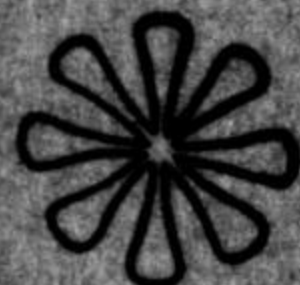


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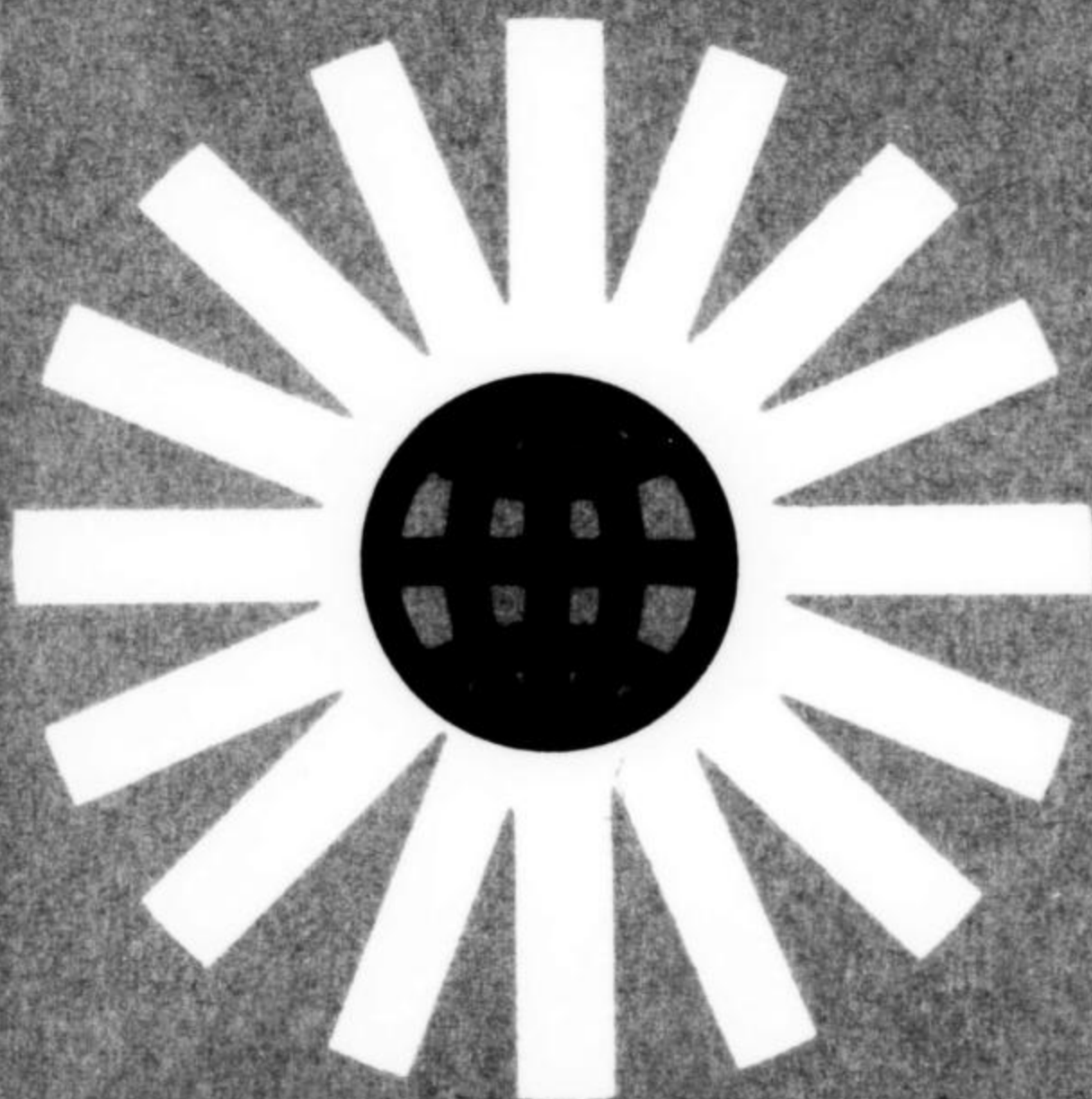
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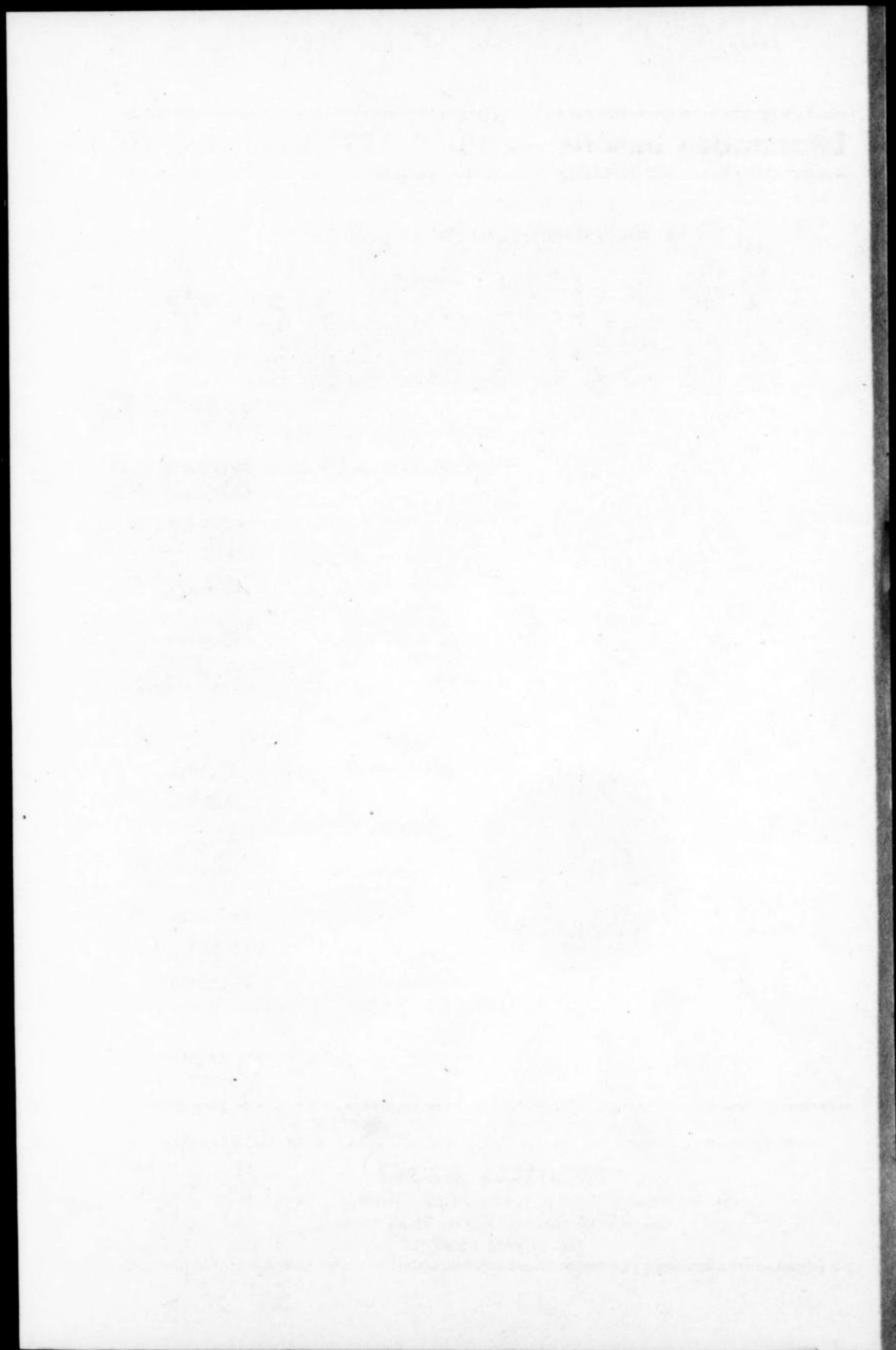
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**NATIONAL
CONFERENCE
FRENCH CP**

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**16th PLENUM
CP of GREECE**

13-14

(221-222) • 1972





information bulletin — 13-14 (221-222) Vol. 10

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

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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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PRINTED IN CANADA
SEPTEMBER 5, 1972



VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES*

A conference of Communist and Workers' parties of the whole Europe for solidarity with the people of Vietnam was held in Paris on July 27.

The following 27 Communist and Workers' parties took part: Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Bulgarian Communist Party, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, German Communist Party (FRG), Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Communist Party of the Netherlands (observer), Communist Party of Norway, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, San-Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Left Party—Communists of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labor, League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The Communist Party of Ireland, which could not send a representative, communicated its approval of the conference.

After a comprehensive exchange of views, conducted in the spirit of friendship and concord, the conference approved a Statement.

The representative of the Communist Party of the Netherlands said he would present the results of the conference for examination by his Central Committee.

*L'Humanité, July 28, 1972.

STATEMENT* **OF THE VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

For more than ten years now, the United States has been waging a brutal war against the Vietnamese people. The U.S. administration has had much to say about peace, but continue to escalate its aggression.

*L'Humanité, July 28, 1972.

In defiance of obligations undertaken four years ago, the U.S. is increasing the scale of its air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It is systematically destroying towns and villages, industrial enterprises, schools and hospitals. On the eve of the flood-waters caused by the monsoons, it is bombing dikes and dams, which can lead to the flooding of large areas and cause measureless suffering to millions of people. It is waging a war of annihilation against women, children and old people. In repeated violation of accepted standards of international law, the Nixon government has blockaded the sea coast of a sovereign state, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In South Vietnam there have been massive bomb attacks and the use of toxic and chemical weapons, defoliants, napalm, phosphorous and fragmentation bombs, all the latest weapons in the U.S. arsenal. Systematic devastation, fires, murder, destruction of all forms of life over whole regions — such is the reality of America's imperialist policy in Vietnam.

Never before have such a vast quantities of destructive weapons and means of annihilation been employed against any nation. In Vietnam, American imperialism is resorting to veritable genocide. The U.S. has brought the war to Laos, Cambodia, the whole of Indochina.

But all in vain: no one can break the will of peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. The time is long past when the imperialists could decide the destinies of nations as they saw fit.

The policy of escalated aggression and "Vietnamization" is being defeated by the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and the patriots of Laos and Cambodia. This is a glaring example of the collapse of imperialist attempts to solve international issues from "positions of strength."

In their courageous struggle, the patriots of all the Indochina countries enjoy the unfailing support and all-round assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They have the support and active solidarity of the Communist and Workers' parties, the national-liberation movement, the progressive and peace-loving forces the world over. And in the United States itself there is a growing movement against this unjust war and a growing trend in favor of a peaceful settlement.

There is no more noble and urgent task today than that of supporting the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and exposing the American crimes in Indochina. The Vietnamese people's struggle for the inalienable right to shape its future is the cause of all peoples battling imperialism.

Representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of

Europe, gathered in Paris on July 27, 1972, reaffirm their resolute support of the reasonable and constructive proposals of the DRV government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. These proposals express the legitimate aspirations of the Vietnamese people and can serve as a just basis for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, with its threat to international security. Aggressive war will never become a means of solving the Vietnam problem. Solutions should be worked out at the Paris negotiations.

The Communist parties represented at the conference demand that the U.S. government immediately halt the air attacks and all military operations against the DRV, lift the blockade of its ports, cease the genocide, immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops and weapons from South Vietnam and the whole of Indochina, renounce support of Thieu, and end all interference in the internal affairs of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The inalienable right must be recognized of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to shape their future in conditions of peace and independence. In the face of intensified American aggression, we solemnly declare that we shall not cease our actions against the aggressor.

We appeal to Communists throughout Europe still higher to raise the banner of proletarian solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam and the patriots of Laos and Cambodia.

We appeal to the working class of Europe, to the working people of town and country, to democrats, patriots, to men and women who cherish the ideals of peace, justice and independence, still more actively to demonstrate their solidarity with the peoples of Indochina.

We appeal especially to the young generation, to its noble enthusiasm, to intensify support for their brothers and sisters in Indochina.

Coinciding actions, united struggle, the unity of all revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces, is of decisive importance for the triumph of the just cause of the Indochina peoples.

Solidarity with them has become a factor in promoting still wider united action of Communists, Socialists, all the progressive and peace-loving forces. There has been a marked evolution in the views on Vietnam of representatives of the Church and religious people. We declare that we are prepared to discuss possible joint action with them.

Let us intensify the joint struggle for an end to the genocide in Vietnam!

No man of conscience must remain aside from this struggle.

Let us intensify joint action in support of the peoples of Vietnam and of all Indochina in their fight for freedom and independence.

IN UNANIMITY*

Following the unanimous approval of the Statement, a press conference was held. Georges Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the French CP, told about the progress of the conference. He stressed that the conference proceeded in the atmosphere of unanimity and solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam.

"The conference," he said, "had one simple aim before it: faced with the expansion of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, barbarous bombings and blockade of the ports of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a veritable genocide perpetrated by the U.S. government in South Vietnam, to strengthen solidarity with the entire Vietnamese people and also with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia."

The press conference was attended by the head of the CPSU delegation B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU; D. Nemes, Member of the Politbureau of the CC Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; K. Bachmann, Chairman of the German Communist Party; E. Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party.

* * *

After the conference the delegations of the fraternal Parties visited the residence of the DRV delegation to the Paris talks on Vietnam in the Paris Suburb Choisy-le-Roi to inform the delegates of the DRV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam about the results of the conference. They were welcomed by Le Duc Tho, special advisor to the head of the DRV delegation and member of the Politbureau of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, and Xuan Thuy, head of the DRV delegation, Nguyen Van Thieu, deputy head of the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, represented Nguyen Thi Binh, head of the delegation, now on a visit to Cuba.

Speaking on behalf of the conference participants, Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the ICP, stressed that the conference resolutely condemned the barbarous aggression of U.S. imperialism against Vietnam, its crimes, massive bombings and blockade of the DRV ports. The representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties reaffirmed their complete solidarity with the heroic struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. We admire your struggle and your recent military victories, Berlinguer emphasized, addressing the representatives of the DRV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. We fully support the

*L'Humanité, July 28, 1972.

policy of the Working People's Party of Vietnam and your position in favor of a peaceful solution of the problem of Vietnam at the Paris conference. He underlined that Communists would make still greater efforts to extend the movement of solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

Le Duc Tho expressed sincere thanks and gratitude of the Vietnamese people to the French Communist Party and all Communist and Workers' parties of Europe for the support given to the struggle of the peoples of Indochina. The victories so far won by our people are the result of their efforts and resolve in the struggle for national salvation and also the result of the support given by the fraternal parties and peoples of the whole world.

Le Duc Tho noted that the Paris conference of Communist and Workers' parties for solidarity with the people of Vietnam was a new manifestation of this great and warm support, which is the greatest encouragement for our fighters. We have deep faith in our victory on all three fronts—military, political and diplomatic, Le Duc Tho stressed.

INTERNATIONAL THEORETICAL CONFERENCE

An International Theoretical Conference on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, sponsored by *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CC CPSU, was held in Prague July 5-7. It brought together representatives of 47 Communist and Workers' parties. The report on "The International Significance of the Founding and Development of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" was delivered by Comrade B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU.

Speakers at the conference emphasized the epochal importance of the Soviet Union's experience in solving the national problem and in building socialism, the contribution of the USSR and the CPSU to the world liberation struggle against social and national oppression, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. Many participants spoke of the measures being carried out in their countries in connection with the 50th anniversary of the USSR.

The conference was held in a business-like and comradely atmosphere of constructive exchange of views.

* * *

All the Conference speeches will be published in the No. 10, 1972, issue of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*.

CONGRESSES, CONFERENCES

FCP NATIONAL CONFERENCE

A national conference of the FCP was called in Paris on July 9 by a decision of the Plenum of the FCP Central Committee to discuss the joint government program drafted in the course of negotiations between the delegations of the Communist and Socialist parties.

The 1,193 delegates, representing all FCP federations, included 572 industrial workers, 131 engineers and technicians, 194 office employees and 50 peasants. The majority (820) joined the FCP after 1957. The average age of the delegates was 35 years.

Report on the joint government program of the Communist and Socialist parties was delivered by FCP Deputy General Secretary Georges Marchais. He said that the approval by the delegations of the two parties of the joint government program "is unprecedented in the history of the working-class and democratic movement of our country over the past fifty years" and that it "opens up a clear and definite perspective of profound changes corresponding to the interests and aspirations of the working people, democrats and the French nation as a whole."

The struggle for working-class unity, Marchais stressed, was and remains a constant and principled policy of the FCP. The joint government program is "above all the result of the persistent and unceasing struggle for unity conducted over the years by our Party under the leadership of Maurice Thorez, Waldeck Rochet and the Central Committee, the result of the battle to which all members of our Party dedicated their strength, their hearts and minds, their hopes."

Explaining the content of the program Marchais said that the central task of the future democratic government would be to create conditions that would enable the working people to live differently than they live today, to live better. He showed the need to alter the people's living conditions, improve working conditions, democratic education, promote the growth and modernization of agriculture. The program envisages the nationalization of the key branches of the economy, but it does not call for the nationalization of everything, as alleged by bourgeois propaganda. The extension of the public and nationalized sector, he explained, will affect only a limited number of industrial enterprises out of the 700 thousand now operating in France, involving chiefly the gigantic monopolies controlling the economy.

The program provides for a broad democratization of social and political life. At the same time, the future democratic government "will take France along the road of a new foreign policy based on peaceful coexistence and cooperation with all countries, on respect for the national sovereignty and equality of all countries." France will resolutely work for an early convocation and success of the conference on European security and cooperation, for a collective security system on the European continent. France's membership in the Common Market, Marchais stressed, cannot be an obstacle to the broadest economic and political cooperation with all other countries. As for developing countries, democratic France will establish with them new relations of cooperation free from the neo-colonialist character.

Thus in its content, Marchais continued, the joint government program responded to the aspiration of our Party to satisfy the vital needs of working people and the nation and open up the socialist perspective before our country. The very existence of the joint government program fundamentally alters the alignment of forces in the country's politics. "If the majority of the French people declare in favor of the policy advanced in the joint government program, then the power of money will have to leave the field for a democratic government in which our Party will participate together with the Socialist Party and all democratic forces willing to do so."

But this shift will not occur by itself, a tense struggle lies ahead. Marchais made a special note of the importance of the Party's vanguard role in steering this course.

Georges Marchais concluded his report by saying: "The Central Committee suggests that the National Conference approve the joint government program whose realization will open for France the road of social progress, economic prosperity and democratic development, the road of socialism."

Following a discussion, the delegates unanimously approved Marchais's report and passed a decision to publish it along with the joint government program.

The Conference also adopted by a unanimous vote two resolutions, one approving the joint government program and the other on Vietnam (both resolutions follow).

In his concluding speech Marchais said that the joint program is a solemn pledge taken by the Socialists and Communists before the working people and the French nation. It provides the basis for the unity of all laboring forces, which is so essential for ending the rule of capitalist tycoons. "We say to all French people: We have one enemy, big capital. All the other sectors of society are victims of its exploitation and oppression. . . . By deciding to approve the joint government program," Marchais said, "the French

Communist Party proves once again its will to serve the interests of the working class and our entire people."

