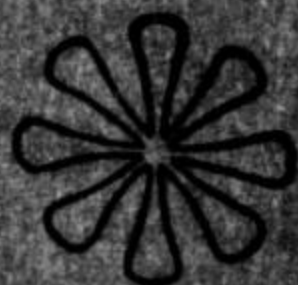


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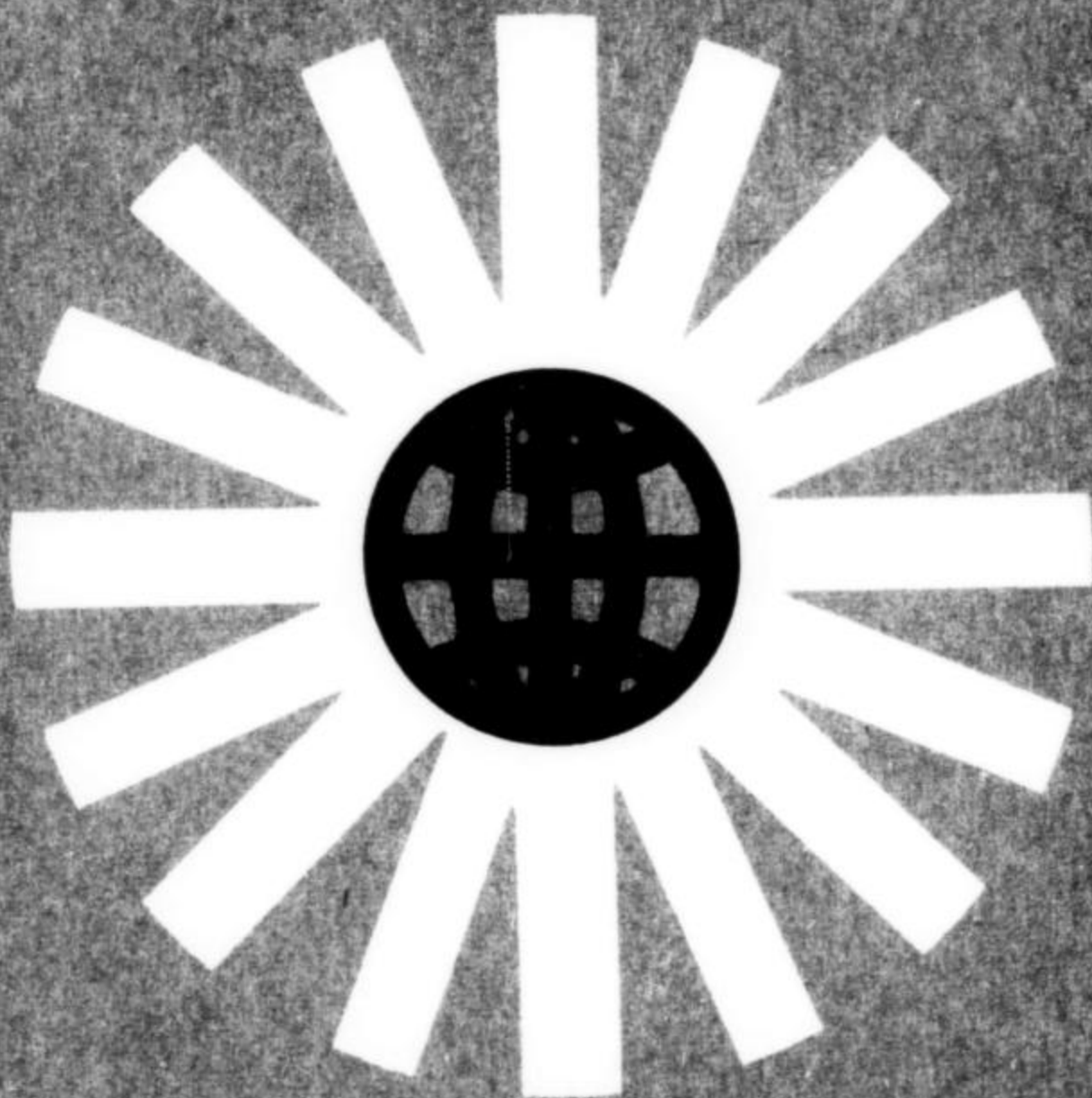
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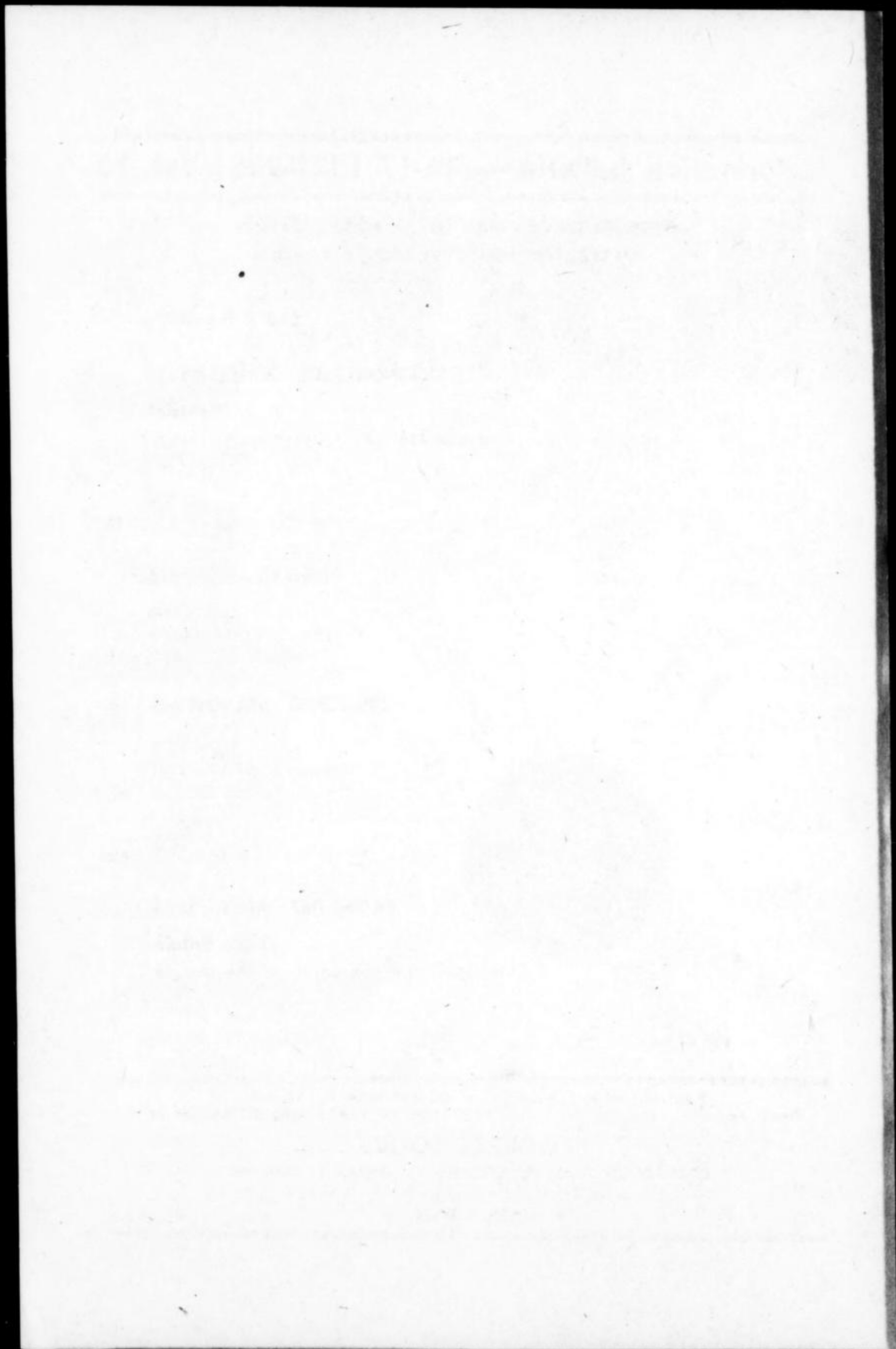
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SOCIALIST
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CURRENT POLICY
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16 - 17

(224-225) • 1972





information bulletin — 16-17 (224-225) Vol. 10

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

c o n t e n t s

CONGRESSES, CONFERENCES

Denmark

- New climate for anti-monopoly struggle
—*Knud Jespersen* 5

Israel

- 17th Congress of ICP 15

PLENARY MEETINGS

Chile

- The agrarian reform
—*Luis Corvalan* 24

SPEECHES, STATEMENTS

Argentina

- CC CPA Statement on situation
in the country 40

France

- Statement of PB of French CP 49

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

Great Britain

- Class laws and the power of the people
—*John Gollan* 50

(cont'd next page)

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

PROGRESS BOOKS

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

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(cont'd)

Soviet Union
Policy of Socialist
International 53

Some tactical peculiarities of
Peking leadership's current policy 58

Cuba
Granma Editorial 67

MEETINGS 69

PRINTED IN CANADA
OCTOBER 31, 1972



CONGRESSES, CONFERENCES

NEW CLIMATE FOR ANTI-MONOPOLY STRUGGLE

At its conference on August 19-20, 1972, the Communist Party of Denmark discussed the fight against Common Market membership, Communist policy on renegotiation of wage agreements, and activation of the movement against the U.S. aggression in Indochina.

Below, slightly abridged, is the conference speech of the Party's Chairman, Knud Jespersen (the full text appeared in *Land og folk*, August 25, 1972).

Our conference is meeting at a very eventful period in Denmark's postwar history. For many years now, beginning with 1961, definite forces in and outside parliament have been working to drag Denmark into the Common Market. Their efforts culminated on January 22, when Prime Minister Krag signed an agreement obligating Denmark to abide by the Treaty of Rome and accept all EEC decisions.

Krag's signature is not binding on Denmark; it can be voided by the popular referendum of October 2. And we deem it our duty to do everything to defeat the marketeers. That is fully feasible for the popular forces have in recent months extended their influence and are in a stronger position.

Resistance to EEC membership can be felt throughout the country, in the factories, among the youth, in the trade unions. And though the resistance movement is divided by political and religious views, it has demolished all the arguments of the marketeers, exposed all their camouflage designed to conceal the political aims and nature of the Common Market.

Never before has political activity run so high. Thousands of meetings, millions of leaflets, the voluntary efforts of many people—they add up to an anti-Market belt around Denmark. And opposed to this powerful force is the press, radio and television, plus the millions the marketeers spend to further their ends.

But they lack what we have, namely, thousands of activists. The marketeers are working in an ungrateful cause. Their aim is to tie future generations and governments to the Common Market, whose future no one can rely upon. In contrast, there is a powerful move-

ment to safeguard Denmark's right to exist as an independent state and introduce democratic changes to assure our people a brighter future.

Farsightedness is not the marketers' strong point. Time and again they have objected to changes in foreign and military policy on the plea that "we do not want to tie the hands of future governments and parliaments." Nor have they proved competent long-range planners. We have only to recall such recurrent "surprises" as the shortages of housing and educational and service facilities not to speak of the oil scandal in which they were involved as blind partners of big business.

Now they are more farsighted: they want to devise a policy that will operate even in the year 2000, though it is anybody's guess what the EEC will be like by that time. Yet they lack the imagination to foresee the requirements of our people and country.

Krag's signature was the signal for initial structural changes: big business is pursuing an economic policy based on Danish membership in the EEC. Parliament has already approved the necessary legislation. Economic policy is being adapted to fit into the EEC framework. The government has put us down for EEC membership and is now trying to sway the forthcoming referendum.

EEC supporters fear popular reaction. At one time they tried to forestall it by painting a glowing picture of the Common Market as little short of paradise on earth. But public pressure forced them to abandon that image-making technique. For it was clear that, in the long run, it did not matter, economically, whether we joined EEC or maintained our freedom of action.

The marketers had to think up new arguments—new but hardly more convincing. What is one to make, for instance, of Hartling's argument that "with Britain going into Europe, the EEC will change"? Could anything be more naive? Europe is bigger, much bigger, than the Common Market Six and the four candidate members. In fact, more than two-thirds of Europe will permanently remain outside the Common Market. The arguments of some leading Social-Democrats are on the same level of logic. They want us to join EEC to assure Denmark democratic development. One might ask them: What kind of democracy have they assured in industry? But let's be polite and not ask. They themselves have been incautious enough to acknowledge that we are right: there is no democracy in the EEC! And if we join our influence will be negligible, only a twentieth of the EEC influence on Denmark.

Others say EEC membership will make for planned development, despite what Mansholt, the Chairman of the EEC Commission, told a Norwegian delegation: No government will be in a position to control major EEC undertakings. And it is also in order to recall

these words of Brandt: "We want neither a Catholic, capitalist, nor socialist Europe."

Brandt's right-hand man, Wehner, told the Norwegian delegation that the only realistic perspective was "participatory rights in one or another form." The marketeers stand fully exposed when they say: "We must join EEC to prevent its power being used against us." That is a good enough admission of the danger inherent in EEC policy.

Lacking further arguments, the marketeers play their last card, the veto. In all their statements you will find the contention that if the EEC follows an undesirable course, Denmark can use its right of veto. The legal aspect is simplicity itself: Denmark can use the veto only in cases expressly specified in the Treaty of Rome, and these are very few, practically all decisions are adopted by a qualified or simple majority. There is no constitutional right of veto. As for the political aspect, it would be absolutely wrong to imagine that a government so closely linked to EEC would have the temerity to invoke the wrath of the other member by using the veto. Hitherto none of the small countries has used the veto, only France did so in connection with the 1966 Luxembourg agreement. The big powers can, of course, act differently from the smaller EEC members, but as a rule they have no need to use the veto because all proposed decisions are prepared by them. This deliberately wrong explanation of the veto issue is one of the marketeers' ways of hoodwinking the voters in preparation for the referendum.

But there is another object, too: to conceal the meager "influence we would enjoy" by surrendering our sovereignty. All governments will have voting rights, possibly also opportunities, to influence the running of EEC. But the important question is: who will represent Denmark? The most likely choice will be men like Gundelach and Jens Christensen, dedicated supporters of EEC and for many years advocates of Danish integration in it. They can be relied upon always to fall in line with their EEC colleagues.

It might well be that Krag, Bratelli and Brandt would like to see EEC a somewhat more democratic organization. But that is the last thing Strauss, Heath or Ninn-Hansen want. As a result, we might find ourselves in a situation which we do not want or anticipate: Strauss, and Ninn-Hansen would be giving orders to EEC officials. Could it be otherwise?

Considering the multitude of directives issued by EEC and the character of its activities, a Danish "yes" in the Commission might have unexpected consequences. Among other things, it would bind parliament, which has no power to act on EEC directives—they have the force of law. Often, at any rate on practically all major issues, the final word rests with men operating in the lobbies. The

multi-national monopolies use a combination of promises and threats to secure EEC decisions favorable to them.

The Commission is not subject to control, even influence, by any of the member states; it is completely independent. That being so, the Danish member will not be representing Denmark. Furthermore, violation of any of its directives will lay the offender country open to trial by the EEC court.

There is no appeal against its verdict, nor will it take into consideration Danish laws and legal procedures. The judges are guided solely by the Treaty of Rome and not by the Danish constitution and legal standards.

The marketeers deliberately ignore these facts to conceal the true nature of EEC. They present it as an innocent trading association, or as an ordinary international cooperation agency. If this were so, then, obviously, once we are free to join, we should be free to withdraw. But no, there is no withdrawal from EEC.

Common Market membership is for an indefinite time, and there are no effective provisions for withdrawal. Quite the contrary, "the community must steadily acquire cohesion." That means more integration, and once it begins, the clause about possible withdrawal loses all meaning because every member is so closely tied to the Community.

Integration is meant to produce an economic and political alliance, in which Denmark would be a peripheral element or branch of the Common Market. The EEC will promote production where there are supplies or raw material and capital. And it should not be difficult to realize that in this setup Denmark could only hope for the role of purveyor to the big producers in this common market of labor and capital.

The EEC was not designed by the trade unions or by men far removed from politics. Nor was it designed to provide more employment or to promote democracy. On the contrary, it serves the triple alliance of big business, reaction and militarism.

Monopoly power, and monopoly profits, have increased fantastically since the founding of EEC. Takeovers and closures have become a regular system. EEC accounts for 19 of Europe's 20 top monopolies operating in an area with a population of over 260 million and with a gross national product last year of \$767 billion, and there are demands for a combined military budget of \$22,449 million.

There are still more ambitious plans of merging the aircraft industry, organizing a common armaments industry and influencing the Community's nuclear potential.

This gigantic concentration of power has its own ideas about Europe's future. That is evident from the Bonn statement about "the need to unite Europe in order to strengthen the Atlantic

alliance." This is accompanied by the efforts to stabilize the capitalist system for an offensive on the socialist world. No one can accuse EEC of concealing its aims, and they certainly are not attractive for our people.

The EEC's record is the only possible answer to what awaits us if we join, an answer every wage and salary earner can clearly read in the social and human tragedies caused by EEC policy.

