products were attained and exceeded. Thanks to this the country received nearly 8,000 million roubles' worth of products over and above plan. The growth rates of the consumer industries topped the planned targets. The plan of state investments was fulfilled. Some 400 large plants and factories, power stations and mines and a big number of new shops and production sections at operating enterprises were commissioned. Railway, inland waterways, road and oilpipe transport exceeded their freight traffic assignments.

National income, this general indicator of economic development, rose by 16,000 million roubles, or nearly 6 per cent, in 1971. Real per-capita incomes increased by 4.5 per cent as a result of the measures taken last year to raise living standards. The wages and pensions of 19 million persons were increased. Payments and other benefits from the public consumption funds went up by 7.4 per cent. Thousands of new schools, hospitals and cultural centers were built. Housing, totalling 108 million sq.m., was turned over for tenancy. This made it possible to improve the housing conditions of more than 11 million Soviet citizens in one year.

Important social measures will have to be taken this year too. Minimum pay will be increased, and higher wages and salaries will be provided for the medium-pay category of industrial and office workers in the production branches in some parts of the country. There will be increased pay to teachers, medical doctors, and tutors at pre-school establishments. Students at institutions of higher learning and specialized secondary establishments will get higher stipends.

With each passing five-year period and each passing year, socialism increasingly demonstrates its capacities as a system under which, according to Lenin, a planned organization of social production is aimed at ensuring the well-being and all-around development of all members of society. Every Soviet citizen can see that the Communist Party steadfastly works to improve the life of the people, and that the Party matches its words with deeds.

Paying due tribute to our achievements, we must realistically, in a Leninist way, assess the results of our work, and find the most rational solutions to the problems confronting us. An all-round and profound analysis of the present socio-economic development of the country is contained in the speech made by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 15th Trade Union Congress. The speech highly appraises the selfless work of the Soviet people, sums up the results of work, reveals the shortcomings

in our economic activities and poses big problems of further development. The Party mobilizes the creative energies of the Soviet people for the solution of ever more complicated and responsible problems of Communist construction. It calls upon all the working people to persistently reveal reserves and opportunities to boost the development of the economy, to steadily increase labor productivity, to work better today than yesterday and better tomorrow than today.

Charting the ways for building a new society, Lenin constantly stressed the great importance of the material and technical prerequisites for labor, based on science, on the training of highly educated specialists. "We must have a new technical foundation for the new economic development," said Lenin. (Vol. 30, pp. 334-335.)

These instructions of Lenin are particularly vital now, in the conditions of the developing scientific and technological revolution. It was pointed out at the 24th Congress that the progress of science and technology is the main lever for the establishment of the material-technical base of communism. The rate of progress of socialist society to communism depends in a decisive measure on how quickly and universally we shall be able to use the latest achievements of science and technology in the national economy.

The Soviet Union holds one of the leading places in the world in many areas of science and technology. The country is renovating the technical base of production; the results of scientific research are being actively introduced in production, the process of mechanization of basic and auxiliary operations is developing apace. The industrial branches determining the technical level of the national economy as a whole are developing at high and stable rates. All this contributes to accelerating scientific technological progress.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state consider it a primary task to increase the effectiveness of social production on the basis of qualitative changes in the productive forces. Technological progress is a pressing requirement of present-day economic practice. It depends on the active and purposeful efforts of ministries, departments and all management bodies, all collectives of enterprises, research and designing organizations and on the personal contribution of every working man. Only given close cooperation of all involved in the creation and use of the latest achievements of science and technology — and they number millions — can we guarantee technical re-equipment of the national economy.

Comrades, solving the tasks of increasing social production, our Party devotes constant attention to agriculture as a branch exerting tremendous influence on the development of the country's entire economy. The Party's policy in the countryside today is the continuation and creative development of the Leninist agrarian policy in

new historical conditions. The Party has been consistently seeking a cardinal solution of agricultural problems so as to ensure a considerable increase of produce, fuller satisfaction of the population's growing requirements in food and industry's requirements in raw materials.

With these aims in view, a comprehensive program of developing agriculture and enhancing its effectiveness has been worked out. It is based on the comprehensive intensification of production, the stepping up of mechanization, electrification and chemicalization, on extensive land-improvement, expansion of capital construction, better use of land and machinery, and improvement of production technology and organization.

At the same time, branches of industry providing collective and state farms with material and technical means, or processing agricultural produce, are being developed at a priority rate.

In the years since the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, important measures have been carried out to improve the planning and economic incentives of agricultural production and procurement, to consolidate cost-accounting relations and raise the profitability of production on the state and collective farms.

The Party's practical activity in agriculture, the devoted work of collective farmers, state farm workers, rural specialists and industrial workers produce positive results. The recent years have seen the acceleration of agricultural and livestock output growth rates and consolidation of the material and production base of collective and state farms. The system of social measures aimed at bringing closer the living standards of the urban and rural population is being steadily implemented. The construction of housing, cultural and welfare facilities in the countryside is being actively developed, social insurance and the pension system are being improved and the living standards of rural toilers raised.

It may be recalled that weather conditions were unfavorable for farming in a number of districts in the initial year of the ninth five-year period. Despite this, the successes scored by the rural toilers were not bad at all. They took in 181 million tons of grain, which is somewhat lower than the target, but 13.4 million tons more than the average annual yield during the eighth five-year plan period; the amount of cotton procured ran to 7.1 million tons which is the highest cotton yield in the country.

The cattle and poultry population of all kinds has gone up, yielding higher production and procurement of livestock products. The growth of livestock output continued also in the first quarter of the current year. The state has procured more meat, milk and eggs than during the same period of the past year.

The 24th CPSU Congress set major tasks in the field of agriculture. The production and procurements of grain, technical crops, potatoes, vegetables and fruits will be considerably increased. A great deal has to be done to develop livestock breeding.

The fulfilment of these tasks is assured by the firm material basis and enhanced economic potential of the country. The agricultural development program rests on the high level of development of industry, Soviet science and technology, on the consolidated economics of collective and state farms. Large capital investments have been allocated for agriculture in the current five-year period. Our industry will supply the countryside with a large number of machines, more fertilizers and other material and technical means. The task of Party, government and economic bodies, executives and specialists, all rural workers, is to make fuller use of these enormous possibilities, as well as the big internal reserves of the farms.

Now that spring field work is gaining momentum with each passing day, rural workers are concentrating all their efforts on conducting successfully the sowing campaign, on growing good crops and making up for the damage caused by the severe winter. It is the duty of rural workers to fulfil with honor the targets of the 1972 economic plan for the production and procurement of all kinds of farm and livestock products.

The fulfilment of the tasks set by the 24th CPSU Congress in further raising agricultural output will be a new substantial step in the development of this branch and will tell favorably on the entire course of communist construction.

Comrades, Soviet economic progress is largely determined by the efficient and coordinated interaction of all the links of the national economic mechanism, by a scientifically grounded and skilled management. The Party regards the improvement of the system of economic management as one of the key aspects of its economic policy.

The solution of this question, the 24th CPSU Congress pointed out, presupposes a persistent search for the most rational structure of management, elimination of parallelism, overcoming of parochial and narrow departmental tendencies. Wide-scale application of the latest production engineering, computers and modern communication means is another integral aspect of raising management standards.

The Party pays daily attention to the vocational training of specialists, to educating every worker in a spirit of unfailing fulfilment of planned targets and strict observance of state and labor discipline, high organization and personal responsibility for the entrusted job, and to broad involvement of working people in the management of production.

The Leninist postulate that under socialism, for the first time in history, the mass of the population rises to independent participation in day-to-day management is ever more fully embodied in Soviet reality. In consolidating our people's state our Party brings millions of Soviet people into the direct solution of the affairs of state and public importance. It perfects in every way the established and tested forms of direct participation of collectives in planning, scientific organization of production and labor, and in mobilizing internal economic resources.

The socialist emulation movement is an effective form of activating the creative efforts of the working people. Socialism, Lenin said, creates for the first time the opportunity for employing the emulation movement "on a really wide and on a really mass scale, for actualdly drawing the majority of working people into a field of labor in which they can display their abilities, develop the capacities, and reveal those talents, so abundant among the people . . ." (Vol. 26, p. 404).

In our days this Leninist idea is being vividly embodied in the numerous initiatives and mass labor enthusiasm.

The movement is spreading in our country for the successful fulfilment of the plan for the second year of the five-year period, for marking in a worthy manner the half-century jubilee of the USSR. The countrywide communist Subbotnik, a good tradition of recent years, held on the threshold of the Lenin birth anniversary, evoked great enthusiasm. By their inspired labor millions upon millions of Soviet people again demonstrated the viability of Lenin's idea of the "Great Beginning."

Carrying into life Lenin's teaching on socialist competition, the Party sees to it that the emulation movement is more closely linked with the major tasks of economic policy. Its participants must not only strive to increase the volume of production but also to improve qualitative indices and raise effectiveness. Reducing labor, material and financial outlays, making better use of production funds and capital investments, extensively and rapidly introducing foremost experience, scientific and technical achievements in production, improving the quality of output, boosting labor productivity at every work place, in every collective and branch as a whole—these are today the basic directions of the emulation movement. The further development of the socialist emulation movement, and perfection of its organization are of tremendous significance for progress in production, for the development of social relations, for educating active builders of communism.

The 24th Congress advanced constructive tasks of tremendous historical importance that are unprecedented in scale. The high level of consciousness and creative activity of the Soviet people,

their persistence in achieving the set aims, the unity of will and effort of all peoples of our socialist country—are an earnest that these tasks will be successfully fulfilled.

II. LENINIST COURSE OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

Comrades, communist construction in the USSR is inseparable from the world revolutionary process, from the struggle for peace and the security of peoples. This is clearly manifested in the entire international activity of our Party and the foreign policy course worked out by the 24th CPSU Congress.

It is a genuinely internationalist and peace-loving course. It is aimed at ensuring favorable international conditions for building socialism and communism, at consolidating the unity and cohesion of the community of socialist countries. It is permeated with the spirit of friendship among nations, solidarity with all fighters against imperialism, for social and national liberation. It is aimed at establishing a stable peace and international security, developing good-neighborly, mutually advantageous cooperation among all states based on equality.

In his speech at the 15th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions Comrade Leonid Brezhnev characterized in detail the basic directions of the foreign policy activities of the Party and the Soviet state in implementing the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. He set forth the principled position which our country holds on burning international problems while pursuing a policy of active defense of peace, freedom and security of people. This is the policy which Lenin bequeathed to us, a policy which enjoys the wholehearted support and full approval of all Soviet people.

Lenin called on the Communists, the world proletariat, to guard and strengthen the fraternal union of workers of all countries, their unity and cohesion. The socialist community today acts as a powerful material and political support of this international proletarian alliance. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government are doing their utmost to promote all-round cooperation between the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries, to consolidate the international positions of socialism.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the world socialist system is growing and becoming stronger from year to year. The CMEA member-countries today are the world's most rapidly developing area. They account for a quarter of the total national income of all countries, while the share of CMEA member-states in world industrial output grew from one-fifth in 1950 to one-third in 1970.

The Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration opens up wide vistas for the national economies of the fraternal countries. The program provides for close interaction of the national

economies of CMEA member-countries on the basis of joint planning, for a multilateral unification of their resources and possibilities, the maximum use of the advantages offered by the international socialist division of labour.

The close coordination of the foreign policy activities of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries has yielded tangible results in the past few years. They are evidenced by the enhanced role and prestige of the socialist community in international affairs, by the improvement of the political climate on the European continent, by the further consolidation of positions of the anti-imperialist forces.

The joint quests of the fraternal parties and countries for the most effective methods of solving creative tasks, their collective efforts in the world arena embody the genuinely internationalist relations between Communists bequeathed to us by Lenin.

Experience has fully proved the correctness of the conclusions drawn by the 24th CPSU Congress that the prospects for the development and consolidation of world socialism are favorable on the whole. The tendency towards unification and consolidation of the forces of socialism is growing stronger. Practical experience shows again and again that fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, fraternal cooperation and internationalism constitute a reliable basis for the effective development of each country and the entire socialist community.

The entire period after the 24th Congress of the Party was marked by the intensive activity of our Party and the Soviet state in the international arena.

The realistic, constructive approach to solving urgent present-day international problems, the principled stand in upholding the vital interests of the Soviet people, world socialism and the international working-class movement, a thorough estimation of the concrete conditions of struggle, and flexible tactics have been and are the distinguishing features of the foreign policy course of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Our foreign policy gains in strength and effectiveness due to the fact that its basic aims coincide with the strivings of millions upon millions of people in different countries for peace, with their struggle against the military ventures of imperialism, for a relaxation of tensions.

The 24th Congress formulated and adopted a constructive program of struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples. During the period since the Congress, the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government have come out with concrete proposals on actually all the basic questions constituting our peace program.

Today we clearly see that this has already led to certain positive changes in the international arena, helping to attract the attention of governments and the public opinion to tasks the solution of

which leads to an improvement of the political climate of our planet. The Soviet peace offensive has developed into an important factor influencing the development of the international situation.

Pursuing the foreign policy course of the 24th CPSU Congress, our country consistently comes out for the elimination of hotbeds of imperialist aggression, against all acts of international arbitrariness. The Soviet Union has been doing everything necessary to support the peoples struggling against imperialist invaders, for the right to decide their own destiny independently, without foreign interference.

Our country renders all the necessary assistance and support to the heroic people of Vietnam, the patriots of Laos and Cambodia who are selflessly fighting against the aggression of U.S. imperialism. The Soviet people wrathfully condemn the crimes of the U.S. military in Vietnam and the new bombings of DRV territory. Loyally adhering to the principles of international solidarity, the Soviet Union has been and will be on the side of heroic Vietnam, of all patriots of Indochina. The USSR comes out on the side of the Arab peoples and their just struggle against the expansionist policy of the ruling circles in Israel.

Our solidarity with the national liberation movement rests on a solid basis—on principles which were laid down and formulated by Lenin. Guided by them, we are strengthening all-round cooperation with all states which are actively opposing the imperialist policy of aggression. The Soviet Union is developing friendly relations with the countries following the way of independence and progress. Within the last year our country concluded important treaties with Egypt, India and Iraq. These documents are of great political importance. They are aimed at the further strengthening of friendship and all-round cooperation with the people of these countries and serve the consolidation of the positions of all forces coming out against imperialism, for peace, national and social liberation.

The Soviet Union is consistently working for détente and is taking active steps towards the consolidation of international security. Our country attaches particularly great importance to ensuring a lasting peace and promotion of mutually advantageous, equal cooperation in such an important region as Europe.

There is every ground now to speak of considerable progress which was attained on this road in the course of the past year. At the present time, the attention of the European and world public and politicians is concentrated on the problem of the ratification of the treaties between the Soviet Union and the FRG and between Poland and the FRG. How it is going to be solved will show the direction which Federal Germany will follow: either towards détente and creation of a stable system of security in Europe, or along

the road onto which the FRG is being pushed in disregard of the national interests of its people and of other European peoples, by those forces which are seeking to isolate the FRG from the positive processes taking place in Europe, and to throw it back.

We are convinced that the entry into force of the treaties between the USSR and the FRG and between Poland and the FRG, and of the four-power agreement on West Berlin will serve the interests of all European states and peoples, the interests of peace in Europe and all over the world.

An integral and constructive program of achieving a lasting peace in Europe is contained in the declaration adopted last January at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. It lays down the main principles on which a reliable system of security and cooperation in Europe may be built. Advocating the holding of an all-European conference of states, the Soviet Union and the other member-states of the Warsaw Treaty proceed from the fact that Europe has reached a point which may become a turning one in its history.

A conviction is now growing stronger all over the world that the observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems can and must become the only alternative to a destructive war, which would jeopardize the destinies of whole countries and peoples. The USSR has been firmly defending these Leninist principles.

Our country has normal relations with many capitalist countries. Practice has long and convincingly shown that this brings benefit not only to us and our partners. All peoples and the entire world gain from this.

During the year which has passed since the Congress, the Soviet Union has conducted important and fruitful talks with the leaders of many capitalist states. Developing cooperation with capitalist countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence, our state is not seeking agreements with them to the detriment of the interests of other countries and peoples, nor does it renounce its principles. The Soviet Union is conducting a firm and consistent policy in the international arena—a policy of active defense of peace, freedom and security of peoples, a policy of firmly rebuffing any attempts by imperialists to aggravate international tensions. The same principles underlie our relations with the USA.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the entire international activity of the Party and the state are built on the unshakeable principles which have been laid down by the great Lenin, by our Party, the Party of internationalists. We regard our international policy as a contribution of the Soviet people to the common cause of the fighters against imperialism, for the liberation of peoples

from social and national oppression. It is precisely this—internationalism in deed, practical daily solidarity with revolutionaries of the whole world—that Lenin taught us. And his behests remain an invariable guide to action for the CPSU.

Our Party has been steadfastly strengthening cooperation with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist detachments of all countries. In accordance with the ideas and conclusions of the 1969 International Meeting, the CPSU has been consistently and persistently working for uniting Communists of the whole world on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, resolutely coming out against any deviations from these principles against Right and "Left" revisionism, nationalism and chauvinism.

There is the convincing proof of experience that the stronger and firmer the alliance of the Communist forces, the more successful is their struggle against the common enemy—imperialism—for the realization of the lofty ideals of socialism. In this we see the pledge of the further growth of the transforming, vanguard, role of the international communist movement—the most influential political force of our time. In this we see forces coming out against imperialism, for peace, national independence and socialism.

Comrades, the greatest service done by Lenin to the Soviet people and the world revolutionary movement is the creation of a Marxist Party of a new type—the Party of Bolsheviks.

The CPSU is the leader of the working class, of the entire Soviet people, a party of scientific communism. It is sacredly loyal to the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin and creatively develops and enriches revolutionary theory. It makes a profound analysis of the tendencies of social development, draws up the political course and gives a purposeful, organized character to the movement of the masses.

The strength of the Party lies in its unbreakable links with the masses, and the Marxist-Leninist guidance of the Party is the source of strength and invincibility for the movement of the masses. This is an immutable law of proletarian revolution, of the building of socialism and communism. History has provided a convincing proof that there is nothing more important for the Leninist Party than to serve the cause of the working class, the interests of the toiling people.

At every stage of revolution, of socialist and communist construction the Party rallies the masses ever closer, developing their creative energy for the accomplishment of still more grand tasks. The role and significance of the CPSU as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society is growing in step with the growth of the magnitude of the historic work of the people building communism.

Every new step in the development of Soviet society requires a higher level of organizing and political work by Party organizations. The forms and methods of that work, the 24th Congress pointed out, should be ever more fully aligned with the times, with the new grand tasks facing the Party and the country. The entire Party shows special concern for increasing the militancy of its ranks, further perfecting the style of Party leadership, for strict observance of the Leninist norms and principles of Party life and ensuring proper well-coordinated functioning of all state and public organizations, of all links of government.

After the 24th CPSU Congress, fulfilling its resolutions and the decisions of the Central Committee, the Party organizations began to analyze more deeply the state of affairs and to show a more responsible and businesslike approach to the solution of problems of state, economic and cultural development. The Party organizations are laying more stress on the political and organizational work in the working collectives where, more than anywhere else, the fate of our plans is decided and the communist education of working people is effected.

The Party organization is rightfully regarded as the soul of every collective. Smooth work, strong discipline and the atmosphere of genuine comradeship and mutual exactingness largely depend on it. The range of activities of Party organizations now includes ever more diverse questions of the life of a collective. Among them is the raising of production effectiveness, organic combination of economic management and educational work, questions concerning the improvement of the conditions of labor and everyday life, and the enhancement of the educational, cultural and professional standards.

The primary duty of Communists is to assure unfailing realization of the directives of the Party and government, and make fuller use of the right to control the activities of the administration. The well-tested weapon in the hands of Communists is the broad publicity of the results of the work done, and criticism and self-criticism in combination with the practical rectification of drawbacks.

The education of the new man is the most important aspect of Party activities. It is pointed out in the report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Party Congress that the moral and political qualities of the Soviet people are shaped by the entire socialist way of life, by the entire course of affairs in our society and, above all, by the purposeful, persistent ideological and educational work of the Party, of its organizations.

The Party stresses that we are living in the conditions of unabating ideological war between socialism and capitalism. Imperialist

propaganda is trying to instil indifference to politics and uncertainty among the working people, to drive a wedge between the fraternal socialist countries and peoples. To that end, it widely resorts to political demagoguery and all sorts of lies. Our Party is waging an irreconcilable struggle against anti-communism, and brings to the broad masses the truth about socialist society, about the Soviet way of life and the goals of its domestic and foreign policy.

Improving communist education, the Party organizations provide the masses with a scientific world outlook, give them a profound understanding of the tasks of economic and cultural development, foster in them a conscious attitude to work and public property. The inalienable aspect of the development of communist consciousness is the education of the Soviet people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and unlimited loyalty to our socialist Motherland. The new traits of the Soviet man take shape in the principled struggle against the survivals of the past, against the views and morals alien to our system, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

The tasks of communist construction, the sharp ideological struggle in the world arena, require that the Party organizations should pay more attention to the ideological tempering of all Communists and encourage their labor and political activity. The entire history of the CPSU furnishes an example of unswerving adherence to Lenin's call to raise the calling and role of Party member ever higher. To be a Communist is to set an example in work and life and in social activities.

Guided by the decisions of the 24th Party Congress, the Party increases in every way the role and significance of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies in the life of our society. Now they are concentrating ever more on the fulfilment of the key tasks of economic development, on improving the situation in all sections of economic and cultural development. The Party displays constant care for enhancing the level of the activities of such mass organizations as the trade unions and the Young Communist League. The 15th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions held recently demonstrated their close cohesion around the Leninist Party and showed once again that our trade unions are ready to do everything necessary to successfully fulfil their mission as the school of administration, the school of economic management, the school of communism.