UNANIMOUS APPROVAL OF THE AGREEMENT

The delegates to the National Conference and the members of the FCP Central Committee unanimously ratify the joint government program drafted by the French Communist Party and the Socialist Party. They consider that it is an agreement without precedent in our country.

The force of renovation, consistency and realism of this program will enable the French men and women to live better and change their life. The profound economic changes, democratization of institutions and expansion of individual and collective freedoms will deliver a decisive blow to the domination of the capitalist monopolies. Then our country will be able to play, in the conditions of respect for its national independence, an active role in developing international cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

The horizon has cleared up for the French men and women who have for a long time aspired to radical changes. The joint program opens for them the way consonant with their needs and democratic requirements.

The hostile reaction and confusion of the men in power and their allies, the so-called reforms, testify to a deep anxiety of big capital.

France is at the crossroads: either it will get still more bogged down in the crisis into which it had been plunged by capitalism, or it will take the path of deep-going social transformation promoting national renovation.

The National Conference of the FCP appeals to all working people, democrats and the youth of our country to support this program and secure for it the support of the majority.

The French Communist Party has persistently followed the long road of struggle for unity. Publishing its program for a democratic popular unity government,* it called on the masses to join the struggle in order to "change course."

This program can be effected by a democratic government in which the French Communist Party will participate together with the Socialist Party and other democratic forces.

The realization of the joint government program depends on popular union, the rallying of millions of men and women around this program and their support.

In the history of our country this program will constitute an advanced democratic stage leading to socialism.

*See Information Bulletin, No. 21-22, 1971.—Ed.

The joint government program is a solid basis for unprecedented joint action by the FCP and the Socialist Party, and by other democratic forces in defense of the interests of workers and working masses, for the triumph and realization of this program.

The French Communist Party is resolved to develop this necessary unity of action dynamically and in the conditions of mutual loyalty.

Thousands of people have already joined the French Communist Party with the aim of giving help in elaborating a good government program. To develop the action capacity and the organized forces of the revolutionary party of the working class and the people of France and extend its influence still further means securing for the joint government program the support of all working-class, democratic and national forces, assuring its triumph and realization for the good of manual and mental workers of our country, in the national interest.

National Conference of the FCP

Paris, July 9, 1972.

ON VIETNAM

Violating all international law, the U.S. air force is intensifying the barbarous bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the mining of its ports. These bombings are directed at Hanoi, the capital of the Republic whose centre has been severely damaged. Their special targets are the dams, the aim being to cause, just before the big summer floods, a catastrophe with incalculable consequences. Millions of human lives are imperilled. In the North and the South, U.S. imperialism is intensifying the war to save its "Vietnamization" policy and preserve the neo-colonial domination.

Despite this unprecedented squall of iron and fire, despite the massive use of new chemical and biological weapons, the people of Vietnam, who have arisen in defense of their independence and freedom and whose heroism evokes the admiration of the peoples of the whole world, are frustrating the plans of U.S. imperialism. The solidarity of the socialist countries and support of world public opinion contribute towards their failure.

Having interrupted the work of the Paris conference, Nixon was compelled to resume the talks on July 13.

This retreat of U.S. imperialism is bound to encourage broader joint action by all peace-loving forces in France in order:

—to put an immediate end to the bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the mining of its ports;

—to force Nixon to negotiate at the Paris Conference on the basis of the proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the Government of the DRV so that the

people of Vietnam could freely shape their future without foreign interference.

The National Conference of the French Communist Party calls on the Communists to continue their unitarian activity. It calls on the French men and women to give political support and material aid to the people of Vietnam and all peoples of Indochina.

On the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva agreements the Movement for Peace decided to proclaim July 20th the *day devoted exclusively to Vietnam*. It recommends sending numerous delegations to the U.S. Embassy and consulates, addressing petitions, motions and resolutions to U.S. authorities and taking an active part in collecting medical supplies for the people of Vietnam.

The National Conference of the French Communist Party calls on all Party organizations to contribute to the success of this great day of solidarity with the peoples of Indochina.

Everything must be done to stop this criminal war.

National Conference of the FCP

Paris, July 9, 1972,.

OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF FRANCE NATIONAL CONVENTION

The National Convention of the French Socialist Party met in Paris on July 9. The participants heard and discussed the report of the Party's First Secretary Francois Mitterand. The National Convention approved the accord reached with the FCP on the joint government program. In its resolution that was carried unanimously the Convention urged "all parties and groupings declaring their allegiance to the Left forces to take their place in the actions the basis for which is laid in the agreement between the Communists and Socialists."

The Convention also defined the Party's tactics in the coming elections to the National Assembly and nominated the candidates of the Socialist Party.

PLENARY MEETINGS

16TH PLENUM OF THE CC CPG

The 16th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party was held in June 1972. It discussed the political situation in the country and the tasks of Communists.

The report was made by K. Koliyannis, First Secretary of the Central Committee, who dealt with the recent international developments, the situation in Greece and the tasks of the Communists in the struggle against the dictatorship.

The Plenum passed a decision on the report.

It sent messages of greeting to CC Chairman Apostolos Grozos on his 89th birthday, to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian CP in connection with the 90th anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, and to all imprisoned fighters for democracy.

DECISION OF THE 16th PLENUM OF THE CC CPG

1. The international situation is characterized by gains of the peace forces and the movement for European and world security. Special importance attaches to Nixon's visit to Moscow, the Soviet-U.S. Joint Communiqué—a momentous document determining relations between the two countries on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence—and other agreements signed between the Soviet Union and the United States, notably the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms.

Other developments of importance for a durable peace in Europe and for the convocation of a European security conference were the ratification of the treaties between the FRG and the Soviet Union and between the FRG and the Polish People's Republic confirming the results of World War II and recognizing the inviolability of the frontiers existing in Europe today, as well as the entry into force of the four-power agreement on West Berlin.

All this is indicative of the triumph of the Soviet Union's consistent policy for peace.

The signing and ratification of these treaties and agreements, which promote world peace and security, were made possible by the change in the alignment of world forces resulting from the tremendous growth of the economic, political and military power of the socialist system, primarily of the Soviet Union.

For the Greek people, who have a bitter experience of imperial-

ist interference in their internal affairs, the treaties and agreements in question and the relaxation of tensions provide more favorable conditions for the struggle against the junta of traitors to the nation.

In the capitalist world, instability and economic difficulties are growing and the working class is engaged in a mounting strike movement.

There is a new upsurge in the liberation movement in Asia, Latin America and Africa. The liberation forces of Vietnam have scored new notable gains.

The imperialist forces doggedly resist international détente. The U.S. imperialists have resumed their barbarous air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They are now bombing the DRV more intensively than before as they continue their criminal activity throughout Indochina. In our immediate proximity —the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East—they bolster reactionary regimes by supplying them with money and arms, which tends to aggravate the situation to a dangerous degree.

2. The main characteristics of the situation at home are growth in opposition and resistance to the dictatorship, a stronger spirit of anti-dictatorial unity and an exacerbation of the junta's internal contradictions.

The junta tried by every means and with U.S. imperialist support to break out of isolation and reach some sort of compromise with bourgeois political sectors so as to present its power in a more attractive light and mislead world opinion. Its attempts proved fruitless but they are continuing none the less.

The two cabinet reshuffles effected in this past period made for a greater concentration of power in Papadopoulos' hands and consolidated his position.

3. Growing opposition to the military-fascist dictatorship and the latter's inability to extend its social basis and strengthen its regime, the situation in the armed forces (purges), the country's old and new problems, which go on piling up, demanding a solution, the granting of bases to the U.S. Sixth Fleet, the increased military commitment to NATO and gross interference in the affairs of Cyprus all brought the junta's internal antagonisms into the open and led, in particular, to the dismissal of General Zoitakis, the Regent.

4. The junta's foreign policy is a policy of unquestioning support for U.S. and NATO plans in one of the most sensitive areas of the world where our country holds a strategic position. The U.S. imperialists are now strengthening this position of Greece by transferring forces to the Eastern Mediterranean as well and by increasingly turning our country into an imperialist bridgehead. This ex-

plains why the junta is being supplied with heavy arms and money, why permanent bases are being set up for the U.S. Sixth Fleet and industrial facilities provided to repair its ships and aircraft and manufacture guided missiles, and why military spending is growing to reach 15 billion drachmas by mid-1972. The bases, which are directed against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the Arab world, are aggravating the situation in the area. They are another grave step towards abolishing our national sovereignty and independence, a step fraught with deadly danger to our people and country.

The junta does its utmost to help the United States in implementing its plans aimed at imposing a NATO solution on Cyprus—dismembering the island and ending its independence—so that the imperialists may incorporate it in the system of U.S. and NATO bases. These plans were frustrated due to the resolute stand of the people and government of Cyprus and to firm Soviet support. However, the U.S. imperialists and the junta have not given up their plans and the situation remains tense and dangerous. Our Party comes out, now as in the past, against U.S. and junta intrigues and interference in Cyprus. It backs the fight for the national sovereignty and independence of the Cyprus Republic.

The facts have borne out our Party's estimation of the junta's foreign policy. The people must be constantly on guard to resist imperialist plans of involving our country in perilous ventures.

5. The junta's economic policy is geared to assisting foreign and domestic monopolies, which are granted new privileges and enabled to plunder the country's natural resources. The policy towards the working people is making their plight worse still: new taxes are imposed upon them, wages and salaries are frozen, farm produce is underpriced, the drachma is devalued and the working people's gains are steadily nullified. The junta's social policy is frankly anti-popular.

So is its financial policy. A huge part of appropriation under the budget, which already swallows one-third of the national income, goes to the oligarchy and foreign monopolies. Its deficit this year is expected to soar to 12 million drachmas and is to be met with new domestic and foreign loans. This explains the colossal increase in the public debt in the five years of the dictatorship.

The relative growth of material production is a result of ruthless exploitation of the working people. It is based on such precarious factors as foreign exchange brought into the country by private individuals, an increased foreign debt and greater foreign investment. At the same time, economic difficulties are mounting. The foreign trade deficit this year will be roughly \$1.5 billion. This

trend gives rise to new contradictions and new hazards for the country's economic future.

6. The anti-popular policy of the junta and its traitorous position on key national issues, the active and open backing given it by the U.S. imperialists and unrelenting struggle by the anti-dictatorial forces have fostered anti-dictatorial and anti-U.S. sentiment among the people. This is also due to a certain increase in the activity of our Party and other anti-dictatorial organizations and parties. The growth of this sentiment expressed itself in a somewhat greater number of popular actions and in differentiation processes among some bourgeois political forces leading to a certain, rather loose coordination of the fight against the dictatorship.

There is an upward trend in the people's economic struggles and in the campaign for a general amnesty, and almost all political forces are opposed to the fascist Constitution, the junta's policy towards Cyprus and the granting of bases to the U.S. Sixth Fleet. Furthermore, there are signs of differentiation in the armed forces, among the officers, and not only among those discharged by the junta but also among officers still on the active list. The front against the dictatorship is expanding.

The working class resists the sustained attack of the monopolies and the dictatorship on its standard of life and social gains, fighting for improvements in its condition. Its struggle takes the most diverse forms: slow-downs, refusals to work overtime, threats of strike.

The peasants uphold the fruits of their labor by holding conferences and open-air meetings, refusing to sell their produce at low prices and organizing protest marches on provincial capitals.

The middle strata are fighting to solve the problems of production premises and against higher taxes. More and more intellectuals, men of science and technology launch protest actions and militant campaigns for the solution of their problems, against the junta's obscurantist and reactionary policies.

The dictatorship tries to counteract popular action by new terroristic measures, through new arrests and banishments, new laws against demonstrators, new court sentences. All this shows how insecure the dictatorship feels, how false are its repeated declarations about "liberation" and how futile the hopes for a democratization of the regime cherished by some people.

The constitution and intensification of terror arouse increasing universal anger. The amnesty campaign and the international solidarity movement led to the release of the inmates of concentration camps.

7. There is a growing desire among the people for unity in struggle against the dictatorship. This is seen in joint actions in

the enterprises and ministries by wage and salary earners seeking solutions to their problems, in joint student struggles and in joint demonstrations for an amnesty by all population groups..

Our Party is concentrating on unfolding united action by the working people at grass roots. We need continuous, everyday effort to settle even the smallest questions in the factories and other enterprises, the countryside and working people's organizations, first of all the trade unions and cooperatives, wherever the atmosphere and conditions are favorable to use of legal opportunities and the launching of mass action. The "Leftist" and Rightist concepts that manifest themselves in this field make joint action against the dictatorship difficult. We must steadfastly combat them.

At the same time our Party perseveres in its effort for greater cooperation at a higher level. The past year has seen it make some headway in this direction as well.

The CPG calls on anti-dictatorial parties and organizations to cooperate at least on such issues as those of a general amnesty, the complete repeal of martial law—a measure for which leading spokesmen of the anti-dictatorial forces have already declared for their part—as well as problems of the working people.

The serious national problems accumulating as a result of the junta's anti-national policy, the working people's unity of action, the differentiation going on among some bourgeois party leaders, and the policy for unity consistently carried on by our Party all create new opportunities for unity at a higher level as well.

The CC approves the Political Bureau's relevant activity and stresses the need to expand it.

At the same time the CC notes the bourgeois party leaders' negative attitude to the CPG and their stubborn efforts to bar our Party from political life.

In proposing cooperation to other parties, our Party invites them to consider the minimum demands of its program which may prove acceptable to all opponents of the dictatorship. This minimum envisages joint struggle to overthrow the dictatorship and restore the people's sovereign right — when the regime has been overthrown — freely to decide by vote on the country's political system and the regime under which they are to live.

To ensure free expression of the people's will, it will be necessary upon overthrowing the dictatorship to form a government of anti-dictatorial parties and organizations. This government would fully repeal all emergency laws and provisions adopted before or after the establishment of the dictatorship and restricting the people's democratic rights and freedoms, specifically the laws 509 and 375, hold elections, guarantee the free functioning of all anti-dictatorial parties and organizations, the CPG included, restore the democratic functioning of trade unions and cooperatives and demo-

cratic elections to their leading bodies, immediately set all political prisoners free and grant a general political amnesty.

Our Party says again that it is willing to discuss proposals on united action from other parties.

8. The 16th Plenum of the CC CPG agrees with the Political Bureau's conclusions and estimations regarding the work done since the 15th Plenum.

9. The Plenum considers that the Party must concentrate on the following tasks:

(a) Strengthening and expanding illegal Party organizations by winning new members. This basic organizational and political problem is as acute as ever. The lag in its solution is due to the fact that most Party organizations are closed units, that their activity has yet to go beyond the propaganda stage, and that they do not concern themselves properly with the working people's problems and hesitate to admit to their ranks fighters who qualify. Special attention should be given to bringing in factory workers. Fulfilment of this task should become a concern of all branch organizations and leading committees of the Party.

(b) Underground Party organizations are not an end in itself but a base from which to unfold mass activity against the dictatorship. It is necessary to use all semi-legal and legal opportunities according to local conditions for work in mass organizations, the trade unions, cooperatives, educational societies, and so on.

(c) The CC stresses the great importance of selecting, promoting and educating Party cadre members. Along with the Party's old cadre members, new members have distinguished themselves in the five years of dictatorship. They are seasoned people experienced in underground work. Our Party must promote new cadre members in addition to the old. The main criteria in selecting and promoting people are loyalty to the principles and line of the Party, political experience and organizing abilities, knowledge of the methods of underground, secret work, a capacity for contact with the masses, and readiness fully to devote oneself to the Party's common cause.

(d) The main condition for preserving and developing our organizations is vigilance and continuous resistance to attempts by the secret police and other secret services to strike at the Party and its organizations. To fight against anti-Communist subversion and political provocation is the principal duty of all Party organizations, of the entire membership. We must launch a crusade against underestimation of secrecy, against infringements of secrecy rules by Party members. Illegal work must be based on the principle of decentralization, secrecy and vigilance. There are serious shortcomings in this field at all levels — from the branch organizations

to the CC and the Political Bureau. Party organizations and members must constantly study methods used by the secret police and perfect their own methods.

10. The CC stresses the need to step up Party work among emigrants by forming and building up Party organizations everywhere, with the primary object of unfolding action against the dictatorship in common with other anti-dictatorial forces, of helping to achieve greater international solidarity with our people's fight against the junta, of selecting and training Party cadre membership in a militant spirit.

One of the Party organizations' permanent tasks is to help the KNE (Communist Youth of Greece. —Ed.) by every means, so that it may form its organizations everywhere, unfold extensive activity among young working people and students, and become the organizer and leader of fighting youth and a real reserve force of the Party.

Party members in PAM (Patriotic anti-Dictatorial Front. —Ed.) must work to expand PAM and help it to step up its fight against the dictatorship according to the line of its CC.

This is also true of Communists active in ESAK (United Anti-Dictatorial Movement of Trade Unions.—Ed.).

The Party membership must help in expanding the movement of anti-dictatorial committees of Greek political exiles abroad and expatriate Greeks and in making the committees' Second Congress, now in preparation, a success.

Communists in EDA (Greek Democratic Left.—Ed.) committees are in duty bound to work for increased EDA activity against the dictatorship. The same holds true of Communists in EDA organizations abroad.

11. The CC stresses the need to intensify political and ideological work, set up the fight against Right and "Left"-wing opportunism, against every deviation from Marxism-Leninism, for closer unity of the Party.

FACING UP TO ISSUES IN COMING ELECTION

On May 27-28 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada met in Toronto to hear and discuss Party Leader William Kashtan's report on the coming federal election and the tasks of the Party. The meeting also heard an address by Norman Freed, editor of *Communist Viewpoint*, on the anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov. Fania Davis Jordan, Angela's sister, who was in Toronto for a public meeting also spoke to the session of the Cen-

tral Committee. William Kashtan's report was endorsed by unanimous vote at the meeting.

Following are extracts from Kashtan's report published in *The Canadian Tribune*, June 14, 1972.

The first section of William Kashtan's speech was devoted to the international situation, which is characterized by contradictory processes—moves toward detente and peaceful coexistence on the one hand and continued world tensions and U.S. aggression in Vietnam, on the other. He summed up this section by saying:

The growing crisis of imperialism leads the most reactionary circles to seek solutions by a drive against democracy at home and by adventures abroad . . .

In this situation, as the events in Vietnam illustrate, there is the need for the maximum of vigilance, the maximum escalation of the struggle for peace and the struggle for democracy, the ever present urgency of building working class and democratic unity so as to prevent imperialism from finding a way out of its internal contradictions through reaction at home and military gambles abroad. Developments in Canada cannot be seen apart from the framework of the deepening of the general crisis of imperialism, and the growing crisis of U.S. imperialism which it is trying to overcome at the expense of the working class and peoples of other countries, including the Canadian. This poses in all sharpness the necessity of revising economic and political relations with the U.S. and strengthening Canadian independence.

Turning to Canadian politics, W. Kashtan said:

Twenty-seven Communist candidates have already been nominated for the coming federal elections and efforts are being continued to reach the target of 30 we set for ourselves . . . to make an impact on Canadian politics, stimulate the labor and progressive movement, focus attention on the central issues of the elections, advance our alternative policies, and strengthen the progressive forces in and outside of Parliament.

The prospects for so doing are becoming increasingly favorable.

Dissatisfaction with the Trudeau government is growing, made public by a recent Gallup Poll which showed that support for the government has declined, with no appreciable gains for either the Conservatives or the New Democratic Party.

The most revealing feature of the poll was the high percentage of uncommitted voters—43 per cent to be exact.