Thousands of jobs have been erased. Millions of farmers have been driven from the land. Equal pay and status for women have been relegated to the background. The consumers, and most of them are wage and salary earners, can neither influence nor control production. EEC has not yet completed restructuring the labor market. According to EEC data, by 1981 agricultural policy will force two million farmers in the 20-55 age group to look for other work, with proportionately similar reductions in the coal, metallurgical and engineering industries.

The outlook for 1980, as formulated by the Commission itself, is for every eighth or tenth worker to look for a new job. Is that likely to attract the Danish blue-collar and white-collar worker?

Social instability and social problems have been aggravated in the 15 EEC years. According to official statistics, there are 2.4 million unemployed, but that figure does not give the full picture, for the statistics do not take into account the large number of unorganized, young workers and women. The fact remains that 15 per cent of the social-insurance population are without jobs—and that is an official figure too.

To it should be added at least 7 million people on part-time—and part wages—as a result of the so-called manpower redistribution. Actually, things are much worse than in the grim mass-unemployment days of the 1930s. There are long lines of unemployed in all EEC countries and poverty among them is on the increase.

Another factor is the retrenchment program, with wages being cut or undermined by cheap foreign labor. Faced with this and similar provocations by the monopolies, the workers are more frequently resorting to militant action. Throughout these years the number of strikers in EEC countries has been 15 times greater than in other countries, but concessions won were much more modest.

It is not the purpose of the Treaty of Rome to provide jobs for everyone—it only vaguely hints at achieving maximum possible employment. But it does contain a clause envisaging equal pay for men and women in 1961. That has been postponed endlessly with 1974 now the target date. However, the protocol fixing that date also speaks of bringing earnings of men and women closer together. Actually women's wages in EEC countries have declined

compared with men's. Women's hourly pay is 20-45 per cent lower than men's.

The social and economic committee, the only one with trade union representatives (with voice but no vote) has consistently turned down the 40-hour workweek, and has even avoided recommending that it should not exceed 48 hours.

The explanation is simple enough. Though there is unemployment, many low-paid workers have to work overtime. Danish wages are not big by any measure and average workers find it hard to make ends meet. Yet average hourly pay in Danish industry is three crowns higher than in West Germany which has the Community's highest wage level.

The Brussels policymakers have no plans to increase consumption. On the contrary, Mansholt maintains that consumption should be restricted and annual growth held to three per cent. Considering the population growth, this is actually a reduction. Besides, the Commission is working on rigid policy indicators on wages and employment.

Does anyone really believe that cutting back consumption will mean higher hourly wages? What it will mean is perfectly clear from Article 118 of the Treaty of Rome: "The object of the Commission is to achieve close cooperation between member-states in social policy, particularly employment, labor legislation, working conditions, the right to organize and conduct collective bargaining negotiations with employers."

Some trade union leaders do not notice or disregard these facts. Anker Jorgensen and Thomas Nielsen would have us believe that by joining the EEC we will show our solidarity and that the operation within its framework of the British, Norwegian and Danish trade union movements may have vast importance.

We have the greatest respect for the trade union movement — unlike, perhaps, the authors of the above statement, but it would be naive to think that the trade-union influence will increase sharply with the addition of four new members. In Denmark, between 70 and 80 per cent of all workers are organized, in the Common Market the proportion is 20-25, and in Britain about 50 per cent.

What facts are there to show that Common Market membership would strengthen the trade union movement? At any rate, failure to promote democracy on the shop-floor does not point in that direction.

Pro-market trade union leaders either conceal the facts or simply do not know them. They unreservedly accept the statement made by Krag in 1961, when submitting Denmark's application. This is what he said: "We are prepared, along with other members, fully and actively to facilitate closer political cooperation towards

European unity in accordance with the aim set out in the Bonn statement of July 18, 1961."

By appending Denmark's signature on January 22, 1972, the government accepted the fundamental rules of the Common Market and all decisions adopted since its founding. And these number more than 4,000, of which only a very small part is available in Danish translation. Perhaps Thomas Nielsen and Anker Jorgensen know them and what obligations they impose on the Danish working people? Or perhaps the position is the same as in Parliament, where only those who voted for the Common Market knew the contents of, and obligations following from, the Treaty of Rome and EEC decisions?

Union leaders would do well to remember what Sweden's Prime Minister Tage Erlander, said in the early 60s, namely, that the Treaty of Rome "contains provisions under which member-states would have to forfeit their sovereignty in such matters as economic, social and tax policy, employment, agricultural policy, etc."

Every worker considers pro-market arguments from the standpoint of his responsibility to his family. And the majority of organized workers are dead set against joining. Never before has there been such a wide gap between leaders and rank and file. The Danish Central Trade Union Federation congress gave an emphatic "No" to Anker Jorgensen and his policies. The Copenhagen unions have come out against the Common Market. The small pro-market majority at the trade union congress actually spoke for a minority of union members. And today everyone expects the blacksmith's union to follow Hans Rasmussen and give a clear "No" to the Common Market.

This united action at shop level will have immense importance in the future too. For there is a new climate and a clear-cut perspective in the fight against the monopolies. And there is ample evidence that united action is fully possible, that on all concrete issues the working class has many more common interests than it has differences in views.

And it is precisely along this road, and notwithstanding opposition from a few leaders, that our working class can uphold its interests, extend its influence and become the leading force in the battle for a new policy.

Nor is it any chance accident that it is acting with such understanding, responsibility and vigor. For it would be the first victim of monopoly policy and would bear the main burden of Common Market membership.

But the movement is being joined by other forces too, by popular forces which can open a new chapter in Denmark's history. With no arguments to oppose to this movement, some EEC supporters have

tried to mislead the public by claiming that the new forces are but a motley collection of Communists, old-time nationalists, and so on.

The "bright minds" among the marketeers—and there are not many by any count—say: "The whole thing has been built up by the Communists." We can thank them for the flowers, but we see the thorns behind them: using anti-communism to split the popular movement.

This is our reply: you're too late! The unity we anti-marketeers represent cannot be split. It will continue to grow right up to October 2. We are animated not by fear, but by a desire to put the country on another course, outside the Common Market.

The anti-EEC movement has a clear perspective and can be retained for future struggle. We do not want our country to be tied to an economic and political alliance that can only bring our people more threats and hardship.

True, the Treaty of Rome has no provisions concerning foreign and military policy. But that does not mean (as the marketeers claim) that it will not intervene in these matters. On the contrary, we know from the Bonn statement—which Krag accepted—that EEC will work towards "uniting Europe to strengthen the Atlantic alliance."

That formula is clear enough. Today, Europe is divided with more than half of its peoples building socialism. What can "uniting Europe to strengthen the Atlantic alliance" mean for them? Is this not a bald statement of aggression? At the very least, it is a challenge to those who want to see independent nations living in a world of peace and freedom.

The aims of the EEC are no secret. It is working towards a joint foreign and military policy and a "European armaments community. That has been stated by the governments of leading EEC members, the clearest statement, perhaps, coming from Brandt, who spoke of a Common Market army. The Danish government has tried to tone it down. Brandt, however, sees nothing novel or sensational in his statements, a view shared by few Common Market supporters.

Bonn's War Minister, Schmidt, has said that Britain's entry into the EEC would present "opportunities to strengthen European security and thereby also military cooperation." That statement was made on September 1, 1971.

On February 1, 1972, Heath went a step further, stating that progress towards a common foreign policy would be accompanied by growing cooperation in defense. And this was accompanied by demands for a joint nuclear defense system. Link that with the Brandt statement of a European army and the picture should be perfectly clear.

All these statements follow the Adenauer and Hallstein line.

The latter said on January 20, 1968: "From the very outset, all our efforts towards European unity have been predicated on the belief that security and defense problems must come within our purview." Regrettably, spokesmen of the Brandt-Scheel government have repeatedly confirmed that. The most clear-cut confirmation has come from State Secretary Jahn: "We are in the happy position of all three parties in the Federal Parliament . . . taking a common stand on European policy."

And so, there should be no doubt in anyone's mind that the purpose of all the foreign policy consultations is to get EEC members to pursue a common foreign policy. Brandt's statement that "there is no hard and fast boundary between economic and security policy," fully confirms that EEC is an economic and political organization working to supervise every aspect of policy in member-countries. That is now incontestable.

And so, we know what the Common Market, that triple alliance of big business, reaction and militarism, has to offer us. Accordingly, ours can only be a negative attitude. But we must also have an alternative to EEC. And the Communists have that alternative, a new policy to solve the problems of the Danish people, not the problems of big business.

For us the decisive factor has always been our people's right to determine the country's policy, the right to change policy and break out of NATO now, for notification of withdrawal must be made a year in advance, and that will be impossible once we join the Common Market. At the same time we must establish public control over the monopolies or get rid of them altogether.

That policy, aimed against big business, opens a realistic prospect of extending democracy to all aspects of life, including democratic control of the means of production. That is what we are working for.

It stands to reason that, as Communists, we want a socialist future for Denmark, for socialism is the only genuine solution for mankind, the only one that assures full satisfaction of its requirements.

A clear and vigorous "No" to the Common Market in the October 2 referendum is basic to our alternative. Instead of going into the Market we suggest bilateral trade agreements with it, but without any political strings attached. And we have good opportunities for that, for we buy more than we sell.

If we act in concert with other northern countries, including Norway which is not likely to join the EEC, then we shall represent a market of 60 million people, and no alliance will be able to dictate trade terms detrimental to Denmark's interests.

It has already been proved that broad technical, scientific, cultural and economic cooperation with the socialist countries will

enable us together with the other Scandinavian countries, substantially to increase the influence of the North.

We are not isolationists but internationalists and we want to cooperate with the whole world to defend Denmark as a national state. That policy is supported by the agreement of government leaders for a European security and cooperation conference.

Our country—and this applies to the entire North—is vitally interested in a European security system to prevent economic and military integration and assure, first of all for the small countries, unhampered freedom of action and national independence.

Our alternative includes re-distribution of national income and a tax policy that would prevent big business from withholding 12 to 15 billion crowns from taxation according to the factual amount of incomes and make municipal and other local taxes progressive.

There would be an effective anti-inflation policy to eliminate the present unfair arrangements and prevent big business land speculation. All land would become public property and would be leased to tenants on common terms.

Lastly, we advocate reduction of armaments and disarmament so that the millions thus economized could be used for investment in the interests of the whole of society. Such a policy would have immense benefits, but only if we keep out of the Common Market. We would become the object of exploitation by the big EEC monopolies if we allowed ourselves to be sealed off from the world outside of this small but dangerous alliance.

We regard ourselves equal partners in the anti-Common Market movement. We have often inspired that movement and helped it organizationally. Our activists have always been its most loyal supporters. That is as it should be, and we do not expect gratitude.

We consider our contribution an inseparable part of the great struggle to re-establish Denmark's independence. That does not mean that we are defending the "old Denmark"; we are working towards a new and better Denmark where the people's interests will be taken into account and everything will be under the people's restricted control.

We are working for a socialist Denmark in which man will determine the development of society, will no longer be the victim of chance, nor weighed down by the present difficulties. But never shall we try to impose our revolutionary program for a socialist Denmark on the popular movement.

We fully recognize the sovereignty of popular movements, but we do not abandon our own aims. Such frankness cannot weaken the movement; quite the contrary, since we are prepared to use all our strength to achieve common aims, it helps towards unity of the working class and people in the fight against big business.

The struggle against the Common Market and for a new and

better Denmark is our supreme task. The outcome of that struggle will for many years to come determine the outcome of the workers' struggle for their economic demands. Many forces are united in the fight against the EEC, for aims that have now acquired especial urgency. For the future of our nation we must defeat those who would transfer to a foreign agency rights belonging to the Danish people.

At stake is the development of a new, genuine democracy against those who would delegate to the Common Market decisions that concern every aspect of our life. At stake is the peace and security of our country, menaced by those who want to unite Europe to strengthen the Atlantic Alliance. And last but not least, at stake is the influence of the working class, for EEC membership would mean that the workers' demands would be examined by its commission, which is beyond the control of the people.

Denmark's future can be assured only if its people themselves determine the course it should steer.

17th CONGRESS OF ISRAELI COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party of Israel held its 17th Congress on June 12-24 in Tel Aviv.*

The Congress was attended by 394 delegates, the delegations of 17 fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and a delegation of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*.

The Congress received greetings and messages of solidarity from the majority of Communist and Workers' parties, numerous labor and youth organizations and different groups of the Israeli population.

The Congress was opened by Politbureau member Tawfiq Toubi, who greeted the delegates and the delegations of fraternal Communist and Workers' parties.

The 17th Congress of the CPI, he said, is meeting at a time when the crisis caused by the June 1967 war is still endangering peace and security in the Middle East. He stressed that the Israeli rulers are laboring under a delusion if they believe that they will be able to perpetuate the occupation by their aggressive policy. Rejecting a just political settlement, they thereby create a situation which is becoming ever more explosive.

It is quite clear now that Israel's security has never been as

*Resolutions of the Congress will be published in our next issue.—Ed.

precarious as it is today. Feelings of anxiety and insecurity are running high in the country.

"Showing concern for the cause of peace and security of the Israeli people and all the peoples of the area," Toubi continued, "our Communist Party appeals to all forces in Israel who cherish the cause of peace, to all organizations and public personalities opposed to the continuation of the occupation and demanding fulfilment of the Security Council resolution, to unite in the ranks of a peace front and to mobilize the masses for a nationwide political struggle so as to force the government to abandon its hidebound position and act in favor of the long-awaited peace, peace without annexations."

The Party's urgent task today is to expand the political struggle against the policy of occupation and annexation. The Communist Party, all its organizations and members are actively participating in the struggle of people who are acting against the anti-democratic and anti-labor policy of the government and the policy of racial discrimination.

The Party is fighting in complex conditions, in an atmosphere of chauvinism, hatred for other peoples fanned in the country and of anti-Sovietism. The Party is constantly persecuted under the emergency laws. Party leaders and members are obliged to live in areas specified by the authorities and are subjected to systematic arrests.

Toubi warmly greeted the peoples of Iraq and Syria who have established their sovereignty on their land by nationalizing the Iraq Petroleum Co., which is an important gain for the Arab national-liberation movement.

In this connection he pointed out that the process of establishing the governments of progressive national fronts in Syria and Iraq is one more evidence of continuous change taking place in the relationship of forces in favor of the anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces fighting in this area of the globe.

Condemning the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Toubi said:

"Expressing our resolute protest at this Congress against the inhuman crimes perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists, we tell them: Enough of killing! Stop the crimes against the people of Vietnam and the whole of mankind. American colonialists, get out of Vietnam!"

"We express our fraternal solidarity with the people of Vietnam and feel confident that thanks to their heroism and the fraternal assistance of their true friends, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the people of Vietnam will win through to victory."

Toubi emphasized that the internationalist unity of the Party is the vital basis of its activity. Unity of the Communists, both Jews and Arabs, will illumine the path of the two peoples towards a better

future. And he added: "The relations of friendship existing between our Party and the Communist parties of the Arab countries prove that there are great opportunities for establishing new relations in our region, provided there is a radical change in the official policy of Israel."

The speaker pointed to the firmness of relations linking the CPI with the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties. "For us, the participation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the work of our Congress in the present situation is a wholehearted expression of solidarity with the struggle of the Communist Party of Israel, an expression of sincere friendship which the Soviet Union has for the workers and other people of Israel, just as for the other peoples. Your being present here, Soviet comrades, expresses the sincere concern of the Soviet Union for establishing a just and durable peace between Israel and the Arab countries.

"We view the arrival of the delegation of many fraternal Communist parties at our Congress as an expression of solidarity with our Party, an expression of friendship for the working people and the popular masses of Israel aspiring to peace."

Below we publish an abridged version of the Central Committee report to the Congress delivered by Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CC CPI.

OUR BASIC TASK IS TO SECURE THE WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS AND ESTABLISH PEACE

Our 17th Congress has convened three and a half years after the preceeding, 16th Congress. Historically, it is a brief period, but it was one of rapid development and progress of the world's progressive forces. Positive political and social changes have come about in our region, the Middle East. Nor did life in Israel stand still.

"Our 17th Congress has convened five years after the June 1967 war, at a time when the occupation of the Arab territories still continues. The continued occupation and the absence of peace — this is what attracts the main attention of our Congress."

The Israeli rulers undermine the opportunities for establishing peace in the Middle East. They are alarmed by the successes of the Soviet-American summit meeting, which dealt a serious blow to the cold war policy.

It is known, however, that the U.S. ruling circles were forced to take this step as a result of changes in the world balance of forces. The main thing now is to fulfil the agreements signed during the summit meeting. The factors that compelled U.S. imperialism to retreat from some fundamental tenets of its bankrupt foreign policy are bound to compel them to fulfil these agreements too.