Comrades, Lenin and the Party, Lenin and revolution, Lenin and communism are merged by history into one concept in the minds of millions of working people. The great ideas of Lenin illumine our heroic past, the glorious present and the bright future. "The great energy of Lenin's mind and the beat of his fiery heart live on in the deeds of the Party," said Leonid Brezhnev, expressing the

thoughts and feelings of all Soviet people. "Lenin's ideas, his political steeling and his science of victory are the inexhaustible source from which we draw confidence in our strength and our courage, optimism and will for victory."

Under the guidance of the Communist Party the Soviet people confidently advance along the path pointed out by Lenin, along the path of building communism.

Long live the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the inspirer and organizer of all our victories!

Long live the heroic Soviet people, the builder of communism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, the eternally living international teaching, the banner of struggle of the working people in all countries against imperialism, for the victory of socialism and communism!

May the name and cause of the great Lenin live forever!



16th CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

The 16th Congress of the CP of Finland met in Helsinki from March 31 to April 2, 1972. It was attended by 494 delegates, of whom 56.9 per cent were workers and 6.1 per cent peasants. Among the delegates were authoritative leaders and veterans of the Party, leading workers of local Party organizations, trade unions and other public organizations. Women, who make up 23.5 per cent of Party members, were represented by 54 delegates. The average age of delegates (46 years) was one year below that at the last congress. 21.5 per cent of the delegates joined the Party in 1951-1960, 23.3 per cent in 1961 and later.

There were also 800 guests. The delegates warmly greeted the representatives of the 16 fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, including the CPSU delegation led by A. Pelshe, member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau.

The report of the CC CPF was delivered by Party Chairman A. Saarinen and the report "On Strengthening the Unity of the CPF and Extending Its Mass Base" by Vice-Chairman T. Sinisalo. General Secretary A. Aalto submitted the political resolution of the Congress.

Many delegates took part in the debate on the reports and draft resolutions. The Congress unanimously passed the resolutions on the immediate tasks of the CPF, and on strengthening Party unity and extending its mass base (published below) and two statements, "For Peace and Security of the Peoples" and on the political situation in the country. The Congress sent a message of greeting to the youth of Finland and a solidarity telegram to Angela Davis.

At its closing session the Congress elected a new Central Committee of 35 full members and 10 alternate members.

Aarne Saarinen was elected Chairman and Taisto Sinisalo and Olavi Hanninen Vice-Chairmen, Ville Pessi and Hertta Kuusinen were elected honorary chairmen and Arvo Aalto General Secretary.

The following were elected to the Politbureau: Arvo Aalto, Oiva Bjorkbacka, Arvo Hautala, Anna-Liisa Hyvonen, Olavi Hanninen, Urho Jokinen, Markus Kainulainen, Erkki Kivimaki, Oiva Lehto, Erkki Rautee, Aarne Saarinen, Jorma Simpura, Taisto Sinisalo, Leo Suonpaa and Erkki Tuominen.

Elected to the Secretariat were Arvo Aalto, Olavi Hanninen, Erkki Kivimaki, Oiva Lehto, Ossi Nurminen, Olavi Poikolainen,

Aarne Saarinen and Rainer Virtanen. Erkki Kauppila was elected to the post of Secretary of the Secretariat.

REPORT* BY PARTY CHAIRMAN A. SAARINEN

The great historical struggle of the revolutionary forces for peace, democracy and socialism, against imperialism, A. Saarinen said, is continuing on the international arena. By their decisive actions for peace and security, the socialist world system, international working class and the national liberation movement have compelled the forces of imperialism to retreat.

The political crisis in Finland bred by state-monopoly capitalism, has deepened, he continued. The Communist Party and the working class of Finland have steadfastly fought for the vital interests of the working class and other strata of the toiling population, for broader democracy and for limiting the power of big capital. This was a struggle against the Right forces, for continuing and activating the Finnish peace policy, for greater friendship and co-operation between Finland and the Soviet Union.

This was a difficult period in the internal life of the CPF, a period of division and the fight to overcome it. At the same time this period, especially the latest parliamentary elections, opened up for the CPF and the entire popular-democratic movement the prospects of a new political upsurge.

It is the duty of this Congress to consolidate the basis for a further upsurge still more. It is our task to show the working people a reliable path towards the future, to offer them a clear-cut political program of action, A. Saarinen said. Our second important task is to consolidate Party unity and create the necessary conditions for improving the situation in the Party.

The changes taking place in the world and the course of the worldwide struggle between the forces of socialism and capitalism are closely tied up with the Finnish working-class struggle. As an integral part of the world Communist movement, the CPF has always realized its responsibility in the common struggle of the progressive forces for peace, national liberation, social progress and socialism.

Experience has shown, the speaker said, that only socialism is capable of resolving the vital problems facing mankind.

The program for peace advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress fully accords with the vital interests of the peoples of the whole world. The Soviet government is actively and consistently working on the international scene for the realization of this program. And

*Kansan Uutiset, April 2, 1972, carried by TASS.

its efforts are winning ever broader support. On behalf of the Congress and all members of the Communist Party of Finland, A. Saarinen conveyed sincere greetings to the CPSU and Soviet people on the approaching 50th anniversary of the USSR.

The unity of the socialist world system and united action by the world Communist movement in the struggle against imperialism, said the speaker, are seriously impaired by the ideological and political line followed by the Chinese leadership. The Mao Tse-tung group is openly opposing the general line of the Communist movement. In fact, it openly demands renunciation of the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems. The Mao Tse-tung group's campaign of lies against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries actively serves the attempts to cause a split among the world revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. We most emphatically reject any such slander, said A. Saarinen.

Stressing the point that imperialism still presents the greatest danger to the peoples of the world, the CPF Chairman noted that important changes have taken place in Europe recently.

The CPF considers it right that Finland came forward with the proposal to hold the all-European conference in Helsinki. We hold, he said, that Finland must actively work for an early preparation of the European conference. The CPF hails the decision of authoritative representatives of European states who met in Brussels in January, to convene an assembly of social forces for European security and cooperation.

The relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, A. Saarinen said, rest on the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid, the 24th anniversary of which will be marked in a few days. The CPF and the people's democratic movement were the decisive force in the fight for this treaty. Today, its positive significance is recognized in all political circles. However, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the policy of friendship with the Soviet Union recorded in this Treaty is opposed by the Right forces in our country who are impairing the friendly relations between our two countries. This is done in many ways and with the aid of various military, para-military and political organizations. This calls for a vigorous, resolute struggle in defense of the policy of friendship between our countries, the speaker emphasized.

The relations of friendship and cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union are a big victory for the progressive forces in Finland. The Communist Party is doing its utmost to strengthen these relations, A. Saarinen said.

Concerning the plans for bringing Finland into the Common Market orbit, the speaker said that the position of the CPF is clear

and well known—we oppose Finland's association with the EEC in any form.

Our Party constantly stresses the need for broader trade and economic cooperation between Finland and the socialist countries. This cooperation is free from any political strings and is based on the common interests of the two sides. Socialism provides constantly expanding and crisis-free markets. Broader trade and cooperation in this direction are in the interests of our people.

The CPF regards it as its most important task to participate with all its forces in the worldwide struggle against imperialism. Our Party is working to consolidate friendship between the peoples of our country and the Soviet Union. We are concentrating efforts on the struggle for European security and a foreign policy that would be in the interests of the working class and all toiling people.

A. Saarinen went on to point out that instability in the capitalist countries and the world capitalist system as a whole has mounted. All shortcomings and contradictions characteristic of state-monopoly capitalism, he said, are evident in our country, too.

A year has elapsed since the time when the five-year period of government cooperation of the Left forces and the Center in which our Party also participated, had come to an end. We attach great significance to the positive aspects of that period and to all steps that were taken during the period to activate our country's peaceful policy. We regard as positive the development of the state industry, the substantial extension of state-financed housing construction, improvement of social security, etc.

However, no general economic line to counter big capital was agreed upon during the period of government cooperation. Rather, it became obvious that other government parties were not prepared for the social and economic reforms which our Party believes to be necessary. It became clear that in their policy the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and the Center did not intend to curb the power and interests of big capital but actually protected those interests. This was a serious obstacle to a positive development during the entire period of government cooperation. This was also the reason for the termination a year ago of the government cooperation of the Left forces and the Center.

At the present time we have every reason to say that the political crisis in our country cannot be resolved without participation of the Communists and people's democratic movement in the government. And surely, it cannot be resolved if the government does not take into account the interests and demands of the working people. In all its activities the Communist Party proceeds from these demands and will work for their realization whether it is in the government or not.

Finland's serious economic and political crisis, A. Saarinen said, cannot be resolved without radical democratic changes in all spheres of social life and especially in the economy. The present policy of the Social-Democratic Party does not provide solutions of the serious social problems.

We criticize the ideology and policy of the Social-Democrats when they no longer correspond to the interests of the working class. Without this criticism and its growing support among the working class, cooperation would never reach a political level or develop in forms that would help achieve the goals advanced.

A. Saarinen voiced the view that some objective prerequisites are maturing in Finland for a broad democratic alliance against the Right and big capital. Its main force could only be a fighting working class whose unity and militancy would determine the success of all other democratic forces. The Communist Party is doing its utmost to contribute to the emergence of such a front and considers this to be its main political task.

Only Marxism-Leninism can be the basis for all Party activity and for strengthening its unity. The acute ideological struggle, successful resolution of the problems facing the working class and the need to oppose opportunist trends require that the problems connected with this struggle be the focal point of all Party activity, the speaker said.

The Communist Party of Finland is an inseparable part of the international Communist movement. It wishes to participate fully in the great historical battle waged by the Communist movement against imperialism and for the socialist renovation of society.

In this struggle the CPF together with other fraternal parties follows the principles of proletarian internationalism which the international workers' movement has incised on its banners ever since the times of Marx and Lenin and which are so forcefully expressed in the mighty proletarian appeal of our international movement—Workers of all countries, unite! We have always received invaluable aid and support from the CPSU, the Chairman of the CPF said. Our Party will do all in its power to strengthen the ties of friendship and fraternity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all other fraternal parties.

In conclusion A. Saarinen said: Firmly adhering to the Marxist-Leninist principles, we are in a position to adopt decisions at our Congress that would strengthen our Party and make it a still more powerful force in the struggle for the vital interests of the working people, for peace and democracy, for a socialist Finland.

REPORT BY T. SINISALO

In his report, "On Strengthening the Unity of the CPF and Extending Its Mass Base," T. Sinisalo pointed out that in the course of the more than 50 years of its activity and struggle for the interests of the working class and people the CPF has won the support of the broad masses of working people. The Party has won these positions because it drew correct conclusions from the victories, mistakes and defeats of the Finnish working-class movement.

Now, at the beginning of the 70s, the CPF is faced with more serious tasks than ever before, the speaker said. The contradictions of the capitalist system in Finland have become more acute.

The Communist Party will be able to fulfil these tasks only if there is unity. This unity is the source of strength making it possible to unite broad masses of the working class and other strata who are oppressed by big capital, in the conditions of an acute class struggle.

For a long time now, the CPF has been suffering from serious internal differences. Some of these differences concern ideology, others are over realization of the Party's general line in various spheres of political life which are enumerated in the decisions of the CPF Extraordinary Congress.

International meetings of Communist and Workers' parties have produced detailed analyses of the social, class and theoretical roots of the mistaken views in the Communist movement. And the conclusion drawn is that deviations can be overcome only if we know their sources. A study of these basic principles contained in the documents of the international meetings, and their practical application, are an important means of solving problems facing Finnish Communists.

The first characteristic feature of the working-class vanguard, T. Sinisalo said, is the ability to consistently apply the theory of scientific communism, which summarizes the world historical experience of the working-class struggle and formulates the basic laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The period following the Extraordinary CPF Congress was one of affirmation of Marxist-Leninist views among the majority of Party members. This is a good foundation for Party unity and for extending its mass base.

Defending Party ideology, the speaker said, implies a consistent struggle against Right and "Left" deviations. This struggle has nothing in common with the positions of the so-called Centrism striving to take up an intermediary position and to reconcile the irreconcilable.

Deviations from Marxism-Leninism in the present situation have definite common traits, be it Right revisionism or its "Leftist" variants, Maoism, Trotskyism or some other trend. Such deviations are characterized in particular by a rejection of the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party, renunciation of the principles of proletarian internationalism and by a merger with nationalism to one degree or another.

Disregard of the international experience of the workers' movement is closely related to a revision of the fundamental propositions of Marxism-Leninism.

However, there is every ground for optimism in regard to overcoming the difficulties, T. Sinisalo said. It is evidenced above all by the results so far achieved in restoring Party unity. The most serious danger to the existence of the CPF as a united Marxist-Leninist Party has been averted. The Extraordinary CPF Congress opened broad perspectives for positive development and this is reflected in the political support for the Party among the masses, as the results of the latest parliamentary elections show. These results would have been still more tangible and positive if the decisions of the Extraordinary Congress had been fulfilled in all respects.

The Extraordinary Congress endorsed the Party's general political line. This is the line of building a democratic front in the struggle against the monopolies and political reaction, for greater democratic rights for the working people, for consolidating peace and creating the prerequisites for socialism. In our work we can proceed from the conclusion that in our Party there are no differences of opinion concerning this basic line.

The period following the Extraordinary Congress signified the Party's transition to a more class-oriented, more clearly defined policy. The Party's working-class character became clearer, and all this was reflected in the workers' mass movement and a more vigorous struggle against big capital in Finland. Without the CPF activity things would not have developed that way. And our class enemies are well aware of this. That is why all their attacks are aimed against the Communist policy of class struggle.

Assessing CPF activity in the government and Parliament, the speaker said that so far the Party had not sufficiently analyzed the experience of government cooperation. Such an analysis is necessary, he said. The Party must also state clearly its position concerning the common basis, conditions and goals for which Communists participate in the government. It is obvious that Communist participation in the government must serve the goals of the anti-monopoly struggle, i.e., it must be combined with pursuit of the general line of the Party.

The Communist Party is a party of class struggle. Its government and parliamentary activity cannot possibly be directed to strengthening the capitalist system. It must signify consolidation and broadening of the working-class struggle, which is also in the interests of the overwhelming majority of supporters of the Social-Democratic Party and the Center forces.

Regarding joint action of the working class, T. Sinisalo said that reformism, adapting to the capitalist system, is the main barrier to uniting the workers for struggle against big capital. There are numerous examples showing how certain representatives of the Finnish workers' movement use their ideological and political influence to impose social partnership with capitalism on large masses of the working people.

The Leninist norms of Party life, democratic centralism, the speaker continued, form the basis of the Party's organizational unity. Insofar as the decisions of the Extraordinary Congress promote Party unity on a Marxist-Leninist basis, and were unanimously approved during the preparations for this Congress, it is only natural that these decisions should represent the principles on which restoration of Party unity should rest.

Concerning the role of the Finnish People's Democratic League, the speaker pointed out that the FPDL is a political organization of cooperation between Communists and people with no party affiliation.

The success of social forces fighting for peace, democracy and a better future is closely connected with the role of Communist parties in this struggle. The most important condition for the success of the FPDL is the fact that its leading political force is the Communist Party of Finland. Stressing that one of the important indicators of the maturity of a Communist party is a consistent internationalist position in dealing with internal problems, educating the masses and coordinating its actions with those of other Communist parties, T. Sinisalo said:

The Right opportunists and the ultra-Left, even the Maoists, are swearing their allegiance to proletarian internationalism. But internationalism for them is mostly just a screen to cover up their rejection of the principles of proletarian internationalism, and this becomes absolutely clear if we compare their activity with the main tasks of the class struggle.

The criterion of proletarian internationalism was and remains one's attitude towards the Soviet Union and the CPSU. World imperialism sees in them its main enemy. However, it is precisely the USSR and the CPSU that are the most reliable allies of all forces championing the interests of the working class. Whatever

its disguise or slogans, anti-Sovietism is always directed against all revolutionary strivings.

Important tasks confront the CPF, the speaker said in conclusion. And our ability to build up Party unity will be put to the test as they are being realized. In this the CPF will draw on its militant traditions. The Party cannot advance without utilizing the rich experience of its veterans, and this fund of experience should be combined with the strength and courage of the youth.

SPEECH* BY COMRADE A. J. PELSHE

Addressing the Congress, A. J. Pelshe, head of the CPSU delegation, member of the Politbureau, CC CPSU, conveyed the warm greetings of the CPSU and the entire Soviet people to the delegates, to all Finnish Communists and working people. He described the work of the CPSU to realize the decisions of its 24th Congress.

In conclusion, Comrade A. J. Pelshe said:

The success of the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace and freedom of the peoples depends in decisive measure on the cohesion of our Communist ranks. Guided by the conclusions of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and the decisions of its 24th Congress, our Party devotes much attention to the ideological-political unity of the Communist movement. At the present time, when imperialism is conducting unending attacks against the ideological foundations of our movement, it becomes particularly important to give resolute rebuff to anti-communism, abandonment of Marxism-Leninism, and any manifestations of Right or "Left" opportunism.

The Communist movement is seriously harmed by the splitting activity of the present Chinese leadership. It is aimed not only against the CPSU and the Soviet Union, but also against all Marxist-Leninist parties, all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. That is why we shall continue to combat this chauvinistic line alien to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

As for our inter-state relations with the Chinese People's Republic, our Party has always worked and will continue to work for their normalization, for the restoration of good-neighborly relations and friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples. This undoubtedly would be in the interests not only of the two countries but of world socialism and the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

**Pravda*, April 2, 1972.

The great Lenin taught us Communists to be guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism in all our activities. Lenin called on Communists to work out their policy not as narrow or exclusively national, but as international policy. To ignore this, he wrote in his work *"Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder*, "means committing a gross error and actually abandoning internationalism in deed, while recognizing it in word" (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 60). In our time fidelity to proletarian internationalism is determined by one's attitude towards existing socialism, the working people's struggle against capital, the struggle of peoples against imperialism, for their freedom and independence.

The entire history of the international working class movement shows that successes in the struggle of the working class for its ultimate goals and daily interests are inseparable from the activities of Communist parties. Only a strong and united Party firmly adhering to Marxist-Leninist positions and having close ties with the masses is capable of fulfilling the role of vanguard of the working class, which was and remains the main motive force in the socialist transformation of society. Only such a Party is the leading factor in the struggle for joint action of the working class and for rallying all democratic forces of society around it.

Communists are the most staunch and consistent fighters for the vital interests of the working class and all working people. Experience has shown that their revolutionary role in the workers' and general democratic movements can be fulfilled by no other political force.

At the same time, fighting for peace, democracy and social progress, Communists—and this was stressed in the documents of the 1969 Meeting—strive for cooperation with other contingents of the working-class and democratic movement, first of all with the Social-Democrats. Communists cannot, of course, forego their ideological principles. They cannot but wage a struggle against any positions that subordinate the workers movement to the interests of big capital. Obviously, the success of cooperation depends also on the position of the Social-Democrats. A sincere desire for cooperation excludes dictate and attempts at imposing a reformist path on Communists.

Life has shown that the enemies of the working class and all working people seek not only to split the workers' movement but also use any means to weaken the Communist parties and undermine their unity. The Communists counter these actions of their political opponents with a united will, unity of their ranks and determination to overcome differences in a comradely manner, as befits like-minded people, placing the supreme interests of the Party above all else.

Comrades, we are well aware that your Party has come up against certain difficulties, as has already been mentioned here.

As true friends of your Party, we would like to voice the conviction that by common efforts you will succeed in coping with these difficulties and uniting the party on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis.

We wish the fraternal Communist Party of Finland further enhancement of its militancy and of its role in the social and political life of the country.

(In conclusion A. J. Pelshe, applauded by the delegates, read out the message of greetings to the 16th CPF Congress from the CC CPSU).

ON STRENGTHENING THE UNITY OF THE PARTY AND EXTENDING ITS MASS BASE

RESOLUTION* OF THE 16TH CPF CONGRESS

1. Our country is going through a period of deepening social contradictions caused by the economic roots of state-monopoly capitalism, and a period of mounting class struggle. This is expressed in recurring political and government crises and in notable shifts in support for political parties.

2. The existing situation creates objective prerequisites for a new and powerful upsurge of the working-class struggle, for the advance of the Communist Party and other workers' and democratic forces in their struggle to activate the country's peaceful policy, to develop cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union, weaken the domination of big capital and curtail its privileges, to broaden democracy and secure the vital interests of the working peoples.

3. In the political documents of the Congress the Party advances before the Finnish people the main tasks for the coming years. Their realization calls for joint action by the working class on the basis of common class interests and for the creation of a common front of the working class and other sections of working people against the monopolies and political reaction.

The Right forces in Finland which have become more active of late are supported by international monopoly capital and imperialism in their drive against the interests of the working class and people of Finland. To limit their influence and to undermine them

*Kommunisti, No. 4, 1972.

at the present time and also in order to build a socialist Finland in future, Communists believe that one of the decisive conditions is working-class unity. The Party will do all in its power to develop cooperation with the Social-Democratic masses, their parties and organizations in order to improve the working people's living standards and to further the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. To achieve progress along this road it is necessary for the Social-Democratic Party to abandon its policy of class collaboration with big capital and the bourgeois forces representing it.

4. One of the important conditions for the success of the struggle is unity within the Communist Party, consolidation of the Party's forces for united political struggle and also promotion of Party influence among the people.