Big Business has begun to look down its nose at the government because of its original bill on tax reform, on the competitions act, on the labor code and technological change, all of which it felt were unfavorable to it. The U.S. government has taken a critical attitude to the Canadian government's independent stance with

respect to the withdrawal of troops from NATO; its recognition of People's China; its efforts at establishing closer relationships with the USSR. The U.S. government was concerned with the possibility that the government, under pressure of the rising demand for Canadian independence, would curtail U.S. monopoly operations in Canada.

The government undertook a number of measures to correct this situation . . . It undertook a number of measures to strengthen the positions of monopoly at the expense of the Canadian people, the latest and most blatant being the budget. This budget gives cake and icing to the corporations, the U.S. corporations in the first place, in the form of a half-billion dollar giveaway program, while giving literally pennies, 72¢ per week in increased pensions to pensioners and veterans. Moreover this budget has a hooker to it. The Canadian people will be called upon to pay an additional 3 per cent personal income tax while corporation taxes are reduced.

While expressing concern in words about high unemployment, government policies are directed to aid monopoly, not create jobs for the unemployed.

The Trudeau government has been equally energetic in establishing a new atmosphere and a new image in its relationship with the U.S. government.

From a position in which it seemed to be developing an independent posture with respect to foreign policy, it has moved back to a position of whitewashing U.S. foreign policy. Instead of condemning U.S. military escalation in Vietnam with all its dangerous consequences, it has minimized the escalation, whitewashed it, and in the name of not "taking sides," become an echo of U.S. imperialist foreign policy. Indeed it seems to have returned to a position in which Canada's foreign policies are increasingly being coordinated with that of the USA, presumably in return for a lessening of U.S. imperialist economic pressure on Canada.

The capitulation of the Trudeau government to U.S. imperialist pressures with respect to foreign policy, peace and peaceful co-existence, finds its counterpart in the retreat of the government with respect to Canadian independence.

The turnabout by Trudeau on all fronts is at the same time a calculated and cynical ploy. The Trudeau government sees the Conservatives, not the NDP, as its main opponent in the coming elections, and is veering to the right so as to take the ground away from the Conservatives who have been attacking the government on precisely these issues.

We need the sharpest possible critique of the government and its policies. At the same time we should make clear as we do in our electoral policy statement that the alternative we strive for in

this election is not a Tory minority or majority government or a coalition on the right but the election of a large progressive bloc including Communists and NDPers who would constitute a genuine opposition to the policies of the government.

What stands out today as a main feature of Canadian politics is the sharp labor-capital confrontation.

The monopoly offensive against the working class has been stepped up as can be seen in Quebec, B.C., and Metro Toronto strikes and in numerous other struggles . . .

In response to this attack the workers are uniting their ranks and undertaking ever more militant forms of struggle in defense of their jobs, their living standards and trade union rights. The battle for jobs and for job security has become a major feature of working class action. Gainful employment, the right to work, has become a major issue for the working class and finds its reflection in the growing demand for the 32-hour work week with no reduction in take-home pay. Despite the efforts of governments to check the working class and push it back, despite the role of the Right wing in the labor movement, the unity, solidarity and class consciousness of workers is growing. This is a significant feature of the situation today.

A great and historic class battle is presently underway in Quebec which, starting as an economic struggle for a \$100.00 minimum wage, substantial wage increases, and for job security, has increasingly taken on the character of a major political struggle against the state and the parties of monopoly . . .

It is of great historic significance that the workers virtually took control of cities and towns like Sept Isles and Thetford Mines, took over countless radio stations, that the workers in the St. Therese GM plant could tell a junior executive of that company who had been stopped by the picket line and who inquired under what authority it had been done—"by the authority of the workers in Quebec."

These developments evoked fear in the hearts of reaction and its press which in effect, called for a bloodbath against the working people of Quebec. It evoked fear in the hearts of the Right wing in the NDP and trade union movement also.

The measures of solidarity taken by the CLC convention, by provincial Federations of Labor and countless unions throughout the country and by the National Farmers Union, point up the fact that the workers and farmers are becoming increasingly conscious of their responsibilities in the present critical situation.

The way forward at this stage in Quebec lies through a mass federated party of labor, open to all segments of the working class,

the NDP, the Parti Communiste du Quebec, the trade unions and other forces.

The Conservative Party is striving to take advantage of the growing disillusionment and disenchantment with the Trudeau government with the aim of shifting politics more to the right, and becoming a credible alternative of monopoly policies. Its programmatic positions reflect this as does the choice of its candidates. It is not accidental that the Conservatives are going out of their way to select candidates from the extreme nationalist and reactionary ethnic groups. The alliance they are building up is part of their objective of establishing an important electoral base for their reactionary program.

So far reactionary political groups have not coalesced. Notwithstanding, they constitute a dangerous reactionary current in Canadian political life.

The drive to reaction can be blocked by the united struggle of the workers and all democratic forces in defense of labor's rights. Indeed the necessity of a democratic coalition to counter and defeat these aims becomes an increasingly pressing and urgent task . . .

The opportunity for achieving this exists. It lies in the election of a large progressive bloc, including NDPers and Communists, to Parliament. It rests in the fact of a seeking for new policies and a turn away from the old line parties which is increasingly evident.

And yet in this situation of opportunity and challenge the prospects for major advance are endangered by the policies of the Right wing in the NDP who, in alliance with the Right wing in the trade unions affiliated to the NDP, have precipitated a crisis within the party. While the crisis centres in Ontario, it is countrywide in scope.

The aim of the Right wing is not directed to help the working class find a way out of the growing contradictions of capitalism at the expense of monopoly, but rather of helping monopoly resolve its contradictions at the expense of the working class, its jobs, standards and trade union rights.

If this situation is to change, if the NDP is to become part of a democratic coalition opening the doorway to genuine Canadian independence and to socialism, Right wing policy in the NDP and in the trade union movement need to be defeated. To accomplish this objective requires unity of the Left for genuinely socialist policies.

In any event the crisis within the NDP underscores again and again that if changes in the relationship of forces are to take place in the broad political arena, and in the democratic movement in the first place, the working class must be the driving force for such changes. This puts to the forefront the development of our

policy of industrial concentration whose aim must be over the next period of time, to have the unions become carriers of Left policies.

The CLC convention showed that our Party is not an isolated force. It is a growing force based on the correctness of its policies which the working class is increasingly recognizing as valid and necessary for their advance.

The essential element of our electoral tactic is thus the election of NDPers and Communists. One should note that we do not call for the election of the NDP as such but of NDPers. We believe the change is important in that it gives the Party more flexibility, and at the same time enables the Party to pursue a policy of differentiation towards the NDP, sharpening its criticism of Right wing policy in the democratic and labor movement while simultaneously pursuing a policy of struggle for united action.

In addition to the above views there are still some voices in the Party, feeble it is true, which suggest the Party only run a small number of candidates or none at all, and throw all its energy into the battle to elect the NDP. Experience however, has already shown us that such an electoral policy is self-defeating, in that it tends towards liquidationism in the Party, opens the door to unqualified and uncritical support of social democracy and social democratism, rather than a policy of conditional and critical support. This distorts the united front. There will be no united front electorally without a strong Communist Party, including Communist representation in Parliament, federally, provincially and municipally.

Moreover, our electoral policy is not only related to a particular election; it is an integral part of the struggle to bring into being a democratic coalition of which the Communist Party is a part. *The running of Communist candidates, irrespective of the vote, at a particular time, is therefore a decisive component of our overall strategy and needs to fit into it like a hand fits a glove.* At the same time our running is bound to stimulate the Left and progressive forces in the NDP, the trade union and farm movements, among the youth and women and thereby become an important part of the battle for unity of the Left.

In this regard one must say that while all the objective conditions are maturing for the realization of a democratic coalition, what is still lacking and hampering its development is the subjective factor, that is, the weaknesses in the democratic forces and the resistance of the Right wing in the labor and democratic movement to the formation of a untied front which includes the Communist Party.

The major factor in changing this situation and in bringing about a democratic alliance is the all-sided strengthening of the Commu-

nist Party. At the expense of repeating, it must be said again and again that there will be no united front without a strong and effective Communist Party which fights for it. There will be no change of relationship in the working class movement without a strong Communist Party rooted among the industrial workers. There can be no democratic alliance without a strong Communist Party including Communist representation in Parliament.

MAIN TASKS IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party held last May (see *Information Bulletin*, No. 12) discussed and adopted a document, "The Main Tasks in the Present Situation."

Its first section analyses the international situation, and the second section examines the fascist policy of Caetano's regime at home and abroad, showing the failure of the "liberal" demagogy, the intensification of repressions, its continuation of colonial wars in Africa, the drastic economic situation, growing dependence of the national economy on foreign capital, the attempts to associate the country with the Common Market and the intensified exploitation of the working class. The conclusion is drawn that the country's fascist regime is in crisis.

Below we offer extracts from the third section of the document.

PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

1. FRESH UPSURGE

The fresh upsurge of the popular struggle is a reply to the wave of repressions unleashed by the government in 1971. It means a signal success for the PCP, the working class, the youth and democrats. It means that though the government managed to contain the popular struggle through repressions, it could neither paralyze it nor impede its development. The repressions will not stop the struggle of the Portuguese people, just as demagogy had failed to achieve this purpose before.

Following the flare-up of repressions in 1971, the working people developed struggles for their demands. They called new strikes. Serious mass actions are taking place in the trade unions. There are big demonstrations against repressions, the colonial war and rising costs. Large-scale actions by the peasants point to the activation of their struggle. Democratic organizations are more active again.

Repressions call forth a struggle against repressions. The fight against the colonial war is assuming new, higher forms. The Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA), whose liquidation was announced by the government, has struck new telling blows. The cases of discontent are increasing in the armed forces. New initiatives are being taken by the working youth.

The students consolidate the unity of their associations and organize strikes. A Union of Communist Students (LCS) has been formed. Doctors and teachers organize serious actions. Dozens of cooperatives unite and resist the fascist attempts to liquidate them. The popular struggle is extending, and spontaneous mass outbursts are on the increase. . . .

The following characteristic features of these actions should be pointed out:

- a) broad participation of different classes and strata, comprising almost all anti-monopoly social circles;
- b) extreme diversity of the aims opposing the fascist policy in practically all spheres of social life;
- c) the swiftness and readiness with which the masses repulse the fascist policy and its concrete manifestations;
- d) higher level of organization and new forms of coordination and unity in struggle;
- e) growing interdependence between different social strata;
- f) the unitary character of struggle as a factor of success.

These features in their totality are a new sign of the narrowing-down of the social base of fascism, a sign of political radicalization of broad strata of the population, showing that the anti-fascist movement is developing as an anti-monopoly front. . . .

3. TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The emergence in recent years of a *broad, militant trade union movement* signifies a big success for the Portuguese working people, one of great importance for the working-class and mass struggle for vital rights and trade-union freedom, against capitalist exploitation and corporativism.

The creation of the trade-union movement on the basis of the national trade unions, involving broad masses, has fully corroborated the appraisals and policy of the PCP and refuted the Leftist talk about the impossibility of using fascist unions.

To block the development of the trade-union movement, the government launched a counter-offensive. It banned trade-union meetings and then, in June 1971, joint meetings of different trade unions. It placed a ban on meetings outside the premises of official trade-union centers, erected obstacles to the publication of union news-sheets and persecuted the trade union press. The government re-

sorted to threats and blackmail. It disrupted trade-union elections or rigged them and resorted to fraudulent practices. It forced the resignation of the leaderships of several unions (e.g., printers and drivers in Lisbon) on the very eve of elections in order to get them put off. On February 10 it promulgated the decree 51/72, erecting new obstructions to elections. The government widely employs pettifoggery and red tape (occasionally in the disguise of negotiations on collective agreements). It appoints administrative commissions (in place of the democratically elected union leadership. —Ed.), discharges, prosecutes in court, jails, tortures, tries and sentences the more prominent union leaders. The Right-opportunist and Leftist illusions about Caetano's intentions to grant union freedom have been dispelled.

Despite the repressions, broad actions continue, showing that the trade-union movement has struck deep roots among the masses and has trained well-tempered militants. Mass meetings are called to discuss collective agreements and other questions. In the Lisbon area, for example, there were meetings of 3,000 bank employees, 1,000 drivers, 1,000 dockers, 2,000 workers of the chemical industry and 450 telephone operators, a meeting of 1,400 steel workers of the Porto area and 1,500 steel workers in the Aveiro area. Successes have been scored in the struggle against administrative commissions, for the holding of *elections* and nomination of candidates enjoying the trust of their class. The *trade-union commissions* supported by the workers are waging a tense struggle for the interests of the working class and now and then hold joint meetings to coordinate their activity. Trade-union meetings in the National Institute of Labor, meetings of *union rank and file* have become effective forms of mass union action. Widely used are such forms as *collections of signatures to petitions, telegrams, circulars, information newssheets*. The resistance to repressions is an important indicator of the movement's vitality. The gains made by the unions of members of free professions contribute to the consolidation of the workers' trade union movement.

Those who have given in to intimidation and lost faith in the masses, who defend the capitulator liquidationist line and advocate passive submission to the government's arbitrary practices, intentionally restraining the struggle out of fear that it may be designated as "subversion," take the path of collaborationism. Some hold that we ought to give the union movement an exclusively underground complexion, create illegal unions and immediately clash with the government in the most unfavorable conditions and in the least opportune forms. The interests of the defense, continuation and development of the union movement require an uncompromising and firm struggle against such tendencies.

At the same time the working people must be on guard against

any "reforms" and restructuring in the unions intended to impede the election of leaders trusted by people and to make it difficult for them to defend their interests.

Work must be conducted in the following directions:

1) Mobilizing the masses for trade union action, preparing and holding meetings, collections of signatures, etc.;

2) Fighting against administrative commissions, demanding real elections, making thorough and timely preparations for them, putting forward candidates enjoying the trust of their class, electing and protecting such candidates, combining the nomination of candidates with the struggle for the demands of the class;

3) Maintaining close and constant contact between honest leadership and the masses;

4) Setting up inter-union cooperation in the forms most consonant with the requirements of the moment;

5) Forming trade union commissions closely connected with the masses and enjoying their support and confidence, as well as workers' groups;

6) Regularly calling membership meetings as a form of organization;

7) Steadfastly defending the principle of election of trade-union delegates;

8) Fighting for the trade-union right of young workers;

9) Fighting for broad union rights, against interference in union affairs and life and against repressions;

10) Establishing relations with the trade union movement in other countries and securing for the Portuguese working people lawful representation in the International Labor Organization.

The trade-union movement arose in 1969-1971 not at the will of Caetano but as a result of the courageous, hard and skillful struggle of the Portuguese working people. We should not forget this path development or this experience. The trade union movement of recent years can stand up to the repressions and develop independently due to the positions won and the broad mass support.

4. STRUGGLE AGAINST HIGH COST OF LIVING

The struggle against *high cost of living* has become especially appreciable of late. The big 40,000-strong demonstration in Porto on April 15 testifies to the hard conditions of working people caused by the growth of prices, to the deep popular discontent, the determination and ability of the masses to fight, given the correct leadership of the Party. The success of the demonstration showed that the Party's grasp of the mass sentiment, its ability to foresee the economic situation, its organizational work and agitation are of decisive importance.

The cost of living will continue to rise and is bound to lead to still more grave consequences due to the rise in military spending and continued fascist rule. The discontent will therefore spread to ever broader sections of the people. The masses must be organized and mobilized for a consistent struggle against this form of workers' exploitation.

5. THE PEASANTS' STRUGGLE

The *peasant actions* launched last year are a new important and significant factor.

The attempts to establish and unite cooperatives through which small producers seek protection from big landowners and the fascist corporative system and other numerous peasant actions show that the discontent of small agricultural producers is developing into a significant movement involving thousands of peasants.

The fact that the government failed to suppress the movement despite the use of the National-Republican Guard, threats, brutal repression, tax and police measures, shows the depth of peasant discontent with the fascist policy . . .

The ability to define the objects of struggle at every given moment, to use the most flexible organizational forms and find the appropriate forms of explanatory work and leadership of peasant actions — these are the priority tasks of the moment in transforming the as yet disunited peasant resistance into a broad movement extending to many regions of the country.

6. THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The *democratic movement* possesses a flexible organization that is being revived in the more important areas of the country. It retains its unitarian character and inspires movements for concrete aims, carries out diversified, though irregular, measures, its development differs from area to area and, as before, its aim is to achieve cooperation by areas and on the national scale. This helps to defeat fascist attempts, through demagoguery and repressions, to split and destroy the movement, to silence the democratic opposition, drive it underground and eliminate it altogether.

Despite the persecution and its underground existence, the democratic movement is strong enough to undertake broad political actions, both legal and semi-legal, to preserve and consolidate its unity, if it advances goals rallying the activists and if it overcomes the Right opportunist and Leftist trends that surface now and then. . . .

It is necessary to repulse the trends whose common feature is disbelief in the possibility of conducting legal and semi-legal

political work and which manifest themselves, on the one hand, in the calls to abandon work in the democratic electoral commissions, in the attempts to lead the movement astray towards the "near-political," cultural and socio-professional activity and, on the other, in the calls for an open "legalization" of the movement in outwardly radical and unrestrained phraseology, which does not help to explain problems, but rather gives the fascists a pretext for repressions and is bound, more than anything else, to drive the movement underground.

Extreme vigilance is required towards those who, while opposing the movement, strive to infiltrate its ranks in order to conduct subversive splitting activity in it. Especially dangerous are the trends towards "restructuring" the democratic movement on "new patterns," towards enlisting persons "disagreeing" with the regime and towards wooing those outside the democratic movement on the plea that the "Liberals" and SEDES are the "alternative" to fascism and the only "viable" or "possible" opposition. This tendency to shift the centre of opposition on to the "breakaway" elements of the regime is aimed at forcing the democratic movement to trail in the wake of the collaborationists and renounce its fundamental objectives, to split and eliminate it. This tendency must be resolutely combated.

The creation and development of democratic electoral commissions and the participation of thousands of activists who come from among the people and are connected with them has helped to forge *broad unity* welcomed by the masses and supported by them. The democratic movement, open to all anti-fascists without any discrimination and seeking joint action with all on concrete issues, mindful of the local differences, must firmly adhere to its goals, democratic methods of work, organization and decision-making, denouncing all forms of collaborationism. It must build up popular support.

7. THE 1973 FASCIST "ELECTIONS"

Preparation for the major political battle unfolding in connection with the 1973 National Assembly elections can become the starting point for reorganizing and activating the democratic movement and for a new upsurge in the struggle for basic freedoms.

We should work on the assumption that the government will draw the necessary lessons from its past political reverses, will stage a new election farce, with maximum restriction of democratic action, propaganda, organization and popular participation. There is also the real danger that "breakaway" groups and collaborationists will run their own candidates under an opposition label. Of course, this will be an expression of contradictions in leading quar-

ters, but the fascist regime might exploit this to proclaim this the only permitted "opposition," while the genuine democratic opposition will be declared "subversive" and denied all opportunities to run its candidates and take part in the election campaign.

Anti-fascists must from the very outset resolutely repel all opportunist attempts at collusion with this bogus opposition, all attempts to regard it as an ally in the election struggle.

That being the situation, urgent steps should be taken to marshal the democratic forces. The main lines of activity for the future are: exposure of fascism and the fascist "elections," propaganda in connection with the census, demands for legal organization and propaganda and for basic freedoms, vigorous resistance to all varieties of repression. The pressing task, however, is to extend and strengthen democratic organizations and intensify their activity.