At the same time, Vilner stressed the principled and flexible character of Soviet policy aimed at strengthening peaceful co-existence, on the one hand, and at giving maximum support to the peoples fighting against imperialism, as, for instance, in Vietnam, on the other.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The developments in the Middle East and the changes that have taken place in the area, Vilner said, are anti-imperialist in character. The period under review witnessed the strengthening of friendly Soviet-Arab relations, as expressed in the treaties of friendship and cooperation signed between the USSR and Egypt and between the USSR and Iraq. A progressive national front has been established in Syria and is being formed in Iraq with the participation of the Communist parties which has served as the basis for forming coalition governments.

Nationalization of foreign oil companies in Iraq and Syria strikes a strong blow at the positions of imperialist monopolies in the Middle East. These and other progressive, anti-imperialist moves in the Arab world serve the interests not only of the Arab peoples, but also those of the people of Israel, and the interests of peace and security in this region of the world.

The Jordanian ruling clique, which organized the massacres of September 1970, Vilner said, did not succeed in eradicating the national movement of the Arab people of Palestine.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OCCUPATION, FOR PEACE

The Golda Meir government does not want a just settlement and clings in every way to the policy of annexation.

The speaker cited statements of high-ranking figures, which reveal the expansionist aspirations of the Israeli rulers.

In so doing, he referred in particular to the statement of retired General Meir Banl, who speaking at a meeting in Tel-Aviv on May 27, 1972, protested against the plundering and eviction of thousands of Bedouins in the Rafah region, and said:

"When I see such chauvinism, when I see such frenzy, such intoxication over our military strength, I am seized with alarm and feel that I want to give up the (occupied) territories as quickly as possible, and in return obtain a political solution of the question."

But generals like War Minister Moshe Dayan and people like Haim Bar Lev, Minister of Industry and Agriculture, continue to back the policy of expansion. Recently, the ruling element recorded its expansionist aspirations in a Knesset resolution, of March 16, 1972, trying even to find a "justification" for them in history.

Vilner warned the Israeli rulers against the illusion that they can deprive the Arab people of Palestine of its rights.

"In the past there was a historical process which culminated in the establishment of the rule of the great imperialist powers over most of the Asian and African countries. This process continued for more than a hundred years. But what do we see now? Not only has this process ceased, but the colonial system of imperialism itself has collapsed once and for all. And in the countries still ruled by colonialists, the earth burns under their feet. The policy of the Israeli rulers, who are making the life and death of the State of Israel dependent on the imperialist powers, is a menace to the country's future. The State of Israel can continue to exist and live in security only if it becomes a peace-loving and independent Mid-Eastern state maintaining good-neighbor relations with the Arab peoples. This is why anyone who expects the hundred-year-old policy of colonialism to continue and even expand in future, is nothing but a racist and an advocate of aggression, exposing his people to danger and denying them a life in peace and security."

In this connection, the General Secretary referred to the role of the United States government, which openly supports the Israeli rulers' policy of conquest and to the latter's connection with the U.S. imperialists. Firm action by the forces of peace, national liberation and socialism in the entire world, with the Soviet Union at their head, can make the imperialists discontinue their support.

OUR PLAN OF ACHIEVING PEACE

Our slogan, "Against the Occupation — For Peace," Vilner said, expresses the essence of the Party's peace plan for the Middle East. The masses in Israel are swiftly becoming more politically aware and active, which is exceedingly important for the effectuation of the peace plan. For this, it is necessary to create an anti-imperialist democratic front, whose important task it will be to establish peace in the Middle East.

"Our peace plan," Vilner said, "is based on the implementation of all the provisions of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, elucidated and confirmed by the UN General Assembly decisions of 1970 and 1971 and the Security Council resolutions on Jerusalem.

"Our Party offers the people the following plan for achieving peace:

"—respect for the rights of all peoples and states in the region, including the people of Israel and the Arab people of Palestine;

"—fulfilment of all the provisions of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967;

"—the peace frontiers must be the frontiers that existed on June 4, 1967, and the Israeli troops must withdraw to within these frontiers;

"—the sides must declare renunciation of the state of war and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the states of the region, and their right to live in peace within the recognized and secure borders without resorting to the threat or use of force in any way;

"—lasting peace must be established between Israel and the Arab states;

"—a just solution must be reached of the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees, based on respect for their rights in accordance with the UN decisions securing them a free choice between repatriation and receipt of compensation;

"—freedom of navigation must be secured for Israel, as for any other country, through the Suez Canal and Tirana Straits."

FOR BUILDING A PEACE FRONT

Further, Meir Vilner said:

"One of the most important tasks of our Party's 17th Congress is to work out ways leading to the growth and consolidation of the peace forces in Israel, and also to the intensification of the struggle. Unification of the peace forces should turn them into a highly influential factor in the country's political development. The main weapon used by the enemy in his attempts to obstruct the unification of the peace forces in Israel is anti-communism.

Therefore, it is necessary to do everything possible to create a united peace front embracing different ideological and political currents in order to mobilize the broadest possible forces for the struggle against the occupation and annexation, for a just, peaceful settlement of the crisis. In this respect, it is extremely interesting to note the many protests against the government's policy, and the growth of opposition forces among various sections of the country's population. The growing comprehension of the aggressive nature of the June War of 1967 is to no small degree giving impulse to this course.

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

Passing to the Palestine problem, Vilner noted that the Communist Party of Israel has always worked for recognition of the Palestinian Arabs' national rights. The June war, the occupation and the aggravated problem of refugees, he said, had spurred the development of a mass movement of Palestinian Arabs for their national rights and against imperialism and the occupation.

The General Secretary rejected the appeal for the Palestinian Arabs to exercise their right to self-determination in conditions of occupation. "Only after the occupation of the areas seized in June 1967 has ended," he said, "will there be conditions for the Arab people of Palestine to exercise their right to self-determination."

The situation in the occupied areas today is appalling: the people are subjected to inhuman terror and harsh economic exploitation. "From the economic point of view, the occupied areas are an Israeli colony." The problem of East Jerusalem, which Israel has officially incorporated into its territory, deserves special attention. "Under a peace agreement," Vilner said, "the eastern part of Jerusalem should be returned to Arab sovereignty. However, once the occupation is ended there can and should be an agreed settlement assuring all religions free access to the holy places."

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION AND INTENSIFIED CLASS STRUGGLE

The General Secretary briefly described the country's social and economic position:

"Israel's economy is more than ever tied to foreign capital, mainly to the American monopolies. As a result Israel has moved further and further away from the attainment of economic independence.

"The five years since the June war have seen the extreme militarization of the economy and the national budget.

"Big business profits have grown. Real wages have declined; there is more poverty and sharper class contradictions."

The speaker cited incontestable data showing the degree of economic militarization. For instance, military expenditure has increased sixfold since 1966, from 1.2 billion pounds in 1966 to 7 billion in 1971. This has made for a bigger balance of payments deficit. There is also a growing foreign debt, which has risen from \$1.6 billion in 1967 to \$3.6 billion in 1971.

"The growing foreign debt is one manifestation of Israel's increasing enthrallment by foreign capital of the imperialist states, primarily the United States." American economic "aid" and specifically "aid" for the acquisition of armaments has given the Israeli economy a lopsided pattern.

In general, the influx of foreign capital is damaging Israel's economy, leading to inflation and to steep rises in prices and taxes. For instance, according to official statistics rents in 1971 were up 70 per cent on 1968. No wonder there is mounting discontent among the people.

The workers are the hardest hit by the economic and social consequences of the occupation. Real wages have declined while the

profits of local and foreign capitalists have been rapidly increasing, from one billion pounds in 1968 to 1.4 billion in 1970, an increase of 40 per cent. Intensified exploitation and the economic stranglehold of foreign capital have greatly aggravated the class struggle. This can be seen in the growth of the strike movement: from 144 strikes in 1969 to 169 in 1971. The strikes are evidence of mounting worker resistance to the government and employer onslaught on living standards, which are steadily deteriorating.

Social welfare data reveal that one family in five and one in four of the urban population are in need or are living on the borderline of poverty.

ARAB POPULATION

The General Secretary dealt with the question of the Arab population, which makes up 12 per cent of the country's total. The Arabs suffer from the government's racial discrimination in employment, education, welfare, etc.

"The Israeli government has tried to present to the world a democratic and enlightened image. In reality, however, it is following a policy of racial discrimination, and not only in the occupied areas, but also against the Arab citizens of Israel."

The Communist Party plays the leading role in the struggle against discrimination and national oppression. It advocates equal rights for Jews and Arabs. "The Israeli Arab population is a national minority and part of the Arab people of Palestine. This minority is fighting for civil and national equality within the Israeli state, for social progress and democracy, for realization of the natural national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, for a just peace between Israel and the Arab states."

AGAINST ZIONIST IDEOLOGY AND ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA

Dwelling on the ideological and political struggle, the General Secretary said that the 16th Party Congress had profoundly analyzed Zionism in the light of Marxism-Leninism. "We should emphatically declare that the ideology and practice of Zionism run counter to the interests of laboring Jews in every country, just as they run counter to the national interests of the Israeli people. In capitalist countries, Zionist policy helps the forces of reaction, racialism and anti-Semitism. Hence, far from promoting the true national interests of the Israeli people and of laboring Jews, support of Zionist policy is wholly contrary to these interests."

That being so, the struggle against Zionist ideology and practice is a manifestation of Israeli patriotism, a struggle for the true

national interests of the Israeli people, for the interests of laboring Jews in all countries, for world peace.

Closely linked with imperialism, Zionist organizations are rendering it a valuable service in the fight against communism by their inflammatory anti-Soviet propaganda and conspiratorial activity. In recent years, anti-Soviet propaganda has grown to incredible dimensions in Israel. Many a Knesset session has been turned into a shameful anti-Soviet spectacle.

The anti-Soviet campaigns of the Zionist leaders and Israeli rulers, all their plotting directed against the socialist countries and anti-imperialist regimes are simply the price paid imperialism for supporting the Israeli extremists. This propaganda runs counter to the interests of peace in the Middle East. Its purpose is to prepare the ground for a possible escalation of the war, and this would go against the vital interests of the Israeli people. It is urgently necessary for Israel to establish good relations with the Soviet Union, but that can be achieved only by abandoning the policy of aggression and annexations and ceasing anti-Soviet propaganda.

OUR PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Remarking on the third anniversary of the 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Meir Vilner said it "signified the beginning of a new stage in strengthening unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

The Communist Party of Israel supports the conclusions drawn by the Meeting. Their correctness has been confirmed by developments. The Party rejects the policy of the Chinese Communist Party leaders as contrary to the interests of the socialist camp, the international Communist movement and the anti-imperialist struggle.

The speaker then stressed the leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the party possessing the greatest revolutionary experience. "Our Party will continue to extend its cooperation with all fraternal Communist parties on common problems, and will support international, regional and bilateral consultations."

The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel is a significant event for Israeli Communists and all peace-loving forces. There can be no doubt that the congress will make an important contribution to Party unity and the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

THE AGRARIAN REFORM — THE CONCERN OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE

On August 13-15 the Central Committee of the CP of Chile met in plenary session to discuss the agrarian question. The session opened with the report of General Secretary Luis Corvalan, who dwelt on different aspects of the agrarian question, on the achievements in solving it and the tasks ahead. He also spoke of the latest political developments in the country, stating the position of the Communist Party with regard to the actions of the ultra-Leftists and the main enemies of the process developing in Chile.

Below we publish Corvalan's report in a slightly abridged form.

AGRARIAN REFORM

During the years of the Christian-Democrat government 1,408 latifundia were expropriated in the course of a year and a half. The Popular Unity government expropriated 3,374 latifundia. A total of 8,996,000 hectares of farmland passed to the peasants, including 669,000 hectares of irrigated land and 1,226,000 hectares of non-irrigated land. Forty-eight per cent of the irrigated land is in the reform sector of agriculture. Twenty-five per cent of the irrigated land and thirty per cent of the non-irrigated land are owned by small and medium landholders, i.e., those that have less than forty hectares of land.

The Popular Unity government has effected a truly historic change in the system of landownership. Latifundism, the main obstacle to the growth of agricultural production, has been abolished in the main and the abused dignity of the peasant restored. This is one of the major gains of the Chilean revolution.

We are coming to the end of one stage and going over to the next. The stage behind us was far from easy. We had to overcome the stubborn resistance of the landed magnates. We are now entering the most important and difficult stage, which ultimately is of the greatest interest, the stage of organizing agriculture along new lines, while concentrating on boosting agricultural output and improving the well-being of the peasants.

Viewed in the social context, the changes in the countryside were carried out with the least possible social outlays. No other agrarian reform in the world has passed in such peaceful conditions. Even if we had not come to power, if the Right or even the Demochristians and won in September 1970, no one and nothing would have checked

the accelerated course of the agrarian reform. But then any resistance to the changes or connivance with respect to the landowners would have led to bitter and bloody class clashes the consequences of which would be hard to foresee.

In the last few days various measures have been taken by way of economic and financial adjustment to resolve important problems preoccupying the people and country.

NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

The economic policy pursued by the government since it assumed the responsibility for the destiny of Chile, has produced positive results. We have begun to utilize the capacities in industry, carried out substantial redistribution of incomes, achieved a notable increase in industrial production, brought unemployment down to a level not registered for many years. Still, the government is introducing new measures to readjust the economy and finances, modifying its policy to align it with phenomena which in large measure do not depend on its will and are mostly the result of the adverse international business activity due to the monetary crisis gripping the big capitalist countries. We have inherited a country encumbered with debts. Though we have conducted talks to revise our foreign debt, we still have to repay over \$200 million under the agreements concluded by our predecessors. Besides, the prices of copper have dropped and the U.S. has cut back credits. The value of the dollar has fallen, leading to the depreciation of other currencies on the world market. We receive fewer dollars for our exports and have to pay higher prices for imports. The prices of meat, milk, corn, wheat, oil and other goods imported from abroad, have grown immensely.

We want to inform the country that when the present government went into office and decided to give every child a free pint of milk, we calculated that it would mean the spending of \$10 million a year, considering that there was an overproduction of powdered milk in the common market, which was sold on credit. Now we are compelled to pay not \$10 million, but \$54 million to give our children their daily pint of milk. But the country must know that we are not going to retreat. We shall continue to honor our pledge—a pint of milk for every Chilean child—because the country has a vital interest in this.

On the other hand, the former latifundia owners and backers still possess considerable financial power, using it extensively for speculation, operations on the black market and smuggling, which has caused considerable complications.

In these conditions the refusal of the reactionary majority in

parliament to finance state spending and the deficit run by the enterprises of the state sector due to the price freeze have forced us to put more money into circulation.

In these circumstances the policy initially pursued by the present government necessitated adjustments with an eye to the general interest of the country and, first of all, the interests of the working people. And we began to do precisely this.

The government modified the exchange rate of the dollar. A lower rate was introduced for the imports of foodstuffs, fuel and raw materials and a higher rate for the import of luxury articles. A higher rate of the dollar was introduced for exports with the aim of promoting agricultural and industrial production.

In the past, devaluations of the Chilean currency benefited none but the imperialist enterprises, for they had to spend fewer dollars to defray the costs, and more dollars were taken out of the country. Now, with the nationalization of these enterprises, the funds saved by the enterprises serve the country.

WAGE INCREASES AND READJUSTMENTS OF TAXES

To compensate for the growth of prices in the course of the year, apart from the price increases caused by measures in the sphere of international exchange and the need to assure the self-financing of the state-owned enterprises, the government decided to raise wages and pensions by 100 per cent in relation to the growing cost of living as of October 1 and to pay 700 escudos on national holidays to all working people.

At the same time, various measures have been taken, which brought important changes into the system of taxes, favoring the working people, small traders and employers and shifting part of the burden onto the big businessmen.

On the whole, this new policy has a class character. It is a combination of the government's policy as regards the main goal, the defense and increase of the working people's incomes and ensuring that the Chilean economy, particularly its public sector, could produce more to expand and develop national industry.

IMPORTANCE OF AUGMENTING PRODUCTION

In the light of this new financial and economic policy still greater importance attaches to the problem of raising production in general and agricultural production in particular, considering its importance in supplying foodstuffs to the population and the enormous expenditures of currency which we lack, expenditures imposed on us by the backwardness of agriculture.

We have inherited an agriculture in crisis. Before 1925 Chile was an exporter of meat. We had been exporters of wheat till the close

of the 30s. The responsibility for our having to import hundreds of thousands of tons of wheat and corn and many thousands of cattle rests not with the present government, not with the people, but with the governments and classes that were in power before us.

The oligarchy dishonestly appropriated the Chilean land. The land which it did not receive by repartition, it seized by fire and sword, erecting fences, killing the Indians, resorting to court chicanery, using the mortgage bank for almost 100 years to gain possession of the means of others, to pay negligible dividends, for simultaneously it intensified inflation and established a system of repayment of its debts at a depreciated rate. Then the oligarchy, coming into possession of the greater part of the cultivated land, did not use it for the good of the country. It cut down all the forests, causing erosion in a number of provinces, and actually introduced food rationing which led to the undernourishment of millions of Chileans and to the dependence and indebtedness of the country.