5. This is a period when the struggle between socialist and bourgeois ideology is becoming more acute. The Social-Democratic Party represents reformism in the workers' movement, while growing support for this Party leads to mounting reformist influence in the movement. The working class has grown and has undergone structural changes. The trade union and other working people's organizations continued to expand, attracting hundreds of thousands of members. There is more interest in Marxism-Leninism. The class struggle has grown more tense. The bourgeois forces are intensifying their attempts to weaken the workers' class consciousness, spreading and encouraging in every way opportunist trends among the working people. In these conditions the ideological struggle must be in the center of Party activities, and work must be stepped up to consolidate its Marxist-Leninist ideological basis. Only Marxist-Leninist ideology can serve as a basis for strengthening Party unity. The task of the Party is to apply Marxism-Leninism correctly in Finnish conditions. Our Party draws not only on the experience of the working class of its own country, but also on the experience and activities of the international Communist movement. In line with the principles of proletarian internationalism the Party fulfils its duty as part of the international Communist movement. It combats nationalism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, safeguards Marxist-Leninist ideology against distortions and counters Right-revisionist and Left-sectarian deviations.

6. The Party's Extraordinary Congress deemed it correct to postpone discussion of certain differences until a more favorable period and found that some of them might persist, while others would be resolved in time by practice. And in part this was the case. This is traceable to the Extraordinary Congress appraisals and decisions and to the considerable changes in the political situa-

tion. Party decisions concerning the main direction of government and economic policy were in the interests of the working class and all people. This policy is consistently continued by the Party's struggle carried on in line with its general policy to change the course of economic policy, to counter the offensive by the Right forces, to activate the country's peaceful policy and develop Finnish-Soviet friendship and cooperation.

The Party believes that if the decisions of the Extraordinary Congress are fulfilled in all respects, this will facilitate a more positive development.

7. Through greater activity by all Party members work will be continued to consolidate Party unity on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism in accordance with the unanimously adopted decisions of the Extraordinary Congress, so that the organizational and political paragraphs with definite time-limits will be realized in accordance with the changed conditions. Simultaneously, it is necessary to fulfil these decisions and the decisions of the 16th Congress in order to consolidate Party unity and achieve ideological and political unity. The goal of these decisions is to assure collective functioning of the Party's leading bodies and united action on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which is a very important prerequisite for strengthening Party unity.

8. The organizational life of the Party is based on democratic centralism, which should be applied with due regard to concrete conditions and the tasks of the Party.

In the period ahead attention must be focused on developing inner-Party democracy and creating a situation in which the Central Committee and its bodies act unanimously in line with the decisions of the Congress, the Central Committee and the Politbureau and work for effective fulfilment of these decisions.

The Party's leading bodies must closely follow the opinions and proposals advanced by the membership and seek to provide conditions in the Party organizations and the Party press for a business-like and uninhibited discussion of various problems in order to develop criticism and self-criticism.

9. Relations should be improved between all district organizations and the Central Committee, making them close in all respects and restoring all contacts in the Party that have been upset in the past. The Party's guiding activities, exchange of experience, Party statistics, work with the membership, compiling financial and Party documentation should observe the procedures provided for in the Party Rules. Direction of Party work and maintenance of ties between central, district and primary organizations must accord with Party structure and Rules. The activity of all leading Party bodies unrelated to the Party structure in keeping with the Party

Rules must be stopped and the Party bodies in question must be dissolved. Internal Party problems must be discussed and decided upon only in Party organizations. Activity that will help achieve this goal must be the common task of the Party.

10. Party membership cards will be exchanged under the guidance of the Central Committee within the period to be specified more closely by the Central Committee and according to a plan of action. The exchange of membership cards should serve to strengthen the Party, raise its ideological level and activity, including popularization of the Party Program and political tasks and improve the system of membership dues.

In exchanging membership cards no one should be deprived of Party membership on account of the internal differences of the past few years. At the same time, members who were excluded from the Party due to differences or other formal reasons, will be reinstituted in the Party, if they so wish.

11. The Party highly values and attaches importance to all people's democratic organizations, strives for effective unity of action with them and works for it. Party members in mass organizations, bearing in mind their character, must act jointly and use all means to popularize the tasks of the Party and win universal recognition for them.

In the period specified by the Central Committee and well before the next FPDL Congress a discussion will be held on the ways of promoting organizational and political relations between the CPF and the FPDL on the basis of the organizational and political decisions adopted by the Central Committee in 1967. Due to the complex nature of this problem it will be elaborated most carefully and submitted for discussion to district organizations which should express their opinion.

12. To solve the problems of publishing and information activities and to increase the effectiveness of the Party's own publishing work, it is necessary to conduct a comprehensive investigation of the situation in publishing at an early date, making a study of all possible alternatives.

13. The decisions of the Extraordinary Congress are appended to this resolution.

The CC CPF met in plenum on the eve of the 16th CPF Congress. In connection with the resolution on strengthening Party unity and extending its mass base and as a result of the negotiations held in the Party leadership on Politbureau initiative, the Plenum unanimously approved the following recommendation to the district CPF committees and Congress delegates:

1. In electing leading Party bodies there must be observance of

parity and respect for the rights of district organizations, as determined by the Extraordinary Congress.

2. Election of the leading bodies of the XVI Congress must follow the same principle.

3. Immediately after the Congress the Politbureau will draw up a plan of settling the problem of Party cadres, taking into consideration the principle of collectivism.

4. If changes in the Secretariat and improvements in collective work necessitate certain adjustments in the Central Committee, these measures will be taken after the 16th Congress.

To fulfil the resolution on Party unity and the above points, agreement must be reached on the following:

a) Central Committee—ratio 20-15.*

b) Politbureau—ratio 9-6.

c) Secretariat—ratio 5-3; Erkki Kauppila to occupy the post of Secretary.

d) Party Chairman — Aarne Saarinen, Vice-Chairmen — Taisto Sinisalo and Olavi Hanninen.

e) General Secretary — Arvo Aalto.

f) In accordance with point 4, in order to improve the work of the Party leadership and Central Committee departments and also in order to improve collective activity, the necessary measures will be taken to settle the problem of Party cadres. This particularly means including one trusted member from the so-called minority in the CC CPF organizational department and one in the department on education.



*Between two sections of the Party that emerged after the 15th Congress.

PLENARY MEETINGS

PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held a plenary meeting on March 15 in Budapest, under the chairmanship of Comrade Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP.

The Central Committee discussed and approved information by CC Secretary Zoltan Komocsin on current international issues, and also the fundamental principles concerning amendment of the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic, as presented by CC Secretary Bela Biszku.

Following is a communique of the meeting.

I

The CC examined the international situation and current problems of the foreign-policy activity of the HSWP and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and stated:

1. The latest international developments confirm once again that the persevering efforts and initiatives of the socialist countries to strengthen peace and international security have met with a favorable response among the peoples of the world and the realistically minded political leaders of capitalist countries. The ever more important factor of the success of these initiatives is the growing unity of the socialist countries and closer cooperation and solidarity of the international working-class movement, progressive and peace-loving forces and the national liberation movements. The mounting struggle of the working people for their rights and peace proves the irreconcilability of the contradictions of imperialism and the capitalist world. The prolonged international monetary crisis, the failure of aggressive policies and aggravation of the internal problems of the imperialist military alliances only exacerbate these contradictions.

The CC stresses that the foreign-policy activity of the HSWP and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is invariably directed towards consolidating still further the unity of the socialist countries, the international Communist movement and the anti-imperialist forces. It approves and takes note of the communication on the successful negotiations conducted by the Hungarian Party and Government delegations at the Prague meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, and also with the delega-

tions of the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Socialist Republic of Rumania and the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The CC regards the Moscow meeting of Comrade Janos Kadar and L. I. Brezhnev as an important event of the Hungarian-Soviet friendship and cooperation. All these talks have helped consolidate proletarian international ties and fruitful multilateral cooperation between the fraternal socialist countries and their parties, proving that a clear-cut principled class policy contributes to the cause of socialism, peace and security. The CC expressed its satisfaction with the signing of a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

2. The CC states that as a result of concerted and active efforts of the socialist countries and a realistic policy gaining increasing recognition in capitalist countries, there are growing prospects of Europe being transformed into a continent of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between sovereign and equal states. Hungarian public supports the Prague declaration of January 26, 1972, issued by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, which calls for an early convocation of an all-European conference on security and cooperation and contains clearly defined principles of further consolidating peace and security and developing relations between European states. The socialist countries, including the Hungarian People's Republic, are prepared to participate immediately in multilateral preparations for the conference.

The earliest possible ratification of the Soviet-West German and Polish-West German treaties paving the way to a stable peace in Europe is in the interests of all European countries and nations. All sincere supporters of peace and security are concerned over the increasing activity of the Right circles in West Germany, stubbornly opposing a détente in Europe and seeking to prevent ratification of the treaties. The aggravation of the Cyprus problem and provision of a new base in Greece for the U.S. Navy likewise poison the atmosphere and impede progress in achieving international security.

The socialist countries, the working class of Europe and social movements of other progressive forces, the people of our continent and of the whole world resolutely oppose the policy of the aggressive forces and actions jeopardizing peace. The HSWP and Hungarian people express solidarity with the efforts of the Communist and Workers' parties and the struggle of the working class in Western Europe and of progressive masses to protect and broaden their rights and improve the political climate on the continent. They denounce pseudo-Left manifestations and provocations which ultimately play into the hands of the class enemy.

3. In Vietnam and the countries of the Indochina Peninsula

American aggression has suffered a terrible failure. The entire world, including progressives in the U.S., condemns this aggressive policy which has led to an impasse, and regards it as shocking that the U.S. administration puts forward mendacious "peace plans" and at the same time continues in cold blood to bombard the people of Vietnam, stubbornly clings to its "Vietnamization" plans and has not so far given a satisfactory reply to the proposals of the DRV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, which offer a real basis for a just settlement.

The persistent struggle of the peoples of the Indochina Peninsula, the victims of aggression, the selfless fraternal aid of the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, and the support from all progressive forces of the world are and will continue to be the most important guarantee that the heroic fight of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia will be crowned with victory.

This victory serves the cause of socialism, peace and all progressive mankind. Our Party and Government, our people, regard it as their internationalist duty to support the peoples of Indochina in their just struggle against the invaders and help the DRV in building socialism. Our Party and Government, our people are in complete solidarity with the 7-point proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the supplementary statement of February 2, 1972. The United States must unconditionally and immediately cease all military actions, set the precise date of the withdrawal of its troops and units of other foreign states and of the war material, and must dismantle their support bases.

The U.S. government must respect the right of the people of South Vietnam to self-determination and end all interference in South Vietnam, insuring the people of Vietnam, in accordance with the Geneva agreements of 1954, democratic freedoms including the formation of a national unity government.

4. The Middle East is the scene of continued aggression against the Arab peoples, whose undisguised aim is territorial expansion and weakening of progressive Arab forces. The main helper of the world bourgeoisie in carrying out its designs is anti-communism, the tactics of undermining the unity of progressive forces.

Israel continues to disregard the UN decisions and the indignation of the world public, openly declaring its territorial claims and committing another armed aggression against Syria and the Lebanon.

Progressive public opinion of the world supports the struggle of the Arab Republic of Egypt and other progressive Arab countries against world imperialism. Our country and people are in solidarity with the anti-imperialist forces in the Middle East and support the steps to raise the defense capacities of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

The only just and necessary solution is to fulfil the UN Security Council resolution of November 1967, concerning complete elimination of the consequences of the aggression, provision and observance of the right to self-determination for all peoples of the area, including the Palestinian Arab people.

5. The situation in the world imperatively demands the creation of broad anti-imperialist unity of action, ever more consciously sought by progressive forces. Our Party will do all in its power to make its contribution to rallying the ranks of anti-imperialist fighters. The CC expresses the conviction that the joint efforts of the Communist and Workers' parties and other anti-imperialist forces can curb aggression, thwart neo-colonialist designs and secure conditions for social progress.

II

The CC discussed fundamental aspects of the proposal for amending the Constitution. It regards as urgent such an amendment of the fundamental law of the Hungarian People's Republic, which would reflect the changes that have taken place in the life of society over more than two decades and the historic successes of the Hungarian people's creative endeavor and would serve to consolidate still further the socialist character of the country.

The CC states that the proposal for amending the Constitution corresponds to the gains and efforts of the Hungarian People's Republic and the directives of the 10th HSWP Congress and contributes to a still fuller unfolding of socialist democracy and the exercise of civil rights and duties.

FIFTH PLENARY MEETING CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the CC CPV ended its work in Caracas on March 6, 1972. It unanimously approved the proposal of Jesus Faria, the Party's General Secretary, to nominate Party Chairman Gustavo Machado presidential candidate in the 1973 elections.

The Meeting demanded that the government of Venezuela declare American Ambassador R. McClintock *persona non grata* for his reference to a group of Venezuelan youth opposed to the U.S. policy as "rabble." "We consider this statement of the American Ambassador as a brazen anti-national provocation," says the Meeting resolution.

The CC resolutely condemned the repressive measures of the oil consortium led by the U.S. monopolies and passed a decision on establishing at an early date a front in defense of national sovereignty in which all patriotic and anti-imperialist forces without exception could participate.

Following are extracts from the resolutions adopted on March 3-5 and published in *Tribuna popular* of March 4 and 7, 1972.

THE CPV NOMINATES GUSTAVO MACHADO AS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Election of the candidate of the New Force bloc is a question that must be settled positively in the shortest possible time.

The Communist Party of Venezuela was accused of being opposed to the extension of the Front, but the charge is totally groundless. The CC raises the banner of unity without reservations, thereby giving the lie to those who pose as victims of Communist sectarianism.

The Party Politbureau forwarded to the Electoral Movement of the People and the Republican Democratic Union and immediately published a detailed document which notes the main successes of the Front in 1971, makes a self-critical analysis and examines some obstacles to the work of the Front that can be easily removed. This document was interpreted as a sincere effort to improve our collective work in the interests of the common cause. The furious press campaign by the imperialists and the oligarchy against the New Force proves the correctness of our policy of promoting popular unity and activating the Popular Nationalist Front.

Apart from that, dozens of publications of the Copei and Democratic Action parties are trying in vain to confound and disorient public opinion.

However, the New Force has already become a promising factor, expressing the aspirations of the people for national liberation, full employment for the workers and land for the peasants, bread, milk, books and footwear for all children.

The mass work and financial campaign of the Women's Section of the New Force is a new and highly positive element. Thousands of housewives and other women are for the first time brought into the practical implementation of popular policy.

There are also advances in other sectors of mass work. The trade union organizations of the Front have drawn up a plan for the current month, involving thousands of workers. We have been supported by the youth who have scored many successes, especially in lycées and technical schools.

Highly important was the Third Congress of the Communist

Youth League, which made a significant contribution to popular unity.

The New Force has been successful also in the associations of professionals, in particular medical workers.

People without party affiliations and small Leftist groups are drawing nearer to the New Force. We consider that this fact signifies a welcome revision of the positions. The Communist Party Central Committee greets all who join the Front to fight for the realization of its program, for the victory of the Popular Unity candidate and to defend the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic policy of the Front.

The realization of the most difficult task, the election of the presidential candidate of the New Force, has not yet begun. We have a number of people who are superior to the candidates of other parties. We must choose among the preliminary candidates one candidate equally merited and capable. This places a great historical responsibility on us and requires a sober attitude and unitary political criterion. The primary condition, in the view of the Communists, is that the candidate of the New Force should be a person able to unite the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy forces. Such a man, supporter of unity, with broad democratic views tested in practice, will be able to govern the country in common with the forces that will make possible his electoral victory.

Within the New Force bloc, we all have equal responsibility and obligation to work for unity, for the maintenance of the Front after 1973. We Communists regard it as our duty to stimulate and explore every possibility of incorporating other groups and people in the Popular Unity. We consider that this is a revolutionary task today. It is difficult, but honorable work. We should renounce difficult or insignificant tasks when it is a question of changing the relationship of forces in favor of the Popular Unity.

It is necessary therefore to avoid definitive ruptures with other democratic forces or individual democrats who may serve as a reserve of a popular government. It should be an unalterable orientation of the New Force to combat dispersion and win for the Popular Unity more and more new forces, however insignificant they may be.

Division of the Left would signify defeat for the entire popular movement, not only for the splitters. We know that the enemies of the people are using all means to sow confusion or to set some detachments of the popular movement against others. We must be prepared to rebuff these reactionary attempts.

The idea of the Popular Unity is just and we firmly support it, for we know full well that partial unity of the Left forces alone is

not enough. Responding by insults to the insults of those who refuse to participate in the Front, we are not helping the popular cause. As genuine revolutionaries, we have no right to imperil the victory of the people in the elections for the sake of some momentary interests. To remove the government of the oligarchy from the Miraflores palace the people need unity of their leaders.

In 1958 a much broader unity was established. Today there is the possibility of achieving a major popular victory through a less heterogeneous and more advanced unity bloc. In the past we united with the Copei and AD parties. So why in 1973 couldn't all Left forces unite to come to power?

Of course, we do not propose nor accept unprincipled unity or unity for the sake of some personal interests. We conceive unity with a common program and revolutionary policy and the freedom of constructive criticism to correct defects. It must be a program opening the road to socialism through a consistent class struggle.

While not comparing or questioning the merits of the other candidates hoping, and quite legitimately, to get the support of the New Force, we propose to our allies the candidacy of Comrade Gustavo Machado for the post of President from the Popular Nationalist Front. Comrade Gustavo Machado has passed a long revolutionary path, he is a veteran participant in the anti-imperialist fight, enjoying broad recognition in Venezuela and abroad.

Caracas, March 3, 1972.

ON THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE

The Central Committee approves information on the Third National Congress of the Communist Youth League, presented by its General Secretary Comrade Noel Sirit.

The Third Congress of the Communist Youth League, held on February 13-15, constitutes an important stage in the struggle for the rights of the Venezuelan youth, for unity of the people and youth, for the triumph of the anti-imperialist struggle and the cause of socialism. The entire preparatory work and the results of its sessions represent a victory for the efforts to assure the triumph in the Communist Youth League of Marxist-Leninist principles over opportunism, revisionism and anti-Sovietism instigated by the anti-Party clique.

The League is again fulfilling its revolutionary tasks, having restored Communist principles and methods, the principles of youth education in the spirit of fidelity to the Party and proletarian internationalism, education free from liberalism and ideological corruption.

The League has again become an organization working under

the Party's political leadership and solidly united around the correct policy of popular unity.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee congratulates all young Communists on this victory and urges them to continue consolidating the League as an organization serving the working class.

The plenary meeting calls on all Party organizations to give all-round assistance to the League so as to transform it into a powerful mass organization, as reserve and helper of the Party.

SURMOUNT THE GRAVE AND CHRONIC DRAWBACKS IN TRADE UNIONS

If we want to liquidate reformism in the trade union movement, it is indispensable for the Party organizations, from the Central Committee and regional committees to Party cells, to take into their hands the direction and practical realization of the tasks in this sector of work, from the smallest to the most complex.

The fourth Congress of the CPV reaffirmed that work in the trade unions and among workers constitutes for the CPV the principal area of mass work.

The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee holds that for the practical application of this correct proposition Party work in the trade unions must be conducted irrespective of who leads them and of their affiliation. The Plenary Meeting defines the tasks of work among the unorganized masses of wage workers of town and country with the aim of drawing them into class organizations. This is a complex, many-sided work the object of which is to unite the working people in their struggle for specific demands, to eliminate reformist and neo-colonial influences among them and bring them into the struggle for democracy and socialism in our country.

In view of the organic division of the working class, there is no organization capable of effectively heading the struggle of the exploited for their demands. There is no strong trade union center that could achieve unity of action at all levels, that would concentrate on grass-roots work, organizing and leading the masses, that would discard sectarianism and bias and approach all who are fighting for the interests of working people, helping them combat corruption and bureaucratism in the trade union leadership. Many trade union bosses turn trade unions into something like their private establishments and enter into deals with the enemy. These bosses have no regard either for the trade union assemblies or trade union democracy.

The United Trade Union Center of Venezuela (CUTV) has made no progress, but on the contrary has become weaker as a result of withdrawal of some trade unions that followed the anarcho-syndi-

calist group, which founded the so-called class united trade union center.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPV is for a truly united, strong trade union center. The resolution continues:

Guided by the principle that Communists must work wherever the masses are, we must work everywhere where there are workers: in workers centers, in the trade unions of workers, irrespective of who leads these trade unions. In this sense we must concentrate all our efforts on work in enterprises and trade unions. At the enterprises we must recruit Party members among workers, and when the number of Communist workers has grown enough, they themselves will change the work of trade unions. The prime task of our work in the trade unions is to set up our groups there.

ON THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee approves the information, presented by the National Secretary in charge of organizational work, on the Party recruitment campaign which drew to a close on February 1.

The following positive developments are to be noted: the plan of Party growth was overfulfilled by 16 per cent (for the country as a whole); Party membership increased 144.7 per cent after the Fourth Congress; workers and peasants now make up 62.2 per cent of the total; thousands of young workers and peasants joined the Party and so did hundreds of women, which reveals great possibilities existing in this area.

The plenum highly appraises the work of exchanging and registering membership cards of all Party members, both nationally and regionally; this makes it possible to plan more successfully and advance work among workers, peasants, in the trade unions, among women, as well as the financial and general work of the Party.

The plenum approves the "Work in Your Cell" campaign launched on February 1, and calls on the district committees to step up the work of drawing into the life of Party cells and active Party work all new Party members and their education in communist ideology. Caracas, March 5, 1972.

20th PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC, WPPV*

The recently held 20th plenary meeting of the Central Committee, Working People's Party of Vietnam, discussed the tasks of the

*Communique released by the Vietnam Information Agency on April 11, 1972.

struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation and the building of socialism in North Vietnam.

The meeting heard reports and adopted resolutions on the patriotic struggle and economic tasks for 1972.