As in 1969, the forthcoming elections might engender illusions. At the same time, an end must be put to Leftist pratter and blackmail, which some elements are employing in an attempt to divert the movement from political struggle during the election campaign or to sabotage that struggle.

The democratic movement is sufficiently strong and experienced and enjoys sufficient public support to play an independent role in Portuguese political life, mobilize the masses and launch a new major political battle in connection with the 1973 National Assembly "elections."

8. INDEPENDENT UNITARIAN MOVEMENTS

Independent unitarian movements pursuing their own specific aims, with their definite sphere of activity and organization, are of the greatest importance for the democratic opposition.

The campaign against repression and for the release of political prisoners has acquired impressive scope and strength. The National Political Prisoners Release Commission and its Support Committee represent a big national movement and enjoy wide support. Considerable success has been scored also by campaigns for release of prisoners, against the crimes of the PIDE-DGS*, against the "security measures," for the right to have a lawyer at all interrogations. The battle against repression is developing at public meetings, through petitions, judicial appeals, intensive agitation and other actions. It reached a new level during the July 1971 demonstration of 2,000 bank employees in Lisbon in protest against the arrest of Daniel Cabrita** and in December 1971 demonstrations in Moscavide (4,000 participants) and Sacavem (1,000 participants) against

*PIDE—the Salazar "State Defence Police," DGS (General Security Directorate) is its refurbished variant, the Caetano regime's political police.—Ed.

**President of the Bank Employees' Union.—Ed.

the arrest of persons collecting donations to the political prisoners' solidarity fund. Demands in the National Assembly for dissolution of the plenary tribunals,* against torture in jail, for an investigation of PIDE-DGS activities, etc., are a measure of the influence exerted by this popular movement on all sections, including the ruling element. . . .

Movements pursuing specific aims, organized along unitarian lines with autonomous structures and operating independently, are one of the most effective forms of promoting the struggle against fascism and for freedom. But they cannot replace the general democratic organizations fighting not for one or another partial aim, but for the fundamental political aims of the Portuguese people in the present political situation.

9. AGAINST COLONIAL WAR

The fight against the colonial war has become a priority battle-front against the fascist dictatorship. It assumes diverse forms and is developing along many lines.

The broad public movement for an immediate end to the colonial war, for negotiations with the lawful representatives of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique, recognition of their peoples' right to immediate and full independence, is winning increasing support. In defiance of all fascist bans, the anti-colonial forces have found legal, semi-legal and illegal forms of action. An immediate end to the colonial war is now a paramount demand of the people, and the unceasing agitation, through the press, leaflets, wall inscriptions, etc., is indicative of the scope of mass opposition.

Desertion and refusal to bear arms has become a genuinely mass youth movement of protest and resistance: many thousands desert or evade induction every year.

This mounting resentment plus *diverse forms of resistance within the armed forces* undermine the fascist discipline and combatability of the colonial army.

ARA actions, aimed directly against the colonial war machine, accord with the aspirations and demands of the masses. That is clearly evidenced by the general enthusiasm these actions arouse (this, however, does not apply to actions of the pseudo-revolutionary charlatans).

The struggle against the colonial war must be vigorously intensified along all lines.

The existing broad public movement can be converted into a dynamic movement of popular protest through *intensive agitation* (including the Party press) to expose war crimes, publicize casualty figures, indicating the number of wounded and maimed and their

*Special tribunals for "political" offences.—Ed.

attitude to the war, to expose the main perpetrators of the colonial war, its impact on all aspects of public life, encourage *desertion* and its *combination with revolutionary actions*; *organize protest demonstrations, passive resistance and insubordination in the armed forces*, stimulate actions expressly against the colonial war machine, use every opportunity — whether the dispatch of troops or a soldier's funeral — to give voice to the people's protest. Such are now the main tasks in the struggle against the colonial war.

10. ARMED ACTION

The founding of an independent organization, Armed Revolutionary Action, employing special forms of work is an event of immense importance in the fight against the fascist dictatorship and the colonial war. In saluting the courageous ARA fighters, the Portuguese Communist Party welcomes this new initiative and believes that the following are the basic conditions of its success:

- a) Its actions must be tied in with the broad public movement and should not impede, but rather help, the mass struggle;
- b) Careful consideration should be given to the political situation and possible changes;
- c) All action must be based on a correct appraisal of forces and possible results, and never on improvisation and impatience;
- d) Action must on no account become terroristic.

Backing this new trend, the CP warns that adventurist ideas surfacing in some anti-fascist groups materialize in actions that not only result in defeat for their initiators, but are also liable to discredit the revolutionaries and damage the anti-fascist movement.

Also, the fact that fascist propaganda is blaming the revolutionaries for the hardships of the population compels us to look out for possible fascist provocations performed directly or through agents who have infiltrated organizations close to the Party; all such provocations must be instantly exposed.

11 THE ARMED FORCES

Discontent is mounting in the armed forces. Acts testifying to anti-fascist sentiment and opposition to the colonial war — chiefly among soldiers and young officers — concern concrete problems. . . .

These acts have become more frequent and concern military units in different parts of the country; the facts show that discipline in the armed forces is being violated, and that the influence of the fascists is declining. Despite the complicated situation in Africa, cases of resistance have been recorded, such as the recent sit-down strike of sergeants in the Angolan military area.

Proliferating actions of this kind are undermining fascism's and colonialism's main pillar of strength, tending to sharpen the crisis of the regime. . . .

Organization and work in the armed forces is a prime task in combating the fascist dictatorship, because on the threshold of an acute revolutionary confrontation it is essential to command the support of a substantial part of the servicemen and to neutralize the rest. Desertions, particularly of officers, should therefore be viewed in the light of this objective.

Outright desertion, desertion to emigrate, though expressive of a definite protest, is, in the long term, by no means the best way of fighting fascism and colonialism. A revolutionary armyman should remain in the forces and continue his revolutionary activity, excepting when his freedom is directly imperilled.

12. STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The struggle against foreign imperialism is beginning to take the form of impressive actions. The strike in the Grundig plants and other workers' actions in foreign-controlled enterprises are evidence that the connection between the interests of the working class, the struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and Portugal's liberation from imperialist domination, is sinking in. We must emphasize the political implications. The anti-imperialist nature of the present stage of the revolution is not merely a theoretical point or propaganda theme. Apart from tireless agitation and explanatory work, we must seek and find practical forms of activity. Anti-imperialist sentiment should seize the masses and find expression in a popular struggle.

13. THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING YOUTH

. . . The movement of the working youth, unfolding in many different directions, is gaining strength — struggles are mounted for economic demands in enterprises and through the labor unions. Examples: the recent three-hour strike of apprentices in the CUF* enterprises in Barreiru; actions by youth commissions; participation in democratic organizations, e.g., youth commissions, especially active in the fight against repressions, and the like.

Despite the disparities between different parts of the country, and sometimes within the same province, these actions are largely the same everywhere; groups of activists working with the youth have extended their influence and are an important factor in building up the working-youth movement.

To assure growth of the movement, we must strengthen and expand flexible unitarian organizations open to the masses and addressed to them, operating semi-legally and, where possible, legally, and using methods suiting the conditions and the differences in objective and subjective factors.

*Giant Portuguese monopoly concern. —Ed.

The decisive part belongs to young workers in the Communist Party. Their part is doubly important in view of the imposing successes already attained and the broad outlook for revolutionary action and for organizing the working youth.

14. THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

The student movement has proved to be extremely viable. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fascist reprisals aimed at wiping out that student associations and suppressing the movement.

The massive participation of students in the elections in which the fascists no longer dare put up candidates, and the greater unitarian mood in the movement; protest strikes against the closure of student associations (in the law and linguistic departments of Lisbon University), in behalf of arrested students (in the medical department of Lisbon University), and for higher academic standards, and the like (in the agronomy department and in the Commercial Institute in Lisbon); mass actions by students in Coimbra University (capture of the Bastille*), against fascist provocations during the April 17 celebrations,** in the lyceums of Porto, and others; livelier *national cooperation* with the National Meeting of Medical Students; *solidarity actions* with students persecuted by the police — these are some of the more considerable facts since the beginning of the 1971-1972 academic year. . . .

To defend and assure the continuity of the student movement and, particularly, the student associations, we must carry on work with the masses, fight against repressions, strengthen bonds of cooperation and solidarity between different universities and educational establishments, expose anti-democratic procedures and frustrate the ultra-revolutionary phrasemongers' provocations and attempts to impose their will on the movement.

The founding of the *Union of Student Communists* is a big success. Defending and consolidating the organization, training cadres and conducting work with the masses, the Union should be able to attain the goals of its Declaration: "To develop the student movement for specific aims; unite, organize and mobilize the students for the big political objectives of the people of Portugal; strengthen ties between the student struggle and the struggle of the working class and the masses, and open up for the student movement a revolutionary perspective."

15. THE STRUGGLE OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA

The large-scale movement of doctors and upper form school

*Traditional name of movement for students' rights in the Republic (1910-1922).—Ed.

**April 17 is marked by progressives in Portugal as Students' Day. —Ed.

teachers, victories in the orders* and unions of the free professions, the broad cultural efforts being conducted in the most difficult conditions — all highlight the intelligentsia's democratic convictions, its discontent and activity. The brutal reprisals against doctors and also the attempts by the Ministry of Education to crush the teachers' struggle have shown the gap between the government and the intelligentsia.

The doctors' movement which has involved practically all the doctors at the St. May Hospital and Lisbon's civilian hospitals and also St. Joan and St. Anthony Hospitals in Porto culminated in the 1971 November strike and helped protect effectively the interests of this category of the intelligentsia, exposing the fascists' criminal policy in the health services and vividly demonstrating the progressive views held by the overwhelming majority of Portuguese doctors.

The teachers' struggle, widely supported by the people, takes the form of meetings and petitions signed by thousands of people and has achieved partial, but nevertheless important successes, such as summer vacations with pay. By uniting and opposing fascist repressions and intrigues of the opportunists and liquidators, the teachers will be able successfully to continue their struggle.

The conditions are favorable for large-scale mass action by the intelligentsia. . . .

10. PRESSING TASKS

The democratic forces of Portugal are faced with *three great tasks*.

First: to continue defending the gains of recent years without let-up and to develop on all fronts democratic action and the popular struggle for concrete goals:

1. *Defence of the vital economic interests of the working class, toiling masses, peasants, youth, women, classes and groups suffering from the fascist policy, which serves the interests of the monopolies and latifundists, i.e., the struggle for higher wages, against rising costs and the tax burden.*

2. *The struggle against repressions of any kind and for various concrete goals such as: release of political prisoners, opposition to "security measures," abolition of the PIDE-DGS, an end to tortures and obligatory presence of lawyers during interrogation, cessation of round-ups on the roads and in the public transport, searches and other measures aimed against the broad masses.*

3. *The right to free expression and information, repeal of censorship.*

4. *The right to association, freedom of activity for democratic organizations, i.e., defence of the trade-union movement, student*

*In the fascist corporative system certain unions of free professions are called orders, i.e., engineers, doctors, lawyers, etc.

associations and cooperatives and democratic management in all mass organizations.

5. *Against the colonial war and for its immediate termination* through negotiations with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) and the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), for recognition of the right of the peoples of Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique to full and immediate independence.

6 *Against foreign imperialism and for genuine national independence*, by exposing the government's foreign policy, demanding broader relations with all countries, including the socialist countries, by fighting against foreign enterprises exploiting the Portuguese people, against NATO and other military bases.

At plants and factories, in the fields and at the bench, in schools and the armed forces, in mass organizations and all spheres of national life the fascist policy must be combated and *resolutely repulsed* and offensives should be mounted wherever possible. A mounting struggle on all fronts and its growing unity will force the Caetano government to retreat in its policy of exploitation, terror, war and subordination to imperialism.

Second: Improve and steadfastly develop organizational work in all sectors of the struggle by strengthening and broadening all semi-legal methods, using and creating diverse legal organizations, strengthening and broadening underground organizations.

The anti-fascist forces have rich experience in organizational work in the conditions of the fascist dictatorship. But generally, the work of creating organizations, strengthening and developing them falls short of the present requirements of struggle. As for the revolutionary underground organization, in spite of the strength and efforts of the PCP there are serious shortcomings impeding the popular struggle and its development into a decisive battle to overthrow fascism.

One of the main conditions for victory is untiring, sustained, patient and courageous organizational work.

Third: Regardless of political differences, to unite in struggle all the people of Portugal who are ready to take action in order to put an end to the fascist dictatorship and the colonial war, so that the people of Portugal could achieve freedom, democracy, peace and genuine national independence. *To unite in the struggle for the pressing concrete goals all who are ready to participate.*

The weakness of the political organization of the anti-fascist forces (except for the PCP) greatly complicates realization of anti-fascist unity in the struggle for the goals that go beyond immediate tasks and could be the starting point for flexible legal and semi-legal unitarian organizations. These difficulties must be overcome as rapidly as possible in order that the anti-fascist movement could pro-

gress towards a revolutionary perspective. Constant and earnest cooperation of various political groups on a bilateral and multilateral basis is a necessary addition to the legal and semi-legal forms of cooperation which arise on the basis of unity without specifying the political affiliation of participants.

20. PROSPECTS

It is impossible to solve a single important national problem without first resolving two pivotal problems of the present political situation — *the absence of the most elementary freedoms and continuation of the colonial war.*

The Program of the PCP points out that the main goals at the present stage of the revolution are: to liquidate the fascist state and establish a democratic system; abolish monopolies and start general economic development; institute an agrarian reform and give the land to those who till it; raise the living standards of the working classes and people; democratic education and culture; liberate Portugal from imperialism; recognize the right of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies to immediate independence; implement a policy of peace and friendship with all nations.

Setting these goals before the Portuguese people, the Portuguese Communist Party stresses that *winning democratic freedoms and ending the colonial war* would be Portugal's *first big step* towards democracy, independence, social progress and socialism.

The existence of a fascist dictatorship, continuation of the colonial war, stubborn refusal by the ruling classes to grant the people elementary freedoms, reprisals in response to the just demands of the people, the threat to proclaim a "state of siege" and unleash a wave of terror at the very time when the existence of the dictatorship is threatened by the revolutionary struggle — *all this will inevitably lead to sharper class conflicts and a powerful movement by the democratic and popular forces against the fascist government. The government leaves the Portuguese people no alternative except an armed uprising.* The anti-fascist forces must work courageously with this prospect in mind.

While working to develop the popular struggle towards realization of urgent tasks, taking advantage of all possible legal and semi-legal work and organizations and conducting extensive work among the people, it is especially important to expand underground and revolutionary methods of work and organizations, stepping up work among the armed forces and other branches of the government apparatus, organizing a conscious and tempered political army closely connected with the masses, enjoying their support and capable of waging decisive battle.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

APPEAL BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE DRV

On July 15 DRV President Ton Duc Thang issued an appeal on the 18th anniversary of the signing of the 1954 Geneva agreements.

The following is a summary released by the Vietnam Information Agency.

During the past 18 years the American imperialists, flagrantly violating the 1954 Geneva agreements, have constantly encroached on our independence and sovereignty and waged an unprecedentedly brutal colonial war in order to turn South Vietnam into a new-type colony and an American war base.

At present the American imperialists have mobilized the largest air and naval forces since the start of the war and are constantly bombing and shelling both zones of our country. In violation of international law they are mining and blockading ports of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign state, carrying out destructive raids on densely populated areas, cities and the capital Hanoi, destroying dams, hydrotechnical installations, economic objectives, schools, hospitals and kindergartens, and killing our compatriots.

The U.S. government claims it "strives for peace" but has brought the war in Vietnam to a higher level of brutality than ever before. It announces that it is prepared to withdraw American troops while actually keeping "residual troops" in South Vietnam and simultaneously building up U.S. troop contingents based on the ships of the Seventh U.S. fleet and air bases in Thailand for savage attacks against Vietnam and other Indochinese countries. The U.S. government professes to respect the right of the people of South Vietnam to self-determination but imposes a puppet administration on them in the hope of realizing American neo-colonialism in the South of our country.

The appeal speaks of the heroic feats of the South Vietnamese patriots led by the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese patriots firmly hold important positions, frustrating all enemy attempts for counter-offensive and considerably increasing the liberated areas. Ton Duc Thang noted the heroism of the DRV troops and all the working people who give a fitting rebuff to the American aggressor and devotedly develop production.

Escalation of the war against the DRV, the appeal says, has not changed the critical position of the American interventionists and Thieu in South Vietnam. The "Vietnamization" policy is still threatened with complete bankruptcy.

The American aggressor should be made to understand that the people of Vietnam are a profoundly peaceful people but they desire peace in independence and real freedom. Vietnamese affairs should be dealt with by the people of Vietnam themselves without any foreign interference.

The United States government must fully respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination. Such is the correct path allowing the United States to withdraw from this war in Vietnam which has cost it so much in manpower and material. Such also, is the desire of the people of America and the whole world.

As long as the American imperialists continue their aggression in Vietnam, the people of Vietnam, closely united and realizing the behest of Ho Chi Minh will continue struggling against the aggressor, defending the independence and freedom of their homeland. In this struggle our people enjoy the broad sympathy and support of all progressive humanity.

On behalf of the people of Vietnam Ton Duc Thang expressed sincere and deep-felt gratitude to the fraternal socialist countries, the governments, political and public figures, organizations and peoples the world over, including the people of America.

The Appeal continues: "I call on brothers and friends throughout the world to condemn this criminal war of the American imperialists against the people of Vietnam and to do all in their power to stop this war and demand that the United States immediately stop bombing the DRV, mining and blockading its ports, discontinue "Vietnamization," withdraw all U.S. and allied troops from South Vietnam and conduct serious and positive negotiations for adoption of the seven-point proposal advanced by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, with the specification of two key points."

10 YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LESOTHO

Ten years ago on May 5, 1962 the Communist Party of Lesotho was born as a party of the working class of Lesotho and a detachment of the International Communist Movement.

The party was founded in the aftermath of great changes in Afri-

ca and the world. The movement against colonialism for freedom and independence which had reached a climax in Africa Year 1960, was still in full swing. The working class in the developed capitalist countries was waging bitter struggles for progress and a better life. Above all the World Socialist System, the chief creation of the working class movement, was growing in strength and had the decisive factor determining the main current of events in our time.

The Statement by 81 Communist and Workers' Parties meeting in Moscow in November 1960 has analyzed the situation confronting the peoples of the world and defined the main characteristics of the epoch. The three main components of the world revolutionary process were described as the World Socialist System, the struggle for a better life of the workers in the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of the world.

At the outset the Communist Party of Lesotho, which then operated in a British Colony, had raised the demand for independence. The first program adopted by the Party stated that the independence of Lesotho was essential if further progress was to be made. The party considered that the aim of the party should be to build a united front of all patriotic and progressive forces to fight for the achievement of independence. The Party's immediate objective was to create an independent state of National Democracy as a step on the road to a Socialist Lesotho.

Because of the dire economic situation in Lesotho after ninety years of British rule, and the fact that the country was an enclave wholly surrounded by the territory of racist South Africa, many people even among progressive sections were sceptical of the demand for independence. In fact the main national movement in the country embarked on a vicious campaign against the Communist Party for raising this demand.