CRIMINAL ACTIVITY IN ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

To a still larger extent the landowners concentrated in their hands cattle and sheep-breeding. And despite the big credits granted to them by the banks they failed to increase the number of cattle even proportionately to the population growth. Moreover, violating the explicit legal provisions and guided solely by the considerations of gain, they sent millions of cattle to slaughterhouses and hundreds of thousands of cattle to Argentina, acting criminally against the general interests of the country.

Throughout the past century and part of the present they used their influence in the government to pay ludicrously low taxes. In 1898 the agricultural tax was 115 pesos and 28 pesos in 1902. From 1903 to 1916, for thirteen years, they contrived to pay absolutely nothing, no taxes at all for their land holdings.

A PRIVILEGED AND CRIMINAL CASTE

We do not deny that certain agricultural producers contributed their share to agricultural development. But on the whole the big landowners constituted a privileged and criminal caste from times immemorial.

The task today is to liquidate the legacy of latifundism for good.

It is a characteristic feature of the Chilean revolution that it began with changes in the economic structure, the old system of land ownership, with the nationalization of copper and other natural wealth, the nationalization of banking and the transfer of big industrial enterprises to the public or mixed sector.

We must continue our advance along this path, at the same time

concentrating on the struggle for production. In the concrete case of the countryside we must show that the peasants can produce much more without landowners and raise agriculture to the level of the requirements of the country.

DEVELOP PRODUCTION

The tasks before us are grandiose. Chile's soils and climate rate among the best in the world. We can meet the country's requirements in foodstuffs and have considerable surpluses for export of products that are in high demand on the world market. We can and must produce all the wheat, all the corn, all the oil crops we need today and shall need tomorrow. As for vegetables, fruits and wine, we can and must not only produce enough for home consumption, but also become one of the major exporters of these products. We can and must have good cattle, something like 20 million head. We can and must have 80 million sheep or ten times more than the highest figure reached several years ago in Chile. We can and must become one of the major exporters of cellulose, paper and pressed sawdust. We can and must raise agriculture to the level of an advanced and effective agricultural production.

Such are the long-term tasks constituting our main patriotic goal whose achievement is essential for our country's progress.

PLANNING AND PARTICIPATION

The elimination of the latifundia is the first step along this road. The second step is the planning and organization of agriculture that would enable us to fulfil part of these tasks under the guidance of the Popular Unity government. The third step now on the order of the day is the immediate solution of the pressing tasks of production, short-term planning, mass participation of the peasants and measures in the countryside to assure supply to the population and to cope with the grave difficulties facing our country, including the problem of foreign exchange.

In the 1971-72 agricultural year the sown area registered some increase. While there was some decline in the cultivated area and the yield of wheat, potatoes and beetroot, the production of corn, barley, American beans and other crops rose considerably.

In any case, the state of affairs is such that the country's consumer requirements are not satisfied properly. And our concrete tasks therefore are to expand the cultivated area and increase yields.

Growth of agricultural production falls short of the population growth rate of less than two per cent per annum. We must put an end to this and achieve an annual growth of agricultural production of not less than five per cent.

INCREASE PRODUCTION IN AGRARIAN REFORM AREA

We can observe some tendencies in the agrarian reform areas. It can be said that in the first year of farming production on the expropriated lands, as a rule, goes up considerably. The peasants freed from the landowner work with enthusiasm, giving all their energy to expand the cultivated area. After the first year production tends to decline, though it cannot be said that it goes back to the low level of cultivation typical of latifundism.

THE PEASANTS' VIEWS

The available experience leads to several conclusions. Neither the asentamientos established by the Demochristians, nor the Agrarian Reform Centers (CERAS) created by the present government can satisfy the peasants fully and are not, in their present form, adequate forms of the transitional organization of the agricultural sector affected by the reform. Of late, a new form of transitional organization has arisen—Peasant Committees—as a way of starting the production process and avoiding a conflict over the alternative: CERAS or asentamientos. The fundamental and urgent task, we hold, is the need to revise all these organizational forms, taking into account the views and interests of peasants, for this is the only way to win their support in accomplishing the great tasks confronting us in the countryside. This is not to say that we are ready to accept any ideas that might arise among the peasants, all the more so because the enemy is active in their midst. It is our duty to help the peasants realize the problems before them and to raise their political consciousness. All this means—and we say it again—that we must impartially weigh the peasants' views and seek in common with them appropriate solutions that would also accord with the interests of the country.

NEED TO ESTABLISH A SYSTEM OF ACCOUNTING

Generally speaking, neither under the Demochristian government nor under the Popular Unity government have we succeeded in establishing a system of accounting in the agricultural associations created as a result of the agrarian reform. When we came to power, we discovered that asentamiento balances had not been submitted over the preceding three years. In many cases we could set things right, but in other cases, including the estates expropriated under the present government, the problem still has to be solved. In these conditions the advance payment received by the peasant against his future earnings becomes a form of wages. And this is aggravated by the fact that in the absence of strict accounting of the work of each peasant it turns out that the peasant who

works to the full of his capacity and the peasant who did not exert himself much draw approximately the same wages. To this should be added that not always do the peasants have a clear idea of the investments made in the first year in plantations, animal husbandry, farm buildings and the purchase of machines and equipment. The returns on investments do not come until later. Besides, the peasant had other difficulties too. Not always were the seed and fertilizers supplied in time, technical aid is delayed or of poor quality or withheld altogether. The peasant is drawn into political debates and fruitless discussions; this only upsets him and has a negative effect on his labor enthusiasm. Some employees of agricultural organizations are given to paternalism and some peasant leaders, though moved by the good intention of advancing production, often demand fulfilment of assignments in a form that evokes negative responses in many of their comrades who say that the landowners have been driven off and no one can order them about now. In this situation, the consumption of alcoholic drinks is on the rise, and so is absenteeism. There are quite a few cases when part of the produce is sold on the side and does not appear in the accounts of the given organization.

Of decisive importance in this case is a system of accounting and control that would allow the peasant to know, not only at the end of the year, but every month, the progress of work, the way assignments are fulfilled, so that he could tangibly see his contribution to the production in his own interests.

AGRARIAN REFORM—THE NATIONAL TASK

We must resolutely state here that the main responsibility for these shortcomings falls not on the peasants, but on ourselves, for we have slackened our attention to the countryside. So far we have been of the opinion that the agrarian reform is the concern of the peasants and agricultural organizations. Yet that is not so. It is a national task concerning the entire country, the whole people and, first of all, the working class of town and country.

I can tell you that the main aim pursued by the Communist Party in calling this plenary meeting of the Central Committee is precisely to effect a sharp change in this sense. In other words, we must fully realize the revolutionary content and decisive character of the battle for production in the rural areas and the fact that to assure advance to socialism we must strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, not with the help of words and good intentions, but by concrete deeds.

VANGUARD GROUPS

It is also clear that this concerns not only the work of the Party,

though its work and position will be decisive. The need is to direct the actions of the organized working class.

The National Agricultural Commission of our Party plans to set up vanguard groups of working people in town and country to stimulate the development of certain kinds of agricultural work. We resolutely support this initiative.

The National Peasant Confederation Ranquil is holding its national congress in October. We hold that this congress, just as the provincial conferences before it, should be held with the support of the working people and directed at the fulfilment of concrete tasks.

About 300,000 rural working people are organized in trade unions. This is a big number, considering not only the active agricultural population, but also the fact that a mere 10 years ago the number of organized working people was below 5,000. We support joint action by all peasant organizations and the strengthening of peasant councils through which the rural working people must extend their participation in formulating decisions on agrarian policy and expansion of production.

Thus, we must utilize the initial impulse of the peasants on the estates expropriated this year and accelerate the transfer to them of the more than 500 estates that have not been expropriated despite the adoption of a decision to that effect.

MECHANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

Early this year we planned to increase the cultivated area by 300,000 hectares, particularly under wheat and corn. To this end, the government decided to import 10,000 tractors. In this we were especially helped by the socialist countries. In solving this task we encountered some difficulties due to which the tractors began to arrive only after considerable delay.

Several thousand tractors have already arrived or are on the way from Czechoslovakia, Rumania and the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, a consignment of Soviet tractors was held up for several weeks in the Leningrad port, because the required documentation and the bill of lading had not been received from Chile. Despite these delays, the Popular Unity government is making unprecedented efforts to mechanize agriculture.

We shall not be able to increase the sown area as planned and not only because of the problem of tractors, but also because of deficiencies in the timely supply of seeds and fertilizers due to the low capacity of the railways and the lack of other transportation means. Inadequate, too, were the efforts of government employees and peasant organizations towards solving this task.

MAKE THE MOST OF TIME

Returning to the question of tractors and our immediate tasks, we must say that tractors can be used to the best advantage for the coming agricultural year which from the viewpoint of preparations for grain sowing begins with ploughing up the fallow land next November. But to a certain extent we can and must use them also in this year's sowing, especially winter wheat and corn, sunflower, American beans for export and rice. The sowing may start any time now, and we must make the most of the tractors and time, working day and night. We can and must also stimulate the planting of potatoes, onions, garlic and vegetables in general.

The imports of wheat, corn, rice and vegetable oil which we have to bring in from abroad, cost our country \$80 million annually. If we exert efforts this year to increase still further the area under cultivation, the imports of these products can be reduced to half the present volume.

To ensure the highest possible production of agricultural products this year, it is necessary to revise immediately the sowing plans at all levels, to have them discussed by the peasants, adopt urgent measures to secure the supply of seed and fertilizers, end the bureaucratic red-tape of the State Bank in granting credits, sign production contracts and speedily formulate the policy of prices.

We had in mind first of all our obligations towards the sector of agriculture where the agrarian reform has already been carried out. But there is another social group—small and medium landholders. These people exploit the land twice or four times as intensively as the latifundia. They produce almost all the vegetables, a greater part of farm produce, their dairy farms are more productive and they cultivate a large part of the fruit plantations in the country.

AID TO SMALL AGRICULTURALISTS

The previous governments that were dependent on the bankers and latifundists, denied the peasants the opportunity of obtaining credits and technical aid and enjoying the fruits of their labor. Now the latifundists are searching for these small owners, hoping to make them pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them and to pit the small landowners against the Popular government. There are more than 200,000 small land-holdings with an area below 40 hectares each. Hundreds of thousands of industrious Chileans till these lands. We shall not be able to secure the food supply if we ignore their production. The Popular government increased the credits granted to them, but this is not enough. We must help them to organize in cooperatives, grant them credits, effectively broaden the network of state purchasing agencies to save them from the

clutches of middlemen, provide them with transport for social needs, carry out projects to diversify their production and sell their products at prices really compensating their labor and, especially, to assure the security of land tenure.

The small and middle landholders must be made the allies of the historic process under way in Chile, and those who impel them in the opposite direction by their ineptitude are counter-revolutionaries.

We support the position expressed by the President of the Republic in his speech of July 24. He said that there would be guarantees for landholdings below 40 hectares of irrigated land, that the landholdings of 40-60 hectares would not be expropriated within the next two years, that a law would be subsequently introduced to reduce the maximum area of landholdings to 40 hectares and that the interested persons or those affected by the law would have the opportunity to apply for and attain the land they are entitled to.

CALCULATIONS AND REAL PRICES

As we see it, the state purchasing agencies must determine, together with the peasants and other producers, the real value of each product known to and accepted by both parties, which is to be incorporated in the respective production contracts with allowances made for corresponding readjustments in the event of value changes. This value should stimulate the output of better-quality products and production in excess of the contract assignment. Moreover, it seems advisable to introduce an effective system of incentives through purchasing prices or other measures for agricultural products which we import in large quantities and which we could replace with our own products within a relatively short time.

This concerns, we repeat, the prices for the producer. The need is to end the abnormal situation in trade, by specifying the limits of operations carried out by the purchasing agencies, abolishing or reorganizing some of them, restructuring others, giving each agency the right to participate in formulating decisions on credits, supply of seeds and fertilizers and provision of technical aid.

We could cite a few examples showing what should be done. The rigid rules of the exchange of the Chilean currency for dollars accruing from exports impeded SOCORA in buying products from the producers for export. SOCORA campaigned against this. After it had overcome this obstacle with the cooperation of the Central Bank, it began to play an important and effective role. The SOCORA took upon itself the signing of contracts with producers, the supply of seeds, control over the credits granted by the State Bank and the provision of technical aid. It is the only institution of the state

sector that can boast of having fully received from the peasants what it had given them by the way of credits, even though it never demanded of them any promissory notes.

IANSA is another example. Each branch of this organization signs contracts for purchasing beetroots, advances money to agriculturists for the payment of wages, grants credits for purchasing seeds, provides technical aid and guarantees the purchasing of their total produce. We cite this example because it shows that, despite the organization of large-scale industrial enterprises in agriculture, it is possible to develop and diversify agricultural production and satisfy the interests of everybody.

Now that we have an agricultural sector covered by the agrarian reform and the state becomes almost the sole purchaser, the price policy can and should be aimed at boosting production, at the same time bearing in mind, as mentioned earlier, the incomes of the producers within responsible limits.

We regard it as our main task to use the rich Chilean soil and climate, especially on the irrigated land, for expanding considerably fruit and vine-growing plantations, developing the production of vegetables and transferring the traditionally extensive cattle-raising into a predominantly dairy animal husbandry.

This can be achieved only through planning the network of agricultural and dairy industrial enterprises, packing plants, complexes for producing canned products, juices, dairy products, corned beef, etc. In other words, this means transforming Chilean agriculture into an industrialized sector of the economy.

USE THE RESOURCES

In this respect a great future lies ahead of Chile. Take the example of the socialist Bulgarian Republic, a country smaller than ours, with a population of 8.5 million and an arable area covering five million hectares, including 1.1 million hectares of irrigated land, just as in our country. All its agricultural land is used intensively. One million hectares are sown to wheat, the average yield being 30.2 centners per hectare. We grow wheat on 711,000 hectares, harvesting only 18 centners per hectare. In Bulgaria corn is cultivated on 660,000 hectares, yielding more than 40 centners per hectare. We grow corn on 84,000 hectares and the yield is 34 centners per hectare. With a territory only one-seventh of ours and farm fields very similar to ours in area and climate, Bulgaria grows three times more wheat than Chile, almost ten times more corn and 27 times more sunflower seeds. It is ahead of us in the production of barley, tobacco, fruit and vegetables in general. Its herd of pigs is three times the size of ours. It has twice as many sheep and while its cattle population is slightly

more than half of ours, it should be said that it is almost exclusively dairy cattle, yielding high-quality products.

Before the revolution Bulgaria was a backward country importing wheat and corn. Today it is one of the most prosperous countries whose agricultural industry satisfies the country's requirements and makes it possible to export fresh and processed agricultural products to the tune of \$1,300 million per year.

We give this example to show the brilliant prospects before us and emphasize again that the emancipation of peasants and the solution of our grave problem of foreign exchange depend on the ownership of land by those who till it, on the one hand, and, on the other, on the degree of intensity of its use, on the industrialization and mechanization of agricultural production.

Agricultural industrialization calls for a change in the system of land exploitation and leads to the cultivation of more profitable crops, and this requires more manpower. Thus, one hectare under wheat absorbs seven workdays a year, while one hectare under fruit takes 150 workdays and kitchen-garden crops, 240 days.

THIRTY THOUSAND LANDLESS FAMILIES

In the reform sector, 70,000 peasant families have been provided with land. But there are still 30,000 landless or land-hungry families. The problem of land for the Mapuche Indians is still to be solved. The 40-hectare limit of the size of land holding, with which we are in full agreement and which we were the first to champion during the debate on the present agrarian reform law does not solve the problem, for it would make land available for less than 30,000 peasant families. Therefore, laying the accent today on reducing the maximum size of the land holding is the same as putting the cart before the horse. We have already said that the change has got to be effected, but what must be done in the first place, what ultimately will help to solve the problem concerning the entire present population is the rational use of our land, extensive and intensive today, and only intensive tomorrow.

We maintain that it is possible to solve all social problems of the rural areas, provide work for the peasants and raise their living standards. But this cannot be done overnight, nor does this depend solely on changes in the system of land tenure. As we have already said, the solution lies in the better use of land and the industrialization of agricultural production.

HELPING THE MAPUCHE INDIANS

We want to have everything possible done today for the Mapuche Indians, farm laborers, small landholders and the communities still outside the reform areas. We want, for example, that the problem

of the Mapuche Indians be solved by the state buying up the illegally occupied lands and returning them to the Indian communities, as suggested in the draft law rejected by the Senate majority. The state must guarantee the purchase of their potato crop and handicrafts. Theirs is a craft whose magnificent products can be sold at high prices in the towns and abroad. We hold that there can be no longer any delay in implementing a policy of promoting other aspects of the Mapuche culture and in providing for their education at all levels in their native language.

TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF FOOD SUPPLIES

Like all the people, we are especially concerned over the problem of food supplies. Naturally, this problem, in particular meat shortages, is of prime concern for the housewives.

One of our great tasks is to turn Chile into a cattle-raising country. But its solution will take much time. Its solution today means principally replacing a considerable part of meat consumption by chicken, pork and marine foods. We shall soon start the construction, with Bulgaria's aid, of a poultry farm with an annual capacity of 30 million. Work is in progress in the Mapuche zone of the Cautin province to increase the capacities of the existing agricultural enterprises by 33 per cent, to build incubators, new poultry farms and a concentrated fodder plant.