The meeting put on record that the present struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is the greatest war of resistance to foreign invasion in the history of the people of Vietnam. After the great victories in the early spring of 1968, the people of Vietnam, closely cooperating with the fraternal liberation armies and peoples of Laos and Cambodia, have repeatedly won successes on all fronts, inflicting heavy losses on the U.S. imperialists and their hirelings. These victories provided practical opportunities for foiling the "Vietnamization" policy and the "Nixon doctrine" in Indochina.

The people of South Vietnam are not only scoring military successes, but are also unfolding courageous struggle in rural and urban areas against the brutal "pacification" program of the U.S. aggressors and their hirelings, against the brutal policy of repression and persecution.

The people and armed forces of North Vietnam have built up the economic and defense potential of the country, they are prepared to fight and are fighting well, meting out retribution to the U.S. Air Force and repulsing all its attacks.

On the diplomatic front, we receive extensive aid and support from fraternal socialist countries and the peoples of the world, including progressives in the U.S.

The situation has changed radically. Now the initiative is in our hands, we are winning, our positions are advantageous and are improving, while the enemy is in a difficult position and is suffering defeats. Our fight against the enemy in the military, political and diplomatic fields is entering a decisive stage. We are in an advantageous position, conducting our patriotic struggle with energy and determination.

The 20th plenary meeting of the WPPV stressed that the urgent task of the Party, army and people of Vietnam at the present stage is to steadfastly continue and force the war of resistance to U.S. aggression until complete victory, to mobilize all forces and move forward, unite and closely coordinate our operations with those of the fraternal Laotian and Cambodian armies and peoples, thwart the "Vietnamization" policy and the "Nixon doctrine" in Indochina.

Referring to the basic position of the Vietnamese people on the settlement of the problem of Vietnam, the meeting stressed that the U.S. imperialists must end their armed aggression in South Vietnam, abandon their policy of "Vietnamization," cease the operations of their air and naval forces and all other military actions against the people of Vietnam in both zones, withdraw all troops

and advisers of the U.S. and satellite countries from South Vietnam and liquidate all U.S. military bases in South Vietnam. They must really respect the right of the people of South Vietnam to self-determination, stop supporting the puppet administration and disband their apparatus of compulsion and suppression so that it may be possible to form a broad national coalition government that would undertake the task of holding genuinely free and democratic elections in South Vietnam.

Commending the achievements of the people of Vietnam, their armed forces and all Party members, the meeting declared that so long as the U.S. imperialists continue their aggressive war and maintain their neo-colonialism in South Vietnam in whatever form, the people of Vietnam will go on fighting to win genuine independence and freedom at all costs.

Concerning the building of socialism in North Vietnam, the meeting pointed out that in 1971 the national economy was rehabilitated and further developed, production was stabilized still more and living standards improved. The economic situation is changing for the better.

The meeting paid tribute to the workers, peasants, intellectuals and all people for their conscientious work, for eliminating the consequences of the most devastating floods and accelerating the rate of production, thereby creating favorable conditions for fulfilling the 1972 state plan.

With regard to the directions and tasks of the 1972 state plan and the preparation of the plan for 1973, the meeting adopted the following decision:

—To increase the country's defense potential, to assure the readiness to fight and foil all military ventures of the enemy launched by the aviation, paratroopers and ground forces against North Vietnam;

—to build up the rate of agricultural production, rapidly turning agriculture into a large-scale branch of socialist production, to increase agricultural output to meet the internal needs and export requirements, improve cooperative management, consolidate socialist relations of production in the countryside, restore and develop industry, especially engineering, and handicrafts, improve communications and trade, develop export and raise the living standards of the people, make full use of all labor potentialities, achieve maximum effectiveness of equipment, materials, land, etc., so as rapidly to develop production and raise labor productivity;

—to expand capital construction, consolidate the material and technical basis of the economy, satisfy the needs of economic rehabilitation and development, the needs of the front and pressing requirements of the people, actively prepare for extensive capital construction in the next few years;

—to accelerate fulfilment of long-term plans for economic and cultural development;

—to improve state administration, especially economic management.

The plenary meeting stressed that the realization of the economic tasks and the transition from small to large-scale socialist production require better economic management.

In conclusion, the plenary meeting called on the Party, the army and the people to carry out the decisions of the CC WPPV and the 1972 state plan, translate into life the sacred behests of President Ho Chi Minh, to work devotedly for a complete defeat of the U.S. aggressors and to build socialism.

COMMUNICATION*

PLENARY MEETING OF THE CC RCP

The Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party held a plenary meeting on April 18 to discuss the following questions:

1. Analysis of the national economic development in 1971 and the main aspects of the fulfilment of the state plan for the first quarter of 1972.

2. Draft decision on perfecting information in the socio-economic spheres, introducing automatic system of economic management and computerization of the national economy in 1971-1980.

3. Report on membership, composition and organizational structure of the Party as of December 31, 1971.

4. Report on numerical strength and cadres of Party and state organs.

5. Convocation of the Party's National Conference.

6. Draft decision of the CC RCP on N. Ceausescu's visit to African countries.

7. Organizational questions.

Government ministers, heads of central agencies and public organizations, chief editors of central newspapers and journals attended the meeting as guests.

The plenary meeting positively assessed the creative, inspired endeavor of the working people in all branches, of the intelligentsia and the entire nation to fulfil and exceed the plan for 1971 and the first quarter of 1972, to raise the living standards and carry out the program of building a comprehensively developed socialist society, worked out by the 10th RCP Congress. The meeting

*Agerpres release.

adopted a series of measures to ensure the fulfilment of the 1972 plan and to draw up in time the plan for 1973.

The plenary meeting passed a decision on improving the system of information in the socio-economic spheres, introducing automated economic management and computerizing the national economy over 1971-1980. The decision will be published separately.

The plenum approved reports on membership, composition and organizational structure of the Party and on the cadres of Party and state bodies.

Another decision concerned the convocation in the first half of June of the National Conference of the RCP to discuss "Fulfilment of the Decisions of the National Conference and the 10th Congress of the RCP and Measures to Further Improve the Guidance and Planning of Socio-Economic Activity and Promote Socialist Democracy."

The plenum resolved that the rate of representation at the National Conference should be one delegate per 1,000 Party members.

The CC RCP gave high appraisal of the activity of the General Secretary of the RCP and Chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, N. Ceausescu, and the especially important contribution he has made to the development of the policy of the RCP and Rumanian state during his visit to several African countries from March 11 to April 6, 1972.

On organizational matters, the plenum resolves: to expel Vasile Rus from candidate membership of the CC RCP for abuse of his post and attempts to enrich himself while in office on the Tirgu-Mures Municipal Party Committee; to expel Ilie Fasui from the CC RCP for violation of Communist ethics and gross mistakes he had made while in office in the Caras Severin District Party Committee.

The plenum relieved Dumitru Pop of his duties as member of the CC RCP Executive Committee for serious shortcomings in the work of the Bucharest Municipal Party Committee and especially the People's Council of the Bucharest municipality. The plenum recommended to relieve D. Pop also of his post of First Secretary of the Bucharest Municipal Party Committee and Chairman of the Municipal People's Council.

The plenum granted the request of Carol Kiralyi to relieve him of candidate membership of the CC RCP Executive Committee and recommended to relieve him of his post of First Secretary of the Covasna district RCP Committee and Chairman of the District People's Council.

The plenum elected G. Cioara member of the CC RCP Executive Committee and recommended to elect him First Secretary of the Bucharest Municipal Committee of the RCP and Chairman of the

Bucharest Municipal People's Council. In this connection, it was recommended to relieve G. Cioara of his post of Chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology.

Cornel Burtica and Ion Patan were elected candidate members of the CC RCP Executive Committee.

To firm up the work of the Council of Ministers of the SRR, the plenum recommended to appoint P. Niculescu-Mizil Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, relieving him of his post of Secretary of the CC RCP.

The plenum elected Josif Banc to the post of Secretary of the CC RCP and recommended to relieve him of his post of Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Agriculture, Food Industry and Water Economy.

The plenum promoted Ion Dinca and Stefan Andrei from candidate to full membership of the Central Committee and elected them Secretaries of the CC RCP.

The plenum decided to appoint L. Rautu Chairman of the Council of the Board and Rector of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, recommending to relieve him of the duties of Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The plenum recommended electing Mihai Dalea and Mihai Ghere Secretaries of the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front. It was decided to relieve Mihai Dalea of his post as Chairman of the Central Party Collegium, appointing to this post Nicolae Guina.

The plenum of the CC RCP expressed the conviction that the adopted organizational measures would help improve the work of leading Party organs and the entire activity of guiding society and fulfilling the program for the all-round development of Rumania outlined by the 10th Congress of the RCP.

The closing session was addressed by N. Ceausescu.

DRAW THE PEOPLE INTO THE EFFORT FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Following are extracts from the closing remarks of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary, CP of Chile, at a recent meeting of the Party CC. The full text of his contribution appeared in **El Siglo** on March 19 last and was also distributed in pamphlet form.

Home reaction, backed by imperialism, expects to overthrow the government. Not all who are in the opposition are prompted by the same idea—many of them expect to win power by democratic means. As matters stand, however, opposition headquarters have

been trying hard to create an intolerable situation upsetting constitutional order and threatening the country with numerous misfortunes.

Now let reaction look out. We say again that it has no chance nor will have any and will be rebuffed. Should it rise to overthrow the government, it will be crushed. It is a poor schemer. It would do well to bear in mind that the majority of the people are for constitutional development and social change, and that the working class and other organized working people, who side with the government, are determined and militant enough to put down rebellion. One worker fighter is worth a dozen or more aristocrats.

The first thing we wish to make clear is, therefore, that this meeting reaffirms the Party's attitude, which is in harmony with the people's interest and will. Our Party says that under no circumstances will the reactionary classes be allowed to have their way.

Those behind the conspiracy still pose as champions of democracy, the Constitution and law. What they want, however, is to regain lost positions and uphold the privileges they still enjoy contrary to the law. Eighteen months of Popular Unity government have shown the world that the President of the Republic and the parties going along with him are carrying out the program of revolutionary change by constitutional and lawful methods.

Our Party is the enemy's main target. For days in a row, *El Mercurio* tried to set the armed forces against the Communists. The Communist Party has never incited the military to revolt. It respects and appreciates the professional character of our military institutions. It has never proposed to form Communist cells in troop units. What our Young Communist League seeks—and this is commendable—is to make young Chileans keen on going through the school of military service.

The policy of the Communist Party is to promote implementation of the Popular Unity Program in common with other government organizations. Our main concern is for the success of the government led by Cde. Salvador Allende.

This meeting has emphasized precisely the main tasks of the government. They consist in deepening and extending the revolutionary process, making enterprises in the public sector profitable, increasing production and productivity, forging ahead in economic planning, averting greater inflation, ensuring that the population is adequately supplied, achieving proper and conscious labor discipline, combating red tape, paving the way for fair and strict methods of government and economic management, and providing better conditions for the early launching of democratic changes of an institutional nature.

The most important aspect of this meeting is that it sets these government tasks primarily as tasks of the masses. This is why we

have said that the main thing is to draw the people into the effort for social change more effectively and extensively, bringing the working people into the management of enterprises, into the production battle, into efforts to improve the service industry, and draw consumers into the campaign for proper supply, against profiteering.

One of the big problems facing us is the relative shortage of foreign exchange. We have inherited it from earlier regimes and it is a consequence of foreign debts, the drop in the price of copper and the closing of some channels of imperialist credit. We can cope with this problem with help from our friends abroad and, above all, through our own efforts. What Chile's working people do to increase output of copper and other export products, what we will do to dispense with imports, what the people have begun doing to distribute more fish and encourage its consumption, what the peasants will do to increase agricultural output and cut imports, what the armed forces do to train tractor-drivers, what students at the University of Chile did to build new incubators or what students at the Technological University accomplished in copper mines is vastly important in this respect—it is of enormous revolutionary and patriotic significance.

Reality tells us that today we revolutionaries must think of fish, chickens, thread, the school uniform, wheat, shoes, spare parts, industrial raw materials and whatever else has a bearing on economic progress and satisfaction of the people's concrete needs.

Hence, comrades, the main guideline of this meeting is to gear the effort of the whole Party, from top to bottom, to carrying out the concrete tasks of the Chilean revolution and to see to it, along with other Popular Unity parties, that the working class, other working men and women and the people as a whole join actively in this effort.

The forms in which this can be done are most varied.

It is necessary to open all gateways and provide every channel for the working people to participate in the solution of their problems, so that they may realize that the situation has really changed, that today they do not work merely to earn a living but to promote the country's overall progress, without the fruits of their labor serving to enrich a few. It is also a question of new managing methods, of paving the way for new production relations, developing a new type of labor discipline and ensuring that executives comport themselves like working people, that they plan with them, participate in work on a voluntary basis and wrestle with problems together, at the work place rather than in the office.

These are the fundamental ideas that should inspire our activity.

MISTAKES AND WEAKNESSES

There is plainly no accord between the significance of the revolu-

tionary changes being effected by the government, between its policy designed to meet the people's interests, and the political support the government gets. There are various reasons for this phenomenon. They are linked with the sectarian mistakes stressed in the report to this meeting and in the debate, with the fact that the working people do not really and fully share in decision-making on all levels and with the weaknesses of our ideological and political struggle against class enemies and the ultras helping them.

I would like to say a word about this fundamental aspect of our struggle.

It is a fact that the enemy still wields too much political power, vast funds and publicity media, all of which he shrewdly uses.

By contrast, the government and Popular Unity do not make sufficient use of the means at their disposal, although there have lately been signs of this situation being remedied. We have always been uncompromising critics of this aspect of government work. Speaking generally, the government's publicity media are inadequate and are partly under the charge of incompetent and indifferent people who look down on the activity of the masses, their production efforts, the young people's voluntary labor, and all the new and creative that exists or emerges as the fight for the new society goes on. In fact, there are distribution centers like Quimantu, a public enterprise, where leading functions are misused and those in charge go as far as to publish books to which our Party objects and which are frankly hostile to a friendly country like the Soviet Union.

I wish to stress that our Party and its every member must mount a far-reaching political offensive against the enemy by refuting his every infamous calumny, by countering his lies with the truth, elucidating every problem and steadily raising the political consciousness of the masses.

Our duty is to uphold revolutionary principles and the truth everywhere, combating with ideological and political arguments ideas which run counter to the working people's real class interests. We must do this among the working people themselves. This is why we say that today excessive demands are out of keeping with the working people's own interests. This is not realized by all, and the reactionaries and ultra-leftists take advantage of this incomprehension to create a state of anarchy.

The report notes that when the situation becomes complicated the ultras try to form a "left"-wing opposition playing into the hands of the Right.

Popular Unity includes those who imagine that talks could result in agreement with the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR). We say that, in our opinion, the important thing is to carry on an ideological struggle, to combat ultra-leftist positions harmful to the

Popular Unity government. This struggle is as necessary and useful as ever.

REMOVE SHORTCOMINGS

The meeting has been thoroughly critical and self-critical, as we had wanted it to be. The report notes it and we can say in so many words that the Party as such has not been passive nor compromising, that it has not become bureaucratic nor dissociated from the masses. It has proved strong enough to appreciate the new situation and new tasks. Nevertheless, there are comrades even on the Central Committee and in the government who are wanting in this to one extent or another.

This meeting is leading off a campaign to remove these shortcomings. In the interest of the Party, we have modified, and will modify, the composition of our leading committees where necessary. This also applies to replacements in the government—by agreement, needless to say, with the President of the Republic.

The government in which we are represented has done much. However, the masses occasionally misjudge it. The time has come for all of us to put things right.

Ever since our Party joined the government it has been implementing Communist moral standards in regard to remuneration. We have gone further in recent months. We highly paid civil servants contribute over 200 million pesos a month to the National Board of Kindergartens, which we deduct from our salaries without detriment to Party dues. Comrades employed by enterprises in the public sector contribute to the enterprises concerned what may be called their pay surplus.

We have called on other Popular Unity parties to do as much because we feel this to be the duty of all.

We expect every Communist to live as befits a revolutionary. We have circulated explicit instructions saying that no Communist civil servant should use government vehicles for private purposes nor for the Party, that no one should claim the incomes received by their predecessors in enterprises which have since become public property, and that they should at all times concern themselves with the people's problems and needs. Our comrades' reaction has invariably been favorable. The Party will persevere in applying these standards.

PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING

We are very happy about the fact that the Socialist Party, which is likewise in plenary session at the moment, sets itself similar objectives and emphasizes the Marxist-Leninist principles of organization and functioning of a revolutionary party.

Some speakers pointed to certain difficulties over Socialist-

Communist unity. These difficulties do exist and the leaderships of the two parties have agreed to overcome them. The main thing is the specific efforts we will make in this field. Should we fail to overcome the difficulties, we will have to regard that as a reverse for our Party. We would not like this reference to the problem to be taken as a formal approach. It is indispensable to foster understanding between the Socialists and Communists and among all Popular Unity parties.

The El Arrayan agreements afford an ample basis for understanding among all Popular Unity organizations. It is essential to organize implementation of the agreement. We will make specific proposals to other parties for carrying out every provision of the El Arrayan Declaration. This must be done at all levels and throughout the country.

A few weeks ago the working people went out into the streets to stop reaction and say No to those who are intent on reversing the nationalization policy and to back the measures adopted by the government against speculators and profiteers. The action had its effect and showed the enemy that the working class and the people have no intention of giving up their gains. It was also evidence of our tremendous potentialities and our immense possibilities of greatly stimulating the mass struggle.

The United Federation of Working People is the main force of the working-class movement. In view of the elections to its Executive Council, we must ensure that all member workers, peasants and other working people take part in the formation of the Federation's leading bodies. We Communists must secure appropriate positions on these bodies to provide—along with other revolutionary currents—militant leadership for the working-class movement. The people our Party is putting forward are leaders tested through years of struggle and enjoying the working people's confidence.

Comrades, we have held this meeting with the object of harnessing all of the Party's energies and abilities to the achievement of a goal of vital importance—changing the present political situation so as to defeat reaction's plans, overcome difficulties and carry forward the Chilean revolution.

The report says that the Party has been able to do great things. The working class and people of Chile have scored big gains. We are capable of furthering the revolution because we are strong, because we have powerful allies and because the tasks we are setting ourselves accord with the people's vital interests. We are leaving this meeting to fight together with the masses, to raise their militancy and class consciousness and win for the working class the positions it is entitled to. This has been proved to be the road to victory.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

AGAINST NEW U.S. ESCALATION, FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM

**AN APPEAL* TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE U.S. PEOPLE
BY A CPUSA DELEGATION VISITING VIETNAM**

A delegation of four U.S. Communists who witnessed U.S. air raids on Hanoi and Haiphong, on April 19 issued an "appeal to the conscience of the people of the United States" to force the Nixon Administration to end the "mass murder" bombing.

The appeal was signed by Gus Hall, General Secretary and Presidential candidate; Jarvis Tyner, Vice-Presidential candidate; Rasheed Storey, N.Y. State Communist Party Chairman, and Joseph North, author and editor, **World Magazine**.

The text of the appeal follows:

We who have now experienced the brutal bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong make this appeal to the conscience of the people of the United States.

We saw with our own eyes that the main targets of the U.S. bombers were the heavily populated working class centers of Hanoi and Haiphong.

We saw the newly constructed working class apartment houses in Haiphong that were destroyed by the criminal pilots sent by the arch criminals of the Nixon Administration.

We saw the hospital and spoke to the women and children whose blood was smeared on the steps as we entered.

We saw the workers' quarters where the planes returned three times to complete their destruction.

This is no accident. Civilian targets are the main objective of the government. We saw market places bombed, restaurants bombed, factories bombed, waterfront warehouses bombed, vital water mains bombed.

We saw British, Soviet and German Democratic Republic ships attacked in the harbor. As we crossed a bridge entering Haiphong, crowded with families of mothers, fathers and their children, a U.S. plane streaked above us and people scrambled for their lives.

*Daily World, April 20, 1972.

We saw the same in the beautiful capital of Hanoi where we experienced two waves of bombers. It was the same in peaceful country villages by the rice paddies where we met a farmer whose friends, a family of seven, had been killed in that morning's raid.

We have now seen the crushed bodies of little girls who only moments before played peacefully with their dolls, and the bodies of small boys whose friendly games of marbles were disrupted forever by the massive tonnage of U.S. bombs. We saw the shattered hands of workers who will never again be able to provide for their families. We saw some who were blinded by the flying debris.

In the name of our own children we appeal to all Americans to save the children of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. We appeal to your humanity, common sense and reason.

We who have seen the iron will, the unprecedented courage, the unbreakable determination, the united, unflinching commitment of the Vietnamese people in their struggle for national salvation against U.S. imperialism appeal to all Americans who value human life and dignity.

We appeal to you to see the Vietnamese love of life as your own, to see the Vietnamese people's struggle for social progress as your own, to act now to save humanity from disaster.

Those who thought that the withdrawal of troops was intended to end the aggression in Indochina now see that it was Nixon's camouflaged way of escalating the war via criminal air power—the new Mylais of the B-52's—that are designed to undertake an impossible task to break the unshatterable will and determination of the Vietnamese people.

This is why the targets are heavily populated centers and not the so-called military objectives. This we saw with our own eyes—the genocidal policies of the Nixon Administration. Now that we know this, we must act now or accept the verdict of humanity of complicity by complacency in mass murder, in genocide.

As long as the aggression continues we cannot, as Americans, escape the stigma of what is a national shame. As long as the bombing goes on, we can never wash off the blood of the millions of victims of U.S. imperialist aggressors.