But the growing militancy of the people which had been exemplified in the general strike of March 1961 in Maseru—the capital of Lesotho—forced the whole country to take up the cry of independence. The Party at that stage warned the nation that independence for Lesotho could not be consolidated unless there was a strong alliance and unity with progressive forces in South Africa, Africa and the world.

Whilst vigorously asserting its rights to put forward the independent class demands of the working class the CPL also consistently fought for unity of all the progressive forces in Lesotho. The party waged an ideological struggle against the reactionary clerical forces of the powerful Catholic Church of Lesotho who were doing

everything to hamper the struggle for independence by raising the banner of anti-communism.

By 1965 the pre-independence elections were held in Lesotho. Unfortunately, the Congress Party, the Marematlou Freedom Party and the CPL did not present a united front at the elections. Thus, although they received 56% of the votes they won 29 seats out of 60 in the national assembly. The National Party with the support of the Catholic Church and South Africa had received 41% of the votes cast but won 31 seats. The reactionary Chief Leabua Jonathan became Prime Minister and Lesotho entered a dark period in its history. The British imperialists were swift to concede independence now that the National Party had come to power.

Many people even within the young CPL were dumbfounded at the results of the election and as a reaction cast doubt on the policy of united front. They put forward an ultra-left go-it-alone policy for the Communist Party. The logic of the policy was the absurd conclusion that the reactionary National Party was better than such royalist parties as the Marematlou Freedom Party which supported the King and opposed Apartheid and domination by South Africa. The inner-party conflict was resolved at the third Congress of the CPL which reaffirmed the policy of a front of progressive parties against the policies of Leabua Jonathan. Life had amply borne out the correctness of the stand taken by the healthy elements in the CPL.

The five years from 1965 to 1970 saw the entry of South African officials into Lesotho to supervise all aspects of life, British and South African firms were encouraged to exploit the mineral resources of Lesotho. The people were driven out of the diamond fields in Mokhotlong and the international Rio Tinto Zinc company was brought in. Anton Rupert the head of the Rembrandt Tobacco Co. (the largest in the world) became economic advisor to the Lesotho government. The government of Lesotho became the chief apologist of South African policies in international forums. In all aspects of the economy which benefit people Lesotho stagnated and made no progress whatsoever. The country continued to be a big exporter of labor to the mines and industries of South Africa and no effort was made to find employment for Lesotho inside their own country.

In 1970 the National Party full of confidence once again called for a general election. Members of the ruling party and their supporters in South Africa were freely predicting the victory of the National Party and the elimination of the opposition. To the utter consternation of the reactionaries they lost the elections. As the results continued to pour in, Chief Leabua Jonathan declared a state of emergency and announced the discovery of a plot by the

Communist Party to overthrow the government. The CPL was declared illegal and thousands of people were arrested, including many Communists. The constitution which the National Party itself had drawn up was annulled. In the conflicts which followed the Police led by a British officer called Roach, killed many innocent people. The King of Lesotho was banished to Holland. South Africa had played a major role in the organization of the coup which would never have succeeded otherwise.

The CPL was convinced that the people of Lesotho would never tamely submit to the dictates of the Leabua Jonathan group. The literature of the Communist Party was burnt in huge bonfires organized by the authorities. These absurd antics did not deter the Party which did not accept the ban but continued its work underground in spite of all difficulties of operating in a small country with a population of only one million.

To counter their almost total isolation from the people the National Party has now embarked on a policy of so-called "reconciliation." The detainees have all been released. A flood of demagoguery has been let loose to convince the people that the government is anti-Apartheid and is for freedom in South Africa. The King was returned from banishment. The notorious British Commissioner of Police has been dismissed and sent back to his country. The State of Emergency, however, still remains in force and constitutional liberties remain annulled.

The CPL as a party of a new type will continue to fulfil its obligations to the people of Lesotho and to the international working class and progressive movement. True to its international character the party has consistently upheld the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Despite the incredible difficulties of travel from a Lesotho surrounded by South Africa, the CPL has participated in the preparations for and attended the Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties held in Moscow in June 1969. The CPL has held high the banner of Proletarian internationalism and taught the people of Lesotho love for the Socialist Motherland—the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries.

Like the rest of the international Communist movement the CPL experienced the ravages caused by the Chinese who interfered in the affairs of Lesotho and were responsible for much confusion and disunity. The activities of the Mao Tse-tung group caused much harm to the progressive cause in Lesotho. The CPL, is not surprised that the ultra-revolutionary slogans of the Chinese have led inevitably to the rapprochement with the United States imperialists.

Throughout the first ten years of its life the CPL has always been able to count on the unstinted support of the Soviet Union in the first place and all the other socialist countries. Although our

country is insignificant in world strategic terms, the Soviet Comrades have been consistent in their assistance to all our people.

Both friend and foe in Lesotho are fully aware of the close ties between the CPL and the CPSU. This friendship has sustained party comrades and all progressives during the privations suffered since the coup d'état in 1970.

Ten years in the life of a party and of a people is a very brief period. But already it can be said that the CPL has struck root and is producing battle steeled cadres who will resolutely continue the fight for national democracy and Socialism in Lesotho.

Central Committee C.P.L.

TOPICAL QUESTIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY

A meeting of Party activists of central Party organs and leaders of other state and public organizations was held in Warsaw on June 16 under the chairmanship of Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. It discussed topical questions of foreign policy and economic and ideological-educational work.

The meeting heard and discussed the following reports:

"Topical Questions of Foreign Policy and Tasks in the Sphere of Foreign Policy" by P. Jaroszewicz, member of the Politbureau of the CC PUWP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers;

"Current Economic Tasks in Industry, Agriculture, Planning and Management" by M. Jagelski, member of the Politbureau of the CC PUWP and Chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers;

"Main Tasks of the Ideological-Educational Work" by J. Szydlak, member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC PUWP;

"Ideological-Educational Work — an Important Factor of Socio-Political Development," speech by E. Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP.

Full texts were published in the Party's theoretical and political journal *Nowe Drogi*, No. 7, 1972.

Below we publish an extract from P. Jaroszewicz's report dealing with the topical questions of Poland's foreign policy.

Turning to the results of President Nixon's visit to Warsaw, I would like to draw your attention to the following.

In keeping with the strategic objectives of the policy of the socialist community we strove for the confirmation of the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, which the United States was at last compelled to accept during the

negotiations with the Soviet Union, also in relation to Poland, a permanent and active member of the Warsaw Treaty. We hold that this aim has been achieved. This can be seen from the concluding communique. At the same time we reaffirmed to President Nixon the invariable and unchanged character of socialist Poland's foreign policy. The central place in the political talks was occupied by the problems of European security and cooperation. We stated in detail our position on the German question and on the question of convening the European conference on security and cooperation. Judging from the talks it can be said that positive changes have taken place in the U.S. position. We attribute this first of all to the talks in Moscow. President Nixon appears to understand that the existing politico-territorial reality in Europe is irreversible and that only by recognizing this fact is it possible to find a realistic solution to problems now and in the future. In this connection the Polish side specially stressed the necessity of recognizing the GDR under international law and admitting both German states to the UN.

In the present political situation in the FRG, the support given by the President of the United States to the treaties between the Soviet Union, Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, including his support for the decisions contained in our treaty on the recognition of the final charter of the boundary along the Oder and Neisse, has substantial political importance. Equally important is the stand taken by the U.S. in connection with the European conference on security and cooperation; it shows that the U.S. can no longer oppose the preparations for the conference. These important questions have also found expression in the joint communique.

There was complete divergence of views on the Indochina conflict: both its origin and present state and the ways of resolving it.

Important place in the talks with President Nixon and his aides was given to bilateral relations.

The political position and sentiments of the numerous U.S. citizens of Polish origin, many of whom keep alive relations with the country of their fathers, are by no means indifferent to us. We hold that the consular convention signed in Warsaw with the United States, apart from the legal functions usually performed by the instruments of this kind, will also contribute to positive changes in the attitude of the U.S. citizens of Polish extraction towards our country. We also expressed our agreement with the setting up of the U.S. consulate in Cracow in return for the establishment of our consulate in New York.

We stressed that we regard the extension of economic and scientific-technical cooperation as an important direction in the

development of relations. We pointed to the factors on the part of the American side impeding the development of trade and economic cooperation and also to the embargo and restrictions in licensing and the disadvantageous credit situation. We raised the question of arrears in grain deliveries in 1957-64.

Just as in Moscow, agreement was reached on setting up a Polish-American trade commission, and an agreement was announced on scientific, technical and cultural cooperation.

We stressed most emphatically the need for the American side to remove the vestiges of the cold war, notably subversion propaganda centres such as the Free Europe radio station. We produced documentary proof that its activity runs counter to the tendency towards detente in Europe and is in obvious contradiction with the positive development of bilateral relations between our two countries. We hope that our arguments will have their effect on the position of the U.S. government. State Secretary Rogers said, among other things, that it is not unlikely that the question of the Free Europe radio station will be solved in the context of the entire complex of problems related to the European conference on security and cooperation.

In our talks with President Nixon we proceeded from our political position and acted within the framework of the policy of the socialist community. In this way we contributed our share to the success of the foreign policy of the entire socialist community, with the result that Poland's weight in the world has grown and its international prestige has gone up.

Summing up, it should be said that we regard as one of the most important objectives and results of President Nixon's visit to Warsaw the growing opportunities for bilateral cooperation between Poland and the United States in the context of recognition by the U.S. President of Poland's fundamental position as an unshakable ally of the Soviet Union and member of the socialist community.

Comrades, acting in the interests of peace and security, above all in Europe, and advantageous bilateral relations we undertake various political and diplomatic steps.

The visit to our country of Comrade Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CC CP of Cuba, was extremely important. We exchanged views on a number of international problems and acquainted the Cuban comrades with our home and foreign policy and economic development. The visit substantially contributed to a deepening and expansion of political and economic relations between our countries. This purpose was also served by preliminary talks with Comrade Gierek and the talks between the delegations of the two sides, as well as by Fidel Castro's trip across the country and the talks in a narrow circle held at the end of the visit.

The Cuban comrades were everywhere accorded a warm reception expressing feelings of brotherhood and solidarity. Our talks with Comrade Fidel Castro were warm and friendly. In compliance with Comrade Castro's wish, the talks touched mainly on the questions related to the appraisal of the international situation. We acquainted the Cuban comrades with our position, stressing full concordance of our foreign policy with the policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Europe. We informed Comrade Castro of our views on the situation in Europe and the normalization of Poland's relations with the FRG and of our talks with President Nixon in Warsaw. For our part we strove to create during the visit the most favorable atmosphere for further development of Polish-Cuban relations. We believe that the visit was highly useful, that we presented our views to each other in a Party spirit, thereby contributing to the strengthening of the internationalist policy conducted by the Soviet Union, Poland and the socialist community.

This is evidenced by several statements which Comrade Castro made during meetings and at a farewell party. In them he made friendly and sincere references to our policy. Noteworthy was the great respect with which Comrade Castro spoke of our people and their gains. The same feelings were expressed in the farewell message.

Comrades, we hold an invariable and consistent stand on the question of the war in Vietnam and the situation in Indochina. I would like to remind you that the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam and other peoples of Indochina has always been near and well known to us because ever since the signing of the Geneva agreements of 1954 Poland has participated in the International Commission for Supervision and Control in the Countries of Indochina. Our Party, government and our entire society have proved and continue to prove their solidarity with the fighting Vietnamese people and other peoples of Indochina.

Now as always, we express our full support for the people of Vietnam who are fighting today with rare devotion for their freedom, independence and socialism. The offensive of the liberation forces launched at the end of March of 1972 has revealed the weakness of the Saigon regime and destroyed the myth of the so-called "Vietnamization" in South Vietnam. It has shown that this regime rests above all on the military aid of the United States.

We support and will continue resolutely to support the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and help it in its struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. We regard as just and fully support the proposals of the DRV and the Republic of South Vietnam for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Vietnam and demand a resumption of the Paris peace talks without delay.

We are confident that the progressing trend towards detente will also contribute to a peaceful settlement of the war in Vietnam and throughout Indochina.

Comrades, in a few days we are going to welcome Comrade Josip Broz Tito in Poland. His visit will be a further step towards deeper friendly relations with socialist Yugoslavia, one more manifestation of our activity on the international arena. Many other projected visits and meetings will also prove this.

Implementing in practice the principle of peaceful coexistence and cooperation, we strive to activate and raise to a higher level bilateral relations with a number of capitalist countries.

We attach special importance to the development of the traditional friendly relations with France. We are convinced that the visit of Comrade Edward Gierek to France in October this year will play an important role in strengthening cooperation between the two countries, firming up security in Europe and developing mutually advantageous cooperation, first of all in the economic sphere. We attach much importance to the development of relations with the Scandinavian countries. The positive results of our activity allow us to expect that these countries will become important and good partners in economic and political cooperation. Relations with this region will be promoted by the visit to Sweden this autumn of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and other meetings of political figures of the two sides.

A certain improvement has been registered of late in our relations with Great Britain, our important economic partner. If this trend in our relations persists, conditions will arise for the visit to Poland of Prime Minister Heath and Foreign Minister Home, in which the British side is interested.

We also maintain political contacts and expand cooperation with Italy, Belgium, Austria and other West European countries. Further visits and top-level meetings are envisaged.

We give growing attention to non-European countries. We will strive for broader economic cooperation with Japan. We are normalizing relations with Australia. Friendly relations with India and Bangladesh are growing deeper. Opportunities are being studied for enlivening our relations with a number of other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We will work still more actively in the UN in which the representative of Poland will be the chairman of the General Assembly this year, and in other international organizations.



FRIENDLY MEETING OF HEADS OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES*

A meeting of the heads of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries on a short vacation in the Soviet Union, was held in the Crimea on July 31, 1972.

The participants: First Secretary of the CC BCP and Chairman of the PRB State Council T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC HSWP J. Kadar, First Secretary of the CC SUPG E. Honecker, First Secretary of the CC MPRP and Chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC PUWP E. Gierek, General Secretary of the RCP and Chairman of the SRR State Council N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the CC CPSU L. I. Brezhnev, Member of the Politbureau, CC CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet N. V. Podgorny, and General Secretary of the CC CPC G. Husak.

A fruitful exchange of opinions took place on the progress of socialist and communist construction and further development of all-round cooperation among the socialist states. Also discussed were topical international matters.

The meeting of the heads of Communist and Workers' parties was marked by complete mutual understanding and unanimity on all matters discussed, and passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Also participating in the meeting were Secretary of the CC CPSU K. F. Katushev, members of the CC CPSU A. A. Gromyko and K. V. Rusakov, ranking official of the CC CPSU A. I. Blatov, Member of the CC PUWP Secretariat R. Frelek, Member of the CC BCP B. Balev, Member of the CC RCP K. Mitea, and Member of the SUPG Central Auditing Commission W. Eberlein.

*Pravda, August 1, 1972.

FROM THE PARTY PRESS

IRELAND: WORKING CLASS UNITY THE KEY*

James Stewart

Assistant General Secretary, Communist Party of Ireland

Whitelaw has not in any way extended democracy in Northern Ireland, that is fully apparent after the events of this week.

Whitelaw talks of democracy, the Unionists talk of democracy, but the people of Northern Ireland are as far from getting it as ever—and they never will if they allow themselves to be divided by the blind sterility of sectarianism.

One thing also is certain—they will not get it handed on a plate by Ted Heath's Tory Rep. Willie Whitelaw. Like the workers of the Clydeside, the miners, the railwaymen, the dockers, they will have to fight in unity.

The breaking of the Provisional IRA's truce is to be deplored. At the same time, it must be realized that to the anti-Unionist forces it was quite clear that the British Army was not acting impartially.

Whitelaw, through parleying with the UDA leaders, had given the indication that he was allowing himself to be pressured by the Right-wing.

The unfortunate thing about the breaking of the truce is that it once again puts political life here on to a military plane. It obscures the issues to be fought for and makes more difficult the mobilization of the masses. It divides the working class and strengthens the organizations of the Right, and in so doing increases the danger of a sectarian civil war.

It is to be hoped that the Provisional IRA will find a way toward re-establishing a truce. Whitelaw on his side must immediately release all internees and end the policy under which troops raid anti-Unionist areas and harass the people of Northern Ireland.

Equally, the UDA, which this week has claimed several times that it is a non-sectarian force, should give proof of this by taking action against the Right-wing murder gangs, who reached a new low this week with the murder of a 14-year-old mentally retarded boy and the shooting and multiple rape of his mother—an aspect

*Morning Star, July 15, 1972.

of political violence Ireland has not seen for several centuries.

The crisis can be taken out of the present situation by the Westminster Government declaring categorically its intention of passing a Bill of Rights through Parliament at Westminster as the basis for democracy in the North.*

As was stated in the Communist Party of Ireland statement on the Twelfth, the day of the Orange** parades: "The Communist Party rejects both the Whitelaw proposition for a plebiscite on the question of union with Britain and the Lynch proposals for a united Ireland.

"Both are divisive propositions that can divide the working people of Ireland under present conditions.

"What is needed instead, and to be tackled immediately, are the issues of democratic government and equal rights, unemployment, inadequate housing, and the hazards of the Common Market, which all stem from the common policies of the Heath and Lynch Governments, and which threaten the working people of all Ireland."

The Communist Party calls on both sections of the working class to clearly examine their class interests, to ask themselves what are the policies which will provide them with democratic rights, with adequate jobs, housing facilities, education for their children, with everything working people, no matter what their religion, need.

Policies and actions which divide workers cannot create a movement capable of forcing these demands on the rulers of Northern Ireland.

What is really required now is the realization by both sections of the working class and the organizations which claim to represent them of the need to unite around a program for the democratization of the North.

A program that can be the basis for a united movement which can create the conditions for a progressive and democratic government in the North.

Whitelaw has talked much of providing jobs, overcoming our unemployment, among the worst in Western Europe. He has made many promises but has done little by way of concrete action.

It is obvious to anyone that a public relations job is being carried out in that a few large monopolies are being, or are about to be,

*Ignoring the demands for democratization, the Heath government sent more troops to Northern Ireland on July 31 on the pretext of "fighting the terrorists" and launched large punitive operations against the Catholic districts in a number of towns. Tanks instead of democratic reforms was the reply of the Tory government.—Ed.

**The Orange Order —a reactionary Protestant organization founded in 1795 to fight the Catholics.—Ed.

heavily subsidized out of British public funds by the Tory Government.

This will not answer the basic problem in the Northern Ireland economy, which is that of domination by British and other foreign monopoly firms, which results in the export of profits and the starvation of capital for economic development within the area, in its turn perpetuating the high unemployment and lower average earnings than in Britain, and in stocking the increasing emigration of skilled personnel.

What is essential is the establishment of publicly owned industries based on local resources and under local control.

Instead of the injection of public money into International Computers Ltd., and the Harland shipyards while they remain in private hands our immediate demand is that they should be brought under local public ownership, getting full financial support.

Around these basic demands our working-class movement can be united, trade union organizations strengthened, and the working class can begin to play a decisive and determining role in the future of Northern Ireland. Until that happens there will be no hope for democracy here.

COMMENT* FROM WASHINGTON NO COMMENT FROM PEKING

A scrimmage is in progress in the USA over basic issues of foreign policy—chiefly the arms problem and the aggression in Indochina.

The South Vietnamese National Liberation Forces and the courageous defenders of the DRV have upset the Pentagon strategists' plans to impose imperialist diktat on the people of Vietnam by escalating the barbaric air war. The U.S. bombing of civilians and dams, mining of DRV harbors and use of chemical weapons and means of "meteorological" warfare are all indignantly condemned by world public opinion.