TO USE INDUSTRIAL CAPACITIES

New plants are being designed for processing farm products, in particular fruit and some vegetables. But we must also fully use the existing capacities. We have 10 large canning plants, mostly operating below capacity. Some of them operate only 3-4 months a year, though they could operate the year round, for they can process not only fruit and some types of vegetables, but also such less perishable products as American beans. The plants in question produce about 50,000 tons of canned products, but they could produce twice as much.

Apart from everything else, the round-the-year operation of the canning plants would provide permanent jobs for their workers and make it possible to pay much higher prices to the producers of fruit, vegetables, etc. In countries with developed canning industries the value of primary materials reaches 50 per cent of the costs. In our country it does not exceed 20 per cent.

And so, the solution of the problem of supplies depends on a number of factors mentioned by us — on a new financial and economic policy, purchasing agencies, and, above all, on the growth of agricultural production in general and the production of cereals, fodder and other elements of concentrates in particular.

FOR GREATER MASS PARTICIPATION

Purchasing agencies are only part of trade. We must advance towards the creation of big markets and the participation of the people, consumers and small traders in the work of supply and prices councils so as to assure better distribution of products and prevent speculation and black market machinations.

The agrarian question is the most complex one in the entire revolution.

Hundreds of factors and problems are involved in the transformation of the countryside. They are so numerous that we could not encompass all of them, and some of them have come to our knowledge only recently. They include transport, storage charges, the capacity of our ports, refrigerators, technological research, technical training of the peasants, whose children will become our future agronomists, veterinary surgeons and other specialists; the credit policy, the role of peasant councils, transforming production centers into model state farms, organization of rational use of machinery, its repair and maintenance, participation of women and young peasants, etc. But we hope that these questions will be raised and thoroughly discussed at this meeting.

FIGHT THE DIFFICULTIES

Chile is going through an unprecedented period of its history. The country is breaking the shackles tying it to imperialism and ending the domination of the oligarchic castes. It is emerging from an age-old darkness. The basic means of production are passing to the people. In this way the country is forging ahead to independence. It is becoming a democratic country, not in words but in deeds. The country assures freedom for millions of Chileans, mainly the peasant masses, who in the middle of the 20th century were still doomed to slavery and poverty.

Like any social change, this is not free from difficulties.

The imperialist enemy tried to prevent Allende's election as President. Home reaction tried to topple the present government, but every time the people blocked its road.

We are grappling with difficulties and problems with courage, as patriots. Our goals and tasks — such as the creation of a new agriculture — fully conform with the present and future interests of the Chilean nation. The reactionary classes place their selfish interests above the interests of Chile. Some members of the opposition are defeatists, predicting the country the worst of its crises. Their activity provokes mass buying-up of products by the population.

THEY WILL PUT SPOKES IN OUR WHEEL

Their allies in this are the ultra-Leftists who go to the length of claiming cynically that the present government is reformist. The ultras still try to bring the ultra-Leftists into the camp of frontal opposition to the President's statement in his speech of July 24. While the working people are concentrating their attention and efforts on accomplishing the truly revolutionary current tasks, which remain the tasks of economic anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic changes, the tasks of enhancing production in all economic sectors, accumulating forces for transition to revolutionary changes in the state structure that would give us a new type of parliament and new legislation, the Revolutionary Movement of the Left (MIR) falls into infantilism, promoting the establishment of mock popular assemblies, which only mislead and confuse the working people.

In his letter to the Popular Unity parties the President of the Republic, Salvador Allende, came out against this infantile and essentially counter-revolutionary posture. In this document the head of state set forth the political line of the government, the working class and the people, which we resolutely support, for it is a realistic revolutionary line.

PROVOCATION AT LO HERMIDA

The document enraged the MIR, whose members tried to build up the infamous slander that the government is hatching repressive plans against the people. To give it credence, they organized a provocation in Lo Hermida where one worker was killed during a clash with police. What happened there is known to everybody and there is no getting away from the facts. People are one thing and criminals and provocateurs another. The latter seize on problems really existing in small towns to pose as revolutionaries and speculate on the legitimate grief caused by the death of Rene Saravia to create the false impression that the political responsibility for this lamentable fact falls on the socialist Eduardo Paredes, the Investigation Director-General, his assistant, our comrade Carlos Toro and our comrade Daniel Vergara, Deputy Home Minister.

We reject these imputations with indignation.

SOLIDARITY WITH TORO AND PAREDES

We Communists declares our solidarity with Eduardo Parades and resolutely protest the calumny and insults against the members of our Party, such tested revolutionaries, devoted and loyal government functionaries as Daniel Vergaras or Carlos Toro, who are in the presidium of our meeting.

For fifty years we Communists have fought repressions in which so many working people have lost their lives, and now in the government we pursue and shall continue to pursue this line undeviatingly.

The Popular Unity has stated its view of the events, explaining, among other things, that the police actions followed the court injunctions and were not directed against the people. Therefore, while not ruling out the possibility of mistakes on the part of the police, we want to declare that we likewise reject the distortion of facts by MIR which is aimed at imputing to the police the charge of abusing its powers.

ROLE OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The experience of our country and the world demonstrates the objectively counter-revolutionary role of the ultra-Leftists and the infiltration of CIA agents into their ranks. This experience shows that anti-communism is the main banner of imperialism and reaction which they use in the attempts to divide the people. Linking up with the anti-Communists, MIR plays into the hands of the Right, the enemies of the government and Chilean revolution. We are concerned therefore lest the pseudo-revolutionary posture of MIR finds its imitators.

This is a very grave danger and we warn the people against it.

We frankly say that everything would go down the drain if the political line set forth in the President's letter were to remain on paper.

But we also know that the Popular Unity parties are capable of rallying their ranks round the government program. That the President, in full conformity with the ideas of his letter and with the support of the parties following him, can firmly hold the helm and, moreover, that the working class, the revolutionary people clearly see the direction to be followed by the country, that they have the strength to insist on advancing in this direction and realize that they must march in common to advance the revolution in our country without veering off course.

WE SHALL NOT RETREAT FROM THE PROGRAM

For our part, we once again state emphatically that we shall not retreat one inch from the Popular Unity program, that we shall continue to work for greater mutual understanding between Socialists and Communists and all popular forces who advocate changes and are loyal to the people and the revolutionary government, which, faced with grave difficulties, is solving and will continue to solve the tasks of social transformation until victory is achieved.

And if today we have concentrated your attention on the great cause of building up a new agriculture and expanding rural production, it is because, despite all the provocations, we do not lose sight of our chief enemies and of the concrete constructive tasks of the revolution.

SPEECHES, STATEMENTS

UNITY AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP, FOR AN ANTI- IMPERIALIST, POPULAR AND DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION IN ARGENTINA

The development of the situation in the country may take an unpredictable turn following Lanusse's speech on July 7. Deep contradictions have surfaced among the top echelons of the armed forces. The "ship of great national accord" (the slogan advanced by the Lanusse government.—Ed.) is in serious danger not only because of the growing internal contradictions, but, mainly, because of the mounting tide of popular and labor struggles.

In the face of a rapidly deteriorating economic situation, political instability and the people's growing determination to struggle, the dictatorship has fallen back upon the device of a "great national accord" as a means of escape that afforded an opportunity to reach accord between the top military, Peron and the leadership of the Civil Radical Union. In elaborating on the philosophy of "accordism" General Sanchez de Bustamante last year described the armed forces as the country's main political party. Such was the dressing for cooking the "great national accord."

The apprentice cooks apparently thought it was enough to reach agreement with the Right leadership of political parties to restrain popular action, gain control of the situation and put a new face on the dictatorship. The hunger march, mass popular action in the Mendoza province, unrest in the municipalities (Malargue and General Roka), the strike of teachers and many other strikes, the militant youth actions on June 28, to say nothing of the most recent mass actions in which the capitulator leadership of the CGT did not participate—all these factors determined the beginning of the collapse of the plans of the officers and their accomplices, the

accordists from among the Right Peronites, the Radicals and other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties.

The instability is becoming extreme. Clouds are again gathering on the political horizon portending possible coups and counter-coups. The extreme Right circles of the armed forces supported by certain civilian groups are overtly weaving their plots to establish a Brazilian-type dictatorship. The country is in the shadows of economic chaos; the monstrous inflation and rising cost of living are uncontrollable under the present economic policy being followed since 1930 by the henchmen of the landed oligarchy, big capital and foreign monopolies, with slight alterations in form but not in essence.

They intend to overcome the crisis and relieve the working people of hunger, while preserving and even multiplying the profits of the landed oligarchy, big capitalists and foreign monopolies.

In this situation the struggle of the workers and masses cannot be checked. We are entering a period of great decisions. More pressing than ever is Argentina's basic problem, the problem of finding a way out of the present situation, which permits neither intermediate solutions nor third positions.

In the final analysis, the determining confrontation will be between a reactionary and a progressive, democratic solution. The first means an undisguised fascist dictatorship supported by Yankee imperialism. The second presupposes a new type of popular rule—democratic, anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist.

FAIR OR FOUL PLAY?

General Lanusse said that elections would be held "without exclusions and proscriptions" for those who play "according to the rules." The rules, however, were made by the military upper crust and are based on extensive repressive legislation (whose core is a law—decree 17401 on the persecution of communism) and the Statute on Political Parties permitting the authorities to interfere in inner-party affairs. Under these conditions, the widely advertised "fair play" is pure fiction. If the elections are held, they will certainly be crooked, not fair.

Lanusse announced that he would bring representatives of recognized parties to the table of accord in order to reach agreement on the "model of a state we intend to create." Actually, this means that the political leaders who dance to the tune of the military leaders, are to draw up a model of a future Argentina as a country with its back turned to the people. In this century when the broad masses are entering the political arena such intentions are reactionary utopia.

The model of a state for the immediate future can be decided

upon only by a National Constituent Assembly convened by a provisional government of a broad democratic coalition and elected by a sovereign people on the basis of proportional representation so that no trend of socio-political thought should be on the sidelines in solving the basic task, i.e., contributing to the construction of a new Argentina, a democratic, independent, flourishing country in the concert of nations free of imperialist chains.

NO RIGHT TO COMPLAIN

The July 7 speech means the end of direct negotiations between the military junta and Peron. But it also claims that "a broad dialogue" would continue from which "no party, no legitimate and legally consecrated regime," i.e., regime consecrated by the rules of the game enforced by the dictatorship, would be excluded. Revealingly, Peron himself, in his statement for the *Rome Expreso*, actually suspended his direct negotiations with Lanusse but confirmed his desire for a direct "dialogue" with the military junta.

This coincidence shows that neither of the sides has fully destroyed channels of intercommunication. The bridge is still there and the sides can cross it when they find it necessary. In the light of this coincidence, the firmness shown by the Casa Rosada (the Presidential Palace in Buenos Aires—Ed.), and the Puerta de Hierro (Peron's residence in Madrid.—Ed.) is intended to strengthen the negotiating positions. On July 3 the *New York Times* commented that the only chance of reaching stability in Argentina is an accord between the armed forces and Peronism. Such is the cherished wish of the State Department, the Vatican and certain European personalities connected with the Common Market, and especially West German monopolies.

Lanusse's speech is thus a continuation of the policy of deception. The overwhelming majority of the population has no delusions about the goals and aims of the plan of the reactionary circles in the armed forces. But this does not include those military figures who feel the need to stand up for national dignity and remain true to the democratic liberatory tradition of San Martin.

Cooperating with the top echelon of the armed forces are exponents of the landed oligarchy and big comprador capital — agents or allies of international monopolies who form the Right wing in the country and are to be found not only in *Acier* (association of big industrialists — Ed.), *Sociedad Rural* (association of big landowners and cattlemen — Ed.) or the Commercial Exchange, but also in the leadership of bourgeois political parties.

Some leaders of the *La Hora de Pueblo* parties (*La Hora del Pueblo*—agreement among the Right leaders of the bourgeois political parties of Argentina—Ed.), expressed more or less forcefully

their dissatisfaction with Lanusse's speech, forgetting to admit, however, that they share responsibility for the course of events. It is assumed that in accepting the "rules of the game" imposed by the dictatorship and submitting to the draconian provisions of the Statute on Political Parties, they themselves accepted the risk. So, they have no right to complain.

Frondizi called attention to the fact that the protracted July 7 speech made no mention of the socio-economic policy. His memory fails him, for he forgets his own "plan of stabilization and self-sacrifice," which caused such indignation among the workers and population when he was President. He also forgets that he countered this indignation with the Conintes plan (a government plan for reprisals against the working class — Ed.), which was drawn up to deal with internal troubles, and was sanctioned and first applied when Peron was in office.

Other accordist leaders from the La Hora del Pueblo limited their criticism to questions of minor importance, believing that there was "evidence of progress (Balbin, President of the Civil Radical Union — Ed.). Such views of the Right Radicals expose their complicity with the dictatorship and their fear of mass action.

THE DICTATORSHIP AND HIERARCHY OPPOSE THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

On July 7 Lanusse proclaimed measures against the CGT following publication of its declaration which we analyze below. The dictatorship's intention of liquidating the trade union movement is obvious. It is aiming its sword not at the Ruccis and Corias (Right Peronists, trade union leaders — Ed.), with whom it continues to negotiate, but at the organized labor movement, the trade union and the CGT. Although the CGT does not belong to the hierarchs, they retain illegal control over it relying on frauds and assassinations and the support of the patronat and the government. We are convinced that the Ruccis and Corias will not stay long and inevitably will soon be swept away by the wave of indignation growing at factories and plants, construction sites and in offices. Guided not by chance episodes but having deep-going reasons, we energetically denounce this new attack of the dictatorship and appeal for united proletarian action for the protection of our common possession — the CGT. Defense of the CGT and the struggle for the release of detainees are inseparably linked with the struggle for higher wages, against rising prices, for trade union democracy and independence, in defense of the national wealth and against the dictatorship and its schemes. All this can be achieved, however, not through backstage negotiations between the dictatorship and the hierarchy, but through united action and mass struggle.

On the morning of July 7 the trade union hierarchy made public a vile statement on behalf of the CGT Congress. Actually, it was not a congress, neither by its organization (the branches were not consulted), nor by its procedure or decisions. It was a parody lasting no more than four hours. The majority of delegates were appointed, the proletariat was not represented and its sessions passed under the control of paid assassins.

The congress which was held at a time of uncontrolled rising prices and growing unemployment — a dramatic period for the working class and toiling population — convened not to discuss the activities of the labor center in view of the above mentioned facts, but for the express purpose of mechanically approving the report, the list of the new leadership drawn up before the congress, to re-elect Russi recommended by Peron and sanction the declaration in with the CGT unfurls the banner of Justicialism (a bourgeois-nationalistic trend — *Ed.*), despite the fact that it includes workers belonging to various political trends.

The declaration says nothing about wages, high prices (in just one month, June, the cost of living went up by almost six per cent), pensions, industrial closures, unemployment. This is a patently MacCarthy-type document drawing on the philosophy expounded by Peron in the Military College in 1945, when he tried to convince the military leaders of the time that Justicialism was necessary to restrain the pressure of a truly revolutionary movement.

In 1902, adopting the reactionary laws on the protection of society and aliens in the country, the oligarchy abused the concept of "foreign ideology." Seventy years later, the CGT hierarchy revive the same time-worn arguments. "Justicialism," they claim, "has become an antidote mainly against penetration of foreign ideas." This MacCarthy conception recurs throughout the entire document. According to the CGT leaders, Peronism's main function is to "produce anti-bodies against communism," labelling as communism anything likely to impel profound transformations in the country's socio-economic structure and government. Is it surprising then that the Right Peronist leaders refuse to formulate a clear-cut program under the pretext that you can't stew a hare before catching it?

It is obvious that Rucci and Company appeal not to the working class, but to the military hierarchy, the landed oligarchy and the monopolies, trying to convince them that it is in their interests to allow Peronism in order to forestall a truly popular revolution. The oligarchy was well aware of this. Proof is the "great national accord," and the special envoys to Madrid (Peron's residence—*Ed.*). And if at times the oligarchy vacillates, it is out of fear, not of

the tamed Rucci and Coria, but the revolutionary Peronist masses who are concerned with a genuine revolution.

The declaration of the trade union oligarchs specially stresses that the 1943 military movement was above classes. But is this possible in a society divided into classes? Lenin said that in politics, anyone who ignores the social classes and would place himself above them deserves to be placed in a cage and demonstrated as an Australian kangaroo. The essence of the multi-class conception emerges in the following excerpt from the CGT declaration: "The Argentinian — Left, Centre and Right Argentinian was interpreted by Peron." And indeed, the Right and Left, the oligarchy and the working people, careerists and honest people dreaming of real change, all seem to get along very well within Peronism. However, the Left has never stood at the helm. There is ample proof that the multi-class conception — the common trait of the diverse varieties of bourgeois nationalism tending to come closer together at the present time — is intended to obscure the consciousness of the working class and subjugate it spiritually.