We know these murder policies of aggression are dictated not by the will of the people, or even of the U.S. Congress, but by the giant monopoly corporations—the Rockefeller, Morgan, ITT interests, etc., who maintain and extend their riches through the destruction and suffering of the Vietnamese and other peoples of the world.

We must see, though, that we bear a responsibility as long as these acts of barbarism are perpetrated in our name.

The bombings are the work of desperate men gone insane, Nixon, Kissinger, Agnew, these Dr. Strangeloves of Washington.

The victories of the Vietnamese National Liberation forces have

created a totally new situation. They have virtually destroyed the best of the puppet troops. They have shattered once and for all Nixon's hoax of Vietnamization. As the Pentagon-trained Thieu mercenaries turn their guns and tanks on U.S. puppet troops, the arrogant predictions of General Creighton Abrams and Defense Secretary Melvin Laird go up in smoke.

The retaliation bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong has smashed to smithereens Nixon's phony "peace for generations" fraud. This insane act destroyed the illusion that Nixon's troop withdrawals were ever intended to lead to the end of the aggression in Indochina.

This is a moment of great danger. Nixon's irresponsible acts of desperation are those of a mad butcher and can lead to a world confrontation. But above all else, the very acts of desperation have opened up momentous possibilities of putting an end to the aggression now.

The escalation of the bombing has set into motion an escalation of the world's struggle against U.S. imperialism. It has created a new stage in that struggle. It will let loose the greatest waves of anti-imperialist movements to date.

But we in the United States have the main responsibility. In meeting this challenge we will be fulfilling our responsibility to ourselves and to all the people of the world.

We appeal to all Americans: to every shop worker, to all members of the trade union movement, to all peace and democratic-minded Americans, to all Black Americans, to all Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian and Asian Americans, to the youth, to the students, to the women, to the veterans, to the unemployed, to the intellectuals, to all who feel the impact of the war in a thousand different ways—on our living standards, on our taxes, on the decline of our cities, on the escalation of racism, and the destruction of democratic rights.

We appeal to all whose sheer humanity is violated by this war.

This moment in history cries out for unity in action! This is a moment when we must unite and concentrate our total efforts to end this criminal war, to end this mass murder, to end this imperialist aggression.

An absolute precondition for the right of the Vietnamese people to determine their destiny is the total withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from Indochina. These actions must continue on every level and in all localities. These actions must be intensified in depth and scope, until the U.S. Government returns to the Paris negotiations in good faith, until it accepts the just seven-point program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

These actions must continue until the U.S. government sets the date for the withdrawal of all forces from Southeast Asia—the

ground troops, the U.S. Navy, the U.S. Airforce, the CIA and all supportive personnel!

There have been many important actions in the U.S. on behalf of peace since this war began. The moment cries out now for the greatest united actions of us all—to achieve the end of this war on behalf of our people and the peoples of Vietnam and all Indochina, on behalf of human progress, on behalf of our children and all children of the world.

We make this appeal from the air-raid shelters of Hanoi.

STATEMENT OF THE DRV GOVERNMENT

The DRV Government, says the Statement published on May 10, regards the military moves of the U.S., including the mining of North Vietnam's ports, as a gross encroachment on the sovereignty and security of the DRV, violating the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam and the elementary principles of international law, freedom of international shipping and trade.

The Statement points out that U.S. imperialism has for many years been waging a colonial war against the people of Vietnam. Conducting a policy of genocide in South Vietnam, the U.S. is spreading the war to the entire Indochina Peninsula and striking at the populated areas of the DRV, including Hanoi and Haiphong.

The mining of the DRV ports, the grave sabotage by the U.S. of the Paris talks on Vietnam, a considerable build-up of the U.S. air and naval forces to intensify the war in both zones of Vietnam still further expose the aggressive actions of the U.S. imperialists, says the Statement.

Resolutely condemning the escalation of the war by the United States, the DRV Government demands that the U.S. Administration stop the mining of entrances to North Vietnam's ports and end the bombings and all other forms of encroachment on the sovereignty and security of the DRV.

The Statement issues an appeal to the Vietnamese people and their armed forces to continue their determined fight against the U.S. aggression, for the liberation of the South, the defense of the socialist North Vietnam, for the peaceful reunification of the country.

In conclusion, the DRV Government appeals to the governments and peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, to other countries acting for peace and justice, and to international organizations that they demand an end to the mining of the North Vietnam ports, immediate ending of bombings and other acts of aggression in-

fringing the sovereignty and security of the DRV, renunciation of the 'Vietnamization' policy, a beginning of serious talks in Paris on Vietnam and a positive reply to the proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

STATEMENT* OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

The government of the United States has announced new aggressive acts in Vietnam, leading to further complications in Southeast Asia and fraught with serious consequences for world peace and security.

In a statement on May 8, 1972, the U.S. President announced that he had ordered entrances to North Vietnamese ports mined so as to interdict access of ships, and to intensify the bombing of DRV territory and, in particular, to carry out air strikes against railway and other communications. In sum, the USA is trying to sever the DRV's economic, commercial and other ties with third countries, and to deny the Democratic Republic of Vietnam the opportunity of receiving aid for its people to repulse the U.S. aggression, and to receive food and other supplies for the peaceful population.

Whatever false excuses may be made for the adventurist actions of the American armed forces in Vietnam, their true purpose is clear. They are not intended to "save the USA from humiliation," but to salvage the notorious "Vietnamization" policy, which is obviously foundering. Nor is it a matter of affording the Vietnamese a chance of settling their affairs by negotiation, but of American armed support for the anti-people's puppet regime in Saigon.

The intensified bombing of the DRV and Washington's attempts to set its own rules of international navigation by fiat, cannot but evoke indignation and sharp condemnation. Once again, they show the world the true piratical nature of the war against the people of Vietnam, started and continued for many years by the United States. One act of aggression has led to another, still more dangerous one. Barbarous acts and crimes are followed by new, still graver ones. As a result, the course of the war is affecting to an ever greater extent the interests of many countries and peoples.

The mining of DRV ports, attempts to prevent foreign shipping from entering its territorial and internal waters, create a direct threat to ships and the lives of seamen of many countries carrying cargoes for the population of the DRV. Nobody has given the USA the right to restrict anybody's freedom of navigation on the high seas. The U.S. actions are a gross violation of the universally recognized freedom of shipping, though the signature of the United

**Pravda*, May 12, 1972.

States stands alongside others under the Geneva maritime conventions of 1958, which guarantee this principle.

The Soviet Union regards as inadmissible the U.S. acts endangering the freedom of navigation and the safety of Soviet and other shipping along the shores of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Soviet Union will draw from this the appropriate conclusions. The government of the United States will bear the entire responsibility for the possible consequences of its unlawful actions.

By defying the Geneva conventions, the United States is showing contempt for one of the main demands of international law—the observance by states of the commitments they have assumed under international treaties. This is a dangerous and slippery path. It can lead only to new complications in the international situation and to lawlessness in international relations. What would happen if in reply to the unilateral U.S. actions imperilling the lawful interests of a number of states and the safety of their citizens, these states were to act like the U.S. is acting at present in Vietnam?

A new escalation of acts of aggression will not solve the problems of Indochina or break the will of the people of Vietnam, who are fighting for freedom and independence. The actions taken by the USA only prolong the conflict, continue the bloodshed and inevitably cause new losses and destruction.

The only realistic approach to the Vietnam problem is to respect the right of the Vietnamese people to decide their own future without outside interference or pressure. If the USA is really prepared for this, it should return to the negotiation table in Paris.

The Soviet government resolutely insists that the U.S. steps to block the coast and to disrupt ground communications in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam should be cancelled at once, that the U.S. acts of aggression against the DRV should be stopped, and that the right to freedom of international navigation and trade should be respected. The Soviet government expresses the trust that this point of view is shared by the governments and peoples of all peace-loving states.

Faithful to the principles of socialist internationalism, the Soviet people have always shown solidarity with the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam, and have given, and will continue to give, them the necessary support.

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENTS OF OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

The governments of other socialist countries issued statements concerning the new escalation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The statement of the People's Republic of China of May 11 reads in part:

"This act of escalation is a grave encroachment on the territory and sovereignty of the DRV, a gross violation of the freedom of international shipping and trade and an arbitrary flouting of the UN Charter and universally accepted international law. This is a provocation not only against the people of Vietnam, but against the peoples of the whole world."

The statement qualifies as "absurd" the pretexts used by U.S. imperialism for escalating its aggression and denounces the hypocrisy of the "peaceful" declaration of the U.S. Administration.

In conclusion the Statement says:

"The Government of China and the Chinese people resolutely support the firm and just stand of the DRV government set forth in its Statement of May 10, 1972. The Government of China states again: 'The 700-million Chinese people are a strong support of the Vietnamese people, and the vast territory of China is their dependable rear'. Whatever may happen, this position of ours remains firm and unshakeable. So long as U.S. imperialism does not stop its aggressive war against Vietnam and irrespective of the form assumed by this war—whether it is waged by the United States itself or with the use of puppet troops, with ground or air and naval forces—we will resolutely support the people of Vietnam in carrying the war of resistance through to ultimate victory."

GRAVE DANGER THREATENS WORLD PEACE THROUGH THE FAULT OF THE U.S.

**ADDRESS OF THE ITALIAN CP POLITBUREAU,
PUBLISHED IN "UNITA" ON MAY 10**

In view of the advance of the Liberation Forces which no bombings and no air and naval attacks can stop and in connection with the disintegration of the puppet troops testifying to the failure of "Vietnamization," the United States has taken a new tragic step in the escalation of fear, intensifying its offensive against the DRV. After the U.S. Government had announced that it was prepared to withdraw its troops in the desperate hope that weaponry, advisors, bombers and warships would be enough to break the resistance of the people who wish to be free, the Nixon Administration is now taking an unprecedented step fraught with an extension of the conflict and adding a violation of international law to the brutality of the aggression.

The blockading of Haiphong is at the same time an attempt to choke economic life and disrupt the freedom of North Vietnam's

international communications, and a threat to the ships of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other countries that have ties with the DRV.

The ICP Politbureau follows with anxiety the deterioration of the situation and the emergence of a new danger. It calls on the Communists to fulfil their internationalist duty by urging all democratic and peace forces to voice their common protest, telling the working people, youth and women about the horrors of the renewed imperialist violence, appealing to them to demonstrate in protest against the intolerable brutality of the American government, which damages the honour and threatens the security of Italy bound with this government by military pacts.

The Communists appeal to the conscious and political responsibility of those who have already demonstrated their indignation at the bombings of Vietnamese towns and the destruction of the peaceful population. They call on them to force the Italian government openly to dissociate from this conflict, condemn the new unlawful and inhuman act of war "blockade" of a country that wants nothing but to be free and win peace.

STATEMENT OF THE FRENCH CP POLITBUREAU

On May 10, *L'Humanité* published the following statement of the FCP Politbureau:

Nixon has just ordered the mining of all DRV ports and intensified bombing of all DRV territory.

Simultaneously, he has issued an ultimatum, thereby assuming responsibility for the possibility of a new extension of the war.

Thus, he has surmounted one more stage in the monstrous escalation effected by U.S. imperialism in Indochina.

While the victorious offensive of the people's liberation forces has made obvious the collapse of U.S. aggression and the policy of "Vietnamization," these decisions are a challenge to the conscience of the whole world. They are a challenge to the principles guiding international relations.

These proposals are a challenge to the peace forces supporting the just cause of the Vietnamese people and other peoples of Indochina fighting for their independence.

It is a challenge to peace at a time when immediate political settlement is possible on the basis of the constructive proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the DRV.

The FCP considers that in these conditions the French government cannot remain passive. It must immediately and unambi-

guously state the position of France and reaffirm the principles that were solemnly proclaimed.

It is indispensable and urgent that the people forcefully voice their protest so as to stop the criminal venture of the U.S. aggressor. Let there be more messages of protest, telegrams and delegations sent by enterprises, localities and universities to the U.S. Embassy and consulate.

The FCP addresses to its members and organizations an appeal to take all initiatives so that the movement of protest assumes the broadest character in an atmosphere of unity. The FCP calls on all working people, all supporters of peace and independence of the peoples to join in diverse manifestations of protest organized throughout the country. It calls on the people of the Paris area to stage a mass joint demonstration of the Left forces on Place de la Concorde.

PROTESTS IN JAPAN

On May 10, Akahata published a statement by T. Nizhizawa, member of the Permanent Bureau of the CC CPJ Presidium. Nixon's decision to block the DRV ports and intensify the bombing of DRV territory, the statement says, is a challenge to the whole world. It expresses strong protest against the escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the complicity of the Sato cabinet in the aggression.

Akahata also published a statement of protest by the CPJ forwarded to President Nixon.

On May 10, at a session of the foreign relations commission of the lower chamber of parliament, Communist deputy D. Matsumoto made interpellations to the government on Vietnam. He took issue with the position of the government aimed at defending and justifying U.S. actions in Vietnam.

On May 11, Akahata published a joint address by 84 democratic organizations, including the CPJ, SPJ and the General Council of the Trade Unions of Japan, and a statement of 134 scientists and cultural workers, expressing protest against the decision of President Nixon to mine the entrances to DRV ports and intensify the bombings of DR territory.

SPEECH* BY LE DUC THO

Speaking at a press conference in Paris, Le Duc Tho, special advisor with the DRV delegation at the quadripartite talks on Vietnam, and member of the Political Bureau of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, said:

*L'Humanité, May 13, 1972.

"We have repeatedly pointed out that the best means of saving the lives of American troops in South Vietnam, the best means of securing the release of American troops taken prisoner in our country is for the United States to conduct serious talks on peaceful settlement in Vietnam, a just and reasonable settlement that would make possible a rapid withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam with honor and in security, a settlement that would really respect the right of the population of South Vietnam to self-determination, a settlement that would benefit not only the Vietnamese people, but also the people of the U.S."

Noting that the Paris talks are still stalemated because of the "Vietnamization" policy, Le Duc Tho said that the hardest problem for the two sides now is the problem of government in South Vietnam. "We have repeatedly stated in public," he stressed, "and we said so in unofficial talks with Kissinger, that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam Provisional Revolutionary Government have never sought to impose a communist regime on South Vietnam; we strive only for the formation in South Vietnam of a government of broad national accord from three component parts, which corresponds to the real political situation in South Vietnam."

"We have never demanded U.S. surrender," he continued. "We do not want to humiliate anyone. We only demand that the United States should conduct serious talks with the aim of finding a solution to the problems of Vietnam on the basis of respect for the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people, as provided for in the 1954 Geneva agreements."

Then he said: "Today I would like to reaffirm our desire to settle the Vietnam problem peacefully. The path of serious negotiations is the best path for the people of Vietnam, for the American people, for peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world. Our position is: setting the exact date of rapid and complete withdrawal of the U.S. troops and the troops of the American camp from South Vietnam; formation in South Vietnam of a government of broad national accord from three components in keeping with the 7-point solution proposed by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam."

"We demand that the U.S. Administration observe the obligations concerning the complete and unconditional discontinuation of the bombings of the DRV. If the U.S. turns away from the reasonable solution and the realities and refuses to enter the path of serious negotiations, it will suffer other, still more serious defeats."

FOR A DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL LIFE. FOR THE NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION OF THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE

STATEMENT* OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

In the light of recent events, during which General Sanchez and the industrialist Sallustro were killed, the Communist Party considers it necessary to restate its views on the dramatic situation at home and the responsibility of the ruling classes and the dictatorship for the chaos into which the nation has been dragged, and its fundamental position on the cardinal problem of ways and means of bringing about the national and social liberation of the Argentine people.

I

Our Party goes by a golden rule from which it has never departed nor will ever depart—mass action.

The fighting methods evolved by the working class and the working people in their long, eventful and highly instructive revolutionary history include neither action by daring minorities outside the context of mass struggle, nor individual terrorism. The working class and the people have learned to defend their economic, social, political and cultural demands with tenacity and courage and to fight for a new social order by uniting and organizing and by using their principal and irreplaceable weapon, mass action.

None but ideologists who lag behind times and have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism or are opposed to it can scorn mass action in favor of attempts on the life of this or that exploiter or tyrant. Objectively, this line of action plays into the hands of reaction.

Two lines were confronted in the course of one week: the line of powerful mass actions against excessive electricity rates and the high cost of living, which took place in various provinces and assumed the character of a popular rising in Mendoza Province, and the line of acts of terrorism. The former compelled the government to suspend the introduction of higher electricity rates and dealt a telling blow to reaction. The second line made for harsher repression and for maneuvering on the part of the dictatorship to win a social and political respite, to which the Peronist hierarchs

*Approved on April 14, 1972. Published in *Nuestra Palabra*, April 18. Abridged.

of the CGT Right wing and the 62 trade union organizations and some political party leaders meekly acceded.

Reactionary anti-popular and anti-national minorities which usurp power by abusing force brutally suppress mass action by the people, as was done in Rosario, Cordoba, Mendoza and elsewhere, compelling them to defend themselves—to uphold their right to fight for their basic demands, exercise their inalienable freedoms and open up the perspective of a new type of power with a different social content. The right of the masses to defend themselves against violence from above is sacred. It was because they saw it thus that the Men of May and the War of Independence were able to leave us as a legacy the right to be Argentines.

The dictatorship tries to exploit recent developments to create a climate of intimidation enabling it to check and crush the mounting mass struggle. Let there be no mistake. The mass movement will go on developing in spite of everything until it wins. Nothing and nobody can paralyze mass action—neither the terrorism of a Right wing giving vent to impotent rage, nor the non-proletarian fighting methods used by groups of ultras.

II

The dictatorship wants to impose on the country a negotiated solution known as "Great National Agreement." This mystification, which is echoed by *La Hora del Pueblo*, is made out to be a process of institutionalizing or re-establishing the people's right to elect their rulers—negotiated, agreed on and earmarked beforehand.

What process of pacifying and democratizing the country can be reconciled with such realities as abundant repressive legislation, political and social prisoners, the state of emergency, action by paramilitary groups, tortures, the discriminatory election law, the Statutes of Political Parties under which the state is to exercise control over parties, the Licciardo plan, which cynically shifts the effects of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working people? To bring about democratic coexistence, it is necessary, first of all, to condemn coups, "patriotic" frauds, the special sections, the cowardly violence used in torture chambers, repressive laws—in short, the Pentagonist "internal front" policy—and eliminate them from national politics.

We consider it necessary to point once again to the democratic inconsistency of the Peronist, Radical, Socialist, Progressive Democratic, Christian Democratic and other leaders who agreed to submit to the draconic stipulations of the Statutes of Political Parties, opting for what is supposed to be the "lesser evil."

Section III of the Statement speaks of the chaos in which the

nation finds itself. Argentina is in the throes of a deep general crisis which manifests itself in the economy, social relations, politics and culture.

IV

The climate resulting from the latest events is favorable to the conspiracies of those who long for a Brazilian-type dictatorship in our country. The most reactionary elements of the country, both in and outside the armed forces, are tempted to exploit the chaos in favor of their proposed coup so as to harden the dictatorship still more, resume Onganía's foreign policy based on "ideological frontiers" and the Rio-Buenos Aires axis manipulated by U.S. imperialism.

We must be vigilant against this danger. Every attempt of this nature *can and must* be foiled through the mobilization and action of the masses. We call on patriotic servicemen loyal to the tradition of San Martín and of the generals Enrique Mosconi and Carlos Jorge Rosas to express in this emergency the people's innermost aspirations for freedom, democracy, national independence and social progress.

V

The people insist on their right to shape their institutional future and freely to elect their rulers. This right must be won.

It is necessary to bring into being a powerful *national democratic front* movement of democrats and patriots of diverse leanings and sentiments, civilians and servicemen, believers and non-believers.

The Communist Party expresses its agreement with the resolution passed by the April 1 meeting of the National Council of the National Meeting of Argentines regarding the Civic National Liberation Front proposed by Perón and with the following provisions of its document:

"We seek a front of anti-imperialist struggle and it is immaterial to us where the initiative comes from, provided the front is based on a program agreed in common by all participants, on organizational methods and tactics that are likewise a result of collective decision, on a precise definition of the proposed methods of coming to power and exercising it subsequently, and on a parity leadership whose composition and standards of functioning would prevent the predominance of any one trend of opinion."

We also agree with the conception of the front of anti-imperialist struggle as an instrument "of the great revolutionary change that will definitely free us from oligarchy and imperialism and pave the way for the development and advance of the nation." Under no circumstances can we accept Perón's programmatic nihilism, which makes him say: "To set about discussing now what we are

going to do in the government would mean beginning to stew the hare before killing it." (*Las Bases*, April 4).

The broad front which we advocate can be initiated on the basis of a program of minimum gains directed towards full democratic liberties; the immediate release of all political and social prisoners; the repeal of the infamous Law 17 401 and all repressive legislation, since there can be no institutionalization without a legal Communist Party; the abolition of the Statutes of Political Parties; the adoption of effective measures against the high cost of living; a substantial increase in wages and salaries to bring them into line with the cost of living; an end to the eviction of peasants, and fixing fair prices for the fruits of peasant labor; a reduction of rents; a democratic tax reform to ease the condition of the working masses, the professions and small and medium traders and manufacturers; university autonomy and tripartite administration in institutions of higher learning; the promotion of trade with all countries of the world on the principle of mutual benefit; a foreign policy based on the principle of peaceful coexistence that will primarily take account of the national interest and help to promote peace on the continent and throughout the world.

The notable growth of the political consciousness of the Argentine people makes it possible for the national democratic front to gain sufficient strength at its very inception to replace the dictatorship by a provisional government based on a broad democratic coalition that will adopt a common minimum program and convene a Constituent Assembly on the proportional principle to put the nation's institutional future and socio-economic order in the hands of the people. A provisional government of this nature means establishing real democratic coexistence and normal constitutional procedure.