The resumption on July 13 of the quadripartite Paris negotiations on Vietnam has triggered a fresh round of debates on U.S. policy in Indochina. The military-industrial complex and the Pentagon generals form an extreme Right coalition to sustain the policy of militarism and aggression. They oppose all reasonable steps to relax international tension. However their posture is considerably weakened by the changes in American public opinion, as reflected in the

*Pravda, July 16, 1972.

views of the more farsighted U.S. politicians. So, the Pentagon is searching desperately for new allies and new arguments.

Support came recently from an unexpected quarter. Congressmen Boggs, Democrat, and Ford, Republican, returned from China, which they visited on the invitation of Chou En-lai.

No sooner than they arrived, they told reporters at the airport of their impressions.

Boggs referred to "serious concern" among Chinese leaders of a possible continued "Soviet arms build-up (sic!) and American disarmament (?!)." And Ford declared in so many words that the Chinese do not want the United States to withdraw from the Pacific and regard such a move as premature. Later, the two Congressmen again stressed Peking's fear of a "vacuum" in the event the United States decides to pull out of Southeast Asia and other regions.

Pentagon is naturally, exploiting this priceless comment brought from Peking: you see, Chou En-lai himself is advising the United States to continue the arms race and to stay in Asia. You have Asians and Asians. Not all of them condemn American interference in the affairs of other nations, barbaric plans, the operations of Pentagon generals, and the military-industrial complex demanding more and more billions to make the latest means of mass annihilation.

One cannot help observing that Peking did not see fit to deny the utterances of the American congressmen. No comment from Peking.

I. Aleksandrov

SPEECH* BY L. I. BREZHNEV

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro,

We are very happy to greet you and the Cuban comrades who came with you—envoys of the heroic Island of Freedom. The Republic of Cuba is divided from our country by many thousands of kilometres, by seas and oceans. But it is near and dear to the heart of every Soviet man. Greeting you as welcome guests, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Soviet Government are confident that this new meeting of ours with you will strengthen still more the unity of our Parties and the friendship of our peoples who are linked by bonds of fraternity and community of ideology and aims.

*Pravda, June 28, 1972.

You know well, dear friends, that our multimillion Party and the Soviet people cherish the warmest feelings for fraternal Cuba, and for the cause of the Cuban Revolution, the first socialist revolution on the American continent.

We know of the splendid traditions of several generations of Cuban revolutionaries. The battle, inspired by José Martí, against the Spanish conquerors, the years of struggle against American imperialism, the militant manifestations of the Cuban proletariat, the legendary storming of Moncada, the Granma landing, and the Sierra Maestra epopee—all this belongs not only to Cuban history.

The Cuban Revolution is not an ordinary event. Truly vivid chapters in the annals of the world liberation movement are connected with it.

In the near future, the Cuban people, and together with them the peoples of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, will mark the 14th anniversary of the existence of the new socialist state, the Republic of Cuba. The revolutionary transformations carried out in these years have radically changed the face of Cuban society and made it possible to unfold the creative abilities of the workers, peasants, and people's intelligentsia. A reliable foundation is being created for the development of economy and culture, for the transition to new stages of socialist construction.

We know from our own experience that there are no easy ways in revolution. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of our Party and the great leader of the world proletariat, had time and again pointed to the complexity of the revolutionary work which begins after the passing of power into the hands of the working class and its allies. This is the work of setting up a new system of administration of society, organizing a planned socialist economy, uplifting economy and on this basis improving the life of the working people. Fundamental transformations of social relations and the education of the new man call for day-to-day persistent effort and concentration of all the intellectual and physical forces of the people. These responsible tasks have to be solved while conducting a tense struggle against a strong class enemy, and for you this means struggle in immediate proximity to the biggest imperialist power.

Regarded by themselves in isolation from the international situation, all these difficulties might seem to be insurmountable. But the point is that the birth and victory of a socialist revolution now proceeds in conditions when socialism has become the dominant trend in the development of mankind. Socialist Cuba is not alone; she is a solid integral part of the socialist world system. Her international positions, her interests and security are reliably protected not only by the firm policy of the Communist Party of Cuba and the heroism of her revolutionary people, but also by the support

and political weight of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community. This we declared more than once before and repeat with full responsibility today.

When we speak of brotherly feelings for the Cuban people, this is not a tribute of respect nor sentimentality. For us, Soviet Communists, friendship based on the Leninist principles of internationalism always has been and will be bound with most businesslike, most practical solidarity. Soviet-Cuban relations are becoming richer and fuller from year to year. They include comprehensive cooperation, and we are prepared to develop it further, to raise it to new levels.

In your speech devoted to the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, you, Comrade Fidel, emphasized that Lenin's teaching is of a universal nature and that every true revolutionary must be guided by it.

Indeed, Leninism is the ideological foundation which determines the aims and policy of the working class and of working people in various countries and imparts a consistently internationalist nature to their struggle. That is why, for Communists implementing the ideas of this great teaching in the specific conditions of their countries, cooperation and mutual assistance, regular exchange of practical experience in socialist construction is a vital necessity.

You have just visited a number of friendly countries that are building the new life and have seen with your own eyes the fruits of the peoples' intensive efforts; in the European socialist countries you saw an extensive and rich practice of socialist construction. Now you have the opportunity to see what has been done in recent years in our country, the Soviet Union, and what important problems our people are solving to implement the plans mapped out by the 24th Party Congress.

Dear friends, we Communists are well aware that a great many difficult problems still have to be solved in our common revolutionary work. But we are absolutely certain that the revolutionary changes developing in the world are irreversible. This is guaranteed by the socialist world community whose political, economic and defense might is steadily growing. This is guaranteed by the close cooperation of the working-class and national-liberation movement with the world system of socialism.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government, un-deviatingly following Lenin's course in international affairs, see it as their primary task to extend in every way the cooperation and to promote the friendship and fraternal alliance of socialist countries. The socialist community is the main force opposing imperialism and the bulwark of peace and social progress.

Millions upon millions of men and women in all countries come

out today for a better future for mankind through the revolutionary transformation of society. In their vanguard stands the international working class, the Communist movement.

We appraise the present situation soberly and realistically. Despite the successes scored in easing international tension, a bitter struggle against the foes of peace and national and social emancipation still lies ahead. Marxist-Leninists do not entertain any illusions about the anti-popular substance of imperialism and about its aggressive designs.

The flames of war are still raging in South-East Asia where the heroic people of Vietnam and the peoples of Laos and Cambodia are fighting for their freedom and independence. We resolutely condemn American aggression. We resolutely condemn the recent U.S. measures to blockade the ports of the DRV and the intensified bombing of economic objectives, ways of communication and communities. We welcome the successes scored by our Vietnamese friends in their fight against the escalation of war by the United States of America. We come out for the complete withdrawal of USA troops and those of its allies from South Vietnam, for a just political settlement without any interference from outside. We consider the proposals advanced by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the National United Front of Cambodia and the Patriotic Front of Laos to be a good foundation for constructive talks and for a political settlement. The Soviet Union's stand on this issue is clear and firm. We shall continue rendering support and all-round assistance to the Vietnam people until their righteous cause triumphs.

A complex and dangerous situation still exists in the Middle East. The Israeli aggressors, who for over five years have been occupying Arab lands, stubbornly stick to their aggressive policy. It is essential to ease the situation there and that can and must be done only on the basis of the Arab states' just demands that aggressive troops be withdrawn and the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967, implemented.

The attainment of a peaceful settlement in Indochina and in the Middle East is a most pressing task of our time, unbreakably bound up with the problems of relaxation all over the world.

The Soviet Union together with the fraternal socialist countries supports the struggle of the peoples of all continents against all forms of colonial and neo-colonial oppression, for their right to decide their future themselves.

Taking an active part in the social battles of our epoch we strive to employ our influence and our real weight in the interests of the entire socialist system and all revolutionary forces of our time.

Communists consider it their duty, in keeping with the aspirations of nations, to struggle against the danger of a world war, to advance step by step to the establishment of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and to seek solutions to outstanding problems through negotiations. We are doing our utmost to make the future of mankind a truly peaceful future.

Significant results have been attained in recent years in the struggle for strengthening international security. We have established and are successfully developing cooperation with France and a number of other European capitalist states. New opportunities for promoting peace in Europe are opening up after the entry into force of the treaties of the Soviet Union and Poland with the FRG. Confirmation of the inviolability of frontiers and renunciation of the use or threat of force—all this favorably affects the world political climate.

It was from these positions, from the positions of establishing the principle of peaceful coexistence of states on the basis of recognition of their equality and respect for the legitimate interests of all countries and nations that we approached the Soviet-American summit talks. We consider that the results of these talks reflect the real state of affairs in the world. They are in the interests of world peace and international security, in the interests of the peoples of all countries. The point now is to practically implement the important agreements reached.

Working for the affirmation of the principle of peaceful coexistence, we are fully aware that the successes in this important field in no way signify the possibility of relaxation of ideological struggle. On the contrary, we must be prepared for an intensification of this struggle, for it is becoming an increasingly acute form of confrontation of the two social systems. And we have no doubts about the outcome of this confrontation, for the truth of history and the objective laws of social development are on our side.

I would like to stress, comrades, that our Party's foreign policy, outlined at the 24th CPSU Congress, fully accords with the objectives put forward by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow.

There has been much talk lately about the role of one or other state in world affairs. There has even appeared such a term as "superpowers." We are against slurring over class differences between states. The Soviet Union is indeed a great and mighty state; but it is, above all, a socialist state pursuing a class socialist foreign policy. The same policy, and not that of "big" or "small" states, is followed by the other fraternal socialist nations closely cooperating in the international arena in the fight to strengthen the

forces of socialism and to ensure all peoples equal rights to freedom, independence and peaceful labor.

Dear Comrade Fidel, I want to reiterate that we attach great importance to your visit and to the talks under way. We are sincerely glad to have the opportunity to hold an extensive exchange of views on all questions and jointly to map out ways for the continued all-round development of Soviet-Cuban relations. We are convinced that our meeting will still more unite our Parties and peoples in common revolutionary activities.

Allow me to use the opportunity to heartily congratulate you once again, on behalf of all present, on the award of the Order of Lenin. By this decoration our Party and people acknowledge your services as leader of fraternal Cuba, as a true friend of our country and a prominent figure in the world Communist movement.

It is gratifying for us to note that in the fraternal countries you have visited Communists and working people gave you a very warm and friendly welcome. I hope you have already felt that the welcome of the Soviet people is just as hearty and warm.

—To the health of Comrade Fidel Castro, to the health and successes of all our Cuban Friends!

—To the heroic Cuban people building Socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Government!

—May friendship and all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba grow stronger on the basis of the great principles of socialist internationalism!

* * *

Next to speak was Fidel Castro Ruz, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba.

SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO RUZ*

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

Dear Comrades, members of the CC CPSU Politbureau,

Dear Comrades, members of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet government,

We are deeply grateful for Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's sincere, fraternal words of solidarity with our delegation, our Party and our people, on behalf of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet government.

For thousands of years mankind knew no other society except a class society and could imagine no other world except a world of

**Pravda*, June 28, 1972.

hateful division into exploiters and exploited. Slaves, plebeians, serfs, craftsmen, peasants and proletarians labored and suffered, oppressed by ruling minorities which succeeded one another as society developed.

The dolorous road of history is drenched with the sweat and blood of countless generations of oppressed. This history of mankind determined by inexorable laws led to the emergence of definite material conditions and the appearance of a social class which was to put an end, once and for all, to the exploitation of man by man and guided the political thinking of the most outstanding minds to study and discover laws governing the life of society. Marx and Engels studied these laws and on their basis created the scientific doctrine of the proletariat, a class whose mission is to alter the course of history. Lenin further developed and brilliantly applied this doctrine in practice. Guided by Lenin and the party he created, the Russian working class, allied with the exploited peasants, carried out the first socialist revolution and the most profound social changes in the long, difficult and severe process of man's development. As Marx put it—the pre-history of mankind has ended and his true history has begun. Such was the role of the October Revolution, the Russian working class, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party he founded.

No other date, fact or human being, no other event so far has had a greater impact on mankind. The October Revolution, however, was only the beginning of an incredibly difficult journey. The capitalist countries launched a military intervention against Russia with a fury and deep class hatred witnessed earlier in history during the brutal suppression of the heroic Paris Commune. The English, French, Japanese, American imperialists and other reactionaries dispatched troops to crush the revolution and under Lenin's leadership the Russian workers and peasants were forced to heroically defend their new-born state which had to face up to unbelievable assaults from all sides.

Lenin's leadership, the incomparable heroism of the Communists, workers and peasants during that period, saved the revolution. But the destruction and devastation caused by the imperialist war were multiplied by the interventionist troops and their mercenaries. The building of socialism was started in a country lying in ruins, bled white and blockaded. This also required strenuous and heroic efforts.

All imperialist post-war policy revolved around and was directed against the USSR. Fascism emerged in order to fight communism. Hitler was armed, encouraged and directed against the USSR. Munich, capitulation of bourgeois states to fascism, the division and occupation of Czechoslovakia and its betrayal by other capitalist

countries—this disgraceful policy was inspired by the bourgeoisie's hatred for the Soviet Union and the inevitable outcome was the Second World War and the Hitler aggression against the Soviet people.

Humanity must be eternally grateful to a nation that sacrificed twenty million lives in order to defend the first socialist state in the world and crush fascism. The five-year plans that prepared the country for the struggle with fascism, the evacuation of a greater part of the defense industry at the height of the war, the heroic defense of Leningrad, Moscow, Stalingrad, the Caucasus, Sevastopol, the great battle at Kursk and the sweeping offensive ending with the seizure of Berlin and the liberation of numerous oppressed European nations—all these are exploits which the world will never forget.

In socialist Berlin, Prague and Bratislava we visited the graves and paid tribute to Soviet soldiers who fell in battle. The blood of the sons of your heroic people has been spilt generously in every town, city and village in Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR—such was the gigantic contribution made by your people to liberate the world from the mortal threat of fascism. Once again socialism, now in several countries, was forced to arise from the ruins of war and battlefields. And once again imperialism, this time headed by the United States, organized a siege and economic blockade of the USSR and other socialist countries. The aggressive NATO, SEATO, CENTO, and other blocs were formed. Hundreds of military bases ringed the USSR and other socialist countries. The imperialists had a monopoly on the atomic weapon and all gold reserves in the world, control of immense stores of natural riches and an industry virtually untouched by the war. Such were their advantages over the socialist camp and the revolutionary movement in the post-war period.

The very fact that in the past 27 years scores of countries which had been under the most brutal imperialist and colonial domination achieved independence, shows that it is impossible to stop the transformations that were launched by the October Revolution.

The political map of the world today in no way resembles the maps of 30 years ago with their gigantic colonial empires.

Our country, which, just as other Latin American countries, used to be fully under the economic and political control of American imperialism, has broken these bonds and carried out its own revolution, establishing the first socialist state on the American continent and being the first to raise the triumphant Marxist-Leninist banner on that side of the Atlantic.

We have emerged victorious and consolidated our victory because we have consistently implemented the principles and ideas

of Marx, Engels and Lenin. All attempts at imperialist and ideological penetration of Cuba were thwarted by the strong revolutionary consciousness derived by our people from Marxism-Leninism.

The economic blockade continuing to this day, various forms of subversion, attacks by mercenaries and threats of military aggression—our country has experienced all of this. However, in this struggle, we were not alone. The Soviet Union first of all, and also other socialist countries, to the full extent of their ability, gave us arms and technical and economic aid, essential to deny the imperialists any chance of attaining their intents, of starving the people of Cuba into submission.

The prestige of revolutionary ideas is growing and these ideas are gaining ground not only among the peoples of Latin America but also in North American society.

In spite of the difficult post-war conditions, in the past 25 years the economies of the socialist countries have made great headway. The unprecedented achievements of Soviet science and technology have sharply changed the world balance of forces in favor of socialism.

The growing might of the USSR is a reliable barrier restraining imperialism's adventuristic, bellicose and aggressive policy. This was a determining factor in the struggle for peace, a factor leading to impressive achievements in recent years, to recognition of existing European borders, a renunciation of the use of force, lessening of the war danger in that region of the world and also to efforts to convene a European security conference.

Imperialism has been forced to make important concessions. Our Party supports Soviet efforts to preserve peace and to avert the danger of a thermo-nuclear war.

We fully agree with you, Comrade Brezhnev, when you say that assertion of the principle of peaceful coexistence and the achievements in this direction do not imply a weakening of the ideological struggle and that this struggle will be exacerbated in the course of the confrontation between the two social systems. And in this political conflict, fulfilling its role of world gendarme, imperialism will surrender its positions wherever it has no other way out and will attempt to attack wherever possible.

As you said in your speech, the flames of war still engulf Indochina. With a feeling of deep gratitude we applaud your statement on Vietnam and your words to the effect that the Soviet Union would continue according all necessary aid and support to the heroic people of Vietnam until their just cause is victorious. We are aware of the time and attention given by the Party, government and people of the Soviet Union to the struggle of our Vietnamese brothers. We realize the tremendous significance of Soviet foreign

policy statements and we know these statements to be dependable.

We also share your concern for the tenuous and dangerous situation in the Middle East and fully support the just demand of the Arab peoples for the withdrawal of the aggressor troops and the return of occupied territory.

We should like to repeat what we said to our working people on May Day this year: our people have complete trust in the Soviet Union's principled policy. Your heroic history, your support for the world revolutionary movement and achievements for the benefit of mankind—this is the basis of this confidence. A long and difficult struggle still lies ahead but the people, the revolution and the principles will be victorious.

Dear Comrades, we should like to express our sincere gratitude for the opportunity to once again visit your country, for the warm welcome shown us by the Soviet leaders and people and for the high honor accorded to me by awarding the Order of Lenin.

We are deeply satisfied with the present state of the friendship and fraternal relations between us based on mutual respect, relations which should exist between revolutionary parties and revolutionary peoples. We shall continue our efforts in the name of this friendship and to strengthen this friendship.

We should like, Comrade Brezhnev, to toast your health, the health of all the Soviet leaders and all those present here, the heroic Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the everlasting friendship between Cuba and the USSR.

JOINT SOVIET-CUBAN COMMUNIQUE ON THE VISIT OF COMRADE FIDEL CASTRO TO THE SOVIET UNION

Fidel Castro Ruz, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, was on an official friendly visit in the Soviet Union at the head of a Party and Government delegation from June 26 to July 5, 1972, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

Fidel Castro and the officials accompanying him familiarized themselves with the life and work of the Soviet people, with their achievements in communist construction. They visited the Gagarin district CPSU Committee in Moscow, the "Star town," where they had a friendly meeting with Soviet cosmonauts, the Ukhtomsky Farm Machinery Works at Lyubertsy which produces sugar cane

combine harvesters for Cuba, the Electronic Instruments Works and the Aircraft Plant in Voronezh which builds the TU-144 supersonic airliners, the Novovoronezh atomic power plant. They also visited the city of Minsk, the capital of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Cuban comrades made a trip to Khatyn, visited the historic museum of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people, and had a talk with the leaders of the Republic.

The delegation visited a number of governmental, scientific and cultural institutions, met with Soviet people. Everywhere the Cuban comrades were accorded a fraternal reception which expressed the warm sympathies, solidarity and unbreakable friendship of the Soviet people for the people of Cuba.