The declaration maintains that Peron's speech was falsely interpreted by certain military men who assumed that Peron intended to establish a government of *the masses* while in actual fact he had in mind a government *for the masses*, a paternalist government in which decisions would be made by the caudillo while the masses would be granted the right to "go to work and to come home from work."

The CGT leaders, strolling through the halls of Quinta de Olivos (residence of the President — Ed.), have unwittingly defined the meaning of "national socialism," or simply "socialism," espoused by a part of the bourgeoisie. This socialism is "summed up in the phrase: the bourgeois is a bourgeois — for the benefit of the working class," as Marx said in the *Communist Manifesto*.

The Communist Party, true to the traditions of the struggle for trade union unity on the basis of proletarian democratism, believes that now as never before it is necessary to shift the balance in the Argentine trade union movement in favor of the conscious working-class militants who are loyal to their class and respect the will of the branch organizations, whatever their convictions and sentiments. Guided by this cardinal thought, the Communist Party once again voices its willingness to contribute to the best of its ability to the development of united action at enterprises, in trade union organizations, to strengthening regional CGT organizations that are freeing themselves from the harmful verticalism in trade union management, and the National Inter-Trade Union Movement.

Those who believe that the working class must be the principal protagonist in the struggle for a new Argentina — Communists,

Peronites, Socialists, Radical, Demochristians, etc. — should unite their efforts in order to win back the CGT from the money-changers in the temple.

RICH EXPERIENCE OF RECENT LABOR AND POPULAR STRUGGLES

The crisis gripping our country is not just one of low business activity, but a total crisis, for it affects the economy, politics, social life and culture. But the business element serves to underscore the structural crisis. We have reached the point where the existence of latifundia, that "parasitic outgrowth," in the words of Marx, and the situation in which the main decisions in the sphere of finances and economy are determined by international monopolies, cannot be tolerated any longer. The fight for economic and, consequently, for political independence is a vital necessity. Therefore the question of establishing a broad anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist national-democratic front has come to the fore.

We Communists are deeply satisfied that joint actions in the struggle for partial demands and the ideas of a broad democratic anti-imperialist front are taking root among the masses.

The united front continued to develop in the course of the recent broad popular and labor actions. A prominent role in the actions in Mendoza province was played by the Organization for Coordinating Local Organizations in Defense of Tax-Payers, formed on the basis of a broad network of department coordinating organizations. Finally, it was called Coordinating Organization in Defense of Mendoza Province. The hunger march was organized by a broad movement uniting dozens of various organizations and led by the Hunger March Commission, which got support from commissions of struggle against the high cost of living throughout the country. The imposing actions of the youth on June 28 were possible due to the formation of the Organization for Coordinating Political Youth. The actions in Tucuman, Malargue and General Roca were possible thanks to the formation of broad unitary movements of parties and organizations reflecting the aspirations of the entire population. This permitted the carrying out of first experiments in effecting direct democracy — the municipal authorities were substituted by genuine representatives of the people. It would take a long time to list all unitarian movements that are springing up everywhere. A powerful slogan resounds in the streets and on the country's highways, "United people will never be vanquished!", the slogan issued by ENA (National Meeting of Argentinians — Ed.). Men and women of different persuasions, members of all political parties brought together by the struggle for common goals, take part in joint actions shoulder to shoulder. Putting up resistance

to the Pretorian guards, they learn and understand each other and fraternize. They learn the great lesson of our days — when united, the people have great power.

JOINT ACTION ON BEHALF OF A GENUINE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-OLIGARCHY FRONT

The Communist Party again states its known intention to conduct joint actions for concrete goals of any of the three trends of the mass movement: the struggle for immediate demands, the struggle for civil liberties and the anti-imperialist struggle in defense of the national wealth. The united front is not limited to joint actions for definite objectives. The three currents must merge to form one big stream — *the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist national democratic front* — so as to achieve the priority task of winning power of a new type.

The conference of political parties on July 6, twenty-four hours before the speech of General Lanusse, instead of fulfilling the task for the sake of which it was called, formed Fretilina (Civil Front of National Liberation), which by its organizational structure and content is not a front of national liberation. Campora had promised earlier that the conference would discuss the holding of the National Day of struggle for the release of political and social prisoners, for an end to tortures, repeal of the law 17401 and repressive legislation and that an open and frank exchange of views would be launched on the ways and forms of establishing a genuine Front of National Liberation. It was on this condition that the Communist Party took part in the conference. It had to walk out of the conference since what had been promised was not fulfilled. It published a communique to explain its position.

A grand goal was replaced by a petty political maneuver to found Fretilina in great haste as a means of pressure on the eve of the President's speech.

In his latest statement Peron said that the Civil Front is the best instrument for exercising constant pressure. Fretilina was born without any program of national liberation, as a tactical appendage of Justicialism. It brings grist to the mill of oligarchic and imperialist reaction.

Seeking to justify the programmatic paucity of the Civil Front, its founders, who have nothing to offer but Justicialism, claim that the main thing is to bring pressure to bear on the armed forces and create their own government and that only after that could we begin to talk about the future. Using dubious sophisms and deliberately distorting the truth, the authors, followers of Frondizi, maintain that great popular movements never needed any program — it

was sufficient for them to have a caudillo without a program, who had the backing of the masses.

In opposition to this central idea of bourgeois nationalism, which is set on dissolving the proletariat in a broad front under its absolute leadership, we put forward a scientific and constructive conception of the masses as the motive power of historical development, which is the more effective the better the masses realize their role and the more the proletariat retains its class independence within a national liberation front.

To set up a genuine front of national liberation, it is necessary to fulfil the following conditions:

1. To define in common the front's programmatic content. This cannot be replaced by excuses or loud phrases which seem to say much but do not commit anyone to concrete actions. The people, the main protagonist and the creator of the coming victory over the oligarchy and imperialism, must clearly see the content of the front. This front must be democratic, i.e., must be based on the principle that the people is the one and only source of power. It must be anti-oligarchic, i.e., must fight for a radical agrarian reform, and, above all, it must be anti-imperialist, i.e., carry out nationalization and establish control over foreign trade, ensuring the removal from the key economic levers of the enemies of the people and country — the landed oligarchy, big comprador capital and foreign monopolies.

2. To reach joint agreement on the structure of the front so as to prevent it from being turned into a tool of our particular movement, assure internal democracy and thereby the political and organizational independence of each and every participant.

3. It is also essential to reach common agreement on everything concerning the ways and means of coming to power and its subsequent use.

In view of the gravity of the situation, the Communist Party calls for:

- joint action in the fight for higher wages and pensions, effective steps to curb the rise of the cost of living and unemployment, against exorbitant taxes which reduce consumption, against evictions of farmers, for prices on agricultural products that would compensate the labor of peasants, and for other common or partial immediate demands advanced in the country as a whole, in provinces or zones;

- united action for the release of detainees, for an end to barbarous tortures, kidnappings and murders, for the repeal of the law 17401 and other repressive legislation and for civil liberties;

- united action in defense of the national wealth, especially state-owned enterprises (railways, oil, iron and steel, merchant marine, etc.);

—establishment of new broad organizations to coordinate popular movements;

—consolidation of ENA, the most significant of the country's national movements in the nature of a united anti-imperialist front, and formation of hundreds of new commissions, local branches of ENA.

The Communist Party declares its readiness to exchange views at any movement with political forces and popular movements with a view to formally establishing a genuine anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist national liberation front.

The Communist Party calls on the workers, farmers, office employees, students, professionals, intellectuals, women and youth to accept its program, the program of an *anti-imperialist, agrarian democratic revolution* and join its ranks. A strong Communist Party is the best guarantee of the unity of workers and the people in the historic battles for democracy, harmonious development of the national economy, for social progress and national independence.

Buenos Aires
July 1972

Central Committee
Communist Party of Argentina

STATEMENT* OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party has published a statement in which it sharply denounces the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign launched recently in France by reactionary propaganda.

The sponsors of this campaign, the statement points out, "contrary to the obvious truth and by virtue of their hostility towards socialism, deliberately distort and systematically falsify the facts about life in the socialist countries."

"There are always class reasons for anti-Sovietism," the statement emphasizes. "Its fundamental reason is the virulent hostility of the big capitalist bourgeoisie towards socialism, because socialism means the end of its domination, its profits, its privileges, the social injustice of capitalism."

The statement notes that "the present anti-Soviet campaign pursues specific objectives"; it has been launched at a time when "spiralling prices, soaring taxes, growing unemployment and scandals of all kinds are causing mounting dissatisfaction among the working people."

"As opposed to the criminal practices of imperialism, the Soviet

*L'Humanité, September 6, 1972.

Union and other socialist countries are conducting an active policy of peace and support for the cause of the independence of peoples. As opposed to the policy of exploitation, social regression and restriction of democratic rights, the policy of big business, the Soviet Union and other socialist states are rapidly increasing their economic potential and coming to the fore among the countries of the world. They are gradually solving the problems of the new society in the interests of the working people and the whole population. They are expanding democratic participation of the population in all aspects of political, economic, social and cultural life. They have done away with unemployment and social injustice. Young people are assured a happy and free life.

In conclusion the Politbureau statement declares that the French Communist Party will firmly pursue its line in the interests of the French people, as well as in the interests of the international progressive and revolutionary movement.

CLASS LAWS AND THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE*

John Gollan

General Secretary CP Great Britain

We are witnessing that rare phenomenon—the British ruling class in a state of near panic. And so is the Right Wing. The reason? The mass revolt against the hated Industrial Relations Act.

Leader writers in the Establishment Press bemoan the antics of this Government of Tory mediocrities. They are insensitive and out of touch. They are accident-prone. They are all branded with the Heath non-image. This is the rising critical chorus.

All true. But as an analysis of Britain's crisis, totally superficial.

When Maudling resigned (and we've not heard the last of this) The Times lamented the lack of men of character in the Government. Its solution was to send for Sir Christopher Soames, Ambassador to Paris. A suggestion that has been received with deafening silence.

You've never heard of Soames? I can't blame you. His sole qualification, it appears, is that he is a Churchill by marriage.

The crisis of the Government is the crisis of capitalist society. Heath is attempting to put the full burden of the crisis on the

*Morning Star, August 12, 1972.

shoulders of the workers, with growing unemployment, resistance to wage increases, shackling the unions, increasing rents, crippling the social services, undermining democracy and trying to railroad the country into the Common Market.

At the 32nd Communist National Congress in November last year we warned that the Government's "room for maneuver is limited because of the crisis of the capitalist system and mounting working-class resistance. As a result there is a class confrontation. In this confrontation our class is going to win."

Recent events, dramatic and significant, have borne this out. From the UCS onwards, through the miners' strike, the railwaymen's struggle, to the release of the Pentonville Five, Heath was lost.

At the heart of the problem has been Heath's effort to shackle the unions by the Industrial Relations Act and the class resistance to it, culminating in the mass strikes to free the dockers, and the TUC decision for a 24-hour general strike.

The ruling class crows when it wins and whines when it loses. But it will fight harder, by more tricky maneuvers. Tougher battles lie ahead for the working class.

Now we've got the orchestrated chorus about the rule of law, and that democrats must obey even unjust laws.

"This crisis," wrote *The Times* (July 28) "has done something to weaken the unity of the nation and the fabric of democracy." And the *Financial Times* (July 29) echoed that the issue is whose authority shall prevail.

This whole line of argument is not only hypocritical, it is false.

From time immemorial the British people have resisted and often denied unjust and undemocratic laws. This is particularly true of the trade union movement. Indeed, this is a vital part of our democratic tradition.

So now the argument of consent is being gingerly examined. The "fair-minded" *Times* exclaims: "Yet if the TUC opposes itself to the rule of law, the Conservative Government has failed to understand the rule of consent."

This unjust Tory class law never had and never will have the consent of the working class. Even if a Parliament passes an unjust and undemocratic law and this is opposed and defied by the mass of the people, the resultant situation is a condemnation of Parliament and Government and not of those who resist it. For law is class law and Parliaments are class Parliaments.

Prof. Dicey, 19th century authority on the Law of the Constitution, concluded that "... the sovereignty of Parliament; it is limited on every side by the possibility of popular resistance."

So when Wilsin and Prentice say that the dockers should "obey

the law," meaning the Industrial Relations Act, they haven't even got the guts of 19th century Liberals.

Politics is about power. Tory politics is the naked exercise of capitalist class power. State power is in Tory hands a weapon for the monopolies. The law, the courts, the police and the Army are the instruments of class power.

Our impartial legal system was always a myth in regard to the trade unions, as Citrine observed years ago.

Today many judges are worried because this Act is bringing the law itself into contempt. In dealing with the consequences of the Act, Lord Devlin wrote (in the Sunday Times, August 6), "The prestige of the judiciary, their reputation for stark impartiality to be kept up in appearance as well as in fact, is not at the disposal of any Government; it is an asset that belongs to the whole nation."

If politics is about power, a vital, if not the most vital, element in this is the power of the people as a political force.

The greatest single lesson of these past historic months is that the united power of the organized working class is greater than Tory power. As Engels observed: "There is no power in the world which could for a day resist the British working class organized as a body."

What the ruling class wants desperately at this critical moment is to head off the use of this power.

Class has always divided nations. National unity today is spurious and phoney. What the ruling class wants is the restoration of the shaken politics of consensus and consensus means class collaboration.

None wants this more than the Right Wing. Indeed Wilson continually lectures Heath that the use of the Act strengthens the "militants" as against the "moderates." Militancy indeed has taken the movement to the Left and in turn Left development has deepened militancy.

So now we have the talk of amending the Act, while retaining its essence. We should have none of it. The Act must go.

The Right Wing wants tripartite conciliation by the Government, CBI and TUC. There should be no truck with this whole shady, dirty business.

What is needed is the immediate resignation of this totally discredited Tory Government, not Right Wing rescue work.

We need an immediate General Election and a Labor Government committed by the power of the mass movement to Left policies.

The mass movement which forced open the gates of Pentonville can and will force a Labor Government to carry out Left policies.

This is not an end in itself. Every crisis cuts across myths and exposes reality in society. This crisis shows that the ultimate

solution for the working class and its allies must be the winning of State power and the introduction of Socialism.

When this is done democracy at last would become real. For power, which always in Britain has been in the hands of the minority, would at long last be in the hands of the majority.

THE NEW AND THE OLD IN POLICY OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL*

Now more than ever before, perhaps, the prestige and authority of various parties in the capitalist world depend on their positions on questions of foreign policy. Broad masses are becoming more active in this sphere. And the leadership of bourgeois and Social-Democratic parties cannot afford to ignore the changing mood of the public. Of course, the old in their policy frequently takes on new forms while the new emerges slowly, often burdened by old prejudices and a certain lethargy.

From this point of view the 12th Socialist International Congress held in Vienna at the end of June throws light on the situation in the Social-Democratic parties. The Congress resolution and the speeches made by West Germany's Chancellor Willy Brandt, Austria's Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, Sweden's Premier Olaf Palme, the Social-Democratic leaders from Finland Kalevi Sorsa and Ulf Sundquist and such Social-Democratic opposition leaders as Britain's Harold Wilson, France's Francois Mitterand and Italy's Pietro Nenni reflect the mood of influential West European political forces.

What is the position of the Socialist International as an international organization on the most important world problems?

On European security, we can record on the whole the consolidation of the positive changes that took shape at the session of the Socialist International Council in Helsinki in May 1971. In its resolution the Congress approved such recent acts as ratification of the treaties between the FRG and USSR and the FRG and Poland, the coming into force of the four-power agreement on West Berlin and the transit agreement between the GDR and FRG. The Congress also went on record in favor of the "earliest possible" convocation of the conference on European security and cooperation. However, it sidetracked the problem of the GDR's recognition under international law, i.e., a problem the positive solution of which

*Pravda, August 22, 1972.

is essential for establishing a system of European security. The Socialist International is not quite prepared yet to take a stand on this problem. It thereby runs the risk of falling behind foreign policy developments.

Most of the delegates noted with satisfaction the trend towards détente. They appraised positively the outcome of the Soviet-American top level talks.

Compared with earlier estimations of the Socialist International organs, the 12th Congress made certain progress on the question of the U.S. aggression in Indochina.

"The Socialist International," says the Congress resolution, "expresses its deep concern over U.S. use of the most modern, scientific (sic! — Y.Zh.) methods of warfare leading to the destruction of the ecological foundations of life itself." This is certainly a rather timid way of condemning U.S. actions in Vietnam and a rather belated attempt to save the face of the Socialist International at a time when the movement of protest against the American aggression in Vietnam is mounting throughout the world.

It is possibly for the first time that open criticism was levelled in congress debates at the conception current in the Right wing of the Socialist International that the American aggression in Indochina is nothing more than an action to counter the "Communist threat," while the use of mass means of annihilation against the people of the DRV and South Vietnam is "justified" on the grounds that the Vietnamese patriots are equipped with Soviet-made weapons. Olaf Palme (Sweden), Henri Rolin (Belgium) and other speakers showed up the hypocrisy of this presentation of the problem the aim of which is to justify the real aggressors who bear full responsibility for the suffering of the Vietnamese people and the devastation of their land.