To speed the advance of the great national liberation front, it is necessary to strengthen the National Meeting of Argentines by setting up more branches everywhere, from urban districts to the smallest villages. The Communist Party will vigorously contribute to the fulfilment of this task.

Buenos Aires, April 14, 1972.

*Central Committee
of the Communist Party*

PRESS STATEMENT OF THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY ON SIGNING OF THE SOVIET-IRAQI TREATY

The statement was made at a special press conference by Zaki Khiri, member of the Political Bureau of the ICP. Published in *At-Tashi*, April 12, 1972. Abridged.

Our Party, the Iraqi Communist Party, holds that the treaty of friendship and cooperation concluded on April 9, 1972 between the Iraqi Republic and the USSR records a new stage in the history of fraternal relations between our people and the Soviet people, a stage of firm treaty relations. This means the realization of one of the main aims for which the revolutionary movement in Iraq has fought and which our Party has included in its program and other documents as the task of establishing closer relations with the Soviet Union and friendly socialist countries.

Our Party closely followed the visit of the delegation of the Iraqi Republic to the Soviet Union, when the joint Soviet-Iraqi communique published last February confirmed that relations between our friendly peoples are developing in the direction of their formalization through a treaty. These expectations were corroborated during the historic visit of the Soviet delegation led by Comrade A. N. Kosygin to the Iraqi Republic.*

The great importance of the Soviet-Iraqi treaty lies in the fact that it signifies a new firm link in the Arab countries' relations with the Soviet Union and enables Iraq to carry out its long-term program of economic, social and military development, relying on the selfless cooperation of the USSR. The launching of oil extraction in North Rumaila is an example of the selfless, magnanimous aid rendered to Iraq by the Soviet Union, Hungary and other socialist countries. This has made it possible for Iraq to break the capitalist countries' monopoly in oil extraction and processing—just as before it had overcome their monopoly in arms deliveries—to set up a national oil industry and start unhampered oil extraction and processing, and to ensure the steady development of this industry in the future. The treaty secures the possibility for Iraq of building up its defense potential to uphold the Republic's national independence and effectively participating, along with other Arab countries, in eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression.

On the international plane, the special importance of the treaty lies in the fact that the two countries have agreed to coordinate their struggle against world imperialism, for peace throughout the world, for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, for abolishing colonialism and neo-colonialism.

For decades, our Party has fought for the establishment of diplomatic, economic, cultural and, of late, also treaty relations between Iraq and the Soviet Union, being aware that the land of Soviets is the great and reliable friend of the Iraqi peoples—Arabs, Kurds and national minorities—and of the Arab people as a whole. The Soviet people have not left the Arab people alone, face to

*The joint communique on the visit was published in our last issue.—Ed.

face with the Israeli-imperialist aggression and have always stood together with the Arabs even in the most trying situations. And we see that today all peace-loving peoples, all nations fighting for freedom are doing everything to consolidate their relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet people, while the positions of the forces and circles blinded by anti-Sovietism merge with those of imperialism.

The signing of the Soviet-Iraqi treaty, its ratification and entry into force have enraged the imperialist forces and their underlings. British propaganda has launched a candidly hostile campaign against Comrade Kosygin's visit and the treaty. The British monopolies do not conceal their wrath and anger, their enmity over the loss of the millions in profits which they could have made on the oil of North Rumeila and the sweat of the Iraqi working people. The British oil monopolies are inciting against us their allies and agents in Japan, Iran and other countries.

We shall be able to withstand the intrigues of imperialism, defeat its conspiracies and effectuate the Soviet-Iraqi treaty for the benefit of our two friendly countries, the Arab countries and the whole of progressive mankind and shall have everything necessary for this, if we unite the forces of our people in one front comprising all patriotic, progressive parties and organizations. It is no accident that the treaty was signed at a time when efforts are being made to work out the formula of joint action for the united front.

In conclusion, the Iraqi Communist Party assures the Iraqi people that it will continue the fight for the realization of the treaty, acting in friendship and cooperation with other patriotic forces and organizations, especially the BAATH and the Democratic Party of Kurdistan.

STATEMENT* OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OF CP OF IRELAND

"Heath's suspension of Stormont and its implied rejection of the Unionist-Tory alliance, demonstrates the depth of the crisis for British imperialism in Ireland brought about by the mass movement of civil disobedience in the North.

"The British Tory Government's move, however, must be seen as an attempt to defeat by other means the growing strength of the mass movement for democracy in Northern Ireland.

*Morning Star, April 11, 1972.

"The imposition of direct rule from Westminster means less democracy, not more, for people living in the six counties. The new Whitelaw administration is one in which the working people of Northern Ireland have no say.

"Internment, the Special Powers Act and the use of British troops are the principal reasons for the present violence in Northern Ireland.

"There should now be a truce by both sides calling off their respective military campaigns. Aggressive military actions by either source only exacerbate the sufferings of the ordinary people—Catholic and Protestant—and obscure the need for political solutions to the present crisis.

"Bombings of civilian premises result in death and maiming of innocent people, heightening sectarian divisions among the working class and thereby playing into the hands of Right-Wing Unionism. These actions must therefore be rejected and condemned by the Labor and democratic movements.

"Peaceful advance can only be achieved by the British Government agreeing to an immediate end to internment, which means the unconditional release of all internees; the immediate withdrawal of all troops to their barracks and ending the use of the Special Powers Act.

"The fulfilment of these minimum demands by the Westminster Government would establish the conditions for an end to all forms of violence."

This, the statement says, would provide the basis for negotiations between the government of London, Dublin and representatives of all political parties and people's organizations of Northern Ireland of a democratic settlement of the present crisis in line with the Bill of Rights guaranteeing a democratic structure in the North and envisaging formal assurances by Parliament in London that it will not undermine the right of the Irish people to self-determination.

It would be in the interests of all working people, both Catholic and Protestant, the statement went on to say, to support the demand that Westminster should adopt the Bill of Rights establishing democratic government in the North and destroying the political, economic and social basis for sectarian struggle.

SECOND CONGRESS OF CUBA'S YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The Second Congress of Cuba's Young Communist League, which convened in Havana, March 29-April 4, was attended by more than

2,000 delegates representing the 140,000 YCL members, and by representatives of 30 foreign youth organizations, including a delegation of the Soviet Komsomol headed by E. M. Tyazhelnikov, First Secretary of the CC YCL, and youth delegations from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, South Vietnam and Cambodia. On the platform were leaders of the Revolutionary Government, and members of the Cuban Communist Party's Political Bureau and Secretariat.

Jaime Crombet, First Secretary of the YCL National Committee, delivered the report on 10 years of YCL work, following which, at meetings of committees, delegates discussed aspects of education in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and loyalty to the Cuban revolution, and active youth participation in building socialism and fortifying the country's defense.

President Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado, member of the CP of Cuba Political Bureau, Orlando Fundor, Chairman of the Party's Commission for Revolutionary Propaganda, CP Central Committee members S. Gerra and J. Montané, and government ministers B. Castilla and J. Risquet, made speeches.

The congress was also addressed by Gus Hall, CP USA General Secretary who headed a Party delegation visiting the island on the invitation of the CP of Cuba. The congress gave a rousing reception to all foreign speakers.

The delegates unanimously endorsed a decision submitted by the Commission for Revolutionary Propaganda on political education.

In a concluding declaration, the congress vowed on behalf of all YCL members "to spare no strength in performing any, even the most difficult tasks set to the youth by the Party and people."

A unanimously adopted Appeal to the Youth of Latin America called for resolute joint struggle against U.S. imperialism.

In a message to the youth of socialist countries, the congress delegates expressed deep gratitude for their solidarity, aid and proletarian internationalism. Special thanks were conveyed to the Soviet youth and people, whose "contribution and aid have been decisive in advancing the Cuban revolution."

The congress resolution on YCL girl members taking part in the work of the Federation of Cuban Women lists their obligation to help carry forward the political, economic and social objectives of the revolution and calls for broader women's participation in production.

The congress also adopted a number of other resolutions.

A long and vivid speech was made by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC CP of Cuba and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government.

An account of the speech, which appeared in the April 11-16 issue of *Granma*, follows:

SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO

The decisions of the Second Congress of the Young Communist League of Cuba, which has just concluded its work, speak of the lofty revolutionary spirit of our youth, of ideological firmness and profound confidence in coping with the difficult tasks of socialist construction.

Fidel Castro praised the congress for its communist approach to the results of 10 years of fruitful YCL work and expressed satisfaction over the firm revolutionary line followed by the militant vanguard of the Cuban youth throughout this period. He described the decisions of the congress as excellent, highly objective, serious and realistic.

The Communist Party and the people of Cuba, he stressed, regard the YCL as a faithful and dependable helper playing a decisive role in building the material and technical base of socialist society.

At present, Castro said, the necessary resources are available to carry out the congress decisions. The problems of political, cultural and scientific-technical education and communist upbringing of the rising generation, are central for the country at present. Education is a matter of concern for the entire nation, the Party and public organizations. Decisive in educational progress, Castro stressed, is the part played by the YCL, the militant vanguard of the Cuban youth.

He described in detail the Party and Revolutionary Government measures improving education. The state spends more than 400 million dollars annually on education. As many as 40 new secondary boarding-schools for 20,000 pupils will open in the rural areas alone in the coming academic year. This high-gear construction of new schools, Castro said, will enable us to increase by 300,000 secondary school enrolment by 1975, and up to one million by 1980.

Castro commended educational institutions where theoretical training is combined with socially useful labor. To combine learning and labor, he said, is the best means of communist education.

The Prime Minister praised the Youth Century Column, the valuable experience of which—particularly, good organization and good labor discipline—was a good example for all similar detachments of Cuban youth. In some seven or eight years, he added, no need will exist for such columns, because farming, and mainly sugar cane harvesting, will be completely mechanized.

Compulsory military service Castro described as a good education for young people. The duration of service will be shortened as the students' degree of knowledge increases. He stressed the

imperative of fortifying the country's defense capability in face of the continuous U.S. imperialist threats.

Speaking of the difficulties of the first socialist revolution on the continent and the search for solutions, Castro said that the experience now gained will prove valuable for other Latin American nations.

He thanked the socialist countries, and mainly the Soviet Union, for their aid and solidarity in building the new Cuban society. It has been the decisive factor in Cuba's socialist construction, he said.

He reasserted Cuba's ever greater solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos fighting heroically against the U.S. aggression.

Castro enumerated some of the factors impeding adequate training of specialists for industry and agriculture, a higher general educational level and training of the younger generation. Among the main reasons he named low school attendance by children in the 13-16 age group, a shortage of school premises, low quality of instruction, and school-leavers' reluctance to go to technological and agricultural schools. Out of the 380,000 pupils who entered school several years ago, he said, only 120,000 passed on to the sixth grade, and only 13 per cent to the tenth.

Sixty per cent of the teachers, Castro said, have no special training. He called for a campaign among tenth-grade pupils, so that at least 2,000 would enter teachers' colleges this year and some 5,000 in 1973. He called on YCL members to help young teachers improve their knowledge.

Educational establishments training personnel for industry and agriculture, he said, have an enrolment of only 23,000, while more than 24,000 are studying foreign languages. This sort of thing is intolerable in a country where farming is the main economic branch and industrial construction is in high gear. Castro added: We cannot afford to become "a philosophers' country."

He called on the youth to look more realistically on life, work and study. The bulk of the youth is patriotic and ready to sacrifice themselves for their country, he said. But awareness in matters of study is "not abundant." People in production should be sent to educational institutions, Castro urged, while students and pupils should go to labor centers. It would be useful, he said, to build specialized schools near industrial enterprises and farms.

In another part of his speech, Castro told the audience about a CIA-inspired bomb explosion in the Cuban trade mission in Canada, in which a member of the mission was killed. He placed responsibility for the outrage on the Canadian government and warned against a recurrence of such incidents.

Speaking of the aggressive nature of imperialism, Castro said: "We want no deals with imperialism."

In conclusion, he pointed to the growing political consciousness of the Cuban nation, the strength of the Cuban revolution and its leadership, and expressed deep faith in the Cuban youth's ability to cope with the tasks set by the Second Congress of the YCL.

PATRIOTIC FRONT TO STOP COUNTER-REVOLUTION

STATEMENT BY THE PERUVIAN COMMUNIST PARTY*

1. Our country finds itself in a state of grave political tension caused by the subversion of oligarchic and imperialist reaction. The extremely dangerous nature of this activity is evident in the defiant and frankly provocative language used by *La Prensa* and *El Comercio* against the revolutionary government of the armed forces and, moreover, in the attempts of the reactionary press and the APRA** party to form a united front of outspokenly anti-patriotic political forces. It is a united front of obscurantism and national betrayal, a front in whose name the enemies of Peru are willing to forget old economic rivalries and almost half a century of bloody strife.

2. The immediate motivation of this collusion and its virulently anti-governmental character would seem to be the implementation of the Decree on Freedom of the Press, the provisions of the Industrial Community and those safeguarding the class trade unions in the two oldest newspaper publishing houses. However, the real, and deeper, causes of this aggressiveness lie in the gains of the revolutionary process as a whole, in the fact that the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic laws and measures of recent years affect the very basis on which our country was held in a dependent and backward state and our people were exploited.

It is not a question of limited action by a conservative and pro-imperialist opposition forced by the circumstances but of a desperate attempt to bring about a premature polarization of forces. In short, it is a question of applying in our country a CIA-led imperialist strategy to unite all sectors opposed to revolutionary governments to one extent or another, divide the revolutionary and progressive forces as far as possible and turn the fire on the staunchest and most consistent fighters of our camp. The purpose

*Abridged from *Unidad*, February 25, 1972.

**American People's Revolutionary Alliance.—Ed.

of Pedro Beltran Espantoso's* stay in the United States for six months was to find pretexts for this strategy and coordinate its application.

For the same reason, spokesmen of the anti-popular and anti-patriotic forces resort to the crudest frauds. That is why *La Prensa* and *El Comercio* allege that the non-capitalist line advocated by the government means setting a course in disguise for communism, and why Haya de la Torre** says "we don't want any outsiders to offer us recipes of revolution." They all fail to see, or pretend they do not see, that the capitalist system today is dominated by U.S. imperialism, which means that the capitalist road does not lead to national independence or genuine progress but to a restoration of dependence, colonialism and neo-colonialism with their concomitants—backwardness and poverty in the dependent countries. In Latin America, it means pro-imperialist development of the Alliance for Progress brand and the imposition of defeatist regimes like the Belaunde regime or fascist-type dictatorships as in Brazil.

The non-capitalist road does not necessarily imply socialism or communism but increasing economic independence and steady progress. It means an end to feudalism and semi-feudalism and, above all, breaking out of the imperialist orbit, of the system imposed by foreign monopoly domination. It enables our country freely to develop and diversify its main productive forces. It means a real possibility of paving the way for an independent and superior society in keeping with our national specifics, within the worldwide progress of mankind. Non-capitalist development is not typical of the socialist countries alone but of numerous regimes in the so-called third world, such as in India and certain Arab countries.

But the reactionaries deny this possibility—from malice rather than from ignorance. They raise the dirty and blood-stained rag of anti-communism because the prospect of a society without classes and privileges scares them to death, and also because they want in this way to intimidate certain sections of the government and the armed forces, to divide the leaders of our revolutionary process and set them against one another.

They are out to shackle and neutralize the working class and its organized contingent, the General Confederation of Working People of Peru, one of the key strongholds of the revolutionary front, as well as to isolate and persecute the Communist Party and open the door to the blackest reaction against all progressive and patriotic forces. They want to revert to the shameful days of dictators like Sanchez Cerro, Benavides, Prado or Odria.

*Ex-director of *La Prensa*.—Ed.

**Notorious proponent of imperialist and oligarchic interests.—Ed.

3. The Communist Party has never sought to impose its doctrine or its ultimate goals on the present government. Nor does it try to attach itself to a process which is not being led by the Communists. We were and are revolutionaries and patriots anyway. An earnest of this is the example of outstanding revolutionaries like Jose Carlos Mariategui, founder and leader of our Party, and the road we have travelled. But that is precisely why we cannot now confine ourselves to the role of mere onlookers. We must take an active part in a process whose maturing we have fostered to the best of our ability and whose results accord with our permanent program and our entire anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle. And so, without forgoing our independence or upholding the interests of our Party only, we earnestly call on all genuine patriots, on the working class and progressive intellectuals, the miners and the workers engaged in agrarian-industrial complexes, the students and middle strata, to firmly expose the sinister intrigues of counter-revolution and never to retreat before it nor play its game. We call on them to strengthen their class organizations, form a solid front to uphold and safe-guard anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic gains and the stability of the government under whose leadership these gains are achieved. We appeal to the government to establish still closer links with the workers and the whole people, raise an insurmountable barrier to counter-revolutionary activity and put a definitive end to the subversive propaganda of the mouthpieces of counter-revolution and the plotting of its organizations.

THE PORTUGUESE CP AND PROBLEMS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY*

1. The struggle for peace and security in Europe is obviously on the upgrade. Numerous international activities are being held within the framework of this struggle. An assembly of public forces for European security and cooperation will gather in Brussels on June 2-5. The democratic and peace-loving forces are working for its success.

The Portuguese Communist Party believes it opportune to reaffirm its stand on the problems of European security.

2. A relaxation of tension and peace in Europe, peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-political systems are in the interests of all peoples and, first of all, the peoples of Europe.

*Statement adopted in March 1972 by the Political Commission of the CC PCP. Abridged.

Only imperialism stands to profit from international tension and a return to the "cold war." That is why the most aggressive imperialist groups headed by the United States and NATO are attempting to erect ever more obstacles to agreements aimed at relaxing tensions and securing peace in Europe and, especially, to prevent the holding of a European conference.

Revealing in this respect are the efforts of the German revanchists who are trying to prevent ratification by the Bundestag of the treaties with the USSR and Poland recognizing the postwar frontiers and their inviolability.

Peaceful coexistence, détente and peace in Europe would remove the danger of conflicts and would strengthen world peace. They would create favorable conditions for the building of socialism, in which the working people of all countries and peoples fighting imperialism, have a vital stake. Favorable conditions would also arise for the struggle of the peoples of European capitalist countries for democracy, national independence and socialism.

3. The people of Portugal are directly interested in a relaxation of tensions and peace in Europe.

The Portuguese fascist dictatorship has profited greatly from international tensions and would like to continue doing so. Aid from the NATO countries is the main reason that the fascist dictatorship in Portugal still survives and is waging a colonial war against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique.

Continuation of imperialist policy in Europe under cover of the "Soviet threat" myth—this is what Portuguese fascism and colonialism desires, which is supposedly protecting "Western civilization" from "communism"; such a policy would guarantee it still larger military and financial aid and diplomatic support.

And, conversely, a relaxation of tensions and the emergence in Europe of a security system would create serious difficulties for the fascist regime on the international plane.

4. The PCP has always held that the struggle for European peace and security is tied up with the struggle for democracy and national independence, against the policy of exploitation, colonial domination and colonial wars. The fascist regimes, dependent on imperialism's foreign aid, are the pillar of imperialism and an instrument of its aggressive policy.

The fascist dictatorship in Portugal allows foreign military bases to be built on its national territory (among them the U.S. Lages Air Base on the Azores is of special importance), and supports imperialist acts of aggression in every way.

Imperialism's militarism and aggressiveness are combined with anti-democratic reactionary trends, with the resurgence of fascist and neo-fascist groups in bourgeois-democratic countries.

U.S. economic domination in Europe, the presence of U.S. troops

in Europe and also domination of the smaller countries by the more developed European imperialist countries seriously damage the independence of many nations and generate instability and conflicts in international relations.

Colonial and neo-colonial domination by European imperialism on other continents is a constant obstacle and permanent threat to European peace and security.

As far as Portugal is concerned, the war waged by the colonialists against the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique, and their policy of provocations and aggression in Africa exemplified by the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Guinea in December 1970 are fraught with serious international conflicts that could affect European security.

The same is even more true of the policy of exploitation and oppression of African states by the British, French, West German and other imperialists.

In view of all this, the struggle for European peace and security is closely linked with the struggle to eradicate the remaining fascist regimes in Europe, to defend and broaden democratic freedoms and rights in all countries, with the struggle for a genuine national independence of all European countries and the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The PCP stresses that the struggle of the European countries for security in Europe, for the peaceful coexistence of different socio-political regimes must be accompanied by the strengthening of active solidarity with the Portuguese people's struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

The PCP also stresses that the struggle against Portuguese colonialism is likewise developing in the diplomatic field. It is necessary to work for a stop to any and all aid and support of Portuguese fascism and colonialism. Towards this aim, it is especially important to mobilize democratic public opinion in the European capitalist countries.

The PCP regards as unrealistic the idea of placing Portugal in "economic isolation" and forcing the imperialist countries to agree to an international boycott of the Portuguese and other fascist regimes. If the socialist countries were to decide on such "isolation" or "boycott," it would not create any serious difficulties, at least for the Portuguese fascist regime, but would deprive our people of important factors promoting their struggle and would make Portugal still more dependent on imperialism.

6. The PCP holds that the development of cultural, tourist, sport and economic ties between the USSR and other socialist countries, and Portugal would weaken fascist positions and would facilitate the Portuguese people's struggle, even under the present conditions.

This explains, incidentally, why the fascist dictatorship has al-

ways tried to isolate Portugal from the socialist countries. Portugal's relations with the socialist countries, though limited, signify failure of the fascist foreign policy based on anti-communism, and success for the forces of democracy and socialism.

The struggle to develop relations between Portugal and the socialist countries, taking into consideration all possible nuances, is also a form of struggle against fascism and colonialism.