During their stay in Moscow, the Cuban delegation laid wreaths at the Lenin Mausoleum and also at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, who fell in the Great Patriotic War.

Official talks were held between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L. Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet N. Podgorny, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, A. N. Kosygin, and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba Fidel Castro, and Secretariat Member Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba Carlos Rafael Rodriguez.

In an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding, they discussed the further development of relations between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Cuba, between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba, as well as pressing international problems. They held a thorough exchange of views on the basic issues of the world Communist and national liberation movement.

The sides informed each other about the course of the economic and social-political development of their countries, about topical tasks in this field, and held a fruitful exchange of experience in Party, state and economic construction.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people highly assess the achievements of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Cuban people in building the foundations of socialist society, in implementing cardinal socio-economic transformations. By their labor, by their efforts to solve major national economic tasks, by their drive to raise labor productivity and the quality of production, the Cuban people have shown that they are not only capable of heroically defending the revolution which made them independent and led them out onto the road of socialist construction, but are fully determined to direct their energy and abilities towards the building of a new society.

With fraternal attention and deep satisfaction the Soviet side received the information of the Cuban comrades about the measures they are now carrying out to raise the efficiency of social production and raise the welfare of the people. The revolution has brought about profound social transformations in Cuba. Witness the successes in the field of public education, giving all citizens the opportunity to study, the elimination of illiteracy, the extension of medical services to the entire population, the achievements in other fields.

The Cuban revolution has strengthened the internationalist anti-imperialist consciousness of the workers, peasants, soldiers, students, of the entire Cuban people, which is directly due to the firm Marxist-Leninist policy of international solidarity, pursued by the Communist Party and Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba.

The Soviet Union supports socialist Cuba's vigorous foreign policy which is in the interests of rallying the anti-imperialist forces. Fidel Castro's recent trip to Guinea, Algeria, and Sierra Leone, as well as his visits to the European socialist countries — Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, were an important act of that policy.

The Soviet leaders have stated once again that the Soviet Union resolutely condemns the economic and political blockade of Cuba conducted by the United States, as well as all the other hostile actions against socialist Cuba. The two sides declare for ensuring durable and stable peace in the Carriibbean, for not allowing strained and dangerous situations engendered by imperialist policies, to arise there. The Soviet side reiterated its support for the demands of the Cuban people and the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba for the unconditional removal of the American Quantanamo naval base, stationed on Cuban territory contrary to the sovereign will of the Cuban people.

The Soviet Union expresses readiness to continue all round assistance to Cuba in the construction of socialist society, in strengthening the country's defense capacity and defending its revolutionary gains.

On behalf of the Cuban people, Fidel Castro expressed warm sentiments towards the Soviet Union, the birthland of the Great October Socialist Revolution. He said that the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, whose 50th anniversary is to be marked this year, is of enormous international significance, standing out as an important landmark in the social progress of all mankind.

The new social order created by the Soviet people, ensured the great successes of Soviet science and technology, a steady growth

of the material and cultural standards of Soviet people. As pointed out by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, who had first visited the Soviet Union nine years ago, these achievements have been considerably multiplied. Soviet society is developing dynamically, achieving ever new successes in every sphere. In this connection during the present visit the Cuban delegation expressed joy and admiration over the new historic accomplishments of the land of Soviets. The Cuban delegation stressed that the Soviet Union's experience is of enormous international significance in the struggle of the peoples for social and national emancipation, in the construction of socialism.

On behalf of the working people of their country the Cuban delegation welcomed the remarkable achievements of the fraternal Soviet people in every field, as it consistently and confidently advances in creating the material and technical base of communism, as envisaged in the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress.

The Soviet side informed the Cuban side about the work carried out since the 24th CPSU Congress in implementing the program of active defense of peace and consolidation of international security, approved by the Congress, as well as about the summit contacts carried out for the achievement of this goal.

The Cuban side highly assessed the principled class and internationalist policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, which combines the struggle for asserting the principles of peaceful co-existence with firm rebuff to the aggressive machinations of imperialism and reaction, and the practical steps of the USSR to promote world peace, the vigorous actions aimed at excluding the use of force in the solution of controversial issues.

The Cuban side identified itself with the statement of the Soviet side to the effect that the solution of the problem of Vietnam and other countries of Indochina in accordance with their legitimate striving towards independence and sovereignty, the achievement of a just Middle East settlement are pressing tasks of the present time inseparable from the problems of easing tensions throughout the world.

The Cuban delegation stated once again that the Cuban Communist Party and the Cuban Government believe that the existence of the Soviet Union, its might, its vigorous foreign policy play an outstanding part in the people's liberation struggle.

The sides stated that the relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba based on the principles of socialist internationalism are developing successfully and growing ever more closer, diversified and rich in content, facilitating mutual exchange of experience in every sphere of socialist and communist construction. The ties between public organizations, ministries and depart-

ments of the two countries are expanding and the exchange of party and other delegations is growing.

During the meetings and talks the state of economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between the two countries was analyzed, its prospects were examined in the light of the existing favorable conditions for its further development.

The sides noted with satisfaction the expansion and deepening of the contacts between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Cuba, which is an important factor in strengthening the fraternal friendship of the Soviet and Cuban peoples. They confirmed the mutual interest in the further expansion of contacts and exchange between the Communist parties, and agreed on concrete measures in the field of inter-Party relations for the coming period, on strengthening cooperation between public organizations and governmental bodies of the two countries.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, the Revolutionary Government and the Cuban people Fidel Castro expressed profound gratitude to the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Government and the people of the Soviet Union for their internationalist solidarity manifested in the great and all-round aid which they have given and are giving Cuba in the construction of socialist society.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba will go on developing cooperation, expanding contacts and exchanging views on topical questions of socialist and communist construction and the international situation.

Guided by the common interests of the struggle for socialism, national independence and peace, the sides stressed the need to strengthen friendship and cooperation between the socialist countries. They stated their wish to continue their efforts to promote the cohesion of the socialist countries, Communist and Workers' parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, bearing in mind that the weakening of such cohesion can only serve the interests of imperialism.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba once again stated their complete identity of views in assessing the topical international problems under discussion. The sides note that the international situation is characterized by the further deepening of the revolutionary process, changes in the balance of forces in favor of socialism, the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. The community of the socialist countries is the decisive factor and the main bulwark of the revolutionary movement.

The sides stressed that the imperialist powers' policy of aggression and the armed conflicts it engenders, as well as their dis-

criminatory practices and economic pressure represent a constant threat to world peace.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba confirmed that their position in support of the struggle of the peoples of Indochina against the United States aggression is unalterable. They resolutely condemned this aggression and the recent U.S. measures to block the ports of the DRV, to bomb civilian targets, including dams and dikes, roads and railways and populated areas. The sides welcomed the successes of the Vietnamese people in the struggle against the escalation of the war by the United States of America and against the policy of "Vietnamization."

The USSR and Cuba declare their solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia for freedom, independence and social progress, and come out for an end to the bombings of the DRV, for the complete and immediate withdrawal of all the troops of the USA and its allies from South Vietnam, for an end to the American support of the puppet regime of Thieu, for the resumption of the Paris talks. They come out for attaining a just political settlement without any foreign interference, for which the well-known proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, of the United National Front of Cambodia and the Patriotic Front of Laos may serve as a basis.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba are confident that by their unparalleled courage, determination and heroism, and with the political, moral and material support of the countries of the socialist community and the growing solidarity of all progressive mankind, the peoples of Indochina will be victorious in their just cause.

The two sides express fraternal solidarity with the Korean People's Democratic Republic which is building socialism. They fully support the proposals of the KPDR government for the peaceful democratic unification of the country and the demands of the Korean people for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the South of Korea.

The Soviet and Cuban sides believe that the continuing Israeli occupation of Arab territories preserves tensions in the Middle East and presents a threat to universal peace. They resolutely support the struggle of the Arab peoples to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression, for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories. The sides confirm their support for the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine to restore their legitimate rights.

The USSR and Cuba express confidence in the success of the

struggle of the African peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The two delegations stressed their solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), the Cape Verde Islands, Angola, Mozambique, and also the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa against the brutal racist policy pursued by the Pretoria and Salisbury regimes. The sides condemned the aggressive and provocative actions of Portugal and its NATO allies against the Guinea Republic and other progressive African states.

The two sides take a positive view of the substantial turn towards detente and peace on the European continent, towards ensuring the firm foundations of security and good-neighborhood. The processes taking place now in Europe, connected in decisive measure with the vigorous policy of the socialist states, will undoubtedly promote a relaxation of tension in other parts of the world. This turn in European events meets the vital interests of the peoples and all progressive, democratic movements.

The realization of the socialist states' proposal to convene an all-European conference on security and cooperation would constitute a new important step in firming up the positive changes in Europe.

Unity of views was noted regarding the great importance for strengthening European peace of the USSR-FRG Treaty and the Poland-FRG Treaty, which confirmed the inviolability of the existing borders of European states, as well as of the four-power agreement on questions related to the Western sectors of Berlin.

The sides expressed satisfaction in connection with the growing role of the German Democratic Republic in international affairs, the strengthening of its positions as a sovereign, equal state. They come out for the recognition of the GDR by all countries in the context of international law and for the simultaneous admission of both German states to the United Nations Organization. The sides regard the conclusion of a treaty and agreement between the GDR and the FRG and the agreement between the GDR and the West Berlin Senate as a big contribution to peace. The Soviet Union and Cuba identify themselves with the just demand of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to regard the Munich agreement null and void from its very inception.

Exchanging views on the Latin American situation, the sides noted the rise of the liberation struggle on that continent against the oppression and exploitation by imperialism, first of all American imperialism, and by local reaction. The political and social forces participating in the anti-imperialist struggle are growing, socialist ideas are gaining ground among the masses, and there is growing awareness of the need to implement radical social and

economic transformations, to get rid of foreign dependence. The Cuban Revolution, its achievements in the building of the foundations of socialism, the successful struggle of the Cuban people led by the Communist Party of Cuba for the solution of radical social and national-economic tasks play a great role in deepening the liberation process in Latin America.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba declare their full solidarity with the Popular Unity government of Chile, with the courageous Chilean people who are solving the country's vital problems. The sides condemn the interference of imperialist quarters in Chile's internal affairs, aimed at frustrating the profound economic and political transformations carried out for the benefit of the people.

The sides support the measures of the Peruvian government answering that country's national interests and also express their sympathy for the patriotic and revolutionary forces of Latin American countries struggling for freedom, independence and social progress. They condemn the policy of imperialist interference in the affairs of Latin American states, whatever the form.

The Soviet Union and Cuba identify themselves with the just struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for consolidating national independence and for social progress. They highly assess their contribution to the common struggle against imperialism. They are fully on the side of these peoples, who are striving to recover their national wealth controlled by foreign monopolies. They condemn the imperialist policy of repressions and discrimination in regard to countries that take the path of protecting their national resources.

The Soviet and Cuban sides state that the solidarity of all revolutionary democratic forces of our time with the socialist countries is an indispensable condition for successful struggle against imperialism, and that any division among the anti-imperialist forces can only play into the hands of imperialism and neo-colonialism and damage the peoples' struggle for national independence and social progress.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba believe that an end to the arms race, the attainment of complete and general disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, is of primary importance for the preservation and strengthening of peace. They once again declared in favor of convening a world disarmament conference with the participation of all countries of the world.

The two sides deem it desirable that the Convention on the prohibition of the development, manufacture and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons and on their destruction, open for signing, should come into force as early as possible. The

sides come out for making efforts to achieve as early as possible an appropriate agreement on the banning and elimination of chemical weapons.

It is the conviction of the sides that the meetings and talks held during the visit of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, Fidel Castro, which passed in the spirit of profound mutual understanding and community of views, unbreakable friendship and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of socialist internationalism, have marked the beginning of a new important stage in the further expansion and deepening of the fraternal relations existing between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Cuba, between the USSR and the Republic of Cuba.

This meeting between the representatives of the Party, the working class, and the people of the country which was the first to start building socialist society in America, is a vivid symbol of our time, a manifestation of the unbreakable bonds uniting the Soviet Union and Cuba.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Revolutionary Government of the Cuban Republic Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Party Central Committee and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, invited the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, the President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, N. V. Podgorny and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers A. N. Kosygin to come to the Republic of Cuba on an official friendly visit. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

CPI-CPSU JOINT STATEMENT*

From June 20 to 28, 1972, meetings and talks were held between the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the delegation of the Communist Party of India.

The CPSU delegation was represented by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, (head of the delegation), M. A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, B. N. Ponomarev, candidate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and R. A. Ulyanovsky,

*Pravda, June 30, 1972. New Age, July 9, 1972.

deputy chief of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The CPI delegation was represented by S. A. Dange, Chairman of the National Council of the CPI (head of the delegation), C. Rajeswara Rao, General Secretary of the National Council of the CPI, Bhupesh Gupta and N. K. Krishnan, members of the Central Executive Committee and secretaries of the National Council of the CPI.

The delegations of the CPSU and the CPI noted that, following the international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow in 1969, the consolidation of the ranks of the international Communist movement continues to grow stronger. It takes place along with further consolidation of the unity of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces in the struggle for ensuring universal peace, security, national independence and against imperialism and forces of aggression and reaction.

The sides exchanged information on the situation in their countries and on their activities. The CPI delegation expressed its full solidarity with the policy of the Soviet Union, which is aimed at translating into life the program of peace adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress. The representatives of Indian communists gave a high evaluation of the CPSU activities in implementing the tasks of communist construction in the USSR as defined by the 24th CPSU Congress.

The CPSU delegation expressed its solidarity with the activities of the CPI to unite the left and democratic forces in the country in the struggle for strengthening national independence, for economic and social progress, for the defense of vital interests of working masses in India.

The CPSU and the CPI delegations held a fruitful exchange of views on the most important issues of the international situation.

The delegation of the Communist Party of India gave a positive evaluation of the results of the Soviet-American talks held in Moscow and while doing so, it emphasized the great role of the USSR in the struggle against imperialism and in support of peoples fighting for their national and social liberation.

The delegations of the CPSU and CPI are happy to note the steady strengthening of India's relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and also its role in the struggle for the maintenance of world peace and in support of the forces of national liberation.

Both parties discussed a number of political and theoretical problems and arrived at the following joint conclusions:

I

The whole course of events following the Moscow international meeting of communist and workers' parties corroborates the correctness of its analysis of the international situation, the viability of the program for anti-imperialist struggle advanced by the meeting and the timeliness of its conclusions aimed at strengthening the unity of Communist Parties in the fight for the interests of the working class, universal peace and the security of peoples.

These years witnessed further strengthening of all socialist countries and of the socialist community as a whole. The world of socialism has acquired new strength. This means that the main foundation of global struggle against imperialism has grown wider and stronger. The socialist community is becoming an ever more decisive factor in world development.

In capitalist countries the struggles of the proletariat led by communist parties against the oppression by monopolies is reaching a higher stage. In a number of capitalist countries the proletariat has intensified its class struggle and is now on an onslaught against the entire system of state-monopolistic capitalism.

The national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is deepening and scoring new victories. The victory of the Popular Unity coalition in Chile testifies to major shifts in the correlation of class forces and great revolutionary potentialities of the working class and peasantry on the Latin American continent. Successful developments are marking the struggle of African people against the vestiges of colonialism and against racialism. African fighters for independence display an increasing tendency for the unity of action in the struggle against imperialism.

The emergence of the People's Republic of Bangladesh represents a major success of the forces of national liberation. Imperialists and other hostile forces suffered a failure in their efforts to bar the path to independence for the people of Bangladesh.

The liberation of Bangladesh has been a major blow to the imperialist machinations against the peoples of South Asia and it has unleashed popular forces for social progress in the newly-born state.

The peoples of the countries that have gained their liberty are delivering, leaning on the firm support of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the solidarity of the international communist movement, telling blows against imperialist monopolies. This is demonstrated, for example, by a complete or partial nationalization of the largest foreign concerns in Chile, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Algeria, Zambia and in other countries.

An ever growing number of nations freed from colonial and semi-colonial dependence are opting for a non-capitalist path of deve-

lopment; they turn their eyes to socialism and to a socialist orientation and implement deep transformations in the economic and social fields.

The historic experience of the struggle of the peoples, including the people of India, proves that the rallying of left and democratic forces and the creation of a united national democratic front are an important prerequisite for a successful struggle against foreign and local monopolies, neo-colonialism, feudal and landlord elements. The public sector and planning of economic, social and cultural development in the interests of the masses of the people are called upon to play a significant role in this struggle. The development and the democratization of the public sector, the radical agrarian reforms in the interests of the toiling peasantry and the planning aimed at achieving economic independence and at improving the living standards of the working people acquire a particular significance.

II

The ensuring of universal peace and the security of peoples as well as their cooperation are the most important conditions for the successful advance of the freed countries along the path of economic and social progress. The imperialist policy of aggression and fanning of local conflicts, as well as of setting one country against another, dooms the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to enormous losses and destruction, leading to higher military expenditures and the draining of economic resources while impeding the overcoming of backwardness.

The delegations of the CPSU and the CPI strongly condemn the American aggression in Indochina, as well as the recent U.S. measures to bloc Democratic Republic of Vietnam's ports, to intensify bombings of national economic projects, communication lines and centers of population. Together with all peace-loving forces, they demand the American aggression in Indochina should be stopped, all armed forces of the United States and its allies be withdrawn from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and the right of the peoples of these countries to solve for themselves the problems confronting them should be strictly observed. The CPI delegation noted with satisfaction the continued support of the Soviet Union to the national-liberation forces in Indochina.

The delegations strongly condemn the continuing imperialist-Zionist aggression by Israel against the Arab peoples. They consider it of urgent necessity that the UN Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967 be fully and immediately implemented, which would eliminate the source of tensions and ensure the establishment of a lasting peace and security in the Middle East with ac-

count being taken of the national interests of all states and peoples in the area.

Following the events of 1971, the situation in the South Asian region continues to remain tense, which the hostile external forces, making plans for preserving the tensions between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, are trying to take advantage of.

The establishment of a lasting peace, good-neighborliness and cooperation among the countries of this region meets their vital interests and will meet with approval on the part of peace-loving forces of the whole world.

The delegations of the CPSU and the CPI express their satisfaction with the talks that started between Prime Minister of India Indira Gandhi and President Z. A. Bhutto of Pakistan. The delegations are confident that the realization of accord and amity between India and Pakistan would be a valuable contribution to the securing of a lasting peace and good-neighborly relations among the countries of South Asia.

III

The delegations of the CPSU and the CPI noted with satisfaction the successful development of Soviet-Indian friendly relations and of all-round cooperation. Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation constitute an example of international relations based on equality between a socialist state and a country which has attained liberation.

The delegation of the CPI notes that the existing relations between the USSR and India contribute appreciably to India's successful solution of the problems concerning the strengthening of its national and economic independence. The course of developments has shown that friendship with the Soviet Union helps India to successfully resist the pressure of imperialist and other hostile outside forces which seek to push India off the independent foreign policy course based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and nonalignment, to hamper the implementation of social and economic transformations in India.

The Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, concluded in August 1971, was an important step in the development of friendly Soviet-Indian relations. The treaty creates a firm legal basis for further development of cooperation between the USSR and India and is an active factor in strengthening peace in Asia and throughout the world.