The position of the 12th Socialist International Congress on the Middle East conflict may be described as one of marking time, with less clamor, however, than before. Golda Meir spoke at length attempting to justify her government's policy on this question. Naturally, Golda Meir received more than her share of attention from the press, the Congress Presidium and the delegates. Moreover, she was elected Vice-Chairman of the Socialist International. Nevertheless, in contrast to preceding years, practically no one dared to openly undertake moral justification of the position of the Israeli ruling circles. Characteristically, too, the Congress did not adopt any special resolution on the Middle East conflict. The very fact that this question was passed over in silence signifies that it was evidently decided to get around sharp corners and not to provoke discord among the delegates.

But there is also another aspect of the matter. On March 22 of this year the UN Human Rights Commission passed a resolu-

tion stating that "the serious violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention committed by Israel on occupied Arab territory constitute war crimes and are a challenge to mankind."

It would seem that the Socialist International should either condemn such flagrant violations of the UN General Declaration on Human Rights by a government headed by one of its vice-Chairmen, or disprove the facts that served as the basis for the commission. However it does not wish to do the former and cannot do the latter. Yet, as concerns the protection of human rights, the Social-Democrats have quite a few things to thrash out among themselves.

The Congress agenda also included an item formulated as follows: "Socialist Strategy for the Third World and the Problems of Development." In reality this "strategy" is a cover for the tactics of extending the Socialist International's contacts in the zone of the national liberation movements. Many delegates spoke with concern about what they called the "Euro-centrism" of Social-Democracy. In an interview for the *Arbeiderbladet* after the Congress the leader of Norway's Labor Party, Trygve Bratteli, said that "in its present form" the Socialist International demonstrated its weakness as expressed in "the lack of contacts with the powerful political forces in other parts of the world."

The Vienna Congress again instructed the Bureau of the Socialist International to draw up a draft of an "integrated and positive program" concerning the development of the newly-free countries.

Year after year the Socialist International has shown its inability to offer the newly-free nations anything beyond verbal sympathy with their poverty and backwardness and carefully measured statements about extreme manifestations of the neo-colonialist policy by the imperialist powers. But this is merely aimed at making political capital in the Third World while avoiding real confrontation with imperialism and working for the long-term goal of weakening "Communist influence," meaning the attraction of the progressive forces in the young national states towards cooperation with the socialist countries and the international revolutionary workers' movement. This tactical aim overlooks what is most important — the vital interests of the free nations, close ties with their struggle and a grasp of the political methods leading to a realization of their social goals and aspirations.

Officially, the agenda of the Congress did not include the question of the attitude of the Socialist International towards Communists. It was, however, on the program of the April meeting of the Socialist International Bureau in Amsterdam, which declared that the affiliated parties were "free to take their own decisions" concerning contacts with Communist parties. This decision differs distinctly from the earlier position of the Socialist International which

condemned "any form of cooperation with Communist parties." Yet it would still be too early to speak of any substantive change.

The bans of the cold war period began to crumble even before the meeting in Amsterdam. The Amsterdam decision merely brought organizational norms into conformity with the realities. And, last but not least, it was motivated by the desire to prevent the aggravation of discord over this question at the Congress.

The Congress revealed a measure of differentiation among the Social-Democratic parties on this question. Francois Mitterand, arriving at the Congress immediately after reaching agreement with the French Communists on a joint government program, spoke of the significance of this step for the French labor movement, particularly from the viewpoint of his party's interests. The Secretary of the Finnish Social-Democratic Party Kalevi Sorsa said his party would continue its contacts with the CPSU and other Communist parties in the socialist countries.

What amounted to a warning to the exponents of this line in relation to cooperation with Communists resounded in the speeches of the leaders of other parties, including the Austrian, who urged continuation of anti-Communist propaganda which, as everyone knows, is built on distortions of the existing situation in the socialist countries. The Right leaders of the Socialist International decided to counter-balance the Amsterdam decision by stepping up ideological activity against the principles advocated by Communists and against the very idea of joint action by the two trends in the labor movement.

These two trends are divided by serious historical, philosophical and political differences, making ideological struggle between them inevitable. The differences of principle dividing the Social-Democratic and Communist movements are well known. But we are not concerned with them. The point is to make, as far as possible in the present conditions, maximum use of the force and authority of the labor movement and other democratic movements and organizations in a common struggle to consolidate peace, relax tensions, rebuff dangerous reactionary designs and thwart the aggressive imperialist policy. The point is to unite the efforts of various segments of the working people in the struggle for their vital rights and interests, against monopoly capital and for the genuine social and political progress of their countries. Obviously, this problem differs from country to country. But in all cases it requires tremendous effort, searching, patience and readiness for an open dialogue on concrete and urgent problems. On a national scale, the solution of this problem depends on the balance of political forces, the ideological level of the labor movement, etc.

But there is also an international aspect of relations between Communists and Social-Democrats.

Here is a revealing example. Three weeks prior to the Vienna Congress the Public Assembly for European Security and Cooperation met in Brussels, with spokesmen for various public and political trends attending. Approximately one-fifth of the delegates from West Europe were Social-Democrats. The Belgian Socialists played a prominent role in convening and holding this important international forum.

It seems, however, that the organizers of the Vienna Congress did their utmost to organize a conspiracy of silence around the work and achievements of this Assembly. Doesn't it look strange that people who effusively advocate "exchanges of people and ideas" should be frightened by the very idea of comparing viewpoints during truly free discussions only because their participants include Communists? Anyone who wants to be a realist in politics cannot but recognize that it is impossible to "build a new Europe" without the Communists and, therefore, without a dialogue with the Communists. To this could be added that it is precisely on the problems of European security, more than on many other foreign policy issues, that there emerge points of contact between Communists and Social-Democrats, a practical platform for cooperation.

In their "Solemn Declaration" the participants of the Brussels Assembly declared: "Clashes, competitions and struggle between various social ideals should not lead to 'psychological warfare' poisoning relations with suspicion, hatred and fear." Regrettably, many of the speeches in Vienna were in the spirit of such "psychological warfare." Isn't it proved by the desire to "supplement" the conception of peaceful coexistence by demands of changes in the very nature of the socio-political systems in East European countries? Isn't it proved by the attempts of the Socialist International leaders to galvanize into life political corpses listed in its official documents as "parties in exile" (this includes the "Ukrainian," "Estonian," "Rumanian," "Yugoslav" and other counter-revolutionary emigré groups styling themselves "socialists")? These so-called "parties" are mere ghosts represented by individuals who have nothing behind them except their own shadow. The fact that they are still supported by the Socialist International just shows that the Right Social-Democratic leaders are still banking on the ideological erosion of the socialist countries. Thereby they assume no small political responsibility in the face of the prospects opening up for establishing truly new relations among the nations of Europe.

After the Vienna Congress a Finnish Social-Democrat, Paavo Lipponen, predicted in the newspaper *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*: "Relations between the Communists and the Social-Democrats on an international level would progress in a positive vein as the situation in Europe is stabilized. It is only a question of time

when the Socialist International would officially be less dogmatic towards relations on a party level. And the sooner this happens the better for the International. Otherwise this organization will petrify as a remnant of the cold war."

The alternative is outlined quite clearly. It remains to be seen how events will develop. Y. Zhilin

SOME TACTICAL PECULIARITIES OF PEKING LEADERSHIP'S CURRENT POLICY*

Life has conclusively proved the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the development of the present-day world situation given at the 24th CPSU Congress and at the congresses of the fraternal parties—the great effectiveness of the active foreign policy of peace followed by the socialist countries—and the vast international significance of the Peace Program advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress.

The course of world developments has shown that the unity and concerted action of the socialist nations and the Marxist-Leninist parties are becoming ever more effective and that the international positions of socialism are steadily strengthening. Another big step towards promoting the cohesion and cooperation of the fraternal socialist states was the recent friendly meeting in the Crimea between the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries.

The alignment of forces in the world arena continues to change in favor of socialism, democracy and peace.

The socialist lands are making further headway. Their achievements are due to the scientific nature of their policy, its correspondence to the objective needs of society, and skilful use of the advantages of socialism. The more extensive the use made of these advantages, the more impressive will be the progress of world socialism.

The imperialists fail in their attempts to halt the progress of history, although they are employing every possible means, seeking also to exploit in their own interests the splitting activity of the Chinese leadership and its anti-socialist, anti-Soviet policy.

The recent period has been marked by complex processes in China's life. The Chinese leaders have undertaken a certain modification of their foreign and domestic policy and altered the forms and methods of its pursuit. And this above all because their previous

**Pravda*, September 5, 1972.

policy led to an impasse. There is no doubt that the Maoists have been strongly influenced by the indisputable successes of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the changes on the international scene in favor of the forces of peace and social progress.

In certain conditions, a constructive modification of policy could bring the Chinese people great benefit. But it has to be regretfully stated that so far these changes are clearly designed to make the invariable nationalistic course of Peking more effective and respectable in the eyes of the Chinese and progressive world public.

Trying to build up as soon as possible a corresponding military-industrial base to support their hegemonistic claims, the leaders of the People's Republic of China in the last few years have ever more definitely been abandoning the most odious and discredited Maoist guidelines and turning to some forms and methods of running the country and its national economy which have been tested by the experience of development of a number of socialist states, and even of China itself, in the years of the first five-year plans. For understandable reasons, so as not to reveal their bankruptcy, the Peking leaders are compelled to cover these moves of theirs with claims about the "firmness" and the "high effectiveness" of the Maoist course.

In practice the guidelines are clearly undergoing change. In the course of a number of years the country lived in an atmosphere of "thoughts" according to which the planning of a national economy is "an obstacle to raising the economy" and distribution according to work and material incentives are "a black craze of economism" and "a manifestation of bourgeois ideology."

Nevertheless the changes which the Peking leaders are making in their economic policy are inconsistent and ambivalent. Moreover, the process is unfolding with great difficulty because of the chaos and confusion produced by the "cultural revolution," because of the theoretical contortions of the leaders of the PRC and of the struggle between the representatives of different trends over the ways of further development of the country. Thus, back in 1970 it was stated that a new five-year plan would be drawn up and considered at a session of the All-China Peoples' Congress. However, the new five-year plan has not yet been made public, its targets are unknown, and the national economy continues to function without perspective.

The concrete data on the condition of the PRC economy speak best of all of the inefficiency of the previous economic policy of the Peking leaders. In 1971, according to the first official data to be made public since 1959, the production of steel amounted to 21 million tons and that of grain, 246 million tons. To see the weight

of these indexes, one must bear in mind that as far back as 1960, the production capacities of China's steel plants totalled about 18 million tons. As to grain, its per-capital production, taking into account the growth of population, has dropped.

The requirements of the country's development have forced Peking to alter somewhat its policy in the sphere of culture as well. Everybody realizes that the country cannot develop without a general rise of culture and without a more or less numerous intelligentsia and skilled working class. The barbarous attitude toward intellectuals and culture, which was characteristic of the "cultural revolution," has been declared incorrect. The blame for it is placed on "ultra-Leftist anarchic elements," though not so long ago, on the eve of the "cultural revolution," Mao himself declared that universities and schools were a "bog swarming with creeping vipers, turtles and all sorts of other scum." For four years the higher and secondary educational institutions of China practically did not function, while students and pupils were used by the Maoists as a blind, obedient instrument for routing the Party and government bodies, for assaulting the numerous cadres of the former Party and state apparatus. The Chinese leadership has now decided to resume instruction in schools, institutes and universities. Academic activity is being renewed. A certain revival of cultural life may be observed. The sale of some works of Chinese classical literature, which had earlier been banned as "weeds of feudalism," has been allowed and a number of museums have been opened in Peking and other cities.

But, of course, any "flourishing" or "upswing" of culture in the country, as official propaganda claims, is out of the question today. Not a single work of fiction or feature film has appeared in the country, except some screen versions of certain "model modern operas and ballets."

Of late, emphasis, at least verbal, is laid in China on enhancing and extending the role of the Party in the country's public and political life. Not so very long ago it was the decisive significance of the army that was emphasized, whereas now prominence is given to the slogan: "the Party must command the gun." In 1964 Mao Tse-tung proclaimed the thesis: "The whole country learns from the army, the whole people are soldiers." Now a new formula has been introduced: "The whole country learns from the People's Liberation Army of China, and the People's Liberation Army of China learns from the people of the whole country." The press calls on the military not to put themselves above the Party committees, to learn from local cadres, and to "strengthen Party leadership."

However, facts show that most of these directives are devoid of real content. The army remains as before the main support of the

Maoist regime, despite the fact that a group of military leaders headed by Lin Piao, former Minister of Defense, has been removed from the political arena. The army continues to retain strong positions at all levels of the country's political, economic and ideological leadership, including the supreme Party and government bodies. The military comprise more than half of the present membership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and are at the head of 20 out of 29 Party committees of provinces, autonomous districts and cities of central subordination, and the majority of the key "revolutionary committees."

At the present stage, it appears, the Maoists go no further than mere talk about the Party's leading role. In the view of many observers, Peking needed the propaganda about the Party mainly for the purpose of camouflaging the essence of the present regime in China and thus, among other things, boosting its international prestige. The latter circumstance is of no small importance in conditions when Peking is activating its foreign policy and introducing substantial changes in its foreign-policy tactics.

But the main point is: the role of what kind of Party is to be increased? It will be remembered that the activities of this Party are determined by the guidelines of the Ninth Congress of the CPC, which are hostile to the cause of socialism. Its ideology is based on anti-Marxist "thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" and its Rules openly pose the task of fighting against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties. Furthermore, trade union, YCL and other public organizations are still paralyzed.

The need to overcome the chaos caused by the "cultural revolution" and to normalize the life of society forced the Chinese leadership to rehabilitate a certain section of Party and government officials who have gone through so-called "re-education." This does not affect, of course, those who came out against Mao's chauvinist great-power course from Marxist-Leninist positions.

The Mao cult remains the immutable determining feature of the socio-political situation in China, particularly in the CPC, although its manifestations do not now bear such an ugly character as in the period of the "cultural revolution." Political training and education in the country are still to a large extent reduced to the study of "Mao Tse-tung's thoughts," while certain works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism are used merely to "support" these "thoughts."

The September crisis of 1971, when a split became apparent in the Maoist leadership, increasing sentiments of uncertainty in the stability of the present regime among the Chinese population, still exerts an important influence on the internal situation in the People's Republic of China. The removal of Lin Piao, and somewhat earlier of Chen Po-ta, was a manifestation of the growth of this crisis and dealt a strong blow at the ideological and political

positions of the Maoists. Peking was compelled to remove from circulation many documents which for a number of years had been regarded as the official interpretation of Mao Tse-tung's "thoughts."

Reports have lately appeared in the Western press, obviously inspired by Peking about the "affair of Lin Piao," the purpose of which is to distort the reasons for the September crisis and to remove from Mao Tse-tung the responsibility, firstly, for extolling for a time people suitable to him, and secondly, for removing, and, possibly, physically destroying, a whole group of leaders, including a number of members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC.

There are signs that, despite all the statements of Chinese propaganda about "unity and cohesion," there is a struggle between representatives of different tendencies inside the Peking leadership. Although nearly a year has passed since the September crisis the Maoists continue to sound the alarm about the "machinations of swindlers like Liu Shao-chi," and still harp on "fierce struggle," intimidating those who venture to express the slightest doubt as to the wisdom of the course pursued in China. Significantly, the Maoists try to ascribe all these circumstances in one or another degree to the "intrigues" of the Soviet Union.

Worthy of note, at the same time, is the fact that the Chinese population has been so overfed with anti-Sovietism that to whip up new anti-Soviet sentiment official Maoist propaganda has to resort to more and more incongruous falsehoods, to "greater lies," and fairy tales.

Foreign policy, as is known, is the continuation and reflection of internal policy. The maneuvering of the Peking leaders inside the country is still more characteristic of their present-day actions on the international arena.

The Chinese leaders are shifting their accents in the approach to the principles of peaceful coexistence, which they formerly described as "connivance in imperialism." While only recently Peking had nothing but abuse for the United Nations, now its representatives participate in the work of this organization. In the 60s, during his visits to African and Asian countries, Chou En-lai urged them to accomplish revolutions, assuring them that a "brilliant revolutionary situation" had taken shape there. Now Peking is taking measures to establish relations with the most reactionary regimes on different continents. It is significant that in the May Day slogans issued in China this year the call to support the national liberation movement was missing altogether. Whereas a year ago China's official propaganda rejected any "talks with imperialists," at present much is being done to achieve rapprochement with the United States of America and other capitalist states.