7. In recent years, parallel with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and its internal contradictions, on the one hand, and the consolidation of the socialist system, on the other, there have been growing the peace forces in Europe and the trend towards a relaxation of international tensions.

The consistent foreign policy of the Soviet Union, its diplomatic initiatives, the actions of other socialist countries and the struggle of the peoples of Europe have all played a major role in these changes.

Ratification of the treaties between the USSR, Poland and the FRG, recognition of the GDR and admission of both German states into the UN would be important steps on the way to creating a new atmosphere in European international relations and open the way to establishing a collective security system which would end the existence of military blocs.

The struggle for such a security system is not the concern of socialist diplomacy alone, it is also the concern of all progressive and peace-loving forces.

8. The PCB considers that the forthcoming conference of European states will be a significant political event in which all nations are interested.

The Portuguese government has taken a negative stand on the conference. It is vigorously supporting the most reactionary and aggressive imperialist groupings in their attempts to prevent the conference.

Certain democratic circles in Portugal believe that the most correct position would be to oppose any participation of the Caetano government in the conference because it does not represent the Portuguese people. Objectively, this not only accords with the position of the Portuguese government and helps strengthen it, but also makes it easier for fascist governments to maneuver on the international arena. On the plea that they have not participated in the conference, these governments would attempt to avoid fulfilling its decisions, thereby becoming the most secure place for bases of imperialist aggression.

The correct stand for the democratic forces is to expose the provocative position of the government concerning the conference, to pressure the government and, if possible, to force it to participate in the conference, to sign and abide by the agreements on peace.

The PCP is certain that in spite of its present arrogant declarations, the fascist government would be compelled to participate in the conference when it takes place. This will be a serious defeat for its policy of international provocations carried out in alliance with the most reactionary and aggressive imperialist circles.

Such are the basic views on problems of European security which the PCP finds it necessary to state. They correspond to the vital interests of the Portuguese people in their struggle against the fascist dictatorship, Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, in their struggle for democracy, peace and national independence.

Joint efforts and democratic action in this direction are the pressing demand of the present day.

ANGELA DAVIS STATES HER CASE

The following are excerpts from the statement of Angela Davis to the jury in the opening of her trial. Besides her other attorneys, she is also conducting her own defense before the Court. The full statement appeared in a Special Supplement of the **Daily World**, April 6, 1972.

We say to you that the prosecutor's evidence itself will demonstrate to you that this case is no case at all. The evidence will show that I am totally innocent of the charges of murder, kidnapping and conspiracy. It will reveal that the prosecutor's contentions are entirely without substance. They are based on guesswork, speculation and conjecture.

As you listen to the testimony in this case—and I am confident that you will all listen with the greatest degree of attentiveness—you will undoubtedly reach the conclusion in your own minds that the prosecution is creating its case out of a labyrinthine network of false assumptions.

The evidence will show, members of the jury, that this indictment provoked widespread concern—throughout the world—that I was a victim of political repression. Is it not reasonable to infer that the prosecutor is aware that no fair-minded juror would convict me on the basis of such evidence?

Therefore, the prosecutor has attempted to change the character of his case. Now, he would have you believe that I am a person who would have committed the crimes of murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy, having been motivated by pure passion. He would have you believe that lurking behind my external appearance are sinister and selfish emotions and passions, which in his words, know no bounds.

Precisely what will the evidence show about my association with the struggle to free the Soledad Brothers? You will see that because of my own commitment to the struggle to achieve freedom for all oppressed people, upon learning of the plight of these three men I, along with others, took steps to build whatever support we could for the movement around them, around other political prisoners and prison conditions in general.

The evidence will show that when I became involved in the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee, this was by no means my first experience in the struggle for Black and Brown Liberation—and the struggle of oppressed people everywhere.

I have been associated with the struggle to protect and extend the rights of working people whether they be Black, Chicano, Latino, Native American, Asian or white. I have done much work in the movement to end the war in Indochina. I have been involved in the fight to achieve equality for women who are oppressed in this society. I have also fought to preserve the basic principles of academic freedom from unconstitutional political assaults. In all of my activities my goal has been to aid in the creation of a movement encompassing millions of people, indeed the majority of the people in the United States today, a movement which will ultimately usher in a more humane, socialist society.

The prosecutor has said that this trial has nothing to do with a political frameup. But, members of the jury, during the period of my active involvement with the Soledad Brothers, I was the object of an extensive spy campaign. The prosecutor is in possession of numerous reports to various police agencies about my activities in the movement to free the Soledad Brothers. He has police reports on rallies where I spoke, police tapes of speeches I made throughout the State of California, films of demonstrations and rallies where I and others proclaimed our support of the Soledad Brothers.

The evidence will show that because of the controversy surrounding my teaching post at UCLA—because there were constant threats on my life issuing from extremist elements in the community—it was not safe for me to travel any distance in Los Angeles outside the company of others. You will learn that wherever possible, I tried not to move from place to place alone.

As I became involved in radical movements calling for social change, I learned that some of the people who disagreed with the goals we were seeking to achieve might express their disagreements in violent ways. The evidence will show that we who were working towards radical social transformations felt that it would be necessary for us to obtain means to protect ourselves.

The evidence will show that this was true when I worked in the liberation movement in San Diego, California. It was true when I worked with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in

Los Angeles. And it was true as I worked with the Black Panther Party. During all the time I have been a member of the Communist Party—and have worked with the Che-Lumumba Club in Los Angeles—it has been necessary for us to be in possession of means to defend ourselves from potential attacks by extremists in the community.

The evidence will demonstrate that the situation in this regard became particularly tense after my position in the Department of Philosophy at the University of California, Los Angeles, was threatened by the Regents of that University. Their attempts to fire me because of my membership in the Communist Party made me a public figure, subjected to myriad forms of harassment—both by those who merely misunderstood the nature of the Communist Party and those who were consciously determined to attack Communism and Communists in whatever way they could.

There will be testimony regarding the hundreds and thousands of threats on my life during the period of my contract with UCLA.

The evidence will show that my purchase of weapons was totally unrelated to any illegal activities. Further, each time I purchased a weapon, I did it in my own name and provided evidence as to my identity—my name, address, and place of my birth. Does this sound like the kind of evidence which could be invoked in order to prove my guilt?

Members of the jury, the charges against me are the logical extension of the unlawful attacks which began with the actions of the governor of this state and of the Regents of the University of California when they unlawfully dismissed me from my post at UCLA. Like the regents, the prosecution has contended that I didn't live solely in the world of ideas, but that I was committed to action. Specifically, he referred to me as a "student of violence," and states that behind my "cool academic veneer" was a woman capable of the crimes of murder, kidnapping and conspiracy. To give credence to this contention, Mr. Harris cites two books allegedly found in the possession of Jonathan Jackson, allegedly bearing my signature, entitled, "Violence and Social Change," and "The Politics of Violence: Revolution in the Modern World."

The evidence will show that in the Summer of 1970, I was engaged in research for my doctoral dissertation. The object of my study is the theory of force in Kant's political philosophy of history and in German idealism in general. Contrary to the conjectures of the prosecution—which seek to transform an academic endeavor into a commitment to violence—the two books in question, and several others not mentioned—were objective studies of conditions of violence in Vietnam, Latin America, Africa, and in the Black and Brown and white communities in the United States. I read these sociological studies in connection with my work in philosophy. To

study the theory of force in philosophy can hardly be construed as evidence that I am a practitioner of violence.

Further, as the evidence will show, my political experience, including the Communist Party, has manifested itself in terms of what I am capable of doing—writing, teaching, speaking and organizing around the plight of all oppressed people, political prisoners in general, the Soledad Brothers specifically, and thereby helping to organize an effective political movement for progressive social change. The prosecution's own evidence will show that I was not committed to individual acts of escape, but that I was committed to the building of a movement capable of creating a climate of public opinion in which the death penalty could be declared unconstitutional, and in which juries could acquit prisoners of politically-inspired charges—an event we witnessed day before yesterday with the acquittal of the surviving Soledad Brothers.

Members of the jury, we reach the conclusion of our opening statement, and we ask you to think towards the conclusion of this trial. When you will have heard all sides of the heated contest which will unfold in this courtroom—when you will have sat in calm reflection and deliberation—we know—we have the utmost confidence—that your verdict will be the only verdict that the evidence and justice demand in this case. We are confident that this case will terminate with your pronouncement of two words—NOT GUILTY!!!

COMMUNIQUE* OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR

The Central Committee CP Ecuador met in plenary session on February 9-10, 1972, to review the political situation in the country.

It unanimously approved the political activity of the CC Executive Commission since the last Plenum on December 21, 1971.

In particular, the CC examined and analyzed the steps to create a Patriotic Front, approved the creation of the Front and agreed with its program and organizational norms. It stressed the historical significance of the Front and the need for broadening, organizing and consolidating the Front in the course of the struggle of the people of Ecuador for their social and national liberation.

The Central Committee also discussed certain aspects of the Party's organizational and propaganda activities, stressing the need for raising the ideological, political and theoretical level of the Party and all its members. Appreciable successes were noted in organizational work, as well as shortcomings that must be overcome, for

*El Pueblo, February 12, 1972.

the liberation of the people of Ecuador and consolidation of the Patriotic Front call for a Party that is strong organizationally and politically.

Guayaquil, February 10, 1972.

THE CP OF ECUADOR AND THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

COMMUNIQUE* OF THE CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR

In view of the overthrow of the government of Dr. Velasco Ibarra and the establishment of a new military government, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador makes public its stand in the new situation.

The change of government took place in the setting of an acute national crisis, when poverty and unemployment in the country had reached unbearable proportions as a result of the policy of the ruling classes and the imperialist monopolies.

However, this happened at a time when there are big opportunities for accelerating national progress and rapidly transforming our country by utilizing our immense national wealth. The realization of these perspectives requires the creation of a profoundly popular, democratic and patriotic government that would radically change Ecuador's economic, political and social structure and place the country's riches at the service of the people. The new government has made statements containing positive elements in this sense. If carried out, they would lead to a radical transformation of our country.

Among these declarations, the following should be noted: the government proclaims itself a government of revolutionary nationalism; the 1945 Constitution is introduced, which emerged as a result of the popular uprising and was adopted by a truly representative Constituent Assembly of the people, which also included representatives of the armed forces; the government will defend our sovereignty over the 200-mile territorial waters; an agrarian reform will be carried out; Ecuador's natural riches will be placed at the service of society; the rights of the working people will be defended against the exploiting oligarchy, human rights will be respected and the role of the university and the students recognized.

Such declarations mirror the people's most cherished hopes and in the main coincide with our persistent demands specially set forth in the Program of Immediate Action presented to the country in July 1971 and containing the following demands:

—establishment of a regime that would democratize national life, mental and radical agrarian reform, speed up the country's indus-

*El Pueblo, February 19, 1972.

liberate the country from imperialist domination, carry out a fundamentalization by developing mainly the state sector in industry, improve the people's welfare, implement an independent foreign policy of peace and friendship among peoples and nations;

- nationalization of the oil riches, oil extracting industry, oil transportation, refining and sales; creation of a state oil fleet and petrochemical industry;

- defense of the right to a 200-mile territorial waters, building of a state fish canning industry and national fishing fleet;

- electrification of the country and construction of large power stations such as the Cola de San Pablo, Jubenes and Pisayambo;

- an early agrarian reform, limitations on private land holdings in the country, support of small and middle land ownership, aid to cooperatives;

- a general increase in wages and salaries, introduction of a sliding wage scale to conform with changing living costs;

- a freeze on prices for prime necessities, lower rents and cheaper medicine;

- full provision of democratic guarantees, extension of these guarantees and more trade union rights;

- establishment of relations with all countries of the world, restoration of relations with Cuba, establishment of all-round relations with the German Democratic Republic and the Chinese People's Republic.

We hope that the positive declaration of the military government will find expression in concrete practical steps in the near future. True to our former positions, we shall resolutely support all that helps to realize the people's aspirations and oppose all that is detrimental to the lawful interests of the masses and the nation, oppose interests of the oligarchy and the imperialists who are plundering our wealth and the labor of the people.

In the name of all this we appeal to the people of Ecuador — civilians and military, men and women, workers, peasants, employees, artisans, students, teachers, professionals and honest intellectuals, all who spare no efforts for national progress, all who are patriotically determined to change the country by revolutionary means—we appeal to all of them to work for their lawful interests and the basic interests of the country, rallying forces and forging inviolable unity that will be invincible.

This is the way to achieve the social and national liberation of our people. Let us devote all our efforts to assuring Ecuador's progress, improving the life of the people and defending our sovereignty and our nation!

Guayaquil, February 18, 1972.

*Central Committee,
Communist Party of Ecuador.*

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FROM THE PARTY PRESS

WHO GAINS FROM THE CAMPAIGN OF SUSPICION AGAINST ARAB-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP?

The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in mid-April between the USSR and Iraq recorded a new stage in the development of Arab-Soviet relations. This treaty accords with the mutual interests of the two sides, in particular the interests of Iraq's development along the road of liberation and progress, the interests of the entire Arab national liberation movement, which is conducting a persistent fight against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The conclusion of the treaty was a manifestation of Iraq's independent course on the international arena, based on the national interests of the country and the Arab national liberation movement as a whole.

The treaty is a reply to the intrigues of imperialism and reaction in the Persian Gulf area, where the U.S. is trying, jointly with the Iranian and Arab reactionaries, to safeguard its imperialist interests and prop up the positions of the oil monopolies and the power of its agents.

The signing of the treaty is also linked with the struggle of the Iraqi people to recover the oil riches of the country and place them at the service of social progress in Iraq, the national and progressive struggle of the Arabs against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. And in this light it is not accidental that the signing of the treaty coincided with the time when fraternal Iraq obtained the first barrel of oil, discovered, extracted and exported without the participation of the oil monopolies and with the direct assistance of the Soviet Union.

All this goes to show that consolidation of the Arab-Soviet friendship is inseparably bound up with the anti-imperialist struggle, for every step towards closer friendship is at the same time the result of the strengthening of the Arab national liberation movement and an important element in its steady progress.

While it is only natural and understandable that imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction should occupy a sharply hostile attitude towards any strengthening of the Arab-Soviet friendship, it is unnatural, considering the interests of the Arab national liberation

Article by Alber Farhat, member of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party, published in *Al Akhbar* on April 22, 1972. Slightly abridged.

movement, that voices should be raised in the movement sharply criticizing the Irapi-Soviet treaty and expressing doubt as to the importance and meaning of the treaty, distorting its content.

We are fully aware of the difference in the position of those forces that are opposed to the treaty and Arab-Soviet friendship as a whole, and the position of the Right wing in the Arab national liberation movement. Still we would like to point out that the position of these Right-wing trends is detrimental to the interests of the Arab national liberation movement because its continued division plays into the hands of the enemy.

In this connection it is necessary to say that the position of the Right wing in the Arab national liberation movement is a manifestation of the class struggle in the ranks of this movement. It reflects the demarcation between the forces whose interests are linked with the successful development of the movement towards full realization of the goals of national liberation, democracy and social progress, and the forces which, having made certain gains in the fight against imperialism and reaction, are now afraid that they might lose them and are trying to maintain and extend these gains to the detriment of the interests of the Arab liberation movement as a whole and the popular masses taking part in it.

On the other hand, the psychological war launched by imperialism plays a definite part in sowing doubts about the Arab-Soviet friendship and also in the fact that some Right-wing forces in the Arab national liberation movement are seeking a basis for a dialogue with imperialism. Highly negative for the Arab national liberation movement is also the role of the Peking leadership, which is sowing illusions about the so-called "third way," fanning local nationalism and chauvinism. These efforts bring grist to the mill of the imperialists, who are seeking to separate the national liberation movement in the Third World from the world forces of socialism, democracy and progress.

The hostile forces are doing everything in their power to make the most of the contradictions in the Arab national liberation movement so as to exploit the striving of some of its leaders to gain control over it, and to put to account the lack of experience and the young age of this leadership at a time when imperialism, Zionism and reaction are hatching their conspiracies.

Experience shows that waves of distrust towards the Soviet Union rise whenever the imperialists and their agents are planning a new strike at the national liberation movement or when these hostile forces feel that the movement, having drawn conclusions from the preceding stage of its development, is prepared to assume a more determined attitude towards its enemies.

And it is no secret for anyone in the Arab world that the spread

of distrust towards the Soviet Union is always a prelude to the plans of the imperialists, defeatists and liquidators, aimed at undermining the Arab national liberation movement. Distrust of the USSR is used by the imperialists and their agents for conducting psychological warfare and undermining the positions of the patriotic and progressive forces in the Arab countries so as to facilitate the execution of their conspiracies and schemes.

It is no accident in this connection that the present campaign of distrust towards the Soviet Union is unfolding at a time when King Hussein of Jordan advanced his plan of a "United Arab Kingdom," which is one of the elements of the imperialist-Zionist plan in the area.

Every Arab patriot who cherishes the cause of progress must know these truths.

To advance the development of the Arab patriotic and progressive forces, efforts should be applied to resolving secondary contradictions in the ranks of the Arab national liberation movement itself. This is in the interests of the movement as a whole, in the interests of its expansion and development and deepening of its anti-imperialist and progressive orientation. We cannot allow minor conflicts in any form to prevail over the fundamental conflict with imperialism.

CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS OF DUTCH COMMUNISTS*

These days the Dutch Communists are preparing for a statutory congress of their Party scheduled to meet in Amsterdam on May 26-28. At the end of March the leadership of the Communist Party of the Netherlands published a report of the CPN Central Committee to the forthcoming congress.

It goes without saying that the Dutch Communists will properly assess this document and express their views on the questions it raises in the course of the pre-congress discussion and at the congress. All this is, naturally, a matter that concerns the Dutch Communist themselves.

Nevertheless, since the CC CPN report makes references to the CPSU and its policy, doing so in a way that distorts the true position of the CPSU, we feel obliged to say a few words on this score. This is all the more important since statements similar to those in the report are to be found also in the "Statement of the Executive

**Pravda*, May 12, 1972.

of the Communist Party of the Netherlands Concerning One Publication in Moscow," which had appeared earlier.

What is it all about?

In January this year the journal *Problems of the CPSU History* carried a review of the memoirs "The Thirties" and some other publications by the former Party Chairman Paul de Groot, which was written by Soviet historians A. P. Dmitriyev and K. K. Shirini. In this article of a scientific character, extensively drawing on documentary and archive materials, the authors drew the conclusion, on the basis of a careful analysis, that Comrade P. de Groot "advances a number of theses and appraisals which are at variance with the facts of the history of the Communist movement and with Lenin's understanding of the principles of proletarian internationalism."

This review evoked a rather broad response in Holland and several other countries. The Soviet authors' conclusions were fully supported, among others, by Comrade F. Fuernberg, member of the Politbureau of the Austrian Communist Party, who had worked for many years in the Comintern. In his letter to the editors of the *Problems of the CPSU History* (No. 3 1972) he stressed that "P. de Groot's presentation of the events does not accord with reality in the decisive points."

The "Statement" of the Executive and the CC CPN report make out that the publication in the Soviet journal is, of all things, interference of the CPSU in the affairs of the CPN.

The position taken up by the Dutch comrades in fact means one thing only—an attempt to deny Soviet historians and Soviet scientists in general the right to express their opinion of historical and memoir publications. The picture is rather strange indeed. A Dutch Communist has the right to set forth any views on the history of the Communist movement, give arbitrary appraisals of a number of Communist parties, including the CPSU, while Soviet historians, it appears, cannot state their viewpoint in connection with this.

The Dutch comrades invoke the principles of non-interference in internal affairs and equality of the fraternal parties. However, it would be appropriate to ask: isn't it a violation of equality to attempt to deny Soviet Communist scholars the right to reply to a Dutch Communist and isn't it interference in internal affairs to attempt to deprive Soviet Communists of the possibility to express their standpoints on this or that question?

I would like to dwell on one more statement in the above documents of Dutch comrades. Speaking of the CPN's international ties, the authors of the report and "Statement" assert that the CPSU rejected the proposal of the Executive of the CC CPN to hold a meeting of representatives of the two parties to discuss the question of restoring contacts between the CPSU and CPN. This assertion is wide of the mark.

In its activity the CC CPSU strictly follows the line of the 24th CPSU Congress for strengthening the cohesion and unity of the world Communist movement and activating bilateral and multilateral inter-Party ties. This general principle also applies to our relations with the Communist Party of the Netherlands.

For decades, the CPN and CPSU maintained relations of friendship and cooperation, mutual understanding on fundamental problems facing the world Communist movement, periodically holding meetings of representatives of the leaderships of the two parties. And if these contacts were interrupted in 1964, this happened on the initiative of the CPN leadership, and through no fault of the CPSU.

As is known, from that time on, the CPN leadership with Comrade P. de Groot at its head set out on a "special course," which essentially meant, among other things, that under the slogan of securing the "autonomy" of the CPN its international ties were sharply reduced. It should also be pointed out that for a number of years the CPN documents and statements of its leaders made attacks on many fraternal parties, including the CPSU. The CPN press systematically published materials distorting the real situation in the USSR and misinterpreting the policy of the Soviet Government.

Throughout these years the CPSU showed restraint and patience, not allowing itself to be drawn into polemics that would place an additional burden on the relations between our parties. At the same time, the CC CPSU repeatedly declared that our Party, as before, is for cooperation with the Dutch Communists on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis, in the name of the common interests of the world Communist movement. All who cherish international unity of Communists can properly assess the principled position of the CC CPSU.

Acting from this position, the CC CPSU replied in July 1970 to the Chairman of the CC CPN, Comrade Hoekstra, in connection with the CPN leadership's proposal to discuss the question of ties between the CPN and CPSU. The CC CPSU reply clearly stated the desire of the CPSU to contribute to the restoration of contacts with the CPN on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and made the proposal—to agree on the procedure and date of a meeting of representatives of the two parties. To put the preparations for the meeting on a practical footing, the wish was expressed to the CC CPN for more detailed information about the range of questions it would like to discuss at the meeting.