The delegations noted that the rightist circles in India and the imperialist forces backing them do not stop their efforts to undermine the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India and

to create obstacles in the way of development of fruitful cooperation between them. The delegations emphasized the need for giving resolute rebuff to the intrigues of these forces and for promoting in every way further development of Soviet-Indian friendly relations.

IV

The delegations noted that the left and democratic forces in India succeeded in rebuffing the onslaught of reaction and in inflicting on it a serious defeat. The delegation of the CPSU expressed its appreciation of the energetic role the CPI played in exposing reaction and mobilizing the left and democratic forces in the fight against it. The positions of those reactionary forces which are the proponents of imperialist and neo-colonialist influence in India, which oppose progressive socio-economic reforms, were seriously undermined. This fact has created more favorable conditions for the development of the activities of democratic forces.

The country witnesses the radicalization of masses, the increased involvement of wide segments of the population in the active political struggle and the growth of their political consciousness.

The CPI delegation informed the CPSU delegation of the struggle waged by the Indian Communists for the implementation of the tasks set by the Ninth Congress of the CPI. They moved to the fore the objective of uniting the left and democratic forces of the country in the struggle for carrying out the program of wide socio-economic changes. The CPI delegation stressed the need for conducting mass struggles for curbing and ultimately eliminating the economic power of monopolies, for radical reforms and for expanding and deepening democracy so as to secure changes in the correlation of class and political forces which would open the way for fundamental socio-economic transformation in the interests of the masses of the people.

The delegation emphasized the importance of the struggle against both the right-opportunist tendencies and "left" opportunism and extremism, since they weaken the democratic movement and impede the unity of left and democratic forces of India.

The delegations of both parties also attach great value to the ideological struggle on the part of the CPI on the basis of scientific socialism. The CPSU delegation noted with satisfaction the great role of the CPI in the defense of Marxism-Leninism and the general line of the international communist movement against attacks by anti-Marxist, left opportunist elements.

V

The exchange of views between the delegations of the CPSU and

the CPI confirmed the usefulness of meetings between fraternal parties and showed that they contribute to the cohesion of the international communist movement and enrich mutually the political experience of fraternal parties.

The delegations expressed the willingness of both parties to strengthen and develop in all possible ways the relations of fraternal friendship existing between them, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in full conformity with the desire of the Soviet and Indian peoples for sincere friendship and comprehensive cooperation in the interests of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

USSR-CHILE*

On June 28, a meeting took place at the CPSU Central Committee between L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, A. P. Kirilenko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, B. N. Ponomarev, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and C. Altamirano, General Secretary of the CC, Socialist Party of Chile, and J. Cademartori, member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile, who were in Moscow as heads of the Chilean government delegation.

During warm and friendly talks questions of further development of political and economic relations between the USSR and the Republic of Chile were examined and views were exchanged on topical problems of the present international situation and other questions of mutual interest.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev informed the Chilean comrades of the progress made in carrying out the plans of communist construction, preparations for the 50th anniversary of the USSR and implementation of the Soviet Peace Program advanced by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The Chilean comrades sincerely wished the Soviet people further successes in building communism and stressed the importance of Soviet foreign policy aimed at easing international tensions, foiling the aggressive plans of imperialism, strengthening the forces of world socialism and progress and giving support to the peoples upholding their freedom and independence.

The Soviet leaders declared full support for the revolutionary

*Pravda, June 29, 1972.

transformations in Chile carried out under the leadership of the Salvador Allende government and wished the fraternal Chilean people success in accomplishing their socio-economic and political tasks.

Comrades C. Altamirano and J. Cademartori described the work of the Chilean government in fulfilling the program of the Popular Unity coalition and pointed out the importance of strengthening the unity of its constituent forces, especially the alliance of the Socialists and Communists as the guarantee of the successful development of the revolutionary process in the country.

The two sides stated their satisfaction over the consolidation of friendly ties between the USSR and Chile and expressed themselves in favor of further developing Soviet-Chilean cooperation and strengthening friendly relations between the Soviet and Chilean peoples and fraternal internationalist ties between the CPSU and the Communist and Socialist parties of Chile.

USSR-LAOS*

A friendly meeting of delegations of the CPSU and the Patriotic Front of Laos was held in the CC CPSU on July 10.

The Soviet delegation: alternate member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU D. F. Ustinov, alternate member of the CC CPSU P. T. Pimenov, and Deputy Chief of the International Department CC CPSU R. A. Ulyanovsky.

The Patriotic Front of Laos delegation: Member of the Standing Committee CC PFL Nouhak Phoumsavan, members of the CC PFL Myn, Camphai Boupha, Thongtiane Oupravan, and ranking CC PFL officials Bounnin and Khamphet.

At the meeting, in a comradely and fraternal atmosphere, the delegates of the Laotian patriots recounted the successes in their nation's heroic struggle for national independence, against the aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets. The head of the delegation, Nouhak Phoumsavan, stressed that the people of Laos are determined to secure their lawful national rights and achieve a just solution of the Laotian problem.

Speaking on behalf of the CC PFL and the people of Laos, the delegation expressed deep gratitude to the CC CPSU, the Soviet Government and Soviet people for their effective all-round support of the Laotian patriots' just struggle.

The Soviet side pointed out that fraternal solidarity with the

*Pravda, July 13, 1972.

embattled peoples of Indochina is a fundamental policy guideline of the CPSU and the Soviet people, and that this guideline is irrevokable. The Soviet Union consistently and unfailingly supports the just struggle of the Laotian patriots for a peaceful, neutral and independent Laos. The Soviet people are in full accord with the standpoint of the Patriotic Front of Laos, which is striving for a political accommodation by negotiation between Laotians themselves. The CPSU delegation reaffirmed the Soviet position of principle towards the aggressive policy of the USA in Laos. The USA must renounce all interference in the affairs of the Laotian people, end all bombing of Laotian territory and let Laotians settle their own internal affairs.

Both sides hailed the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and PFL, and expressed themselves in favor of further strengthening and extending relations between the Soviet people and the Laotian patriots.

USSR-GUINEA AND CAPE VERDE ISLANDS*

B. N. Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, met with Amilcar Cabral, Central Secretary of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) and members of the Party's Executive Joao Bernardo Vieira and Otto Ba.

Amilcar Cabral described the achievements scored by the patriotic forces of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands under the leadership of the PAIGC in the armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. A large part of the country has been liberated or is under the control of Guinean patriots. Organs of people's power have been established on the liberated territory and elections to the National Assembly, first in the country's history, are to be held.

A. Cabral said that the Portuguese colonial army had suffered a number of grave defeats but that the Portuguese ruling circles, with NATO support and in defiance of the UN decisions and demands of the Organization of African Unity, stubbornly refuse to recognize the inalienable right of the people of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands to national independence. The PAIGC leadership regards as its main task to enhance the national liberation army's fighting capacity and broaden the general struggle against the colonialists.

**Pravda*, July 16, 1972.

B. N. Ponomaryov outlined the work of the CPSU and Soviet people in realizing the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress and the struggle being waged by the CPSU against the forces of imperialism and aggression, for a reliable peace and relaxation of international tension. He expressed the Soviet people's solidarity with the courageous people of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands and their struggle to do away with colonialism in the country.

A. Cabral expressed deep gratitude to the CPSU and Soviet people for the all-round aid rendered by the Soviet Union to the Guinean patriots in their just struggle. He noted the worldwide significance of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR and acclaimed the Soviet people's achievements which, he said, are a source of inspiration for the patriots of Guinea in their struggle for liberation.

During the warm and comradely meeting satisfaction was expressed over the progress of cooperation between the CPSU and PIAGC.

Also present at the talks was R. A. Ulyanovsky, Deputy Head of the CC CPSU International Department.

AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE*

On July 21 and 25, A. P. Kirilenko, Politbureau Member and Secretary of the CC CPSU, B. N. Ponomaryov, Alternate Member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the CC CPSU, and R. A. Ulyanovsky, Deputy Head of the CC CPSU International Department, held talks with the Syrian Communist Party delegation in Moscow on invitation of the CC CPSU. The Syrian delegation included General Secretary Kh. Bagdash, Politbureau Members and CC Secretaries Y. Feisal, D. Na'ame, Z. A. Samad, Politbureau Member R. Turk, CC Secretary M. Yusef and CC Member V. Feisal.

During the warm and friendly talks the Soviet representatives spoke of CPSU activities, of efforts by Soviet Communists and all Soviet people to realize the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress in building communism and the steps taken by the CC CPSU to implement the Peace Program adopted by the Congress. The Soviet representatives also described preparations for the 50th anniversary celebrations of the formation of the USSR.

The Syrian Communist Party delegation outlined the work of Syrian Communists and the main tasks they are solving at the present time. The Syrian comrades spoke of the progressive socio-economic transformations implemented in the country on the

*Pravda, July 27, 1972.

initiative of the Arab Socialist Baath Party and the recent steps to democratize public and political life in the country: creation of a progressive national front with the participation of the SCP, the formation of a National Council (Parliament), elections to the local organs of self-government and other steps which should help to broaden the working people's political activity. The Syrian Communist Party strongly supports the anti-imperialist foreign policy and internal measures carried out by the present progressive regime in the Syrian Arab Republic. The Syrian Communists believe that these measures help create the necessary conditions for restructuring Syrian society on a progressive and democratic basis, making it possible to build a socialist society in the future.

The SCP delegation described the ideological and organizational work of Syrian Communists to strengthen unity of the Syrian Communist Party.

The CPSU representatives commended Syrian efforts to build a new, free and democratic society. The unity of anti-imperialist forces in Syria within the framework of the progressive national front is a guarantee of the Syrian Arab Republic's advance along the path of strengthening national independence and social progress.

The representatives of the CPSU praised the work of Syrian comrades to consolidate the ideological, political and organizational unity of the SCP which is an important part of the country's progressive forces.

The two sides exchanged views on the situation in the Middle East and strongly condemned the continued Israeli imperialist aggression against the Arab countries. They expressed the conviction that there could be no just and stable peace in the Middle East unless Israel evacuated occupied Arab territory and met the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

Both delegations stressed the great importance of the friendship between the Soviet Union and Syria for the development of the Arab peoples' national-liberation movement, for repelling imperialist intrigues and eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression. All attempts to disrupt Arab-Soviet friendship are meant to split the ranks of Arab revolutionary fighters and serve only the interests of imperialism and reaction.

The representatives of Soviet and Syrian Communists emphasized the importance of unity of action and solidarity of the Arab countries and peoples, of all progressive forces in the Arab world for repulsing the Israeli aggression and eliminating its consequences, thwarting the intrigues of international imperialism and reaction, which strive to block the Arab peoples' liberation movement.

Both sides praised the Iraqi government's nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Company and nationalization by the Syrian government of this company's property in Syria. These patriotic steps by the two progressive Arab countries are a step towards complete recovery by the Arab countries of their natural wealth in the interests of their peoples.

The CPSU and the SCP delegations underscored the great importance of the relations of fraternal friendship between the two parties. These relations are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The delegations of the two parties expressed firm determination to continue to develop relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE*

It is not easy to achieve peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems no matter how sensible and rational it may seem to be. It does not come of itself, but is the result of a persistent struggle against aggressive imperialist forces. One of the most positive results of the world revolutionary process in recent decades has been the appearance of a real opportunity to curb the aggressor. Today influential circles in imperialist countries are pretending to be the architects of a policy for detente. Actually, however, it was the might of socialism and the peoples' active struggle for peace that forced them to take steps towards detente and European security.

Today the great task of socialist foreign policy—creating the most favorable peaceful external conditions for the building of socialism and communism—has become more realistic than ever.

The new realities force the imperialists to abandon hopeless positions, change their tactics or adapt their policy to a situation that has changed to their disadvantage. They must reckon with realities, but they remain imperialists. And this is obvious wherever they are fighting with military means against progress, as in Vietnam. Wherever they can, they intensify the militarization of economic life and conduct an unrestrained arms race. Nor has the FRG, whose 1972 military budget totals 24.21 billion Marks, slowed down

*Abridged version of an article from the *Neues Deutschland* for July 10, 1972, by Albert Norden, Politbureau Member and Secretary of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

its war effort. This is a record level which no other German state has ever attained in peace-time. American imperialism nourishes and sparks seats of aggression in various parts of the world.

The imperialists are especially dangerous where they directly confront the main force of the defensive Warsaw Treaty organization and where any military action could instantly touch off a world war. So now they are trying to use new means to achieve old goals in Europe, and in this politics, economy and ideology play a greater role than before.

Why this stepped up activity in the ideological class struggle? The trend towards normalization of relations between countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence creates factors that counteract unconcealed and primitive anti-communism. Besides, the growing contradictions in the capitalist countries themselves give rise to doubts among different sections of the population with regard to the bourgeois "free democratic system." Imperialist and reformist ideology was therefore assigned the function of providing support for the existing regimes in the capitalist countries. At the same time, in the growing many-sided political, economic and cultural ties with the socialist countries the imperialists see an opportunity for stepping up ideological subversion abroad.

In the general confrontation between socialism and imperialism an acute struggle has flared up to win over people's minds and hearts. Hence, for the Marxist-Leninist parties the dialectics of the struggle for peaceful coexistence means waging an uncompromising offensive struggle against bourgeois ideology in close connection with every further step towards detente.

Just as previously, anti-communism is the main distinctive feature of bourgeois ideology in its struggle against socialism and progress. Anti-communism, which has been in existence as long as the organized labor movement, has passed through several stages in its development. The successes of socialism and the international workers' movement have compelled it to conform to the new conditions. Today the exponents of anti-communism are attempting to create the impression that their positions are scientific and flexible. They are striving to undermine socialism politically, resorting to a differentiated political approach, economic pressure and intensified ideological subversion. In 1956, Franz Josef Strauss, a spokesman of the most reactionary forces of West German monopoly capital, boasted that the combined might of the Western powers was sufficient to wipe the Soviet Union off the map of the world. Today, however, in the changed conditions, he presents the old objectives in a new guise: "Coexistence and detente . . . the West should regard as a political weapon, with the help of which it can further democratization and liberalization in the Communist

camp with the object of overcoming communism there from within."

Anti-communism is ready to employ any and all means and methods, both violent and "peaceful," direct and artfully disguised, overt and covert, in order to safeguard its existence and broaden its sphere of influence. At the present time a cautious and flexible tactic is predominant. This is also true of the imperialist policy in the field of culture. There are politicians in the FRG who orient cultural policy on penetration in areas where foreign policy methods could encounter serious opposition believing it should foster an atmosphere of trust and prepare the ground in socialist countries for bourgeois ideology.

These forces cover up their attempts to poison people's minds and corrupt socialist society with "an objective analysis" and "scientific comparison of the systems." The pseudo-sciences "GDR research," "Sovietology" and "Eastern research" are all meant to draw up strategic and tactical conceptions of a "new Ostpolitik." They are intended to prepare the theoretical groundwork for the struggle against the USSR and the GDR, against the socialist commonwealth and Marxism-Leninism —the scientific theory of the labor movement.

The SUPG is, of course, well aware of the goals and methods of this "transformed" anti-communism and its authors. Together with the CPSU and other parties of the fraternal socialist countries, it is fully prepared for the intensifying ideological confrontation.

The successful building of socialism in the GDR and the growing moral and political unity of its people have forced the imperialist ideologues, as they admit, to go over from a policy of "disregard and isolation" to one of "softening up" the GDR. And in so doing they are again trying to use the old poison of nationalism. They no longer denounce the GDR wholesale, and even recognize its achievements, but stress in the same breath that these were made despite, and against, the Party and government. In this way they attempt to prepare certain groups of the population in our country for "political expression" against the socialist state, the working-class party and the firm alliance with the Soviet Union, hoping to "soften up" the SUPG in this long drawn-out process.

It stands to reason that these ventures are not effective because the SUPG is carrying on intensive ideological work to bring Marxist-Leninist theory to each citizen of the GDR.

The Right-wing of international Social-Democracy plays a considerable role in creating and spreading the illusion of "transformed" anti-communism. It clearly views itself as the only alternative to communism and is becoming more active in this direction. It attempts to gain more influence among workers who are still

swayed by bourgeois ideology, are poorly acquainted with or totally ignorant of Marxism and the history of their own class.

However, the prestige of socialism is so high in all countries that the Right Social-Democratic ideologues are forced to launch their anti-Communist attacks from supposedly socialist positions. And, although in home policy they help to strengthen the positions of monopoly capital—the FRG is a case in point—they exploit the “democratic socialism” formula as the main anti-communist idea in foreign policy. In the ideological struggle with the socialist countries the Right Social-Democratic leaders in the FRG believe their chances to be better than those of the openly bourgeois parties. They would like to “wedge their foot in the GDR’s door,” as they said in 1969 at the Socialist International Congress. They haven’t stirred a finger on behalf of socialism, they are battling against Communists but, for several years now, they have been the most ardent supporters of initiating “reformed communism” in the socialist countries, meaning reforms that would serve to restore capitalism. At present their efforts are centred on embellishing the image of imperialism and opposing the natural process of demarcation between the GDR and the FRG in all spheres of social life.

Every step towards a relaxation and peaceful coexistence is being made and will be made in severe class battles in future, too. The imperialist forces will not surrender their positions voluntarily. They must be forced to do so by the existing socialism, the international working class and all other progressive forces in the world. And one of the uppermost conditions for this is further all-round consolidation of the socialist commonwealth. The GDR’s firm place within this commonwealth and its close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries make more weighty our contribution to the effective policy of peaceful coexistence.

The experience of the international revolutionary movement shows that the working class arrives at an understanding of its fundamental interests and historic mission only after acquiring a socialist ideology. And Marxist-Leninist theory is the most important source of its strength and power. Only this theory makes it possible to give correct and determinative answers to the urgent problems of our time. The achievements of the really existing socialism and the growth of the world revolutionary process decisively promote the spread of socialist ideas.

As part of the world Communist movement, the SUPG is true to its internationalist duty. Its policy is geared to strengthening the fraternal alliance of the socialist countries with the USSR in the lead. All this provides an excellent starting point for the dissemination of the socialist world outlook. The goal of the entire ideo-

logical work of the SUPG is to bring the socialist world outlook to the people and educate the working class, cooperative peasantry, intelligentsia and other segments of the population in a Marxist-Leninist spirit.

The consolidated position of the GDR and the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas are a weighty contribution to the relaxation of tensions on our continent because this seriously hampers the criminal handiwork of imperialist groups who refuse to accept the boundaries of present-day Europe. The 8th SUPG Congress offered constructive proposals for advancing peaceful coexistence in Europe and especially for establishing normal relations between the GDR and the FRG. At the same time the Party emphatically opposed all political speculation and ideological subversion of the West German ideologues concerning "special intra-German relations." In present-day Europe the conditions are more favorable for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. This does not mean, however, that contradictions between socialist and bourgeois ideologies are removed. Compromises in political relations between states with different social systems are possible, but not so in ideology.

The SUPG regards it as its invariable task and internationalist duty "firmly to uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle against all enemies, steadfastly to make them a living reality, constantly to develop Marxist-Leninist theory and enrich it on the basis of present experience of waging the class struggle and building socialist society," as put down in the Address of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties on the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin.

And it is in this spirit that we carry on our work in the knowledge that the stronger the vigilance and defense capacities of socialism, the more rapid and bold the advance of Marxism-Leninism, and the more conclusively bourgeois ideology is overcome, the more successful and fruitful will be the peaceful coexistence of states and different social systems and the more reliable will be world peace.

Berlin.

PRICE: 10 CENTS