The facts show that the most important trend of the entire Maoist

policy, now as before, is the struggle against the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community which Peking regards as the main obstacle to its hegemonistic, great-power chauvinistic aspirations. All efforts are concentrated on new attempts to discredit the Leninist domestic and foreign policy course of the CPSU and the Soviet state. To "theoretically" substantiate their course hostile to the Soviet Union, the Maoists, following the example of the well-known Shchedrin "character" who wished to "close America," "have closed" the USSR as a socialist country. Peking's propaganda is laying itself out to put on the world's first socialist state the label of "social-imperialism" and by this foul trick to untie its hands for base anti-Soviet attacks. During the first six months of 1972, just two central papers of Peking carried several hundred items slandering various aspects of the CPSU's foreign and domestic policies. The book market in Peking and other cities always has a supply of anti-Soviet books and pamphlets. The Maoists contrived to stuff with coarse anti-Soviet concoctions even the "Atlas of the World" published this year. Large-scale anti-Soviet propaganda is conducted by means of broadcasting and other oral forms which are the main sources of information for the Chinese population.

The continuing propaganda of the provocative thesis about the "hegemony of two superpowers," which has nothing to do with reality, serves Peking's aim of extending the world's legitimate mistrust of American imperialism also to the Soviet Union, thereby weakening socialism's force of attraction in the developing countries.

Peking has changed its tactics with respect to the Third World countries too. After the admission of China to the United Nations the Chinese leadership has persistently declared that China belongs to the developing states and tries to act as a friend of Afro-Asian peoples and defender of their interests. In their attempt to undermine the international prestige of the Soviet Union and to arouse mistrust and prejudice towards our country among developing countries, the Maoists, using the rostrum of the United Nations and its organizations, show redoubled zeal in slandering the USSR, thereby diverting the peoples of the newly free states from the struggle against their sworn enemies—imperialism and colonialism. It is clear that such a course is directed, first and foremost, against the interests of the developing countries.

Peking's great-power approach to the Third World countries manifested itself most clearly in its attitude to the struggle of the East Bengali people for their rights and in Peking's vetoing the application of Bangladesh for UN membership. Thereby the Maoists showed once again the true worth of their endless assurances about "defense of the interests of small and medium countries."

The Peking leaders still hope to knock together an anti-Soviet bloc of small and medium states, including capitalist countries, in order to use them for the promotion of their great-power course. Figuring to establish Peking on this basis as the world political center, Maoist propaganda is at pains to prove that "the two super-powers" are allegedly "on the decline," and that their place, as it is made clear in a number of policy articles published in the magazine *Hungchi* in April-June this year, is bound to be taken by China.

Peking's leadership is striving to spread its influence and to strengthen its international positions through establishing closer relations with countries belonging to the capitalist system. The Chinese leaders really make no secret of the fact that for the purpose of accelerating the build-up of their military-industrial, including nuclear-missile, potential, they intend to draw on the scientific and technological know-how of the United States, and also Japan and West European countries.

Using more refined methods than before, the Chinese leadership continues its splitting activities within the socialist community. It tries to drive a wedge in relations among socialist countries, to set them at loggerheads with one another. Just as in the period of the "cultural revolution," the very existence of the socialist world system is being negated. To counterbalance the idea of the fraternal nations' unity, they peddle the idea of isolated regional groupings, in which the Maoists would like to occupy dominant positions.

In pursuing a general line of setting states against each other, Peking, while paying lip service to détente, actually strives to maintain and intensify tensions in international relations. Thus, according to press reports, the American Congressmen, who had talks with the Premier of the PRC, were given the following exposé of Peking's standpoint: the United States should continue the development and production of nuclear weapons on a large scale, for otherwise it will run the risk of lagging behind Moscow. It is hard to find a more glaring example of sellout of the cause of socialism.

Posing now as advocates of peaceful coexistence, the Peking leaders spare no efforts to block all the proposals of the socialist states aimed at strengthening peace and international security in Europe, Asia and the rest of the world. They refuse to pursue agreed policies in the struggle against imperialism and reject proposals for joint measures and unity of action towards this. As the leaders of the U.S. Congress who had talks with representatives of the Chinese leadership have declared recently, the PRC "does not want the United States to quit the Pacific area" or any other region of the world. Peking abstains from criticizing such military-political organizations as NATO, SEATO, ANZUS and ASPAC.

Of late, the Maoists have been trying to check the process of

relaxation in Europe and prevent the calling of a European conference on security and cooperation. Simultaneously they came out for retaining U.S. troops there. They cover up their activities against the peace and security of nations by saying that a European security system may be used against China. In actual fact, however, Peking now looks upon the capitalist countries of Western Europe or, to be more precise, the most reactionary anti-Soviet imperialist quarters in those countries, as in a way allies of the Maoist leadership in its struggle against the growing international influence of the socialist community and in its pursuit of a hegemonic policy in Asia and other parts of the world.

Having suffered a setback in its frontal attack on the world Communist movement and yet refusing to abandon its attempts to split this movement and win over some of its contingents to its side, the Chinese leadership has modified its tactics and shows more flexibility. The Peking leaders have toned down the propaganda of the most odious Maoist theses. They are trying to put Marxist make-up on Maoism and have stopped attacks on many parties.

Maoists are now trying to prove that their differences with the world Communist movement are not a basic divergence between the line collectively charted by the Marxist-Leninist parties, on the one hand, and the anti-socialist platform of Peking, on the other, but merely a "dispute between the CPSU and the CPC." Clinging to their plan of forming a pro-Peking anti-Soviet bloc of parties and groups, the Maoists wish that, for a start, the majority of Communist and Workers' parties should at least take a neutral stand towards Maoism. To that end, the Maoists make attempts to fan, wherever possible, nationalistic sentiments in one or other Communist party, pushing them towards certain "national forms" of communism under the pretext of applying Marxism with due regard to the concrete situation. It is precisely here, in revising Marxism-Leninism and rejecting the principles of proletarian internationalism, that Maoism links up with the opportunist trends of all sorts.

The analysis of the home and foreign policy of the Chinese leadership at the present stage leads to the conclusion that, while resorting to complicated maneuvering and making pragmatic correctives in tactics, it leaves its basic course intact.

As formerly, the leaders of the People's Republic of China are inflicting immense harm on the socialist community and the world Communist movement by their actions. The more refined and, in essence, craftier tactics of the Chinese leaders on the international arena, far from reducing the negative consequences of their abandonment of truly socialist, internationalist positions, make Peking's policy just as dangerous as ever before. This is why the struggle against the political course of the Maoists should be regarded first and foremost from the point of view of the incompatibility of its

goals with the tasks of the world Communist and liberation movement, with the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism concerning the basic problems of socialist construction, world development, revolutionary strategy and tactics.

Certain changes in the domestic and foreign policies of the People's Republic of China are the result of Maoism's failures rather than of its success. By implementing its new tactical line, the Chinese leadership hopes to gain a respite, to firm up its positions, lull the vigilance of the international Communist movement, neutralize the criticism of Maoism and achieve its former goals by new, more subtle and refined methods.

The specifics of the expansion of the ranks of Maoist China propagandists deserve attention. Formerly this was mainly the occupation of a few Maoist adherents abroad and agents of Peking, but now these have been joined by the powerful propagandist machine of imperialism. This is vividly illustrated by the example of the United States. Two or three years ago, the apologists of Mao Tse-tung included only the representatives of "Peking lobbyists" in the United States, but now influential imperialist circles of the United States often become popularizers of Maoism.

Naturally it would be too simplistic to explain all the current correctives made in the domestic and foreign policies of China merely by programmed tactical maneuvering of the Peking leaders. As already noted, the Maoists were forced to make these changes, which were dictated to a great extent by the regularities of social development in China.

It is safe to say that life itself, the objective demands of the development of the People's Republic of China will continue to insistently call for further changes in the Maoist course. This is inevitable. Important, however, is the direction in which the noted tendencies will develop: will they promote the consolidation of the positions of socialism in China, or, as a result of certain transformations, will the Maoists try to use them in their own interests, to the detriment of the socialist cause and the vital interests of the Chinese people?

* * *

The principled line followed by the Soviet Union in regard to the People's Republic of China remains unchanged. Our state is consistently implementing and will continue to implement the course in regard to China elaborated by the 24th CPSU Congress. This course envisages consistent defense of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, all-round consolidation of the unity of the countries of the socialist community, the world Communist movement, and, at the same time, determined rebuff to any encroachments on the interests of our motherland.

At the same time, as Leonid Brezhnev noted, "we are ready to promote in every way not only the normalization of relations but also the restoration of good-neighborliness and friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, and express confidence that in the long run this goal will be attained." Such a course meets both the common interests of the socialist community and the world revolutionary movement, and the vital interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and China. I. Aleksandrov

GRANMA EDITORIAL

Reacting to the campaign of slander against Czechoslovakia and her socialist system concerning the trials of counter-revolutionaries in Prague and Brno, an editorial on August 29, 1972 in *Granma*, newspaper of the Cuban Communists, wrote in part:

The Communist Party, the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba, faithful to their Marxist-Leninist policy, declare their absolute and unconditional support of the measures taken by the Communist Party and government of Czechoslovakia in defense of the socialist gains of the fraternal Czechoslovak people and, consequently, the interests of the socialist community and the world revolutionary movement.

The foes of socialism who had incited counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia, have again begun to malign the legitimate actions of that state, which put on trial criminals who had committed offences against the system, against the interests of the Czechoslovak people. It is quite obvious that this campaign is part of the ferocious attacks on Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries begun in August 1968, when the intrigues of anti-socialist forces trying to push Czechoslovakia back onto the capitalist path, had to be cut short with the aid of the Warsaw Treaty countries. The fury of international reaction, the paper stresses, evoked by the failure of their vicious designs, has now taken the form of a slander campaign zealously conducted by the bourgeois press. It produces all kinds of inventions about the trials of counter-revolutionaries, attacking the Communist Party and government of Czechoslovakia, and the countries of the socialist community.

The foes of socialism are trying to turn white into black, alleging that "intellectuals" are being persecuted and arrested for holding political views different from those of the Czechoslovak CP and its present leadership. Nothing could be more slanderous, *Granma* stresses.

The Czechoslovak leaders have firmly declared that persecution of anyone for political motives is farthest from the intentions of the Party and state. Yet they warned that they will not suffer criminal action against the interests of the socialist system and the people of Czechoslovakia.

The counter-revolutionary elements, who have been fairly punished, the article says, went much farther than what may be termed as "political differences." They violated the laws of the CSSR by conducting activities hostile to socialism, contacting counter-revolutionaries abroad, printing and disseminating manifestos and leaflets clandestinely, attacking working-class power, and inciting sabotage, acts of diversion and other criminal actions.

The present reactionary propaganda campaign, in which U.S. imperialism is doubtlessly implicated, is taking place at a time when the people of Czechoslovakia, conquering difficulties, are making good headway along the socialist path, when the prestige and authority of the Communist Party are rising among the people and when Czechoslovakia has again become a reliable member of the socialist community.

The reactionaries and imperialists are completely mistaken, the article stresses, if they think that they can with impunity again make Czechoslovakia a seat of subversion and a place where liberalism will be displayed towards criminals.

The purpose of the slander campaign, *Granma* points out, is to divert attention from the bloody crimes of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, the mass annihilation of the civilian population and the barbarian bombing of dams, towns and villages in the DRV.

These reactionary imperialist manoeuvres are sure to fail. And it is the duty of revolutionaries to expose the facts behind this campaign.

The government of Czechoslovakia, the article continues, is fully entitled to apply the laws of the country to conspirators, in order to protect socialism. And those who venture to deny this right are really facilitating the subversive activity of international reaction and are, deliberately or not, grinding the axe of imperialism.

MEETING* OF COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV WITH COMRADE Y. TSEDENBAL

On September 15, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, met with Comrade Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the MPR, who was on a visit to Moscow.

During the meeting a wide range of questions devoted to the further development of political and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic and the close coordination of the two countries' foreign policies were discussed.

A fruitful exchange of views was held on measures to enhance the effectiveness and mobilizing all reserves of social production, and develop the creative activity of the working people of the Soviet Union and the MPR for the successful implementation of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress and the 16th MPRP Congress.

Also discussed were practical questions of the most efficient utilization of the internal resources of the MPR and Soviet economic assistance with the aim of ensuring the further development of the national economy and growth of the well-being of the Mongolian people, in particular, progress in industrial, agricultural and housing construction projects in which Soviet organizations are taking part.

Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and Y. Tsedenbal noted the fruitful development of relations between the CPSU and the MPRP and between the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Democratic Republic in all spheres.

They confirmed their unflagging desire to see the successful realization of the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration adopted by the CMEA and agreed on necessary measures to step up this work.

The meeting between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and Comrade Y. Tsedenbal revealed a complete identity of views on all discussed questions and took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

*Pravda, September 16, 1972.

CPSU DELEGATION VISITS KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

A delegation of the CPSU led by Central Committee Secretary Comrade K. F. Katushev paid a friendly visit to the Korean People's Democratic Republic on September 3-11 at the invitation of the Korean Party of Labor.

During their stay in the KPDR, the delegation acquainted itself with the Korean people's progress in socialist construction and with the organizational, political and ideological work of the Korean Party of Labor.

The delegation was received by KPL General Secretary, Comrade Kim Il Sung, and had a cordial and friendly talk with him.

The CPSU delegation, led by Central Committee Secretary Comrade K. F. Katushev, and the KPL delegation, led by CC Political Committee member and Central Committee Secretary Comrade Kim Don Gyu, had a fruitful exchange of views on questions pertaining to contacts and cooperation between the two parties.

The CPSU delegation informed the Korean comrades of CPSU activity in implementing the 24th Party Congress decisions, the Soviet people's achievements in building communism, and preparations for the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

The KPL delegation informed the Soviet comrades of KPL activities in implementing the Fifth Party Congress decisions, the Korean people's substantial successes in building socialism, the situation in South Korea, and the Korean people's struggle for independent and peaceful unification of the country on a democratic basis.

The CPSU delegation emphasized that Soviet Communists, the entire Soviet people, warmly welcome the big achievements of the fraternal Korean people and wish it new victories in building socialism; they support all the constructive measures and efforts of the KPL Central Committee and KPDR government to normalize the situation in Korea, secure the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea and achieve independent and peaceful unification of the country.

The KPL delegation warmly welcomed the big achievements of the fraternal Soviet people and wished it new successes in carrying out the ninth five-year plan drawn up by the 24th CPSU Congress; it declared its support for the efforts of the CC CPSU and Soviet government to promote peace and international security and also expressed its gratitude for supporting the Korean people in its struggle for independent and peaceful unification of the country.

In examining questions of Soviet-Korean relations, the two sides

agreed that closer friendly cooperation between the CPSU and KPL and the USSR and KPDR on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism accords with the interests of the Soviet and Korean peoples and of the entire socialist community.

There was also an exchange of views on a number of pressing international issues. In this context, it was emphasized that unity, cohesion, solidarity and mutual support of all anti-imperialist forces is the decisive condition for consolidating and developing the successes achieved in the fight for peace, national independence and social progress.

The CPSU delegation acquainted itself with the work of the Phyongyang Economic Institute, visited the Young Pioneer Palace and a number of other cultural institutions in the capital.

The CPSU delegation visited Khamhin and Wonsan, the Tehan electrical engineering plant, the Khinnam chemical-fertilizer plant, a vinalon plant, the Ryonson engineering works, the agricultural cooperative at Chensan, and had friendly talks with Party functionaries and workers.

Everywhere the delegation was given a warm, cordial welcome, expressive of the traditional friendship between the Soviet and Korean peoples.

On behalf of the CC CPSU, the delegation extended an invitation to the CC KPL for a Party delegation to pay a friendly visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

FRIENDLY MEETING*

On September 8, P. N. Demichev, Candidate Member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, received Angela Davis, prominent American public figure, member of the CC CP USA, and Kendra Alexander, member of the CC CP USA and Franklin Alexander, National Council member of the CP USA, who are accompanying her on a visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CC CPSU. Also present were Y. A. Furtseva, member of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Culture of the USSR, V. V. Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, member of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, and Y. I. Kuskov, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, first deputy head of the International Department of the CC CPSU.

During the talk the representatives of the CPSU spoke of the work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union aimed at im-

*Pravda, September 9, 1972.

plementing the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, the Soviet people's achievements in building a communist society, the successes of the Party's Leninist national policy, the preparations for the national holiday, the 50 anniversary of the formation of the USSR. The CPSU representatives also spoke of the foreign-policy activities of the CC CPSU and the realization of the Peace Program put forward by the 24th CPSU Congress.

Angela Davis warmly thanked the CPSU Central Committee for the invitation to visit the Soviet Union and acquaint herself with the work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the life and work of the Soviet people. She expressed her profound gratitude to the Soviet Communists and all Soviet people for their active participation in the struggle for her freedom. She noted the extremely warm and cordial welcome she had received in Moscow, Uzbekistan and Leningrad and the tremendous enthusiasm with which Soviet people are working for the benefit of their country. To me, Angela Davis declared, the existence of the world's first socialist state—the Soviet Union—and the fine achievements of the Soviet people in building communism represent an inspiring example in the struggle for the working people's cause, for national equality and freedom.

Angela Davis and her comrades told of the fight of the Communist Party of the USA for social progress in their country, for a policy of peace and friendship between the American and Soviet peoples.

The talk took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