Thus, the CC CPSU not only agreed to holding a meeting with representatives of the CPN, but also advanced concrete proposals that could make it effective.

Much later, in March 1971, Comrade H. Hoekstra forwarded an official reply to the above proposals of the CC CPSU. He informed

in particular that the CC CPN was prepared to receive a delegation of the CC CPSU or send its delegation to Moscow for talks and would display initiative on this question at a later date. More than one year has passed since then, yet the CC CPN has never returned to this question. Thus, the statement that the CPSU does not want contacts with the Communist Party of the Netherlands is fully contrary to the facts and can only mislead broad sections of the CPN membership. However, such a position can hardly be in keeping with the interests of the Dutch Communists.

As for the Soviet Communists, now as before, they have the deepest respect for the Dutch Communists who are fighting against the monopolies and reaction, for the rights of the working people, for peace and security, and wish them success in this struggle.

Observer

ZIMBABWE SAYS NO*

The massive rejection of the Smith-Home sell-out by the African people of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) proved a stinging rebuff for the White supremacists of Southern Africa and their supporters and backers in London, Washington, Lisbon and elsewhere. They had confidently hoped and believed the African people would be so cowed and disorganized by years of state terror and the banning of their political leaders and organizations that they would fail to oppose the "constitutional arrangements" cooked up by the Smith regime and the British Tory government. In this they were grossly mistaken.

Not only in the urban areas, where the African working class demonstrated their feelings and views in the streets even when police intervention provoked, as usual, violence, but even in remote rural areas, supposedly safely under the control of pro-government chiefs, the people unequivocally gave their answer to Smith and the high-powered team sent from London to sell the agreement, the "Pearce Commission." The answer was NO!

Demonstrating that where there is a will of the people a way will be found, and the leaders will come forward, the hastily formed African National Council, coming forward where there had appeared to be a political vacuum, mobilized the entire nation and enabled them to voice their opinion.

Taken in conjunction with the historic strike and continuing struggle of the African people of Namibia, this great demonstration of the Zimbabwe people, undertaken in the teeth of the most

*The African Communist, No. 49, Second Quarter 1972.

formidable difficulties, opens the year 1972 on an exhilarating note for the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa. It opens a new chapter.

The agreement reached between British Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas Home and Rhodesian Premier Ian Smith in November 1971 is merely a device to continue the exploitation of the human and natural wealth of Zimbabwe for the benefit of the White racists and the imperialists, while saving the face of Britain. It was the latest chapter in a long history of British aggression.

Political segregation was introduced for the first time in the 1969 constitution, which established separate rolls for Europeans (including Coloreds and Asians) and Africans. Justifying the 1969 constitution, which was based on the principle of apartheid, Smith used Rhodes' formula that it would "entrench government in the hands of civilized people for all time."

To complete the picture, the Smith-Home agreement raises the income qualification for the African Higher Roll to £1,050 a year. For the 1970 election under Smith's Republican constitution, there were just over 87,000 European voters as against 8,326 African voters.

With a population of over five million Africans as against under 250,000 Whites, it is clear that White political control is as firmly entrenched in the constitution as at any time in the history of "Rhodesia."

The fraudulent assumption of the Home-Smith agreement is that with a gradual increase in the number of Africans with the requisite income and educational qualifications, African representation in Parliament will gradually increase until eventual majority rule is achieved.

There may be a few Africans in Rhodesia with incomes of £1,050 a year or over, but the Rhodesia Digest of Statistics published in June 1970 shows that the average annual wage in all industries is only £144 a year, with the lowest figure of £73 in the agricultural sector (where most Africans are employed). In the manufacturing industries, employing 75,000 Africans, the average annual African wage is only £238. The average White wage is ten times the average African wage.

There is not only an income "qualification" but also an educational one for Africans seeking the vote. As for the educational situation, while schooling for non-Africans in Rhodesia is compulsory, facilities for Africans, segregated as they are, are totally inadequate.

Thus of the Africans who enrol at the lowest school level, only one per cent get through to secondary school, as compared to 81 per cent of White children; and of that one per cent the majority

fall away before they reach matriculation level. Of the 63,380 African children who enrolled in standard 1 in 1956, only 876 reached Form 4 (standard 10) by 1965.

Between 1928 and 1964 only 94 Africans obtained High School Certificates, and only 5,701 finished four years of secondary education. Since four years of secondary schooling are required for African voters on the Higher Roll under the Smith-Home agreement, it can be seen that a complete revolution will be required in the African educational system as well as in the economy before White supremacy is threatened.

To "increase African job and educational opportunities," both Britain and Rhodesia agreed at Salisbury — a sop to African and world opinion — to spend £5 million a year each on an agreed development program. It is sought to give the impression that this will speed advancement to majority rule.

After the Second World War, an attempt was made by the British and Southern Rhodesian Governments to impose White domination on the whole of central Africa by means of the Central African Federation, but in the face of determined African opposition this eventually broke up and Zambia and Malawi in due course obtained formal independence.

Since UDI, Zimbabwe has been made a happy hunting ground for the White racists and the imperialists. Without South African aid in every sphere Smith's Rhodesia would have collapsed on both the economic and military fronts. South Africa has been more than adequately repaid, and today Rhodesia is virtually a dependency of the Republic.

Most of Rhodesia's important industrial companies, though operating as separate managerial entities, have ties with South Africa; no less than five of Rhodesia's top ten listed industrial companies are either controlled by or associated with South African companies.

South Africa probably accounts, directly and indirectly, for about half of Rhodesia's total exports. South Africa probably also supplies more than half Rhodesia's imports through middlemen.

Britain has continued to have a huge stake in Rhodesia. In 1965 the *Financial Times* estimated that between 200 and 300 British companies had interests in Rhodesia with investments of about £200 million.

The United States also has heavy investment in Rhodesia. A United Nations sub-committee specially set up after UDI to examine this problem concluded: "Foreign interests, accounting for more than 80 per cent of all capital investment in Southern Rhodesia, have been instrumental (directly and indirectly) in deny-

ing Africans the means of effective participation in economic life and have placed serious obstacles in their way."

Significantly, the decision of the United States Senate to allow Nixon once more to buy Rhodesian chrome which preceded Home's visit to Salisbury was used by him as an argument to persuade Zimbabwe Africans whom he interviewed that sanctions were about to collapse. Economic, political and military pressures faced the Smith Government with the prospect of collapse.

It was to save Rhodesia as the center-piece of the edifice of White supremacy in Southern Africa that Smith and Home reached their November agreement. The words of the agreement must not be allowed to conceal the naked reality — that the British Government intends to allow Zimbabwe to continue under the control of the Smith junta; that the African political organizations remain outlawed and their leaders remain in jail; that the Law and Order Maintenance Act, which provided for indefinite detention without trial and under which 170 Africans have been sentenced to death since UDI, remains in force.

The role of the Pearce Commission, packed with ex-colonial civil servants, in the shoddy Smith-Home plot, was to convince African and British opinion that their deal was "acceptable" to the majority in Zimbabwe.

This sinister plot was foiled by the courage and clear-sighted patriotism of the African people which—as usual—the colonialists grossly underestimated. They rejected the Salisbury Agreement with contempt. In the biting words of Bishop Muzorewa, Chairman of the African National Council:

"The constitutional provisions are so full of reservations and escape clauses, the declaration of rights so open to abuse, as to render the document meaningless. For every right there is a restriction which renders it void. The road to majority rule is booby-trapped every inch of the way.

"Does the British Government really believe that the Africans in Rhodesia are so stupid as to take this constitutional sham as genuine?"

Whatever the outcome, recent events have served to underline the truth that the future of Zimbabwe lies in the first place in the hands of their own people. They will receive sympathy and support in their struggles from the overwhelming majority of mankind. They will receive nothing at all from negotiations conducted over their heads by white racialists. In the end their liberation lies in their own organization, unity and militant struggle.

BILATERAL MEETINGS

VISIT OF A SOVIET PARTY DELEGATION TO BRITAIN

A delegation of the CPSU led by I. V. Kapitonov, Secretary of the CC CPSU, was on a visit to Britain from April 9-20, 1972, at the invitation of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

During its stay in Britain the CPSU delegation visited 10 district organizations of the British Communist Party, including London, Scotland, North-West, Yorkshire, the Midlands, and West of England. It had talks with district committees and local and factory branches, acquainting itself with their activities. In London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Nottingham, Birmingham, Bristol and other towns the delegation took part in meetings with Party members, held discussions with representatives of the Labor and trade union movement, with shop stewards and with rank-and-file workers, and visited a number of industrial enterprises.

In London the delegation had discussions with John Gollan, general secretary of the British Communist Party, and other members of its political committee. In their talks the delegations of the two Parties provided information on the activities of their respective Parties and exchanged opinions on the international situation and the international working-class and Communist movement. Special consideration was given by both delegations to the situation in Vietnam. They both expressed firm solidarity with the heroic struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia for their freedom and national independence and condemned the U.S. bombing of the territory of Vietnam and other countries. They also called for an immediate halt to the U.S. aggression and the complete withdrawal from Indo-China of all forces and the U.S. and its allies.

Emphasis was placed by both delegations on the importance of an early holding of a European conference on security and cooperation. The representatives of the two Parties reaffirmed their support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples to eliminate the consequences of Israeli aggression, on the basis of implementing the UN Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967.

Solidarity was also expressed for all other peoples struggling for their national and social liberation.

Pravda, April 21, 1972 and *Morning Star*, April 21, 1972. Abridged.

The representatives of the CPSU and the CPGB expressed the belief that the visit of the CPSU delegation and the discussions had helped to strengthen the relations between the two Parties. They affirmed their desire for a further consolidation of the ties of friendship and cooperation between the two Parties and for the development of friendship between the Soviet and British peoples.

The CPSU delegation conveyed to the executive committee of the CPGB an invitation from the CPSU Central Committee to send a delegation from the British Party to the Soviet Union.

VISIT OF THE CP USA DELEGATION TO THE DRV

On April 22, the Vietnam Information Agency issued the following communication:

A delegation of the CP USA headed by General Secretary Gus Hall was on a visit to the DRV from April 15 to April 22.

The delegation visited the Ho Chi Minh house and various economic and cultural institutions in Hanoi, Haiphong and Thanh Hoa. Everywhere the delegation was warmly welcomed by the leaders of local, Party and administrative bodies, mass organizations and the population, which testified to the friendship and fighting solidarity of the Vietnamese peoples with the Communist Party, the working class and progressive people of the United States. It also shows that the people of Vietnam are drawing a clear line between Americans who love peace and justice and the U.S. imperialists who are waging a brutal war of aggression against the people of Vietnam.

On April 16, 1972, the delegation witnessed barbarous bombings by the U.S. Air Force of the densely populated towns of Hanoi and Haiphong. The delegation issued a statement vigorously denouncing this grave act of war escalation undertaken by the Nixon Administration.

The delegation attended a meeting at the Hanoi engineering plant held in response to the April 16, 1972 appeal of the Central Committee of the Working People's Party and the DRV Government, to express the resolve of the working class and people of Vietnam to fight on and defeat the American aggressors in order to defend the socialist North, liberate the South and pass on to peaceful reunification of the country.

The delegation visited the special representation of the South Vietnam Provisional Revolutionary Government and stated again that the Communist Party and the people of the U.S. are wholly supporting the patriotic struggle of the people of Vietnam.

The CP USA delegation and the delegation of the WPPV led by the Party's First Secretary Le Duan held talks, which passed in

an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship. The two sides informed each other of the struggle of their peoples and exchanged views on further strengthening close ties between the two parties and peoples in the common struggle against the U.S. aggressors.

In this connection, the WPPV delegation expressed sincere gratitude to the Communist Party, the working class and progressive people of the United States for their warm and increasing support of the people of Vietnam in their struggle against the U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and declared that the Vietnamese people were actively supporting the struggle of the Communist Party, the working class and progressive people of the United States against U.S. monopoly capital, for peace, democracy and social progress.

The CP USA delegation expressed heartfelt thanks for the cordial reception accorded to it by the Vietnamese peoples during its visit to Vietnam.

The visit of the delegation of the U.S. Communist Party was crowned with success and contributed to cementing fighting solidarity and friendship between the two parties and the peoples of the USA and Vietnam.

TALKS* BETWEEN LEADERS OF CP OF INDIA AND CP OF BANGLADESH

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

On the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh a delegation of the National Council of the Communist Party of India composed of Comrade C. Rajeswara Rao, general secretary, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta and Comrade Bhowani Sen, members of the central secretariat of the CPI, visited Bangladesh from April 23 to April 28, 1972.

The members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh exchanged views with the delegation of the Communist Party of India on international issues as well as on developments in Bangladesh and India. Among the representatives of the Communist Party of Bangladesh who participated in the talks with the delegation of the Communist Party of India were Comrades Abdus Salam, general secretary, Mani Singha, Khoka Roy, Anil Mukherjee and Farhad, members of the Party's central committee.

The representatives of both the parties expressed identical views on issues concerning the international Communist movement. They noted with satisfaction the growing unity among the Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The representatives of both the parties

*New Age, May 7, 1972.

reiterated their firm adherence to the documents adopted by the International Conference of Communist and Workers' parties, held in Moscow in June 1969. They attached great importance to the unity and cohesion of the international Communist movement.

The representatives of the Communist Party of Bangladesh and the Communist Party of India took note of the reassuring fact that world imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, is meeting with unprecedented resistance all over the world by the anti-imperialist forces. In Indochina, U.S. imperialism is now facing final defeat which has, however, made it desperate. The representatives of the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of Bangladesh reaffirmed their full solidarity with and full support to the brave Vietnamese and other peoples of Indochina in their glorious struggle against U.S. imperialism. Both parties stand for complete and total withdrawal of all U.S. and satellite troops from Indochina.

The representatives of the two Communist parties highly appraised the victorious national liberation struggle of Bangladesh. This has been a powerful blow to the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism, particularly to the global strategy of U.S. imperialism. This has opened new prospects for advance in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress for the people of both Bangladesh and India.

The representatives of the Communist Party of Bangladesh expressed their profound satisfaction at the immense help that the people and Government of India, the Communist Party of India and other progressive forces had rendered to the cause of the national liberation of Bangladesh. New bonds of friendship and solidarity between the peoples of Bangladesh and India were forged in the course of the liberation struggle. Both the Communist parties are pledged to strengthen this friendship. The signing of the Indo-Bangladesh treaty of friendship, cooperation and peace by Prime Minister of India Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has been a momentous step in this direction.

The representatives of the Communist Party of Bangladesh and the Communist Party of India acclaimed the historic role the Soviet Union had played in ensuring the victory of the liberation struggle of Bangladesh. They also expressed their high appreciation of the role of other socialist countries, the international Communist and working-class movement and of other anti-imperialist forces in support of this great struggle.

The delegation of the Communist Party of India paid homage to the memory of the countless martyrs of Bangladesh who gave their lives for the cause of the national liberation of 75 million people. It paid high tribute to the freedom fighters of Bangladesh for their valor and sacrifice. The delegation expressed great admira-

tion for the role the Communist Party of Bangladesh had played during the last 25 years in upholding the banner of peace, democracy and social progress, notwithstanding brutal repression by the Pakistani rulers. The delegation noted with pride the heroic contributions of the Communist Party of Bangladesh in the liberation struggle. It was also deeply impressed by the irresistible urge of the people of Bangladesh for the consolidation of their newly-won freedom and for radical social and economic changes. The delegation of the CPI expressed appreciation of the progressive steps which Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his government have already taken.

The representatives of the Communist Party of Bangladesh informed the delegation of the Communist Party of India of the complicated and stupendous tasks of the consolidation of independence and of rebuilding the country ravaged by the Pakistani military regime. The representatives of the Communist Party of Bangladesh further told the delegation of the Communist Party of India that the Communist Party of Bangladesh was sparing no effort to strengthen the unity of all patriotic and democratic forces in Bangladesh in defending national independence and in carrying out the tasks of national reconstruction. The Communist Party of Bangladesh is fully vigilant about the subversive activities of U.S. imperialism and the Maoist leadership of China, both of which are trying to use the reactionary and disruptive forces inside Bangladesh to undermine its independence and obstruct progress.

The representatives of the two Communist parties agreed on the necessity of conducting unrelenting struggle against communal forces in their respective countries.

The delegation of the CPI and the representatives of the CPB discussed the problems of the Bengalis now living in Pakistan and also that of non-Bengali Muslims in Bangladesh. They attached great urgency and importance to satisfactory solutions being found to these problems. They fully supported the demand for the immediate repatriation of the Bengalis from Pakistan to Bangladesh. They also welcomed assurance of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh that those non-Bengali Muslims who want to migrate to Pakistan will be allowed to do so and those opting to remain in Bangladesh as its loyal citizens will enjoy all the rights of a citizen of Bangladesh. The refusal of the Government of Pakistan to allow the Bengalis there to return to Bangladesh on the one hand and to accept on the other the non-Bengali Muslims who may wish to go to Pakistan constitutes a serious obstacle to the solution of the problems of the minorities in both the countries.

The delegation of the Communist Party of India informed the representatives of the Communist Party of Bangladesh of the efforts of the CPI to build Left and democratic unity in India and carry

forward the struggle for radical socio-economic changes. In this connection the CPI delegation stressed the significance of the anti-imperialist activities among the people in India which have been recently demonstrated in broadbased militant opposition to U.S. imperialism.

The representatives of the Communist Party of Bangladesh and the Communist Party of India were happy to note that the democratic forces in Pakistan had begun a new series of struggles for their democratic rights and for normalization of the relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh. The recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan is of crucial importance for the solution of all outstanding problems between the two countries and no less for the well-being of the people of Pakistan itself. Moreover, the recognition of the historic reality of Bangladesh by Pakistan is essential for peace and prosperity of the sub-continent.

The representatives of the Communist Party of Bangladesh and the delegation of the Communist Party of India fully agreed on the historic significance of the ever-growing friendship and cooperation between Bangladesh, India and the Soviet Union in the common struggle against imperialism. This also is a precondition for the success of the struggle of the peoples of India and Bangladesh for democracy and social progress. The two parties are pledged to discharge their responsibilities in full measure for further strengthening the friendship and cooperation between Bangladesh, India and the Soviet Union, which are essential for lasting peace in the sub-continent and for well-being and progress of the peoples who inhabit it.

April 28, 1972.

Dacca, Bangladesh.

COMMUNIQUE ON GDR PARTY-GOVERNMENT DELEGATION VISIT TO RUMANIA

The following is an account of the Communique issued on the official friendly visit to Rumania of a Party-Government delegation of the German Democratic Republic headed by Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, and Willi Stoph, Member of the CC SUPG Politbureau and Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. The full text of the Communique appeared in **Scinteia** and in **Neues Deutschland** on May 13, 1972.

The sides noted with satisfaction the development of bilateral relations and stress that the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid concluded by the Socialist Republic of Rumania and

the German Democratic Republic opens a new stage in the consolidation and extension of bilateral relations.

The two delegations stressed the role of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in promoting economic cooperation among its member-countries, use of the advantages of the international division of labor, development of their respective national economies, and higher living standards. The sides reaffirmed their determination to extend multilateral cooperation with CMEA member-countries and discussed new proposals for economic cooperation between their two states. In this connection, they noted the importance of the Comprehensive Program for the further extension and improvement of cooperation and the development of socialist economic integration, approved by the 25th CMEA Session, and expressed the trust that greater cooperation among CMEA members and other socialist countries will stimulate the development of each socialist state and the socialist world system as a whole.

The two countries are determined to continue to suit their actions to the purpose of extending cooperation in the Warsaw Treaty framework, and to advance friendship and all-round cooperation with other socialist states in the name of cementing unity and cohesion and in the interests of socialism and peace.

The two sides acclaim the contribution of the Soviet Union and that of other socialist states to promoting détente and security in Europe and the rest of the world, to the struggle for peace, friendship and international cooperation.

The delegations hold that the present international situation favors the forces of socialism, democracy and peace and that the peoples are acting ever more resolutely against imperialist policy, the policy of aggression and diktat, domination and interference in the internal affairs of other countries, in defense of national independence, for international understanding and cooperation.

During the negotiations, the two sides thoroughly examined the problems of European security. They expressed trust that the ratification of the treaties between the USSR and FRG and between Poland and the FRG is consonant with the interests of their signatories and the other European countries, and promotes détente, peace and security.

The two sides, the Communique said, firmly condemn the new U.S. acts of aggression and resolutely insist on the immediate termination of all armed actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the withdrawal of all U.S. troops and their allies from Indochina, and the ending of the policy of "Vietnamization," which is doomed to failure and conceived to protract the aggressive war.

The two sides hold that the U.S. measures are a gross violation of international law and the rules of international trade and navigation.

The delegations stressed the need for resuming the negotiations in Paris interrupted by the United States. The two delegations insist on a political solution of the conflict in a spirit of respect for the lawful rights of the Indochinese peoples.

The two sides expressed complete solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam, the other Indochinese peoples, and reaffirmed their resolve to continue to support them until the victory of their just cause.

The sides expressed themselves in favor of a political solution of the Middle East conflict and reaffirmed their resolve to support the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Namibia, and firmly condemned the policy of apartheid followed by the racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa.

The Rumanian Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany are determined to develop comradely relations with other Communist and Workers' parties and to promote the greater unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement in line with the principles and norms of inter-party relations recorded in the Document of the 1969 Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The CC SUPG and GDR Government invited a Party-Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Rumania to pay an official friendly visit to the GDR. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction. The time of the visit will be set in due course.



